

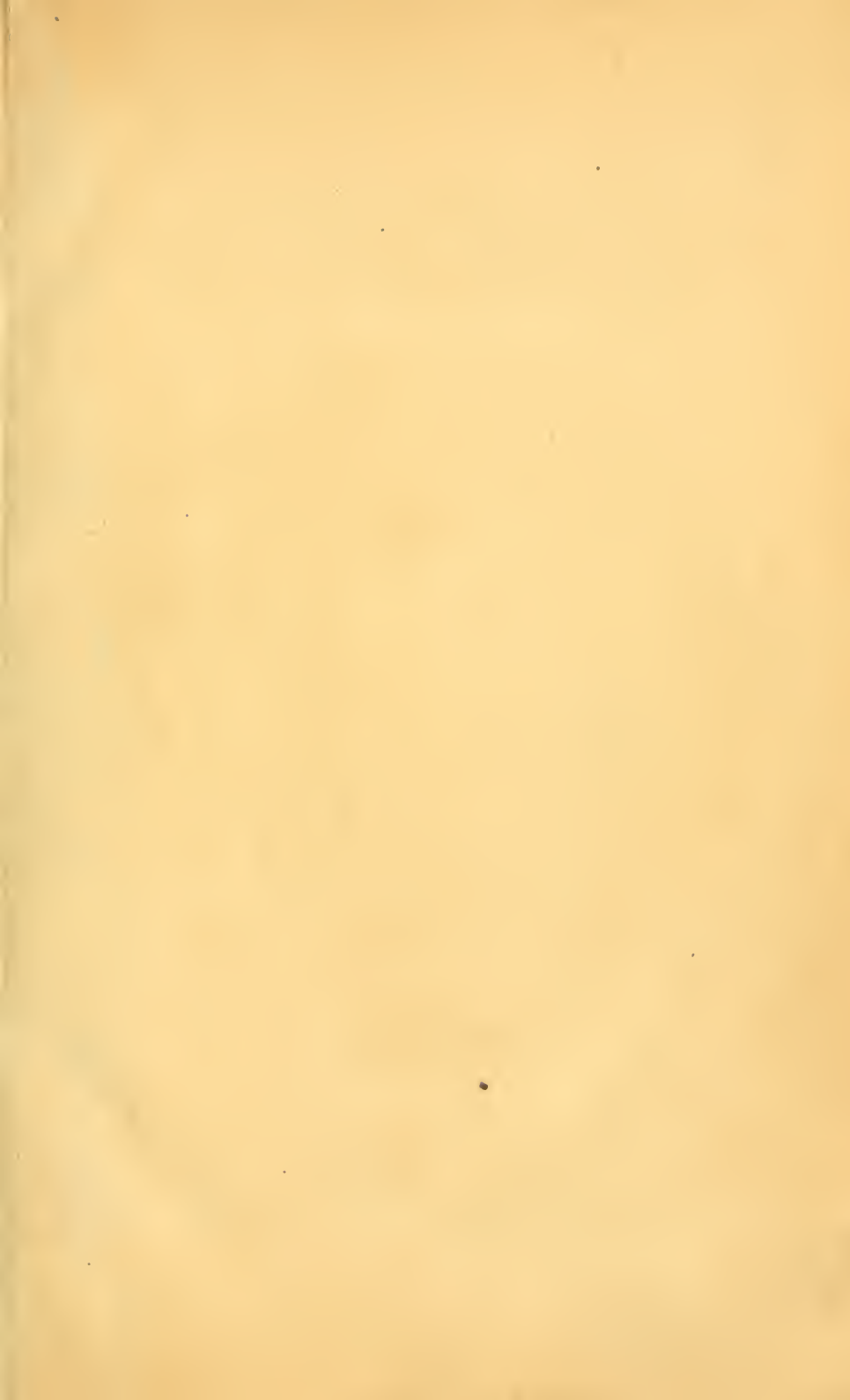


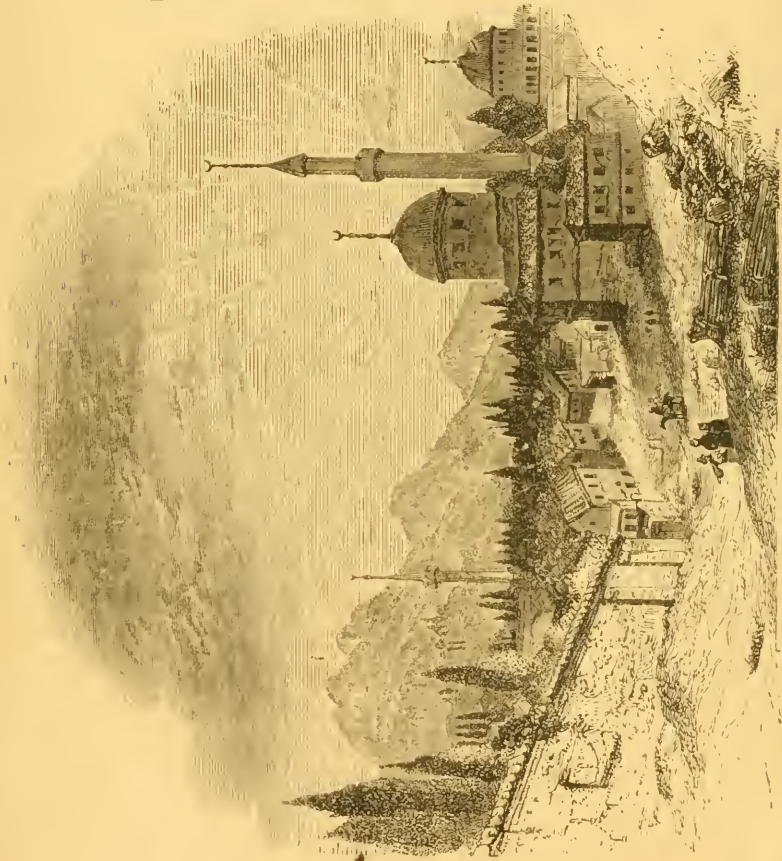
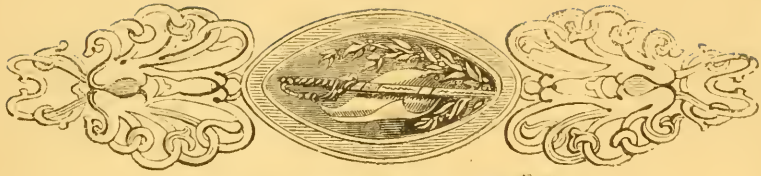


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THE ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF ROME

AND

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY

THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF "THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC., ETC.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

NEW YORK:
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F. 36

P R E F A C E.

ENCOURAGED by the success of my History of Greece, I now present to the public, and particularly to those who are engaged in the task of education, that of Rome similarly executed. The inadequacy of Goldsmith's and other compilations to convey correct historical knowledge is now generally felt and acknowledged, and works of a higher order are required for education.

Most readers are aware that in consequence of the labors of Niebuhr (a man of whom I never can either think or speak but with admiration and respect) the history of the early centuries of Rome has assumed an entirely new character. These new views should be known, and I have therefore introduced them; but as every one may not be disposed to acquiesce in them, I have, though convinced of their general soundness, kept them distinct from the common narrative, which I have given in all the fulness that my limits would allow; and teachers will use their discretion with respect to the chapters which contain them. In the Second Part of this work I have followed this writer's narrative, as it would have been presumption in me to do otherwise. The study of Niebuhr's own work I however most strongly recommend to every one; and I can answer with confidence for the correctness and fidelity of the translation of it by MM. Hare and Thirlwall.

It may startle some readers to find so much of the early Roman history treated as fabulous, and Rome's first two kings presented as the mere creations of imagination. Their surprise I can assure them arises entirely from ignorance of mythology as a science; for were they well acquainted with its principles, it would probably be of another kind, and they would wonder how such palpable fictions ever came to pass for realities. I have labored, and I hope with success, to raise mythology from the contempt in which it has long lain

in this country, and I look forward to its enjoying the full share of consideration which it deserves.

As I find that my other works have already made their way into some highly respectable ladies' schools, and knowing to what ridicule, though unjustly, the wrong accentuation of classic names exposes people, I have followed the Greeks in circumflexing the penultimate syllables when long otherwise than by position or the union of consonants. The *apex* which I have employed is constantly used in marking the long vowels in Oriental words, and it is more agreeable to the eye than an accent, or the mark of long quantity. Thus *Cethêgus* and *Perperna* have both the accent on the penultimate syllable, while in *Catulus*, *Hannibal*, and others, it is on the antepenultimate.

I take this opportunity of informing the heads of schools, that if life and health are spared me I propose writing a volume of Roman Antiquities as a companion to the present work. I shall feel most grateful to those who will point out to me any defects or omissions they may discover in my works, and I now return my thanks to those who have done so in my Greece, and assure them that their suggestions will be attended to in the next edition. I would finally request that my History of Greece should be always read before that of Rome; for as I regard these works as one whole, it is frequently referred to in the following pages.

T. K.

LONDON, Dec. 15th, 1835.

In this Second edition a few corrections and improvements have been made. I am happy to be able to add that the First volume of my History of England, containing the history from the earliest times to the end of the House of Tudor, is in the press, and will be published before midsummer. The Second and concluding volume will follow it with all convenient speed.

LONDON, April, 1837.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE REGAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

DESCRIPTION of Italy. — Ancient Inhabitants of Italy. — The Pelasgians. — The Oscans. — The Launs. — The Umbrians. — The Sabellians. — The Etruscans. — The Ligurians. — The Italian Greeks. — Italian Religion. — Political Constitution.	1
---	---

CHAPTER II.

Æneas and the Trojans. — Alba. — Numitor and Amulius. — Romulus and Remus. — Building of Rome. — Reign of Romulus. — Roman Constitution. — Numa Pompilius. — Tullus Hostilius. — Ancus Marcius. ...	8
---	---

CHAPTER III.

L. Tarquinius Priscus. — Servius Tullius. — L. Tarquinius Superbus. — Tale of Lucretia. — Abolition of Royalty. — Conspiracy at Rome. — Death of Brutus. — War with Porsenna. — Battle of the Regillus.	20
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

The Regal Period of Rome, according to the views of Niebuhr.	37
---	----

CHAPTER V.

The Origin and Progress of the Roman Constitution according to Niebuhr.	45
--	----

PART II.

THE REPUBLIC. — CONQUEST OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

Beginning of the Republic. — The Dictatorship. — Roman Law of Debt. — Distress caused by the Law of Debt. — Secession to the Sacred Mount.
--

— The Tribunate. — Latin Constitution. — Treaty with the Latins. — War with the Volscians. — Treaty with the Hernicans.	57
---	----

CHAPTER II.

The public Land. — Agrarian Law of Spurius Cassius. — The Consulate. — Volseian Wars. — Veientine War. — The Fabii at the Cremera. — Siege of Rome. — Murder of the Tribune Genucius. — Rogation of Volero Pub- lius. — Defeat of the Roman Army. — Death of Appius Claudius.	62
---	----

CHAPTER III.

Volseian War. — Legend of Coriolanus. — The Terentian Law. — Sei- zure of the Capitol by the Exiles. — Dictatorship of Cincinnatus. — The first Decemvirate. — The second Decemvirate. — Sicinius Dentatus. — Fate of Virginia. — Abolition of the Decemvirate.	81
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Victories of Valerius and Horatius. — Canuleian Law. — Censorship and military Tribunate. — Feud at Ardea. — Sp. Maelius. — Equian and Volseian War. — Capture of Fidene. — Volseian War. — Murder of Postumius by his own Soldiers. — Veientine War. — Capture of Veii. — Siege of Falerii. — Exile of Camillus.	99
--	----

CHAPTER V.

The Gauls. — Their Invasion of Italy. — Siege of Clusium. — Battle of the Alia. — Taking of Rome. — Rebuilding of the City. — Distress of the People. — M. Manlius. — The Licinian Rogations. — Pestilence at Rome — M. Curtius. — Hernican War. — Combat of Manlius and a Gaul. — Galic and Tuscan Wars. — Combat of Valerius and a Gaul. — Reduc- tion of the Rate of Interest.	113
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

First Samnite War. — Mutiny in the Roman Army. — Peace with the Sam- nites. — Latin War. — Manlius put to Death by his Father. — Battle of Vesuvius, and Self-devotion of Decius. — Reduction of Latium. — Pub- lilius Laws. — Second Samnite War. — Severity of the Dictator Papirius. — Surrender at the Caudine Forks. — Capture of Sora. — Tuscan War. — Passage of the Ciminian Wood. — Samnite and Tuscan Wars. — Peace with the Samnites.	131
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Third Samnite and Etruscan Wars. — Battle of Sentinum, and Self-de- votion of Decius. — Battle of Aquilonia. — Reduction of the Samnites. — Hortensian Law. — Worship of Æsculapius introduced. — Lucanian War. — Roman Embassy insulted at Tarentum. — Gallic and Etruscan War.	151
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. — Battle on the Siris. — Cineas at Rome. — Approach of Pyrrhus to Rome. — Battle of Asculum. — Pyrrhus in Sicily.	
---	--

y. — Battle of Beneventum. — Departure of Pyrrhus. — Italian Allies.
 — Censorship of Ap. Claudius. — Change in the Constitution. — The
 Roman Legion. — Roman Literature. 164

PART III.

THE REPUBLIC. — CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND
 MACEDONIA.

CHAPTER I.

Carthage. — First Punic War. — Siege of Agrigentum. — Roman Fleet. —
 Naval Victory of Duilius. — Invasion of Africa. — Defeat and Capture of
 Regulus. — Losses of the Romans at Sea. — Battle at Panormus. — Death
 of Regulus. — Defeat of Claudius. — Victory at the Ægatian Isles. —
 Peace with Carthage. — Effects of the War. 174

CHAPTER II.

Civil War at Carthage. — Illyrian War. — Gallic Wars. 190

CHAPTER III.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain. — Taking of Saguntum. —
 March of Hannibal for Italy. — Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. — Bat-
 tle of the Ticinus. — Battle of the Trebia. — Battle of the Trasimene
 Lake. — Hannibal and Fabius Cunctator. — Battle of Cannæ. — Prog-
 ress of Hannibal. 191

CHAPTER IV.

Hannibal in Campania. — Defeat of Postumius. — Affairs of Spain. —
 Treaty between Hannibal and King Philip. — Hannibal repulsed at
 Nola. — Success of Hanno in Bruttium. — Affairs of Sardinia, — of
 Spain, — of Sicily. — Elections at Rome. — Defeat of Hanno. — Siege
 of Syracuse. — Affairs of Spain and Africa. — Taking of Tarentum. —
 Successes of Hannibal. 213

CHAPTER V.

Taking of Syracuse. — Defeat and Death of the Scipios. — Hannibal's
 March to Rome. — Surrender of Capua. — Scipio in Spain. — Taking
 of New Carthage. — Affairs in Italy. — Retaking of Tarentum. —
 Defeat of Hasdrubal in Spain. — Death of Marcellus. — March of Has-
 drubal. — His Defeat on the Metaurus. 225

CHAPTER VI

PAGE

Successes of Scipio in Spain. — Mutiny in his Army. — Carthaginians expelled from Spain. — Scipio's Return to Rome. — His Preparations for invading Africa. — Invasion of Africa. — Horrible Destruction of a Punic Army. — Defeat of the Carthaginians. — Attack on the Roman Fleet. — Death of Sophonisba. — Return of Hannibal. — Interview of Hannibal and Scipio. — Battle of Zama. — End of the War. 231

CHAPTER VII.

Macedonian War. — Flight of Hannibal from Carthage. — Antiochus in Greece. — Invasion of Asia and Defeat of Antiochus. — Death of Hannibal. — Last Days of Scipio. — Characters of Hannibal and Scipio. — War with Perseus of Macedonia — Conquest of Macedonia. — Triumph of Æmilius Paulus. 253

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Carthage. — Third Punic War. — Description of Carthage. — Ill Success of the Romans. — Scipio made Consul. — He saves Mancinus. — Restores Discipline in the Army. — Attack on Carthage. — Attempt to close the Harbor. — Capture and Destruction of Carthage. — Reduction of Macedonia and Greece to Provinces. 264

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of Spain. — War with the Lusitanians. — Treachery of Luculus. — Viriathian War. — Murder of Viriathus. — Numantine War. — Capture of Numantia. — Servile War in Sicily. — Foreign Relations of Rome. — Government of the Provinces. — The Publicans. — Roman Superstition. Roman Literature. 275

PART IV.

THE REPUBLIC. — CONQUEST OF THE EAST, AND
DOWNFALL OF THE CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

State of Things at Rome. — Tiberius Gracchus : — his Tribunate and Laws : — his Death. — Death of Scipio Africanus. — Caius Gracchus : — his Tribunates and Laws : — his Death. — The Gracchi and their Measures. — Insolence and Cruelty of the Oligarchs. — Conquests in Asia and Gaul 290

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

The Jugurthine War. — Defeat and Death of Adherbal. — Bestia in Africa. — Jugurtha at Rome. — Defeat of Aulus. — Metellus in Africa. — Attack on Zama. — Negotiations with Jugurtha. — Taking of Thala. — Caius Marius. — Taking of Capsa. — Taking of the Castle on the Mulu-cha. — Sulla and Bocchus. — Delivery up of Jugurtha. — His End. — Cimbric War. — Victory at Aquæ Sextiæ. — Victory at Vercellæ. — Insurrection of the Slaves in Sicily.....	309
---	-----

CHAPTER III.

State of Rome. — Tribune of Saturninus. — His Sedition and Death. — Return of Metellus. — Tribune and Death of Drusus. — Social or Marsic War. — Murder of the Prætor by the Usurers. — Sedition of Marius and Sulpius. — Sulla at Rome. — Flight of Marius.....	324
--	-----

CHAPTER IV.

State of Asia. — First Mithridatic War. — Sulla in Greece. — Victories of Chæronea and Orchomenus. — Peace with Mithridates. — Flaccus and Fimbria. — Sedition of Cinna. — Return of Marius. — Cruelties of Marius and Cinna. — Death and Character of Marius. — Return of Sulla. — His Victories. — Proscriptions of Sulla. — His Dictatorship and Laws. — He lays down his Office, and retires. — His Death and Funeral. — His Character.....	377
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

Sedition of Lepidus. — Sertorian War in Spain. — Death of Sertorius and end of the War. — Spartacian or Gladiatorial War. — Defeat and Death of Spartacus. — Consulate of Pompeius and Crassus. — Piratic War. — Reduction of Crete.....	353
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Second Mithridatic War. — Third Mithridatic War. — Victories of Lucullus. — His Justice to the Provincials. — War with Tigranes. — Defeat of Tigranes. — Taking of Tigranocerta. — Invasion of Armenia. — Defeat of a Roman Army. — Intrigues of Lucullus' Enemies at Rome. — Manilian Law. — Pompeius in Asia. — Defeat of Mithridates. — Pompeius in Armenia: — in Albania and Iberia: — in Syria and the Holy Land. — Death of Mithridates. — Return and Triumph of Pompeius.....	362
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Catiline's Conspiracy. — Arrest and Execution of the Conspirators. — Defeat and Death of Catiline. — Honors given to Cicero. — Factious Attempts at Rome. — Clodius violates the Mysteries of the Bona Dea. — His Trial..	375
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Pompeius and Lucullus. — C. Julius Cæsar. — M. Licinius Crassus. — M. Porcius Cato. — M. Tullius Cicero. — Pompeius at Rome. — Consulate	
--	--

of Cæsar. — Exile of Cicero — Robbery of the King of Cyprus. — Recall of Cicero. — His Conduct after his Return..... 334

CHAPTER IX.

Second Consulship of Pompeius and Crassus. — Parthian War of Crassus. — His Defeat and Death. — Anarchy at Rome. — Death of Clodius. — Pompeius sole Consul. — Trial and Exile of Milo. — Gallie Wars of Cæsar..... 399

CHAPTER X.

Commencement of the Civil War. — Cæsar at Rome. — Cæsar's War in Spain. — Surrender of Massilia. — Cæsar's civil Regulations. — Military Events in Epirus..... 415

CHAPTER XI.

Battle of Pharsalia. — Flight and Death of Pompeius. — His Character. — Cæsar's Alexandrian War. — The Pontic War. — Affairs of Rome. — Mutiny of Cæsar's Legions. — African War. — Death of Cato. — His Character. — Cæsar's Triumphs. — Reformation of the Calendar. — Second Spanish War. — Battle of Munda. — Honors bestowed on Cæsar. — Conspiracy against him. — His Death. — His Character..... 423

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs at Rome after Cæsar's Death. — His Funeral. — Conduct of Antonius. — Octavius at Rome. — Quarrel between him and Antonius. — Mutinian War. — Cæsar made Consul. — The Triumvirate and Proscription. — Death of Cicero. — His Character. — Acts of the Triumvirs. — War with Brutus and Cassius. — Battle of Philippi. — Death of Brutus and Cassius. — Antonius and Cleopatra. — Cæsar's Distribution of Lands. — Perusian War. — Return of Antonius to Italy. — War with Sex. Pompeius. — Parthian War. — Rupture between Cæsar and Antonius. — Battle of Actium. — Last Efforts of Antonius. — Death of Antonius and Cleopatra. — Sole Dominion of Cæsar. — CONCLUSION..... 446

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY..... 473

PRELIMINARY NOTICES

Roman Chronology.

THE taking of the City by the Gauls is the event which was used to connect the Grecian and Roman chronology, from which 360 years were reckoned back to the foundation of Rome. By some that event was placed in Ol. 98, 1, B. C. 388; by others in Ol. 98, 2, B. C. 387. Fabius, taking the former without a necessary correction of four years, placed the building of Rome in Ol. 8, 1, B. C. 747; Cato, from the same date with the correction, in Ol. 7, 1, B. C. 751; Polybius and Nepos, taking the latter date with the correction, in Ol. 7, 2, B. C. 750; while Varro placed it in Ol. 6, 3, B. C. 753. The eras in use are the Catonian, Varronian, and that of the Capitoline Marbles, (as they are called,) which is a mean between those two; the date of the commencement of our era being 752 Cat., 753 Cap. Mar., 754 Varr. The Catonian is that used in the following pages, and the year B. C. may always be obtained by subtracting any given date from 752.

Roman Money.

The lowest Roman coin, the *As*, was originally a pound weight of brass, (*as*.) but it was gradually reduced to half an ounce. The Sesterce (*sestertius*, i. e. *semis-tertius*) contained $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses, and was usually expressed by HS. (an abbreviation of L. L. S. *Libra, libra, semis*, or of l. l. $\frac{1}{2}$.) The Denar (*denarius*) contained 10 (*deni*) asses.

As the Greek talent was equal to 24,000 sesterces, four sesterces (that is, ten asses or one denar) were equal to one drachma.

The *As* is usually said to be equal to $3\frac{1}{10}g.$, and the sesterce to *1d.* $3\frac{3}{4}g.$ of our money; but if the Greek drachma be worth $9\frac{3}{4}d.$, (see Hist. of Greece,) the sesterce is equal to $2\frac{5}{12}d.$; the *As* is therefore nearly equivalent to an English penny, and the denar to a French franc.

Roman Measures of Length and Breadth.

The Roman Foot was equal to 11.604 English inches. Five feet made the Pace (*passus*) = 4 feet 10.02 inches; 1000 paces (*mille passus*) are called the Roman *Mile*, a word derived from *mille*.

The Roman *Actus* was a square of 120 feet, containing therefore 14,400 square feet; two *Actus* made the *Juger*, (from *jugum*,) which consequently measured 240 feet by 120.

Roman Names.

The Romans had two, three, four, or more names: 1, The *nomen*, or Gentile name, (that of their *gens*;) as Julius, Furius; no Roman was without this name; it always ended in *ius*. 2, The *prænomen*, or Christian name, as we may term it, as Aulus, Caius, ending (the antiquated *Kæso*, Lar, Opiter, Agrippa, and Volero excepted) in *us*. 3, The *cognomen*, or family name, as Scipio, Sulla, Marcellus. 4, The *agnomen*, or name of honor, as Africanus. *Ex. gr.* Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

The abbreviations of the *prænomena* are as follow :

A. Aulus; Ap. or App. Appius; C. Caius; Cn. Cnæus; D. Decimus; K. *Kæso* or *Cæso*; L. Lucius; Mam. Mamercus; M. Marcus; M'. Manius; N. Numerius; P. Publius; Q. Quintus; S. or Sex. Sextus; Ser. Servius; Sp. Spurius; T. Titus; Ti. or Tib. Tiberius.

These *prænomena* (Appius and *Cæso* excepted) were common to most families; the more unusual ones were peculiar to some families: thus none but the Menenii and Furiii bore that of Agrippa, none but the Fabii, Quinctii, Atinii and Duillii that of *Cæso*; the Cominii and Æbutii alone bore that of Postumius; Volero was peculiar to the Publilii, Opiter to the Virginii, Lar to the Herminii, Vopiscus to the Julii, and Appius to the patrician Claudii.

Women had not a *prænomen*; the daughters of a Fabius, for example, were called Fabia prima, secunda, etc.

The Romans when adopted placed their own gentile or family name last: thus, Æmilius, when adopted by Scipio, was named P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus; and N. Junius Brutus, when adopted by Cæpio, became Q. Servilius Cæpio Brutus.

THE
HISTORY OF ROME.

PART I.
THE REGAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF ITALY. — ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF ITALY. — THE PELASGIANS. — THE OSCANS. — THE LATINS. — THE UMBRIANS. — THE SABELLIANS. — THE ETRUSCANS. — THE LIGURIANS. — THE ITALIAN GREEKS. — ITALIAN RELIGION. — POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.

THE peninsula named Italy, the seat of the mighty republic whose origin and history we have undertaken to relate, is separated from the great European continent by the mountain range of the Alps, and extends about five hundred miles in a south-eastern direction into the Mediterranean Sea. The part of this sea between Italy and the Hellenic peninsula was named the Adriatic or Upper Sea, (*Mare Superum*;) that on the west toward the Iberian peninsula, the Tyrrhenian or Lower Sea, (*Mare Inferum*.) A mountain range, the Apennines, commences at the Alps on the north-western extremity of Italy, and runs along it nearly to its termination, sending out branches on either side to the sea, between which lie valleys and plains generally of extreme fertility. The great plain in the north, extending in an unbroken level from the Alps to the Apennines and the sea,* and watered by the Po (*Padus*) and

* Now called the Plain of the Po, (*La Pianura del Po*.)

other streams, is the richest in Europe; and that of Campania, on the west coast, yields to it in extent rather than in fertility. The rivers which descend to water these plains and valleys are numerous; and many of them, such as the Po, the Adige, (*Atesís,*) the Arnó, and the Tiber, are navigable.

The mountains of Italy are composed internally of granite, which is covered with formations of primary and secondary limestone, abounding in minerals, and in ancient times remarkably prolific of copper. The white marble of Carràra, on the west coast, is not to be rivalled. Forests of timber-trees clothe the sides of the Apennines and their kindred ranges, among whose lower parts lie scattered lakes of various sizes, many of them evidently the craters of extinct volcanoes. The western side of Italy has been at all times a volcanic region, and Mount Vesuvius, on the Bay of Naples, is in action at the present day.

The fruitful Isle of Sicily, with its volcanic mountain Ætna, lies at the southern extremity of Italy, separated from it by a channel five miles in its greatest, two in its least, breadth. It is by no means unlikely that, as tradition told, Italy and Sicily were once continuous, but that, at a point of time long anterior to history, a convulsion of nature sank the solid land, and let the sea run in its place. Besides Sicily, there are various smaller islands attached to Italy, chiefly along its west coast, of which the most remarkable are the volcanic group of the Liparëan isles and the Isle of Elba, (*Iva,*) which has at all times been productive of iron.

The magnificent region which we have just described, so rich in all the gifts of nature, has never, so far as tradition and analogies enable us to trace, been abandoned by Providence to the dominion of rude barbarians living by the chase and the casual spontaneous productions of the soil, without manners, laws, or social institutions. To ascertain, however, its exact condition in the times anterior to history is beyond our power; but by means of the traditions of the Greeks, and the existing monuments of the languages and works of its ancient inhabitants, we are enabled to obtain a view of its ante-Roman state, superior perhaps in definiteness to what we can form of the ante-Hellenic condition of Greece.

Under the guidance of the sharp-sighted and sagacious investigator whose researches have given such an aspect of

clearness and certainty to the early annals of Rome,* we will now venture to pass in review the ancient peoples of Italy.

In the most remote ages to which we can reach by conjecture, Italy was the abode of two distinct portions of the human family, different in language and in manners; the one dwelling on the coasts and plains, the other possessing the mountains of the interior. The former were probably a portion of that extensive race which we denominate the Pelasgian, and which dwelt also in Greece and Asia; † the latter were of unknown origin, and no inquiry will enable us to ascertain any thing more respecting them, than that they belonged to the Caucasian race of mankind. We cannot, by means of language or any other tokens, trace their affinity to any known branch of the human kind, or even make a conjecture as to the time and mode of their entrance into Italy. They may therefore, under proper restrictions, be termed its indigenous inhabitants.

The Pelasgians, it is probable, entered Italy on the north-east. Under the names of Liburnians and Venetians, they possessed probably the whole plain of the Po and the east coast down to Mount Garganus; thence, as Daunians, Peucetians, and Messapians, they dwelt to the Bay of Tarentum and inlands; as Chones, Morgêtes, and CEnotrians, they then held the country from sea to sea to the extreme end of the peninsula; and finally, as Tyrrhenians and Siculans, dwelt along the west coast to the Tiber and up its valley, perhaps even to the Umbro (Ombrône) in Tuscany. Italiâns was the name of the people, Italia that of the country, south of the Tiber and of Mount Garganus.‡

The Pelasgians of Italy seem to have been similar in character to those of Greece. We find various traces of their devotion to the pursuits of agriculture; their religion appears to have been of a rural character; and Cyclopiian walls are to be seen in some of the districts where they dwelt. If they entered the country as conquerors, it was probably their superior civilization which gave them the advantage over the ruder tribes which occupied it.

At length, in consequence of pressure from without, or from internal causes, such as excess of population, the

* G. B. Niebuhr, with whom K. O. Müller, in his *Etruscans*, (*Die Etrusker*), in general agrees.

† See *History of Greece*, Part I. chap. ii.

‡ Those skilled in etymology will easily see that *Italus* and *Siculus* are but different forms of the same word.

tribes of the interior came down on and conquered the people of the coasts and plains. A people named Opicans, or Oscans, overcame the Daunians and other peoples of the east coast, and the region thus won was named from them Apulia; they also made themselves masters of the country thence across to the west coast, and along it up toward the Tiber. Here they were divided into the Saticulans, Sidicinians, Volscians, and Æquians, while Auruncans, or Ausonians, was the more general appellation of the whole people.*

Another tribe, named Cascans and Priscans,† who are supposed to have dwelt in the mountains from the Fucine Lake to Reâte and Carseoli, being pressed from behind by the Sabines, came down along the Anio and subdued the Siculans, named Latins, who occupied the country thereabouts. A part of this people retired southwards; and this movement gave, it is said, occasion to the occupation of the Island of Sicily by the Siculans; the remainder coalesced with the conquerors, and the united people was named Priscans and Latins, (*Prisci Latini*,‡) or simply Latins, and their country Latium.

Further north, a people named the Umbrians descended from the mountains and conquered the country to the Po; they also extended themselves to the sea on the west of the Apennines, and down along the valley of the Tiber.

The Latin language, which we have still remaining, is evidently composed of two distinct elements, one akin to the Greek, and which we may therefore assume to be Pelasgian, the other of a totally different character.§ The

* According to etymology, the root being or or *Ap. Opici, Osci, Apuli, Volsci, Æqui*, are all kindred terms. We might perhaps venture to add *Umbri* and *Sabini*. *Ausones* is the Greek form of *Aurini*, whence *Aurunci*, *Aurunci*. The Latin language luxuriates in adjectival terminations. See Niebuhr, i. 69, *note*; and Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, in v. *in in yata. note*.

† See Niebuhr, i. 78 and 371. This writer (i. 79, 80) says that it is to the Latins that the term *Aborigines*, answering to the *Autochthones* of the Greeks, belongs. The general usage of ancient and modern writers names the people of the interior the *Aborigines*.

‡ It was the old Roman custom to omit the copulative between words which usually appeared in union, as *empti venditi, locati conducti, socii Latini, accensi velati*. Like Gothic among ourselves, *Cascus* and *Priscus* came to signify *old* or *old-fashioned*.

§ In the Latin, the terms relating to agriculture and the gentler modes of life are akin to the Greek; those belonging to war and the chase are of a different character. Of the former we may instance,

existing monuments in the Oscan and Umbrian languages present exactly the same appearance, and the foreign element seems to be the same in all. Hence it may without presumption be inferred, that kindred tribes speaking the same, or dialects of the same language, conquered and coalesced with the Pelasgians, and new languages were formed by intermixture, just as the English arose from the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman-French.

The people who are supposed to have given to the Cascans and Oscans the impulse which drove them down on the Pelasgians, are the Sabines, who dwelt about Amiternum in the higher Apennines. The Sabellian race (under which name we include the Sabines and all the colonies which issued from them) was evidently akin to those above mentioned, for there can be little doubt of their language being the non-Pelasgic part of the Latin and Oscan. This race spread rapidly on all sides. The Sabines, properly so called, having occupied the country of the Cascans, gradually pushed on along the valley of the Tiber into Latium; the Picenians settled on the coast of the Adriatic; the four allied cantons of the Marsians, Marrucinians, Vestinians, and Pelignians dwelt to the south of them and the Sabines; and below them were the Samnites, divided into the cantons of the Frentinians, Hirpinians, Pentrians, and Caudines, who conquered the mountain-country of the Oscans, henceforth named Samnium. At a later period, (about the year of Rome 314,) the Samnites made themselves masters of Campania and the country to the Silarus. Under the name of Lucanians they also conquered, much about the same time, the country south of Samnium, the more southern part of which was afterwards wrested from them by the Bruttians, a people which arose out of the mercenary troops employed by the Lucanians and Italian Greeks in their wars, and the Ænotrian serfs of the latter.* Another Sabellian people were the Hernicans, who possessed a hilly region south of Latium in the midst of the Æquian and Volscian states.

Different in origin, language, and manners from all the

bos, taurus, sus, ovis, agnus, canis, ager, silva, vinum, lac, mel, sal, oleum, malum; of the latter, *arma, tela, hasta, ensis, gladius, arcus, sagitta, clupeus, cassis, balteus*. (Niebuhr, i. 82. Müller, i. 17.)

* In Oscan, and perhaps in old Latin, *brutus* signified a runaway slave, a *meroon*. Names of reproach have often been acquiesced in by peoples and parties; witness our *Whig* and *Tory*.

tribes already enumerated were the people named by themselves Rasena, by the Romans, Etruscans and Tuscans, who occupied the country between the Tiber and the Arno, and also dwelt in the plain of the Po. The common opinion was that they were a colony from Mæonia or Lydia in Asia, who landed on the coast of Etruria, where they reduced the inhabitants to serfship, and, afterwards crossing the Apennines, conquered the country thence to the Alps. Against this it was urged * that there was not the slightest similarity in manners, language, or religion between them and the Lydians, and that the latter retained no tradition whatever of the migration. It has been further remarked † that the Rætians and other Alpine tribes were of the Tuscan race; and it is so highly improbable that the owners of fruitful plains should covet the possession of barren mountains, that it is more reasonable to suppose them to have dwelt originally among, or northwards of, the Alps, and that being pressed on by the Germaus, Celts, or some other people, they descended and made conquests in Italy. ‡ Their language, as far as it is understood, has not the slightest resemblance to any of the primitive languages of Europe or Asia; their religious system and their science were also peculiar to themselves; the love of pomp and state also distinguished them from the Greeks and other European peoples. Taken all together, they are perhaps the most enigmatic people in history.

The Tuscan political number was twelve. North of the Apennines twelve cities or states formed a federation; the same was the case in Etruria Proper. § Each was independent, ruling over its district and its subject towns. The Tuscan Lucumōnes or nobles were, like the Chaldæans, a

* Dionysius, i. 28.

† Niebuhr. This author is inclined to extend the original seats of the Tuscans far north even to Alsatia.

‡ Müller would fain reconcile the two opinions. He regards the Rasena as an original Italian people of the Apennines and plain of the Po, who, when they proceeded to conquer Etruria from the Umbrians and Ligurians, leagued themselves with the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians from the coast of Asia who had settled on the coast. Hence he explains the use of flutes, trumpets, and other usages, common to the Tuscans with the people of Asia.

§ These last, Niebuhr says, are Cære, Tarquinii, Rusellæ, Vetulonium, Volaterræ, Arretium, Cortōna, Clusium, Volsinii, Veii, and Capōna or Cossa; of the former he can only name Felsina or Bononia, Melpum, Mantua, Verōna, and Hatria. He denies that the Tuscans ever settled in Campania, as was asserted by the ancients. Müller maintains the converse.

sacerdotal military caste, holding the religion and government of the state in their exclusive possession, and keeping the people in the condition of serfs. In some of their cities, such as Veii, there were elective kings. The Lucumones learned the will of heaven from the lightning and other celestial phenomena; their religion was gloomy, and abounding in rites and ceremonies. Both the useful and the ornamental arts were carried to great perfection in Etruria. Lakes were let off by tunnels, swamps rendered fertile, rivers confined, huge Cyclopiian walls raised round towns. Statues, vessels, and other articles were executed in clay and bronze with both skill and taste. These arts, however, may have been known and exercised by the subject people rather than by the Tuscan lords.

The Ligurians, a people who dwelt without Italy from the Pyrennees to the maritime Alps, also extended into the peninsula, reaching originally south of the Arno and east of the Ticinus. They were neither Celts nor Iberians, but of their language we have no specimens remaining.

Such were the peoples of Italy in the ages antecedent to history. About the time of the Dorian migration, the Greeks began to colonize its southern part. The Chalcidians and Eretrians of Eubœa founded Cumæ, Parthenope, and Neapolis on the west coast, and Rhegium at the strait; Elea (Velia) was built on the same coast by the Phocæans. On the east coast, Locri was a colony from Ozolian Locris; and it founded in its turn Medma and Hipponium on the west coast; the Achæans were the founders of Sybaris, Croton, and Metapontum; and Sybaris having extended her dominion across to the Lower Sea, founded on it Laos and Posidonia: the Crotonians built Caulon on the Upper, Terina on the Lower Sea; and Tarentum, in the peninsula of Japygia, was a settlement of the Lacedæmonians. The ancient Cœnotria became so completely Hellenised, (its original population being reduced to serfship,) that it was named Great Greece — *Magna Græcia*. The flourishing period, however, of these Grecian states, was anterior to that which our history embraces, and we shall have occasion only to speak of them in their decline.

The religion of the two original portions of the Italian population was, as far as we can conjecture, of a simple, rural character. It does not seem to have known the horrors of human sacrifice; and though polytheistic, it related no tales of the amours of its gods, and no Italian princes

boasted an affinity with the deities whom the people worshipped. Partly from this, partly from other causes, the tone of morals was at all times higher in Italy, especially among the Sabellian tribes, than in Greece. A remarkable feature of the old Italian religion was the immense number of its deities; * every act of life had its presiding power; a man was ever under the eye, as it were, of a superior being: the true doctrine of the omnipresence of the one God was thus, we may say, resolved into the separate presence of a multitude, the moral effect, though far inferior, was, we may hope, similar. Finally, the ancient Italians are perhaps not to be esteemed idolaters, as images of the gods were unknown among them till they became acquainted with Grecian art.

The prevailing political form of ancient Italy was that of aristocratic republics united in federations. The hereditary monarchy of the heroic age of Greece was unknown, and the pure democracy of its historic period never developed itself in Italy. Political numbers are to be found here as in Greece and elsewhere; four, for example, was the Sabellian number; thirty, or rather perhaps three subdivided by ten, that of Latium. † This principle extended even to the Tuscans, whose number, as we have seen, was twelve.

CHAPTER II. ‡

ÆNEAS AND THE TROJANS. — ALBA. — NUMITOR AND AMULIUS.
 — ROMULUS AND REMUS. — BUILDING OF ROME. — REIGN
 OF ROMULUS. — ROMAN CONSTITUTION. — NUMA POMPILIUS.
 — TULLUS HOSTILIUS. — ANCUS MARCIUS.

ON the left bank of the river Tiber, at a moderate distance from the sea, lies a cluster of hills, § which were the destined

* When, therefore, Varro spoke of 30,000 gods, he must have meant the Italian, not the Grecian system; for the Olympian deities, even including the Nymphs, never extended to any such number.

† The thirty Latin and thirty Alban towns, the thirty patrician curies in three tribes, and the thirty plebeian tribes at Rome.

‡ The principal authorities for this Part are Dionysius and Livy, and Plutarch's lives of Romulus, Numa, and Poplicola.

§ They were seven in number, lying in the following order: the

seat of the city whose dominion gradually extended until it embraced the greater portion of the then known world; and whose language, laws, and institutions gave origin to those of a large portion of modern Europe.

The origin and early history of this mighty city have been transmitted to us by its most ancient annalists in the following form.*

When the wide-famed Troy, after having held out for ten years against the Achæan arms, was verging toward its fall, Ænêas, a hero whom the goddess Venus (Aphrodïte) had borne to a Trojan prince named Anchïses, resolved to abandon the devoted town. Led by the god Mercurius, (Hermes,) and accompanied by his father, family, and friends, he left Troy the very night it was taken, and retired to Mount Ida, where he remained till the town was sacked and burnt, and the Achæans had departed. The god, continuing his care, built for them a ship, in which they embarked: an oracle (some said that of Dodôna) directed them to sail on westward, till they came to where hunger would oblige them to eat their tables, and told them that a four-footed animal would there guide them to the site of their future abode. The morning-star shone before them, day and night, to guide their course, and it never ceased to be visible till they reached the coast of Latium in Italy.† They landed there on a barren, sandy shore; and as they were taking their first meal, they chanced to use their flat cakes for platters; and when, at the conclusion of their repast, they began to consume their cakes also, Ænêas' young son cried out that they were eating their tables. Struck with the fulfilment of a part of the oracle, the Trojans, by order of their chief, brought the images of their gods on shore; an altar was erected, and a pregnant white sow led to it as a victim. Suddenly the sow broke loose, and ran into the country. Ænêas, with a few companions, followed her till

Tarpeian or Capitoline, the Palatine, and the Aventine along the river; the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Cælian, behind the Tarpeian and Palatine. The hill named the Janiculan was on the opposite side of the Tiber.

* "I insist," says Niebuhr, "in behalf of my Romans, on the right of taking the poetical features wherever they are to be found, when they have dropped out of the common narrative." The circumstances in the following narrative, differing from those in Livy and Virgil, will be found in Dionysius, Cato, (in Servius on the Ænêis,) and Ovid, and other poets.

† Varro in Servius on Æn. ii. 801

she reached an eminence about three miles from the sea, where, exhausted by fatigue, she laid her down. This then, *Ænéas* saw, was the site designated by the oracle; but his heart sank when he viewed the ungenial nature of the surrounding soil, and the adjacent coast without a haven. He lay that night on the spot in the open air; and as he pondered, a voice from a neighboring wood came to his ear, directing him to build there without delay; broad lands, it was added, awaited himself, and wide dominion his descendants, who, within as many years as the sow should farrow young ones, would build a larger and a fairer town. In the morning he found that the sow had farrowed thirty white young ones, which with herself he offered in sacrifice to the gods. He led his people thither, and commenced the building of a town.*

The country in which the Trojans were now settling was governed by a prince named *Latinus*, who, on hearing that strangers were raising a town, came to oppose them. He was, however, induced to allow them to proceed, and he granted them seven hundred *jugers* of land around it.† The harmony which prevailed between them and the natives was, however, soon disturbed by the Trojans' wounding a favorite stag of King *Latinus*'. This monarch took up arms; he was joined by *Turnus*, the Rutulian prince of *Ardea*; but victory was with the strangers; *Latinus*' capital, *Laurentum*, was taken, and himself slain in the storming of the citadel.‡ His only daughter *Lavinia* became the prize of the victor, who made her his wife, and named his town from her *Lavinium*.§

Turnus now applied for aid to *Mezentius*, king of *Cære* in *Etruria*. The Tuscan demanded, as the price of his assistance, half the produce of the vintage of *Latium* in the next year, and the Rutulians readily agreed to his terms.

* According to *Cato*, (*Serv.* on *Æn.* i. 6. vii. 158,) the town first built by *Ænéas* and *Anchises* (who also reached Italy) was not on the future site of *Lavinium*, and it was named *Troja*. In Latin, *troja* is a sow, hence probably the legend; *alba* (white) refers to *Alba*; the thirty young, to the Latin political number.

† Supposing that, according to the Roman custom hereafter to be noticed, this was 7 *jugers* a man, the Trojans, according to this tradition, were but 100 in number.

‡ *Cato* in *Servius* on *Æn.* ix. 745.

§ The reader will observe how this differs from the narrative in *Virgil*. We may take it as a rule, that the rudest and most revolting form of a legend is its most ancient one.

Their united arms encountered those of the Latins, led by Ænéas, on the banks of the Numicius; Turnus fell, but the Trojans were defeated. Ænéas plunged into the stream, and never more was seen, and after-ages worshipped him on its banks as Jupiter Indiges. The Tuscans then beleaguered Lavinium, but Iúlus, the son of Ænéas, having vowed the half-produce of the vineyards claimed by Mezentius to Jupiter, led forth his troops to battle. The favor of the god was with the pious youth, and Mezentius fell by his hand.

After thirty years, Iúlus left the low sandy coast, and led his people to a mountain twelve miles inland, on the side of which he built a town, named Alba Longa, (*Long white*,) from its appearance, as it stretched in one long street along the precipitous margin of a lake. During three hundred years, his successors (named the Silvii) reigned at Alba, the lords of the surrounding country; but tradition spake not of their deeds. Procas, one of these kings, when dying, left two sons, named Numitor and Amulius. The former, who was the elder, being of a meek, peaceful temper, his ambitious brother wrested from him the sceptre of the Silvii, leaving him only his paternal demesnes, on which he allowed him to live in quiet; but fearing the spirit of Numitor's son, he caused him to be murdered as he was out a-hunting; and he placed his daughter Silvia, his only remaining child, among the Vestal virgins, who were bound to celibacy. The race of Aphrodite and Anchises seemed destined to become extinct, for Amulius was childless, when a god interposed to preserve it and give it additional lustre. One day when Silvia was gone into the sacred grove of Mars to draw water for the use of the temple, a wolf suddenly appeared before her; the terrified maiden fled for refuge into a cavern; the god descended and embraced her. When retiring, he assured her that she would be the mother of an illustrious progeny. Silvia told not her secret; and at the due time the pains of labor seized her in the very temple of Vesta. The image of the virgin goddess placed its hands before its eyes to avoid the unhallowed sight, and the perpetual flame on the altar drew back amidst the embers.* She brought forth two male children, whom the ruthless tyrant ordered to be cast, with their mother, into the River Tiber. Silvia here became the spouse of the god of the stream, and immortal. The care of Mars was extended to his progeny; the bole of

* Ovid, Fasti, iii. 45—48.

ark in which the babes were placed floated along the river, which had overflowed its banks, till it reached the woody hills on its side,* at the foot of one of which, the Palatine, and close to the Ruminal fig-tree, it overturned on the soft mud. A she-wolf, the sacred beast of Mars, which came to slake her thirst, heard the whimpering of the babes; she took and conveyed them to her den on the hill, licked their bodies with her tongue, and suckled them at her dugs. Under her care they thrived; and when they required more solid food it was brought them by a woodpecker, (*picus*,) an animal sacred, like the wolf, to their sire; and other birds of augury hovered round the cave to keep off noxious insects. At length, this wonderful sight was beheld by Faustulus, the keeper of the royal flocks: he approached the cave; the she-wolf retired, her task being done; and he took home the babes and committed them to the care of his wife, Acca Larentia, by whom they were carefully reared along with her own twelve sons in their cottage on the Palatine.

When the two brothers, who were named Romulus and Remus, grew up, they were distinguished among the shepherd lads for their strength and courage, which they displayed against the wild beasts and the robbers, and the neighboring swains. Their chief disputes were with the herdsmen of Numitor, who fed their cattle on the adjacent Aventine, and whom they frequently defeated; but at length Remus was made a prisoner by stratagem, and dragged away as a robber to Alba. The king gave him up for punishment to Numitor, who, struck with the noble appearance of the youth, inquired of him who and what he was. On hearing the story of his infancy, he began to suspect that he might be his grandson; but he confined his thoughts to his own bosom. Meantime, Faustulus had revealed to Romulus his suspicions of his royal birth, and the youth resolved to release his brother and restore his grand-sire to his rights. By his directions his comrades entered Alba at different parts, and there uniting under him, fell on and slew the tyrant, and then placed Numitor on the throne of his ancestors.

The two brothers, regardless of the succession to the throne of Alba, resolved to found a town for themselves on the hills where they had passed the happy days of childhood. Their old rustic comrades joined them in their pro-

* Conon, Narr. 48.

ject, and they were preparing to build, when a dispute arose between them, whether it should be on the Palatine and named Roma, or on the Aventine and called Remoria.* It was agreed to learn the will of heaven by augury. Each at midnight took his station on his favorite hill, marked out the celestial temple, and sat expecting the birds of omen. Day came and passed; night followed; toward dawn, the second day, Remus beheld six vultures flying from north to south; the tidings came to Romulus at sunrise, and just then twelve vultures flew past. A contest arose; though right was on the side of Remus, Romulus asserted that the double number announced the will of the gods, and his party proved the stronger.

The Palatine was therefore to be the site of the future city. Romulus yoked a bullock and a heifer to the plough, whose share was copper, and drove it round the hill to form the *pomærium*, or boundary line. On this line they began to make a ditch and rampart. Remus in scorn leaped over the rising wall, and Romulus enraged slew him with a blow, exclaiming, "Thus perish whoever will leap over my walls!" † Grief, however, soon succeeded, and he was not comforted till the shade of Remus appeared to their foster-parents, and announced his forgiveness on condition of a festival, to be named from him, being instituted for the souls of the departed. ‡ A throne was also placed for him by Romulus beside his own, with the sceptre and other tokens of royalty. §

As a means of augmenting the population of his new town, Romulus readily admitted any one who chose to repair to it; he also marked out a spot on the side of the Tarpeian hill as an *asylum* to receive insolvent debtors, criminals, and runaway slaves. The population thus rapidly increased, but from its nature it contained few women, and therefore the state was menaced with a brief duration. To obviate this evil, Romulus sent to the neighboring towns, proposing to them treaties of amity and intermarriage; but his overtures were every where received with aversion and contempt. He then had recourse to artifice;

* Another account says at a place four miles further down the river Ennius makes Romulus take his augury on the Aventine.

† Those who would soften the legend said he was slain by a man named Celer.

‡ The *Lemuria*. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 461—480.

§ Servius on *Æn.* i. 276.

he proclaimed games to be celebrated at Rome on the festival of the Consualia, to which he invited all his neighbors. The Latins and Sabines came without suspicion, bringing their wives and daughters; but in the midst of the festivities, the Roman youth rushed on them with drawn swords, and carried off a number of their maidens. The parents fled, calling on the gods to avenge the perfidious breach of faith, and the neighboring Latin towns of Cænina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae, joined by Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, prepared to take up arms. But the Latins, impatient of the delay of the Sabines, and acting without concert among themselves, singly attacked and were overcome by the Romans. At length, Tatius led his troops against Rome. The Saturnian or Tarpeian hill, opposite the town, was fortified, and had a garrison; but Tarpeia, the daughter of the governor, having gone down to draw water, met the Sabines, and dazzled by the gold bracelets which they wore, agreed to open a gate for them if they would give her what they bore on their left arms. She kept her promise; but the Sabines cast their shields from their left arms on her as they entered, and the traitress expired beneath their weight. The hill thus became the possession of the Sabines.

Next day the armies encountered in the valley between the two hills. The advantage was on the side of the Sabines, and the Romans were flying, when Romulus cried aloud to Jupiter, vowing him a temple under the name of Stator, (*Stayer*), if he would stay their flight. The Romans turned; victory was inclining to them, when suddenly the Sabine women came forth with garments rent and dishevelled locks, and rushing between the two armies, implored their fathers and their husbands to cease from the impious conflict. Both sides dropped their arms and stood in silence; the leaders then advanced to conference, a treaty of amity and union was made, and Romulus and Tatius became joint sovereigns of the united nation, the Romans taking the name of Quirites from the Sabine town of Cures. As a mark of honor to the Sabine women, Romulus named from them the thirty curies into which he divided his people.

Some years after, when Laurentine ambassadors came to Rome, they were ill treated by some of Tatius' kinsmen; and as he refused satisfaction, he was fallen on and slain at a national sacrifice in Lavinium. Romulus henceforth reigned alone; he governed his people with justice and

moderation, and carried on successful wars in Latium and Etruria. At length, when he had reigned thirty-seven years, the term assigned by the gods to his abode on earth being arrived, as he was one day reviewing his people at the place named the Goat's Marsh, (*Palus Capræ*,) a sudden storm came on; the people fled for shelter; and, amid the tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, Mars descended in his flaming car, and bore his son off to the abode of the gods.* When the light returned, the people vainly sought for their monarch; they bewailed him as their father, as him who had brought them into the realms of day;† and they were not consoled till a senator, named Proculus Julius, came forwards, and averred that as he was returning by moonlight from Alba to Rome, Romulus had appeared to him arrayed in glory, and charged him to tell his people to cease to lament him, to cultivate warlike exercises, and to worship him as a god under the name of Quirinus.

As the founder of the state, Romulus had necessarily been its lawgiver. The chief features of his legislation were as follows:—

He divided the whole people into three Tribes, (*Tribus*), named Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, each of which contained ten Curies, (*Curia*), and each cury consisted of a decad of Houses, (*Gentes*.) The tribe was governed and represented by its Tribune, (*Tribunus*), the cury by its Curion, (*Curio*), the house by its Decurion, (*Decurio*.) The territory of the state, with the exception of what was set apart for religion and the public domain, was divided into thirty equal portions, one for each cury. Romulus again divided the whole people into two orders. The first was composed of the persons most distinguished for merit, birth, and property; these were called Patres, (*Fathers*), and their descendants Patricians, as a mark of reverence, or as they resembled fathers in their care. The other order was named the Plebes or Plebs, (*People*;)‡ they were placed under the care of the patricians, whence they were also called Clients, (*Clientes*, i. e. *Hearers*, or *Obeyers*.) § All the offices of the state were in the hands of the patricians; the plebeians served in war, and paid taxes in return for the protection

* Horace, *Carm.* iii. 3. 15. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 496. Dionys. ii. 56.

† Ennius in Cic. *de Rep.* i. 41.

‡ *Plebes* is probably akin to the Greek *πληθός*.

§ These relations, and their true nature, will be explained in Chapter V.

they received. A hundred of the elders of the people formed a Senate, (*Senatus*), to deliberate with the king in affairs of state. Three hundred young men, selected from the curies, and named Celeres, guarded his person; and twelve Lictors (*Lictores*)* or sergeants, bearing axes in bundles of rods, (*fascces*), attended to execute his commands. Romulus also gave dignity to his royal authority by splendor of attire and imperial ensigns.

After the assumption of Romulus, Rome remained an entire year without a king; the senators, under the title of Interreges, (*Between-kings*), governing in rotation. At length the people becoming impatient, they proceeded to elect a king. It was agreed that the Romans should choose from among the Sabines; and the choice fell on Numa Pompilius of Cures, who had married the daughter of Tatius, and had been the pupil of the Grecian sage Pythagoras. He was brought to Rome, and as Romulus had learned the will of the gods by augury when founding the city, this pious prince would not ascend the throne without obtaining their consent in the same manner. Led by the augur, he mounted the Saturnian hill, and sat on a stone facing the south. The augur sat on his left, his head veiled, and holding the *lituus* † in his right hand; then marking out the celestial temple, he transferred the *lituus* to his left hand, and laying his right on the head of Numa, prayed to Jupiter to send the signs he wished within the designated limits. The signs appeared, and Numa came down, being declared king.

The new monarch set forthwith about regulating the state. He divided among the citizens the lands which Romulus had conquered, and founded the worship of Terminus, the god of boundaries. He then proceeded to legislate for religion, in which he acted under the direction of the Camēna ‡ Egeria, who espoused him, and led him into the grove which her divine sisters frequented. Numa appointed the Pontiffs to preside over the public religion; the Augurs, to learn the will of heaven; the Flamens, to minister in the temples of the great gods of Rome; the Vestal Virgins, to guard the sacred fire; and the Salii, to adore the gods with hymns, to which they danced in arms. He also built the temple of Janus, which was to be open in time of war.

* That is, *Ligatores*, (Binders,) from their office of binding criminals

† A staff with a crooked head, like a bishop's crosier.

‡ The Camēnæ answer to the Grecian Muses.

closed when Rome was at peace. At a time when the anger of heaven was manifested by terrific lightning, Numa, instructed by the rural gods Picus and Faunus, whom he had caught by pouring wine into the fount whence they drank, caused by conjurations Jupiter to descend on the Aventine to tell him how his lightnings might be averted. The god, thence named *Elicius*, also sent from heaven the *Ancile*,* as a pledge of empire. Thirty-nine years did Numa reign in tranquillity; and then the favorite of the gods fell asleep in death, full of years and of honors.

After an interreign of a short time, the royal dignity was conferred on Tullus Hostilius, a Roman, and more allied in character to Romulus than to Numa. He sought and soon found an occasion for war. The Roman and the Alban country folk had mutually plundered each other; envoys were sent from both towns to demand satisfaction; but the Tuscans, beguiled by the hospitality of the Roman king, remained idle at Rome, while the Romans had made their demand, and been refused. As, by the maxims of Italian law, the Romans were now the injured party, war was formally declared. Preparations were made on both sides, and at length the Alban army came and encamped within five miles of Rome, where the deep ditch, named the Cluilian, (from the name of their King Cluilius,) long informed posterity of the site of their camp. Here Cluilius died, and Mettius Curtius was chosen dictator. Meantime King Tullus had reduced the Alban territory, and Mettius found it necessary to quit his entrenched camp, and advance to engage him. The two armies met, and were drawn out in array of battle, when the Alban chief demanded a conference. The leaders of both sides advanced to the middle, and Mettius, showing how the Tuscans, their common enemies, would reap the advantage of their mutual losses, and destroy them both, proposed to decide the national quarrel by a combat of champions to be chosen on each side. The Roman monarch assented, though he would have preferred the check of two numerous hosts.

There were in each army three twin-brothers, whose mothers were sisters; the Romans were named the Horatii, the Albans the Curiatii.† To these the fates of their respec-

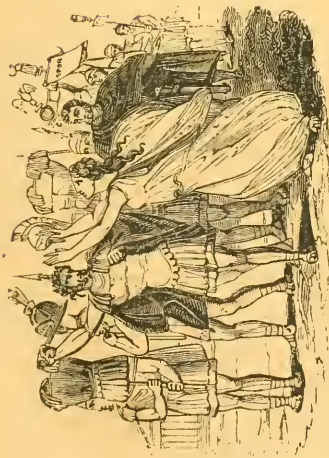
* The sacred shield borne by the Salii; lest it should be stolen, Numa had several others made like it. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 259—392.

† According to some, the Horatii were the Albans. The Horatian gens at Rome belonged to the Luceres.

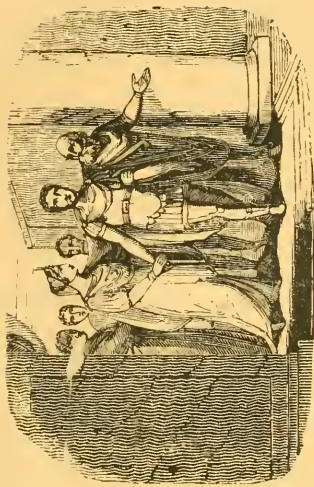
tive countries were committed. The treaty was made in due form, and that state, whose champions were vanquished, was to submit to the rule of the other. The brothers advanced on each side; both armies sat down in their ranks to view the important combat; the signal was given, the champions drew their swords, and engaged hand to hand; dread and expectation bound the spectators in silence. At length, two of the Romans were seen to fall dead, the third was unhurt; the Albans were all wounded. A shout of triumph rose in the Alban army; hope fled from the Romans. The surviving Horatius, unable to cope with his three adversaries, though enfeebled, feigned a flight. They pursued, but, owing to their weakness, at different intervals. Soon he turned, and slew the first. The Albans vainly called to his brothers to aid; they fell each in turn by the sword of the Roman, and Alba submitted to Rome.

When the dead on both sides had been buried, the two armies separated. Horatius, bearing the spoils of the slain Curiatii, walked at the head of the Romans. At the Capene gate, when about to enter the city, he was met by his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, and recognizing her lover's surcoat, which she had woven with her own hands, she let fall her hair, and bewailed his fate. The victor, enraged, drew his sword and struck it into her bosom, crying, "Such be the fate of her who bewails an enemy of Rome!" Horror seized on all at the atrocious deed: the murderer was taken for trial before the king; but Tullus shrank from the office, and the affair was committed to the ordinary judges in such cases, (the *Duumvirs*;) by whom he was sentenced to be scourged, and to be hung with a rope from the fatal tree with his head covered. The lictor approached, and was placing the halter on him, when, at the suggestion of the king, he appealed to the people. His father pleaded for him with tears; the people were moved, and let him go free. Purgative sacrifices were performed, and he was made to walk with covered head under a beam placed across the way.

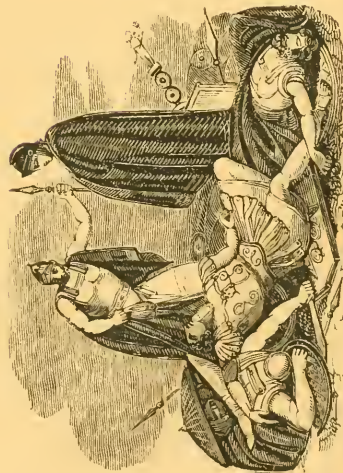
The treaty, thus sealed with kindred blood, did not remain long unbroken. The Albans, weary of subjection, sent secretly to excite the people of Fidenæ to war against Rome, promising to go over to them in the battle. The Fidenates, joined by their allies, the Veientes of Etruria, declared war, and Tullus, having summoned an Alban army to his standard, crossed the Anic and took his post at its



HORATIUS KILLING HIS SISTER. 18.



BANISHMENT OF CORIOLANUS. 84.



DEFEAT OF CATALINA. 381.



CORIOLANUS AND HIS MOTHER. 85.

confluence with the Tiber. The Romans were opposed to the Veientes, the Albans to the Fidenates. Mettius, cowardly as treacherous, would neither stay nor go over to the enemy. He gradually drew off to the hills, and there disposed his troops. The Romans, finding their flank thus left exposed, sent to inform the king, but Tullus telling them that the Albans were acting by his order, desired them to fall on. The Fidenates, hearing these orders, and deeming that Mettius was a traitor to them, turned and fled. Tullus then brought all his forces against the Etrurians, and drove them with great slaughter into the river. The Albans came down, and their general congratulated the king on his victory. Tullus received him kindly, and directed that the two armies should encamp together, and a lustral sacrifice be prepared for the morrow. Next morning he called a general assembly; the Albans, with affected zeal, came first, and stood unarmed around the king, by whose directions they were encompassed by the Romans in arms. Tullus then spoke, reproaching Mettius with his treachery, and declaring his intention of destroying Alba, and removing the inhabitants to Rome. Resistance was hopeless; Mettius was seized, and to suit his punishment to his crime, two chariots were brought, to which his limbs were tied, and one driven toward Rome, the other toward Fidenæ, and the traitor's body thus torn asunder. Meantime the horsemen had been sent to Alba to remove the people to Rome; the infantry followed, in order to demolish the town. The people, yielding to necessity, quitted with tears the homes of their infancy and the tombs of their fathers; all the buildings, both public and private, were destroyed; the temples of the gods alone were left standing. At Rome the Albans were favorably received, and their nobles admitted among the patricians. The Cælian hill was added to the city for their abode, and the king himself dwelt on it among them.

The warlike king next engaged in hostilities with the Sabines, on the pretext of their having seized some Roman traders at the fair held at the temple of Feronia. The Sabines hired mercenary troops in Etruria, but victory was on the side of Rome in a battle fought at the Evil Wood, (*Silva Malitiosa*.) Tullus was now at peace with mankind, but a shower of stones on the Alban Mount announced the displeasure of heaven. At the mandate of a celestial voice heard on the mount, a nine-day festival was instituted, and

the prodigy ceased; but soon after a pestilence came on, and Tullus, broken in mind and body, gave himself up to superstition. Having read in the books of Numa of the sacrifices to Jupiter Elicius, he resolved to perform them; but erring in the rites, he offended the god, and the lightnings descended and destroyed himself and his house. Tullus had reigned thirty-two years.

The next king, Ancus Marcius, was of the Sabine line, being the son of Numa's daughter. His character was a mean between those of his grandsire and Romulus. Like the former, he applied himself to the revival of religion; and he had the ceremonial law transcribed and hung up in public. But the Latins, despising his pacific occupations, soon provoked him to war, where he showed a spirit not unworthy of the founder of Rome. He took the towns of Politorium, Tellêna, and Ficana, and having given the Latin army a total defeat under the walls of Medullia, he removed the people of this and the other towns to Rome, where he assigned them the Aventine for their abode.

Ancus also won from the Veientines some of the land beyond the Tiber, where he fortified the Janiculan hill, and united it to the city by a wooden bridge, (*Pons Sublicius*.) To secure Rome on the land side he dug a deep ditch (*Fossa Quiritium*) before the open space between the Cælian and Palatine hills. He extended his dominion on both sides of the river to the sea, where he built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. After a useful and a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, King Ancus died in peace.

CHAPTER III.

L. TARQUINIUS PRISCI'S. — SERVIUS TULLIUS. — L. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS. — TALE OF LUCRETIA. — ABOLITION OF ROYALTY. — CONSPIRACY AT ROME. — DEATH OF BRUTUS. — WAR WITH PORSENNA. — BATTLE OF THE REGILLUS.

HITHERTO the kings had been Romans and Sabines alternately; the sceptre now passes into the hands of a stranger. When Cypselus overthrew the oligarchy of the Bacchiads

at Corinth,* a member of this family, named Demarâtus, resolved to emigrate. He fixed on Tarquinii, in Etruria, for his abode, as, being an extensive merchant, he had formed many connections in that city; and he came thither accompanied by the sculptors, Euchir, (*Good-hand*), and Eugrammus, (*Good-drawer*), and the painter Cleophantus, (*Deed-displayer*),† whose arts and that of writing he communicated to the Etruscans. He married a woman of the country, who bore him two sons, named Aruns and Lucumo. The former died a little before him, leaving his wife pregnant; but Demarâtus, unaware of this fact, bequeathed the whole of his wealth to Lucumo, and the new-born babe, who was therefore named Egerius, (*Lacker*), was left entirely dependent on his uncle.

Lucumo espoused an Etruscan lady named Tanaquil, and finding, on account of his foreign origin, all the avenues to honor and power closed against him, he listened to the suggestions of his wife, and resolved to emigrate to Rome, where there was no jealous aristocratic caste to contend with. He therefore quitted Tarquinii, and set out for that city. As he and Tanaquil were sitting in their chariot, taking their first view of Rome from the top of the Janiculan, an eagle came flying, and gently descending took off his bonnet, and with a loud noise bore it into the air; then returning placed it again on his head. Tanaquil, as a Tuscan skilled in augury, joyfully received the omen, and congratulated her husband on the fortune it portended. Elate with hope, they crossed the Sublician bridge and entered Rome, where Lucumo assumed the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, and, by his polished manners and his liberality, soon won the affections of the people. He became, ere long, known to the king, Ancus, who employed him in both public and private affairs of importance, and when dying appointed him guardian to his sons.

But Tarquinius now deemed himself sufficiently strong in the favor of the people to aspire to the vacant throne. Having sent the young Marcii out a-hunting, so that they should be away at the time of the election, he offered himself as a candidate; the people unanimously chose him king, and the senate confirmed their choice. To gratify his friends, he forthwith added one hundred members to the senate, and then to augment his fame engaged in war with the Latins,

* See History of Greece, p. 68.

† Pliny, xxv. 5.

from whom he took the town of Apiolæ; and with the plunder, whose amount exceeded what might have been expected, he gave the people a spectacle of horse-racing and boxing superior to any they had yet seen. A war with the Sabines soon followed, and, before the Romans were aware of it, the Sabine army had crossed the Anio. The battle that ensued was bloody, but undecisive; and Tarquinius, finding that his deficiency in cavalry had alone prevented the victory, prepared to add three new tribes, to be named from himself and his friends, to the tribes or equestrian centuries of Romulus. But the augur Attus Navius forbade to change without auspices what had been instituted with them. The king, annoyed, to put him to shame desired him to augur, if what he was then thinking on could be done. Attus, having observed the heavens, replied in the affirmative. "Then," cried the king, triumphantly, "I was thinking that you should cut a whetstone through with a razor." Attus took the razor and stone, and cut it through; the king gave up his project, but he doubled the amount of the old centuries without interfering with the original names.

The Sabines meantime remaining on the hither side of the Anio, Tarquinius had a large heap of timber which lay on the banks of the stream set fire to and cast into it, and it floated along and burned the wooden bridge behind them; he then attacked and routed them with great slaughter, and their arms being carried along the stream into the Tiber gave the first tidings of the victory at Rome. Tarquinius passed the Anio and received the submission of the town of Collatia, over which he set his nephew Egerius. He afterwards made war on the Latins, and reduced several of their towns. We are also told that all Etruria was forced to submit to his supremacy.

Tarquinius, at peace and abounding in wealth, now devoted his thoughts to the improvement of the city. As the valleys between the hills were mostly under water from the overflowing of the Tiber, he embanked that river, and built huge sewers to drain the swamps and pools it had formed. The ground thus gained between the Tarpeian and the Palatine hills he laid out as a place for markets and the meetings of the people; the space between the Palatine and the Aventine was made a race-course, and named the Circus Maximus. Tarquinius also commenced building a wall of hewn stone around the city, and he levelled and enlarged by extensive substructions the area of one of the summits

of the Saturnian hill for a temple which he had vowed to Jupiter.

The king had reigned thirty-eight years in glory, when his life was terminated by assassins hired by the sons of his predecessor. The occasion was as follows. When the Latin town of Corniculum was taken, one of the captives, named Ocrisia, was placed in the service of the queen. As she was one day, according to usage, placing cakes on the hearth to the household gods, an apparition of the fire-god appeared over the fire. She told the king and queen, and Tanaquil had her instantly arrayed as a bride and shut up alone in the apartment. She became pregnant by the god, and in due season brought forth a son, who was named Servius Tullius. One time, the child fell asleep during the heat of the day in the porch of the palace, and suddenly, to the surprise of the beholders, his head was seen enveloped in flames, which played innocuously, and departed when he awoke. Tanaquil, who saw in this the favor of his divine sire, had him brought up with the greatest care. When he attained to manhood, he displayed the utmost valor in the field; the king bestowed on him the hand of his daughter, and intrusted him with the exercise of the royal authority, and it was expected that he would appoint him his successor. The sons of Ancus had hitherto borne patiently their exclusion from the throne, expecting to obtain it on the death of Tarquinius, who was now eighty years old; seeing, however, the favor shown to Servius, they resolved to wait no longer, but to kill the king and seize the throne. They therefore engaged two ferocious peasants to accomplish the deed, and these ruffians proceeding to the palace pretended to quarrel; the noise they made attracted the attention of the royal servants, and as they mutually appealed to the king for justice, they were led before him. Here, as Tarquinius was listening to the one, the other gave him a deadly wound with an axe on the head. The murderers fled, but were pursued and taken. The dying monarch was brought into the palace, which Tanaquil ordered to be shut; and then telling Servius that now was his time to secure the succession, went up to a window, whence she addressed the people, telling them that the king's wound was not fatal, that he would soon recover, and that meantime Servius was to exercise the functions of royalty. The gate was then opened, and Servius issued forth with the royal insignia. He took his seat, and administered justice, in some cases at once in

others he feigned that he would consult the king. After some days the death of Tarquinius was made known, and without an interreign the royal dignity was conferred on Servius. The Marcii, having gained nothing but infamy by their crime, retired in despair to the town of Suessa Pometia.

The reign of Servius was, like that of Numa, one of peace, and only distinguished by internal legislation. Like Numa, too, he was favored with the love of a deity. The goddess Fortuna loved him and used to visit him in secret; and when, one time at a later period, the temple which he had raised to her was burnt, the flames, mindful of his origin, spared the wooden statue of the king which stood in it.

Servius, the poor man's friend, paid out of his royal treasure the debts of such as were reduced to poverty; he redeemed those whose labor was pledged for debt, and he assigned the people portions out of the conquered lands. He also divided all the people into classes, regulated by property, so that each person should contribute to the support and defence of the state in proportion to the stake he had in it.* This able prince, moreover, brought about a federal union with the thirty Latin towns in which the supremacy was accorded to Rome; and, as was usual in such cases, a common temple was built to Diána (the moon-goddess) on the Aventine. The Sabines also joined in the worship at this temple. Among the cattle of a Sabine husbandman was an ox of prodigious size, and the soothsayers declared that the supreme power would be with that people, by one of whom this ox was sacrificed to Diána of the Aventine. The Sabine drove his beast to the temple on a proper day, and was preparing to sacrifice, when the Roman priest, who had heard the response, cried out, "What, with unwashed hands! The Tiber runs down below there." The Sabine, anxious to perform the sacrifice duly, went down to the river, and the crafty Roman offered up his beast while he was away. The huge horns were nailed up in the vestibule, where they remained the wonder of succeeding ages.

Warned by the fate of his predecessor, Servius endeavored to disarm the resentment of those who might fancy they had a claim to the throne. The late monarch had left two sons,† Lucius and Aruns, and Servius gave these youths

* This constitution will be developed in Chapter. V.

† Those who saw the difficulty in the poetic narrative said grand sons.

his two daughters in marriage. But the youths were different in temper, one being mild and gentle, the other proud and violent; the king's daughters likewise were of opposite dispositions, and chance or the king's will had joined those whose tempers differed. The haughty Tullia soon despised her gentle mate Aruns, and placed her love on the haughty Lucius. An adulterous intercourse succeeded, which was speedily followed by the sudden deaths of those who stood in the way of their legal union, to which a reluctant consent was extorted from the king, now far advanced in years.

Urged on by his unprincipled wife, Tarquinius now openly aspired to the kingdom. A large portion of the Patricians, offended at the wise and beneficent laws of the king, readily entered into a conspiracy against him, and Tarquinius, in reliance on their support, at length ventured one day to enter the market surrounded by armed men, and placing himself on the royal seat in the senate-house, ordered the herald to call the senate to King Tarquinius. The senators came, some through fear, others already prepared for the event; and he addressed them, setting forth his claims to the throne. Just then Servius arrived, and demanded why he had dared to take his seat; the rebel made an insolent reply; a shout was set up by their respective partisans. Tarquinius, seeing that he must now dare the utmost or fail, seized the aged king by the waist and flung him down the stone steps. He then returned into the senate-house; the king, whose adherents had fled; rose sorely bruised, and slowly moved toward home; but at the foot of the Esquiline (on which he resided) he was overtaken and slain by those sent after him by the usurper.

Tullia, regardless of female *décorum*, drove in her chariot to the senate-house, called her husband out, and was the first to salute him king. He prayed her to return home; as she drove, she came to where the corpse of her father was lying; the mules started, the driver paused in horror and looked his mistress in the face. "Why do you stop?" cried she. "See you not the body of your father?" replied the man; she flung the footstool at his head, he lashed on the mules, and the wheels passed over the monarch's body, whose blood spirted over the garments of the parricide. Ever after the street was named the Wicked, (*Vicus Sceleratus*.) When, some time afterwards, Tullia ventured to enter the temple of Fortune, the statue of her father was

seen to place its hands before its eyes, and cry, "Hide my face! that I may not behold my impious daughter." *

Thus, after a reign of forty-four years, perished this best of kings, and with him all just and moderate government at Rome.

L. Tarquinius, named the Proud, (*Superbus*), resolved to rule by terror the empire he had acquired by crime. He deprived the people of all the privileges conferred on them by Servius; he put to death or banished such of the senators as he feared or disliked, and like the Greek *tyrants*, surrounded himself with a body-guard of mercenaries. He rarely called together the diminished senate. To strengthen himself by external alliances, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, the leading man among the Latins.

As the head of the Latin nation, Tarquinius summoned a congress to the grove of Ferentina (the usual place of meeting) to deliberate on matters of common weal. The deputies met at dawn, and waited all the day in vain for the appearance of the Roman monarch. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, one of them, then loudly inveighed against the insolence and pride which this conduct denoted, and advised them to separate and return to their homes. In the evening, however, Tarquinius arrived, and excused his delay under the pretext of his having had to make up a quarrel between a father and a son. Turnus treated this as a flimsy excuse, and the council was put off till the next day. During the night Tarquinius, who was resolved to destroy Turnus, had his slave bribed to convey a great number of swords secretly into his lodging, and a little before day he summoned a meeting of the deputies. His delay the preceding day he declared had been most providential, for he had since discovered that Turnus had planned to kill both him and them, and thus become the ruler of Latium. He had, he understood, collected arms for that purpose, and he now prayed them to come and try if the intelligence was true. Their knowledge of Turnus' character induced them to give credit to the charge; they awoke him from his sleep, the house was searched, the arms were found, Turnus was laid in chains and brought before the council; the swords were produced, he was condemned untried, taken to the fount of Ferentina, cast in, a hurdle placed over him laden with stones, and

* Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 613.

tnus drowned. The league with Latium was then solemnly renewed, and Tarquinius declared head of the confederacy, which was also joined by the Hernicans; and a common festival, to be annually held at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, was instituted.

The arms of the confederates were soon turned against their neighbors, and Suessa Pometia, a flourishing town of the Volscians, was the first object of attack. The town was taken by storm, the inhabitants sold, the tithe of the booty reserved for building the temple of Jupiter, and the remainder distributed among the soldiers.

The city of Gabii, which lay about twelve miles from Rome, relying on the strength of its walls, would not be included in the treaty of federation with Rome. It gave an asylum to the Roman exiles, and for some years the Romans and Gabines carried on a harassing warfare, wasting and plundering each other's lands. At length, treachery effected what force could not achieve. Sextus, the youngest son of the tyrant, in concert with his father, fled to Gabii to seek a refuge, as he alleged, from his father's cruelty, which menaced his life. The simple Gabines believed the lying tale; they pitied and received him. Soon they admitted him to their councils; at his impulsion they renewed the war, which had languished; Sextus got a command; fortune every where favored him; he was at length made general; the soldiers adored the chief who always led them to victory, and his authority in Gabii finally equalled that of Tarquinius at Rome. He now sent a trusty messenger to his father to ask him how he should act. Tarquinius received the messenger in his garden, and as he walked up and down he struck off the heads of the poppies with his staff, but made no reply. The messenger returned and told of the strange behavior of the king, but Sextus knew what it meant; he accused some of the leading men to the people, others he caused to be assassinated, others he drove into exile; in fine, he deprived the Gabines of all their men of talent and wealth, and then delivered up the city, void of defence, to his father.

Tarquinius now turned all his thoughts to the completion of the temple on the Saturnian hill. As, since the time of Tatius, it had been covered with the altars and chapels of various deities, it was requisite to obtain the consent of each for their removal by augury. All, save Terminus and Youth, readily gave it, whence it was inferred that Rome would

flourish in perpetual youth, and her boundaries never recede. The fresh-bleeding head (*caput*) of a man was also found as they were digging the foundation; whence the temple, and from it the hill, was named the Capitolium,* and it was announced that Rome would be the head of Italy. Artists came from Etruria, task-work was imposed on the people, and at length the united fanes of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, crowned the summit of the Capitolium.

One day a strange woman appeared before the king with nine books, which she offered to sell for 300 pieces of gold. Tarquinius declined the purchase; she went away, burned three of them, came back and demanded the same price for the remainder. She was laughed at; she burned three more, and still her price was the same. The king, suspecting some mystery, consulted the augurs, who blamed him for not having purchased the whole, and advised him to hesitate no longer. He paid the money, the woman delivered the books and vanished. These books, which contained Sibylline oracles,† were placed in a stone chest in an underground cell in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, under the custody of two men of noble birth, and were directed to be consulted in emergencies of the state.

But prodigies sent by Heaven soon came to disturb the tyrant's repose. While a sacrifice was being offered one day in the palace, a serpent came out of the altar, put out the fire and seized the flesh that was on it.‡ Tarquinius, appalled at such an event, sent his two eldest sons, Titus and Aruns, to Greece to consult the Delphic oracle, then so renowned. The royal youths were accompanied by their cousin L. Junius, surnamed Brutus, (*Fool*;) for when the tyrant put the elder brother of the Junii to death for his wealth, Lucius, to save his life, had counterfeited folly; eating, in proof of it, wild figs and honey.§

The Pythia, on hearing the prodigy, replied that the king would fall when a dog spake with a human voice.||

* The Saturnian or Tarpeian hill had, on the end furthest from the river, two summits separated by a hollow. The one was the *Arx* or citadel; the other, being enlarged by *substructions* or walls built round it and filled up within, so as to give an area of 800 feet in compass, was the site of the temple.

† That is, of the prophetic women, named Sibyls by the Greeks. The Sibylline books of the Romans were in Greek.

‡ *Ov. Fasti*, ii. 71.

§ *Macrobius, Sat.* i. 16.

|| *Zonaras*, ii. 11.

The Tarquinius then asked which of them should reign at Rome. "He who first kisses his mother," was the response. They agreed to keep this a secret from Sextus, and to decide by lot between themselves. But Brutus, who had offered to the god his staff of cornel-wood, which he had secretly filled with gold emblematic of himself, divined the meaning of the oracle; as they came down the hill he pretended to stumble and fall, and as he lay he kissed the earth, the common mother of all.

In the palace garden stood a stately plane-tree in which two eagles had built their nest. One day, in the absence of the parent birds, vultures came, threw the eaglets out of the nest, and drove off the old birds on their return. The king also dreamed that two rams were brought to him at the altar, he chose the finer for sacrifice, the other then cast him down with its horns, and the sun turned back from east to west.* In vain was the tyrant warned to beware of the man who seemed stupid as a sheep; fate would tread its path.

Tarquinius had laid siege to Ardea, a city of the Rutulians built on a steep, insulated hill. As from its situation it could only be reduced by blockade, the Roman army lay in patient inactivity at its foot. The king's sons diverted their leisure by mutual banquets, at one of which, given by Sextus, they and their cousin Collatinus, son of Egerius of Collatia, fell into a dispute respecting the virtues of their wives. Collatinus, who warmly maintained the superiority of his Lucretia, proposed that they should mount their horses and go and take their wives by surprise. Warm with wine, the youths assented; they rode to Rome, which they reached at nightfall, and found the royal ladies revelling at a banquet; they thence sped to Collatia, and, though it was late in the night, Lucretia sat spinning among her maidens. The prize was yielded at once to her, and with cheerfulness and modesty she received and entertained her husband and his cousins.

Unhappy Lucretia! thy simple modesty caused thy ruin. Sextus, inflamed by the sight of such virtue and beauty united, conceived an adulterous passion, and a few days afterwards he came, attended by a single slave, to Collatia. Lucretia entertained him as her husband's kinsman, and a chamber was assigned him for the night. He retired; and

* Attius in Cic. de Div. i. 22.

when all was still he rose, took his drawn sword, and sought the chamber of his hostess. He awoke her, told his love, prayed, besought, then menaced to slay her, and with her his slave, and to declare that he had caught and slain her in the base act of servile adultery. The dread of posthumous disgrace prevailed where that of death could not, and she yielded to his wishes. In the morning Sextus, elate with conquest, returned to the camp. Lucretia rose from the scene of her disgrace, and sent trusty messengers to Ardea and to Rome to summon her husband and her father Lucretius. The latter came, and with him P. Valerius; Collatinus was accompanied by L. Junius Brutus, whom he met by chance on the way. They found her sitting mournful in her chamber; she told the direful tale, she implored them to avenge her, she declared her resolve to die. They sought to console her, urging that she was stainless in thought, and therefore free from guilt; but she drew a concealed knife, and, ere they were aware, she had buried it in her heart. The husband and father gave a loud cry of grief; but Brutus, bursting forth from the cloud of folly which had hitherto enveloped him, drew the reeking weapon from her heart and swore on it eternal enmity to Tarquinius and his race. He handed the knife to the others, and all, amazed at the change, took the same oath. Grief gave place to rage; the body of Lucretia was brought out into the market; Brutus, pointing to her wound, excited the spectators to vengeance; the youth ranged themselves at his side, and leaving a sufficient number to guard the town he hastened at their head to Rome. By virtue of his office as Tribune of the Celeres, he called an assembly of the people; he told his own story; he told the more afflicting tale of Lucretia's fate; he dwelt on the crimes, the cruelty, and the oppression of the tyrant. The multitude took fire; they declared royalty abolished, and Tarquinius and his family exiles. Leaving Lucretius to take charge of the city, Brutus then hastened with a select body of men to the camp at Ardea. Tarquinius meantime, hearing of what had occurred, was on his way to Rome; Brutus avoided meeting him, and was received with acclamations by the troops; the tyrant finding the gates of Rome closed against him, retired with his family to Cære. Sextus went to Gabii, which he esteemed his own; but he was there slain by the relations of some of those whom he had caused to be put to death.

Thus after a duration of twenty-five years, ended the reign of L. Tarquinius, the last king of Rome, in the 244th year from the building of the city. The anniversary of it, under the name of King's-flight (*Regifugium*), was till remote times celebrated on the 24th of February in each year.

A truce was made with Ardea, and the army led back to Rome. An assembly was then held, the city was purified by sacrifices, and the people all swore upon the victims never to readmit the Tarquinii, or to endure a king in Rome. Two annual magistrates, under the name of Consuls, were placed at the head of the state, and the just laws of Servius were restored. Brutus and Collatinus were appointed to be the first consuls.

Tarquinius, meantime, had not resigned all hopes of recovering his power. The exiles of his party were numerous; many in the city were in his favor, and if he could obtain the aid of some powerful state, he yet might enter Rome a conqueror. He therefore applied to the Tarquinians, as his family had originally come from their city. They received him favorably, and ambassadors were sent to Rome to demand his restoration, or at least the property there belonging to himself and his friends. The senate would not listen to the former proposal; but they agreed to give up the movable property. The ambassadors tarried at Rome under the pretext of collecting the property and getting vehicles for its conveyance, but in reality to organize a plot in favor of the tyrant. They had brought letters to that effect from the exiles to their friends and relatives; and a great number of the young nobility, who could ill bear the authority of law and the power given to the people, and who regretted the license of the days of the tyrant, readily entered into a conspiracy to restore him. Among these were the two Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, and the Vitellii, the nephews of Brutus, whose own two sons, Titus and Tiberius, were induced to engage in the foul conspiracy to undo the glorious work of their father.

The ambassadors required from them letters to the tyrant sealed with their signets. They met for this purpose at the house of the Aquilii under pretext of a sacrifice. After the solemn banquet they ordered the slaves to retire, and then with closed doors composed and wrote the letters. But one of the slaves, named Vindicius, suspecting what they were about, remained outside and through a slit in the

door beheld all their proceedings. He sped away and gave information, and all the conspirators were seized in the fact.

Early in the morning the consuls took their seats of justice in public; the conspirators were led before them; Brutus, in right of his paternal authority, condemned his sons to death; the lictors stripped and scourged them according to usage, the consul's features remained unmoved, and he calmly saw the axe descend and deprive his offspring of life. No mercy could be expected for the others; all bled in turn. Liberty, a gift from the treasury, and citizenship were the reward of the loyal slave. The rights of nations were respected in the ambassadors; but the property of the tyrant was given up to pillage to the people. A large field which he possessed outside of the city, by the Tiber, was consecrated to the god Mars. There was on it at this time a ripe crop of spelt, religion forbidding it to be used for food, it was cut and cast into the Tiber. As the river was then low, the corn stopped on the shallows, and from the addition of other floating matter it gradually formed an island before the city.

The jealousy of the people now extended to the whole Tarquinian house, and even Collatinus had to yield to the remonstrances of his colleague and quit Rome. He retired with all his property to Lavinium, where he ended his days. Valerius was chosen consul in his stead, and a decree was passed declaring the whole Tarquinian house exiles.

Tarquinius, convinced that his return could only be effected by force, addressed himself to the Veientes, whom by large promises he induced to arm in his cause. Their troops, united with those of the Tarquinians and the Roman exiles, entered the Roman territory on the Tuscan side of the Tiber; the Romans advanced to meet them, Valerius commanding the foot, Brutus the horse. The enemy's horse was led by Tarquinius' son Aruns, who, recognizing the consul, spurred his horse against him. Brutus did not decline the combat; rage stimulated both; they thought not of defence; the spear of each pierced his rival's shield and body, and both fell dead to the earth. A general engagement, first of the horse, then of the foot, ensued; the Veientes, used to defeat, turned and fled; the Tarquinians routed those opposed to them. Night ended the conflict; neither side owned itself vanquished; but at the dead hour of night

the voice of the wood-god *Silvânus* was heard to cry from the adjacent forest of *Arsia* that the *Tuscans* were beaten, as one more had fallen on their side. At dawn no enemy was to be seen; the *Romans* counted the slain, and found 11,300 *Tuscans*, 11,299 *Romans* on the field. *Valerius* collected the spoil and returned in triumph to *Rome*. Next day the obsequies of *Brutus* were performed; the matrons of *Rome* mourned a year, as for a parent, for the avenger of violated chastity. In after-times his statue of bronze, bearing a drawn sword, stood on the *Capitol* in the midst of those of the seven kings.*

Valerius delayed the election of a successor to *Brutus*; he was moreover building himself a house of stone on the summit of the *Velia*,† above the *Forum*, and a suspicion arose that he was aiming at the kingly power. When he heard of this, he stopped the building; the people then gave him a piece of ground at the foot of the hill to build on, and the privilege of having his doors to open back into the street. The honor of precedence at the public games was accorded to him and his posterity, as also was that of burying their dead within the walls. These honors were the reward of the public spirit of *Valerius*. His object in delaying the election had been that he should not be impeded by a colleague in the good measures he proposed. He convoked the *curies*,‡ before whom he lowered his *fascēs* in acknowledgment that the consular power proceeded from them,§ and proposed a law, outlawing any person who should usurp the regal power. He assembled the *centuries*,|| and had the right of appeal from the *consuls*,¶ which the patricians had to their peers in the *curies*, extended to the plebeians in their tribes, and, as an evidence of this right, directed that no axes should be borne in the *fascēs* within the city. He then held the consular election; *Sp. Lucretius* was chosen,

* *Plutarch*, *Brutus* 1. See also *Dion Cassius*, xliiii. 45. *Ovid*, *Fasti* vi 624.

† The *Velia* was a ridge running from the *Palatine* to the *Esquiline*.

‡ “*Vocato ad conciliūm populo*,” *Liv.* ii. 7. For the meaning of *populus*, see below, *Cl.* v.

§ Hence he was named *Poplicola*, i. e. *Publicus*. “The right understanding of the word *populus* dissipates the fancy that *Poplicola* was the designation of a demagogue like *Pericles*, who courted the favor of the multitude.” *Niebuhr*, i. p. 521.

|| *Cicero de Rep.* ii. 31.

¶ The right of appeal for both only extended to a mile from the city; the unlimited *imperium* began there

but he dying shortly after, M. Horatius was elected. As the temple of Jupiter was now finished, the lot was to decide which consul should dedicate it: fortune favored Horatius. Valerius went to war against the Veientes, but his kinsmen, vexed that such an honor should fall to Horatius, sought to impede the ceremony. He had laid hold of the door-post, according to usage, and was pronouncing the prayer, when one came crying, "Thy son is dead, thou canst not dedicate it;" one word of lamentation had broken the ceremony. "Let the corpse be brought forth," replied he calmly, and concluded the prayer and the dedication.

The banished tyrant now applied to Lars Porsenna, lord of Clusium, the most powerful prince of Etruria. The Tuscan, fired at the idea of extending his sway beyond the Tiber, set his troops in motion. He suddenly appeared at the Janiculan; those who guarded it fled over the Sublician bridge into the city; the Tuscans pursued; they reached the bridge; but Horatius Cocles, who had the charge of guarding it, and two other heroes, Sp. Larcus and T. Herminius, there met and withstood them. At the command of Horatius those behind broke down the bridge; he forced his two brave mates to retire, the Tuscans raised a shout and sent a shower of darts, which he received on his shield; they rushed on to force the passage, a loud crash and a shout behind told that the bridge was broken; Horatius, calling on Father Tiber to receive his soldier, plunged into the stream, armed as he was; in vain the Tuscans showered their darts; he reached the further side in safety. Though suffering at the time from famine, the citizens gave him each a portion of his corn, and the republic afterwards bestowed on him as much land as he could plough round in a day, and erected his statue in the Comitium.

Porsenna encamped along the Tiber; the famine pressed heavily at Rome: then a noble youth, named C. Mucius, conceived the thought of delivering his country. He went to the senate, and craved permission to pass over to the Tuscan camp. Leave was granted; he concealed a dagger beneath his garments, and crossed the Tiber. He entered a crowd collected around the king, who was issuing pay to his troops: at the side of Porsenna, habited nearly as the king, sat his secretary busily engaged. Mucius, fearing to inquire which was Porsenna, struck his weapon into the secretary, whom he took for the king. He turned, and tried to force his way through the throng: but he was seized

and dragged before Porsenna's judgment-seat. He told his name and country boldly, adding, that many noble youths were prepared to act as he had done. Porsenna, terrified, threatened to burn him alive if he did not make an ample confession. There was a fire on an altar close by; Mucius thrust his right hand into it, and held it there with an unmoved countenance. The king in amaze leaped from his seat, had him removed from the altar, and gave him his life and liberty. Mucius then told him that he was one of three hundred youths who had sworn his death; the lot had first fallen on him, but that each would take his turn. He returned to Rome, and he was afterwards rewarded by a grant of land, similar to that of Horatius Cocles. He and his posterity bore the name of Scævola, (*Left-handed*), to commemorate his daring deed.

Ambassadors from Porsenna came soon after to propose a peace. The interests of Tarquinius were neglected by his ally, who only required that the Romans should give the Veientes back their lands. These terms were accepted, and ten patrician youths, and as many maidens, were sent as hostages into the Tuscan camp. But Clælia, one of the maidens, urged her companions to attempt escape; and she and they, eluding their guards, plunged into the Tiber and swam across. Porsenna sent to demand their restoration; the senate sent them back, and the admiring monarch gave Clælia leave to select such of the hostages of the other sex as she wished, and presented her with a horse and trappings; and the Romans afterwards raised an equestrian statue in her honor. When Porsenna was departing, he presented the Romans with his well-stored camp on the Janiculan. The senate in return sent him an ivory throne, a sceptre and crown of gold, and a triumphal robe, such as their kings were wont to wear.

Some time after Porsenna sent his son Aruns with an army against Aricia, one of the chief towns of Latium. The Aricines were aided by the other Latins and by the Greeks of Cumæ in Campania: the Tuscans were defeated, and their general slain. The fugitives met with such kind treatment at Rome, that many of them remained there, and built the Tuscan Street, (*Vicus Tuscus*;) and Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, gave back the hostages and the lands beyond the Tiber.

Tarquinius had finally taken refuge with his son-in-law at Tusculum, and he at length succeeded in inducing the Latin

federation to arm in his cause. As the two nations had long been closely connected, a year's truce was agreed on to arrange all private affairs; and permission was given to the women of each people, who had married into the other, to return to their friends. All the Roman women came to Rome, and but two of the Latins departed from it.

The shores of the Lake Regillus, in the lands of Tusculum, witnessed the last effort in the cause of the Tarquini. The Romans were commanded by the dictator, A. Postumius, and the master of the horse,* T. Aebutius; the Latins were led by Octavius Mamilius. King Tarquinius, regardless of his advanced age, headed the Roman exiles; and as soon as he beheld the dictator, he spurred his horse against him, but a wound in the side from the spear of Postumius forced him to retire. On the other wing, Aebutius ran against Mamilius; the former had an arm broken; the Latin was struck in the breast, but, uninjured by the blow, he brought up the corps of exiles, and the Romans began to give way. M. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, ran at the younger Tarquinius; the prince drew back, Valerius, rushed among the exiles, and fell pierced by a spear; the two sons of Poplicola perished in the attempt to recover his body. The dictator now falls on the exiles, and routs them; Mamilius brings troops to their aid; he is met and slain by T. Herminius, who himself receives a mortal wound as he is stripping the body of the slain. The dictator flies to the horse, and implores them to dismount and restore the battle; they obey; fired by their example, the foot charge once more; the Latins turn and fly; the Roman horse remount and pursue, and the Latin camp is taken. During the battle, the dictator vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux. Two youths of great size were seen mounted on white horses in the van of the fight, and ere the pursuit was over, they appeared at Rome, covered with blood and dirt, washed themselves and their arms at the fount of Juturna, by the temple of Vesta, and having announced the victory, disappeared. After-ages beheld on a basaltic rock, by the Lake Regillus, the print of a horse's hoof. †

Tarquinius fled to Cumæ, whose tyrant Aristodæmus gave him a friendly reception. He died in that town; and with him expired all hopes of reëstablishing royalty at Rome.

* These offices will be explained in the sequel.

† Cicero de Nat. Deor. iii. 5.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REGAL PERIOD OF ROME, ACCORDING TO THE VIEWS OF NIEBUHR.

SUCH are the earlier events of the history of Rome, as they were sung in the poetic Annals of Ennius, and related by Fabius Pictor, the father of Roman history: That they are mythic and semimythic must be at once discerned by every one who is acquainted with the character of early home-sprung history; but we are not thereby entitled to view them with contempt, and fling them away as useless. They have been closely interwoven into the institutions and literature of the state, and therefore must be known; and it is only by means of them that the real history can be divined; nor should the delight which they afford the imagination, and the exercise which they furnish for the powers of the mind in general be overlooked. We therefore make no apology for having lingered among them.

Nearly a century ago, this character of the early Roman history was discerned by Beaufort, who, however, carried his scepticism somewhat too far. The fullest and most satisfactory examination of it was reserved for our own days; and the learning, the labors, and the sagacity of Niebuhr have altered the whole face of the early Roman story: We will now briefly give his views of the portion of the history above narrated.*

The war of Troy is so completely mythic, that we cannot with safety regard any portion of it as strictly historical. The voyage of Ænéas to Latium is therefore entitled to little more credit than the tale of his divine birth; yet, in the opinion of Niebuhr, it is no Grecian invention, but a domestic Roman tradition. It is, he thinks, indebted for its origin to the circumstance of the original population of both Troy and Latium being Pelasgian. As the religion of the whole of this race was the same, and the sacred isle of Samothrace a place of common pilgrimage, those who met there, such, for example, as the Lavinians of Latium and the Gergethians of Mount Ida, may have easily accounted

* In the text of this and the next chapter we confine ourselves to Niebuhr's views. Our own remarks and those of others will be placed in the notes.

for their similarity of faith and institutions, by supposing the more distant ones to be colonies from Asia; and the destruction of Troy and dispersion of its inhabitants offered a ready derivation of the colonies. It was, then, no difficult matter to make an ignorant people, like the early Romans, believe in an origin thus calculated to do them honor.

The succession of Alban kings* from Iulus to Numitor is a pure fiction, intended to fill up the space which the Greek chronology gave between the fall of Troy and the building of Rome. Alba stood at the head of thirty towns, (*Populi Albenses*,) and was in union with the confederation of the thirty Latin towns. She had the supremacy, and all shared in the flesh of a victim, annually slain on the Alban mount. Lavinium was founded by settlers sent from the thirty Alban and thirty Latin towns, (ten from each,) and, like the Panionion, it was so named as being the seat of congress of the Latins, who were also called Lavines.†

The Siculans, Tyrrhenians, Aborigines, or however the early Pelasgian inhabitants of Latium may have been named, dwelt in villages on eminences which might be easily defended. Thus beyond the Tiber there was Vaticanum, or Vatica,‡ and another, whose name is unknown, stood on the summit of the Janiculum. On the Palatine was a town named Roma, and on the Cælian another, which we have reason to think was named Lucer or Lucerum; and further down the river § probably another called Remuria; while on the Quirinal and Tarpeian above Roma, being separated by a swamp and marsh from the Palatine, was another town named Quirium. This last belonged to the Sabines, who had extended themselves thus far along the Tiber. Roma was probably one of the towns that acknowledged the supremacy of Alba, and warfare of course was frequent between it and Quirium, and the former would appear to

* The names of these kings in Livy are, Silvius, Enchas, Latinus, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus, Aventinus, Procas, Numitor, and Amulius. The lists in Dionysius and Ovid (*Met.* xiv. 609: *Fæsti*, iv. 41) differ slightly from this.

† Turrus, Latinus, and Lavinia are nothing but personifications of Tyrrhenians, Latins, and Lavines.

‡ For there was an *ager Vaticanus*, and, as numerous examples show, this infers a town.

§ Net on the Aventine, or then Roma could have had no territory

have at length become subject to the latter. The tale of the rape of the Sabine maidens,* and the consequent war, may represent how at one time there had been no right of intermarriage (*connubium*) between the two towns, and how the subject one, by force of arms, raised itself to an equality in civil rights, and even acquired the preponderance. When the two were united, they built the double Janus on the road leading from the Quirinal to the Palatine, with a door facing each. It was open in time of war for mutual succor, shut in time of peace to prevent quarrels, or in proof of the towns being distinct, though united.

For some time each town had its own king, senate, and popular assembly, and they used to meet on occasions of common interest on the *Comitium*, in the valley between the two towns. At length, as the two peoples coalesced more and more, and the danger from Etruria or Alba became more pressing, they agreed to have but one senate, one assembly, and one king, to be chosen alternately by one people out of the other. On all solemn occasions the two combined peoples were now styled *Populus Romanus et Quirites*.†

In early antiquity, almost every state was divided into tribes, resulting from conquest or from difference of origin. We might therefore expect to find this the case in the present instance; and accordingly we learn that the Romans formed a tribe named Ramnes, and the Sabines one named Titienses. But we meet a third, the Luceres, whose origin it is much more difficult to ascertain. Another form of the name, however, Lucertes, leads to the supposition of their being the inhabitants of a town named Lucer or Lucerum, which is to be sought on the Cælian, which belonged to Roma in the time of Romulus, that is, before its union with Quirium; for it was here that Tullus Hostilius placed the Albans, and a branch of the Roman people is

* In the more ancient form of the legend there are but thirty maidens, who are, therefore, nothing but personifications of the names of the Curies.

† Or, after the old Roman manner, *Populus Romanus Quirites*, which was afterwards corrupted to *Populus Romanus Quiritium*; see above, p. 4. The fixedness of the Roman character showed itself even in the retention of old names and forms; a name was never let go out of use so long as an object to apply it to could be found. Thus, when the distinction between the two original component parts of the Roman people had ceased, the term *Quirites* was retained, and applied to the Plebs!

assigned to Tullus, as the Rainnes and Titienses are to Romulus and Numa, and the Plebs to Ancus, and none remains for him but the Luceres. These were of Latin origin, and were subject to the Romans. They long continued inferior to the other two, and were not admitted to the deliberations on the Comitium.

The whole legend of Romulus and Remus is purely mythic. When Rome became a state of some importance, its people naturally looked back and sought to trace its origin. It is probable that at this time they had some knowledge of Grecian literature; and as the Greeks had adopted the practice of deriving the names in their topography from those of supposed kings and princes, the Romans inferred that their city must have been founded by a Romus or Romulus.* If, as is above hinted, there was a town named Remuria in the neighborhood, whose people were of the same race as themselves, and had been sometimes at peace, sometimes at war with them, and had finally been overcome, they might have inferred that Remus, its founder, had been the twin-brother of Romulus, and was slain by him in a fit of anger. The notion of their city having been founded by twins would gather strength from the circumstance of their state having all along developed itself in a double form. That the legend grew up on the spot is proved by the wolf's den, the Ruminal fig-tree, and the other local circumstances. Gradually, as is always the case, the story received various additions, and the legends of other countries were perhaps transferred to it, and it thus assumed the form in which it has been transmitted to us.†

* One acquainted with mythology will not be easily led to believe that, in remote antiquity, countries and towns were named from persons. The Greek logographers gave vogue to this notion, of which no trace appears in Homer or Hesiod; but the first town really named after a man was Philippi, after Philip of Macedonia. (See History of Greece, p. 381.)

† The tale of the exposure of the twins, and their preservation, reminds us at once of the legend of Cyrus, and of those of Asclepius, Paris, and others in Grecian mythology. It more closely resembles the Iberian legend of Habis, (Justin, xlv.) which last is extremely similar to that of Orson in the romance. It is remarkable that many names in the early Roman legends seem to be of Greek origin. Thus we have Eyander, (*Good-man*.) Cacus, (*Bad*.) Amulius, (*Cunning*, ἀμύλιος.) Numitor and Numa, (*Lairful*, νύμιος.) It does not, however, hence follow that the legendary history of Rome was the invention of the Greeks; the Romans themselves may have had a fondness, even in the early ages, for using Greek names.

Numa, like Romulus, is an ideal personage, the symbol of the early religious institutions of the state. As these were chiefly Sabine, he was made to be of that nation, but in the original legend he must have been a native of Quirium, not of Cures.

The purely mythic portion of Roman story terminates with Numa. The dawn of reality begins to glimmer with the reign of Tullus Hostilius. That Alba was destroyed, and that a portion of its population migrated to Rome, are historic facts; but the probability is, that the Romans and Latins in conjunction took Alba and divided its territory and people; for it was the Italian law of nations that the lands of the vanquished became the property of the conqueror, and we find the territory about Alba belonging to the Latins, not to the Romans. Or Alba may have been destroyed by the Latins alone, and its people have sought refuge at Rome.

The reign of Ancus offers none of the features of poetry; the events which it contains are all historical, though they may not all belong to that time.

With Tarquinius Priscus the poetic history reappears. The Corinthian, and even the Etruscan, origin of this prince is apparently mere fiction; while his surname of Priscus, Caia Cæcilia the name of his wife in an old legend, and the fact of there being a Tarquinian house at Rome, testify strongly for his Alban, that is, Latin origin. For, as has been shown above,* the Priscans were a people united with the Latins, like the Quirites with the Romans; and as the names Auruncus, Siculus, and others, affixed to those of persons in the early ages of Rome, denote from what people they sprang, that of Priscus could only have been attached to a person of Priscan origin.† Moreover as the Servilii, with whom Priscus was a surname, were one of the Alban houses on the Cælian, and therefore belonged to the Luceres, it seems to follow that the Tarquinii also belonged to this tribe, and of this sufficient proofs appear. Caia Cæcilia's name, for instance, refers us to Præneste, said to have been built by Cæculus the Eponymus, or heroic scunder of her house. If, moreover, Tarquinius was of Alban

* See p. 4.

† To us it appears more probable that *Priscus* and *Superbus* were first used in after-times, and after the former had gotten the signification of *old*, to distinguish the Tarquinii. If Priscus was a *cognomen* it would have adhered to the family.

extraction, the worship of the Greek gods at the Roman games, said to have been introduced by him, and so inexplicable on the theory of his being an Etruscan, becomes easy of solution; for the Albans, though mixed with Priscans, were mainly Tyrrhenians, and the religion of Rome had been hitherto chiefly Sabine.

The poetic legend of Servius Tullius is utterly at variance with the following passage in a speech of the Emperor Claudius, who was well acquainted with Etruscan literature.* "According to our annals," says he, "Servius Tullius was the son of the captive Ocrisia; if we follow the Tuscans, he was the faithful follower of Cæles Vivenna, and shared in all his fortunes. At last, being overpowered through a variety of disasters, he quitted Etruria with the remains of the army that had served under Cæles, went to Rome, and occupied the Cælian hill, calling it so after his former commander. He exchanged his Tuscan name Mastarna for a Roman one, obtained the kingly power, and wielded it to the great good of the state." Still the truth of this statement is not to be at once acquiesced in. Claudius was a man of no judgment; Etruscan annals continued to be written down at least to the time of Sulla, when Etruria lost her independence; each annalist, without having any new sources of knowledge, expanded and enlarged the accounts of his predecessors; there may have been an old tale of a chief named Mastarna retiring to and settling at Rome, and some annalist may have chosen to assert that he was Servius Tullius. It moreover does not follow that this account gained general credence even in Etruria. It is to be remarked, that among the Luceres there was a house of the Tullii, which would seem to make Servius, like Tarquinius, one of them.†

"The legends of Tarquinius and Servius, however," says Niebuhr, "clearly imply that there was a time when Rome received Tuscan institutions from a prince of Etruria, and was the great and splendid capital of a powerful Etruscan

* It was on two brazen tables, found at Lyons in the 16th century.

† There is something very strange in a leader of mercenary troops, like the Charidæmuses of Greece, the Sforzas and Braccios of modern Italy, being the author of a wise and beneficent system of legislation, such as that of Servius Tullius. Is there any other instance of the total rejection of a foreign, and the assumption of a Roman name, in the early ages? The change of Attus Clausus to Appius Claudius, even if real, is of quite a different kind.

state." Perhaps Veii, or one of the adjoining Tuscan states, conquered Rome; perhaps Cæles or Mastarna, or some other Tuscan leader, got the government into his hands; * possibly it may have been the transient dominion of Porsenna, presently to be noticed.†

The tragic fate of Servius and the crimes of Tullia are, perhaps, purely imaginary events; this much, however, is certain that the noble system of legislation which bears his name was rendered abortive by a counter-revolution; whether it was attended with bloodshed and atrocities or not, is a matter of little importance.

The whole poetic tale of the last Tarquinius is full of inconsistencies and contradictions. Thus Brutus, we are told, was of the same age with the king's sons, and was regarded as an idiot. We may therefore suppose him not to have been more than five-and-twenty at the time of the revolution, yet he had grown-up sons at that time, and though a natural, was invested with one of the highest offices in the state, the tribunate of the Celeres, and could therefore convene assemblies and exercise sacerdotal functions! His name probably gave occasion to the tale of his idiotcy, which tale knew nothing of his office, and the annalists, as usual, heedlessly combined the two accounts.

The narrative of the taking of Gabii is evidently made up from two stories in Herodotus,‡ and is quite irrecon-

* Sforza, from a leader of mercenaries, became duke of Milan by marrying the daughter of the last of the Visconti.

† Niebuhr is certainly perplexed about the Tuscan dominion at Rome, especially as he rejects the Tuscan origin of the Tarquinii. Muller (i. 118—123) thinks that at a time when the city of Tarquinii had extended her supremacy over all Etruria, she also ruled over Rome and a part of Latium. Hence he explains the walls, sewers, Capitoline temple, built on the Tuscan scale of magnitude, and the Grecian games, &c., for Tarquinii was intimately connected with Corinth. Mastarna, at the head of an army from Volsinii, the enemy of Tarquinii, conquered Rome, and gave it a new constitution; but his government was overthrown by the Tarquinians, and finally Lars Porsenna of Clusium put an end to the dominion of Tarquinii, conquering Rome among other places belonging to her. This writer, therefore, supposes the Tuscan dominion at Rome to have lasted a century. After all, we may ask, is there any absolute necessity for supposing it at all?

‡ That of Zopyrus, (iii. 154,) and the counsel given to Periander by Thrasylbus, (v. 92.) A Spanish abbot gave the same counsel to Ramirez king of Arragon, (Mariana, x. 16,) and Pope John VIII. gave it to Charlen the Bald, of France, and Theodoric, count of Holland. (Scriverius *Batavia Vetus*.) The pope and abbot had no doubt read Livy.

cilable with the fact of the treaty with that town which existed even in the time of Augustus, written on a bull's-hide stretched on a shield. In like manner, the war with Ardea must be a baseless fiction; for, as will appear, it was at the time of the expulsion a Latin town subject to Rome. The tale of Lucretia may or may not be a fiction; but the oath of the four Romans is plainly symbolical of the union between the three Patrician tribes and the Plebs against the tyrant; Lucretius being a Ramnes, Valerius a Titensis, Collatinus a Lucer, and Brutus a Plebeian.* The consulate of Collatinus, a Tarquinius, looks like a compromise with the powerful house to which he belonged, allowing that one of them, to be chosen by the people, should share in the supreme power: but the whole house was banished shortly afterwards.†

Of the war with Porsenna, not a single incident can be regarded as a portion of real history, Porsenna himself was a mythic hero of Etruria, probably belonging to the ante-historic times, possibly connected in the Roman tradition with the war in which Rome fell before the Tuscan arms. For Rome actually had to surrender to a Tuscan power, to give back all the lands beyond the Tiber, and her citizens were prohibited the use of iron except for agricultural purposes.‡ But when the Tuscans were defeated before Aricia, the Romans rose and recovered their independence, but not the ceded lands. Then it may have been that property belonging to the Tuscan lord in the city was sold by auction, which may have given rise to the symbolic custom of selling the goods of King Porsenna.

The battle of the Regillus is thoroughly Homeric, with its single combats of heroes, and gods sharing openly in it. It closes the *Lay of the Tarquins*; § the whole generation who had been warring with each other since the crime of Sextus || perish in it; "the manes of Lucretia are appeased, and the men of the heroic age depart out of the world, be-

* The Junii were always a plebeian house. Niebuhr (iii. 41, German) would seem to have regarded Brutus as the tribune of the plebeian knights.

† The story of the slave Vindicius is a fiction, to give a historical origin to the custom of emancipating slaves by the *Vindicta*.

‡ Tacitus; Hist. iii. 72. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 39.

§ So Niebuhr names it after the *Nibelungen Lied*, i. e. Lay of the Nibelungs, a celebrated German poem.

|| According to one account Sextus was killed in this battle.

fore injustice begins to domineer, and gives birth to insurrection in the state which they had delivered."

CHAPTER V.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION ACCORDING TO NIEBUHR.

In the preceding chapter we have given a sketch of Niebuhr's views of the history of Rome in the regal period. We now proceed to give some of his ideas on the origin and development of the constitution during the same time.

No institution in ancient times was more general than that of the division of a people into tribes.* These were either genealogical or local; the former were the more ancient kind, and mostly arose from a difference of origin antecedent to their political union. These tribes were divided into a certain number of Houses, (*Gentes*;) each of which again was composed of a greater or lesser number of Families, (*Familie*.) The territory of the state was divided among the tribes, and thus the genealogic tribes must have been local ones also at the time of their formation: but this local position was not their bond of union.

To apply this principle to Rome. When Roma and Quirium united, their inhabitants, under the name of Rămnes and Titienses, formed two tribes, equal in all respects, save that the former had the precedence in rank; the third tribe (for there must have been three)† was the Luceres, who, as previously subordinate to the Romans, were not yet placed on an equality with the former two. This inferiority of the Luceres is proved by the circumstance of the original number of the Vestals, the Pontiffs, the Flamens, and the Augurs

* For both Sparta and Athens see History of Greece, Part I. c. v. and vii.

† The word *tribus*, equivalent to the Greek *phyle*, evidently comes from *tres*, and, like the Attic *τριτὸς*, indicated the original number of the tribes of Rome. In like manner *century* originally indicated 100 (*centum*) houses or individuals. They both became in the course of time mere terms of division, and we read of 20, 21, 30, 35 tribes, and centuries of even 30 persons.

being four, two for each of the superior tribes, and by other similar divisions in the state. Hence the members of the first two tribes were called those of the Greater Houses, (*Majorum Gentium*),—those of the latter, of the Lesser Houses, (*Minorum Gentium*).*

Each tribe was divided into ten Curies, (*Curia*), and each Cury contained ten Houses, (*Gentes*.) Each tribe was presided over by its Tribune (*Tribunus*) who was its leader in the field, its priest and magistrate at home. Each Cury had in like manner its Curion, (*Curio*), whose title in the field was Centurion, as he commanded a hundred (*centum*) men in the original Roman army.

The members of a house, though bearing the same name, are not to be regarded as kinsmen.† Their union was solely a political one; it was kept up by common sacred rites, at stated times and places, to the expense of which all its members contributed. The Gentiles (*i. e.* the members of the house or *gens*) were bound to aid one another in paying fines, ransoms, etc.; and if a man died without kin and intestate, his property went to his Gentiles. These members of the houses of the three tribes formed the burghers or original citizens of Rome. Their common names seems to have been *Celeres*:‡ they were also called *Patres*, *Patrôni* and *Patricians*, from the following cause.

The states of antiquity were extremely jealous of their civic rights, and slow to communicate them to strangers; there moreover was not in them that equal law for the citizen and the stranger, to which *we* are accustomed. When therefore for the sake of trade, or from some other cause, a man wished to settle in a town which was at amity or in a federal relation with his native place, he was obliged to choose some citizen of his new abode as his legal protector and guardian. In Greece a sojourner of this kind was named a *Metœc*, at Rome he was called a *Client*; the *metœc* relation however might be dissolved at will, that of clientship descended to the posterity of the first client. The relative term to *client* was *patron*, with which *Pater*

* The equestrian centuries of Tarquinius, or the *Conscripti* of Brutus, were thought by some to be the Lesser Houses.

† Thus the *Lentuli* and the *Scipiônes* were both of the house of the *Cornelii*, but they were never regarded as kinsmen.

‡ *Celer* seems to be akin to the Greek *κίλης*, a *race-horse* or *riding-horse*. The Roman *Celeres* or *Patricians* answered to the *ἱππεις* or *ἱπποβοῦται* of the Greeks.

(*Father*) and *Patricius* (*homo*) may be regarded as synonymous, and denoting the paternal care which a Roman burgher exercised over his children, servants, and clients.

If the client did not exercise a trade, keep a shop, or so forth, the patron usually granted him on his estate, two *jugers* of arable land, with space to build a cottage on, which he held as tenant at will. The patron was bound to relieve his client when in distress, to expound to him the law, both civil and religious, and to appear for him in courts of justice.* The client on his side was to be obedient to his patron, to aid him in paying fines to the state, and in bearing public burdens, to contribute to ransom him if made a prisoner, and to help to make up the marriage-portion of his daughters. Altogether this relation has a striking similarity to that of *lord* and *vassal* in the feudal times, which in all probability was derived from it.

The Patricians or burghers formed the general assembly or *Populus*.† They met on the place called the *Comitium*, and they voted by *curies*, whence the assembly was named *Comitia Curiata*. The votes taken in the *curies* were those of the houses, not of individuals.

No state in antiquity was without its senate; that of Rome was composed of representatives, one for each of the houses, and consequently contained at first 100, then 200, and finally 300 members. It was divided into *decuries*, corresponding to the number of the *curies*, and therefore gradually increasing in number from ten to twenty. The *Ramnes* had the superiority in the senate also; ten persons, one from each of their *decuries*, were named the *Ten First* (*Decem primi*) of the senate. On the death of a king, these ten formed a board, each member of which enjoyed for five

* Hence lawyers still call those who employ them their *clients*.

† The following passages of Livy prove that the *populus* was distinct from the *plebs*. "A *plebe*, consensu *populi*, consulibus negotium mandatur," iv. 51. "Non *populi* sed *plebis* magistratum," ii. 56. "Prætor is qui *populo plebique* jus dabit summum," xxv. 12. In Cicero's Epistles we meet the following superscriptions, (Ad Divers. x. 8:) PLANCUS IMP. CONS. DES. S. D. COSS. PR. TRIB. PLEB. SEN. POP. PL. Q. R., and (Id. x. 35) LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R. Fabius and Dion Cassius, as appears from Diodorus and Zonaras, used *δῆμος* for *populus*, *πληθός* for *plebs*. See Niebuhr, i. 117, and ii. 168, note. We think that these passages are quite demonstrative on the subject. It is impossible to explain them on the theory of the *populus* being the whole, the *plebs* a part of the people. See also Cic. Muren. i. Verres, v. 14. Ad. Divers. viii. 8. Dion. lii. 20., liii. 21., lv. 34.

days, as *Interrex*, (*Between-king*,) the royal power and dignity. If at the end of fifty days no king was elected, the rotation of *Interrexes* commenced anew.

When the King (*Rex*) was to be elected, the senate agreed among themselves on the person whom the *Interrex* should propose to the curies. If they accepted him, the sanction of the gods was sought by augury, and the signs being favorable, the new king had himself to propose a law for investing him with the full regal power (*imperium*) to the curies who might then if they pleased annul their former decision.* It was probably thought, that in a matter of such importance it was prudent to deliberate twice, or, like the Athenian magistrates, the Roman king may have had to undergo a *Dokimasy*,† or scrutiny.

The regal office at Rome very much resembled that of the heroic ages in Greece, but it differed from it in being elective, not hereditary. The king had the absolute command of the army; he offered the sacrifices for the nation; he convoked the senate and people, and laid laws before them; he could punish by fines and corporal penalties, but an appeal from his sentence lay for the citizens (that is, the patricians,) to the assembly of the curies; his power over sojourners and others not belonging to the houses was unlimited. The king moreover sat every ninth day, and administered justice himself or assigned a judge. He could dispose of the booty and the land acquired in war, and a large portion of the conquered territory belonged to the crown, which was cultivated by the king's clients, and yielded him a large revenue.

Such was the constitution of Rome in the period designated by the first three kings. With *Ancus* the state received a new element, the *Plebes*, or *Plebs*.

In every state regulated on the principle of houses, there naturally grows up a *Demos*, *Plebs*, or commonalty, the members of which are free, under the protection of the law, may acquire real property, make by-laws for themselves, but though bound to serve in war, are excluded from the government.‡ This commonalty is composed of various elements, and in some cases, as at Athens, it acquired

* Cicero de Rep. ii. 13, 17, 18, 20, 21. For the general principle of a double election of magistrates see Cicero, Rullus ii. 11.

† History of Greece, p. 65.

‡ Compare the *Periæciens* of Laconia and the *Demos* of Attica before the time of Solon.

such a preponderance of strength as to draw all political power to itself, and thus convert the state into a democracy. But destiny favored Rome in this respect; for though her Plebs was the most respectable commonalty that ever existed, the Populus always had sufficient strength to balance it, and thus the development of the constitution was gradual and beneficent.*

The Roman Plebs was thus formed. In the period which we have just described, there was probably at Rome some kind of a commonalty, consisting of emancipated clients, and of persons who had not entered into the client-relation, but it was of no account. When, however, on the destruction of Alba, a division of conquests and a new arrangement of territory took place between the Romans and the Latins, the Plebs, which had been already augmented by the inhabitants of those Latin towns which had been conquered before that time, now received a great accession to its body. King Ancus assigned the Aventine for the abode of such of the Latins as chose to remove to Rome, and it became the site of the plebeian city.† The greater part of the Plebs, however, who were mostly land-owners, staid on their lands, away from Rome. It was, moreover, the Italian law of nations, that when a town was taken or surrendered, its territory fell to the conqueror: the Roman kings had always reassigned a part of it to the old possessors, and the Plebs therefore contained all the people, gentle and simple, of such Latin towns as fell to Rome: many of its members might consequently vie with the patricians in nobleness of descent, and equalled them in wealth; though the jealousy of these last would not allow them to intermarry with them, and most legal relations were to the disadvantage of the plebeians.

The Romulian constitution, which we have been describing, received its complete development by the calling up of the Luceres into the senate; but the time when this occurred is uncertain. The great change of this constitution commenced with Tarquinius Priscus in the following manner.

It is the nature of an exclusive aristocracy to diminish with great rapidity, and eventually to die away, if it refuses

* The real cause of this difference was probably that the Romans were an agricultural, the Athenians a trading people.

† The Aventine was not included within the walls of Servius Tullius: the plans of Rome which so represent it are wrong.

to replace the houses which become extinct. Such appears to have been the case with that of Rome at this time; the curies did not on an average contain more than five houses apiece. Tarquinius therefore proposed to form three new tribes of houses out of his own retainers and the plebeians, and to name them from himself and his friends. As this would be making six instead of three tribes, and thus be altering the form of the constitution, the augur Navius was put forward to oppose it, and even Heaven, as we have seen, called to aid. It would appear that a compromise was effected between the king and the patricians, as he in reality did what he proposed, for he doubled the number of the houses, but left that of the tribes untouched; each tribe therefore now consisted of two parts or centuries.

The Plebs, meantime, advanced daily in numbers, wealth, and power by the various accessions which it received. The legislator whom we name Servius Tullius saw the advantage of giving it more organization than it had yet obtained, and he accordingly divided it into local tribes. The number of these tribes was thirty, answering to that of the patrician curies and of the Latin towns; four of them were civic or in the city, the remaining twenty-six were rural; of these, ten lay beyond the Tiber in Etruria. These tribes being local, each had its separate *region*, which bore the same name with itself. Each tribe had its tribune, who was its captain in war, its chief magistrate in peace; he apportioned the tax (*tributum**) which the tribe had to pay among the tribesmen, (*tribules*), regulated their contingent in the army, and inspected the condition of every family. The plebeian tribes when met in assembly elected their tribunes and other magistrates, made laws for their own regulation, imposed rates for common objects, etc.

Rome now consisted of two united but distinct peoples, governed by one prince, with a common public interest, but yet without even the right of intermarriage. These were the *Populus* or burghers, and the *Plebs* or commonalty; equally free, but with the advantage in point of honor on the side of the former.† But the legislator saw danger in

* *Tributum* comes from *tribus*, not the reverse.

† The assemblies (*comitia*) of the *Populus* were held on the *Comitium*, those of the *Plebs* in the *Forum*; the *Rostra*, a long stage from which the magistrates spoke in public, separated these two places, which lay on the same level, and which were, in common use, included under the name *Forum*.

this separation, and he sought to obviate it by an institution in which both should be comprised, and by which birth and wealth should have their due and full influence in the state. This he proposed to effect by arranging the whole population in Classes, subdivided into Centuries. The form in which we must conceive the people in this arrangement is that of an Army, (*Exercitus*,) as it was called, composed of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and its baggage-train, and it met on the Campus Martius without the city.

The three original tribes or centuries of Romulus, with the three of Tarquinius, contained all the patricians without distinction of property: they were named the Six Suffrages, (*Sex Suffragia*.) To these Servius added twelve centuries of plebeian *notables*, or men of superior wealth, a kind of plebeian nobility, whose honors descended to their posterity; these centuries were open; any plebeian might be raised to them. The eighteen centuries, under the name of Knights or Horsemen, (*Equites*,) formed the cavalry of the Roman army. If any member of them was so reduced in circumstances as not to be able to purchase a war-horse for himself, and a slave and horse to attend and follow him to the field, the state assigned him a sum of 10,000 asses for that purpose, and for their maintenance an annual rent-charge of 2000 asses on the estates of single women and orphans, who were thus made to contribute to the defence of the state which gave them protection. If a knight was degraded, as sometimes occurred, his horse was sold to reimburse the state, and his pension was assigned to another.

After the eighteen equestrian Centuries came the infantry, composed entirely of plebeians, arranged in five Classes in the order of their property, and armed in the same proportion, as the following table will show:

Class	Property.	Centuries.	Arms.
I.	100,000 asses and upwards.	40 of old, 40 of young men = 80	{ Helmet. Shield. Corselet. Greaves. Sword. Spear. Helmet. Shield. Greaves. Sword. Spear. Helmet, shield Sword, spear. Spear and dart Slinga.
II.	75,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men = 20	
III.	50,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men = 20	
IV.	25,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men = 20	
V.	12,500 asses and upwards.	15 of old, 15 of young men = 30	
		170	

Those whose property was under 12,500 asses were arranged in centuries out of the classes. Of these centuries there were four, as will thus appear. All in the centuries taken together were divided into *Assiduans* or *Locuplētēs* and *Proletarians*, the former containing all down to those who had 1500 asses, the latter those who had less than that sum. Now the Assiduans below the classes were divided into *Accensi*, or those who had from 7,000 to 12,500 asses, and *Velāti*, who had from 1500 to 7000; and the Proletarians were again divided into Proletarians, or those who had from 375 to 1500 asses, and *Capite Censi*, or those who had less than 375 asses, thus making four in all. The corporations of carpenters, (*fabri*,) trumpeters, (*liticenes*,) and horn-blowers, (*cornicines*,) formed three centuries, of which the first stood and voted with the first class, the last two with the fifth. The entire number of centuries therefore was 195,* viz.

Equestrian	18
Classes	170
Assiduans	2
Proletarians	2
Mechanists	3
	195

When the centuries were assembled on the Field of Mars, their place of meeting, they voted on elections, laws, or any other matters previously prepared in the senate. Their power to reject was absolute, but their assent required to be confirmed by the patricians in their curies. They voted in the following order. The Six Suffrages; the Plebeian equestrian centuries; the first class; and the carpenters; the remaining classes; the two centuries of musicians; the *Accensi*; the *Velāti*; the Proletarians; the *Capite Censi*. If the first three divisions were unanimous, it was needless to call up the remainder; for, as we may see, they formed a majority of 99 to 96 of the whole. Hence the design of the legislator is apparent; he aimed at forming a mingled aristocracy and timocracy,† by placing the political power in the hands of the noble and the wealthy,‡ and to stave off

* This view depends on Niebuhr's (vol. i. p. 444) emendation of a passage in Cicero de Republica.

† The timocracy of Solon (Hist. of Greece, P. I. c. vii.) was quite different from this. It related solely to eligibility to office, this of Servius to elections.

‡ "Curavit, ne plurimum valeant plurimi." (Cicero de Rep. ii. 22)

nine; the number of citizens in the second class was a third of those in the first; that of the third a half, and so on. If then, as there is reason to suppose, the first class contained 6000 citizens, the whole five contained 35,000 — the number of plebeians (exclusive of the knights) possessing property above 12,500 asses.

As we have above observed, the Centuries, when assembled on the Field of Mars, formed an army; the eighteen equestrian centuries were the cavalry; the Classes the infantry; the Proletarians the baggage train; there were also the artillerists (*fabri*) and the musicians. The first class usually sent forty centuries of thirty men each, (one from each tribe,) or 1200 men, to the field; the second and third together gave the same number, as did also the fourth and fifth; making a total of one hundred and twenty centuries, or 3600 men, consisting of three divisions of 1200 men each, one of hoplites or men in full armor, one of men in half armor, and one of light troops. This body, named a Legion,* was drawn up in *phalanx* after the manner of the Greeks, each century composed of the first two divisions being drawn up three in front and ten deep, the men of the first class forming the first five ranks; whence we see why the quantity of armor was diminished as the classes descended, those who stood behind being covered by the bodies and armor of those in front. The light troops, forming what was called a *caterva*, stood apart from the phalanx. The *Accensi* stood apart from both; it was their duty to take the arms and places of the killed or wounded, and as in such cases the man immediately behind stepped into the gap, and he was succeeded by the man behind him, the places of the *Accensi* were always in the rear, where they acted merely mechanically in giving weight and consistency to the mass.

In this system, therefore, men had to encounter danger in exact proportion to the stake they had in the state, and to the political advantages which they enjoyed; for the knights also purchased their precedence by being exposed to greater danger, as they were badly equipped, and riding without stirrups were easily unhorsed and disarmed, and were exposed to the missiles of the enemy's light troops.

* From *lego*, to select. We are not to suppose that one legion formed the whole army. This was only the rule by which the legions were raised.

Another part of this legislation was the establishment of a regular system of taxation by the Census. Every citizen was bound to give an honest return of the number of his family, and of his taxable property. A registry of births was kept in the temple of Lucina, one of deaths in that of Libitina; the country people were registered at the festival of the Paganalia. All changes of abode and transfers of property were to be notified to the proper magistrate. The *tribute* was paid by the Plebs; it was so much a thousand on the property given in at the census, varying according to the exigencies of the state, but unfair, inasmuch as debts were not deducted from the capital, so that a man paid in proportion to his nominal, not his actual property. This property consisted of lands, houses, slaves, cattle, money, and every other object of what was called Quiritary property, or *res mancipii*. None but Assiduans were thus taxed; the Proletarians were exempt from taxes. Sojourners and others, who were not in the Classes or Centuries, paid, under the name of *Ærarians*, such arbitrary sums as the state imposed for licenses to carry on trades, etc. The patricians paid, like the plebeians, for their property of the same kind with theirs, and they yielded the state a tithe of the produce of the public lands, which they held exclusively as tenants.

Though Servius thus gave form and consistency to the revenue, we are not to suppose that most if not all of these taxes did not exist before his time; there were these and port-duties and other charges, from which and the *manubia*, or spoils of war, the kings derived a large revenue, as is proved by the great works which they executed. These works were the Capitoline temple, with its huge substructions, the sewers and the city wall. Of the first we have already spoken: the *Cloaca Maxima*, or great sewer, which still exists, is composed of three vaults within one another, all formed of hewn blocks of the stone named *peperino*, each $7\frac{1}{4}$ Roman palms long, and $4\frac{1}{8}$ thick, put together without cement; the innermost vault is a semicircle eighteen palms in width and as many in height. Other sewers carried the waters of other parts of the city into the *Cloaca Maxima*, which opens into the river by a gate-like arch in a quay; which quay, being of the same style of architecture, is evidently coeval with it. The wall of Servius, from the Coline to the Esquiline gate, a distance of nearly a mile, was the third great work of the kings. This consisted of a

mound of clay, (for there is no stone here,) 50 feet wide and 60 high, faced with a skirting of flag-stones, and flanked with towers. It was formed of the clay raised from a moat or ditch in front of it, 100 feet wide and 30 deep. A similar wall extended from the Colline gate to the western steep of the Quirinal hill.

These works plainly prove, that Rome under her later kings was the capital of a powerful state. The greatness of Rome in her regal period is further shown by a commercial treaty with Carthage, made in the first year of the Republic.* In this treaty Rome stipulates for herself and her subject towns Ardea, Laurentum, Aricia, Antium, Circeii, and Terracina; and she also extends her protecting power to the Latins, who dwelt to the south of this last-named place. This dominion, as we shall presently see, she lost in consequence of her revolution; and nearly two centuries elapsed before she was able to regain it.

* Polybius iii. 22, 26. The consuls named in it are Brutus and Horatius.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

PART II.*

THE REPUBLIC.—CONQUEST OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.—THE DICTATORSHIP.—ROMAN LAW OF DEBT.—DISTRESS CAUSED BY THE LAW OF DEBT.—SECESSION TO THE SACRED MOUNT.—THE TRIBUNATE.—LATIN CONSTITUTION.—TREATY WITH THE LATINIS.—WAR WITH THE VOLSCIANS.—TREATY WITH THE HERNICANS.

IN the preceding Part we have carried the history down beyond the point at which the Regal Period properly speaking terminates; but we wished to give the poetic narrative complete and separate from that which may claim to be regarded as an approximation to the truth. We must now therefore go back to the origin of the Republic.

Be the acts recorded of the last Roman king true or false, there can be little doubt that he was a *tyrant* in the bad sense of the word, and as bad as the worst of those in Greece and her colonies at that period. The patricians who aided him to usurp the throne, in order that they might deprive the plebeians of the rights and liberties secured to them by the constitution of Servius, soon felt that

* Livy, Dionysius, (to the year 312,) and the epitomators Zonaras, Orosius, Eutropius, Florus, and Aurelius Victor, are the consecutive authorities for this Part. There are also Plutarch's lives of Poplicola, Coriclanus, Camillus, and Pyrrhus.

they had only procured for themselves a harsh and cruel master, and they gladly joined with the plebeians to expel him, (A. U. 244.) A return was made to the constitution of Servius. In agreement with the commentaries of that prince, two annual magistrates, at first named Prætors, afterwards Consuls,* possessed of all the regal authority, saving only the sacerdotal functions, were placed at the head of the state; and there is reason to think that at first they were chosen one from each of the orders.† The right of appealing to their peers, (the curies,) which the patricians had always enjoyed, was extended by the Valerian law to the plebeians, who were now empowered to appeal to their tribes. The royal demesne lands were also distributed in small freeholds among a portion of the more needy plebeians. The senate, which had been greatly reduced by the cruelty of the tyrant, was completed to the original number of three hundred out of the plebeian equestrian centuries. These new members were named *Conscripti*, (*Conscripti*), to distinguish them from the *Patres*, or patrician senators.‡

The loss of the lands beyond the Tiber, in consequence of the Tuscan conquest of Rome, greatly crippled the state. Advantage was taken of this by the Volscians and Sabines; but if we credit the annals, the arms of Rome met with uniform success against them. On occasion of a war with the latter people, (250,) a man of rank among them, named Attus Clausus, being menaced with impeachment for having opposed the war, resolved to go over to the Romans. Quitting Regillus, where he abode, he came with his *gentiles* and clients, to the number of five thousand, to Rome, where he took the name of Appius Claudius, and was admitted into the body of the patricians; land beyond the Anio was assigned to his followers, and they formed a tribe named

* Liv. iii. 55. Dion. liii. 13. Zonaras, vii. 19. *Prætor*, i. e. *Prætor*, which the Greeks always rendered *στρατηγός*, evidently referred primarily to military command. *Consul* means merely *colleague*, for, as in *exul*, *præsul*, the syllable *sul* denotes *one who is*. The derivation from *consulo* cannot be received. [The authority of Quintilian must certainly be considered as superior to that of Mr. Keightley on this point. He distinctly says, (Inst. Orat. l. 6,) "Sit enim *Consul* a *consulendo*, vel a *judicando*; nam et hoc *consulere* veteres appellaverunt, unde adhuc remanet illud, — *Rogat, boni consulas*, id est, bonum *judices*." J. T. S.]

† For, as observed above, Brutus was a plebeian.

‡ *Patres Conscripti* is therefore *Patres et Conscripti*. (Liv. ii. 1.) See above, p. 4, note.

the Claudian.* The house of the Claudii is eminent in Roman story; it produced many an able, hardly a great, and not a single noble-minded man. Indomitable pride and opposition to the rights of the people were its characteristic qualities.†

In the year 253 a new magistracy, named the Dictatorship, was instituted. The name, and perhaps the office, is said to have been borrowed from the Latins.‡ The dictator was invested with the full regal authority for the space of six months; he was nominated by the consul or interrex on the direction of the senate, and he received the *imperium* from the curies. He was preceded by twenty-four lictors with axes in the *fascæ*, as no appeal lay from his sentence. The dictator always nominated an officer, named the Master of the Horse, (*Magister Equitum*), who was to him what the tribune of the Celeres had been to the kings.§ T. Larcus is said to have been the first dictator.

The dictatorship was ostensibly instituted against the public enemy, but the oppression of the plebeians was its real object. It was a part of the plan which the patricians had now formed for depriving them of all their rights and advantages, and reducing them to the condition of the Etruscan serfs, and thus, though its authors thought not so, of depriving Rome of all chance of ever becoming great. The plebeians had been already justled out of the consulate: it was proposed to elude by the dictatorship the right of appeal given by the Valerian law, and reestablish the unlimited authority of the chief magistrate even within the city and the mile round it; and finally, by a rigorous enforcement of the law of debt, to reduce them to actual slavery.

At Rome, as in the ancient world in general, the law of

* Niebuhr thinks that as by the peace which the consul Sp. Cassius concluded (252) with the Sabines, (Dionys. v. 49,) a portion of territory was ceded to Rome, it was thus that the Claudian *gens* and tribe were formed in lieu of the Tarquinian, which had been broken up. The tribes were but twenty till the year 259, when the Crustumine was formed.

† That is, the patricians; the plebeian family of the Marcelli were of a far better character.

‡ That the Latins had dictators is quite certain. It is not equally so that they gave them such power as is here spoken of. The Romans probably borrowed only the name to avoid that of *rex*.

§ "*Dictatoribus Magistri Equitum injungebantur: sic quomodo Regibus Tribuni Celerum.*" — Pomponius Dig. lib. i. tit. ii. l. I, quoted by the learned translators of Niebuhr's Hist. of Rome i. 515.

debt was extremely severe. It was to this effect; a person wishing to borrow money entered into a *nexum*, or became *nexus*, when, in the presence of witnesses, under the form of a sale, he pledged himself and all belonging to him for payment of a sum of money which he then received. If this money was not repaid at the appointed time, the debtor was brought before the prætor, who assigned (*addicibat*) him as a slave to his creditor, whence he was termed *addictus*. Such of the debtor's children and grandchildren as were still under his authority shared his fate, and were led off in bonds with him to the creditor's work-house.

The rate of interest was unlimited by law; loans were usually made for the year of ten months,* at the end of which period if the principal was not repaid, the interest was frequently added to it, (*versura*), and the principal was often thus gradually raised to several times its original amount, and a debt accumulated which could never be discharged. The creditors were generally the patricians either in their own names or as the patrons of their clients, in whose hands were all branches of trade, banking included: the debtors were the plebeians, who were solely devoted to agriculture. For after the abolition of royalty the patricians, having gotten the government into their own hands, ceased to pay the tithes off the public lands which they held; and all the booty acquired in war was reduced *in publicum*, that is, brought into the chest of the *populus*; they had also the money paid for protections, licenses, etc., by the clients, and consequently were rich. On the other hand the *tribute* was rigorously exacted from the plebeians, whose little farms lying frequently at a distance from Rome, were exposed to the ravages of the enemy, their houses were burnt, their cattle carried off, their farming implements destroyed. Add to this that the loss of the lands beyond the Tiber had reduced many families to absolute beggary, and further, that the patricians actually excluded them from all share in the public pastures. We may thus see how the bulk of the plebeians may have been deeply in debt and driven to a state of despair by the rigour of their creditors.

In such a state of things a spark will kindle a conflagration. When (259) Appius Claudius and P. Servilius were

* Besides the ordinary lunar year of twelve months, the Romans used, for particular purposes, the cyclic year of ten months, borrowed from the Tuscans.

consuls, an old man, covered with filth and rags, with squalid hair and beard, pale and emaciated, rushed one day into the Forum and implored the aid of the people, showing the scars of wounds received in eight-and-twenty battles. Several, recognizing in him one who had been a brave captain, eagerly inquired the cause of his present wretched appearance. He said that while he was serving in the Sabine war his house and farm-yard had been plundered and burnt by the enemy; the tributes had nevertheless been exacted of him; he had been obliged to borrow money; principal and accumulated interest had eaten up all his property; the sentence of the law had given himself and his two sons as slaves to his creditor. He then stripped his back and showed the marks of recent stripes. A general uproar arose; all, both in and out of debt, (*nezi* and *soluti*;) assembled and clamored for some legal relief. With difficulty a sufficient number of senators (such was their terror) could be brought together. Appius proposed to employ force, Servilius was for milder courses. Just then news arrived that the Volscians were in arms; the people exulted, telling the patricians to go fight their own battles, and refused to give their names for the legions. The senate then empowered Servilius to treat with them. He issued an edict proclaiming that no one who was in slavery for debt should be prevented from serving if he chose, and that as long as a man was under arms no one should touch his property or keep his children in bondage. All the pledged (*nezi*) who were present then gave their names, the bound (*addicti*), hastened on all sides from their dungeons, and a large army took the field under the consul. The Volscians were defeated, their town of Suessa Pometia taken, and the plunder given up to the army. An Auruncan army which came to the aid of the Volscians was routed a few days after near Aricia. Servilius led home his victorious army full of hopes; but these hopes were bitterly deceived, when the iron-hearted Appius ordered the debtor-slaves back to their prisons and assigned the pledged to the creditors. But the people stood on their defence, and repelled the officers and those who went to aid them, at the same time calling on Servilius to perform his promises. The consul, by attempting to steer a middle course, lost favor with both parties, and the year passed away without any thing being done.

The next year, (260,) when the consuls, A. Virginus and

T. Vetulus, attempted to levy an army, the people refused to give their names. They now also held nocturnal meetings in their own quarters on the Aventine and Esquiline, to concert measures of resistance, and even went so far as to demand a total abolition of debts. A portion of the patricians were willing to purchase peace even on these terms, others thought it might suffice to restore their liberty and property to those who had served the year before: Appius averred that wantonness, not poverty, was the disease of the people, and that a dictator, from whom there was no appeal, would soon cure them. It was resolved, therefore, to try the effect of the dictatorship, and the more violent party would have risked the very existence of the state by placing Appius himself in the office; but the milder and more prudent succeeded in appointing M. Valerius, in whom they knew the people would confide.

The dictator issued an edict similar to that of Servilius, the people, in reliance on his name and power, readily gave their names; ten legions* were raised, four for the dictator, three for each consul. Valerius marched against the Sabines, one consul against the Æquians, the other against the Volscians. Victory was every where with the Romans. Valerius, on his return, lost no time in bringing the affair of the pledged before the senate, and finding he could get no measure of relief passed, he laid down his office. The people, satisfied that *he* had kept his faith, received him with acclamations, and attended him in token of honor from the Forum to his house.

The dictator's army had been disbanded, but either one or both of the consular armies was still under arms. The plebeians who formed it, seeing no chance of legal relief, made L. Sicinius Bellutus their leader, crossed the Anio, and encamped on an adjacent eminence in the Crustumine district; the consuls and the patricians who were among them were dismissed without injury. The plebeians of the city meantime occupied the Aventine, and there was every prospect of affairs coming to civil war and bloodshed. For we must bear in mind that the patricians, the original *populus* of Rome, must have been still a numerous body; they were of a martial character, like every body of the kind, and their numerous clients stood faithfully by them on all occasions; they were also the government, and had the means

* This is incredible; at the Alia the Romans had but four legions.

of negotiating foreign aid. Moreover, the hills of Rome were all fortresses, like the Capitol, their sides being made steep and abrupt, and any attempt to carry the Palatine or the Quirinal, for instance, might have cost much blood.

Both sides were aware that the issue of the conflict might be doubtful, and that the Æquians and Volscians or the Etruscans might take advantage of it to ruin Rome. A mutual wish for accommodation, therefore, prevailed; and the patricians, having strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Latins, deputed the First Ten of the senate to the plebeian camp to treat of peace. One of these, named Agrippa Menenius, is said to have addressed on this occasion the following apologue to the people:—

“In those times when all was not at unity, as now, in man, but every member had its own plans and its own language, the other members became quite indignant that they should all toil and labor for the belly, while it remained at its ease in the midst of them doing nothing but enjoying itself. They therefore agreed among themselves that the hands should not convey any food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it, nor the teeth chew it. But while they thus thought to starve the belly out, they found themselves and the whole body reduced to the most deplorable state of feebleness, and they then saw that the belly is by no means useless, that it gives as well as receives nourishment, distributing to all parts of the body the means of life and health.”

Having propounded this fable, the meaning of which was obvious,* Menenius and his colleagues proceeded to treat, and a peace was made and sworn to by the two orders. By this treaty all outstanding debts were cancelled, and all who were in slavery for debt were set at liberty; but the plebs neither regained the consulate nor any other honors; for the senate, with the usual wisdom of an aristocracy, contrived to separate the interests of the lower order of plebeians from those of their gentry, by making individual sacrifices in the remission of debts, while they retained the solid advantages of place and power for their order. They

* By the belly must be understood the moneyed men, not the government; this would have been the head. T. Quinctius Flaminius seeing Philopœmon, the Achæan general, with plenty of hoplites and horsemen, but without money, said (alluding to his make.) “Philopœmon has legs and arms, but no belly.” (Plut. *Apoph. Reg. et Imp. Opera*, vol. viii. p. 144, ed. Hutten.)

also managed to have no alteration made in the law of debt. The plebeians, having offered sacrifice to Jupiter on the mount where they had encamped, which thence was named the Sacred Mount, (*Mons Sacer*), returned to their former dwellings.

But the real gain of the plebeians, and as it proved, of the patricians also, was the making the tribunate an inviolable magistracy. Hitherto it was with danger to themselves, that the tribunes of the plebs had attempted to give the protection secured to the people by the Valerian law; now, in the solemn compact between the orders, it was declared that any one who killed or injured a tribune should be accursed, (*sacer*, i. e. outlawed,) and any one might slay him with impunity, and his property was forfeit to the temple of Ceres. The house of the tribune stood open night and day, that the injured might repair to it for succor. The number of tribunes in the new-modelled tribunate, and who were elected on the Sacred Mount, was two, C. Licinius and L. Albinus; to these, three more, among whom was Sicinius, were afterwards added, and there thus was one for each of the Classes. It is remarkable, as an instance of the efforts made by the patricians to keep up their power, that the election of the tribunes required the confirmation of the curies.

The tribunes were purely a plebeian magistracy, the representatives of their order, and its protectors against the supreme power. They could not act as judges, or impose penalties on offending patricians; they could only bring them before the court of the commonalty. And here it must be remarked, as a peculiarity of the national law of ancient Italy, that a people who had been injured, either collectively or in the person of one of its members, had the right of trying the offender, whom his countrymen, if there was a treaty with them, were bound to give up for the purpose. For, it was expected that sworn judges would be more likely to acquit him, if innocent, than his gentiles, tribesmen, etc. to condemn him if guilty.*

Another plebeian office, said to have been instituted (more probably modified) at this time, was the *Ædileship*. The *ædiles* acted as judges under the tribunes, and they

* How much more consonant to justice our own practice of trying by a mixed jury of natives and foreigners! Yet perhaps it would not have answered in those times.

kept the archives of the plebs in the temple of Ceres, which was under their care.

The time of the consular election having come on during the secession, the populus had appointed Sp. Cassius Viscellinus and Postumius Cominius, who had already been consuls, and a treaty was forthwith concluded with the Latins, the existence of which enabled the patricians to make such advantageous terms with the plebeians. A sketch of the Latin constitution may here be useful.

We have more than once had occasion to notice the predilection of the ancients for political numbers. That of the Latins, the Albans, and the Romans was thirty, or rather three tens; and therefore, as Rome had her thirty curies and tribes, so Latium consisted of a union of thirty towns. Each of these towns had its senate of one hundred members, divided into ten decuries, the decurion or foreman of each of which was deputed to the general senate of the nation, which assembled at the grove and fount of Ferentina, and thus, like that of Rome, contained three hundred members. The union among the Latin towns, though less close than that among the Roman tribes, was much more intimate than the Greek federations in general, and they always acted as one state, with a common interest. Each city had its dictator, one of whom always was dictator over the whole nation, and its head in war and in the performance of the great national religious rites.

The treaty, now made on terms of perfect equality between the two nations, shows how Rome had fallen from her power under her kings. It was to this effect: "There shall be peace between the Romans and Latins as long as heaven and earth shall keep their place; and they shall neither war themselves against each other, nor instigate others to do so, nor grant a safe passage to the enemies; and they shall aid one another, when attacked, with all their might; they shall share equally between them the spoils and booty gained in common wars; private suits shall be decided within ten days, in the place where the engagement was made; nothing may be added to or taken from this treaty without the consent of the Romans and all the Latins.*"

Among the spoils of war mentioned in this treaty was the territory won from conquered states, which was usually

* Dionys. vi. 95.

added to the public land, and the Latins had a *demesne* of this kind as well as the Romans. The Latins also had their equal share in the colonies which were planted. These Roman, or rather Italian, colonies were of a totally different nature from those of the Greeks; * they were garrisons placed in a conquered town to keep it in subjection. To these colonists, who were usually three hundred in number, a third of the lands of the conquered people was assigned, and the government was placed in their hands, they being to the original inhabitants, who retained the rest of their lands, what the *populus* at Rome was to the commonalty.

The Volscians, after the defeat they had sustained in the year 260, remained quiet for some time. Their elective king Attus Tullius, however, deeming that advantage might be taken of the divisions at Rome, which would prevent effectual aid being given to the Latins, resolved, if possible, to rekindle the war, and he used the following occasion for that purpose.

In the year 263 the Great Games at Rome were celebrated anew. For, some time before, when they were commencing, and the procession of the images of the gods was about to go round the Circus to hallow it, a slave, whom his master had condemned to death, was driven through it and scourged. No attention was paid to this circumstance, and the games went on; but soon after the city was visited by a pestilence, and many monstrous births occurred. The soothsayers could point out no remedy. At length Jupiter appeared in a dream to a countryman, named T. Latinus, and directed him to go tell the consuls that the *præluder* (*prasultor*) had been displeasing to him. Fearing to be laughed at by the magistrates, Latinus did not venture to go near them. A few days after his son died suddenly, and the vision again appeared, menacing him with a greater evil if he did not go to the consuls. The simple man still hesitated, and he lost the use of his limbs. He then revealed the matter to his kinsmen and friends, and they all agreed that he should be carried as he was, in his bed, to the consuls in the Forum. By their direction he was brought into the senate-house, and there he told the wonderful tale; and scarcely had he completed it, when lo! another miracle

* See History of Greece, Part I. chap. iv.

took place; vigor returned all at once to his limbs, and he left the senate-house on his feet.

The games were now renewed with greater splendor than ever. The neighboring peoples, as usual, resorted to them; for in Italy, as in Greece and Asia, all solemn festivals were seasons of sacred peace.* Among those who came were numbers of Volscians. Attus Tullius went secretly to the consuls, and, reminding them of the unsteady nature of his countrymen, expressed his fears lest, imboldened by their numbers, they should disturb the sanctity of the feast by some deed of violence. The senate in alarm had proclamation made for all the Volscians to quit Rome by sunset. They departed in deep indignation: at the spring of Ferentina they were met by Tullius, who had gone on before; he exaggerated the insult which had been offered them in the face of so many Italian peoples, and they retired to their several towns breathing vengeance.

The Volscians were joined by their kindred nation the Æquians, who were at that time more powerful than they. The Roman and Latin colonists were driven out of Circeii, and their place taken by Volscians. The country thence to Antium (of which place the Volscians also made themselves masters) was conquered. The combined armies entered the Roman territory, (266;) but here a quarrel relative to the supreme command broke out between them, and they turned their arms against each other.

In the year 268 the consul Sp. Cassius concluded a league with the Hernicans similar to that with the Latins. As the political number of the Sabellians, to whom the Hernicans belonged, was four, and they were to receive a third of conquests and booty, it follows that four † Hernicans could only receive as much as three Romans or Latins. This

* Hence the Israelites are assured (Exodus xxxiv. 24) that no man should "desire their land" when they went up to their three great festivals.

† The cohorts of the Hernicans contained 400 men, (Liv. vii. 7,) those of the Samnites the same number, (Id. x. 40;) the Samnite legion had 4000 men, (Id. viii. 23; x. 38; xxii. 24.) The Marsian confederacy (see above, p. 5) consisted of four states, so also the Samnite; and that the Hernicans were so divided, may be inferred from the 1000 colonists sent to Antium by the three allied nations, (Liv. iii. 5,) that is, 400 Hernicans, one hundred for each canton; 300 Romans for the three tribes of houses; 300 Latins for the three decuries of their towns.

close union among the three states was caused by their common apprehensions from the Ausonian peoples, who were now at the height of their power.

CHAPTER II.

THE PUBLIC LAND. — AGRARIAN LAW OF SPURIUS CASSIUS. — THE CONSULATE. — VOLSCIAN WARS. — VEIENTINE WAR. — THE FABII AT THE CREMERA. — SIEGE OF ROME. — MURDER OF THE TRIBUNE GENUCIUS. — ROGATION OF PUBLILIUS VOLERO. — DEFEAT OF THE ROMAN ARMY. — DEATH OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

THE year 268 is also memorable in the annals of Rome as that of the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, the demand for the execution of which proved for so many years a source of bitterness and anger between the two orders. To understand this matter aright, we must view the origin and nature of the Roman public land.

The small territory about the Palatine belonging to the city of Romulus was, as there is reason to suppose, equally divided among the ten curies of the Ramnes. The householders, of whom there were one hundred in each cury, had each a garden of two jugers, (one of arable, one of plantation land,) which was termed a *heredium*, and one hundred of these *heredia*, or two hundred jugers, formed the century or district of the cury. But these ten centuries did not compose the whole of the land; a part was assigned for the service of the gods and for the royal demesnes, and another portion remained as common or public land.* This last was all grass-land, and every citizen had a right to feed his cattle on it, paying so much a head grazing-money to the state. We may suppose the two communities which formed the remaining tribes of regal Rome to have had their lands similarly divided, if not originally, at least subsequently, for it was the rule in ancient Italy, as all over the East, and even among ourselves,† that all landed property proceeded

* See above, p. 15.

† Blackstone, Book ii. ch. 7.

from the sovereign; and therefore whenever any community received the Roman franchise, it made a formal surrender of its lands to the state, and then received them back from it. Hence we hear of assignments of land by the early kings to the three tribes and to the plebs; for the Latin communities, which in the time of King Ancus began to form this last body, of course surrendered and received again their lands in the usual manner.

The original property* of the three patrician tribes therefore consisted of the six thousand jugers which formed their *heredia*, of their original common land, and of all that had been acquired previous to the formation of the plebs; this was their property, and could not be affected by any law. But when the plebs was increased, and, as the infantry of the legion, was a chief agent in the acquisition of territory, it was manifest that they had a right to a share in what was won. Servius therefore enacted, that after every conquest a portion of the arable land which had been gained should be assigned in *property* to such plebeians as required it, in lots or farms of seven jugers apiece, and they were also to have the use of the public pastures in common with the patricians on the same conditions. The remainder of the arable land was the property of the state; the use or enjoyment of it under the name of *possession* (subject to resumption at any time) was given to the patricians exclusively; for this they were bound to pay the state annually a tithe or tenth of the produce of the corn-lands and two tenths of that of vine-yards and olive-yards.† These possessions were transmitted by inheritance, and transferred by sale, as it was only in extreme cases that the state exercised its power of resumption; and though the plebeians could not originally *occupy* the public land, they might buy the *use* of portions of it from the patrician occupants.

To gain the commonalty, at the time of the expulsion of Tarquinius, the patricians decreed an assignment of seven jugers apiece to the plebeians out of the royal demesnes. But as soon as the cause of the tyrant had become hopeless, and they had monopolized the supreme power, they turned out of the public land those of the plebeians who had acquired the use of it in the way above described; and,

* The *property* of the patricians all lay within the circuit of five miles round the city.

† Appian, B. C. i. 7.

what was still more iniquitous, they ceased to pay the tithes off the lands which they themselves possessed; so that the *tribute* of the plebeians had to defray the expenses of wars, etc., while the booty acquired was usually sold, and the produce diverted to the public chest of the patricians, (*in publicum*.) Hence, as we have seen, came the distress of the plebeians and the secession.

It was to prevent the recurrence of this state of things that that excellent citizen and truly great man Sp. Cassius, who in his first consulship had overcome the Sabines, in his second formed the treaty with the Latins, and in his third that with the Hernicans, in this third also brought forward an agrarian law, directing, that of the land acquired since the time of King Servius, a part should be assigned to the plebeians, the portion of the *populus* be set out, and tithe paid as formerly off all the occupied land. This law was passed by the senate and the curies, but the execution of it was committed to the consuls of the following year, and the ten oldest *consulars* * of the greater houses, — men the most apt to make it a dead letter, as they actually did. At the expiration of his office Cassius was accused of treason before the curies, by the quæstors Cæso Fabius and L. Valerius, and was condemned to death and executed *more majõrum*, that is, scourged and beheaded; his house was razed, and its site left desolate,† but his law remained, and, as we shall see, avenged him on his murderers.

It is a remarkable circumstance, (but one which seems to be clearly ascertained,) that the Ramnes and Titienses among the patricians seem to have aimed at excluding the Luceres as well as the plebeians from the government; for from the institution of the consulate to the year 253, M. Horatius is the only consul of the third tribe. In this year, however, they recovered their right, and when we call to mind that Sp. Cassius was consul the preceding year, we may feel inclined to regard that eminent man as the author of the change. The consul of the greater houses was named the *Consul Major*, and he took precedence of his colleague. This inferiority of the Luceres was marked on all occasions.

* That is, those who had been consuls. The proper term here would be *prætorians*. See above, p. 58.

† The common account of his being condemned by the people (the Plebs) is quite erroneous. He had committed no offence against them; the *people* who tried and condemned him was, as Livy says, the *Populus*.

In the senate none of them but the consulars were authorized to speak. The consulars of the greater houses were called on first to give their opinions, then those of the lesser houses, next the senators of the greater houses, and finally those of the lesser silently voted.*

The year 269, that of the execution of Sp. Cassius, was also that of an attempt on the part of the major houses again to monopolize the consulate. During seven successive years, (269—275,) we find one of the consuls always a Fabius; a thing which can hardly have been the result of chance. It is therefore probable, that in reliance on their allies, the Latins and Hernicans, the elder houses thought they might venture on extending their power; and as the house of the Fabii was by far the strongest among them, they agreed to let them have for their cooperation one seat in the consulate in perpetuity.† As by one of the Valerian laws the centuries had the right of choice among the patrician candidates, which choice was then to be confirmed by the senate and curies, and as this course would never suit their present design, and they moreover feared the election of some one who might be disposed to avenge the murder of Sp. Cassius, the senate and curies in 269 boldly nominated Cæso Fabius and L. Æmilius to the consulate, and then convened the centuries to confirm the election; but these refused to consent to the abolition of their rights, and quitted the field without voting. It was fortunate for the commonalty that the grasping ambition of the patricians sought to exclude the lesser houses, the larger portion of their own body, from the

* Cicero de Rep. ii. 20. Niebuhr (ii. 112—114) has, we think, made this quite clear. It is this writer's opinion, that the *minores* and *juniores Patrum* of Livy are in reality the lesser houses, and not the younger patricians. (See his History of Rome, vol. ii. note 668, and the places there referred to.) It is certainly very remarkable that the distinction of *majores* and *juniores* "appears very frequently down till about the year 310, and never after; though the contest between the patricians and plebeians lasted more than a century longer; the young men were, no doubt, just like those of earlier times; and the chronicles became more and more copious." When in future we use the phrase *lesser houses*, it is the *juniores Patrum*; and those who reject Niebuhr's theory may substitute *young patricians* for it.

† A similar agreement would seem to have been made with the Valerii at the beginning of the republic, as (omitting, as Livy does, the consuls of 248) there was one of them in the consulate in each of the first five years. The Valerii and Fabii were both Titenses. See also p. 44.

conclude, and thus forced them to make common cause with the plebs, which gave these last time to discover their own strength, and to put it forth.

Though the patricians had passed the agrarian law, nothing was farther from their thoughts than to let it be executed, and they sought to keep up a continued state of war; for while the legions were in the field the Forum was empty, and the tribunes had no auditors. The consul, Q. Fabius, therefore (269) led an army against the Volscians and Æquians; but he withheld the plunder from his victorious troops, and had it sold, and the produce brought into the patrician chest. Next year (270) the consul, L. Æmilius, fought with indifferent success against the Volscians. The following year, (271,) when the consul, M. Fabius, went to enrol troops for the war, the tribune, C. Mænius, forbade the levies unless the agrarian law was executed. But the consuls went to the mile from the city, at the temple of Mars, where the tribunician power ended, and erected their tribunal; they then summoned all who were bound to serve, and they seized the property and burned and plundered the farms of such as did not appear. These forced levies were led by the consul L. Valerius against the Volscians; but the soldiers, though they fought with courage, would not gain a victory and booty for the consul and the patricians, whom they hated, and Valerius returned without fame.

It would appear that the greater houses had now become aware of the danger of division in their order, and that they effected a permanent union with the lesser houses; for we find the senate in 271 appointing Appius Claudius,* with one of the Fabii, to the consulate. But the tribunes and the plebs were to a man against Claudius; the tribunes would not suffer the curies, the consuls would not allow the tribes, to assemble for the elections, and the year expired without any consuls being created. In the beginning of the next year (272) A. Sempronius Atratinus, the warden of the city, (*Custos Urbis*), as interrex, assembled the centuries, who elected C. Julius, a member of the lesser houses, as the colleague of Q. Fabius, who was perhaps also their choice. A war with the Veientes commenced this year, but no event of importance occurred.

The year 272 was marked by a formal compromise between the patricians and the commonalty, securing to the

* The Claudii, though of Sabine origin, were among the Luceres.

centuries the choice of one of the consuls, and leaving the appointment of the other with the senate and the curies, whose nominee was now the *Consul Major*.* The patricians made Cæso Fabius consul for the ensuing year, (273,) and the centuries gave him Sp. Furius for his colleague. The tribune, Sp. Licinius, attempted to stop the levies on account of the agrarian law, but the patricians had adopted the prudent expedient of procuring, by means of their clients in the classes, and by their own influence, the election of tribunes favorable to their order, and Licinius was opposed by his own colleagues. Two armies were levied: one was sent under Furius against the Æquians, the other under Fabius against the Veientes. The former army, under the consul of their choice, fought cheerfully; and their general, in return, divided the booty among them. The case was widely different with the army of Fabius. They engaged the Veientes and put them to flight, but they would not pursue or attack their camp; and in the middle of the night they broke up, and abandoning their own camp to the enemy, set out for Rome.

The consuls of the next year (274) were M. Fabius and Cn. Manlius; the former, of course, the nominee of the houses. But the Fabii had now seen the folly of attempting to govern the state on oligarchic principles, and they were become sincerely anxious to conciliate the commonalty. The tribune, Ti. Pontificius, vainly attempted to oppose the levies, on account of the agrarian law; his four colleagues were unanimous against him; the armies were raised, and led by the two consuls into the Veientine territory; but, warned by the example of the preceding year, the consuls, fearing to engage the enemy, kept their men close in their camp. The Veientes, who had been largely reënfined by volunteers from all parts of Etruria, seeing the inactivity of the Romans, and aware of the cause, increased in confidence; they rode up to the ramparts of their camp, daring them to come forth, and upbraiding them with their cowardice. The Romans were filled with indignation; they sent their centurions to the consuls, entreating to be led to battle: the consuls, secretly well pleased, affected to hesitate, and declaring that the proper time was not yet arrived, forbade any one on pain of death to leave the camp. This

* He was first the consul of the Ramnes, then of the greater houses
See p. 70.

served, as they had expected, but to augment the ardor of the soldiers; the Etruscans grew more and more audacious; the patience of the Romans could hold out no longer; they pressed to the consuls from all parts of the camp, demanding the battle. "Swear, then," cried M. Fabius, "that ye will not return but as conquerors." The centurion, M. Flavoleius, took the oath first, the rest followed him; they seized their arms, issued from the camp, and soon stood displayed in array of battle. The Etruscans had hardly time to form when the Romans fell on them sword in hand. The Fabii were foremost in the attack. Quintus, the consul of the year 272, received a mortal wound; his brother, the consul, rushed forward, calling on his men to remember their oath; a third brother, Cæso, followed; the soldiers manfully obeyed the call, and drove back the troops opposed to them. Manlius was also victorious on the other wing; but as he was pressing on the yielding foe he received a wound, which obliged him to retire. His men, thinking him slain, fell back; but the other consul, coming with some horse, and crying out that his colleague was alive, restored the battle. Meantime a part of the Tuscan troops had fallen on the Roman camp; those left to guard it, unable to resist them, fell back to the *prætorium*, and made a stand there, sending to inform the consuls of their danger. Manlius hastened to the camp, and placing guards at all the gates fell on the invaders, who, driven to desperation, formed into a close body and rushed on the consul. Manlius received a mortal wound; those around him were dispersed; a gate was then prudently opened, at which the Tuscans gladly hurried out, but they fell in with the troops of the victorious consul, and were most of them cut to pieces. The victory was complete; the honor of a triumph was decreed to Fabius, but he declined it on account of the death of his brother and his colleague; he distributed the wounded soldiers among the patricians, (his own *gens* taking the larger number,) by whom they were tended with the greatest care.

So perfect was the reconciliation now between the Fabii and the plebs, that at the next election (275) Cæso, the accuser of Sp. Cassius, was the choice of the centuries, the patricians nominating T. Virginus. Without waiting for it to be urged by the tribunes, Cæso Fabius called on the senate to put the agrarian law into execution; but he and his house were reviled as traitors and apostates from

their former principles, and his proposals treated with scorn. The plebeians, gratified by his conduct, cheerfully took the field under him against the Æquians, and having invaded and ravaged their territory, hastened to the relief of the other consul, who had been defeated and was surrounded by the Veientes.

The Fabian house, finding that there was no chance of inducing their order to act with justice towards the plebs, and that they were themselves become objects of aversion to their former friends, resolved to abandon Rome, and to form a separate settlement, where they might still be of service to their country. The place they fixed on was the banks of the Cremera, a stream in the Veientine territory. Led by the consul Cæso, to the number of three hundred and six, accompanied by their wives and children, and followed by a train of clients and friends, said to have amounted to four thousand, they issued on the ides of February through the Carmental gate,* attended by the prayers of the people; and coming to the Cremera raised their fortress, whence they scoured without ceasing the whole Veientine territory, destroying the lands and carrying off the cattle. After some months the Veientes assembled a large army to assail the fortress of the Cremera; but L. Æmilius, one of the new consuls, (276,) led his troops against them, and gave them a defeat which was followed by a truce for a cyclic year. On the expiration of the truce the Fabii resumed hostilities. The Veientes, unable to cope with them in the field, had recourse to stratagem. They laid an ambush in the hills round a small plain, toward which they caused herds of cattle to be driven in view of the fortress. The Fabii instantly sallied forth, and while they were dispersed in pursuit of the oxen, the Tuscans came down on them from the woody hills, where they lay concealed, and surrounded them. The Fabii fought with desperation, and finally, breaking through the enemies, retired to the summit of a hill: but here they were again environed, and every one of them slain. Their fortress, deprived of its defenders, was taken and dismantled.

Another account said that the Fabii had set out unarmed for Rome to perform the annual sacrifices of their gens on the Quirinal. The Veientes collected a large army, and lay in ambush on the way; the Fabii, who were proceeding

* In after times it was considered unlucky to go out at this gate.

carelessly as in time of peace, were assailed on all sides by showers of missiles from their cowardly foes, and all fell with many wounds.*

The 18th Quinctilis (July) of the year 277 was the day of the fall of the Fabii, about two years and seven months from the time of their leaving Rome. That they were sacrificed by the oligarchy at home is highly probable, for the consul T. Menenius was encamped but four miles off, and he made no effort whatever to aid them. His treachery or inaction, however, did not avail him; the Tuscan army came and attacked and defeated him, and if they had not delayed to plunder the camp, they might have destroyed the whole Roman army. The fugitives filled the city with consternation, the fort on the Janiculan was abandoned, the Sublician bridge broken down, and word sent to the consul C. Horatius, who was out against the Volscians, to hasten to the defence of the city.

The Etruscans, meantime, had encamped on the Janiculan, whence they frequently passed over the river and ravaged the country. The peasantry fled with their cattle into the city for safety, and famine now began to be felt. As was the usual practice in such cases, the cattle were driven, out under a guard, into the fields on the side of the city away from the river; ere long the Etruscans crossed the Tiber, in the hope of being able to carry them off; but they fell into an ambush near the temple of Hope about a mile from the city, and received a severe check. Soon after their whole army crossed over in the night on rafts, and attacked the camp of the consul Servilius before the Colline gate, but they met with another repulse. The famine, however, was so urgent (for no supplies could be brought in) that it was of absolute necessity that something decisive should be done. Accordingly the two consular armies passed the river at different points; that of Servilius assailed the Janiculan, but was repulsed, and would have been driven into the river, but that Virginius came up and fell on the flank and rear of the Tuscans; the other army then turned, and the enemy was finally defeated, and forced to abandon the Janiculan. A truce for ten months

* The whole gens it is said perished, except a child that was left at Rome. But as this Fabius was consul ten years after, he must have been a man at the time. From his subsequent history it would appear that he had adhered to the old politics of the family, and on that account did not share in the migration.

was then concluded. At its expiration (279) the consul P. Valerius defeated the Veientes and a Sabine army under the walls of Veii. The following year (280) a truce for forty years was concluded; and it was probably at this time that the lands beyond the Tiber were restored to the Romans, and not by the romantic generosity of Porsenna.

We must now take a view of the internal state of Rome during this time.

As soon as the Veientes had retired in 278, the tribunes impeached T. Menenius for suffering the Fabii to be destroyed. As they merely wanted to have him declared guilty, they laid the penalty at only 2000 asses; the curies condemned him, and grief and indignation at this desertion of him by his own order broke his heart, and he died. Servilius was next impeached for having caused the loss of so many lives by his attack on the Janiculan; he defended himself with spirit, and, as was just, was acquitted. In the year after the peace (281) the tribune Cn. Genucius summoned the consuls of the preceding year, L. Furius and C. Manlius, to answer before the plebs for not having carried the agrarian law into effect. The tribune offered sacrifice before the people in the Forum, calling down curses on his head if he did not proceed; the accused saw that the danger of their being outlawed, at the least, was imminent; they had recourse to the lesser houses, now the most violent against the commonalty, and it was decided at a secret meeting to do a deed which should strike terror into the hearts of the plebeians.

Early in the morning of the day fixed for the trial, the people were all assembled in the Forum, waiting for the appearance of Genucius. As he delayed, they began to suspect that he had been terrified into an abandonment of the prosecution; but presently his friends, who had gone according to custom to attend him to the Forum, arrived and told that he had been found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. His body was brought forth; the tribunes and the people were filled with terror, and fled from the spot; the patricians, exulting in their success, boasted openly of their deed; and with the hope of being able to carry their plans into effect, the consuls ordered a levy, that they might get the most offensive of their adversaries into their hands and put them to death. The tribunes feared to interfere, and had the consuls refrained from insult they might have succeeded.

Volero Publilius Philo, who had served as a first centurion, was called out as a common soldier. As no charge could be made against him, he refused to serve in an inferior station. The lictors were sent to seize him; he appealed to the tribunes; the consuls ordered the lictors to strip and scourge him. Volero, a powerful man, flung them from him, and rushed among the people, calling on them to aid him. The lictors were beaten, their fasces broken, the consuls fled into the senate-house; the people, however, used their victory with moderation, and quiet was restored in part through the prudence of the senators of the greater houses.

The next year (282) Volero was chosen one of the tribunes; and instead of avenging his private quarrel by impeaching the consuls, he devoted his energies to the procuring of permanent advantages for his order. He brought in a bill to give the appointment of the tribunes to the tribes instead of the centuries, where the patricians exercised so much influence by means of their clients. As two of his colleagues supported him, and a majority was decisive at this time in the college of the tribunes, the patricians found themselves obliged to have recourse to other means of stopping the measure.

A tribunician *rogation* resembled a bill in the British parliament in this, that if not carried through all its stages in the limited period, (in the latter case the session, in the former a single day,) it had to be commenced anew. The magistrates and senators had moreover the power of opposing any motion of the tribunes which concerned the whole republic; and thus, without any factious design, a debate might be prolonged to sunset. But the patricians had another mode of impeding the proceedings of the tribunes. They and their clients used to spread themselves over the Forum; and when it was necessary that the ground should be cleared, and the plebeians left alone to vote in their tribes, and they were therefore requested to withdraw, (that is, to walk over to their Comitium, on the other side of the Rostra,) they would refuse; this would cause a tumult, and so all proceedings would be stopped for the day. The military expeditions formed another impediment; for the clients, who were not required to serve, outnumbered the plebeians who remained at home.

By means of this kind the bill of Publilius was defeated time after time till the end of his year. But the people re-

elected him, (283,) and gave him for a colleague C. Lætorius, a man of great energy and intrepidity. The patricians on their side raised the ferocious Ap. Claudius to the consulate; the choice of the centuries was T. Quinctius, a member of the greater houses, and a man of just and moderate sentiments.

The tribunes required that both the tribunes and the ædiles should be chosen by the tribes; they further proposed a resolution declaring that the plebs, in their tribes, were entitled to deliberate on matters affecting the whole state. This the patricians resolved to oppose to the utmost; the tribunes on their side were as determined; and on the eve of the important day Lætorius thus concluded his address to the people. "Since I am not so ready at speaking as at acting, be here to-morrow, Romans, and I will either die in your sight or carry the law." In the morning the tribunes entered the Forum; the consuls were also present; the patricians mingled with the plebeians, to prevent the passing of the law. Lætorius directed all to withdraw but those who were to vote: the patricians took no notice; he ordered the officers (*viatores*) to seize some of them; Appius, in an insulting manner, denied his right to do so; the intrepid tribune in a rage sent his officer to arrest the consul; Appius ordered a lictor to seize Lætorius: the plebs hastened to the defence of the tribune, the patricians to that of the consul. Blood would have been shed but for the efforts of the consulars, who forced Appius away to the senate-house, and of Quinctius, who appeased the people; they however went up and occupied the Capitol in arms.

There can be no doubt that the plebs passed the resolution before sunset. The senate, despite of the fury of Appius and his party, yielded to the suggestions of the more moderate and prudent, and silently adopted it as a law; though the more far-sighted saw that more was yielded by it than had been done at the Sacred Mount. Measures might now originate in the assembly of the tribes, where (not as in that of the centuries) there was freedom of debate; these were to be followed by a decree of the senate, and then ratified by the curies.

It may appear strange that the patricians (a part of whom had so lately been able to lord it over the rest of their own body, as well as the plebs) should be now so feeble. But their allies, the Latins and Hernicans, were at this time too hard pressed themselves to be able to give them any aid; and

the preponderance which the lesser houses had acquired, had naturally excited jealousy in the older ones, and thus inclined them to the plebs. And doubtless there must have been among the patricians many men of liberal and elevated minds, who wished to see justice done; there were others also connected by marriage with plebeian families.

It being necessary to send armies against the Volscians and Æquians in defence of their allies, the tribunes did not oppose the levies, though an opportunity would be thereby afforded to Appius of exercising his fury and revenge. He led therefore an army against the Volscians, while Quinctius advanced against the Æquians. It was a contest between Appius and his troops; *he* sought to drive them to despair by invectives and by intolerable commands; *they* resolved to show him that he could not bend them to his will. His orders were neglected, curses awaited him every time he appeared; and when at length he led his troops out to battle, they made no resistance to the foe, but turned and fled. The Volscians pursued them, slaughtering the rearmost, to their camp, which however they did not venture to attack. The consul called his troops to an assembly; the soldiers fearing to go unarmed, as was the custom, refused to attend. His officers besought Appius, and he gave way, and issued orders for a retreat next day. At dawn the trumpet sounded; the Volscians, aroused by the sound, came forth and fell on the retiring army; a general panic seized the Romans, they flung away their arms and standards, and fled in confusion. On the Roman territory the consul held his court; want of arms, and the consciousness of having acted wrong, enfeebled the soldiers, and the patricians and the allies were at hand to assail them if they mutinied. At the command of Appius, every centurion who had left his place, and every tenth common soldier, was seized, scourged, and beheaded.

The following year (284) the tribunes impeached Appius Claudius for his opposition to the interests of the people, his having laid violent hands on a tribune, and having caused loss and disgrace to his army. Appius disdained to use any of the usual modes of obtaining favor; he would not put on a mean dress, or personally supplicate those who were to try him; his language breathed, as ever, haughtiness and defiance; the people quailed before him; the tribunes put off the day of trial. But ere the day arrived, the haughty Appius was no more; his own hand had terminated his exist-

ence. The deed, which the Roman religion condemned, was concealed; his body was, according to custom, brought forth for interment: his son claimed to have the usual funeral oration pronounced over it; the tribunes attempted opposition, but the people would not carry their enmity beyond the tomb, and listened calmly to his praises, now that he had ceased from troubling.

CHAPTER III.

VOLSCIAN WAR. — LEGEND OF CORIOLANUS. — THE TERENTILIAN LAW. — SEIZURE OF THE CAPITOL BY THE EXILES. — DICTATORSHIP OF CINCINNATUS. — THE FIRST DECEMVIRATE. — THE SECOND DECEMVIRATE. — SICINIUS DENTATUS. — FATE OF VIRGINIA. — ABOLITION OF THE DECEMVIRATE.

THE Volscians, the Æquians, and the Sabines were now the constant opponents of the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernicans. In 284 nothing of importance occurred; but the next year, while the disputes were warm at Rome on account of the agrarian laws, the flight of the peasantry and the smoke of the burning farm-houses announced the approach of a Volscian army. Troops were hastily levied, the enemy retired, but was overtaken and routed near Antium, and the neighboring seaport of Ceno came over to the Romans. The Sabines, who had meantime entered the Roman territory, were attacked and driven off with loss by the consular armies on their return.

The next year (286) the Sabines extended their ravages over the Anio, and to the very Colline gate; but the consul Q. Servilius obliged them to retire, and wasted their territory in return. The other consul, T. Quinctius, had marched against the Volscians of Antium. After an indecisive battle, the Volscians, being joined by an Æquian army, surrounded the Roman camp in the night to prevent a retreat. The consul, having calmed the apprehensions of his men, set the trumpeters and horn-blowers on horseback out before the rampart, ordering them to sound all through the night. The enemy, expecting a sally, remained under arms while the Romans took their rest. At dawn the consul led out his

army; the Volscians, exhausted with watching, retired after a feeble resistance to the summit of a rugged hill; the Romans, heedless of the missiles which were showered down on them, won their way up to the top, and the Volscians fled down the other side. The Volscian colonists at Antium then agreed to evacuate the town, and their place was taken by one thousand colonists from the three allied peoples.*

For some years (286—290) there was a cessation of hostilities between the Romans and the Volscians; but the Æquians were still in arms, the expelled colonists of Antium and their exiled partisans fighting with the utmost zeal under their banners. In 289 the Æquians advanced as far as Mount Algidus,† where they pitched their camp. The consul Quinctius came and encamped opposite them; but they made a sudden irruption into the Roman territory; the country folk, who expected no such event, had not time to convey their property to the city, or to the strong *pagi*,‡ and the invaders carried off a large booty.

The next year (290) the Volscians of Eretæ joined the Æquians. At the urgent desire of the Hernicians, the consul Sp. Furius was sent with an army to their defence; but he was unable to oppose the superior forces of the enemy, and was even so closely cooped up by them in his camp, that it was only through the Hernicians that his situation could be made known at Rome. T. Quinctius was sent with an army to his relief; but Furius had meantime been himself wounded, and his brother with one thousand of the best men slain in a sally. Quinctius relieved the army of Furius, but the other consul Postumius had been unable to prevent the enemy from ravaging the lands of Rome; the peasantry fled with their cattle into the city; the heat of the summer, joined with the want of pasture, caused a murrain among the cattle, which was followed by a dreadful pestilence among the people. The Volscians and Æquians came and encamped within three miles of Rome on the road to Gabii; the country round, filled with ruins and the unburied dead, offered nothing to plunder; fear of the pestilence, or of the resistance the people might still make, withheld them from

* See above, p. 67, note.

† A thickly wooded range of hills lying between Tusculum and Ve-
litræ.

‡ A *pagus* was a place on an eminence surrounded by a wall or
ditch and rampart for the people to retreat to on such occasions as the
present.

attacking the city. They broke up at length, and proceeded to ravage all parts of Latium. The spreading of the pestilence probably caused a cessation of hostilities after this, which was followed by a truce; and in 295 the Romans, to dissolve the league which they found too strong for them, concluded a separate peace with the Volscians, giving up Antium and other towns, and entering into a municipal relation * with them. An advantage derived by Rome from this war, disastrous as it was, was the utter ruin and breaking-up of the Latin union, several of whose towns were obliged to place themselves in a state of dependence under her.

It is in this war that the celebrated legend of Coriolanus, which has been thrown back to the year 263, probably finds its true place.

Cn. Marcius, a gallant patrician youth, said the legend, was serving in the army which P. Cominius led in 261 against the Volscians of Antium. The Volscians were defeated, the towns of Longula and Polusca taken, and siege laid to Corioli. During a vigorous assault of the town, the Volscian army came from Antium, and fell on the Romans; the besieged at the same time made a sally, but they were driven back by a party headed by Marcius, who, entering the town pell-mell with them, set fire to the buildings next the wall; the Volscians, seeing the smoke and flames, thought that the town was taken, and retired. Corioli was thus taken, and Marcius derived from it the name of Coriolanus. This and other exploits made him the darling of his order; but the plebs dreaded him, and refused him the consulate.

The next year Rome was visited by a grievous famine. Corn was sought in all quarters, even as far as Sicily, whence (263) there came a large supply, part purchased, part the gift of a Greek prince of the island. It was proposed in the senate to distribute the gift-corn gratis among the people, and to sell the remainder at a low price; but Marcius said that now was the time to make them abolish the odious tribunate, and advised not to give them the corn on any other terms. When the people heard what he had proposed, they became furious, and would have torn him to pieces, but that the tribunes summoned him to appear before the assembly of the tribes. He treated their menaces with

* The *municipium* answered to the *isopolity* of the Greeks; it conferred all civic rights but those of voting in the assemblies or holding office.

contempt, and abated nought of his haughtiness; but the other patricians supplicated for him. His condemnation however was certain; so he quitted Rome, and went into exile* to Antium, where he became the guest of Attius Tullius. He offered the Volscians his services against his country; they in return gave him the highest civil rights; and when Tullius had rekindled the war as above related,† Marcius was appointed to be his colleague.

Success every where attended the arms of the exile. He took the colony of Circeii; Satricum, Longula, Polusca, and Corioli submitted; Lavinium, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Lavici and Pedum opened their gates; he pitched his camp at the Cluilian Ditch, five miles from Rome,‡ whence he ravaged the lands of the plebeians, sparing those of his own order.

Fear and consternation reigned in the city, and resistance was not thought of; the senate, the curies, and the plebs united in a decree restoring Marcius to his civic rights. Five consulars bore it to him; but he insisted that all the territory taken from the Volscians should be restored, the colonies recalled, and the Volscian people received into a municipal relation. He gave them thirty days to consider, and led off his troops for that time. When they were ended, the Ten First of the senate waited on him; he gave them three days more, driving them from his camp with threats. Next day the flamens, the augurs, and the other ministers of religion came in their sacred robes to try to move him, but they too sued in vain. And now the third day was come, and were its sun to go down on his wrath, he was to lead his troops against the defenceless city. But again Rome owed her safety to her women. A procession of her noblest matrons, headed by the exile's venerable mother Veturia and his wife Volturna leading her two young children, was seen to approach the Volscian camp. They entered and came to his tent; the tears of his wife and the other matrons, the threatened curse of his aged parent, bent

* Banishment was unknown to the Roman law during the Republic. An *exul*, that is, *one who is out*. (see above, p. 58,) a *fuoruscito*, was a person who left his native city to reside in one with which it had a municipal relation. The *jus exulandi* might be used by any accused person up to the moment of the very last tribe voting his condemnation. He was then no longer a Roman citizen, and the interdiction of fire and water prevented his return.

† See p. 67.

‡ The patrician lands lay within side of it. See above, p. 69, *note*

his haughty soul. He burst into tears: "Mother," cried he, "thou hast chosen between Rome and thy son; me thou wilt never see more: may they requite thee!" He embraced his wife and children, and dismissed them, and next morning he led off his army. He lived among the Volscians to a great age, and often was heard to say that exile was most grievous to an old man; * when he died, the Roman matrons mourned a year as they had done for Brutus and Poplicola; and his praises, as those of a pious and upright man, were handed down to posterity.

We have called this tale a legend, and said that it is in its wrong place. The following are a few of the reasons for our so doing. There was no famine at Rome in 262; there was no prince, that is, *tyrant*, in Sicily at that time; the tribunes had not the power here ascribed to them till after the year 280; the practice of naming persons from conquests they had made began with Scipio Africanus. † On the other hand, there was a famine in 278, at which time Hiero was reigning at Syracuse; and soon after there was a violent dissension between the orders, when the proposal ascribed to Cn. Marcius may have been made, and the plebs were then strong enough to punish any one who attempted to do away with any of the fundamental laws of the state. Finally, the conquests ascribed to Coriolanus are mostly the cessions made to the Volscians at the peace of 295.

Yet the story of Coriolanus is no mere fable. It is probable that he was at the head of a body of Roman exiles, ‡ serving in the Volscian army in hopes of reëntering Rome as victors, and that he demanded their recall as well as his own. But as these would have reclaimed their property and have sought vengeance of their enemies, nothing could have been more dreaded by all parties than their return. If then Coriolanus, to save his country from this affliction, consented never to see it more, and return to exile when he might have entered Rome as a conqueror, he was every way worthy of the fame he acquired, and his name should ever be held in honorable remembrance as that of a true patriot.

* Fabius in Liv. ii. 40. Some said he was assassinated by the Volscians; others, (Cicero, Brutus 10,) that he put an end to himself like Themistocles.

† Liv. xxx. 45.

‡ The *φυγάδες* of the Greeks (see History of Greece, Part II. *passim*) the *fuorusciti* of the republics of middle age Italy. The above is only Niebuhr's hypothesis, but it is so extremely probable that it is difficult not to embrace it.

We now return to the internal history. The pestilence of 291 had committed dreadful ravages; it had carried off the two consuls, three of the tribunes and a fourth of the senate, and, as is always the case, had produced great dissoluteness of manners. The patricians, as being a close body, suffered more loss of political strength than the plebeians; many of their houses seem to have died off, whose clientry mostly joined the plebs. Internal and external calamities combined to make men aware of the defects of the existing institutions, and to induce them to favor a constitutional reform.

In the year 292 the tribune C. Terentilius Arsa took the opportunity of the absence of the consuls and the legions to propose a bill of reform, of which the object was three-fold; to unite the two orders, and place them on a footing of equality; to substitute a limited magistracy for the consulate; to frame a code of laws for all classes of Romans without distinction. This bill was passed by the plebs on the return of the consul Lucretius, but it was rejected by the senate and the curies.

The next year (293) the Terentilian law was brought forward by the whole college of the tribunes. The consuls to impede them commenced a levy; the tribunes resisted it; the patricians and their clients on their side prevented by their usual manœuvres * the voting of the tribes. They were headed in these attempts by Cæso Quinctius, a young man of great bodily size and strength, equally distinguished by valor and eloquence, and they frequently beat the plebeians and drove them off the Forum. At length A. Virginus, one of the tribunes, impeached Cæso under the Icilian law. The patricians now awoke from their dream and saw their danger, the leading men among them descended to the humblest entreaties to save their champion, but all was in vain. To augment the odium against him, M. Volscius Fictor, a former tribune, came forward and declared that in the time of the plague as he and his brother, a man in years, and but just recovering from it, were passing through the Subûra they met a party of riotous youths headed by Cæso, who picked a quarrel with them; his brother was knocked down by Cæso, and he died shortly after of the blow; he had himself applied to no purpose for justice to the consuls of the year. This tale roused the people to fury, and it was with difficulty that the tribunes could save the accused from them. Cæso, who had given ten sureties

* See above, p. 73.

each bound in 3000 asses,) seeing his condemnation certain, retired secretly that very night into Etruria, and his sureties had to pay the money to the temple of Ceres.*

The elder houses began now to think that resistance was useless, and they were anxious for an accommodation: not so the juniors; they were more imbittered than ever, but they adopted a new system of tactics. On court days they and their clients occupied the Forum and impeded the measures of the tribunes in the usual way, taking care that no one should make himself conspicuous; on other days they vied with each other in kindness and courtesy toward the individual plebeians. The tribunes, however, saw or affected to see a conspiracy against themselves and their order, and in the next year (294) a report was spread that Cæso had been in the city, and that a plan was laid for murdering them and the leading plebeians, and bringing back the republic to what it had been before the secession. While the minds of the people were thus kept in a state of uncertainty, cries of *To Arms!* and *The enemies are in the city!* were heard one night, raised by persons who were flying for their lives down from the Capitol to the Forum, and averring that the citadel was seized by a body of men who were putting to death all who would not join them. Terror prevailed all through the night, and guards were placed on the Aventine and Esquiline, and the streets leading to them.

The morning revealed the truth. A body of exiles and runaway slaves with the clients of Appius Herdonius, a powerful Sabine who had placed himself at their head, had come down the river by night in boats, and entering the city by the Carmental gate, (which, from a religious motive, was never closed,) had mounted to the Capitol, that was at hand, and made themselves masters of it. At dawn Herdonius called aloud on the slaves, but in vain, to rise for their liberty; the consuls, on their side, having secured the gates and walls against an attack from without, which they apprehended, wished to assail the Capitol at once, and began to administer the military oath. But the tribunes, who maintained that the whole was only a device of the patricians, and that those on the Capitol were nothing but their friends and clients, opposed the levy, saying that now was

* "The money," says Livy, "was cruelly exacted from his father." If so, it must have been by the sureties; but this is a mere fiction to account for the narrow circumstances in which we shall find Cincinnatus.

the time to pass the bill, while the plebs were under arms and that then those above would go off as quietly as they came. In this confusion the consul P. Valerius saved his country; he implored the people to consider the danger if their enemies were to learn that the Capitol was occupied, and he pledged himself that when the danger was over no hinderance should be given to the voting of the assembly, and that if the bill was passed it should be made law.

The word of a Valerius sufficed; the plebeians took the oath, but the day was far spent, and the assault had to be deferred to the morrow. In the morning, being joined by the Tusculans, whom their dictator L. Mamilius had brought to their aid, they began to ascend. The outlaws fought with desperation, but they were driven back; a part of them defended the temple, and the consul Valerius, who led the attack, was slain in forcing the vestibule. At length all were killed or taken. Herdonius, and most probably Cæso Quinctius,* was among the slain; all the prisoners were executed. The plebs assessed themselves to defray the expenses of a solemn funeral for the patriotic consul.

The tribunes now called on C. Claudius, the remaining consul, to perform the promise of his deceased colleague; but he refused to act by himself, and the senate and curies made L. Quinctius Cincinnâtus, the father of Cæso, consul, who breathing vengeance against the plebeians, resolved to take advantage of the military oath they had taken to Valerius, and leading them away from Rome force them to pass what laws the senate pleased. He ordered them to repair in arms to the lake Regillus, whither the augurs were sent to consecrate a field for the *comitia*. But the courage of the patricians again failed them; the measure was abandoned, on condition of the law not being agitated that year; they tried also, but to no purpose, to prevent the reëlection of the tribunes, and they were obliged to give up an attempt at making Cincinnâtus consul for the ensuing year.

The following year (295) was that of the peace with the Volscians. The Æquians were still in arms, and in 296 the consul Minucius was defeated by them and besieged in his camp on Mount Algidus. An army sent from Rome relieved him; but as he had lost the battle through his own fault, he was obliged to resign the command to Q. Fabius.

This event was transmitted in the poetic legendary form,

* Two years after (Livy iii. 25) he is spoken of in a manner which shows that he was not living.

and being associated with a celebrated name, it has come down to us in the following manner.

The Æquians, who had been parties to the peace of the preceding year, now broke out, and led by Gracchus Clælius ravaged the lands of Latium. They encamped with their booty on Mount Algidus, whither Roman ambassadors came to complain of this breach of faith. The Æquian general insolently desired them to make their complaint to the oak beneath whose capacious shade he was seated. The Romans took the oak and the gods to witness of the justice of their cause, and departed. The consul Minucius led his army to the Algidus; but fortune favored the misdoers, and he was shut up by them, with a rampart raised round his camp. Five horsemen who escaped ere the enemy's lines were completed, brought the tidings to Rome; it was resolved to create a dictator; the choice fell on L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was living on a small farm of four jugers in the Vatican land beyond the Tiber. The officer (*viator*) sent to inform him of his appointment * found him guiding his plough with nothing on but an apron, † it being summer time; he bade him clothe himself to hear the message of the senate and the Fathers. Cincinnatus called to his wife Ræilia to fetch him his *toga* out of the cottage. When he was dressed, the officer saluted him as dictator; a boat lay ready to convey him across the river; at the other side he was received by his three sons and several of his friends and kinsmen and a number of the patricians, and was conducted by them to his house.

Before dawn next morning he entered the Forum, and having appointed L. Tarquinius, a man brave but poor, to be master of the horse, he ordered all the shops to be closed, all business to be suspended, ‡ and every one able to serve to appear by sunset without the city, with food dressed for five days, and with twelve palisades. While those who were to march were cutting their pales and preparing their arms, those who were to remain dressed the victuals for them. At night-fall, all being ready, the dictator set forth at their head, and at midnight they had reached the Algidus, where they halted near the camp of the enemy. The dictator, having ridden forward to take a view of it, directed his officers to make the men lay down their baggage, and with their arms

* Pliny; H. N. xviii. 4.

† *Nudus ara, scæ nudus*, Virg. Geor. i. 299.

‡ This was called a *Justitium*.

and palisades alone to resume their order of march, and having surrounded the enemy to raise a loud shout and begin to cast up a ditch and rampart. His orders were obeyed the shout pealed over the camp of the Æquians to that of the Romans, filling those with terror, these with joy and hope. The besieged burst forth from their camp, and fought with the Æquians till the dawn. Meantime the dictator's army had completed their works, and the Æquians, thus shut in and now assailed from within and without, sued for mercy. The terms granted were the surrender of Clælius and the principal officers, and of their town of Corbio with all the property in it; the rest, having passed under the yoke might then depart unarmed. Clælius and his officers were then laid in chains; an opening was made in the Roman line; two spears upright and one across (the *jugum*, or yoke) were set up in it, under which the Æquian soldiers, with nothing on but their tunics, marched out, their camp and all in it remaining in the hands of the victors. The spoil was divided among the liberating army; the liberated called the dictator their patron, and gave him a golden crown of a pound in weight. He entered the city in triumph; tables were spread with provisions before all the doors as the soldiers passed, and joy and festivity every where prevailed. The dictator at the end of sixteen days laid down his office, and declining all the gifts that were offered him returned to his farm.

Pity that so pleasing a legend will not pass the ordeal of criticism! Five palisades being counted a heavy load for a soldier used to duty, how could men called out on a sudden levy carry twelve? and how could they march thus laden twenty miles from sunset to midnight? Each soldier, to use so many, must have had a fathom of ground to intrench, and would the Æquians make no effort to break through so thin a line? The manner in which Cincinátus learned his elevation to the dictatorship is also told of his consulate, and twenty years after Clælius is taken just in the same way near Ardea; the giving up of Corbia is a pure invention of the annalists; and finally, the Æquians were not included in the peace of 295, and so could not have been guilty of perjury.

But the dictatorship of Cincinátus appears in reality to have had a much less noble origin. In 295 the quæstors, A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, accused M. Volscius before the curies,* for having by perjury caused the ruin of one of their

* See above, p. 62.

order; the tribunes, however, prevented the patricians from going on with the trial, and nothing could be done in that year. Next year the tribunician power had to give way before that of the dictator, and Cincinnatus had the satisfaction of seeing the accuser of his son driven into exile. He then laid down his office, and retired to his farm.

Under the mild and equitable form of government which we enjoy, it is difficult for us to conceive the bitter, ruthless spirit which animated the oligarchies and democracies of antiquity. On the present occasion, the patricians scrupled at no means of offence; they not only impeded the assemblies of the plebeians, but they caused the most active and daring of them to be assassinated.* But all would not avail; the same tribunes were re-elected every year, and in 297 their number was increased to ten, two from each of the classes; and the next year the senate and curies were obliged to confirm a law, proposed by the tribune Icilius, for assigning the whole of the Aventine to the plebeians. At length, (300,) the patricians gave way on the subject of the Terentilian law, and agreed to a revision of the laws; and three senators were sent to Athens, then flourishing under Pericles, to gain a knowledge of its laws and constitution.

In the year 301 Rome was again visited by the pestilence, and one of the consuls, his successor, four tribunes, an augur, one of the three great flamens, many senators, half the freemen, and all the slaves are said to have died of it. It fell with equal fury on the Volscians, Æquians, Sabines, and other peoples of Italy. †

At length (302) the plague ceased, and the envoys having returned from Greece, a board of ten patricians, one half to be elected by the centuries, (the plebeians having given up their original demand of a share in it, ‡) was appointed to draw up and enact a general code of laws. As in cases of this kind in antiquity the lawgivers were intrusted with all the powers of the state, § the consulate and the other magistracies were all merged in the decemvirate, and the decemvirs were thus invested with nearly absolute power. Being

* Dion Exc. de sent. 22., and Zonaras, vii. 17.

† It was probably connected with the plague at Athens, which broke out some years after, and with the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions which prevailed at this time.

‡ Terentilius had required that of the ten commissioners to be appointed, five should be plebeians.

§ As in the case of Solon and the Thirty at Athens. See History of Greece.

in effect a decury of interrexes, they exercised the supreme power by turns: he who held it was named *Custis Urbis*; he was attended by the twelve lictors, and presided over the senate and the whole republic; his colleagues acted as judges, each being attended by a beadle, (*Accensus*.)

It was not the desire of the Romans to have an entirely new constitution; a selection was to be made out of their existing laws and usages with such improvements as might be derived from those of other nations. The decemvirs applied themselves sedulously to their task, and having drawn up a code in ten laws or tables, they made them public, in order to receive such suggestions as might be offered for their improvement. After some time they laid the amended code before the senate, and, on their approval, before the centuries, whose assent was solemnly ratified by the curies. The laws were then cut on tables of brass, and hung up in the Comitium.

By this celebrated code the two orders were placed on an equality, as far as was possible, at the time. The patricians, with their clients, and the ærarians, were admitted into the plebeian tribes, and all thus united in one civic body, in which the patricians were to form a numerous nobility. The supreme power was to be annually confided, not to consuls, but to a board of ten civil and military officers, one half of whom were to be plebeians. Among the patricians the old distinction of greater and lesser houses seems to have been done away with, for we find soon after the votes taken in the senate without any certain order.*

The law of debt enacted or retained was rigorous in the extreme. In case of a *nexum*, the creditor could arrest his debtor after thirty days, and if he did not discharge his debt or give security, he might take him home and put him in irons, which at the most were to weigh fifteen pounds; if he could not supply himself with food, his creditor was to allow him a pound of corn a day. If after sixty days no arrangement had been made, the debtor was brought before the prætor on three successive market-days, and the amount of his debt proclaimed, and if no one came forward to pay or secure it, the creditor was authorized to kill him or sell him beyond the Tiber. If there were several creditors, they might divide his body among them, and no one could be punished for cutting off more or less than his exact share. †

* Dionys. xi. 16. See above, p. 70.

† Gellius xx. 1. *Si plus minusve secuerrunt se fraude esto.* This

When the time for creating the new magistrates came, the patricians, doubtless with a design of enfeebling, if not overthrowing, the new constitution, sought to have L. Cincinnatus, T. Quinctius, and C. Claudius elected. But Appius Claudius the decemvir, who, from the moment the reform was resolved on, had courted the people, and had now completely won their confidence, was determined to retain the power he had acquired. His colleagues, to impede him, chose him to preside at the election, thinking he would not have the hardihood to put himself in nomination. But they were deceived; he did so, and was elected with four patrician and five plebeian colleagues.

On the ides of May, (304,) the day they were to enter on their office, the decemvirs, to the amazement of the people, came forth, each preceded by twelve lictors with the axes in their fasces. Appius, by his force of character, gained a commanding influence in the college: the government was despotic, but during this year not unjust; no assemblies were held; the senate had little or nothing to do, and most of the senators retired to their farms; externally, there was peace. Toward the end of the year the decemvirs promulgated two new tables of laws, making the whole number twelve, and these, under the name of the Twelve Tables, became the source and foundation of the future Roman law. The decemvirs, like most men when possessed of uncontrolled power, soon began to abuse it. They at first oppressed both orders alike, but they speedily tyrannized almost exclusively over the plebs, now divested of the protection of the tribunate. In this they were supported by the patrician youth, who were eager to gratify their feelings of hatred against the people.

In the second year of the decemvirate (305) the Æquians and Sabines renewed hostilities; the former encamped as usual on the Algidus, the latter at Erêtum. The decemvirs convened the senate to give orders for the levies; when it met, L. Valerius and M. Horatius, the grandsons of the liberators, boldly but to no purpose inveighed against their tyranny. The senate did as they required; the plebeians having nowhere to appeal to, gave their names though with reluctance, and two armies were formed and led by

proves that it could not have been a *sectio bonorum*, as some humane critics suppose. Shylock would have found no difficulty here. The real object of the law was to conquer the avarice and the stubborn obstinacy of the Roman character.

the military decemvirs against the enemies. But each army let itself be beaten; the one on Algidus even abandoned its camp and sought refuge at Tusculum, the other fled by night from near Erêtum and encamped on an eminence between Fidênæ and Crustumeria.

In this army there was a distinguished veteran named L. Siciuius Dentâtus, formerly a tribune of the people. It is said * that he had fought in one hundred and twenty battles, had forty-five scars in front, had gained spears, horse-trappings, and other rewards of valor without number, and had attended the triumphs of nine generals under whom he had served. This man awaked in the army the remembrance of the adjacent Sacred Mount, where, forty-five years before the people had gained their charter, and chid them for not imitating their gallant fathers. The generals, being resolved to put him out of the way, sent him with a party to choose a spot for encampment, giving orders to those under him, who were their own creatures, to fall on and slay him. These executed their mandate; in a lonely spot they assailed the veteran hero, who, placing his back against a rock, perished not unavenged, for fifteen were slain and double the number wounded by his hand. The rest fled back to the camp, crying out how they had fallen into an ambush of the enemy, who had slain their leader and several of their comrades. A party was sent to bury the slain; but they could perceive no traces of an enemy; the body of Siciuius lay unspoiled in his armor; all the slain were Romans, and were turned toward him, and consequently must have fallen by his hand; that he perished by the treachery of the decemvirs therefore was evident. The soldiers were incensed, but a splendid military funeral given to Siciuius by the generals pacified them in some measure.

But a more atrocious deed was done in the city. Appius Claudius, as he sat in the Forum to administer justice, was in the habit of seeing a lovely and modest plebeian maiden go daily, attended by her nurse, to one of the schools which were held about it, to learn the art of writing. She was named Virginia, and was the daughter of L. Virginius, one of the noblest plebeians, and betrothed to L. Icilius, who had been tribune. The decemvir cast an eye of lust on the innocent maiden; he vainly tried the effect of promises and bribes: difficulty only augmented his passion, and he scrupled at no means to gratify it. He therefore directed

* Pliny, H. N. vii. 23.

M. Claudius, one of his clients, to claim her as his slave : his orders were obeyed ; and as Virginia was crossing the Forum on her way to the school, Claudius laid hold on her as his property. At the loud cries of her nurse a crowd collected to oppose him ; Claudius coolly said he needed not force, as his claim was a legal one. All went before the tribunal of Appius, who was sitting in the Comitium. The plaintiff, as had been agreed on, averred that she was the offspring of one of his female slaves, who had given her to the childless wife of Virginius, and he now claimed her as his slave. The friends of Virginia prayed that as her father was absent on the affairs of the state, being a centurion in the army on the Algidus, a delay of two days might be given, and that meantime, by the decemvir's own law, security should be taken for her appearance. Appius, pretending that his law did not apply to the present case, decided that she should be delivered up to the claimant, on his giving security to produce her when required. A cry of horror was raised at this iniquitous sentence, and P. Numitorius and L. Icilius, the uncle and the lover of the maiden, came forward and spoke with such firmness, and the people seemed so determined, that Appius gave way and deferred the decision of the matter till the following day, leaving Virginia meantime in the hands of her friends.

It was the design of the tyrant to send off to his colleagues in the camp, directing them to confine Virginius, and to surround himself next day with a strong body of his partisans and their clients, and carry his point by violence if needful. To conceal his share in the present transaction, he sat some time longer in court ; and Icilius, and his friends, who having seen through his design had secretly directed two active young men to mount and ride off with all speed to the camp, purposely wore away the time in arranging the securities. Their messengers therefore arrived long before the one sent by Appius ; and Virginius, pretending the death of a relative, obtained leave of absence and came to Rome.

At daybreak the Forum was full of people ; Virginius and his daughter in the garb of woe came among them imploring their aid : Icilius also addressed them : the women who were with them wept in silence. Appius came forth attended by an armed train and took his seat : the plaintiff, as instructed, gently reproached him with not having done him justice the day before. Appius, without listening to him or Vir-

ginus, gave sentence that Virginia should be consigned to the claimant till a judge should decide the matter. This horrible decree filled all with silent amazement. M. Claudius advanced to lay hold on the maiden; the women and their friends repelled him. Virginius menaced the decemvir: Appius declared that he knew there was a conspiracy to resist the government, but that he would put it down by force; then, "Go, lictor!" he thundered forth, "disperse the crowd, and make way for the master to take his slave." The people fell back; Virginius, seeing no hope, apologized for his vehemence, and craved permission to take his daughter and her nurse aside and examine them about the matter. Leave was granted; he drew them near a butcher's stall, and snatching up a knife plunged it into his daughter's bosom. Then waving the reeking blade "With this blood," he cried, "Appius, I devote thee and thy head." The tyrant called out to seize him: but, brandishing the knife, he reached the gate, no one daring to stop him, and proceeded to the camp, followed by a number of the people.

Icilius and Numitorius harangued the people over the corpse of the hapless maiden; Valerius and Horatius joined in the call to freedom; the lictors were repelled, and their *fascēs* broken. Appius vainly called on the patricians to stand by him; then in terror for his life he covered his head, and fled into an adjacent house. His obsequious colleague Sp. Oppius, seeing that force would not avail, convened the senate, but it came to no decision. Some zealous patricians were however sent to the camp to try and keep the army in its duty.

But vain were the hopes of the oligarchs; the soldiers, at the call of Virginius, plucked up their standards, marched for Rome, and posted themselves on the Aventine. The senate sent three deputies, charging them with rebellion, and offering pardon to all but the ringleaders on their return to their duty. They were told to send Valerius and Horatius if they desired an answer. These, on being required to go, insisted that the decemvirs should previously abdicate; this the patricians, still relying on their strength, refused to allow. Meantime M. Duilius, a former tribune, convinced the people that as long as they staid in Rome the patricians would never believe they were in earnest; but that if, like their fathers, they retired to the Sacred Mount, they would soon bring them to reason. Instantly the army was in mo-

tion ; leaving a sufficient number to guard the Aventine, they marched unmolested across the city, out by the Colline gate, and, followed by numbers of men, women, and children from the Esquiline and other parts, they encamped on the Sacred Mount. Here they were joined by the other army, who had revolted at the call of Icilius and Numitorius. They acknowledged twenty tribunes, one for each tribe, as their magistrates, at the head of whom were M. Oppius and Sextus Manlius.

The patricians seeing themselves left nearly alone in the city, found that they must yield. Valerius and Horatius came from them to the camp, to learn the demands of the plebeians. Icilius as spokesman required that the tribunate and the right of appeal should be restored ; that no one should be accounted criminal for having urged the people to the secession ; that the decemvirs should be given up to be burnt alive. The deputies replied, that the two first conditions were so reasonable that they should have proposed them themselves ; they prayed them to recede from the last demand. All was then left to their own discretion ; and on their return, the senate passed a decree, that the decemvirs should abdicate and consuls be chosen, the chief pontiff preside at the election of the tribunes, and none be molested for their share in the secession. The plebs then returned, ascended the capitol in arms,* and thence proceeded to the Aventine.

The Pontiff presiding, the people chose their tribunes, among whom were, as they well merited, Virginius, Icilius, Numitorius, and Duilius. On the motion of Duilius, the plebs then ordered that the interrex should hold the election of patrician consuls,† with the right of appeal ; and the centuries when assembled bestowed the consulate on L. Valerius and M. Horatius. These popular consuls forthwith passed laws for the security of the plebs, the senate and curies giving a reluctant consent. The first was that a measure passed by the tribes should be of equal force with one passed by the centuries, and if confirmed by the patricians, should be the law of the land ; the second menaced with outlawry whoever procured the election of a magistrate without appeal ; the third enacted the penalty of outlawry and confiscation of property against any one who

* Cicero for Cornel. J. 24 ; probably to worship the gods. For a somewhat similar act at Athens, see History of Greece, p. 303, 2d edit.

† It was on this occasion the word *consul* was first employed. (Zona ra, vii. 19.) The office now was only provisional.

injured the tribunes, the ædiles, the judges, or the plebeian decemvirs. The legislation was terminated by a bill of the tribune Duilius denouncing death by fire against any one who should leave the people without tribunes, or create a magistrate without appeal.

Vengeance for Virginia was now to be exacted. Virginius summoned Appius and his client Claudius before the tribunal of the tribes. Instead of seeking safety in exile, the haughty decemvir appeared in the Forum surrounded by a band of patrician youths. Virginius ordered him to be seized and laid in chains; the officer approached; Appius claimed the protection of the tribunes; no one stirred; he appealed to the people: the officer dragged him away to prison. His uncle, C. Claudius, who having vainly sought to induce him and his colleagues to lay down their office in the hands of the senate, had retired to his paternal abode at Regillus, came to Rome, and with his gentiles and clients all in mourning went about the Forum supplicating for his release. Virginius, on the other hand, called on the people to remember his and their wrongs. The prayers of the Claudii were of no avail. Appius died in prison, probably by his own hand, before the day of trial came.

Numitorius then impeached the plebeian decemvir Sp. Oppius for not having given protection to Virginia. A veteran who had served in seven-and-twenty campaigns came forward and exhibited the marks of a scourging inflicted on him by Oppius without a cause. *He* too was sent to prison where he died also by his own hand. The other decemvirs were suffered to go into exile, but their property was confiscated. M. Claudius was tried and found guilty; but Virginius remitting the capital punishment, he was allowed to go into exile to Tibur. "The manes of Virginia, more happy in her death than in her life, having roamed through so many houses exacting vengeance, rested at length when no guilty person remained."

To calm the alarms of the patricians, Duilius now declared prosecution to be at an end, and that no one should be molested for his acts during the decemvirate.

CHAPTER IV.

VICTORIES OF VALERIUS AND HORATIUS. — CANULEIAN LAW. — CENSORSHIP AND MILITARY TRIBUNATE. — FEUD AT ARDEA. — SP. MÆLIUS. — ÆQUIAN AND VOLSCIAN WAR. — CAPTURE OF FIDENÆ. — VOLSCIAN WAR. — MURDER OF POSTUMIUS BY HIS OWN SOLDIERS. — VEIENTINE WAR. — CAPTURE OF VEII. — SIEGE OF FALERII. — EXILE OF CAMILLUS.

WHEN all was settled in the city (305) the consuls raised their levies for the Æquian and Sabine campaigns. The young men gave their names readily, the veterans came forward as volunteers. Valerius marched to Mount Algidus; and after a series of manœuvres to raise the confidence of his men, he fell on and defeated the Æquians, and took their camp. Similar good fortune attended Horatius, who had gone against the Sabines; and the two armies returned to Rome at the same time. The consuls, as was the usage, summoned the senate to the temple of Mars without the Capene gate, to give an account of their campaign and demand a triumph. The senate, alleging that they were there under the control of the soldiery, adjourned to the temple of Apollo, where they refused them the honor, as being traitors to their order. The plebs hearing of this indignity, on the motion of Icilius overstepped their legal powers, and voted them a triumph; and thus the patricians by their malignant folly lost one of their privileges.

The victory of Horatius over the Sabines is memorable for having put an end to the wars of this people with Rome. For a century and a half amity prevailed between the two states, grounded probably on treaties, of which no memorial remains. The cause which inclined the Sabines to peace appears to have been the emigration of their warlike youth, who went to join their kindred tribes of Samnium, who were now beginning to appear as conquerors in Campania.

Four years now passed away without any event of much importance. In 310, nine of the tribunes concurred in bringing in a bill for electing one of the consuls from each order; and C. Canuleius, the other tribune, one for granting the *connubium*, that is, legalizing marriage between the two orders. Both these propositions gave great offence to the patricians; the usual expedient of foreign war and levies was recurred to, but in vain; the tribunes were resolute

At length the patricians agreed to pass the Canuleian law. For their good sense must have shown the more prudent, that the patricians as the smaller body were the real sufferers by the prohibition; and in fact these mixed marriages had all along prevailed,* and the families arising from them, and therefore belonging to the plebeians, were the most violent enemies of the patricians. From the debate on this subject we learn that the tribunes were now admitted into the senate-house, but without the right of voting. Their seat was on benches before the open door.†

The other bill was altered, so as to allow of the consuls being taken from the two orders without distinction. Though this was a concession to the patricians, it did not content them. Scenes of violent altercation took place: the heads of the senate held secret deliberations, in which C. Claudius is said to have actually proposed the murder of the tribunes; but even to the two Quinctii this seemed too violent a course, and it was resolved to come to an accommodation with them.

By this compact the constitution assumed a new form; the decemvirate was resolved into its three component parts, which were separated from each other — the censorship, the quæstorship, and the military tribunate with consular authority, — of which the former two were reserved for the patricians, the one to be conferred by the curies, the other by the centuries; the tribunate was open to both orders, and came in place of the consulate. The business of the censors, who were two in number and were elected every five years, was to manage the revenues of the state, and to keep a registry of the citizens according to their ranks and orders. They let the tolls and customs and other taxes, and they enrolled members in the senate, the equestrian order, and the tribes, or excluded such as were unworthy. The power of the censors was therefore very considerable.

By the power which the censorship gave them of packing, as we may term it, the centuries, the patricians were in general able to keep the military tribunate in their own order; nevertheless at the first election, L. Atilius Longus, one of three chosen, was a plebeian. On account of this it was pretended that the election had been irregular, and they were obliged to resign before the end of three months. It is not

* Hence so many patrician and plebeian families of the same name.

† Valerius Maximus, ii. 2, 7.

unlikely that they may have refused to resign, for T. Quinctius was created dictator, who, having held a consular election, laid down his office on the thirteenth day.

In the year 309, the people of Ardea and Aricia, who had been long disputing about the lands of Corioli, which had been lying waste since the time of its ruin by the Volscians, agreed to submit their differences to the decision of the Romans. The curies (*concilium populi* *) adjudged that the disputed lands belonged to neither of them, but had devolved to the Roman people. We know not how this decision was received, but in 311 an alliance was made between the Roman patricians and the corresponding party, or the old Rutulian houses, at Ardea, who were on ill terms with their plebs, with whom they came to open war the following year. The occasion was this: a beautiful plebeian maiden was wooed by one of her own order, and also by a member of the houses; her guardians, for she had no father, were in favor of the former; her mother, urged by female vanity, of the latter. The affair at length came before the magistrates, who, though the right to dispose of their ward plainly lay with the guardians, decided in favor of the patrician. The guardians carried the maiden by force from her mother's; the patricians took up arms; a violent fray arose, and the plebs was driven out of the town: they encamped on an adjoining hill, whence they ravaged the lands of their enemies; the artisans came out of the town and joined them, and Clælius, an Æquian general, led a body of troops to their aid. The houses called on their Roman allies, and the consul, M. Geganius, came and circumvallated the Æquian army that was investing the town. The Æquians had to surrender their general, and to pass under the yoke.† To strengthen the Rutulian houses, colonists were sent thither from Rome.

All was now quiet at Rome, till in 315 a dreadful famine, in consequence of the failure of the crops, came on. L. Minucius, who was created prefect of the corn market, made every exertion to purchase corn, but could only obtain some small supplies from Etruria: all persons were obliged to deliver up what corn they had beyond a month's consumption; the allowance of the slaves was diminished; the corn dealers were prosecuted as regraters and engrossers. Still

* So it is expressly called by Livy, ii. 71. It could not have been the plebs, who had nothing to do with the public land.

† See above, p. 90.

the famine was so sore that numbers of the plebeians threw themselves into the Tiber.

In this universal distress, Sp. Mælius, a wealthy plebeian knight, made extensive purchases of corn in Etruria, which he sold at low prices, or distributed gratis to the poor of his order. This gained him great favor; the patricians became suspicious of him; and Minucius, it is said, accused him to the consuls of the next year (316) of designs against the government: the senate sat a whole day in secret deliberation; the Capitol and other strong posts were garrisoned; and L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, now eighty years of age, was created dictator.

Next morning the dictator entered the Forum with an armed train, and set up his tribunal. At his command, C. Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, went to summon before him Mælius, who was present. Mælius hesitated: the officers advanced to seize him; he snatched up a butcher's knife to defend himself, and ran back into the crowd. Ahala, sword in hand, and followed by a band of armed patrician youths, rushed after him; the people gave way, and he ran Mælius through the body. The murder, for such it undoubtedly was, was applauded by the venerable dictator.* The house of Mælius was pulled down, and its site left desolate, (the *Æquimelium*;) and posterity, following the traditions of the Quinctian and Servilian houses, had no doubt of his guilt, or of the public virtue of Ahala. Their contemporaries, however, thought differently. When the terror of the dictatorship was removed, three tribunes demanded vengeance for the death of Mælius; an insurrection broke out, Ahala had to go into exile, and the patricians were obliged to allow the election of military tribunes, to appease the people.

The year 317 was distinguished by the revolt of Fidæna. This town, which lay five miles up the Tiber, beyond the Anio, had received a colony about sixty years before: a part of the colonists were now expelled, a part probably shared in the revolt. An alliance was formed with the Veientes and Faliscans, and their united forces appeared more than once before the Colline gate. Dictators were appointed against them, and in 320 the dictator A. Servilius Priscus

* Plutarch (*Brutus*, 1) gives a novel view of the act of Ahala. He is with him another Brutus.

conquered the town. The ringleaders were beheaded, but no further penalty was inflicted on the people.

In 322 the pestilence again spread its ravages at Rome: and in 324 the truce with the Æquians being expired, they and a part of the Volscians raised two armies of select troops, bound by oath to conquer or die, and encamped on the Algidus. In this emergency the senate resolved to create a dictator; the consuls, however, refused to proclaim him, and the senate having appealed to the tribunes, they forced the consuls by a menace of imprisonment to submit. The person appointed was A. Postumius Tubertus.

The dictator, aware of the magnitude of the danger, called out all the forces of the state. Four armies were formed; one, the city legions, was left at Rome under the consul C. Julius; the reserve, under the master of the horse, L. Julius, lay without the walls. The dictator and the consul T. Quinctius marched with the remainder to the Algidus, where they were joined by the Latins and Hernicans. They encamped within a mile of the enemy, the consul on the road to Lanuvium, the dictator on that to Tusculum. Skirmishes took place daily, in one of which the dictator's son having left the post assigned him to engage the enemy, was on his return victorious, put to death by his inexorable sire for his breach of orders. At length the enemy made a combined attack by night on the consul's camp; but meantime that of the Æquians was stormed by some cohorts sent against it by the dictator, who himself came by a circuitous route into the rear of those who were assailing the consul's camp. The troops of the dictator and the consul attacked them simultaneously; at break of day the exhausted foe gave way; a brave man named Vettius Messius placing himself at their head, they broke through and made their way to the Volscian camp, which still was safe; but they were soon followed and surrounded there also: the camp was stormed, quarter was given to those who threw down their arms, but all were sold except the senators. The dictator having triumphed, laid down his office. The following year a truce for eight years was made with the Æquians. Among the Volscians there was a peace and a war party, and the former seems to have been the stronger, as during these eight years all was quiet on this side.

In 327, a conspiracy being discovered at Fidênæ, the heads of it were relegated to Ostia; more colonists were sent to Fidênæ, and the lands of those who had been executed or had fallen in war were given to them. This year also was

one of pestilence. The next year (328) war was formally declared against Veii, on which occasion a further progress was made in the constitution, as the tribunes succeeded in having the question brought before the centuries, instead of being decided by the senate alone. One good result of this was that the levies were never again obstructed.

Consular tribunes being elected for 329, they led their forces against Veii, but from their want of concord they gave the enemy an opportunity of falling on and routing them. Mamercus Æmilius was immediately made dictator, and he named A. Cornelius Cossus, one of the tribunes, his master of the horse. The Veientes, elate with their success, sent to invite volunteers from all parts of Etruria and they tried to induce the Fidenates to revolt once more. Envoys were despatched from Rome to warn them of their duty; but the envoys were detained in custody, and the revolt resolved on. Lars Tolumnius, the Veientine king, led his army over the Tiber, and encamped before Fidênæ. He was playing at dice when the Fidenates sent to inquire what should be done with the Roman envoys. Without interrupting his game, he cried, "Put them to death!" His mandate was executed; the colonists were butchered at the same time, and all hopes of pardon thus cut off. The Roman army soon appeared to exact vengeance; the skilful dispositions of the dictator and the valor of his troops gained a complete victory. Lars Tolumnius fell by the hand of the master of the horse, who dedicated his *spolia opîma*, the first since the days of Romulus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Fidênæ was taken, its inhabitants massacred or sold for slaves, and it dwindled into utter insignificance.

A truce with Veii for twenty, and with the Æquians for three (cyclic) years was the only event of the year 330. In 331, as territory had been gained in the late wars, the tribunes demanded that assignments out of it should be made to the plebeians, and the tithe be levied off what was possessed by the patricians for the payment of the troops.

In 332 the Volscians took up arms, being convinced from the growing power of Rome that they must either make a bold and decisive effort, or part with their independence. Their troops were numerous and well disciplined. The consul, C. Sempronius Atratinus, who commanded the Roman army, evinced neither skill nor energy: the soldiers had no confidence either in him or themselves. In the battle they were giving way, when Sex. Campanius, a plebeian knight

calling on the horsemen to dismount and follow him, and raising his spear as a standard, advanced against the foe, who, at the command of their leader, gave way and let them through, and then closed to cut them off from the Roman army. The consul seeing his cavalry thus isolated redoubled his efforts. Tempanius, having vainly essayed to break through again, retired to an eminence, where a part of the Volscians surrounded him. Night ended the conflict: each army, thinking itself conquered, abandoned its camp and wounded, and retired to the mountains. In the morning Tempanius and his comrades, finding the two camps deserted, returned to Rome, where their appearance caused great joy, as the whole army was supposed to be lost. The tribunes were loud in their accusation of the consul, but Tempanius spoke in his favor; and when next year (333) he and three of his brother officers were elected tribunes, and one of their colleagues impeached Sempronius before the people, they protected him, and induced the prosecutor to forego the charge.

During the next seventeen years (334—351) the internal disputes respecting the public land continued, and the patricians, by their old tactics of gaining a majority of the tribunes to their side, prevented any thing being done. But the plebeians were slowly and surely gaining strength. In 334 the consuls proposed that the number of the quæstors of the treasury, which had been two, should be doubled; the tribunes insisted that the new places should belong to the plebeians, and it was agreed that they should be chosen promiscuously out of both orders. This, as in the case of the consular tribunate, was no immediate gain to the plebeians, but they trusted to the sure operation of time. Henceforth a quæstor attended every army to superintend the sale of the booty, the produce of which was either divided among the soldiers or brought into the *Ærarium*, the common treasury of the state, not, as heretofore, into the *Publicum* of the patricians.

The wars with the Æquians and Volscians were continued also throughout this period; but the power of these peoples was greatly crippled by the conquests which the Samnites were now making on their southern frontier. In 337 the Æquians and the Lavicans entered and ravaged the lands of Tusculum, and then encamped on the Algidus. An army was sent against them, which sustained a defeat. Q. Servilius Priscus was then created dictator: he routed the enemies, took their camp, stormed the town of Lavici, and

then laid down his office on the eighth day. In 340 the formerly Latin, now Æquian, town of Bolæ was taken, on which occasion the Roman soldiers committed a crime unknown to their history for centuries after.

The consular tribune M. Postumius, who commanded, had promised them the plunder of the town, but when it was taken he broke his word. He had also been summoned by his colleagues to Rome, where the tribunes were clamoring for a division of the conquered land; and when the tribune Sextius spoke of the rights of the soldiers, "Woe to mine," said he, "if they do not keep quiet!" These words soon made their way to the camp, and still further exasperated the men. A tumult broke out when the quæstor was selling the booty, in which he was struck by a stone. Postumius sat in judgment on this offence, and ordered the most severe punishments. The men became enraged, and losing all respect stoned their general to death. This event was advantageous to the oligarchs, as the plebeians had to allow of the election of consuls for the next year, (342,) and to permit them to institute an inquiry into the death of Postumius. It was conducted with great moderation: the condemned terminated their lives by their own hands.

In 347 the Antiates, seeing the danger which menaced their kindred, engaged in the war. A combined army encamped before the walls of Antium, where it was attacked and totally defeated by a Roman army, led by the dictator P. Cornelius. The campaign of 349 was more important; three Roman armies took the field: one, led by the consular tribune L. Valerius, approached Antium; his colleague P. Cornelius advanced with another against Ecetra; while N. Fabius with the third laid siege to Tarracina, which lay on the side of a steep hill over the Pomptine marshes. A part of the army having gotten to the summit of the hill over the town, it was forced to surrender: the plunder was divided among the three armies, and a colony sent to the town.

A war, the last, with Veii succeeded. At the expiration of the truce the Romans demanded satisfaction for the crime of Tolumnius; the Veientes, who feared war, applied for aid to the other peoples of Etruria, and various congresses were held at the temple of Voltumna to consider the matter. Aid, however, was refused, perhaps through jealousy, more probably in consequence of the pressure of a foe soon to appear on the north of the Apennines; it may also have been

thought that the strength of its walls would enable Veii to resist any attack made on it by the Romans.

The city of Veii, which lay twelve miles from Rome, was encompassed by strong walls four miles in circuit. The Tuscaus, who possessed it, ruled over a population of subjects and serfs much like the Spartans in Greece; their own numbers were small, they could not rely on their subjects, and it was only the aid of volunteers from other parts of Etruria that enabled them at any time to wage war with advantage against the Romans.

The Romans, on their side, saw that though they might ravage the lands of Veii, yet so long as the town remained unconquered, retaliation would be easy; whereas could it be conquered, the advance of the power of Rome might be rapid and permanent. This, however, could only be effected by keeping a force constantly in the field; but to do this it would be necessary to recur to the old practice of giving the troops pay, for which purpose the tithe must be paid honestly off the domain-land. This the senate, rising above the paltry, narrow considerations which used to influence it, resolved should be done, and pay be given to the infantry as well as the cavalry; and as mutual concessions were usually made between the orders, the people seem to have agreed that the *veto* of one tribune — not that of the majority, as heretofore, in the college — should suffice to stop the proceedings of the tribunes, the patricians reckoning that they would be able, in most cases, to gain over one of them. War, therefore, against Veii was declared in the year 349.

The campaigns of the years 350 and 351 seem to have been little more than plundering excursions into the Veientine territory; forts (*castella*) like that on the Cremera were raised and garrisoned to prevent the cultivation of the lands and the passage of supplies to Veii. In the third year (352) siege was laid to the town, a mound advanced against its walls, and the gallery under which the battering rams were to play had nearly reached the wall, when the besieged made a sally, drove off the besiegers, burned the gallery and the sides of the mound, which they then levelled. The news of this reverse only stimulated the Romans to greater exertions; the knights to whom no horses could be assigned offered to serve with their own; a like zeal was manifested by the classes, and the campaign of 353 was opened by the appearance of a gallant army under the consular tribunes L. Virginus and M. Sergius before Veii.

The Veientes on their side were aided by their neighbors the Capenates and Faliscans, who now saw that the danger was a common one.

The Roman generals, who were at enmity with each other, had separate camps; that of Sergius, which was the smaller, was suddenly attacked by the allies, while the Veientes made a sally from the town; the pride of Sergius would not let him send for assistance to the other camp; while Virginius, pretending to believe that if his colleague wanted aid he would apply for it, kept his troops under arms, but would not stir. At length the camp of Sergius was forced: a few fled to the other camp, himself and the greater number to Rome. The other camp had then to be abandoned; and the whole of the tribunes were obliged to lay down their office on account of the misconduct of Virginius and Sergius. Among those chosen to succeed them was M. Furius Camillus, afterwards so famous, whose name now appears for the first time. A large force was brought into the field, with which Camillus and one of his colleagues ravaged the lands of the Capenates and Faliscans up to the walls of their cities.

The internal history of this year (354) was remarkable for a bold attempt of the oligarchs to get two of themselves chosen into the college of the tribunes of the people.* They were, however, utterly foiled; the college was firm and unanimous: a heavy fine was imposed on Sergius and Virginius for their ill conduct, and an agrarian law was passed, which put an end to the frauds by which the payment of the tithe had been eluded. The next year (355) the patricians were forced to allow one plebeian among the military tribunes, and the following year (356) all but the prefect of the city were plebeians.

A severe winter was succeeded by a pestilential summer: still the armies took the field, and formed, as in 354, a double camp before Veii. The Faliscans and Capenates repeated the manœuvre which had succeeded in that year; but the Roman generals were at perfect amity, and they met with a complete defeat. The territories of Capena and Falerii were ravaged again the next year, and in 353 the Tarquinians, who had taken arms and made an incursion into the Roman territory, were waylaid on their return and routed with great loss. In 359, the last year of the war, the tribunes being

* For the patricians were now in the tribes. It, however, continued to be the rule that none but a plebeian could be a tribune.

all plebeians, two of them, L. Titinius and Cn. Genucius, invaded the lands of Capêna and Falerii; but conducting themselves incautiously, they met with a defeat. Genucius fell in the action, Titinius broke through the enemy and got off, the troops before Veii were hardly restrained from flight, and Rome was filled with alarm. Camillus was now raised to the dictatorship; he exerted himself to restore confidence and discipline to the troops: the contingents of the Latins and Hernicans arrived, the dictator took the field, and having given the Faliscans and Capenates a complete defeat at Nepête, he sat down before Veii with a numerous army.

So far the narrative of the Veientine war is historical; in what is to come a poetic tale, of the same kind with those we have already noticed, has usurped the place of the simple narrative of the annals.

Various portents announced the fall of Veii. Among others the waters of the Alban lake rose in the midst of the dog-days, without a fall of rain or any other natural cause, to such a height as to overflow and deluge the surrounding country. Fearing deceit from the Etruscan augurs, the senate sent a solemn embassy to consult the Pythian oracle. The news reached the camp before Veii, and as there was then a truce, and those on both sides who were previously acquainted were in the habit of conversing together, it also came to the knowledge of the Veientines. Impelled by destiny a soothsayer mocked the efforts of the Romans, telling them that the sacred books declared they should never take Veii. A Roman centurion some days after, pretending that a prodigy had fallen out in his house which he was anxious to expiate, invited the aruspex to meet him in the plain between the town and the Roman camp. Seduced by the prospect of the proffered reward he came out; the centurion drew him near the Roman lines, and then suddenly; being young and vigorous, dragged the feeble old man into the camp. He was instantly transferred to Rome; by menaces the senate forced him to tell the truth, and he declared that the books of fate announced that, so long as the lake kept overflowing, Veii could not be taken, and that, if its waters reached the sea, Rome would perish. The envoys arrived soon after from Delphi with a similar reply, the god promising the conquest of Veii if they spread the waters over the fields, and demanding a tithe of the spoil. Forthwith a tunnel was commenced in the side of the mountain to draw off the water of the lake and distribute it over the ad-

jacent fields.* It advanced rapidly: the Veientes, seeing their impending fate, sent an embassy to sue for favor; mercy was unrelentingly refused: the chief of the embassy then warned the Romans to beware, for the same oracles foretold that the fall of Veii would be followed by the capture of Rome by the Gauls. He warned in vain, no mercy was to be obtained.

Meantime the work by which Veii was to be taken went on: the Romans appeared to be waiting the slow effects of a blockade; but their army was divided into six bands, each of which wrought for six hours, by turns, at a mine, which was to lead into the temple of Juno on the citadel. When it was completed, Camillus sent to inquire of the senate what should be done with the spoil. Ap. Claudius advised to sell it, and reserve the proceeds for the pay of the army on future occasions; P. Licinius, a plebeian military tribune, insisted that it should be divided not merely among the troops before Veii, but among all the citizens, as all had made sacrifices. It was so decreed; and on proclamation being made, old and young flocked to the camp.

When the waters of the Alban lake were dispersed over the fields and the mine completed, Camillus, having made a vow to celebrate great games to the gods, and dedicate a temple to Mother Matúta, and also promised high honors to Queen Juno, the patron goddess of Veii, and a tenth of the spoil to the Pythian Apollo, entered the mine at the head of his cohorts. At the same moment the horns sounded for the assault; scaling-ladders were advanced. The citizens hastened to man their walls; their king was sacrificing in the temple of Juno; the aruspex, when he saw the victim, cried out that those who offered it to the goddess would be the victors. The Romans, who were beneath, hearing this, burst forth; Camillus seized and offered the flesh; his men rushed down from the citadel and opened the gates to those without; and thus Veii, like Troy, was taken by stratagem, after a ten years' siege.†

The spoil was immense, and no part of it, except the price of those who had been made prisoners before orders

* The tunnel was actually made at this time, though we are not to suppose it had any thing to do with the fate of Veii. It is 6000 feet long, 3½ wide, and high enough for a man to walk in it, wrought through the lava, which is as hard as iron.

† The mine is as evident a fiction as the Trojan horse. In all ancient history there is no authentic account of a town taken in this way.

were given to spare the unarmed, and who therefore were sold, was brought into the treasury. It is related that as Camillus looked from the citadel down on the magnificent city he had won, he called to mind the envy with which the gods were believed to regard human prosperity, and prayed that it might fall as lightly as possible on himself and the Roman people; as he turned round to worship, he stumbled and fell, and he fondly deemed this to have appeased the envy of the Immortals. He dared then to enter Rome in triumph, in a car drawn by white horses, like that of Jupiter and Sol, (*Sun*.) a thing never witnessed before or after; and the wrath of Heaven fell ere long on himself and the city.

The statue of Queen Juno was now to be removed to Rome, according to the dictator's vow; but as only a priest of a certain house could touch it, the Romans were filled with awe. At length a body of chosen knights, having purified themselves and put on white robes, entered the temple. The goddess being asked if she was willing to go to Rome, her assenting voice was distinctly heard, and the statue of its own accord moved with those who conveyed it out.

The title was to be sent to the god at Delphi; but the spoil was mostly consumed and spent; the pontiffs declared that the state was only accountable for what had been received by the quæstors, and for the land and buildings at Veii, and that therefore the sin of those who kept back their share of it would lie at their own door. Conscience made all refund; but much ill will accrued to Camillus for his not having reminded them in time of his vow. It was resolved to make a golden bowl (*crater*) to the value of the tenth, but there was not sufficient gold in the treasury; the matrons then came forward, and proffered to lend the state their ornaments and jewels of gold: their offer was graciously accepted, and in return the privilege of going through the city in chariots was granted them,—an honor hitherto confined to the principal magistrates. The bowl was made, and a trireme and three envoys despatched with it to Delphi. But the ship was captured and carried into Lipara by some cruisers, who took it for a pirate. Timotheüs however, the chief magistrate of the place, released it, and sent it with a convoy to Greece, for which the Romans granted him the right of *proxeny* to the state. The bowl was deposited in the treasury of the Massalians

whence, not many years after, it was taken and melted down by Onomarchus the Phocian.*

The year after the capture of Veii, (360,) the Capenates were compelled to sue for peace; and a colony of three thousand plebeian veterans were sent to the Æquian country, the patricians hoping to be able to keep the rich Veientine lands to themselves. But the tribunes insisted that the lands and houses there should be assigned to the two orders alike. As this, by dividing the Roman people into two parts, would be the destruction of the unity of the state, the patricians opposed it most warmly: by gaining over two of the tribunes they staved it off for two years; and in 362, when the tribunes were unanimous, and the two who had opposed before had been heavily fined, the senators, by addressing themselves to their plebeian tribesmen, and showing the evil of the measure, got it rejected by a majority of eleven out of the twenty-one tribes. Next day a vote of the senate assigned a lot of seven jugers of Veientine land to every free person who needed it.

In 361, Camillus, being one of the military tribunes, entered the Faliscan territory. The Faliscans had encamped in a strong position about a mile from the town; but he drove them from it, and then advancing, sat down before Falerij. While he was beleaguering this town, the following event is said to have occurred.

It was the custom at Falerii, as in Greece, to place the boys of different families under one master, (*παιδαγωγός*;) who always accompanied them at their sports and exercises. The master of the boys of several of the noblest families, continuing to take them outside of the town to exercise as before the siege, led them one day into the Roman camp, and taking them to Camillus declared that he thereby put Falerii into his hands. The generous Roman, disgusted with such treachery, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and giving rods to the boys, made them whip him into the town. Overcome by such magnanimity, the Faliscans surrendered, and the Roman senate was satisfied with their giving a year's pay to the soldiers.

The year 364 saw Rome at war with two more states of Etruria, Vulsinii, and Salpinum; but their resistance was brief, eight thousand Vulsinians laying down their arms al-

* Diodor. xiv. 93. Appian, Ital. Fragm. 8. See History of Greece Part III. chap. i. For *proxeny*, see same, p. 43, note, 2d edit.

most without fighting, and the Salpinates not daring to leave their walls to defend their lands. A truce for twenty years was made with the Vulsinians, on their giving a year's pay for the Roman troops. But this year was rendered still more notable by the impeachment of Camillus by the tribune L. Apuleius, for having secreted a part of the plunder of Veii. The evidence appears to have been clear against him, (two brazen doors from Veii, it is said, were found in his house,) and the people were exasperated. When he applied to his clients in the tribes to get him off, they replied that they could not acquit him, but that, as in duty bound, they would contribute to pay whatever fine might be imposed on him. Finding his case hopeless, he resolved to go into exile. When outside of the gate of the city, he turned round, and regarding the Capitol, lifted up his hands, and prayed to the gods that Rome might soon have cause to regret him. A fine of 15,000 asses was laid on him by the people.

CHAPTER V.

THE GAULS. — THEIR INVASION OF ITALY. — SIEGE OF CLUSIUM. — BATTLE OF THE ALIA. — TAKING OF ROME. — REBUILDING OF THE CITY. — DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE. — M. MANLIUS. — THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS. — PESTILENCE AT ROME. — M. CURTIUS. — HERNICAN WAR. — COMBAT OF MANLIUS AND A GAUL. — GALLIC AND TUSCAN WARS. — COMBAT OF VALERIUS AND A GAUL. — REDUCTION OF THE RATE OF INTEREST.

THE ruthless prayer of Camillus was accomplished; ambassadors arrived soon after from Clusium in Etruria, praying for aid against a savage people come from the confines of the earth, and named the Gauls.

The people named Celts or Gauls were the original inhabitants of Europe west of the Rhine, where they were spread over France, the British Isles, and a great part, if not all, of Spain. They were in a state of barbarism, far exceeding any that could ever have prevailed in Greece or Italy, having hardly any tillage or trade, and living on the milk and flesh of their cattle. In manners they were tur-

bulent and brutal, easily excited, but deficient in energy and perseverance. Toward the time of the last Veientine war, want, or the pressure of a superior power, (perhaps that of the Iberians in the south,) seems to have obliged several of their tribes to migrate. One portion pushed along the valley of the Danube; another crossed the Alps, and came down on northern Etruria, whose chief town, Melpum, they are said to have taken on the same day that Veii fell, and they rapidly made themselves masters of the whole plain of the Po. They then crossed the Apennines, and laid siege to the city of Clusium in Etruria, (364.)

We are told that it was a Clusine who had invited them into Italy. A citizen of Clusium, named Aruus, had been the guardian of a Lucumo, who, when he grew up, seduced, or was seduced by, his guardian's wife. Aruus, having vainly sought justice from the magistrates, resolved to be revenged on them as well as on his injurer. He loaded mules with skins of wine and oil, and with rush-mats filled with dried figs, and crossing the Alps came to the Gauls, to whom such delicacies were unknown. He told them that they might easily win the land that produced them; and forthwith the whole people arose, with wives and children, and marched for Clusium.*

When the Clusines called on the Romans for aid, the senate sent three of the Fabii, sons of M. Ambustus, the chief pontiff, to desire the Gauls not to molest the allies of Rome. The reply was, that they wanted land, and the Clusines must divide theirs with them. The Fabii enraged went into the town, and then forgetting their character of envoys, and that no Roman could bear arms against any people till war had been declared and he had taken the military oath,† they joined the Clusines in a sally; and Q. Fabius, having slain a Gallic chief, was recognized as he was stripping him. Forthwith Brennus, the Gallic king, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and selecting the hugest of his warriors, sent them to Rome, to demand the surrender of the Fabii. The fetials urged the senate to free the republic from guilt: most of the senators acknowledged their duty, but they could not endure the idea of giving up men of such noble birth to the vengeance of a savage foe. They referred the matter to the people, who instantly cre

* It is scarcely necessary to mention that this is a mere legend

† Cicero, *Offic.* i. 11.

ated the offenders consular tribunes, and then told the envoys that nothing could be done to them till the expiration of their office, at which time, if their anger continued, they might come and seek justice. Brennus, when he received this reply, gave the word "For Rome!" The Gallic horse and foot overspread the plains; they touched not the property of the husbandman; they passed by the towns and villages as if they were friends; they crossed the Tiber, and reached the Alia,* a little stream that enters it about eleven miles from Rome.

They would have found Rome unprepared, says the legend,† but that one night a plebeian named M. Cædicius, as he was going down the Via Nova at the foot of the Palatine, heard a voice more than human calling him by name; he turned, but could see no one; he was then desired by the voice to go in the morning to the magistrates, and tell them that the Gauls were coming. On these tidings, the men of military age were called out and led against the foes, whom they met at the Alia.

According to the real narrative,‡ when the Romans heard of the march of the Gauls, they summoned the troops of their allies, and arming all that could carry arms, took a position near Veii; but on learning that the enemy were making for the city by forced marches, they repassed the river, and advancing, met them at the Alia, (July 16.) The Gauls were 70,000 men strong; the Roman army of 40,000 was divided into two wings or horns, (*cornua*,) the left of 24,000 men rested on the Tiber, the right of 15,000 occupied some broken ground; the Alia was between them and the enemy. Brennus fell on the right wing, which was chiefly formed of proletarians and ærarians, and speedily routed it; the left then, seeing itself greatly outflanked, was seized with a panic, broke, and made for the river: the Gauls assailed them on every side; many were slain, many drowned; the survivors, mostly without arms, fled to Veii. The right wing, when broken, had fled through the hills to

* Virgil, for the sake of his verse, spelled it *Alia*; the true word is *Alia*. Servius on *Æn.* vii. 717.

† Zonaras, vii. 23, from Dion Cassius. Livy and the other writers place this legend much earlier.

‡ The true account of the battle and the taking of Rome is given by Diodorus (xiv. 113—117) from Fabius. Livy and Plutarch follow the legend of Camillus.

Rome, carrying the news of the defeat; ere nightfall the Gallic horse appeared on the Field of Mars, and before the Colline gate; but no attempt was made on the city; and that night and the succeeding day and night were devoted to plundering, rioting, drunkenness, and sleep.

Meantime the Romans, aware of the impossibility of defending the city, resolved to collect all the provisions in it on the Capitol and citadel, which would contain about one thousand men, and there to make a stand. The rest of the people quitted Rome as best they could, to seek shelter in the neighboring towns, taking with them such articles as they could carry. A part of the sacred things was buried; the Flamen Quirinâlis, and the Vestal Virgins crossed the Sublician bridge on foot, with the remainder, on their way to Cære. As they ascended the Janiculum, they were observed by L. Albinus, a plebeian, who was driving his wife and children in a cart; and he made them instantly get down, and give way to the holy virgins, whom he conveyed in safety to Cære. About eighty aged patricians, who were priests, or had borne curule offices, would not survive that Rome which had been the scene of all their glory: having solemnly devoted themselves, under the chief pontiff, for the republic and the destruction of her foes, they sat calmly awaiting death in their robes of state, on their ivory seats in the Forum.

On the second day the Gauls burst open the Colline gate, and entered the city. A death-like stillness prevailed; they reached the Forum; on the Capitol above they beheld armed men; beneath in the Comitium the aged senators, like beings of another world: they were awe-struck, and paused. At length one put forth his hand, and stroked the venerable beard of M. Papirius; the indignant old man raised his ivory sceptre, and smote him on the head; the barbarian drew his sword, and slew him, and all the others shared his fate. The Gauls spread over the city in quest of plunder, fires broke out in various quarters, and ere long the city was a heap of ashes, no houses remaining but a few on the Palatine reserved for the chiefs.

The Gauls, having made divers fruitless attempts to force their way up the *clivus* of the Capitol, resolved to trust to famine for its reduction. But provisions soon began to run short; the dog-days and the sickly month of September came on, and they died in heaps. A part of them had

marched away for Apulia; the rest ravaged Latium far and wide.*

Meantime some people of Etruria (probably the Tarquinians) ungenerously took advantage of the distress of the Romans to ravage the Veientine territory, where the Roman husbandmen had taken refuge with what property they had been able to save. But the Romans at Veii, putting M. Cædicius at their head, fell on them in the night, and routed them; and having thus gotten a good deal of arms, of which they were so much in want, they began to prepare to act against the Gauls. A daring youth named Pontius Cominius swam one night on corks down the river, and eluding the Gauls clambered up the side of the Capitol,† and having given the requisite information to the garrison, returned by the way he came.

But the Gauls soon took notice of a bush which had given way as Cominius grasped it; they also observed that the grass was trodden down in various places; ‡ the rock was therefore not inaccessible, and it was resolved to scale it. At midnight, a party came in dead silence to the spot, and began to ascend. Slowly and cautiously they clomb up; no noise was made, the Romans were buried in sleep, their sentinels were negligent, even the dogs were not aroused. The foremost Gaul had reached the summit, when some geese, which as sacred to Juno had been spared in the famine, being startled, began to flutter and scream. The noise awoke M. Manlius, a consular, whose house stood on the hill; he ran out, pushed down the Gaul, whose fall caused that of those behind, and the whole project was baffled. The negligent captain of the guard was flung down the rock with his hands tied behind his back; and every man on the citadel gave Manlius half a pound of corn, and a quarter of a flask of wine as a reward.

Still famine pressed; the blockade had now lasted six months, and the garrison had begun to eat even the soles

* Among the wonders of this period is the following. While the Gauls surrounded the Capitol, the time of the annual sacrifice of the Fabian gens on the Quirinal arrived. C. Fabius Dorso, who was on the Capitol, then girded himself with the Sabine cincture, took the requisite things in his hands, went down the *clivus*, ascended the Quirinal, performed the sacred rites, and returned, the Gauls, moved either by awe or by religion, offering him no opposition.

† Under the modern Ara Celi, (Nieb. ii. 544.) that is, at the part of the hill farthest from the river, and by the Carmental Gate, (Plut. Camill. 25)

‡ Plutarch, *ut supra*, 26.

of their shoes and the leather of their shields: the Gauls, on their side, found their army melting away, and tidings came that the Venetians had invaded their territory; they therefore agreed to receive one thousand pounds of gold, and depart. At the weighing of the gold Brennus had false weights brought; and when Q. Sulpicius complained of the injustice, he flung his sword into the scale, crying, "Woe to the vanquished!" (*Væ victis!*) The Gauls then departed and recrossed the Apennines with their wealth.* (365.)

It is thus that history relates the transaction; the legend of Camillus tells a different tale. Camillus, an exile at Ardea, had, it says, at the head of the Ardeates, given the Gauls a check; the Romans at Veii passed an ordinance of the plebs, restoring him to his civil rights, and making him dictator; to obtain the confirmation of the senate and curies, Cominius ascended the Capitol. Camillus, at the head of his legions, entered the Forum just as the gold was being weighed; he ordered it to be taken away: the Gauls pleaded the treaty; he replied that it was not valid, being made without the knowledge of the dictator. Each side grasped their arms; a battle was fought on the ruins of Rome: the Gauls were defeated, and a second victory on the Sabine road annihilated their army. Camillus entered Rome in triumph, leading Brennus captive, whom he ordered to be put to death, replying *Væ victis!* to his remonstrances. But to return to history.

Nothing could exceed the miserable condition of the Romans after the departure of the Gauls; their city was one heap of ruins, their property was nearly all lost or destroyed, their former allies and subjects were ill disposed toward them.† We are told in a legend, that the people of Ficulea, Fidene, and some of the adjacent towns, came in arms against Rome; and so great was the panic they caused, that a popular solemnity‡ kept up the memory of it to a late age. They demanded a number of matrons and maidens of good families as the price of peace. The Romans were in the utmost perplexity, when a female slave, named Philôtis or Tutula, proposed a plan to avert disgrace from the ladies of Rome. She and several of her companions were

* Polybius, ii. 22. Suetonius, Tiberius, 3.

† Compare the account of the return of the Jews to their city, given in the Book of Ezra.

‡ *Populifugia*, or *Nonæ Caprotinæ*. Plut. Rom. 29. Camill 33. Macrobi. Sat. i. 11.

clad in the *prætecta*, and amid the tears of their pretended relatives delivered to the Latins. The slaves encouraged their new lords to drink copiously; they fell into a deep sleep, and Tutula, mounting a tree, raised a lighted torch toward Rome. The Romans fell on and massacred their slumbering foes, and Tutula and her companions were rewarded with their freedom. Another tradition* told, that at this period the scarcity of food was such that the men past sixty were thrown into the river as being useless. One old man was concealed by his son, through whom he gave such useful counsel to the state that the practice was ended.

The people shrank from the prospect of rebuilding their ruined city, and it was vehemently urged that they should remove to Veii. Against this project, which would have probably quenched the glory of Rome forever, the patricians exerted themselves to the utmost, appealing to every feeling of patriotism and religion. A word of omen, casual or designed, was decisive. While the senate was debating, a centurion was heard to cry in the Comitium as he was leading his men over it, "Halt! we had best stop here." The senate allowed every one to take bricks wherever he found them, and to hew stone and wood where he liked. Veii was demolished for building materials; and within the year Rome rose in an unsightly irregular form from her ruins.

As a means of increasing the population, the civic franchise was given (366) to the people of such Veientine, Faliscan, and Capenate towns as had come over to the Romans during the Veientine war; and two years after (368) four new tribes (which raised the whole number to twenty-five) were formed out of them.

The wars for some years offer little to interest. The Etruscans are said to have failed in attempts to take Sutrium and Nepête; the Volscians of Antium and Ecetræ went once more to war with Rome, now enfeebled; Hernican and Latin mercenaries fought on their side, but the valor of the Roman legions was still triumphant. The Prænestines also measured their strength with Rome, but the banks of the Alia witnessed their defeat. (375.)

The internal history of this period is of far more importance. It was indeed a time of distress, augmented by the cruelty and harshness of the ruling order. In order

* Festus, s. v. Sexagenarios.

to build their houses, procure farming implements, and other necessary things, the plebeians had to borrow money to a considerable extent. The rate of interest being now raised at Rome, the money lenders (*argentarii*) flocked thither, and under the patronage of the patricians, for which they had to pay high, they lent to the people at a most usurious rate; interest speedily multiplied the principal; there were also outstanding debts to the patricians themselves; the severe law of debt, which the Twelve Tables had left in force, but which, owing to the prosperity of the following years, had rarely been acted on, was again in operation, and freeborn Romans were reduced to bondage at home, or sold out of their country. To augment the distress of the people, the government (urged most probably by superstition) laid on a tribute to raise double the amount of the thousand pounds of gold given to the Gauls, to replace it in the temples whence it had been taken.

In this state of things M. Manlius, the savior of the Capitol, came forward as the patron of the distressed. In birth and in valor, and every other ennobling quality, he yielded to no man of his time, and he ill brooked to see himself kept in the background, while his rival Camillus was year after year invested with the highest offices in the state. This feeling of jealousy may have influenced his subsequent conduct; but Manlius was a man of generous mind, and when one day (370) he saw a brave centurion, his fellow-soldier, led over the Forum in chains by the usurer to whom he had been adjudged, (*addictus*,) his pity was excited, and he paid his debt on the spot. Once in the career of generosity, Manlius could not stop; he sold an estate beyond the Tiber, the most valuable part of his property, and saved nearly four hundred citizens from bondage by lending them money without interest.

His house on the citadel now became the resort of all classes of plebeians; and he is said to have hinted in his discourses with them, that the patricians had embezzled the money raised to replace the votive offerings, and that they should be made to refund and liquidate with it the debts of the poor. The proceedings of Manlius seemed so dangerous to the senate, that, by their direction, the dictator A. Cornelius Cossus had him arrested and thrown into prison. Numbers of the plebeians now changed their raiment, and let their hair and beard grow neglected, as mourners; day and night they lingered about the prison-door; and the

senate, either alarmed or having no real charge against him, set him at liberty.

It is likely that the injustice of the senate may have exacerbated Manlius; at all events he was now become a dangerous citizen, and two of the tribunes impeached him before the centuries for aiming at the kingdom. His own order, his friends and kinsmen, and even his two brothers, deserted him in his need; a thing unheard of, for even for the decemvir all the Claudian house had changed their raiment. On the Field of Mars he produced all whom he had preserved from bondage for debt, and those whose lives he had saved in battle; he displayed the arms of thirty foes whom he had slain, and forty rewards of valor conferred on him by different generals; he bared his breast, covered with scars, and looking up to the Capitol implored the gods, whose fanes he had saved, to stand by him in his need. This appeal to gods and men was irresistible, and he was acquitted by the centuries. But his enemy Camillus was dictator, and he was arraigned before the curies, (*concilium populi*,) assembled in the Pœtilian grove, before the Nomentan gate, who readily condemned him to death.

Manlius was either already in insurrection, or he resolved not to fall a passive victim. He and his partisans occupied the Capitol; treachery was then employed against him; a slave came, feigning to be a deputy from his brethren; and as Manlius was walking on the edge of the precipice in conference with him, he gave him a sudden push, and tumbled him down the rock.*

The house of Manlius was razed; a decree was passed that no patrician should ever dwell on the Capitol; and the Manlian gens made a by-law that none of them should ever bear the name of Marcus. The people mourned him; and the pestilence with which Rome was shortly afterwards afflicted was regarded as a punishment sent by the gods to avenge the death of the preserver of their temples.

Meantime the misery of the plebeians went on increasing; day after day debtors were dragged away from the prætor's tribunal to the private dungeons of the patricians; the whole plebeian order lost spirit; and the greedy, short-sighted patricians were on the point of reducing Rome to a feeble, contemptible oligarchy, when two men appeared, who by their

* Dion. fragm. xxxi. Zonaras, vii. 24. In this manner Odyseus, one of the Greek chiefs in the late war, was killed at Athens.

wisdom and firmness, changed the fate of Rome, and with it that of the world. These were the tribunes C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius Lateranus.

In the year 378 they proposed the three following rogations.

1. Instead of consular tribunes, there shall in future be consuls, one of whom shall of necessity be a plebeian.

2. No one shall possess more than five hundred jngers of arable or plantation land in the domain, (*ager publicus*,) nor feed more than one hundred head of large and five hundred of small cattle on the public pasture. Every possessor must pay the state annually the tenth bushel off his corn-land, the fifth of the produce of his plantation-land, and so much a head grazing-money for his cattle. He shall also employ freemen as laborers in proportion to his land.

3. The interest already paid on debts shall be deducted from the principal, and the residue be paid in three equal annual instalments.

There is no reason to suppose that the authors of these measures, which were to infuse new life and energy into the state, were influenced by any but the best motives; but patrician malignity, and that ignoble spirit which loves to assign a paltry motive for even the most glorious actions, invented the following tale.

M. Fabius Ambustus had two daughters, one of whom was married to Ser. Sulpicius, a patrician and consular tribune for the year 378; the other to C. Licinius Stolo, a wealthy plebeian. One day, while the younger Fabia was visiting her sister, Sulpicius returned from the Forum, and the lictor, as was usual, smote the door with his rod that it might be opened. The visitor, unused to such ceremony in her modest plebeian abode, started, and her sister smiled in pity of her ignorance. She said nothing, but the matter sank deep in her mind; her father, observing her dejected, inquired the cause; and having drawn it from her, assured her that she should be on an equality with her sister; and he, Licinius, and Sextius forthwith began to concert measures for effecting what he proposed.*

The struggle lasted five years.† The patricians had not

* Fabius had been a consular tribune within the last four years. How then could his daughter be ignorant of the pomp of the office? Moreover, there was nothing to prevent Licinius from being one himself, as the office was open to plebeians.

† Livy makes it last ten years, and the city in consequence be in a

now as heretofore, the Latins, Hernicans, and Volscians to call to their aid; neither had they large bodies of clients at their devotion. They therefore sought to gain the other tribunes, by representing the mischievous nature of the bills; and they succeeded so well, that eight of the college forbade them to be read. Licinius and Sextius retaliated by impeding the election of consular tribunes. They were themselves re-elected year after year, and they never permitted the election of consular tribunes, unless when the state was in danger from its foreign enemies. In 381, the opposition in the college was reduced to five, and these wavering: the next year (382) the tribunes were unanimous, and the only resource of the oligarchs lay in the dictatorship. Camillus was appointed: and when the tribes were beginning to vote, he entered the Forum, and commanded them to disperse. The tribunes calmly proposed a fine of 500,000 asses on him if he should act as dictator. Camillus saw that the magic power of the dictatorial name was gone, and he laid down his office. The senate appointed P. Manlius to succeed; and he named C. Licinius, a plebeian, master of the horse. It was agreed to augment the number of the keepers of the Sibylline books to ten, one half to be plebeians; and, the dictator not impeding the people, with their wonted short-sightedness and ingratitude were beginning to vote the two last rogations, which concerned themselves most nearly; but Licinius, telling them they must eat if they would drink,* incorporated the three bills in one, and would have all or none. In 383 (388) the bills passed the tribes; but Camillus was again made dictator against the people. The tribunes sent their officers to arrest him; he saw the inutility of further resistance, and the senate and curies gave their assent to the law. L. Sextius, being appointed plebeian consul, a last effort was made by the curies, who refused to confirm him. The people lost all patience,

state of complete anarchy, without any supreme magistrates, for five years, — a condition of things which is utterly impossible. The cause of this is, that the capture of Rome by the Gauls, which really occurred in Ol. 99, 3, was supposed to have happened in Ol. 98, 1, the date which the Greek chronologers gave for the descent of the Gauls into Italy; and to reconcile the Roman Fasti with this, it was necessary to suppose that five years had passed without magistrates; and it was assumed that this must have been during the disputes on the Licinian rogations. Another year was put in on another occasion, so that the dates henceforth are five, from 439, six years in advance; the death of Cæsar, therefore, was in 702, not 708; the birth of Christ in 746 not 752. See Niebuhr, ii. 553—567.

Dion. fragm. xxxiii.

seized their arms, and retired to the Aventine.* The venerable Camillus, weary of civil discord, became the mediator of peace, and vowed a temple to Concord. The people consented that the city-prætorship should be confined to the houses, as a curule dignity coördinate with the consulate.† The office of curule ædiles, to be filled in alternate years by two patricians and two plebeians, was instituted; and one day for the plebeians, as being now an integrant part of the nation, was added to the three of the Great Games. The centuries, to reward the illustrious Camillus, elected his son M. Furius the first city-prætor.

The passing of the Licinian laws may be regarded as the termination of the struggle which had been going on for nearly a century and a half between the orders. In the whole course of history there is perhaps nothing to be found more deserving of admiration than the conduct of the plebeians throughout the entire contest; no violence, no murders, no illegal acts on their part are to be discerned, though the annals whence we derive our knowledge of it were drawn up and kept by the opposite party. One is naturally led to inquire into the causes of this moderation; and they will perhaps be found to be as follows. In the first place, that steadiness and spirit of obedience to law and authority, which seems to have belonged to the Roman character while the nation continued pure and unmixed; next, the fact that the plebeians were, at this time, composed of small landed proprietors, living frugally and industriously on their little farms, and visiting the city only on market-days. But the chief cause was, that they acted under the guidance of their natural leaders, their nobility and gentry, and not of brawling demagogues; for the Licinii, the Icili, the Junii, and others were, in birth and wealth, the fellows of the Quinctii and the Manlii, who excluded them from the high offices in the state. It was, in fact, a part of the fortune of Rome, that she never was afflicted with the scourge of the selfish, low-born, lying, arrogant demagogues, the curse of the Grecian republics. When she was doomed to have her demagogues also, they were beasts of prey of a higher order, of her nobles and most ancient patrician houses, the Corneli, the Julii, the Claudii, who, disdainng to fawn on and flatter the electors whom

* Ovid, Fasti, i. 643.

† The curule magistrates were so named as being allowed to go to the senate-house in a chariot, (*currus*;) their movable seat (*sella curulis*) was taken out, and carried in after them. Gellius, iii. 18.

they despised, purchased their venal votes, or terrified them and carried their measures by the swords of armed bandits. But these unhappy times are yet far off; two centuries of glory are to come before we arrive at them. To return to our narrative.

In the two following years, (390, 391,) Rome was severely afflicted by a pestilence, which carried off numbers of all orders: among them was the venerable M. Furius Camillus, the second founder, as he was styled, of the city, a man who though his deeds have been magnified by fiction, must have been really one of the greatest that even Rome ever saw. As a means of appeasing the divine wrath, a *lectisternium** was made for the third time, and stage-plays were celebrated, the actors being fetched from Etruria. The Tiber also rose at this time and inundated the city.

It had been an old custom at Rome, that, on the Ides of September, the chief magistrate should drive a nail into the right side of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The reason of this practice was, that a regular account might be kept of the years. It had, however, been for some time intermitted; but it being given out (392) that a plague had once ceased when a dictator drove the nail, the senate seized the opportunity of making an attempt to get rid of the late laws, and L. Manlius Imperiosus was named dictator. Having driven the nail, he commenced a levy against the Hernicans; but the tribunes forced him to desist and abdicate; and the next year (393) the tribune, M. Pomponius, impeached him for his harshness and cruelty in the levy. One charge on which the tribune dwelt was his keeping his son, merely for a defect in his speech, at work in the country, among his slaves. The young man, when he heard of this charge against his parent, armed himself with a knife, and coming early one morning into the city, went straight to the tribune's house. On telling his name he was admitted; at his desire all were ordered to withdraw, the tribune naturally thinking he was come to give him some important information. Manlius then drawing his knife, menaced him with instant death if he did not swear to drop the prosecution. The terrified tribune swore; the charge against Manlius was not proceeded in; and the people, to show their admiration of his filial piety, elected the young man one of the legionary tribunes for the year.

* That is, exposing the images of the gods in public.

The following romantic act is also placed in this year. A great chasm opened in the middle of the Forum; to fill it up was found to be impossible; the soothsayers announced that it would only close when it contained what Rome possessed of most value, and that then the duration of the state would be perpetual. While all were in doubt and perplexity, a gallant youth, named M. Curtius, demanded if Rome had any thing more precious than arms and valor. He then mounted his horse, fully caparisoned, and while all gazed in silence, regarding now the Capitol and the temples of the gods, now the chasm, he solemnly devoted himself for the weal of Rome; then giving his horse the spurs, he plunged into the gulf and disappeared; the people poured in fruits and other offerings, and the yawning chasm at length closed.*

A war, the cause of which is not assigned, being now declared against the Hernicans, the plebeian consul L. Genucius invaded their territory. But he let himself be surprised, his soldiers fled, and he himself was slain. The victorious Hernicans advanced to assail the camp: but the soldiers, encouraged and headed by the legate C. Sulpicius, made a sally and drove them off. At Rome the news of the defeat and death of the consul gave the utmost joy to the patricians. "This comes," they cried, "of polluting the auspices: men might be insulted and trifled with, not so the immortal gods." Ap. Claudius was forthwith created dictator, and having levied an army he went and joined that under Sulpicius. The Hernicans on their side strained every nerve; all of the military age were summoned to the field; eight cohorts, of four hundred men each, of chosen youths, with double pay and a promise of future immunity from service if victorious, stood in the front of their line. The courage, skill, and discipline of the two now adverse peoples were equal. The battle was long and obstinate: the Roman knights had to dismount and fight in the front. The conflict ended only with the night; a dubious victory remained with the Romans, who had lost one fourth of their men and several of their knights. Next day the Hernicans abandoned their

* The legend was evidently invented to give an origin to the *Lacus Curtius*, as a part of the Forum was named. The historian Piso, who sought to rationalize all the legends of the old history, said that it was so named from Mettus Curtius, a Sabine, who in the war between Romulus and Tatius, plunged with his horse into the lake which then occupied that place

camp; the Romans were too much exhausted to pursue, but the colonists of Signia fell on and routed them. The following year (394) the Romans ravaged their lands with impunity, and took their town of Ferentinum. As the legions were returning, the Tiburtines closed their gates against them, which gave occasion to a war with this people.

The Gauls, owing most probably to the influx of new hordes from home, had for many years spread their ravages to the very utmost point of Italy. Latium suffered with the rest; and a Gallic army is said to have appeared at this time on the Anio. T. Quinctius Pennus, the dictator, led an army against them. While they stood opposite each other, a Gaul of gigantic stature advanced on the bridge, and challenged any Roman to engage him. T. Manlius (he who had saved his father) then went to the dictator and craved permission to meet the boastful foe. Leave was freely granted; his comrades armed him and led him against the huge Gaul, who put out his tongue in derision of the pigmy champion. In the combat the Gaul made huge cuts with his heavy broadsword; the Roman, running in, threw up the bottom of the foeman's great shield with his own, and, getting inside of it, stabbed him again and again in the belly, till he fell like a mountain. He took nothing from him save his golden collar, (*torquis*,) whence he derived the name of Torquatus.* The Gauls, dismayed at the fall of their champion, broke up in the night and retired to Tiber.

The following year (395) the Gauls again appeared, and, united with the Tiburtines, committed great ravages in Latium; they even advanced to the walls of Rome, where Q. Servilius Ahala was made dictator, and a battle was fought before the Colline gate. The loss on both sides was considerable, but the Gauls were driven off, and as they approached Tibur they were attacked by the consul C. Pœtelius and the victory completed.

Two years after (397) the Gauls came again into Latium and encamped at Pedum. The common danger caused a renewal of the ancient alliance between Rome and Latium, and a combined army, under the dictator C. Sulpicius, took the field. The dictator, loth to risk a battle when the enemy might be overcome more surely by delay, encamped in a strong position, which the Gauls did not venture to attack;

* The legend, which reminds one of David and Goliath, was apparently invented to account for the name. The tale how our own *Cœur de Lion* "robbed the lion of his heart," is a more modern instance of this practice.

but his own soldiers grew impatient, and demanded to be led to battle. Sulpicius, fearing he might not be able to restrain them, complied; but the event justified his caution; the legions were driven back, and but for the efforts of despair which they made at the call of the dictator, and a stratagem which he had devised, they would have sustained a defeat. He had the night before sent off all the horse-boys, armed and mounted on mules, into the woods on the hills over his camp, and directed them when he made a signal to show themselves and advance toward that of the enemy. He now made the signal; the Gauls, fearing to be cut off from their camp, fell back; the Romans pressed on them, and they broke and made for the woods, where great numbers of them were slain. The gold found in their camp was walled up in the Capitol, and the dictator triumphed as he deserved.

But while the arms of Rome were thus fortunate under the dictator, they sustained a disgrace under the consul C. Fabius in Etruria; for the Tarquinians, with whom there now was war, gave him a defeat; and, having taken three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, they offered them as victims to their gods. The Roman territory to the south was also ravaged by the Volscians of Velitræ and Privernum; but the next year (398) the Privernates were defeated under their own walls by the consul C. Marcius.

This year was rendered memorable by the condemnation of C. Licinius for the transgression of his own law. He was fined 10,000 asses for having one thousand jugers of the public land, one half being held in the name of his son whom he had emancipated for the purpose of eluding the law. By a rogation of the tribunes M. Duilius and L. Mænius, the rate of interest was reduced to ten per cent., (*fœnus unciarium*;) an attempt was made also by the patricians to have laws passed away from the city, by the soldiers when under the military oath. The consul Cn. Manlius held in the camp at Sutrium an assembly of the tribes, and passed a law, imposing an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on the emancipation of slaves. The law was a good one; the senate readily gave it their sanction; but the tribunes saw their ulterior object, and made it capital to hold such assemblies in future.

In 399 the consul M. Fabius engaged a combined army of the Tarquinians and Faliscans. The Tuscan Lucumônes, we are told, rushed out in front of their line, shaking serpents and waving lighted torches. This novel apparition at first daunted the Romans; but they soon shook off the terrors of superstition, routed their foes, and took their camp. D

would nowever appear that the victory was in reality on the side of the Tuscans, for they soon after entered the Salinæ, and it was found necessary to appoint a dictator. The plebeian consul M. Popillius Lænas named the plebeian C. Marcius Rutilus, who made another plebeian, C. Plautius, master of the horse. The patricians refused the dictator all the means of forming an army, but the people gave him every thing he required; he defeated the enemy, took eight thousand prisoners, and triumphed without the consent of the patricians.

As the alliance had been renewed with the Latins and Hernicans, the oligarchs resolved to make a bold effort to get rid of the Licinian law; and for five successive years, by means of interrexes and dictators, the consuls were, in spite of the tribunes, both patricians. During this period nothing of note occurred except a defeat of the Tarquinians in 401; on which occasion three hundred and fifty-eight of the principal men among the captives were brought to Rome and put to death in the Forum, in retaliation of their barbarity in the year 397. The Cærites also, being accused of sharing in the war, only escaped the vengeance of Rome by the surrender of one half of their domain. They were then granted a truce for one hundred years.

At length the patricians were obliged to give way, and (403) C. Marcius Rutilus, the plebeian, became the colleague of a Valerius in the consulate.

It might be expected from the names of the consuls that something would be done to relieve the distress of the people. Accordingly, five commissioners, (*quinqueviri mensarii*,) two patricians and three plebeians, were appointed for the liquidation of debts. Money was advanced out of the treasury to those who could give good security; if any one preferred making his property over to his creditors, it was valued and transferred to them. As many objects thus changed hands, a new *census* was required, and in spite of all the efforts of the patricians, who had recovered the whole consulate this year, (404,) C. Marcius Rutilus was chosen the first plebeian censor.

In the year 405 the Gauls poured once more into Latium. The consul M. Popillius Lænas, a plebeian, marched against them, and took a position on a strong eminence. The Triarians commenced fortifying a camp; the rest of the cohorts were drawn out; the Gauls charged up-hill; the consul received a slight wound and had to retire; this damped the spirit of his men, but he soon returned and restored the battle,

the Gauls were driven down into the plain, and they abandoned their camp and fled to the Alban mountains, whence they spread their ravages over the country during the following winter.

The plebeian consul triumphed; but L. Furius Camillus, being made dictator for the elections, had the audacity to nominate himself and another patrician for the ensuing year, (406,) and the people were obliged to acquiesce. A large army, composed of Latins and Romans, was formed, which the consul Camillus led into the Pomptine district, where the Gauls now were. While the two armies lay opposite each other, a huge Gallic chief advanced and challenged any Roman to engage him in single combat. M. Valerius, a military tribune, a young man of three-and-twenty years, accepted the challenge. Just as the combat began, a raven (*corvus*) came and perched on the Roman's head, and during the fight he continually assailed with his beak and claws the face and eyes of the foe, whom therefore Valerius easily slew, the raven then rose, and flying to the east was soon out of sight. When the victor went to strip the slain, the nearest Gauls advanced to prevent him; this brought on a general action; the Gauls were worsted and retired, and they never again appeared in Latium. Valerius, who was henceforth named *Corvus*,* was rewarded by the consul with ten oxen and a golden crown, and when T. Manlius Torquatus was made dictator for the elections, he named him consul with the plebeian M. Popillius Lænas.

In the consulate of T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Plautius, (403,) a further effort was made to relieve the debtors. Interest was reduced to five per cent., (*fœnus semiunciarium*), and debts were to be paid in four equal instalments, one down, and the remainder in one, two, and three years. It is not unlikely that one of the various reductions of the weight of the *as* took place at this time.

In the year 404 a truce for forty years had been made with the Faliscans and the Tarquinians; the ancient league, as we have seen, had been renewed with the Latins and Hernicans; all was quiet on the side of the Volscians, when Rome had to enter the lists with a foe more formidable than any she had yet encountered.

* The legend, like that of Torquatus, was invented to account for the name. The *cognomen* was not new; we find in the Fasti for 363 an *Aquilius* and a *Fulvius Corvus*.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST SAMNITE WAR. — MUTINY IN THE ROMAN ARMY. — PEACE WITH THE SAMNITES. — LATIN WAR. — MANLIUS PUT TO DEATH BY HIS FATHER. — BATTLE OF VESUVIUS, AND SELF-DEVOTION OF DECIUS. — REDUCTION OF LATIUM. — PUBLILIAN LAWS. — SECOND SAMNITE WAR. — SEVERITY OF THE DICTATOR PAPIRIUS. — SURRENDER AT THE CAUDINE FORKS. — CAPTURE OF SORA. — TUSCAN WAR. — PASSAGE OF THE CIMINIAN WOOD. — SAMNITE AND TUSCAN WARS. — PEACE WITH THE SAMNITES.

In the year 332 a body of the Samnites had descended from their mountains into the rich plains of Campania. By composition they became the *populus* or ruling order in the city of Vulturnum, (henceforth named Capua,) a city equal in size to Rome or Veii, and at all times noted for its luxury and its relaxing effects on the minds of those who abode in it. The Samnites of the city and plain gradually changed their manners, and became estranged from their rugged mountain brethren. In 412 these last, urged by their adventurous spirit or the pressure of population, came down on the country between the Vulturnus and the Liris, inhabited by the Sidicinians and other Ausonian peoples. The Sidicinians applied to the Campanians for aid, and the militia of Capua took the field against the Samnites; but the hardy mountaineers easily routed them before the walls of Teanum, and then transferring the war to Campania, came and encamped on Mount Tifata, which overhangs Capua. The plundering of their lands, the burning of their houses and homesteads, drew the Campanians again to the field; but again they were defeated, and were now shut up in their town. Finding their own strength insufficient they looked abroad for aid, and none appearing so well able to afford it as the triple federation south of the Tiber, their envoys appeared at Rome. A treaty of alliance was readily formed with them; and as there had been since 401 an alliance between the Romans and Samnites, envoys were sent to inform them of this new treaty, and to require them to abstain from hostilities against the allies of the federation. The Samnites looked on this as a breach of treaty, and in the presence of the Roman envoys orders were given to lead the troops into Campania.

War against the Samnites was therefore declared at Rome, and the consuls ordered to take the field.

The consul M. Valerius Corvus led his legions into Campania, where, probably in consequence of some reverses of which we are not informed, he encamped on the side of Mount Gaurus over Cumæ. The Samnite army came full of confidence; the consul led out his troops, and a battle commenced, highly important in the history of the world, as the prelude of those which were to decide whether the empire of Italy and of the world was reserved for Rome or for Samnium.

The two armies were equal in courage, and similarly armed and arrayed; that of the Samnites consisted entirely of infantry, and the horse, which the consul sent first into action, could make no impression on its firm ranks. He then ordered the horse to fall aside to the wings, and led on the legions in person. The fight was most obstinate: each seemed resolved to die rather than yield: at length a desperate effort of despair on the part of the Romans drove the Samnites back; they wavered, broke, and fled to their intrenched camp, which they abandoned in the night and fell back to Suessula. They declared to those who asked why they had fled, that the eyes of the Romans seemed to be on fire, and their gestures those of madmen, so that they could not stand before them.

The other consul, A. Cornelius Cossus, having been directed to invade Samnium, led his army to Saticula, the nearest Samnite town to Capua. The Apennines in this part run in parallel ranges, enclosing fertile valleys, from north to south, and the road to Beneventum passes over them. The consul, advancing carelessly, had crossed the first range, and his line of march had reached the valley, when on looking back they saw the wooded heights behind them occupied by a Samnite army: to advance was dangerous, retreat seemed impossible. In this perplexity a tribune named P. Decius proposed to occupy with the *Principes* and *Hastates* of one legion (that is, 1600 men) a height over the way along which the Samnites were coming. The consul gave permission; Decius seized the height, which he maintained against all the efforts of the enemy till the favorable moment was lost, and the consul had led back his army and gained the ridge. When night came, the Samnites encamped about the hill and went to sleep; in the second watch Decius led down his men in silence, and they took their way through the midst of

The slumbering foes. They had gotten half through, when one of the Romans in stepping over the Samnites struck against a shield; the noise awoke those at hand; the alarm spread; the Romans then raised a shout, fell on all they met, and got off without loss. They reached their own camp while it was yet night, but they halted outside of it till the day was come. At dawn, when their presence was announced, all poured forth to greet them, and Decius was led in triumph through the camp to the consul, who began to extol his deeds; but Decius interrupted him, saying that now was the time to take the enemy by surprise. The army was led out, and the scattered Samnites were fallen on and routed with great slaughter. After the victory the consul gave Decius a golden crown and a hundred oxen, one of which was white with gilded horns; this Decius offered in sacrifice to Father Mars, the rest he gave to his comrades in peril, and each soldier presented them with a pound of corn and a pint (*sextarius*) of wine, while the consul, giving them each an ox and two garments, assured them of a double allowance of corn in future. The army further wove the obsidional crown of grass and placed it on the brows of Decius, and a similar crown was bestowed on him by his own men. Such were the generous arts by which Rome fostered the heroic spirit in her sons!

Meantime the Samnites at Suessula had been largely reinforced, and they spread their ravages over Campania. The two consular armies being united under Valerius, came and encamped hard by them, and as Valerius had left all the baggage and camp-followers behind, the Roman army occupied a much smaller camp than was usual to their numbers. Deceived by the size of their camp the Samnites clamored to storm it, but the caution of their leaders withheld them. Necessity soon compelled them to scour the country in quest of provisions, and emboldened by the consul's inactivity they went to greater and greater distances. This was what Valerius waited for; he suddenly assailed and took their camp, which was but slightly guarded; then leaving two legions to keep it, he divided the rest of the army, and falling on the scattered Samnites, cut them every where to pieces. The shields of the slain and fugitives amounted, we are told, to 40,000, the captured standards to 170. Both consuls triumphed.

While the Roman arms were thus engaged in Campania, the Latins invaded the territory of the Pelignians, the kinsmen and allies of the Samnites.

No military events are recorded of the year 413, but a strange tale of an insurrection of the Roman army has been handed down. The tale runs thus: The Roman soldiers who in 412 had been left to winter in Capua, corrupted by the luxury which they there witnessed and enjoyed, formed the nefarious plan of massacring the inhabitants, and seizing the town. Their projects had not ripened when C. Marcius Rutilus, the consul for 413, came to take the command. He first, to keep them quiet, gave out that the troops were to be quartered in Capua the following winter also; then noting the ringleaders, he sent them home under various prettexts, and gave furloughs to any that asked for them: his colleague, Q. Servilius Ahala, took care to detain all who came to Rome. The stratagem succeeded for some time; at length the soldiers perceived that none of their comrades came back; a cohort that was going home on furlough halted at Lautula,* a narrow pass between the sea and the mountains east of Tarracina; here it was joined by all who were going home singly on leave, and the whole number soon equalled that of an army. They broke up, and marching for Rome encamped under Alba Longa. Feeling their want of a leader, and learning that T. Quinctius, a distinguished patrician, who being lame of one leg from a wound had retired from the city, was living on his farm in the Tusculan, they sent a party by night, who seized him in his bed, and gave him the option of his death or becoming their commander; he came to the camp, was saluted as general, and desired to lead them to Rome. Eight miles from the city they were met by an army led by the dictator M. Valerius Corvus. Each side shuddered at the thought of civil war, and readily agreed to a conference. The mutineers consented to intrust their cause to the dictator, whose name was a sufficient security. He rode back to the city, and at his desire the senate and curies decreed that none should be punished for, or even reproached with, their share in the mutiny, that no soldier's name should be struck out of the roll without his own consent, that no one who had been a tribune should be made a centurion, and that the pay of the knights (as they had refused to join in the mutiny) should be reduced. And thus this formidable mutiny commenced in crime, and ended in — nothing!

Another and a far more probable account says that the

* There were probably warm springs here; whence the name, like Thermopylæ, which it resembles in situation. (Hist. of Greece, p. 110.)

insurrection broke out in the city, where the plebeians took arms, and having seized C. Manlius in the night, and forced him to be their leader, went out and encamped four miles from the city, where, as it would seem, they were joined by the army from Campania. The consuls raised an army and advanced against them; but when the two armies met, that of the consuls saluted the insurgents, and the soldiers embraced one another. The consuls then advised the senate to comply with the desires of the people, and peace was effected.

The still existing weight of debt seems to have been the cause of this secession also, and a cancel of debts to have been a condition of the peace. Lending on interest at all is said to have been prohibited at this time by a *plebiscitum*, or decree of the tribes; and others were passed forbidding any one to hold the same office till after an interval of ten years, or to hold two offices at the same time. It was also decreed that both the consuls might be plebeians. The name of the tribune L. Genucius being mentioned, it is probable that he was the author of the new laws.

The following year (414) peace was made with the Samnites, on the light condition of their giving a year's pay, and three months' provisions to the Roman army; and they were allowed to make war on the Sidicinians. This moderation on the side of the Romans might cause surprise, were it not that we know they now apprehended a conflict with a powerful people.

The Sidicinians and Campanians, on being thus abandoned, put themselves under the protection of the Latins, with whom the Volscians also formed an alliance. The Hernicans adhered to the Romans, and the Samnites also became their allies. War between Rome and Latium now seemed inevitable, and T. Manlius Torquatus, and P. Decius Mus* were made consuls for 415 with a view to it. But the Latins would first try the path of peace and accommodation; and at the call, it is said, of the Roman senate, their two prætors, and ten principal senators, repaired to Rome. Audience was given them on the Capitol, and nothing could be more reasonable than their demands. Though the Latins were now the more numerous people of the two, they only required a union of perfect equality, — one of the consuls and one half the senate to be Latins, while Rome should be

* This was the Decius who had saved the army in the campaign of 412.

the seat of government, and Romans the name of the united nation. But the senate exclaimed against the unheard-of extravagance of these demands, the gods were invoked as witnesses of this scandalous breach of faith, and the consul Manlius vowed that if they consented to be thus dictated to, he would come girt with his sword into the senate-house, and slay the first Latin he saw there. Tradition said that when the gods were appealed to, and the Latin prætor Annius spoke with contempt of the Roman Jupiter, loud claps of thunder and a sudden storm of wind and rain told the anger of the deity, and as Annius went off full of rage, he tumbled down the flight of steps and lay lifeless at the bottom. It was with difficulty that the magistrates saved the other envoys from the fury of the people. War was forthwith declared, and the consular armies were levied.

As the Latin legions were now in Campania, the Romans instead of entering Latium took a circuit through the country of the Sabines, Marsians, and Pelignians, and being joined by the Samnites, and probably the Hernicans, came and encamped before the Latins near Capua. Here a dream presented itself to the consuls: the form of a man, of size more than human, appeared to each, and announced that the general on one side, the army on the other, was due to the Manes and Mother Earth; of whichever people the general should devote himself and the adverse legions, theirs would be the victory. The victims when slain portending the same, the consuls announced, in presence of their officers, that he of them whose forces first began to yield would devote himself for Rome.

To restore strict discipline and to prevent any treachery, the consul forbade, under pain of death, any single combats with the enemy. One day the son of the consul Manlius chanced with his troop of horse to come near to where the Tusculan horse was stationed, whose commander, Geminus Metius, knowing young Manlius, challenged him to a single combat. Shame and indignation overpowered the sense of duty in the mind of the Roman; they ran against each other, and the Tusculan fell; the victor, bearing the bloody spoils, returned to the camp and came with them to his father. The consul said nothing, but forthwith called an assembly of the army; then, reproaching his son with his breach of discipline, he ordered the lictor to lay hold of him and bind him to the stake. The assembly stood mute with horror; but, when the axe fell, and the blood of the gallant youth

gushed forth, bitter lamentation, mingled with curses on the ruthless sire, arose. They took up the body of the slain, and buried it, without the camp, covered with the spoils he had won; and when, after the war, Manlius entered Rome in triumph, the young men would not go forth to receive him, and throughout life he was to them an object of hatred and aversion.

The war between Rome and Latium was little less than civil; the soldiers and officers had for years served together in the same companies, and they were all acquainted. They now stood in battle array, opposite each other, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Samnites and Hernicans being opposed to the Oscan allies of the Latins. Both the consuls sacrificed before the battle; the entrails of the victim offered by Decius portended misfortune, but hearing that the signs boded well to Manlius, " 'Tis well," said he, " if my colleague has good signs." In the battle, the left wing, led by Decius, was giving way; the consul saw that his hour was come; he called aloud for M. Valerius, the Pontifex Maximus, and standing on a naked weapon, clad in his consular robe, his head veiled, and his hand on his chin, he repeated after the pontiff the form of devotion.* He then sent the lictors to announce to Manlius what he had done, and girding his gown tightly round him,† and mounting his horse, he rushed into the midst of the enemies. He seemed a destructive spirit sent from heaven; wherever he came he carried dismay and death; at length he fell, covered with wounds. The ardor of the Roman soldiers revived, and the skill of Manlius secured the victory. When the front ranks (*Antesignani*) of both armies were wearied, he ordered the *Accensi* to advance; the Latins then sent forward their *Triarians*; and when these were wearied, the consul ordered the Roman *Triarians* to rise and advance. The Latins having no fresh troops to oppose to them were speedily defeated, and so great was the slaughter that

* The form of devotion was as follows: " Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, ye nine gods, (*Novensiles*.) ye Indigites, ye gods who have power over us and our enemies, ye gods of the dead, you I pray, worship, implore that ye will give strength and victory to the Roman people and the Quirites, and that ye will send terror, fear, and death to the enemies of the Roman people and the Quirites. As I have spoken so do I devote myself for the republic, the army, legions and auxiliaries of the Roman people and Quirites, and with me the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy to the gods of the dead and to Mother Earth."

† The *Gabine cincture*

but one fourth of their army escaped. Next day the body of the consul Decius was found amidst heaps of slain, and magnificently interred.

The Latins fled to the town of Vescia, and, by the advice of their prætor Numisius, a general levy was made in Latium, with which, in reliance on the reduced state of the Roman army, he ventured to give the consul battle at Trifanum, between Sinuessa and Minturnæ, on the other side of the Liris. The rout of the Latins was so complete, that few of the towns thought of resistance when the consul entered Latium. The Latin public land, two thirds of that of Priverinum, and the Falernian district of Campania, were seized for the Roman people, and assignments of $2\frac{3}{4}$ jugers on this side, $3\frac{1}{4}$ on the other side of the Liris, were made to the poor plebeians, who murmured greatly at the large quantity that was reserved as domain. As the Campanian knights (1600 in number) had remained faithful to Rome, to compensate them for the loss of the Falernian land, they were given the Roman *municipium*, and each assigned a rent-charge of 350 denars a year on the state of Capua.

The Latin and Volscian towns continued singly to resist, and the conquest was not completed till the year 417. Prudence and some moderation were requisite on the part of Rome, in order not to have rebellious subjects in the Latins. Citizenship therefore, in different degrees, was conferred upon them; but they were forbidden to hold national diets, and commerce and intermarriage between the people of their different towns were prohibited. The principal families of Velitræ were forced to go and live beyond the Tiber, and their lands were given to Roman colonists. Their ships of war were taken from the Antiates, who were forbidden to possess any in future. Some of them were brought to Rome; the beaks (*rostra*) were cut off others, and the pulpit (*suggestum*) in the Forum adorned with them, whence it was named the Rostra. The *municipium*, such as the Latins had formerly had it, was given to the people of Capua, Cumæ, Suessula, Fundi, and Formiæ. The Latin contingents in war were henceforth to serve under their own officers, apart from the legions.

While the Roman dominion was thus extended without, wise and patriotic men of both orders saw the necessity of internal concord, and of abolishing antiquated and now mischievous claims and pretensions. In 416, therefore, the patrician consul Lib. Æmilius named his plebe an colleague

Q. Publilius dictator, who then brought forward the following laws to complete the constitution. 1. The patricians should give a previous consent to any law that was to be brought before the centuries. For as such a law must previously have passed the senate, and the centuries could make no alteration in it, and more wisdom was not likely to be found in the curies than in the senate and centuries united, their opposition could hardly have any ground but prejudice and spite. 2. The *Plebiscita* should be binding on all Quirites. The object of this law was the same, for as the people now occupied the place of the former *Populus*, and every measure was approved of and prepared in the senate, the leaving the power of rejecting it with the patricians was needless, and might be mischievous. 3. One of the censors should of necessity be a plebeian. The curies were induced, we know not how, to give their assent to these laws. Internal discord was now at an end, and the golden age of Roman heroism and virtue began.

The affairs for the ten succeeding years are of comparative unimportance. The Romans and Samnites both knew that another war was inevitable, and they made the necessary preparations for it. In 428 the people of the Greek town of Palæopolis, being in alliance with the Samnites, began to exercise hostilities against the Roman colonists in Campania. As they refused to give satisfaction, the consul Q. Publilius Philo was sent against them, while his colleague, L. Cornelius Lentulus, watched the motions of the Samnites. Publilius encamped between Palæopolis and its kindred town of Neapolis, and on his sending word home that there was a large body of Samnite and Nolan troops in them, envoys were sent to Samnium to complain of this breach of treaty. The Samnites replied that those were volunteers, over whom the state had no control; that they had not, as the Romans had alleged, excited the people of Fundi and Formiæ to revolt, while the Romans had sent a colony to Fregellæ, in a district which of right was theirs; that, in fine, there was no use in arguing or complaining when the plain between Capua and Suessula offered a space on which they might decide whose should be the empire of Italy. The Roman fetial then veiled his head, and with hands raised to heaven prayed the gods to prosper the arms and counsels of Rome if right was on her side; if not, to blast and confound them. Right certainly was not on the side of Rome, for she had first violated the treaty; but war was not to be averted, and it was now to begin.

A Roman army entered Samnium on the Volscian side, ravaged the country, and took some towns. Publilius' year having expired, his command was continued to him under the new title of Proconsul; and soon a party in Neapolis, weary of the insolence of the foreign soldiers, began to plot a surrender. While Nymphius, one of the leading men, induced the Samnites to go out of the town, to embark in the ships in the port, and make a descent on the coast of Latium, Charilaus, another of the party, closed the gate after them, and admitted the Romans at another. The Samnites instantly dispersed and fled home; the Nolans retired from the town unmolested.

A chief ally of the Samnites were the people of the Greek city of Tarentum; on the other hand, their kinsmen, the Apulians and Lucanians, were in alliance with Rome. But in this year (429) a revolution, of the nature of which we are uninformed, took place in Lucania, the consequence of which was the subjection of the country to Samnium. A similar fate menaced the Apulians, if not aided; but to reach Apulia it was necessary to pass through the Vestine country, the people of which (one of the Marsian confederacy) refused a passage. It was apprehended at Rome, that if the Vestinians were attacked, the other three states, who were now neutral, would take arms, and throw their weight into the Samnite scale, and their valor was well known; but, on the other hand, the importance of Apulia, in a military point of view, was too great to allow it to be lost. The consul D. Junius Brutus accordingly led his army into the Vestine country: a hard-fought victory, and the capture of two of their towns, reduced the Vestinians to submission, and the other members of the league remained at peace.

The other consul, L. Camillus, fell sick as he was about to invade Samnium, and L. Papirius Cursor was made dictator; but as there was said to have been some error in the auspices, he was obliged to return to Rome to renew them. As he was departing he strictly charged Q. Fabius, the master of the horse, whom he left in command, not to risk an action on any account during his absence. But, heedless of his orders, Fabius seized the first occasion of engaging the enemy, over whom he gained a complete victory. As soon as the dictator learned what had occurred he hastened to the camp, breathing fury. Fabius, warned of his approach, besought the soldiers to protect him. Papirius came, ascended his tribunal, summoned the master of the horse before

him, and demanded why he had disobeyed orders, and thus weakened the military discipline. His defence but irritated his judge the more; the lictors approached and began to strip him for death; he broke from them, and sought refuge among the Triarians: confusion arose: those nearest the tribunal prayed, the more remote menaced the dictator: the legates came round him, entreating him to defer his judgment till the next day; he would not hear them. Night at length ended the contest.

During the night Fabius fled to Rome, and by his father's advice made his complaint of the dictator to the assembled senate; but while he was speaking, Papirius, who had followed him from the camp with the utmost rapidity, entered, and ordered his lictors to seize him. The senate implored; but he was inexorable: the elder Fabius then appealed to the people, before whom he enlarged on the cruelty of the dictator. Every heart beat in unison with that of the time-honored father; but when Papirius showed the rigorous necessity of upholding military discipline, by which the state was maintained, all were silent, from conviction. At length the people and their tribunes united with Fabius and the senate in supplication, and the dictator, deeming his authority sufficiently vindicated, granted life to his master of the horse.

Papirius, when he returned to his army, gave the Samnites a decisive defeat; and having divided the spoil among his soldiers to regain their favor, and granted a truce for a year to the enemy, on condition of their giving each soldier a garment and a year's pay, he returned to Rome and triumphed.

The events of the next year (431) are dubious; but in 432 the camp of the dictator, A. Cornelius Arvina, who had entered Samnium without sufficient caution, was surprised by a superior force of the enemy. The day closed before an attack could be made, and in the night the dictator, leaving a number of fires burning in the camp, led away his legions in silence. But the enemy were on the alert, and their cavalry hung on the retiring army, to slacken its pace. With daybreak the Samnite infantry came up, and the dictator, finding further retreat impossible, drew his forces up in order of battle. A desperate conflict commenced; during five hours neither side gave way an inch; the Samnite horse, seeing the baggage of the Romans but slightly guarded, made for it, and began to plunder; while thus engaged, they

were fallen on and cut to pieces by the Roman horse, who then turned and assailed the now unprotected rear of the Samnite infantry. The dictator urged his legions to new exertions; the Samnites wavered, broke, and fled; their general and thousands fell, and thousands were made captives.

Meantime, on the side of Apulia an equally glorious victory was gained by the consul Q. Fabius; and the spirit of the Samnites being now quite broken, they were anxious for peace on almost any terms. As it is usual with a people, when measures to which they have given their full and eager consent have failed, to throw the entire blame on their leaders, so now the Samnites cast all their misfortunes on Papius Brutulus, one of their principal men, and resolved to deliver him up to the Romans as the cause of the war. The noble Samnite saved himself from disgrace by a voluntary death; his lifeless corpse was carried to Rome; the Roman prisoners, of whom there was a large number, were released, and gold sent to ransom the Samnites. The utmost readiness to yield to all reasonable terms was evinced; but nothing would content the haughty senate but the supremacy,* and sooner than thus resign their national independence the Samnites resolved to dare and endure the uttermost.

In the spring (433) the Roman legions, led by the consuls T. Veturius and Sp. Postumins, encamped at Callatia in Campania, with the intention of directing their entire force against Middle Samnium. The Samnite general, C. Pontius, spread a false report that Nuceria, in Apulia, was hard pressed by a Samnite army, and on the point of surrender, and the consuls resolved to attempt its relief without delay. They entered the Samnite country, and advanced heedlessly and incautiously. In the vicinity of the town of Caudium they reached the Caudine Forks, as a pass was named consisting of a narrow valley between two wooded mountains; a hollow way led into it at one end, and a narrow path over a mountain, which closed it up, led out of it at the other end. Into these toils the consuls conducted their army; they saw nothing to alarm them till the head of the column came to the further end, and found the passage stopped with rocks and trunks of trees, and on looking round beheld the hills occupied by soldiery. To advance

* Answering to the *hegemony* of the Greeks. See Hist. of Greece *passim*.

or to retreat was now equally impossible; they threw up entrenchments in the valley, and remained there, the Samnites not attacking them, in reliance on the aid of famine.* At length, when their food was spent and hunger began to be felt, they sent deputies to learn the will of the Samnite leaders. It is said that Pontius, on this occasion, sent for his father to advise him: this venerable old man, who, in high repute for wisdom, dwelt at Caudium, was conveyed to the camp in a wain, and his advice was either to let the Romans go free and uninjured, or totally to destroy the army. Pontius preferred a middle course, and the old man retired shedding tears at the misery he saw thence to come on his country. The terms accorded by Pontius were the restoration of the ancient alliance between Rome and Samnium; the withdrawal of Roman colonies from places belonging to the Samnites; and the giving back all places to which they had a right. The arms and baggage of the vanquished army were, as a matter of course, to be given up to the conquerors. How rarely has Rome ever granted a vanquished enemy terms so mild as these! Yet the Roman historians had the audacity to talk of the insolence of the victorious Samnites; and the Roman senate and people had the baseness, meanness, injustice, and barbarity to put to an ignominious death the noble Pontius twenty-seven years after!

These terms were sworn to by the consuls and their principal officers, and six hundred knights given as hostages till they should have been ratified by the senate and people. A passage wide enough for one person to pass was made in the paling with which the Samnites had inclosed them,† and one of the pales laid across it, and through this door the consuls, followed by their officers and men, each in a single garment, came forth. Pontius gave beasts of burden to convey the sick and wounded, and provisions enough to take the army to Rome.

They reached Capua before nightfall; but shame, or doubt of the reception they might meet with, kept them from entering. Next morning all the people came out to meet and console them. Refreshments and aid of every kind were given them, and they thence pursued their way to Rome.

* There is good reason to suppose that the Romans made a desperate effort to extricate themselves, and were driven back with great slaughter. (Appian, Samn. iv. 6. Cicero de Off. iii. 30.)

† Appian, Samn. iv. 6. Gellius, xvii. 21.

When the news of their calamity had first reached Rome, a total cessation of business (*justitium*) had taken place, and a general levy, either to attempt their relief or to defend the city, had been made, and all orders of people went into mourning.* In this state of things the disgraced army reached the gates. It there dispersed; those who lived in the country went away; those who dwelt in the city slunk with night to their houses. The consuls, having named a dictator for the consular elections, laid down their office.

The senate having met to consider of the peace, the consul Publilius called on Sp. Postumius to give his opinion. He rose with downcast looks, and advised that himself and all who had sworn to the treaty should be delivered up to the Samnites, as having deceived them, by making a treaty without the consent of the Roman people, and a fresh army be levied, and the war renewed; and though there was hardly a senator who had not a son or some other relative among the hostages, it was resolved to do as he advised. Postumius and his companions were taken bound to Caudium; the fetial led them before the tribunal of Pontius, and made the surrender of them in the solemn form. Postumius, as he concluded, struck his knee against the fetial's thigh, and drove him off, crying, "I am now a Samnite, thou an ambassador: I thus violate the law of nations; ye may justly now resume the war."

Pontius replied with dignity: he treated this act of religious hypocrisy as a childish manœuvre; he told the Romans that if they wished to renounce the treaty with any show of justice, they should place their legions as they were when it was made; but their present conduct he said was base and unworthy, and he would not accept such a surrender as this, or let them thus hope to avert the anger of the gods. He then ordered Postumius and the other Romans to be unbound and dismissed.

The war therefore was renewed, and the Romans, returning to their original plan of carrying it on simultaneously in Apulia and on the western frontier of Samnium, sent the consul L. Papirius to lay siege to Nuceria, which was now in the hands of the Samnites, while his colleague Publilius led his army into Samnium. Papirius sat down before Nuceria; but a Samnite army came and encamped at hand, and rendered his communication with Arpi, whence

* Appian, Samn. iv. 7.

he drew his supplies, so difficult, that it was only by the knights going and fetching corn in little bags on their horses that any food could be had in the camp. The arrival of Publilius with the other army relieved them; and after a vain attempt of the Tarentines to mediate a peace, the Romans attacked and stormed the Samnite camp with great slaughter, which, though they were unable to retain it, had the effect of making the Samnite army retire, and leave Nuceria to its fate. Its garrison of seven thousand men then capitulated, on condition of a free passage, without arms or baggage.*

The two following years (436, 437) were years of truce, in consequence of exhaustion on both sides; and during the truce the Romans so extended and consolidated their dominion in Apulia that no attempt was ever after made to shake it off. In 438 the war was resumed, and the Romans laid siege to Saticula, an Oscan town not far from Capua and in alliance with the Samnites. Meantime the Samnites had taken the colonial town of Plistica; and the Volscians of Sora, having slain their Roman garrison, revolted to them. They then made an attack on the Roman army before Saticula, but were defeated with great loss, and the town immediately surrendered. The Roman armies then entered and ravaged Samnium, and the seat of war was transferred to Apulia. While the consular armies were thus distant, the Samnites made a general levy, and came and took a position at Lautulæ, in order to cut off the communication between Rome and Campania. The dictator, Q. Fabius, instantly levied an army, and hastened to give them battle. The Romans were utterly defeated, and fled from the field; the master of the horse, Q. Aulius, unable to outlive the disgrace of flight, maintained his ground, and fell fighting bravely. Revolt spread far and wide among the Roman subjects in the vicinity; the danger was great and imminent, but the fortune of Rome prevailed, and the menacing storm dispersed.

In 440 the Samnites sustained a great defeat near a town named Cinna, whose site is unknown. The Campanians, who were in the act of revolting at this time, submitted on the appearance of the dictator, C. Mænius, and the most guilty withdrew themselves from punishment by a voluntary

* As it appears from Diodorus (xv. 72) that Nuceria was not taken till 439, Niebuhr regards this as a fiction of the Romans, anxious to efface as soon as possible the disgrace at Caudium.

death. The Ausonian towns, Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vesca, were taken by treachery and stratagem, and their population massacred or enslaved, as a fearful lesson to the subjects of Rome against wavering in their allegiance.

The united armies of the consuls, M. Pœtelius and C. Sulpicius, entered Samnium on the side of Caudium; but while they were advancing timidly and cautiously through the formidable region, they learned that the Samnite army was wasting the plain of Campania. They led back their forces, and ere long the two armies encountered. The tactics of the Romans were new on this occasion; the left wing, under Pœtelius, was made dense and deep, while the right was expanded more than usual. Pœtelius, adding the reserve to his wing, made a steady charge with the whole mass: the Samnites gave way; their horse came to their aid; but Sulpicius coming up with his body of horse, and charging them with the whole Roman cavalry, put them to the rout. He then hastened to his own wing, which now was yielding; the timely reinforcement turned the beam, and the Samnites were routed on all sides with great slaughter.

The following year (441) was marked by the capture of Nola and some other towns, and by the founding of colonies to secure the dominion which had been acquired. In 442 Sora was taken in the following manner. A deserter came to the consuls, and offered to lead some Roman soldiers by a secret path up to the Arx, or citadel, which was a precipitous eminence over the town. His offer was accepted; the legions were withdrawn to a distance of six miles from the town; some cohorts were concealed in a wood at hand, and ten men accompanied the Soran traitor. They clambered in the night up through the stones and bushes, and at length reached the area of the Arx. Their guide, showing them the narrow steep path that led thence down to the town, desired them to guard it while he went down and gave the alarm. He then ran through the town crying that the enemy was on the Arx; and when the truth of his report was ascertained, the people prepared to fly from the town; but in the confusion, the Roman cohorts broke in and commenced a massacre. At daybreak the consuls came; they granted their lives to the surviving inhabitants, with the exception of two hundred and twenty-five, who, as the authors of the revolt, were brought bound to Rome, and scourged and beheaded in the Forum.

The tide of war had turned so decidedly against the Samnites, that one or two campaigns more of the whole force of Rome would have sufficed for their subjugation. But just now a new enemy was about to appear, who was likely to give ample employment to the Roman arms for some time. The Etruscans, who, probably owing to their contests with and fears of the Gauls, had for many years abstained from war with the Romans, now, either moved by the instances of the Samnites or aware of the danger of suffering Rome to grow too powerful, began (442) to make such hostile manifestations that great alarm prevailed at Rome. Various circumstances, however, kept off the war for nearly two years longer.

In 443 all the peoples of Etruria, except the Arretines, having sent their troops, a Tuscan army prepared to lay siege to the frontier town of Sutrium. The consul Q. Æmilium came to cover it, and the two armies met before it. At daybreak of the second day, the Tuscans drew out in order of battle; the consul, having made his men take their breakfast, led them out also. The two armies stood opposite each other, each hesitating to begin, till after noon; the Tuscans then fell on: night terminated a bloody and indecisive action; each retired to their camp, and neither felt themselves strong enough to renew the conflict next day.

The next year (444) a Tuscan army laid siege to Sutrium, and the consul Q. Fabius hastened from Rome to its relief. As his troops were far inferior to the Etruscans in number, he led them cautiously along the hills. The enemy drew out his forces in the plain to give him battle; but the consul, fearing to descend, formed his array on the hill side in a part covered with loose stones. Relying on their numbers the Tuscans charged up-hill; the Romans hurled stones and missile weapons on them, and then charging, with the advantage of the ground, drove them back, and the horse getting between them and their camp forced them to take refuge in the adjacent Ciminian wood. Their camp became the prize of the victors.

Like so many others in the early Roman history, this battle has probably been given a magnitude and an importance which does not belong to it, and the truth would seem to be that the consul only repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy, and not feeling himself strong enough to engage their main army, resolved to create a diversion by invading their country.

North of Sutrium, (Sutri,) near the modern Viterbo, extends a range of high ground, which at that time formed the boundary between Roman and independent Etruria. It was covered with natural wood, and was thence named the Ciminian Wood. Over this barrier Fabius resolved to lead his troops. He sent to inform the senate of his plan, that measures might be taken for the defence of the country during his absence. Meantime he sent one of his brothers, who spoke the Tuscan language, in disguise to penetrate to the Umbrians, and to form alliances with any of them that were hostile to the Etruscans. The only people, however, whom he found so disposed were the Camertines, who agreed to join the Romans if they penetrated to their country.

The senate, daunted at the boldness of Fabius' plan, sent five legates and two tribunes of the people to forbid him to enter the wood, perhaps to arrest him if he should hesitate to obey. But they came too late: in the first watch of the night Fabius sent forward his baggage, the infantry followed; he himself a little before sunrise led his horse up to the enemy's camp, as it were to reconnoitre. In the evening he returned to his own camp, and then set out and came up with his infantry before night. At daybreak they reached the summit of the mountain, and beheld the smiling plains of Etruria stretched out before them. They hastened to seize the offered prey: the Etruscan nobles assembled their vassals to oppose them, but they could offer no effectual resistance to the disciplined troops of Rome. The Roman army spread their ravages as far as Perugia, where they encountered and totally defeated a combined army of Etruscans and Umbrians; and Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, three of the leading cities of Etruria, sent forthwith to sue for peace, which was granted for a term of thirty years. As the Romans were returning to the relief of Sutrium they encountered at the lake of Vadimo, between Perugia and Falerii, another Etruscan army, of select troops.* The two armies engaged hand to hand at once; the first ranks fought till they were exhausted; the reserve then advanced, and the victory was only decided by the Roman knights dismounting and taking their place in the front of the line.

While Fabius was conducting the war in Etruria, his

* They were bound by a solemn oath (*lege sacrata*) to fight to their uttermost. These were probably the troops of the western towns

colleague C. Marcius had entered Samnium and taken Allifæ and some other strongholds. The Samnites collected their forces and gave him battle; and the Romans were defeated, several of their officers slain, the consul himself wounded, and their communication with Rome cut off. When the news reached Rome, the senate at once resolved to create a dictator, and to send him off to the relief of Marcius with the reserve which had been levied on account of the Etruscan war. Their hopes lay in L. Papirius Cursor; but the dictator could only be named by the consul; there was no way of reaching Marcius, and Fabius had not yet forgiven the man who had thirsted after his blood. The resolve of the senate was borne to Fabius by consulars; they urged him to sacrifice his private feelings to the good of his country: he heard them in silence, his eyes fixed on the ground, and they retired in uncertainty. In the stillness of the night he arose, and, as was the usage, named L. Papirius dictator, and in the morning he again listened in silence to the thanks and praises of the deputies. The dictator immediately set forth and relieved the army of Marcius, but, impetuous as he was, he contented himself for some time with merely observing the enemy.

At length the time arrived for a decisive action. The Samnite army was divided into two corps, the one clad in purple, the other in white linen tunics, the former having their brazen shields adorned with gold, the latter with silver: the shields were broad above, narrow below. Each soldier wore a crested helmet, a large sponge to protect his breast, and a greave on his left leg. In the battle the Roman dictator led the right wing against the gold-shielded, the master of the horse, C. Junius, the left against the silver-shielded Samnites. Junius made the first impression on the enemy; the dictator urged his men to emulation, and the Roman horse by a charge on both flanks completed the victory. The Samnites fled to their camp, but were unable to retain it, and ere night it was sacked and burnt. The golden shields adorned the dictator's triumph, and they were then given to the money-dealers to ornament their shops in the Forum.

Q. Fabius was continued in the consulate for 445, and P. Decius given to him as his colleague; the former had the Samnite, the latter the Etruscan war. Fabius routed the Marsians and Pelignians, who had now joined against Rome, and he then led his legions into Umbria, whose peo-

ple had taken arms, and with little difficulty reduced them to submission. Decius meantime had forced the Etruscans to sue for peace, and a year's truce was granted them on their giving each soldier two tunics, and a year's pay for the army.

In the remaining years of the war, the exhausted powers of the Samnites could offer but a feeble resistance to the legions of Rome. On the occasion of a defeat which they sustained in 446, the proconsul Q. Fabius adopted the novel course of dismissing the Samnite prisoners, and selling for slaves those of their allies. Among these there were several Hernicans, whom he sent to Rome; the senate having instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the Hernican people in this affair, those who had urged them to give aid to the Samnites now engaged them to take arms openly. All the Hernican peoples but three shared in the war; but they made a stand little worthy of their old renown; one short campaign sufficed for their reduction, and they were placed (447) on nearly the same footing as the Latins had been thirty years before.

The Samnites at length (449) sued for peace, and obtained it on the condition they had so often spurned, that of acknowledging Rome's supremacy, in other words, of yielding up their independence; but peace on any terms was now necessary, that they might recruit their strength for future efforts. The Romans then turned their arms against the Æquians, who had joined the Hernicans in aiding the Samnites, and in fifty days the consuls reduced and destroyed forty-one of their Cyclopiam-walled towns. The Marsian League sought and obtained peace from Rome

CHAPTER VII.

THIRD SAMNITE AND ETRUSCAN WARS. — BATTLE OF SENTINUM, AND SELF-DEVOTION OF DECIUS. — BATTLE OF AQUILONIA. — REDUCTION OF THE SAMNITES. — HORTENSIAN LAW. — WORSHIP OF ÆSCULAPIUS INTRODUCED. — LUCANIAN WAR. — ROMAN EMBASSY INSULTED AT TARENTUM. — GALLIC AND ETRUSCAN WAR.

Four years (450—454) passed away in tolerable tranquillity. In 454 Lucanian envoys appeared at Rome, praying for aid against the Samnites, who had entered their country in arms, given them various defeats, and taken several of their towns. The Romans, in right of their supremacy, sent orders to the Samnites to withdraw their troops from Lucania: the Samnites' pride was roused at being thus reminded of their subjection; they ordered the fetials off their territory, and war was at once declared against them by the Romans. As the Etruscans were now also in arms, the consul L. Cornelius Scipio went against them, while his colleague Cn. Fulvius invaded Samnium.

Scipio engaged a numerous Etruscan army near Volaterræ. Night ended a hard-fought battle, leaving it undecided. The morn however revealed that the advantage was on the side of the Romans, as the enemy had abandoned their camp during the night. Having placed his baggage and stores at Falerii, Scipio spread his ravages over the country, burning the villages and hamlets; and no army appeared to oppose him. Fulvius meantime carried on the war with credit in Samnium. Near Bovianum he defeated a Samnite army, and took that town and another named Aufidena.

The rumor of the great preparations which the Samnites and the Etruscans were said to be making caused the people to elect Q. Fabius to the consulate, against his will; and at his own request they joined with him P. Decius. As the Etruscans remained quiet, both the consuls invaded Samnium, (455,) Fabius entering from Sora, Decius from Sidicinum. The Samnites gave Fabius battle near Tifernum: their infantry stood firm against that of the Romans; the charge of the Roman cavalry had as little effect. At length, when the reserve had come to the front, and he

contest was most obstinate, the legate Scipio, whom the consul had sent away during the action with the Hastates of the first legion, appeared on the neighboring hills. Both armies took them for the legions of Decius; the Samnites' courage fell, that of the Romans rose, and evening closed on their victory. Decius had meantime defeated the Apulians at Maleventum. During five months both armies ravaged Samnium with impunity; the traces of five-and-forty camps of Decius, of eighty-six of Fabius, bore witness to the sufferings of the ill-fated country.

The next year (456) the Samnites put into execution a daring plan which they had formed in the preceding war, namely, sending an army, to be paid and supported out of their own funds, into Etruria, leaving Samnium meantime at the mercy of the enemy. The Samnite army, under Gellius Egnatius, on arriving there, was joined by the troops of most of the Tuscan states; the Umbrians also shared in the war, and it was proposed to take Gallic mercenaries into pay. The consul Ap. Claudius entered Etruria with his two legions and twelve thousand of the allies, but he did not feel himself strong enough to give the confederates battle. The consul Volturnius, probably by command of the senate, led his army to join him; but Appius gave him so ungracious a reception that he was preparing to retire, when the officers of the other army implored him not to abandon them for their general's fault. Volturnius then agreed to remain and fight: a victory was speedily gained over the Etruscans and Samnites, whose general Egnatius was unfortunately absent; 7300 were slain, 2120 taken, and their camp was stormed and plundered.

As Volturnius was returning by rapid marches to Samnium, he learned that the Samnites had taken advantage of his absence to make a descent on Campania, where they had collected an immense booty. He forthwith directed his course thither: at Cales he heard that they were encamped on the Volturnus, with the intention of carrying their prey into Samnium to secure it. He came and encamped near them, but out of view; and when the Samnites had before day sent forward their captives and booty under an escort, and were getting out of their camp to follow them, they were suddenly fallen on by the Romans: the camp was stormed with great slaughter; the captives, hearing the tumult, unbound themselves, and fell on their escort:

the Sannites were routed on all sides; 6000 were slain, 2500 were taken, 7400 captives, with all their property, were recovered.

The union of the Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, which had now been formed, caused the greatest apprehension at Rome, and the people insisted on electing Q. Fabius consul, to which he would only consent on condition of his approved mate in arms P. Decius being given him for colleague. His wish was complied with. The four legions of the former year were kept on foot and completed, two new ones raised, and two armies of reserve formed. The number of troops furnished by the allies was considerable: among them were one thousand Campanian horse, for as the Gauls were strong in this arm, it was necessary to augment its force.

During the winter Fabius set out, with four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to take the command in Etruria. As he drew nigh to the camp of Ap. Claudius he met a party sent out for firewood; he ordered them to go back and use the palisades of their camp for the purpose. This gave confidence to the soldiers, and to keep up their spirits, he never let them remain stationary, but moved about from place to place. In the spring (457) he returned to Rome to arrange the campaign, leaving the command in Etruria with L. Scipio.

The consuls led their main force to join the troops left with Scipio; one army of reserve under Fulvius was stationed in the Faliscan, another in the Vatican district. But the Gauls, pouring in by the pass of Camerînum, had annihilated a Roman legion left to defend it; their numerous cavalry spread over Umbria, and got between Scipio and Rome; and as they rode up to the consular army, the heads of the slain Romans, which they carried on spears and hung at their horses' breasts, made the Romans believe that Scipio's whole army had been destroyed. A junction however was formed with him, and L. Volumnus, who commanded in Samnium, was directed to lead his legions to reinforce those of the consuls. The three united armies then crossed the Apennines, and took a position in the Sentine country to menace the possessions of the Senonian Gauls; and the two armies of reserve advanced in proportion, the one to Clusium, the other to the Faliscan country. The confederates came and encamped before the Romans; but they avoided an action,

probably waiting for reinforcements. The consuls, learning by deserters that the plan of the enemy was for the Gauls and Samnites to give them battle, and the Etruscans and Umbrians to fall on their camp during the action, sent orders to Fulvius to ravage Etruria: this called a large part of the Etruscans home, and the consuls endeavored to bring on an engagement during their absence. For two entire days they vainly sought to draw the confederates to the field; on the third their challenge was accepted.

Fabius commanded on the right, opposed to the Samnites and the remaining Etruscans and Umbrians; Decius led the left wing against the Gauls. Ere the fight began, a wolf chased a hind from the mountains down between the two armies; the hind sought refuge among the Gauls, by whom she was killed; the wolf ran among the Romans, who made way for him to pass; and this appearance of the favorite of Mars was regarded as an omen of victory.

In the hope of tiring the Samnites, Fabius made his men act rather on the defensive, and he refrained from bringing his reserve into action. Decius, on the other hand, knowing how impetuous the first attack of the Gauls always was, resolved not to await it; he charged with both foot and horse, and twice drove back the numerous Gallic cavalry; but when his horse charged a third time, the Gauls sent forward their war-chariots, which spread confusion and dismay among them; they fled back among their infantry; the victorious Gauls followed hard upon them. The battle, and with it possibly the hopes of Rome, was on the point of being lost, when Decius, who had resolved, if defeat impended, to devote himself like his father at Vesuvius, desired the pontiff M. Livius, whom he had kept near him for the purpose, to repeat the form of devotion; then adding to it these words, "I drive before me dismay and flight, slaughter and blood, the anger of the powers above and below; with funereal terrors I touch the arms, weapons, and ensigns of the foe; the same place shall be that of my end and of the Gauls and Samnites," he spurred his horse, rushed into the thick of the enemies, and fell covered with wounds. The pontiff, to whom Decius had given his victors, encouraged the Romans; a part of Fabius' reserve came to their support: the Gauls stood in a dense mass covered with their shields: the Romans, collecting the *pila* that lay on the ground hurled them on them; but the Gauls stood unmoved, til Fabius, who by bringing forward

his reserve and causing his horse to fall on their flank, had driven the Samnites to their camp, sent five hundred Campanian horse, followed by the Principes of the third legion, to attack them in the rear, they then broke and fled. Fabius again assailed the Samnites under their rampart; their general, Gellius Egnatius, fell, and the camp was taken. The confederates lost 25,000 men slain and 8000 taken; 7000 was the loss in the wing led by Decius, 1200 in that of Fabius. This was one of the most important victories ever achieved by the arms of Rome.

The following year the war was continued in Etruria and Samnium, and a bloody battle was fought at Nuceria. The next year (459) the consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, took the field against a Samnite army, which all the aids of superstition had been employed to render formidable.

All the fighting men of Samnium were ordered to appear at the town of Aquilonia. A tabernacle, two hundred feet square and covered with linen, was erected in the midst of the camp. Within it a venerable man named Ovius Pactius offered sacrifice after an ancient ritual contained in an old linen book. The Imperator or general then ordered the nobles to be called in separately: each as he entered beheld through the gloom of the tabernacle an altar in the centre, about which lay the bodies of the victims, and around which stood centurions with drawn swords. He was required to swear, imprecating curses on himself, his family, and his race, if he did not in the battle go whithersoever the Imperator ordered him, if he fled, or did not slay any one whom he saw flying. Some of the first summoned, refusing to swear, were slain, and their bodies lying among those of the victims served as a warning to others. The Imperator selected ten of those who had thus sworn, each of whom was directed to choose a man till the number of sixteen thousand was completed, which was named, from the tabernacle, the Linen Legion. Crested helmets and superior arms were given them for distinction. The rest of the army, upwards of 20,000 men, was little inferior in any respect to the Linen Legion.

The Roman armies entered Samnium; and while Papirius advanced to Aquilonia, Carvilius sat down before a fortress named Cominium, about twenty miles from that place. The ardor for battle is said to have been shared to such an extent by all in the Roman army, that the Pul-

larius, or keeper of the sacred chickens, made a false report of favorable signs. The truth was told to the consul as he was going into battle; but he said the signs reported to him were good, and only ordered the Pullarii to be placed in the front rank; and when the guilty one fell by the chance blow of a *pitum*, he cried, that the gods were present, the guilty was punished. A raven croaked aloud as he spoke; he ordered the trumpets to sound and the war-cry to be raised.

The Samnites had sent off twenty cohorts to the relief of Cominium; their spirits were depressed, but they kept their ground, till a great cloud of dust, as if raised by an army, was seen on one side. For the consul had sent off before the action Sp. Nautius, with the mules and their drivers, and some cohorts of the allies, with directions to advance during the engagement, raising all the dust they could. Nautius now came in view, the horseboys having bougths in their hands, which they dragged along the ground; and the arms and banners appearing through the dust, made both Romans and Samnites think that an army was approaching. The consul then gave the sign for the horse to charge; the Samnites broke and fled, some to Aquilonia, some to Bovianum. The number of their slain is said to have been 30,340, and 3570 men and 97 banners were captured. Aquilonia and Cominium were both taken on the same day. The consuls remained in Samnium, ravaging the country, till the falling of the snow obliged them to leave it for the winter.*

In the next campaign, (460,) the Samnite general C. Pontius gave the Roman consul Q. Fabius Gurges, son of the great Fabius, a complete defeat. A strong party in the senate, the enemies of the Fabian house, were for depriving the consul of his command; but the people yielded to the prayers of his father, who implored them, to spare him this disgrace in his old age; and he himself went into Samnium as legate to his son. At a place whose name is unknown, the battle which decided the fate of Samnium was fought. Fabius gained the victory by his usual tactics, of keeping his reserve for the proper time. The Samnites had twenty thousand slain and four thousand taken, among whom was their great Imperator C. Pontius. In the triumph of Fabius

* Livy's first Decad ends here. We have only an epitome of the next, which contained the history to the year 534. We are now for some years left to the guidance of the epitomators, and the fragments of Appian and Dion.

Gurges, his renowned father humbly followed his car on horseback; and C. Pontius was led in bonds, and then, to Rome's disgrace, beheaded. Q. Fabius Maximus, one of the greatest men that Rome ever produced, died it is probable shortly afterwards.*

The Samnite war, which had lasted with little intermission for nine-and-forty years, was now terminated by a peace, of the terms of which we are not informed. The Sabines, who, after a cessation of one hundred and fifty years, foolishly took up arms against Rome, were easily reduced by the consul M'. Curius Dentatus, and a large quantity of their land was taken from them. Much larger assignments than the usual seven jugers might now be made, but Curius deemed it unwise to pass that limit; and when the people murmured, he replied, that he was a pernicious citizen whom the land which sufficed to support him did not satisfy. He refused for himself five hundred jugers and a house at Tifata which the senate offered him, and contented himself with a farm of seven jugers in the Sabine country.

The length of the Samnite war, its consequent great expense, the destruction of property in the invaded districts, the neglect of agriculture on account of the incessant military service, and other causes which will easily suggest themselves, caused considerable distress at Rome, and it even came to a secession. The people posted themselves on the Janiculan; but the dictator, Q. Hortensius, induced them to submit, either by an abolition or a considerable reduction of the amount of their debts. This is the last secession we read of in Roman history.

On this occasion the Hortensian law, which made the plebiscits binding on the whole nation, was passed; a measure probably caused by the obstinacy and caprice of the patricians, but pregnant with evil, from which however the good fortune of Rome long preserved her. It was as if with us a measure which had passed the Commons were to become at once the law of the land.†

Among the events of this period, the introduction of the worship of Æsculapius deserves to be noticed. In the year

* The reason of his surname Maximus will be given in the next chapter.

† Niebuhr says that the language of the law must have been *ut quod tributim plebes jussisset populum teneret*. He thinks (Hist. of Rome ii. 366) that the Hortensian law did away with the *veto* of the senate, as the Publilian did with that of the curies.

459 an epidemic prevailed at Rome, and the Sibylline books being consulted, it was directed to fetch Æsculapius to Rome. A trireme with ten deputies was sent to Epidaurus for that purpose. The legend relates, that the senate of that place agreed that the Romans should take whatever the god should give them; and that as they prayed at the temple, a huge snake came out of the sanctuary, went on to the town five miles off, through the streets, to the harbor, thence on board the Roman trireme, and into the cabin of Q. Ogulnius. The envoys, having been instructed in the worship of the god, departed, and a prosperous wind brought them to Antium. Here they took shelter from a storm; the snake swam ashore, and remained twined round a palm-tree at the temple of Apollo while they staid. When they reached Rome he left the ship again, and swimming to the island, disappeared in the spot where the temple of the god was afterwards built.*

Rome now rested from war for some years. At length (468) the Tarentines, who had been the chief agents in exciting the Samnite war, succeeded in inducing the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls in the north, and the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites in the south, to take arms simultaneously against her. The commencement was the hostility exercised by the Lucanians against the people of the Greek town of Thurii, who, despairing of aid from any other quarter, applied to the Romans; and a Roman army came and relieved the town.

In 470, a Roman army under C. Fabricius came to the relief of Thurii, which was again invested by a united army of Lucanians and Bruttians. The spirits of the Romans sank as they viewed their own inferiority of force: when lo! a youth of gigantic stature, wearing a double-crested helm, like those on the statues of Mars, was seen to seize a scaling-ladder, and mount the rampart of the enemies' camp. The courage of the Romans rose, that of the foes declined, and a signal victory crowned the arms of Rome. When next day the consul sought that valiant youth, to bestow on him the suitable meed, he was nowhere to be found. Fabricius then directed a thanksgiving to Father Mars (as it must have been he) to be held throughout the army.†

* The simple truth probably is, that the Romans obtained one of the tame sacred snakes that were kept at the temple of Æsculapius: the details are of course legendary.

† Val. Max. i. 8. 6. This, says Niebuhr, is the last poetic legend in

Many other victories succeeded; and no Roman general had as yet acquired so much booty as Fabricius did in this campaign.

When the Roman army retired, a garrison was left for the defence of Thurii. As it was only by sea that a communication could be conveniently kept up with it, a squadron of ten triremes, under the duumvir L. Valerius, was now in these waters. Some years before, it had been an article in a treaty with the Tarentines, that no Roman ship of war should sail north of the Lacinian cape; but as they had taken no notice of it now, and there was as yet no open hostility between them and the Romans, Valerius entered the harbor of Tarentum. The people unluckily happened at that moment to be assembled in the theatre, which commanded a view of the sea; a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of the vilest character, pointing to the Roman ships, reminded them of the treaty; the infuriated populace rushed on shipboard, attacked and sunk four, and took one of the Roman vessels. The duumvir was among those who perished. The Tarentines then sent a force against Thurii, where they plundered the town and banished the principal citizens: the Roman garrison was dismissed unmolested.

The Romans, as they had an Etruscan war on their hands, were anxious to accommodate matters amicably in the south. Their demands therefore were very moderate; they only required the release of those taken in the trireme; the restoration of the Thurians, and restitution of their property; and the surrender of the authors of the outrage. Audience was given to the envoys in the theatre. When they entered, the people laughed at the sight of their purple-bordered *prætextæ*, and the faults of language committed by L. Postumius, the chief of the embassy, redoubled their merriment. As the envoys were leaving the theatre, a drunken buffoon came and befouled the robe of Postumius in the most abominable manner: the peals of laughter were redoubled; but Postumius, holding up his robe, cried out, "Ay, laugh, laugh while ye may; ye will weep long enough when ye have to wash this out in blood." He displayed at Rome his unwashed garment; and the senate, after anxious deliberation, declared war against Tarentum. (471.) The

the Roman history. He is mistaken; the Tyndarids appeared in 584, mounted on their white horses, to one P. Vatienus, to announce the defeat of Perseus. Cic. de N. D. ii. 2

consul L. Æmilius Barbula was ordered to lead his army thither, to offer anew the former terms, and if they were refused to carry on the war with vigor. The Tarentines however, would listen to no terms; they resorted to their usual system of seeking aid from the mother-country, and sent an embassy to invite over Pyrrhus, the renowned king of Epirus. Meantime Æmilius laid waste their country, took several strong places, and defeated them in the field.

We will now turn our view northwards. In 469 a combined army of Etruscans and Senonian Gauls having laid siege to Arretium, the prætor L. Metellus hastened to its relief; but his army was totally defeated, thirteen thousand men being slain, and nearly all the remainder made prisoners. When an embassy was sent to the Gauls to complain of breach of treaty, and to redeem the prisoners, the Gallic prince Britomaris, to avenge his father, who had fallen at Arretium, caused the fetials to be murdered. The consul P. Cornelius Dolabella instantly marched through the Sabine and Picentian country into that of the Senones, whom he defeated when they met him in the field: he then wasted the lands, burned their open villages, put all the men to death, and reduced the women and children to slavery. Britomaris, who was taken alive, was reserved to grace the consul's triumph.

The Boians, who dwelt between the Senones and the Po, were filled with rage and apprehension at the fate of their brethren, and assembling all their forces they entered Etruria, where being joined by the Etruscans and the remnant of the Senones, they pressed on for Rome; but at the lake Vadimo the consular armies met, and nearly annihilated their whole army; the Senones, it is said, in the frenzy of despair put an end to themselves when they saw the battle lost. The Gauls appeared again the next year (470) in Etruria; but a signal defeat near Populonia forced them to sue for peace, which, on account of the war in the south, the Romans readily granted.

The war with the Etruscans continued till 472, when, in consequence of that with Pyrrhus, the Romans concluded a peace with them on most favorable terms. This peace terminated the conflict, which had now lasted for thirty years, and converted Etruria into Rome's steadiest and most faithful ally.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARRIVAL OF PYRRHUS IN ITALY. — BATTLE ON THE SIGIS. — CINEAS AT ROME. — APPROACH OF PYRRHUS TO ROME. — BATTLE OF ASCULUM. — PYRRHUS IN SICILY. — BATTLE OF BENEVENTUM. — DEPARTURE OF PYRRHUS. — ITALIAN ALLIES. — CENSORSHIP OF PAP. CLAUDIUS. — CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION. — THE ROMAN LEGION. — ROMAN LITERATURE.

PYRRHUS, the ablest and most ambitious prince of his time, lent a willing ear to the invitation of the Italian Greeks which held out to him such a prospect of extensive dominion.* He sent his minister, the orator Cineas,† back with some of the envoys, to assure the Tarentines of aid; and shortly afterwards Milo, one of his generals, landed with 3000 men to garrison the town. Having assembled an army of 20,000 foot, 3000 horse, 2000 archers, 500 slingers, and twenty elephants, the king himself set sail (472) for Italy; but a storm came on and dispersed his fleet; several ships were sunk or cast away; and Pyrrhus, who had escaped with difficulty, reached Tarentum with but a small force. He did not seek to exercise any authority till the rest of his troops were arrived; but as soon as he found himself sufficiently strong, he began to employ the dictatorial power with which he had been invested. The Tarentines had thought they would have nothing to do but pay money, while the king's troops were fighting; but Pyrrhus let them know that they also must share in the toils and dangers of war. He set guards at the gates to prevent them from running out of the town, as they were doing; he shut up the theatre, forbade all public meals and banquets, ordered the young men to practise military exercises in their gymnasia, and sent, under various

* For the war with Pyrrhus see the epitomators and Plut., Pyrrhus.

† Cineas was a Thessalian by birth, an able, eloquent, and noble minded man, well worthy of the friendship of the greatest prince of the age, to whom he was as a good genius. It is said that he had been a hearer of Demosthenes; but that can hardly have been, as the great Athenian had now been dead forty-one years. Cineas' style of oratory was also totally different from his.

pretexts, the principal men over to Epîrus, that they might serve as hostages in case of any conspiracy against his authority.

The consul P. Valerius Lævinus having led his army into Lucania, Pyrrhus, who had not yet been joined by his allies, wrote to him, offering to arbitrate between the Romans and the Tarentines, which last he said he could compel to give satisfaction. Lævinus replied that the king must first atone for having entered Italy; that words were needless, as Father Mars must decide between them. He had a spy who was taken, led through his army and then dismissed, with directions to tell Pyrrhus to come himself and see.

Lævinus was encamped on the south bank of the river Siris, in the plain between Heraclæa and Pandosia. Pyrrhus came and occupied the opposite bank. As he viewed the Roman camp, he observed to one of his friends that the barbarians (the Greeks so named all people but themselves) showed nothing of the barbarian in their tactics. His object was to prevent their passing the river; but the Roman cavalry crossed it higher up, and falling on the rear of the Epirotes who guarded the passage, enabled the infantry to get over. Pyrrhus sent his Thessalian horse against that of the Romans, who, though of an inferior quality, stood their ground. He then led on his phalanx; Megacles, who wore the royal helm and mantle, was slain; both sides thought Pyrrhus had fallen, and the Epirotes had fled but that the king made himself known. Seven times the phalanx and the legion advanced and receded; the consul thought to decide the battle by a charge of horse on the rear; but the elephants were now brought into action, and at the sight of these unknown animals horse and man were filled with terror; the Thessalian horse charged and scattered them; they drew the infantry with them in their flight over the river, and none perhaps would have escaped, were it not that a wounded elephant turned his rage against his own side. The remnant of the Roman army fled to Venusia: their loss had been 7000 slain, and about 2000 taken. On the side of the victors 4000 had fallen. When Pyrrhus, on the following day, viewed the field of battle, he cried, "With such soldiers the world were mine, and were I their general the Romans would have it!" To those who congratulated him on his success he replied; "One such victory more, and I go back to Epîrus." He ordered the bodies of the Romans to be

burned and buried like those of his own men. He proposed to the prisoners to enter his service,* and on their refusal freed them from fetters.

The whole south of Italy now joined Pyrrhus; but this prince, who disliked long wars, and had had experience of Roman valor, preferred an honorable peace, which he thought might now be obtained, to a prolonged contest. He despatched his friend Cineas to Rome, to propose a peace, on condition of the independence of the Italian Greeks being acknowledged, and all that had been taken from the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Apulians being restored. Peace being made on these terms, the Roman prisoners, among whom were six hundred knights, would be released without ransom. The eloquence and the winning manners of Cineas, though his gifts were refused, had a great effect on the minds of many; the relatives of the prisoners were anxious on their account; the Etruscan war was not yet ended. The proffered terms seemed likely to be accepted, when Ap. Claudius, who, on account of the blindness with which he was afflicted; had long abstained from public affairs, had himself carried in a litter to the senate-house. His sons and sons-in-law came out to receive him, and lead him in, and his indignant eloquence banished all thoughts of peace from the minds of his auditors, and Cineas was ordered to quit Rome. On his return to his master he told him that Rome was a temple, the senate an assembly of kings. While he was yet there, two legions had been raised to reinforce Lævinus, and volunteers had crowded with the utmost eagerness to be enrolled.

Lævinus, who was now in Campania, was there joined by these legions, and he baffled the attempts of Pyrrhus on Capua and Neapolis. The king, as he could not bring him to action, resolved to push on for Rome, and form a junction with the Etruscans. Instead of taking the Appian or lower road, on which there were several strong towns, he moved by the Latin road over the hills. He took Fregellæ, entered the Hernican country, where the people declared for him, pushed on to Præneste,† and advanced five miles beyond it, to

* The Grecian mercenaries at this time constantly changed sides after a defeat. The same was the case in Italy in the middle ages, and in Germany in the thirty years' war.

† He had a view of Rome from the citadel of this town. (Florus i. 18.)

within eighteen miles of Rome; but here his course ended. Peace had just been made with the Etruscans, and the army employed against them was now in Rome. Lævinus disturbed the communications in his rear: to take Rome by storm or blockade was hopeless. Heedless of the prayers of the Prænestines and Hernicans, he resolved to retrace his steps. On reaching Campania he found Lævinus at the head of six legions: "What!" cried he, "am I fighting with the hydra?" He drew up his troops, who raised the war-cry, and clashed their arms. The Romans replied in such cheerful tones that he did not deem it prudent to attack them, and he dismissed his allies and went to Tarentum for the winter.

At Tarentum Pyrrhus was waited on by three Roman ambassadors, C. Fabricius, Q. Æmilius Papus, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, all consulars, to treat of the ransom or exchange of the numerous prisoners who were now in his hands.* He rejected their offers; but he gave the prisoners permission to go with them to Rome to keep the Saturnalia, on their promise to return if the senate did not make peace; and, as all their efforts proved vain, they returned every one into captivity.

In the spring (473) Pyrrhus opened the campaign in Apulia. He was besieging Venusia when he heard that the consuls P. Sulpicius and P. Decius were advancing to its relief; he therefore raised the siege, and prepared to give them battle at a place named Asculum, on the edge of the mountains. As the ground here was against Pyrrhus, the advantage was on the side of the Romans in the first engagement; but he manœuvred so as to draw them down into the plain, where by a sudden attack of the elephants and light troops on their flank, while they were exhausting themselves by fruitless efforts against the solid phalanx, he put them to flight. As their camp was at hand, their loss was but 6000 men; that of the king was 3505. "One such victory more,

* On this occasion, we are told (Plut., Pyrrhus, 20) that the king, having learned the poverty of Fabricius from Cineas, tried to induce him to accept a present of gold. The Roman declined; and next day, as he and Pyrrhus were conversing, a curtain behind them suddenly drew up, and an elephant, which had been placed there by the king's orders, stretched his trunk out over them, and gave a loud roar. Fabricius, who had never seen one of these huge animals, only stepped aside, and said with a smile to the king, "Your gold did not move me yesterday, nor your beast to-day."

and I am undone," cried Pyrrhus, who returned to Tarentum without making any attempt on the Roman camp.

The situation of Pyrrhus was now rather precarious: he had lost the flower of his troops; he could not reckon on his Italian allies, who had even plundered his camp during the last action; the Gauls had invaded Macedonia and menaced all Greece, and he could not draw any troops from Epirus; while the Romans had concluded an alliance with the Carthaginians, and a Punic fleet of one hundred and thirty triremes was now off the coast of Italy. On the other hand, strong inducements were held out to him to pass over into Sicily, and deliver it from the yoke of the Carthaginians. The Romans, on their side, owing to the heavy burden of taxation consequent on the war, were extremely desirous of peace. Just at this time, (474,) we are told,* Pyrrhus' physician sent secretly to the consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, offering for a reward to poison his master. The consuls, abhorring the treason, gave information of it to the king. Pyrrhus immediately despatched Cineas to Rome with his thanks to the senate; he gave gifts and clothes to all his prisoners, and sent them home with him. Cineas was also the bearer of rich presents to the principal persons of both sexes at Rome. These presents were, however, all rejected; the friendship of the Romans was to be had without gifts, it was replied, if Pyrrhus quitted Italy. The prisoners of his allies, however, were released in exchange, and a truce concluded.

Pyrrhus was now at liberty to accept the invitation of the Siciliotes. He left Italy, where he had spent two years and four months; and, passing over to Sicily, remained there three years, and made himself master of nearly the whole island. During his absence the Roman arms, under Fabricius and other leaders, were directed with success against his Italian allies. At length, finding fortune becoming adverse to him in Sicily, and being urged by the prayers of the Tarentines and his other allies, he returned to Italy (477) with an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, a portion of which he sent into Lucania against the consul Lentulus, while, with the remainder, he advanced to engage the other consul, M. Curius Dentatus, who was encamped near Beneventum in Sannium.

Curius occupied a strong position on a height, intending

* There is great contradiction in the various accounts of this transaction. Niebuhr says that it was a mere fiction to open communications, and was so understood by all parties.

to await the arrival of his colleague. It was the intention of Pyrrhus to attack him at daybreak with some elephants and picked troops. A dream, it is said, which he had as he slumbered in the beginning of the night, terrified him, and he wished to give up the project; but his officers urging on him the impolicy of allowing the two Roman armies to join, he sent forward the troops. To reach the heights behind the Roman camp, they had to go a round through dense woods, guided by torch light. They lost their way, their torches burned out, and it was broad day when they reached their destination. Being wearied with their march, they were easily put to flight. The consul then came down into the plain to engage the main army; the Romans were victorious on one wing, but the other was driven back to the camp by the phalanx and the elephants. Here a shower of arrows, bearing burning wax and tar, was hurled on the beasts, which growing furious carried confusion into the ranks of the phalanx. The rout was now complete, and Pyrrhus' camp was taken. The king soon after (478) quitted Italy with but 6000 foot and 500 horse, and two years later he lost his life in an attempt on the city of Argos.*

In the course of the succeeding nine years the Roman dominion was established over the south and east of Italy, but few of the particulars have been transmitted to us.

The Italian states stood in different relations to Rome. In general they held all their lands in full property, paying no land-tax; but in a number of cases a portion of their territory had been converted into Roman public land, and assigned to colonists or occupied in the usual manner. They were governed by their own laws and magistrates; but they had to supply troops, in rated proportions, when Rome was at war, and arm and pay, and perhaps feed them. They were named Allies, † (*Socii*), as distinct from the Latins, (*Nomen Latinum*, ‡) who stood on a somewhat different footing. The infantry of the Latins and Allies in a Roman army usually equalled that of the legions in number; the cavalry

* History of Greece, p. 439.

† It seems probable that the term Allies applied only to the Sabellian peoples and those of Southern Italy, and that it did not include the Tuscans, Umbrians, or Italian Greeks; perhaps not even the Brutians, as being half-Greeks. None, therefore, but genuine Italians could serve in the Roman armies.

‡ The proper expression was *socii et (or ac) nomen Latinum*, as in Sallust and other accurate writers; the *socii nominis Latini* of Livy is quite incorrect.

was thrice as numerous. Their contingents were always commanded by their own officers.

During the period at the end of which we are now arrived, considerable alterations were made in the political and military systems of the Romans. These we will now proceed to explain.

In the year 442, Ap. Claudius, afterwards named the Blind, (*Cæcus*), from the misfortune which befel him, was made censor with C. Plautius. He distinguished his censorship by commencing the celebrated Appian Road, which was gradually extended from Rome to Capua, and thence across the peninsula to Brundisium, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, paved the whole way with square blocks of stone, and justly named the Queen of Roads. He likewise made the first aqueduct, the *Aqua Appia*, at Rome; the water being conveyed under ground from some springs near the Prænestine road, about eight miles from the city.

But the changes which Appius attempted to make in the constitution are of more importance in a political point of view. When selecting the senate, in virtue of his office, he omitted his enemies, and put in their place the sons of freedmen; but all united against this innovation, and the consuls of the next year called the original members of the senate. Appius, being thus foiled, took another and a more pernicious course: he distributed the freedmen throughout all the tribes, and thus in effect put the elections entirely into their hands. To understand this, we must observe that the *ærarians*, among whom the *Libertini* or freedmen were included, were a very numerous and even wealthy body; for all the arts and trades at Rome were exercised by them, the plebeians being restricted to agriculture. They were divided into a number of guilds, of which that of the *Scribæ*, or notaries, was the most important, as nearly all the public and private legal writing at Rome, of which there was a great quantity, was exercised by them. The notaries were now directed by Cn. Flavius, one of the ablest men of his time, who acted in concert with Ap. Claudius. When we reflect then that the plebeians were continually reduced by service in war, from which the *ærarians* were exempt, and that they also unwill-

ingly left their farms to come to attend elections at Rome. we may easily see how the *ærafians* of a rural tribe, who were numerous and always on the spot, could determine its vote. As a proof, Cn. Flavius himself was in 449 made *curule ædile*, and, to annoy the genuine Romans still more, his colleague was Q. Anicius of Præneste, therefore a mere *municipis*, and one who had actually been in arms against Rome a few years before.* On this occasion the senators laid aside their gold rings, the knights their silver horse-trappings, in token of mourning, and it was unanimously resolved to change the law of election.

It is by no means unlikely that Appius, who was at all times a strenuous opposer of the claims of the plebeian nobility, acted on this occasion as the agent of the small knot of patrician oligarchs who wished to exclude the rival nobles from places of honor and dignity. Oligarchs thus situated usually seek to make allies of the inferior people; and Appius and his friends may have regarded the debasement of the plebeian tribes, by mixing freedmen through them, as the surest means to attain their ends; for neither they nor their descendants could presume, it was supposed, to aspire to the consulate, and their enmity to the plebeian order might be reckoned on with some confidence, for keeping them from conferring it on the plebeian nobility.

Cn. Flavius had gained his popularity by two acts of real benefit to the people. The *dies fasti*, or days on which courts sat and justice was administered, were at this time divided in a very perplexing way through the year, and people could only learn them from the mouth of the pontiffs. Flavius made a calendar, in which the nature of each day was marked, and hung it up publicly in the Forum; thus conferring an important boon on the whole people. He further made and published a collection of all the legal forms in civil actions. It is said that it was at the impulse of Appius that he made the *Fasti publici*†

In 449, Q. Fabius and P. Decius were created censors, in order to obviate the evil caused by Appius. They separated the whole of the market-faction, (*turba forensis*;) as the *ærafians* were called, from the rural tribes, and placed them in the four city-tribes; and the measure was considered of such importance, that Fabius derived the name of *Maximus* (*Most great*) from it. We will endeavor to show in what

* Pliny, H. N. xxxiii 6.

† Pliny, *ut supra*.

its importance consisted, and that it was only part of a great change in the constitution.*

In consequence of the change in the value of money, of the extension of the franchise to such a number of people by the formation of new tribes, of the necessity of increasing the number of those liable to serve in the legions, and from other causes, the Servian constitution of the Classes was no longer adapted to the Roman people. It was therefore abandoned, and in its place a new one, founded on the tribes, was substituted.† The tribes were divided each into two centuries, one of old and one of young men: the Six Suffrages remained; all who had a million of asses and upwards of property, were placed in the twelve plebeian equestrian centuries; all who had property between that sum and 4000 asses had votes in the tribes. The centuries, with the exception of the Suffrages, were divided into two *Classes*, the first containing the rural tribes and plebeian knights, the second the city-tribes; the centuries of the former were termed *Primo Vocata*, those of the latter *Postrêmo Vocata*. Those of the rural tribes decided by lot which should vote first; and the successful one was named the Prærogative, as being *first asked* by the presiding magistrate; its vote generally decided the others. The order of voting was, the first class, the Suffrages, the second class.‡ The whole number of centuries at this time; when there were thirty-one tribes, was eighty, *i. e.* six patrician and twelve plebeian equestrian, fifty-four rural, and eight city centuries.§

The new-modelled *comitia* of the tribes differed from the original one in four points; viz. the separation of the plebeian knights, and the participation of the patricians; the

* In what follows we give a hypothesis of Niebuhr's; for the proofs and development we must refer to his own work, vol. iii. 374—409. (German.)

† That the Servian constitution was abandoned long before the end of the republic, is proved by the following passages: Liv. i. 43; xxiv. 7 and 9; xxvii. 22; xxviii. 6. Cic. Rullus, ii. 2. Plancius, 20.

‡ Cic. Phil. ii. 33.

§ The four city-tribes were the Suburane, Esquiline, Colline, and Palatine; the fifteen original rural ones were the Æmilian, Camilian, Cluentian, Cornelian, Fabian, Galerian, Horatian, Lemonian, Menenian, Papirian, Pupinian, Romilian, Sergian, Veturian, Voltinian. The Claudian was added in 250; the Crustumine in 259; the Stellatine, Tromentine, Sabatine, and Arniensian in 368; the Pomptine and Publilian in 397; the Mæcian and Scaptian in 421; the Ufentine and Falerine in 435; the Terentine and Aniensian in 453, and the Veline and Quirine about 514; thus making 35 in all.

division into centuries of old and young men; the exclusion of the Proletarians. the employment of the auspices. We may see that it retained as much of the Servian constitution as was possible; that it was a nearer approach to democracy is not to be denied, but this was unavoidable; yet there was not actually universal suffrage, as in the Greek democracies; and as, except on some very particular occasions, it could be only the people of property in the rural tribes that were at Rome when the comitia were held, the elections and the passing of laws must have lain almost entirely with them. The wisdom of Fabius is proved by the length of time that the system continued to work well. Its corruption proceeded from causes which he could not have foreseen or obviated.

The changes in the military system during this period were also considerable. They were to the following effect.

The unwieldy, helpless nature of the phalanx had at some time, in the Gallic war, become apparent, and it was converted into a more active form. At the time of the Latin war we find the legion thus constituted.* It consisted of five cohorts or battalions, the Hastats, Principes, Triarians, Rorarians, and Accensi; the first two were named Antesignâni and Antepilâni, because they were stationed before the standards (*signa*) and the Triarians, who were also named Pilâni from their weapon, the *pilum*.† The Antesignâni consisted each of fifteen maniples or thirty centuries; and in the plan, which supposed thirty tribes, each century contained thirty men with the centurion; and the cohort therefore 900 men and 30 officers. As every thing in the Roman institutions was regular and uniform, we must suppose the remaining cohorts to be of equal strength; and this gives a total of 4500 common men for the legion; of which 2400 (viz. 600 Hastats, 900 Principes, and 900 Triarians) were troops of the line; 1200 (viz. 300 Hastats and 900 Rorarians) light troops; ‡ the 900 Accensi were merely a dépôt-battalion that followed the legion. Two legions thus composed formed a consular army.

The Hastats derived their name from the spears (*hastæ*)

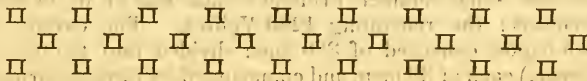
* Livy, viii. 8.

† The *pilum* was a weapon composed of a handle of wood three cubits long, and an iron head of the same length, one half of which projected beyond the wood.

‡ Niebuhr gives these numbers 2200 and 1100; but in this case 300 Hastats remain unaccounted for.

which they bore; the *Principes* were so called, as being of the first class;* the *Triarii* as being formed out of the first *three* classes,† for the Romans in the period of this legion, still served according to the classes; the *Rorarii*, or *Sprinklers*, from their task of *showering* (*rorare*) their missiles in the beginning of the action.‡ The 40 centuries of the first class gave 30 for the *Principes*, 10 for the *Triarii*; the second and third class gave each 10 for the *Triarii*, their remaining 20 being the *Hastats* of the line. Of the forty centuries of the last two classes, 10 were light *Hastats*, and 30 *Rorarii*.

The maniples of the three cohorts of troops of the line were drawn up in *quincunx*, thus :



with lanes or intervals between them. Each maniple as consisting of two centuries, had two centurions to command it, and a standard-bearer. The maniples of the *Hastats* contained 40 shielded men, that is, men of the second and third class,§ 20 armed only with spear and dart, that is, of the fourth class; the *Principes* bore spears and long cut-and-thrust swords; the *Triarii* *pila*; the *Rorarii* slings, as being of the fifth class. When in battle array, the light troops were in front, and began the action; they then retired through the lanes: the *Hastats* succeeded, and when they were wearied, they fell back through the *Principes*, who then came into action; and if the enemy still resisted, the *Triarii*, who had hitherto been sitting under their standards, rose, the *Principes* and *Hastats* retired through the intervals of their maniples, which then closed; and the *Triarii*, having hurled their *pila* on the wearied foe, fell on them sword in hand.

About the middle of the fifth century the legion underwent a further modification, and became such as it was when opposed to Hannibal, and as it is described by Polyb-

* "Scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis." (Livy.) This shows that they were men of property.

† Not from their position, for then their name would have been *Tertiarii*.

‡ "Idem quod ante rorat, quam pluit." Varro L. vi. p. 92. Bip. ed.

§ See the system, p. 51.

ius.* Fabius Maximus and Decius were probably the authors of this change also.

As the class system was no longer suited to the levies, they were now made from the tribes, from each of which four centuries, or 120 men, were selected for each legion; so that when the tribes were thirty-five, the legion contained 4200 common men. These were all armed by the state, and classified according to their age; the youngest being the light troops, or Velites, who began the battle; the next in age the Hastats, and so on, the Triarians being the oldest men. The Hastats and Principes carried *pila* and swords, the Triarians were armed with spears. Of the 4200 men of the legion, 1200, or twenty maniples, were Hastats; the same number Principes; one half of it, or 600, Triarians; the remaining 1200 Velites. The cavalry of each legion consisted of 300 men divided into ten troops, (*turmae*;) each of 30 men, and commanded by three decurions. Its station in action was on the wings. Each legion had six tribunes, each maniple two centurions and two ensigns, legates (*legati*) or lieutenants, commanded the legions under the general. The array of battle still continued to be in *quincunx*.

As the century continued to be drawn up three in front and ten deep, a question arises how it was to act; and it can only have been in the following manner. The century also was drawn up in *quincunx*,



thus forming ten lines, each man being allowed a space of three feet every way. When those in the first line had thrown their *pila*, they fell back, and the second line stepped forward and took their place, and on so till the whole ten lines had engaged; and if there was a supply of *pila*, the same course may have been gone through over again; the same was the case when they came to employ their swords.

What the literature of Rome was at this period we have not the means of ascertaining. Brief, dry chronicles of public events were kept; the funeral orations made over men

* Polybius, vi. 19—26. xviii. 13—15.

of rank were preserved by their families; a moral poem of App. Claudius the Blind, and his speech against peace with Pyrrhus, were extant in Cicero's days. Cato and Varro* say that it was the custom of the Romans to sing at their banquets old songs containing the praises of the illustrious men of former times. (It is the opinion of Niebuhr† that the poems from which he supposes the history of the kings and of the early days of the republic to have been framed, were the production of plebeian poets, and composed after the time of the capture of the city by the Gauls; the middle of the fifth century, which was the golden age of Roman art, he thinks may also have been that of Roman poetry. The measure in which the Romans composed their poems, and which is named Saturnian Verse, continued to be used to the middle of the seventh century of the city; but we have very few specimens of it remaining, and its nature is but imperfectly understood.

* The former in Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. iv. 2. Brutus, 19; the latter in Nonius, s. v. *Assa voce*. From the passage of the Brutus "*quæ multis sæculis ante suam (Catonis) ætatem,*" it would seem to follow that the custom had gone out of use long before Cato's time; yet Dionysius (i. 79) plainly speaks of Ballads of Romulus and Remus as being still sung in his time; and Horace (Carm. iv. 15, 25—32) seems to speak of the practice of singing the praises of the renowned of ancient days as still continuing.

† History of Rome, i. p. 257

THE
HISTORY OF ROME.

PART III.*

THE REPUBLIC.—CONQUEST OF CAR-
THAGE AND MACEDONIA.

CHAPTER I.

CARTHAGE. — FIRST PUNIC WAR. — SIEGE OF AGRIGENTUM. — ROMAN FLEET. — NAVAL VICTORY OF DULIUS. — INVASION OF AFRICA. — DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF REGULUS. — LOSSES OF THE ROMANS AT SEA. — BATTLE AT PANORMUS. — DEATH OF REGULUS. — DEFEAT OF CLAUDIUS. — VICTORY AT THE ÆGATIAN ISLES. — PEACE WITH CARTHAGE. — EFFECTS OF THE WAR.

The present portion of our history will be chiefly occupied by the wars between Rome and Carthage; we will therefore commence it by a brief sketch of the political constitution and history of the latter state.

Carthage was a colony of the Phœnicians † founded on the north coast of Africa, about a century before the building of Rome. The colony was led, it is said, by Elissa, or Dido, the sister of the king of Tyre: a spot of land under payment of tribute, was obtained from the original inhabit-

* The authorities for this Part are so various that we must mention them at each chapter. Livy (partly in epitome) and the epitomators are the only consecutive ones. The first Punic war is related in detail by Polybius, i. 1—64.

† The Greeks called the Tyrians and Sidonians *Ποινίκες*, on account of their red or purple garments; hence the Latin *Puni* and *vunicus*.

ants of the country, and a town built,* which rapidly increased in size and wealth. The people first freed themselves from the tribute, then reduced the adjoining tribes, and gradually extended their dominion over the coast of Africa from the confines of Cyrène to the Atlantic. The Balearic isles and Sardinia also owned the dominion of Carthage, and she early had settlements on the north coast of Sicily.

The constitution of Carthage obtained the praise of Aristotle. It was, like those of the most flourishing commercial states of antiquity, a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, with a preponderance of the former, which was composed of the families of greatest wealth and influence, from whom the persons were chosen who were to fill the chief offices in the state, and who all served without salary. The senate was formed out of the principal families, and its members had their seats for life. It was presided over by the *Suffetes*, † magistrates who are compared to the Roman consuls and the Spartan kings. If the suffetes and senate disagreed, the matter was brought before the people, whose decision was conclusive, on which occasion any one who pleased might speak and give his opinion. The suffetes frequently went out in the command of the armies, but the office of general was distinct from theirs. There was a magistracy of one hundred judges, to whom the generals had to give an account of their conduct in war; and nowhere does the Punic character appear in a more odious light than in the cruel punishments inflicted on those whose only fault had been their ill fortune; nothing was more common than to crucify a defeated general. These Hundred, who resembled the Spartan Ephors, became like them in course of time the tyrants of the state, and helped to cause its ruin.

The troops of Carthage were chiefly mercenaries hired in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Italy. The Carthaginians were remarkably precious of the blood of their own citizens,

* The fort or citadel of the town was naturally named *Betzura*, (*fort*), of which the Greeks made *Byrsa*, (*βύρσα*;) and as this signified an *ox-hide*, they invented the tale of Dido's deceiving the Africans by asking for as much land as an ox-hide would cover, and when they gave it, cutting the hide into thongs. This story has gone the round of the world. Hassan Sabah, the chief of the Assassins, thus got the fort of Alamut in Persia, the English (the Persians say) Calcutta, Hengist and Horsa their settlement in the Isle of Thanet, and one of the colonies in New England its land from the Indians.

† The Hebrew *Shofetim* or Judges.

while they lavished that of their mercenaries with reckless prodigality.

The first attempt made by the Carthaginians to extend their dominion in Sicily was at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, when they sustained a most decisive defeat at Himera from Gelo of Syracuse. They refrained from any further efforts till the people of Segesta, (Egesta), who had called the Athenians into Sicily, applied, on *their* defeat, to Carthage for aid against Selinus. The aid was granted; and this was the occasion of a succession of wars for more than a century between the Carthaginians and the Sicilian Greeks, in which the former acquired the dominion over the greater part of the island. We are now to see them in conflict with the mistress of Italy.

The war between these two powerful rivals commenced in a manner little creditable to Rome; the following was the occasion. After the death of Agathocles of Syracuse, the Campanian mercenaries who had been in his pay were dismissed. They left Syracuse as if they were returning home, but instead of doing so they treacherously seized the town of Messâna; they partly killed, partly expelled the men, and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. The name which they assumed was Mamertines;* they conquered several places in the island, their numbers rapidly increased, and when their countrymen had imitated their treachery in the opposite town of Rhegium,† a strict alliance was formed between the two freebooting communities. But when the Romans had destroyed their Italian allies, and they had themselves sustained a complete defeat from Hiero of Syracuse, they saw the necessity of foreign aid if they would escape destruction. A part of them applied to Anno, the Punic admiral, and put the citadel into his hands; another party sent off to Rome, offering possession of the town, and imploring aid on the score of consanguinity. (483.)

The Roman Senate was greatly perplexed how to act.

* From Mamers, or Mars, the god of war.

† In the first year of the war with Pyrrhus, the eighth legion, consisting of Campanians, had been placed in garrison at Rhegium. Under the pretext of a conspiracy among the inhabitants, they massacred the men, and reduced the women and children to slavery, and casting off their allegiance acted as an independent state. In 482, however, the consul C. Genucius stormed the town, and he led the 300 who remained alive of the legion to Rome, where they were scourged and beheaded, at the rate of fifty a day.

It was of the utmost importance to prevent the Carthaginians from becoming masters of Messána; but, on the other hand, Rome's policy had hitherto been in the main upright and honorable, and with what face could they who had just punished so severely their own legion for an act of treachery, come forward as the protectors of those who had set them the example? They long pondered, and could come to no conclusion; the consuls then brought the matter before the people, who, beguiled by the prospect of booty held out, and the apparent ease of the enterprise, and heedless of national honor, voted the required aid.*

The charge of relieving Messána was committed to the consul App. Claudius; and one of his legates proceeding with some troops and ships to Rhegium, after one ineffectual attempt succeeded in crossing the strait and getting into the town. Hanno was invited to a conference, at which he was treacherously seized, and only released on condition of his giving up the citadel, an act of weakness for which he was crucified on his return to Carthage. But another Hanno now came with a large fleet, and landed an army, which, in conjunction with the troops of Hiero, king of Syracuse, (with whom an alliance was made,) besieged the city on the land side, while the fleet lay at Pelórus.

The consul arrived shortly after, and taking advantage of the night landed his legions close to the camp of the Syracusans. He drew them up unobserved, and in the morning totally defeated the troops of the king, who fled to his capital; whither, after having defeated the Punic army also, Appius followed him, and sitting down before it laid waste the lands.

The two consuls of the following year (489) landed in Sicily, where sixty-seven towns, subject to Hiero or the Carthaginians, placed themselves under the dominion of Rome. They approached Syracuse, and Hiero, in compliance with the wishes of his people, made proposals of peace, which was granted on his paying 200 talents, releasing all the Roman prisoners, and becoming the ally of Rome. The Carthaginians made no efforts to impede the progress of the Roman arms in Sicily; but they were ac-

* "This vote is an eternal disgrace to Rome, and a sign that even then the constitution was beginning to incline too much to the democratic side; although in the interior of the state no disadvantage to the republic thence arose for a long time to come." Niebuhr, iii. 660 (German.)

tively engaged in making preparations for a vigorous campaign. They hired troops in Liguria, Gaul, and Spain, which, joined with their African troops and the light Numidian cavalry, they sent over to Sicily (490) under Hannibal the son of Gisco, while another army was collected in Sardinia for the invasion of Italy.

Hannibal made Agrigentum his head-quarters. Leaving the defence of Italy to the praetor, the two consuls, L. Postumius and Q. Mamilius, passed over to Sicily, and came and encamped within a mile of Agrigentum. Having repelled an attack of the enemy, they formed two separate camps, united by a double ditch and a line of posts; their magazines were in the town of Erbesus, which lay at no great distance in their rear. They remained thus for five months, when, at the urgent desire of Hannibal, whose troops were beginning to suffer from hunger, Hanno was sent to Sicily with a force of 50,000 foot, 6000 horse, and sixty elephants. He advanced to Heraclæa, and took the town of Erbesus: the Romans were now reduced to great straits for provisions; an epidemic also broke out among them, and the consuls were thinking of giving over the siege; but Hiero, whose all was at stake, made every effort to supply them, and they resolved to persevere. Hanno now encamped within little more than a mile of them, and the two armies remained for two months opposite each other. At length, urged by repeated signals and messages from Hannibal, describing the distress in the town, Hanno resolved to hazard an engagement; the Romans, who were suffering nearly as much, eagerly accepted it, and after a hard-fought battle victory remained with them. Hanno fled to Heraclæa, leaving his camp in the hands of the victors, thirty of his elephants were killed, three wounded, and eleven taken. During the battle Hannibal made a fruitless attack on the Roman lines; but he soon after took advantage of the darkness of the winter nights to break through them, and get off with what remained of his army. The Romans then stormed the town, and sold such of the inhabitants as survived into slavery.

Several of the towns of the interior now came over to the Romans, but those on the coast stood too much in awe of the Punic fleet to follow their example: the coast of Italy also suffered from its descents, and the senate saw that they must meet the Carthaginians on their own element if they would end the contest with advantage. But the Punic

ships of war were *quinqueremes*, and as the Romans and their Greek subjects had never had larger ships than triremes, their carpenters could not build the former kind without a model. At length (492) a Carthaginian ship of war, having gone ashore on the coast of Bruttium, fell into their hands, and with this for a model, in the space of sixty days from the time the timber was cut, they built a fleet of one hundred and thirty ships. Meantime stages had been erected, on which the destined rowers were taught their art. When the fleet was ready, the consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio sailed over to Messâna with seventeen ships, and the rest followed along the coast as fast as they could get to sea. While he remained at Messâna envoys came, inviting him to take possession of the Liparæan isles, and he inconsiderately sailed over to them: the Punic admiral Hannibal, who was at Panormus, hearing he was there, sent twenty ships after him, which closed him up in the port during the night. The Romans in terror left their ships and fled to the land, and the consul was obliged to surrender. Hannibal now conceived such a contempt for the Romans as sailors that he thought he might easily destroy their whole navy. He therefore sailed along the coast of Italy with fifty ships to reconnoitre but happening, as he doubled a cape, to fall in with their fleet in order of battle, he lost the greater part of his ships, and escaped with difficulty with the remainder.

The Romans were well aware of their own inferiority as seamen, and they knew that their only chance of success was by bringing a sea to resemble a land fight. For this purpose they devised the following plan. In the fore part of each ship they set up a mast, twenty-four feet high and nine inches in diameter, with a pulley-wheel at the top of it; to this mast was fastened a ladder thirty-six feet long and four broad, covered with boards nailed across it, and having on each side a bulwark as high as a man's knee; at the end of it was a strong piece of iron with a sharp spike and a ring on it, through which a rope ran to the mast, and over the wheel, by which it could be raised or lowered. This *Corvus* or *raven*, as the machine was called, was to be let fall on the enemy's ship, which the spike would then hold fast, and the soldiers holding their shields over the bulwarks, to protect them, could board along it.

The other consul, C. Duilius, took the command of the fleet, and hearing that the Carthaginians were plundering the lands of Mylæ, he sailed to engage them. As soon as

they saw him, they came out with one hundred and thirty ships, as to a certain victory, not even condescending to form in line of battle. At the sight of the *ravens* they paused a little, but they soon came on and attacked the foremost ships. The *ravens* were then let fall; the Roman soldiers boarded along them: the Africans could ill withstand them, and they took thirty ships, among which was that of Hannibal, the admiral, a *septireme* which had belonged to king Pyrrhus. The rest of the Punic fleet manœuvred, hoping to be able to attack to advantage; but they either could not get near the Roman ships, or if they did, were caught by the *ravens*. They at last fled, with the loss of fourteen ships sunk, three thousand men slain, and seven thousand captured. The joy of the Romans at this their first naval victory was evinced by the permanent honor assigned to Duilius; he was permitted for the rest of his life to have a torch carried before him and be preceded by a flute-player when returning home from supper.

After this victory the Romans divided their forces, and the consul L. Scipio sailed (493) with a fleet to make an attack on Sardinia, where he destroyed a Punic fleet and made a great number of captives. Meantime the Carthaginians were recovering their power in Sicily; but the consul of the next year, (494,) A. Atilius Calatinus, restored the Roman preponderance there. The towns of Mytistratum, Enna, Camarina, and others, which had gone over to the Carthaginians, were taken, and their inhabitants massacred.

The following year (495) little was done on land; the Carthaginians had, however, reestablished their sway over one half of the island. A naval victory gained by the consul C. Atilius Regulus off the port of Tyndaris inspired the Romans to make a bold attempt to terminate the war by an invasion of Africa. They therefore (496) collected 330 ships, each carrying 300 seamen, which sailing round Pelôrus and Pachynus, took 40,000 soldiers on board on the coast of Sicily. The Carthaginians had assembled at Lilybæum a fleet of 350 ships, carrying 150,000 men to oppose them. It was the greatest military effort that the ancient world ever saw.*

The Roman fleet was divided into four squadrons; the

* The plan of invading Africa during a war with the Carthaginians had been successfully put in practice by Agathocles about fifty years before this time. (Ol. 117, 3.) See Diodor. xx. 3, *et seq.* It was this that doubtless suggested the idea to the Romans.

first two were commanded by the consuls M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius in person. The two admiral-ships sailed side by side; each was followed by his squadron, in a single line, each ship keeping further out to sea than the one before it, so that the two lines formed an acute angle; and the triangle was completed by the third squadron sailing abreast, and having the horse-transports in tow; the fourth squadron closed the figure, being in a single line, and extending on each side beyond the base. The Punic admirals, Hanno and Hamilcar, likewise divided their fleet into four squadrons, which sailed parallel, Hanno commanding the right, Hamilcar the left wing. The two central squadrons, by a feigned fight, drew the first two Roman ones after them, and thus broke the triangle; the Punic left wing then attacked the third squadron, while the right wing sailed round and fell on the fourth. As the Punic ships which had fled now turned round and fought, there was a threefold engagement. At length the first two Roman squadrons, having beaten those to which they were opposed, came to the aid of the third and fourth, and the Carthaginians were forced to retire, with the loss of thirty ships sunk and sixty-four taken; that of the Romans was twenty-four ships.

The consuls returned to Sicily to repair the ships they had taken, and to complete the crews of the whole fleet. They then made sail for Africa; and as the Punic fleet was too weak to oppose them, they landed safely on the east side of the Hermaic cape, (Cape Bon,) whence advancing southwards they took the town of Clupea, which was deserted at their approach, and made it their place of arms. The country thence to Carthage was like a garden, full of cattle, corn, vines, and every natural production, and studded all over with the elegant country-seats of the citizens of Carthage. The whole of this lovely region was speedily pillaged and destroyed, and thousands of captives were dragged to Clupea, the Carthaginians not venturing out to the defence of their property.

It was the usage of the Romans for at least one consular army to return to Rome for the winter and be discharged, and they would not depart from it on the present occasion. To the messenger therefore whom the consuls sent home for instructions, it was replied, that Manlius should return with his army and the greater part of the fleet, while Regulus should remain in Africa. It is said that Regulus earnestly

applied for leave to return, as his little plebeian farm was going to ruin for want of his presence; but that the government undertook to bear the expense of its cultivation, and to support his family while he was away in the service of the state. He therefore remained, with 15,000 foot, 500 horse, and 40 ships.

The Carthaginians having recalled Hamilcar from Sicily, he brought with him 5000 foot and 500 horse; and being joined in command with Hasdrubal and Bostar, he advanced to oppose Regulus, who was now (497) besieging a town named Adis, close by the lake of Tunis.* Instead of keeping to the plain, where their elephants and cavalry could act to advantage, the Punic generals took their post on the hills, and were in consequence defeated, with the loss of 17,000 men killed, and 5000 men and 18 elephants taken. Regulus now conquered Tunis; seventy-four other towns submitted to him; he ravaged the country at his will; the Numidians revolted; the country people all fled into Carthage, where famine began to be felt.

Regulus, fearing that his successor would come out and have the glory of taking Carthage, sent to propose a peace. Some of the principal men came to his camp to treat, but he offered only the most humiliating terms. He required that Carthage should acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, pay a yearly tribute, retain but one ship of war, give up all claim on Sicily and Sardinia, release the Roman prisoners, and redeem her own. The Punic envoys retired without deigning a reply.

But the haughtiness of the Roman proconsul was to meet its due chastisement. The Carthaginians had sent to Greece to hire troops, which now arrived; and among them was a Spartan named Xanthippus, an officer of some distinction. When Xanthippus viewed the condition of the Punic army and saw its force, he told his friends, that it was not the Romans but their own generals that had been the cause of the preceding defeats. The government on learning his

* On the banks of the Bagrada, said the legend, (Plin. H. N. viii. 14. Zonaras viii. 13. Silius Pun. vi. 140,) abode a serpent of the enormous length of 120 feet; and when the soldiers came hither for water, he killed or drove them off. It was found necessary to employ the ballists and other artillery against him, as against a town, and at length he was slain. His skin and jaw-bones were brought to Rome, where they remained in one of the temples till the time of the Numantine war. We must recollect that the first Punic war was the subject of Nævius' poem.

sentiments conceived so high an opinion of his talents, that it was resolved to give him the command of the army; and he speedily infused confidence into the minds of the soldiery, who readily observed his superiority over their former commanders. In reliance on 100 elephants and a body of 6000 horse he ventured to offer battle to the Romans, although he had but 14,000 foot, and theirs now amounted to upwards of 32,000 men. He placed the mercenaries on the right, the Punic troops on the left; the elephants were ranged one deep in front of the line, the cavalry and light troops were on the flanks. The Romans put their light troops in advance against the elephants, and drew up the legionaries much deeper than usual; the horse were on the flanks. The left wing of the Romans easily defeated the mercenaries opposed to them, and drove them to their camp; but the Punic horse routed that of the Romans, and then fell on the rear of the right wing, against the front of which the elephants were urged on; and when the Roman soldiers had with great loss forced their way through them, they had to encounter the dense Carthaginian phalanx. Assailed thus on all sides, they at length gave way and fled; the battle being in the plain they were exposed to the elephants and horse, and all were slain but five hundred men, who with the proconsul were made prisoners. The left wing, (about 2000 men,) which had pursued the mercenaries, made their escape to Clupea. Xanthippus, having thus saved Carthage, prudently went home soon after to avoid the envy and jealousy which as a stranger he was sure to excite. We are told* (but surely we cannot believe it) that the Carthaginians rewarded him richly, and sent some triremes to convey him and the other Lacedæmonians home, but gave secret orders to the captains to drown them all on the way, which orders were obeyed!

The Carthaginians laid siege to Clupea, but the Romans defended it gallantly. When intelligence of the defeat reached Rome, it was resolved to send a fleet without delay to bring off the survivors, and the consuls M. Æmilius Papius and Ser. Fulvius Nobilior put to sea with three hundred and fifty ships. The Punic fleet engaged them off the Hermaic cape, and was defeated with the loss of 104 ships sunk, 30 taken, and 30,000 men slain or drowned. The Romans then landed, and having defeated the Punic army obliged them to raise the siege; but seeing that the country was so

* Zonaras, viii. 13. Appian, Punica, 3. Silius, Pun. vi. 630

exhausted that no supplies could be had, they prepared to reëmbark and depart.

It was now after the summer solstice, a stormy and perilous season in the Mediterranean. The pilots earnestly advised to avoid the south coast of Sicily, and rather to sail along the north coast. But as this was chiefly in the hands of the Carthaginians, the consuls would not attend to the advice of their pilots. They set sail, and got safely across; but on the coast of Camarina the fleet was assailed by so furious a tempest that but eighty ships escaped. The whole coast thence to Pachynus was covered with wrecks, and with the bodies of drowned men. Hiero acted on this occasion as a faithful ally, supplying the survivors with food and raiment and with all necessaries. The remaining ships then sailed for Messana.

The courage of the Carthaginians rose when they heard of this misfortune; they got ready two hundred ships, and sent Hasdrubal with his army and one hundred and forty elephants over to Sicily. The Roman senate, nothing dismayed by the loss of their fleet, gave orders to build a new one; and in three months they had one of two hundred and twenty ships afloat; with which the consuls Cn. Cornelius Scipio and A. Atilius Calatinus (498) sailed to Messana, whence, being joined by the ships there, they went and laid siege to Panormus. The new town being taken by storm, the old town capitulated; those who could pay a ransom of two pounds of silver were allowed to depart, leaving their property behind; those who could not pay that sum were sold for slaves; of the former there were 10,000, of the latter 13,000. Tyndaris, Solæis, and some other towns on that coast, then submitted.

The consuls of the next year, (499,) Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius, sailed over, and made various descents on the coast of Africa. But their ignorance of the ebb and flood in the little Syrtis was near causing the loss of the whole fleet; the ships went aground on the shoals, and it was only by throwing all the burdens overboard that they were got off. They then sailed round Lilybæum to Panormus, and thence boldly stretched across for the coast of Italy; but off Cape Palinurus they encountered a fearful storm, in which they lost upwards of one hundred and fifty ships. The senate and people, quite cast down by this last calamity, resolved to send no more fleets to sea, but to keep only sixty ships to convoy transports and guard the coast of Italy.

Nothing of importance marks the next two years ; but in 502, Hasdrubal, encouraged by the want of spirit shown of late by the Romans, led his army from Lilybæum toward Panormus. The Roman proconsul L. Cæcilius Metellus, who was lying there with an army to protect the harvest, fell back to the town. He set his light troops, well supplied with missiles, outside of the ditch, with orders if hard-pressed to retire behind it and continue the contest ; and directed the workmen of the town to carry out missiles for them, and lay them under the wall. He kept the main body of his troops within the town, and sent constant reinforcements to those without. When the Punic host came near, the drivers urged on the elephants against the light troops, whom they drove behind the ditch ; but as they still pressed on, showers of missiles from the walls and from those at the ditch, killed, wounded, and drove furious the elephants ; and Metellus, taking advantage of the confusion thus caused, led out his troops and fell on the flank of the enemy. The defeat was decisive ; some were slain, others drowned in attempting to swim to a Punic fleet that was at hand ; the whole loss was twenty thousand men ; one hundred and four elephants were taken, and all the rest killed. After this defeat the Carthaginians abandoned Selinus, whose inhabitants they removed to Lilybæum, which place and Drepana alone remained in their lands.

An embassy to propose a peace, or at least an exchange of prisoners, was now despatched to Rome, and Regulus, who had been five years a captive, accompanied it, on his promise to return if it proved unsuccessful. The tale of his heroism, as transmitted to us by the Roman writers, is one of the most famed in Roman story. Unhappily, like so many others, it passes the limits of truth.

Regulus, we are told ; refused, as being the slave of the Carthaginians, to enter Rome ; with their consent he attended the debates of the senate, whom he urged on no account to think of peace, or even of an exchange of prisoners ; and, lest regard for him should sway them, he affirmed that a slow poison had been given him, and he must shortly die. The senate voted as he wished ; and, rejecting the embraces of his friends and relatives, as being now dishonored, he returned to his prison. The Carthaginians, in their rage at his conduct, resolved to give him the most cruel death ; they cut off his eyelids, and exposed him to the rays of the sun, enclosed in a cask or chest set full of sharp

spikes, where pain and want of food and sleep terminated his existence.*

Regulus, there can be no doubt, died at Carthage, but probably of a natural death. The senate had put the Punic generals Bostar and Hamilcar into the hands of his family as hostages for his safety; and, when his wife heard of his death, she attributed it to neglect and want of care, and in revenge treated her prisoners with such cruelty that Bostar died, and Hamilcar would have shared his fate, but that the matter came to the ears of the government. The young Atilii only escaped capital punishment by throwing all the blame on their mother; the body of Bostar was burnt and the ashes sent home to Carthage, and Hamilcar was released from his dungeon.†

After their victory at Panormus the Romans proceeded with an army of forty thousand men and a fleet of two hundred ships to lay siege to the strong town of Lilybæum. But it was gallantly defended by its governor Himilco, and resisted all the efforts of the Romans, aided by the artillery with which the Syracusans supplied them, during the remainder of the war.

In fact, the remaining nine years of the war (502—511) were years of almost constant misfortune and disgrace to the Romans; and had the Carthaginian system been the same as theirs, and the same obstinate perseverance been manifested, the final advantage would probably have been on the side of Carthage. In the beginning of the war the Roman generals, for instance, had had a decided superiority; now the case was reversed, and Himilco, Hannibal, and above all Hamilcar Barca (*Lightning* ‡) far excelled those opposed to them.

We will pass over the details of the events of these years, only noticing the following, as it relates to the internal his-

* Cicero against Piso, 19. Off. iii. 27. Fin. v. 27. Gellius, vii. 24. Horace, Carin. iii. 5, 41. Appian, Pun. 4. According to Silius (ii. 343) Regulus was crucified. Zonaras, (viii. 15.) following perhaps Dion, gives the common account, but speaks dubiously, (ὡς ἢ φησὶν λέγει.) Perhaps all this testimony is more than outweighed by the significant silence of Polybius, who narrates the war in detail.

† Diodorus, xxiv. 1. Zonaras as above. If this story be true, the preceding one can hardly be so.

‡ From the Punic or Hebrew word *Barak*. Hence perhaps Barak, the lieutenant of Deborah, (Judges, ch. iv.) had his name; the Scipios were called *fulmina belli*. Yilderim (*Lightning*) was a surname of the celebrated Turkish sultan Bayazid.

tory of Rome. In the year 503 the consul P. Claudius Pulcher sailed with a fleet and army to Sicily, and leaving Lilybæum he went with one hundred and twenty-three ships to make an attempt on Drepanum. He hoped to surprise it by sailing in the night, but it was daybreak when he arrived, and Adherbal, who was there, had time to get his fleet out to give him battle. The *pullariî* told the consul that the sacred chickens would not eat; "if they will not eat," said he, "they must drink;" and he ordered them to be flung into the sea.* A battle thus entered into in contempt of the religious feelings of the people could not well be prosperous; the Roman fleet was totally defeated; ninety-three ships with all their crews were taken by the enemy; the consul fled with only thirty. Claudius on coming to Rome was ordered to name a dictator; with the usual insolence of his family he nominated his client M. Claudius Glicia, the son of a freedman. The senate in indignation deprived the unworthy dictator of his office, and appointed A. Atilius Calatinus, afterwards named Serranus, (*Sower*), because he was found by those, who came to inform him of his elevation, sowing the corn with his own hand in his little plebeian farm.† Claudius was prosecuted for violation of the majesty of the people, and he did not long survive the disgrace, dying probably by his own hand, like so many of his family.

The Romans were so disheartened by this last defeat that for five years they remained without a navy. At length, seeing that unless they could prevent supplies from being sent to Hamilcar from home, there would be no end to the war, they resolved once more to build a fleet. But the treasury was exhausted; public spirit however, as at times in Greece, impelled the wealthy citizens to come forward, and each giving according to his means, a fleet of two hundred ships, built after an excellent model, was got ready, with which the consul C. Lutatius Catulus and the prætor P. Valerius proceeded to Sicily early in the spring of the year 511.

Lutatius, finding that the Punic fleet was gone home, blockaded both Lilybæum and Drepanum by sea; and he pressed on the siege of this last place with great vigor, hoping to take it before the fleet could return. Meantime, aware that he would have to fight at sea, he had his

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 3; de Div. i. 16. ii. 8. Liv. Epit. 19.

† Pliny, H. N. xviii. 4. Val. Max. iv. 6, 4.

crews daily put through their exercise. When it was known at Carthage that a Roman fleet was again on the coast of Sicily, the ships of war were all got ready for sea, and laden with corn and all things requisite for the army of Hamilcar, who was besieging the town of Eryx; and the admiral, Hanno, was directed to sail thither without delay, and, having landed the stores, to take on board some of the best troops, and Hamilcar with them, and then to force the enemy to an engagement. Hanno accordingly sailed to the isles named *Ægâtes*,* off Cape Lilybæum, and there landed. Lutatius, on learning that the Punic fleet was at sea, and judging of its object, took some of the best troops on board, intending to give battle in the morning. During the night the wind changed; it blew strong, and favorable to the enemy, and the sea grew somewhat rough. The consul was in doubt how to act; but reflecting that if he gave battle now he should only have to fight Hanno, and that too with his ships heavily laden, whereas if he waited for fine weather he should have to engage a fleet in fighting order with picked troops, and above all with the formidable Hamilcar on board, he resolved to hesitate no longer. He advanced in line of battle; the heavy ships and raw levies of the Carthaginians could ill resist the expedite quinqueremes and seasoned troops of the Romans, and the issue of the contest was not long dubious: fifty Punic ships were sunk, seventy taken; the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand.

This defeat quite broke the spirit of the Carthaginians. Having vented their rage as usual on their unfortunate admiral by crucifying him, they gave full powers to Hamilcar to treat of peace with the Roman consul, who, aware of the exhausted condition of Rome, gladly hearkened to the overtures of the Punic general, and peace was concluded on the following terms, subject to the approbation of the Roman people. The Carthaginians were to evacuate all Sicily, and not to make war on Hiero or his allies; they were to release all the Roman prisoners without ransom; and to pay the Romans the sum of 2200 Euboïc talents in the course of twenty years. The people, thinking these terms too favorable to Carthage, sent out ten commissioners to Sicily, and by these the sum to be paid was increased

* Liv. Ept. 19. Polybius speaks of but one isle, and names it *Ægusa*.

a thousand talents, and the terms reduced to ten years, and the Carthaginians were obliged to evacuate the islands between Italy and Sicily, and forbidden to send any ship of war off the coast of the territory of Rome or her allies, or to enlist troops in Italy.

Thus, after a duration of twenty-four years, terminated the first war between Rome and Carthage. The efforts and the sacrifices made by the former state were greater than at any period of her history. The Roman population was reduced by half a million in the contest; the Italian allies must have diminished in proportion: seven hundred ships of war were lost; the enormous property taxes which they had to pay oppressed the people beyond measure; large portions of the domain were sold, and this, with the sale of small properties in land, caused by distress, gave origin to the great inequality of property which afterwards proved so pernicious to the state. On the side of Carthage, the war was little less injurious. It is true she did not, like Rome, lavish the blood of her own citizens, but she had to pay her mercenaries high, and for this purpose to increase the taxes of her subjects, and thereby augment their discontent; all the imposts were doubled, and the land-tax was raised to one half of the produce.*

The peace left Rome mistress of Sicily; and so exhausted was the island by the war, that the purchase seemed hardly worth the cost. The occasion of the war was evidently unjust on the side of Rome; and it would appear that her wiser policy had been to confine herself to Italy; but in reality the choice was not in her power, for Carthage was now extending her dominion over the West, and the contest for empire or existence must have come sooner or later. We must also bear in mind, that the empire of the world had been destined by Providence for Rome.

Sicily being the first country acquired out of Italy, it was the first example of a Roman *province*.† A governor was sent to it annually; all war was prohibited among its people; excise, land-tax, and other taxes were paid to Rome; but no public lands were retained there, and no assignments made to Roman citizens.

Hiero continued to the end of a long life to rule his little

* Carthage lost 500 ships in the war.

† *Provincia* Niebuhr regards as equivalent with *proventus*, and parallel to *rectifal*.

realm of Syracuse as the favored ally of Rome: and his wisdom, justice, and beneficence caused the Syracusans to enjoy more real happiness than they had done at any period of their history.*

CHAPTER II.†

CIVIL WAR AT CARTHAGE. — ILLYRIAN WAR. — GALLIC WARS

SCARCELY had the Carthaginians concluded the war with Rome when they were engaged in another which menaced their very existence. The mercenaries who had served in Sicily, enraged at their pay and the rewards which Hamilcar had promised them being withheld, turned their arms against the state. They laid siege to Carthage, Hippo, and Utica. Most of the subjects, exacerbated by the enormous imposts which had been laid on them, joined them, and they defeated the only army that Carthage could assemble. At length the conduct of the war was committed to Hamilcar, and by his able measures he succeeded in annihilating the revolters. The war, one of the most sanguinary and ferocious ever known, lasted three years and four months. It gave the world an example of the danger of having the army of a state entirely composed of mercenaries.

During this war the Romans acted with honor: they set the Punic prisoners who were in Italy at liberty; they allowed provisions to be sent to Carthage, but not to the quarters of the rebels: and when the troops in Sardinia, who had also revolted, applied to them for aid they refused it. They could not, however, persist in this honorable course: on a second application from these troops, who were hard pressed by the native Sards, they sent a force thither; and when the Carthaginians were preparing to assert their dominion over the island, they were menaced with a war with Rome. They were therefore obliged to give up all claim to Sardinia, and even to pay an additional sum of 1200

* We here lose the invaluable guidance of Niebuhr, whose work terminates at this point.

† Polybius, i. 65 to the end, ii. 1—35.

talents, as compensation for injuries they were alleged to have done the Roman merchant shipping. This flagrant injustice on the part of the Romans rankled in the mind of the Carthaginians, and it is assigned as the chief cause of the second Punic war, which inflicted so much misery on Italy.

For several years now the Romans were engaged in reducing the barbarous natives of Sardinia and Corsica, and in extending their dominion northwards in Italy. It was also at this time that they first began to turn their views over the Adriatic, and regard the state of Greece. The following was the first occasion.

The Illyrians had for a long time been united under one head, and had exercised robbery and piracy on a large scale by sea and by land. Their last king, Agrôn,* dying from intemperance caused by his joy at his subjects having taken and plundered the wealthy town of Phœnice in Epirus, his widow Teuta assumed the government as guardian to her infant son. Piracy was now carried to a greater extent than ever, and continual complaints came to the Roman senate from their subjects on the east coast of Italy. C. and L. Coruncanus were therefore sent (522) as ambassadors to Teuta: she treated them with great haughtiness, and the younger of the envoys told her that, with the help of God, the Romans would make her amend the royal authority in Illyria. They departed; and the queen, offended at his freedom of speech, sent some persons after him who murdered him. This breach of the law of nations was followed by a declaration of war by the Romans.

The following spring (523) the consul Cn. Fulvius sailed from Rome with two hundred ships, while his colleague L. Postumius led a land army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse to Brundisium. Fulvius directed his course to the isle of Corcyra, of which the Illyrians were now masters; but Demetrius of Pharos,† who commanded there, having incurred the wrath of Teuta, had sent, offering to put it into the hands of the Romans. He kept his word, and the Corcyreans gladly submitted to the Roman dominion. Fulvius then passed over to Apollonia, where he was joined by Postumius. This city also put itself under the protection of Rome, and Epidamnus or Dyrrachium, whither they next

* Agrôn was great-grandson of Bardylis, who fell in battle against Philip of Macedonia. (History of Greece, Part III. c. 1.)

† This was an island on the coast of Illyria.

proceeded, did the same. The consuls then entered Illyria, where several tribes revolted from Teuta; and, leaving Demetrius to rule over them, Fulvius returned to Rome, while Postumius wintered at Epidamnus. In the spring (524) Teuta obtained peace, on condition of paying tribute giving up all claim to the greater part of Illyria, and engaging not to sail from her port of Lissus with more than two barks, and these unarmed.* Postumius sent to inform the Ætolian and Achæan leagues of this peace. Embassies were soon after despatched to Athens and Corinth, and at this last place the Romans were allowed to join in the Isthmian games.

In the year 514 a war had commenced with the Boian Gauls, supported by some of their kindred tribes and by the Ligurians. It was continued through the following year, with advantage on the side of the Romans. In 516 a large body of Transalpine Gauls came to the aid of the Boians; but at Ariminum they fell out among themselves, killed their kings, and slaughtered one another. The survivors returned home, and the Boians and Ligurians were glad to obtain peace. The following year the temple of Janus at Rome, which was to be closed in time of peace, was shut, for the first time, it is said, since the reign of Numa.

Four years after this peace (520) the tribune C. Flaminius brought in a bill to assign the Picentine district, which had been occupied by the Senonian Gauls, and which they still held as tenants to the state. The Boians and other neighboring tribes saw in this a plan of the Romans to deprive them all gradually of their lands, and they determined on resistance. The Boians and Isumbrians sent to invite the Gæsatans, who dwelt on the Rhone to come and share in a war in which great plunder was expected. The invitation was readily accepted; and in the eighth year after the division of the Picentine land, (527,) the Gæsatans crossed the Alps and descended into the plain of the Po, where they were joined by all the Gallic tribes except the Venetians and the Cenomanians, whom the Romans had gained over to their side. With a host of 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse and chariots they then crossed the Apennines and entered Etruria.

* The Romans afterwards (533) made war on Demetrius for breach of this treaty, and he had to seek refuge with Philip II. of Macedonia, in whose service he spent the remainder of his life.

The terror caused at Rome by this irruption of the Gauls was great. All Italy shared in it, and prepared to resist the invaders. The number of men actually under arms on this occasion was 150,000 foot and 6000 horse, and the total amount of the fighting men of Rome and her allies (the Greeks and Etruscans not included) was 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse.

One of the consuls, C. Atilius, was at this time in Sardinia; his colleague, L. Æmilius, had encamped at Ariminum; one of the prætors commanded an army in Etruria. The Gauls had reached Clusium, in their way to Rome, when they learned that the prætor's army was in their rear. They returned, and by a stratagem gave this army a defeat: six thousand Romans were slain; the rest retired to a hill, where they defended themselves. The consul Æmilius, who had entered Etruria, now came up; and the Gauls, in order to secure the immense booty which they had acquired, by the advice of one of their kings declined an action, resolving to return home along the coast, and then to reënter Etruria, light and unencumbered. Æmilius, being joined by the remainder of the prætor's army, followed their march, in order to harass them as much as possible. Meantime Atilius had landed his army at Pisa, and was marching for Rome. His advanced guard met that of the Gauls, and defeated it. A general action soon commenced, the Gauls being attacked in front and rear: they fought with skill and desperation; but their swords and shields were inferior to those of the Romans, and they were utterly defeated, with the loss of 40,000 slain and 10,000 taken; that of the Romans is not known. Atilius fell in the action. Æmilius, having made a brief inroad into the Boian country, returned to Rome and triumphed.

The consuls of the succeeding year (528) reduced the Boians to submission. Heavy rains and an epidemic in their army checked all further operations. Their successors, P. Furius and C. Flaminius, (the author of the war,) carried the war beyond the Po, and ravaged the lands of the Isumbrians, who having assembled a force of fifty thousand men prepared to give them battle. The Roman consuls, who were devoid of all military skill, fearing to trust their Gallic allies, placed them on the south side of the Po, the bridges over which they broke down, and drew up their troops so close to its edge as to leave no space for the requisite movements, so that their only hopes of safety lay in victory. Fortunately

for the Roman army the tribunes possessed the skill the consuls wanted. Knowing that the long Gallic broadswords bent after the first blow, and must be laid under the foot and straightened to be again of use, they gave *pila* to their front ranks, and directed them, when the Gauls had bent their swords on these, to fall on sword in hand. These tactics succeeded completely; the straight, short thrustswords of the Romans did certain execution, and their victory was decisive.

After this defeat the Gauls sent an embassy to Rome suing for peace; but the new consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio, (530,) fearing to lose an occasion of distinguishing themselves, prevented its being granted. The Insubrians hired thirty-three thousand Gæsatans; but all their efforts were unavailing; they were every where defeated, their chief towns Acerræ and Mediolânium (Milan) were taken, and shortly afterwards the colonies of Mutina, (Modena,) Crenôna, and Placentia founded, to keep them in obedience. Marcellus at his triumph bore on a trophy the arms of the Gallic king Viridomarus, whom he had slain with his own hand, and suspended them, as the third *Spolia opîma** to Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitol.

The Roman dominion now extended over the whole of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Illyria, and Corcÿra, and the towns of the coast of Epîrus.

CHAPTER III.†

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN. — TAKING OF SAGUNTUM. — MARCH OF HANNIBAL FOR ITALY. — HANNIBAL'S PASSAGE OF THE ALPS. — BATTLE OF THE TICINUS. — BATTLE OF THE TREBIA. — BATTLE OF THE TRASIMENE LAKE. — HANNIBAL AND FABIUS CUNCTATOR. — BATTLE OF CANNÆ. — PROGRESS OF HANNIBAL.

WHILE the Romans were thus extending their dominion in Cisalpine Gaul, the Carthaginians were equally active in

* Plut. Marcellus, 7. The other two are the fictitious ones of Romulus, the real of Cossus. See above, p. 104.

† For the second Punic war we have the third decade of Livy, who



OATH OF HANNIBAL. 195.

forming an empire in Spain. The loss of Sicily and Sardinia, and the heavy sum of money exacted from them by the Romans, had increased their enmity to them; and Hamilcar, conscious of his great talents, and that by the fault of others he had been obliged to give up his hopes of recovering Sicily, and filled with hatred to the Roman name, burned to possess the means of waging war with them once more. The possession of Spain he saw would give abundance of men and money, and the divided state of the nations and tribes who held it would make the acquisition of dominion easy. As soon, therefore, as the civil war was ended, and the Numidians who had shared in it were reduced, he embarked his army, (514,) and landed at Gades, (Cadiz.) He was attended by his son-in-law Hasdrubal and his son Hannibal, then a child of nine years of age. As he was offering sacrifice previous to embarkation, he made those who were present withdraw a little; then leading his son up to the altar, he asked him if he would go with him; and on his giving a cheerful assent, he made him lay his hand on the flesh of the victim, and swear eternal enmity to Rome.

During nine years Hamilcar carried on a successful war in Spain. He reduced the modern Andalusia and Estramadûra, and penetrated into Portugal and Leon. Hamilcar fell (523) in an engagement with the people of the country. The army chose Hasdrubal to succeed him, and the Carthaginian senate confirmed their choice, and sent him additional troops. Hasdrubal, by his talents, his mildness, justice, and good policy, won the affections of the Spaniards, and extended the dominion of Carthage to the river Ibêrus, (Ebro;) and he founded on the coast the city of New Carthage (Carthagêna) for the capital, which soon nearly rivalled Carthage itself in extent and wealth. This able general perished by the hand of an assassin in the eighth year of his command, (531,) and the army, as before, assuming the right of appointment, set Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, who had been second in command to Hasdrubal, in his place, and their choice was confirmed by the government.

Hannibal, who was now twenty-five years of age, felt that the time for executing his father's projects against Rome was at hand. He proposed to march a veteran army into Italy, and he hoped that one or more decisive victories there

followed Polybius; also this last writer's own narrative to the battle of Cannæ consecutively; and, for the conclusion, Appian's *Punica* and Hannibalian War; Plutarch's lives of Marcellus and Fabius Maximus.

would induce the Samnites and other Italian peoples to rise and assert their independence. In order to extend the Punic dominion still further in Spain, to enrich his troops, and to give them confidence in themselves and their general, he led them into the country of the Olcades, on the Anas, (Guadiâna,) and took their chief town, named Althæa or Carteia. The following spring (532) he entered the country of the Vaccæans, and took their towns of Elmantica or Herman-dica, and Arbueala; and as he was on the way back to New Carthage, he defeated on the banks of the Tagus an army of more than one hundred thousand Spaniards who came to oppose him. The whole of Spain south of the Ebro, with the exception of the city of Saguntum, now obeyed the power of Carthage. The people of this town, who claimed a Greek origin, and the other Greek towns on the coast of Spain, had put themselves under the protection of Rome, and a Roman embassy was sent to Carthage, in the time of Hasdrubal, to stipulate for their independence, and to require that the Punic power should not be extended beyond the Ebro. The Saguntines, aware of the ultimate designs of Hannibal, sent pressing embassies to Rome, praying for aid, as Hannibal, having caused a quarrel between them and the Torboletans, menaced their existence. An embassy was therefore sent to Hannibal, who gave a haughty, evasive reply, and sending to Carthage for instructions, he received power to act as he deemed best. Under the pretext of aiding the Torboletans, he therefore came and laid siege to Saguntum with an army of 150,000 men. The conquest of this town was an object of the utmost importance in his eyes; he would thus deprive the Romans of the place of arms which they had in view for carrying on the war in Spain; he would strike the Spaniards with a salutary dread of the Punic power, and leave no enemy of importance in his rear on his proposed way for Italy: and he would acquire vast wealth for the prosecution of the war.

During eight months the Saguntines made a most heroic resistance. Their applications to Rome for aid were vain, as they produced nothing but fruitless embassies to Hannibal and to Carthage. At length the town was stormed, all within it slaughtered or enslaved, and the immense booty sent to Carthage or reserved for the war. The Romans, when they heard of the capture of Saguntum, issued a declaration of war unless Hannibal was given up to them, and sent an embassy for this purpose to Carthage. The chief

of the embassy, Q. Fabius Maximus, simply stated the demands of Rome; the Carthaginian senate hesitated, not willing to surrender Hannibal, and as little inclined to say that he had acted by public authority. Fabius then, holding up his *toga*, said, "In this I bear peace or war, take which ye will." "Give which you please," replied the Suffes. "War, then," cried he, shaking it out. "We receive it," was shouted forth on all sides. The embassy returned to Rome, whence the consul Tib. Sempronius was already gone to Sicily, with 160 ships and 26,000 men, in order to pass over to Africa, while his colleague P. Cornelius Scipio had sailed for Spain with sixty quinqueremes and 24,000 men, and the prætor L. Manlius commanded a third army of about 20,000 men in Cisalpine Gaul.

During the winter Hannibal made all the requisite arrangements for the defence of Africa and Spain, and he formed treaties with the Gauls on both sides of the Alps. In the beginning of the spring (534) he assembled his army of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants, at New Carthage, and committing the government of Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, and leaving him a force of about 15,000 men and fifty-seven ships of war, he crossed the Ebro on his way for Italy. In his progress thence to the Pyrenees he overcame the various peoples of the country, in which he left Hanno with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. - Desertion and other causes reduced his army, but at the foot of the Pyrenees it numbered 50,000 foot and 9000 horse, all steady and well-disciplined soldiers. Having passed these mountains, he marched without delay for the Rhodanus, (Rhône,) on the further bank of which he found a large army of Gauls assembled to dispute his passage.* He collected, and had constructed, a great number of boats and rafts, but it seemed too hazardous to attempt to pass a broad, rapid river in the presence of so large an army. He therefore sent at nightfall a division of his troops under Hanno up the river, with directions to cross it a day's march off, and then to come down the left bank and take the enemy in the rear. Hanno did as directed, and having halted a day on the other side to refresh his men, marched down the stream. When he made the fire signal agreed on, Hannibal, who had every thing ready, commenced the passage. The Gauls rushed down to oppose him; but they soon saw the

* Opposite Beauvaise.

camp behind them in flames, and after a short resistance turned and fled. The remainder of the Punic army then passed over.*

Meantime Scipio, having coasted Etruria and Liguria, on his way to Spain, was encamped at the mouth of the Rhone, four days' march from the place where Hannibal was lying. He sent forward a party of horse to reconnoitre, who fell in with and drove back five hundred Numidian horse sent out by Hannibal for the same purpose. When they returned, and told the consul where the Punic army was, he embarked his troops, and sailed up the river to attack them; but on coming to the place he found them gone. He then returned with all speed, and sending his brother Cn. Scipio to Spain with the greater part of his forces, embarked for Pisa with the remainder to meet the foe on his descent from the Alps.

Hannibal, urged by an embassy from the Boian Gauls, had resolved to lose no time in advancing into Italy. He marched four days up the left bank of the Rhone, to its junction with the Isara, (Isère.†) The country between these rivers was named the Island, and two brothers were at this time contending for the regal authority over it. Hannibal sided with the elder, who in return supplied him with clothing and provisions for his army, now 38,000 foot and 8000 horse, and gave him an escort through the country of the Allobroges to the foot of the Alps.

Hannibal went for ten days about one hundred miles up the Isara; ‡ he then turned to the mountains. But here difficulties began to assail him. The Gauls occupied the passes, but as they did not keep their plans secret, he learned that they were there; and also finding out they only kept guard by day, retiring to their town by night, he set out in the night with some select troops and seized the heights they used to occupy. In the morning the army set forward;

* He adopted the following plan to get the elephants over the river. Broad rafts were attached to the bank, and other rafts to these on the outside, and the whole covered with earth; the elephants readily went on this, two females being placed at their head. The outer rafts were then loosed, and towed over by boats, the elephants in general remaining quiet on them; some however jumped into the river, but they were saved. (Polyb. iii. 46.)

† Polybius calls the other river the Scoras or Scaras, Livy the Arar, (Saone,) but the confluence of the Rhone and Saone is too far off, and the land between them does not agree with Polybius' description of the Island.

‡ To Moatmelian and Bourgneuf.

but the Gauls assailed them in the pass, where they had to proceed along a narrow path over a deep ravine, and did much mischief, especially to the horses and beasts of burden. Hannibal, however, at the head of his select troops, drove them off. He then took and plundered several villages and their chief town. The march now lay for three days in a fruitful valley, where there were numerous herds of cattle. On the fourth day the people who dwelt at the other end of the valley sent to propose a peace with him, offering hostages and guides. Hannibal, though he distrusted them, agreed to the treaty, but he prudently remitted none of his precautions. After two days' march the troops entered a rugged, precipitous pass leading out of the valley, and here the Gauls had made preparations to overwhelm them. But Hannibal had wisely put the baggage, and horse, and elephants in advance, and kept his troops of the line in the rear, which foresight saved the army. The loss, however, in men and beasts was considerable, as the Gauls showered stones and rolled down rocks from the heights above them. Hannibal was obliged to pass the night separate from his cavalry. In the morning, finding the Gauls gone, the army joined and moved on, though still harassed by their desultory attacks. It was remarked that they never assailed the part of the line of march where the elephants were, as the unusual appearance of these animals inspired them with terror.

On the ninth day the army reached the summit of the Alps. Here they made a halt of two days to rest, and to enable those who had been left behind to rejoin. The snow which now fell, it being late in the autumn, and the prospect of the further difficulties they would have to encounter, dispirited the troops; but their leader, by pointing out to them the rich plain of the Po, and assuring them of the facility of conquest, soon raised their spirits, and they commenced the descent. Here however, though there were no enemies to attack them, the loss was nearly as great as in the ascent. The new-fallen snow made the path indiscernible; and those who missed it rolled down the precipices. They still however advanced, till they found themselves on the edge of a steep, which it was plain the elephants and beasts of burden could never get down. Hannibal tried to take a round to escape this steep; but the thin crust of ice which had formed on the snow gave way under the feet of the beasts, and held them impounded, and even the men could not get along it.

He therefore cleared away the snow on the edge of the steep, and encamped there for the night. Next day he set his men at work to level a way down;* and they made it that day passable for the horses and mules, which they brought down to the parts where there was pasturage; but it took three days to make a way for the elephants. The descent now offered no further difficulties, and the army was soon encamped in the country of the Isubrian Gauls.†

Five months had now elapsed from the day they had set out from New Carthage, fifteen days of which had been occupied in the passage of the Alps. The army had in that time been considerably reduced by its various losses, and it now numbered but 26,000 men, *i. e.* 12,000 African and 8000 Spanish foot, and 6000 horse.

Having given his army sufficient rest, Hannibal advanced into the country of the Ligurian tribe of the Taurini, (Piedmont,) whose capital he took by storm. This struck terror into the surrounding tribes, and they all joined the invaders. Hannibal, finding that those in the plains were only withheld from doing the same by their fear of the Roman armies in their country, resolved to advance at once, and deliver them from their apprehensions.

Scipio had meantime advanced from Pisa, and collecting what troops there were in Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul, crossed the Po with the intention of giving Hannibal battle at once. The Punic general was equally anxious to fight; both armies approached the river Ticinus, (Tessino,) which the Romans crossed, and came to within five miles of Victumvia, (Vigevano?) where Hannibal lay. Next morning Scipio went out to reconnoitre with his horse and light troops; Hannibal did the same, and the two parties met. An action ensued: the consul put his light troops and the Gallic horse in front, supported by the heavy horse; Hannibal set his bridled horse ‡

* According to Livy, Appian, and others, Hannibal, in order to be able to cut down the rocks, had large trees hewn into pieces, and piled around them, and set fire to, and, when the rocks were glowing hot, vinegar poured on them, which rendered them soft and easy to cut. The truth of this circumstance (which is unnoticed by Polybius) has been disputed in modern times.

† Some critics make Hannibal come over the Great, others over the Little St. Bernard; some are for Mt. Genevre, the Simplon, or Mt. Viso; others, (who we incline to think are right,) for Mt. Cenis. According to these last, his route was Montmélian, Maltaverne, Aiguebelle, La Chapelle, St. Jean de Maurienne, St. Michel, Modane, Verney, Lans-le-Bourg, Summit of Cenis, La Novalèse, Suse, St. Ambroise, Rivoli.

‡ The Numidians did not use bridles.

in the centre; the Numidians on the flanks. At the first shock the Roman light troops gave way and fled; the heavy horse maintained the conflict till the Numidians fell on their rear. Scipio himself received a severe wound, and is said to have been indebted for his life to his son, afterwards so famous, then a youth of seventeen. The Romans dispersed and fled to their camp; and Scipio, now aware of the enemy's great superiority in cavalry, resolved to retire without delay beyond the Po, where the country was less level. He reached this river, and got over before the Carthaginians came up, and he also had time to loosen the bridge of rafts. About six hundred men who remained on the other side fell into their hands; the rest of the army reached Placentia in safety. Hannibal went two days' march up the river, and passed it in a narrower place by a bridge of boats; he then came to within six miles of Placentia, and offered battle, but to no purpose. The Gauls now readily joined him; and a body of 2000 Gallic foot and 200 horse, who were in the Roman service, cut to pieces the guard at one of the gates, and came over to him. Scipio, thinking his position no longer safe, led his troops out in the night, in order to occupy a stronger one on the hills about the river Trebia, where he might wait for the arrival of his colleague, who had been recalled from Sicily. When Hannibal found Scipio gone, he sent the Numidians after him; but they fell to rummaging the deserted camp for plunder, and the Romans got safely over the river, and encamped. Hannibal then came and sat down about five miles off, where the Gauls supplied him with abundance of provisions.

Sempronius, on receiving his recall, embarked his troops, and sailed up the Adriatic to Ariminum, where he landed, and lost no time in joining Scipio on the Trebia. The consuls differed in opinion: Scipio, who was still disabled by his wound, was for delay, which must be injurious to the enemy, and would probably cause the fickle Gauls to change their minds; besides which he himself when recovered might be of some service to his country: Sempronius was for immediate action, as the time of elections was at hand, and moreover the illness of his colleague would afford him the occasion of gaining the sole glory of victory. An occasion of action soon presented itself.

The Gauls who dwelt from the Trebia to the Po, wishing to keep well with both parties, declared openly for neither. Hannibal, to punish them, sent a body of 2000 foot and 1000

Numidian horse to plunder their lands. They came to the Roman camp imploring protection, and Sempronius sent out some horse and light troops, who drove off those of the enemy. Elate with this success, he became still more anxious for battle, and Hannibal, who wished for an engagement for the very same reasons that Scipio was opposed to it, prepared to take advantage of Sempronius' ardor. Having observed in the plain between the two armies a stream whose banks were overgrown by bushes and briars, he placed in ambush in it during the night his brother Mago with 1000 foot and as many horse, and in the morning he sent the Numidian horse over the Trebia to ride up to the enemy's camp and try to draw them out; he meantime ordered the rest of the army to take their breakfast, and get themselves and their horses ready.

Sempronius, when he saw the Numidians, sent his horse to drive them off; his light troops followed, and he then led out the rest of the army. It was now midwinter, the day was bitterly cold and snowy, and the troops had not had their breakfast; the Trebia was swollen by the rain that had fallen, and it was breast high on the infantry as they waded through it. Cold and hungry, they advanced to engage an army that was fresh and vigorous, for Hannibal had directed his men to anoint and arm themselves by the fire in their tents. When he saw the Romans over the river, he led out his troops, and drew them up about a mile from his camp. His advance guard consisted of 8000 dartmen and Balearic slingers; he drew up his heavy infantry, Afticaus, Spaniards, and Gauls, about 20,000 in one line, with 10,000 horse, one half on each wing, and the elephants in front of the wings. Sempronius drew up his army of 16,000 Romans and 20,000 allies in the usual manner: he placed his horse (about 4000) on the wings. The Roman light troops being already fatigued, and having spent their weapons in the pursuit of the Numidians, were easily beaten; and while the troops of the line were engaged, the Punic horse charged and scattered that of the Romans; the light troops and Numidians then advanced and fell on the flanks of the Roman line; the troops in ambush rose at the same time, and attacked them in the rear. The Roman wings, assailed in front by the elephants and in flank by the light troops, gave way and fled; the centre, about ten thousand men, drove back the Punic troops in front of it, but it suffered from those in its rear. At length, seeing their wings driven off the field, and fearing

the number of the enemy's horse if they attempted to aid them, or to recross the river to their camp, they made a desperate effort, and breaking through the adverse line forced their way to Placentia. Most of the remainder were destroyed at the river by the horse and the elephants; those who escaped made their way to Placentia. The victors did not venture to cross the river: all their elephants but one died in consequence of the extreme cold and wet. Scipio the next night led the troops in the camp over the Trebia to Placentia, and thence to Cremôna.

Sempronius sent word to Rome that but for the weather he should have obtained a complete victory. The truth, however, was not to be concealed; but the Roman spirit only rose the more in adversity. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius* were created consuls, Sempronius having gone to Rome to hold the elections.

Hannibal, having made an ineffectual attempt on a magazine near Placentia, and taken *Victumviæ*, gave his troops some repose. Early in the spring (535) he attempted to cross the Apennines; but a violent storm of thunder, hail, wind and rain, forced him to give over his project. He then gave Sempronius a second defeat near Placentia, after which he led his troops into Liguria. Flaminius went to his province in the spring, and having received four legions, two from Sempronius and two from the prætor Atilius, crossed the Apennines and encamped at Arretium, (Arezzo.) Hannibal, finding the Gauls so discontented at his remaining in their country that he was obliged to change his dress frequently, and to wear various wigs in order to escape their attempts on his life, resolved to enter Etruria without delay. Of the various routes into that country he fixed on that through the marshes formed by the river Arno,† as he could thus elude the Roman consul. He placed his African and Spanish infantry with the baggage in advance; these were followed by the Gauls, and last came the horse. He himself rode on his only remaining elephant. For four days and three nights they had to march through the water, enduring every kind of hardship. Most of the beasts of burden perished, several of the horses lost their hoofs, and Hannibal himself lost the sight of one of his eyes.

* This was the Flaminius who had caused the Gallic war. See above, p. 192.

† Livy, xxii. 2. They were on the right bank of the Lower Arno. (Nieb. i. 128.) Micali and some other moderns maintain that they were the marshes formed by the Upper Po.

Having learned the character of the Roman consul, a vain rash man, utterly unskilled in military affairs, Hannibal resolved to provoke him to a battle before the arrival of his colleague. He therefore proceeded to lay waste the fruitful country between Fæsulæ and Arretium. The sight of the devastations he committed enraged Flaminius, and he would not be withheld, by his officers from giving battle. Hannibal had now reached the vicinity of Cortôna, and when he found that Flaminius was following him, he prepared to select the most advantageous position for engaging. He therefore advanced, with the hills of Cortôna on his left, the Trasimene lake on his right, till he came to a spot where the hills approach the lake, leaving a narrow path, and then recede, forming a valley closed at the end by an eminence. He stationed his line-troops at the further end of this valley, placing his light troops on the hills on the right side of it, and his horse and the Gauls on those on the left. He thus awaited Flaminius, who arriving in the evening, encamped on the lake without the pass, into which he led his troops early the next morning. A dense fog happening to rise and spread over the valley concealed the enemy from the view of the Romans; the head of their column had just reached the place where the Punic troops awaited them, when Hannibal gave the signal for attack, and they were assailed at once in front and flank. Not having time to form, they were cut down in their line of march. Flaminius himself was killed by the Gauls early in the action. Numbers ran up to their necks in the water; but the enemy's horse charged after them and cut them to pieces.* The number of the slain was 15000; a body of 6000 broke through in front, and made their way over the hills to a neighboring village; whither they were pursued by Maharbal and forced to surrender, on promise of being allowed to depart without their arms; but Hannibal, denying the right of Maharbal to grant these terms, assembled all his prisoners, to the number of upwards of 15,000, and separating the Romans, whom he retained, he dismissed the allies, declaring, as was his wont, that he was come as the deliverer of Italy from Roman tyranny. His own loss was about fifteen hundred men.

* According to Livy (xxii. 5) and Zonaras (viii. 125,) the ardor of the combatants was such that they did not perceive the shock of an earthquake which occurred at that time, and threw down large portions of several towns, sank mountains, and turned rivers from their course. Of this Polybius says nothing.

chiefly Gauls, on whom he generally contrived to make the loss fall most heavily.

This defeat was of too great a magnitude for the government at Rome to be able to conceal or extenuate it. In the evening of the day the news arrived, the prætor mounted the Rostra and said aloud, "We have been overcome in a great battle." The people, unused to tidings of defeat, were quite overwhelmed; but the senate remained calm and resolute as ever in adversity. Soon after, another piece of ill news arrived; a body of four thousand horse, which the consul Servilius had sent on from Ariminum, were cut to pieces or forced to surrender by the Punic horse and light troops. It was now resolved to revive the dictatorship, an office for some time out of use, and Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed,* with M. Minucius for his master of the horse.

Hannibal marched through Umbria and Picenum, wasting and destroying the country on his way. On reaching the sea he sent home word of his successes; and having halted some time, to give his men and horses rest, he advanced through the country of the Marsian League into Apulia. The dictator, having received the two legions of the consul Servilius, and added two newly raised ones to them, advanced with all speed to Apulia, and encamped in presence of Hannibal near Arpi. The Punic general vainly offered battle; it was the plan of Fabius, thence named the Delayer, (*Cunctator*), to give him no opportunity of fighting, but to wear him out by delay. He accordingly kept on the hills above him, followed him whithersoever he went, made partial attacks under advantageous circumstances, and thus raised the spirit and confidence of his troops. Hannibal, having exhausted Apulia, entered Samnium, where he plundered the district of Beneventum and took the town of Telesia, Fabius still following him at a distance of one or two days' march, but giving no opportunity for fighting. It is remarkable, that though the Romans had suffered such defeats, not one of their allies had as yet fallen off. Hannibal hoped that by an irruption into Campania he should be able to force Fabius to give battle, or if he did not, that this confession of the inferiority of the Romans in the field would have its due effect on the minds of the allies. He therefore marched by Allifæ and Cales to Casilinum, wasted the

* As there was no consul at Rome to nominate him, he was created Pro-dictator.

Falernian district to Sinuessa, and encamped on the Vulturnus. Fabius moved along the Massic hills; but neither the sight of the burning villages in the valley beneath, nor the reproaches and entreaties of Minucius and the other officers, could induce him to change his system and descend into the plain.

Hannibal, seeing there was no chance of a battle, prepared to retire, by the way he came, into quarters for the winter. Fabius hoped now to take him at an advantage: having placed a sufficient force to guard the pass near Taracina,* he occupied the town of Casilinum and the hill of Callicula, and posted his army on an eminence on the road by which the enemy must move for the pass. Hannibal, seeing the way thus impeded, and despairing of being able to force it, had recourse to stratagem. He had two thousand of the strongest oxen in the booty collected, and bundles of brushwood tied on their horns. In the latter part of the night, he directed the baggage-drivers to set fire to these bundles, and drive the oxen up the hill close to the pass; and the light troops to hasten and occupy its summit. The oxen, infuriated by the heat and flame, ran wildly up the hill; the Romans, who guarded the pass, thinking from the number of lights that the enemy was escaping that way, made all the speed they could to occupy the summit; but they found the Punic light troops there already; both remained inactive waiting for the daylight. Hannibal meantime had led the rest of his army through the pass, and he sent some Spanish troops, who speedily routed the Romans on the hill. He then marched leisurely through Samnium into Apulia, where he took the town of Geronium, before which he pitched his camp; Fabius, who followed him, encamped at Larinum.

The dictator, being obliged to return to Rome on some religious affairs, committed the command of the army to the master of the horse, imploring him on no account to give battle. But Minucius little heeded these admonitions; he quitted the hills where he was posted, and came nearer to the Punic camp; and he had the advantage in some slight actions which ensued. These successes were greatly magnified at Rome; and the people, who were weary of the salutary caution of Fabius, were induced to pass a decree for making the authority of the master of the horse equal with

* Probably the pass of Lautula. See above, p. 134

that of the dictator. Fabius, who had returned to the army, made no complaint; he divided the troops with Minucius, and they formed two separate camps, about a mile and a half asunder.

Hannibal, who was informed of all that occurred, hoped now to be able to take advantage of Minucius's impetuosity. There was a valley between their camps, in which, though it contained no bushes suited for an ambuscade, there were sundry hollows where troops might lie concealed, and in these he placed during the night five hundred horse and five thousand foot; and that they might not be discovered by the Roman foragers, he sent at dawn some light troops to occupy an eminence in the middle of the plain. Minucius, as soon as he saw these troops, directed his light troops to advance and drive them off; he then sent his horse, and finally led out his heavy infantry. Hannibal kept sending aid to his men, and meantime led on his horse and heavy foot. His horse drove the Roman light troops back on those of the line, and he then gave the signal to those in ambush to rise; the Romans were now on the very verge of a total defeat, when Fabius led his troops to their relief. Hannibal, when he saw the good order of the dictator's army, drew off his men, fearing to hazard an action with fresh troops. As he retired, he observed that the cloud which had lain so long on the tops of the mountains had at last come down in rain and tempest. Minucius candidly acknowledged his fault and the superior wisdom of the dictator, and the whole army encamped together again.

The winter passed away, only marked by some slight skirmishes. At Rome, when the time of the elections came, the consuls chosen were C. Terentius Varro, a plebeian,* and L. Æmilius Paullus, a patrician. Instead of the usual number of four legions, eight were now raised, each of five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and the allies gave as usual an equal number of foot and thrice as many horse. King Hiero sent a large supply of corn, and one thousand slingers and Cretan archers.

As soon as the season for the ripening of the corn approached, (536,) Hannibal moved and occupied the citadel

* From Livy's account of Varro, we are to suppose that he was a vulgar, low-born demagogue. He says (xxii. 25) that he was the son of a butcher; yet we find him continued in command for some years after his defeat, which can hardly be ascribed to mere popular favor

of a town named Cannæ, where the Romans had their magazines. The consuls of the former year, who commanded the army in these parts, finding their situation hazardous, and the allies inclined to revolt, sent to Rome for instructions, and it was resolved that battle should be given without delay. Æmilius and Terentius set out from Rome with the new-raised troops, and their whole united force amounted to eighty-seven thousand horse and foot. Fabius and other prudent men, placing their only reliance on Æmilius, who had distinguished himself in the Illyrian wars, anxiously impressed on him the necessity of caution, and of restraining his vain and ignorant colleague, as this army might be in a great measure regarded as Rome's last stake.

As Hannibal was greatly superior in cavalry, it was the advice of Æmilius not to risk an action in the plain; but Varro, ignorant and confident, on his day of command (for the Roman consuls when together took it day and day about) led the army nearer to where the enemy lay. Hannibal attacked the line of march, but was driven off with some loss; and next day Æmilius, not wishing to fight, and unable to fall back with safety, encamped on the Aufidus, placing a part of the army on the other side of the river, a little more than a mile in advance of his camp, and equally distant from that of Hannibal, to protect his own and annoy the enemy's foragers. Hannibal, having explained to his troops the advantages to be derived from an immediate action, led them over the river and encamped on the same side with the main army of the Romans, and on the second day he offered battle, which Æmilius prudently declined. He then sent the Numidians across the river to attack those who were watering from the lesser camp. The patience of Varro was now exhausted, and next day at sunrise he led his troops over the river, and joining with them those in the lesser camp drew them up in order of battle. The line faced the south;* the Roman horse were on the right wing by the river side; the troops of the line, drawn up deeper than usual, extended thence; the horse of the allies were on the left wing, the light troops in advance of the line. Hannibal, having first sent over his light troops, led his army also to the other side of the river. He set his Spanish

* Livy says that the arid wind, named the Vulturinus, blew clouds of dust in the faces of the Romans. This is not noticed by Polybius, and if it was the case it was probably the fault of Varro, not the skill of Hannibal as some suppose, that placed them in this position.

and Gallic horse on his left wing, opposite that of the Romans; then one half of his heavy African infantry;* next, the Spaniards and Gauls, after them the rest of the African foot, and on the right wing the Numidian horse. When his line had been thus formed, he put forward the centre so as to give the whole the form of a half-moon. His whole force, inclusive of the Gauls, did not much exceed 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, while that of the Romans was 80,000 foot and about 6000 horse. On the one side, Æmilius commanded the right, Varro the left wing, the late consul Servilius the centre; on the other, Hanno led the right, Hasdrubal the left wing, Hannibal himself the centre.

The battle was begun, as usual, by the light troops; the Spanish and Gallic horse then charged; the Roman horse, after a valiant resistance, overborne by numbers, broke and fled along the river; the light troops having fallen back on the heavy-armed on both sides, these engaged: the Gauls and Spaniards who formed the top of the half-moon, being borne down by the weight of the Roman maniples, gave way after a brief but gallant resistance. The victors heedlessly pressing on, the African foot on either side wheeled to the right and left, and surrounded them. Æmilius, who had commanded on the right, now came with a party of horse to the centre and took the command; here he was opposed to Hannibal himself. The Numidians meantime kept the horse of the allies engaged; till Hasdrubal, having cut to pieces the Roman horse which he had pursued, came to their aid: the allies then turned and fled; Hasdrubal, leaving the Numidians to pursue them, fell with his heavy horse on the rear of the Roman infantry. Æmilius fell bravely fighting; that part of the Roman infantry which was surrounded was slaughtered to the last man; the rest of the infantry was massacred on all sides; the Numidians cut to pieces the horse of the allies. The consul Varro escaped to Venusia with only seventy horse. A body of ten thousand foot, whom Æmilius had left to guard the camp, fell during the battle on that of Hannibal, which they were near taking; but Hannibal, coming up after the battle, drove them back to their own camp with a loss of two thousand men, and there forced them to surrender.

* Hannibal had armed his African and Spanish infantry after the Roman manner, with the Roman arms which had fallen into his hands.

This was the greatest defeat the Roman arms ever sustained. Out of 81,000 foot, according to Polybius, only 3000 escaped, and 10,000 were made prisoners; of 6000 horse there remained but 370 at liberty, 2000 were taken. Among the slain were two quæstors; twenty-one tribunes; several former consuls, prætors, and ædiles, among whom were the consul Æmilius, the late consul Servilius, and the late master of the horse Minucius; and eighty senators, or those who were entitled to a seat in the senate. The loss of the enemy was 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards and Africans, and about 200 horse.

A part of the Roman troops, who escaped to Canusium, put themselves there under the command of Ap. Claudius and P. Cornelius Scipio, who were military tribunes; and as these were consulting with some of the other officers, word came that L. Cæcilius Metellus and some other young noblemen were planning to fly to the court of some foreign prince, utterly despairing of their country. Scipio rose, and followed by the rest went to the lodgings of Metellus, where the traitors were assembled: and there drawing his sword made them, under terror of death, swear never to desert their country.*

When tidings of this unexampled defeat reached Rome, the consternation was such as cannot be described. Grief and female lamentation was every where to be heard, but the magnanimity of the senate remained unshaken. By the advice of Fabius Maximus, measures were taken for preserving tranquillity in the city, and ascertaining the position and designs of the victorious and the condition of the vanquished army. On account of the number of the slain, a general mourning for thirty days was appointed, and all public and private religious rites were suspended; Q. Fabius Pictor † was sent to inquire of the god at Delphi; the Fatal Books were consulted, and by their injunction a Greek man and woman and a Gallic man and woman were buried alive in the Ox-market. Measures being thus taken to appease the wrath of Heaven, they proceeded to employ the means of defence. C. Claudius Marcellus, the proprætor, was sent to take the command at Canusium, where about ten thousand

* Liv. xxii. 53. The censors of the year 533 deprived Metellus and his companions of their horses, and made them ærarians, on account of their conduct on this occasion.

† This is the earliest Roman historian.

men were now assembled. M. Junius was made dictator, and by enrolling all above and some under seventeen years of age, four legions and one thousand horse were raised; eight thousand able-bodied slaves were, with their own consent, purchased from their masters and enrolled in the legions; the arms, the spoils of former wars, which hung in the temples and porticoes, were now taken down and used.

It was apprehended at Rome that Hannibal might march at once for the city, and it is said that Maharbal had urged him to do so, and, on his hesitating, told him that he knew how to conquer, but not to use his victory. But the able general knew too well the small chance of success in such an attempt, and was well aware of how much more importance it was to try to detach the allies of Rome; and in this he soon had abundant success. The Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, most of the Greek towns, great part of Apulia and Campania, and all Cisalpine Gaul, turned against Rome, whose power was now thought to be at an end.

Yet never was Rome's steadfastness greater than at the present moment. Hannibal, being in want of money, offered his Roman prisoners their liberty at a moderate ransom. Ten of them were sent to Rome, with Carthalo, a Punic officer, to consult the senate, on their oath to return. When they drew nigh to Rome, a lictor met Carthalo, ordering him off the Roman territory before night; the senate, though assailed by the tears and prayers of the families of the captives, were swayed by the stern, rigid sentiments of T. Manlius Torquatus, and replied that they should not be redeemed. One of the envoys had, when leaving the Punic camp, returned to it on some pretext, and thinking, or affecting to think, himself thereby released from his oath, remained at Rome; but the senate had him taken and sent back to Hannibal. When Terentius Varro returned to Rome, all orders went out to meet him, and thanked him for not having despaired of the republic. How different, as Livy remarks, would have been the reception of a defeated Punic general!

Hannibal, having entered Samnium, and made himself master of the town of Compsa, advanced to Campania, where the popular party in Capua, under the guidance of a demagogue of noble birth, named Pacuvius Calavius, had made an alliance with him, and took up his quarters in that luxurious city. About this time he despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with an account of his successes and a demand of men, money, and supplies. Mago, it is said, emptied out

before the senate a bushel full of gold rings, the ornament of the equestrian order at Rome, to prove the magnitude of the losses of the Romans; but Hanno and the anti-Barcine* party still opposed the war, and advised to seek peace. The opposite party, however, prevailed; it was voted to send him 4000 Numidians, 40 elephants, and a large sum of money; and Mago and another officer were sent to Spain to hire a body of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse.

CHAPTER IV.

HANNIBAL IN CAMPANIA. — DEFEAT OF POSTUMIUS. — AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. — TREATY BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND KING PHILIP. — HANNIBAL REPULSED AT NOLA. — SUCCESS OF HANNO IN BRUTTIUM. — AFFAIRS OF SARDINIA, — OF SPAIN, — OF SICILY. — ELECTIONS AT ROME. — DEFEAT OF HANNO. — SIEGE OF SYRACUSE. — AFFAIRS OF SPAIN AND AFRICA. — TAKING OF TARENTUM. — SUCCESSES OF HANNIBAL.

In the city of Nola, as at Capua, the popular party was adverse, the aristocratic favorable, to the cause of Rome. Hannibal, therefore, hoping to get this town as he had gotten Capua, led his troops into its territory. The Nolan senate instantly sent off to the prætor Marcellus,† who was at Casilinum with an army, and he immediately set out, and keeping mostly to the hills, reached the town; Hannibal having just departed to make an effort to gain Neapolis, for he was extremely anxious to get possession of a good seaport on this coast. Failing, however, in his attempt, he went to Nuceria, which he forced to surrender; and he then returned and encamped before the gates of Nola; Marcellus, fearing treachery on the part of the people, retired into the town. Each day the two armies were drawn out, and slight skirmishes, but no general action, took place. At length the senators gave Marcellus information of a plot to shut the gates behind him when he had led his army out, and to admit the enemy.

* The party who supported Hannibal at Carthage was named Barcine, from his father's epithet Barcas.

† The conqueror of the Gauls. See above, p. 194.

He therefore next day, instead of leading out his forces as usual, stationed them within the town; the legionaries and Roman horse at the middle gate, the recruits, the light troops, and the allies' horse at the two side ones; and he gave strict orders for no one to appear on the walls. Hannibal, when he drew out his army as usual and saw no one to oppose him, judged at once that the plot was discovered, and he resolved to attempt a storm, in reliance on a rising of the people in his favor. Having sent a part of his troops back to the camp for ladders and the other requisite implements; he led his army up to the walls. Suddenly the gates all opened, the trumpets sounded, the Roman army rushed out on all sides, and he was forced to retire with a considerable loss. Marcellus then closed the gates again, and having instituted an inquiry, put to death seventy persons whose guilt was proved.

Hannibal, having retired from Nola, went and laid siege to Acerræ, the people of which town, despairing of being able to defend it, fled from it in the night. He then advanced and laid siege to Casilinum, which was gallantly defended by a small but resolute garrison; and finding he had no chance of taking it, he led off his army to winter at Capua. Here, as was to be expected, his troops indulged in all kinds of luxury and debauchery; and ignorant, rhetorical writers, who could not discern the real causes of the subsequent decline of Hannibal's power, ascribe it to this wintering in Capua.

When the weather grew milder, Hannibal again invested Casilinum. The dictator Junius was at hand with an army of twenty-five thousand men, but he was obliged to go to Rome on account of the auspices, and he charged his master of the horse, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, not to attempt any thing during his absence. Gracchus, therefore, though the garrison were suffering the extremes of famine, could not attempt to convey them supplies. All he could do was to send barrels filled with corn down the stream by night, which the people watched for and stopped; quantities of nuts were in like manner floated down to them. Unfortunately the Vulturnus happening to be swollen one night, overflowed, and some of the barrels were carried out on the bank where the enemy lay. The river now was strictly watched; and the garrison, having eaten the leather of their shields and every species of vile food, at length capitulated. Most of the towns of Bruttium which remained faithful to Rome were soon after forced to surrender.

But a still greater misfortune befell the Romans in the north of Italy; L. Postumius, the consul elect, as he marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men, through a wood in which the Gauls had sawn the trees on the way-side so as to be easily thrown down, was attacked by them; numbers were crushed to death by the trees, and few of the whole army escaped. The consul's skull was fashioned into a drinking cup by the victors, to be used at their principal temple. The news of this misfortune caused great terror at Rome; but the senate carried on the business of the state with their usual equanimity. Their body, which had been greatly reduced, received at this time an accession of one hundred and seventy-seven members.* Marcellus was elected as colleague to Gracchus, in the room of Postumius; but the election being pronounced faulty by the augurs, Fabius Maximus was chosen in his stead.

Having brought the war in Italy to the end of the third year, we will now take a view of the progress of affairs in Spain.

Cn. Scipio on arriving in Spain (534) speedily reduced the whole coast from the Pyrenees to the Ebro. He advanced into the interior, and defeated Hanno at a place named Scissis. The Punic general was made prisoner, with two thousand of his men, and six thousand were slain. Hasdrubal meantime crossed the Ebro, and fell on and drove to their ships, with loss, the crews of the Roman fleet at Tarraco, (Tarragôna.) He however always retired before Scipio, who reduced the Ibergetes and some other peoples of that country. The following spring (535) Scipio sailed to the mouth of the Ebro, where the Punic fleet and army lay, and by a sudden attack drove the fleet of forty ships ashore, and carried away twenty-five of them; and he afterwards defeated the Ibergetes, who had resumed their arms. As Hasdrubal was coming to their aid, he was recalled by

* Sp. Carvilius on this occasion proposed that two out of the senate of each of the peoples of the Latin Name should be given the full Roman franchise, and admitted into the Roman senate. This liberal and prudent project was of course treated with scorn. M. Fabius Buteo was made dictator for the purpose of completing the senate, which he did in the following manner;— He selected first those who had borne curule offices since the censorship of Ænilius and C. Flaminius, and had not yet been admitted into the senate; then those who had been ædiles, tribunes of the people, or questors; finally, those who had held no office, but had in their houses the spoils of enemies or a civic crown. It is remarkable that there were now two dictators at a time, and that Fabius had no master of the horse.

tidings that the Celtiberians, instigated by the Romans, had invaded the Punic province and taken three towns; he hastened back to its defence, but was defeated in two battles, with the loss of 15,000 men slain and 4000 taken.

In this state of affairs P. Scipio, whose command had been prolonged, arrived with thirty ships of war, eight thousand troops, and a large supply of stores. The Romans now crossed the Ebro, and advanced to Saguntum, as it was here that the hostages which Hannibal had required from the Spanish princes were kept, and the garrison was not strong, and if the hostages were released those princes might be more easily induced to join the Romans. Fortune here favored them; a Spaniard named Abelux persuaded Bostar, the commandant, that his wisest course would be to send the hostages back to their friends, whose gratitude might then be relied on; and he offered to be himself the agent in the business. Bostar gave his consent; Abelux went that night secretly to the Roman camp, and engaged with Scipio to put the hostages into his hands; and the following night, when he left the town with them, a party of Romans, as had been arranged, took him and them and brought them into the camp. The hostages were forthwith sent off to their friends, and this apparent generosity produced a great effect in favor of the Romans. The approach of winter put a stop to all further operations.

The following year (536) Hasdrubal had to turn all his forces against a people named the Carpesians,* who had risen in arms. When he had subdued them, he received orders from home to lead his army into Italy to join his brother. At his earnest desire, Himilco was sent with a fleet and army to succeed him, as otherwise, he assured the senate, all Spain would be lost. He then marched for the Ebro; the Romans, learning his intentions, crossed that river, and an engagement ensued, in which Hasdrubal sustained a total defeat. This victory decided those who were wavering, and nearly all Spain now joined the Romans.

In Italy, at the commencement of the next campaign, (537,) the two main armies remained long inactive. The Romans were encamped at Suessula; Hannibal at Tifata, over Capua. During this time the Romans found that a contest with a new and powerful enemy awaited them. Philip, king of Macedonia, having ended the Confederate

* This people dwelt on the Tagus; their capital was Tolctum, (Toledo.)

War,* resolved to join his arms with those of Hannibal, to whom he sent an embassy: and a treaty was made, by which the king engaged to invade Italy with a fleet of two hundred ships; and that country being reduced under the dominion of the Carthaginians, they were to pass over and aid in bringing Greece and the islands under that of Philip.† Fortunately for the Romans, the ship in which the envoys were returning fell into their hands, and the summer was gone before a second embassy reached the Punic camp and returned, so that the season of action was lost. P. Valerius Flaccus was stationed with fifty ships at Tarentum to watch the progress of events beyond the sea, and the prætor M. Valerius Lævinus had orders, in case of any hostile movements there, to go to Tarentum, and to land his troops on the opposite coast, and transfer the war thither.

The consul Fabius at length put his troops in motion, and having passed the Vulturius, and taken some of the revolted towns, marched between Hannibal's camp and Capua to Vesuvius, where Marcellus lay, whom he sent with his troops to the defence of Nola. Marcellus while here made frequent incursions into the adjoining parts of Samnium and laid them waste, and at the earnest desire of the Samnites Hannibal led his troops against Nola, where he was joined by Hanno with his forces from Bruttium. Marcellus having drawn up his troops, as before, within the town, made a sally; but a sudden storm of wind and rain came on and parted the combatants. The rain lasted all that night and part of the next day. On the third day a general engagement was fought, and Hannibal, it is said, was repulsed with the loss of 5000 men and six elephants; and the next day 1272 Spanish and Numidian horse went over to the Romans, whom they served faithfully all the rest of the war.

Hannibal having dismissed Hanno went into Apulia for the winter, and fixed his camp near the town of Arpi. Hanno meantime endeavored to reduce the Greek towns in Bruttium, which, chiefly out of fear and hatred of the Bruttians, remained faithful to Rome. His attempt on Rhegium failed; but the Locrians were forced to form an

* History of Greece, Part III. chap. vi.

† Livy, xxiii. 33. Polybius (vii. 9) gives a copy of the treaty which is a very curious document. It only speaks however of an alliance offensive and defensive, and of obliging the Romans to give up all their possessions on the farther coast of the Adriatic.

alliance with Carthage. The Bruttians, enraged at being balked of the plunder of these two towns, collected a body of fifteen thousand men, and resolved to win the wealthy city of Croton for themselves. In this, as in almost every other town, the men of property were for, the lower orders against, the Romans. The latter put the town into the possession of the Bruttians; the *optimates* retired to the citadel, and the Bruttians and the people being unable to take it applied to Hanno. As the circuit of the town greatly exceeded the wants of the inhabitants, Hanno proposed to those in the citadel to receive a colony of Bruttians into the town; but they declared that they would sooner die: at last they consented to emigrate, and retire to Locri. In these parts Rhegium alone now remained to the Romans.

In Sardinia a man named Hampsicora had, at the instigation of the Carthaginians, raised the standard of revolt against the Romans. The ill health of the pro-prætor, Q. Mucius, prevented active operations against him; but the prætor P. Manlius, who now came out as his successor, finding himself at the head of a force of 22,000 foot and 1200 horse, advanced, and encamped near the Sardinian army. Hampsicora had left the command with his son, and the inexperienced youth venturing to engage the Romans was defeated, with a loss of 3000 men killed and 1800 taken. This victory would have ended the war, but that Hasdrubal landed with a Punic army. Having joined Hampsicora, he gave Manlius battle. After a conflict of four hours victory declared for Rome: the enemy had 12,000 slain, 3700 taken, among whom were Hasdrubal and two other Carthaginians of rank, Hanno and Mago. Hampsicora put an end to himself a few days after, and the whole island then submitted.

In Spain the Scipios gave a decisive defeat to the three Punic generals Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, who were besieging the town of Illiturgis, (near Andujar.) It is said that with but sixteen thousand men they routed sixty thousand, killing more men than were in their own army. Shortly after they gave them another great defeat at a town named Intibili. Several more of the native peoples now declared for the Romans.

The steady ally of Rome, the good king Hiero, died this year, after a life of ninety, a reign of fifty years. He was succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus, a boy of but fifteen years of age. A party in Syracuse, adverse to Rome, persuaded this giddy, profligate youth to seek the friendship of

Carthage, and he sent an embassy with that view to Hannibal. His overtures were eagerly accepted; a treaty was formed, by which the island was to be divided between them, and Hieronymus commenced hostilities. He was however assassinated shortly afterwards at Leontini; but the anti-Roman party still maintained the superiority at Syracuse.

The time of the elections at Rome being arrived, (538,) the consul Fabius returned to hold them. The prerogative tribe (*i. e.* the one allotted to vote first) having named T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius, the consul addressed them, and reminding them of their bounden duty in the present condition of their country to elect none but the ablest men, desired them to vote over again. They then chose himself and M. Marcellus; and all the other tribes followed their example, in selecting the only men fit to oppose to Hannibal; and old men called to mind the similar consulates of Fabius Maximus and P. Decius in the Gallic, and of Papius and Carvilius in the Samnite war. It was resolved to have eighteen legions this year, (for which purpose six new ones were to be raised,) and a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships of war. One hundred new ships were built, and every citizen whose fortune had been rated at 50,000 asses and upwards in the last census was obliged to furnish one or more sailors, according to his property, and to give them a year's pay.

The consul Fabius having returned to his army, the Campanians, fearing that he would open the campaign with the siege of Capua, sent to Arpi to implore Hannibal to return to their defence. He therefore came and resumed his position on Mount Tifata, whence he moved down to the coast; and after making an ineffectual attempt on Puteoli, which the Romans had fortified, he, at the invitation of the popular party, approached Nola. But Marcellus had thrown himself, with a force of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, into it. An action, as before, was fought under the walls, rather to the disadvantage of Hannibal, who, giving up all hopes of taking the town, broke up in the night and marched for Tarentum, where he had a secret understanding with some of the citizens, who had formerly been his prisoners.

As the Roman power was annihilated in Bruttium and Lucania, Hanno led his army of seventeen thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, composed of Punie, Lucanian,

and Bruttian troops, into Samnium, to occupy the important town of Beneventum. But Fabius had sent orders to Tib. Gracchus, who was at Nuceria with two legions, principally composed of Volônes,* to hasten to preoccupy it. Gracchus had executed his orders, and when Hanno came, and, encamping on the river Calor about three miles off, began to lay the country waste, he led his troops out against him. As the Volônes, when leaving their winter quarters, had begun to murmur at not having yet received their freedom, he had written to the senate on the subject, and had received authority to act as he deemed best. He now assembled his troops, and told them that whoever next day brought him the head of an enemy, should have his freedom. At sunrise he led them out; the enemy did not decline the proffered battle. They fought for four hours with equal advantage, when Gracchus, being told by the tribunes that the condition on which he had promised freedom, greatly retarded the men, gave orders for them to fling away the heads and grasp their swords. The enemies were soon driven to their camp with great slaughter; the victors entered pell-mell with them, and of the whole army but two thousand, (the number of the slain on the side of the Romans,) and these chiefly horse, escaped. Gracchus conferred the promised boon of freedom on the spot, and led back his triumphant army to Beneventum, where the people all poured out to meet them, and craved the proconsul's permission to entertain them. Leave was granted; tables were then spread in the streets; the Volônes feasted, with caps or bands of white wool on their heads. Gracchus had this scene afterwards painted in the temple of Liberty, which his father had built on the Aventine.

The two consuls meantime had laid siege to and reduced Casilinum; Fabius then entered Samnium and laid it waste; Hannibal's plans on Tarentum were foiled by M. Valerius, who put a garrison into the town. On the other hand, Gracchus having sent some cohorts of Lucanians to plunder the hostile territory, they were fallen on and totally cut to pieces by Hanno.

In Syracuse, after some of the atrocities familiar to the Greek democracies, the supreme power was transferred from the hands of the party who were for moderation and remaining faithful to Rome, to the rabble and the mercenary soldiers. War was resolved on, and the chief command given

* That is, the volunteer slaves, who had been armed. See above, p. 211.

to Hippocrates and Epicædes, two Carthaginians of Syracusan descent, whom Hannibal had sent to Hieronymus. Marcellus, to whom the conduct of the war against Syracuse was committed, took Leontîni by assault, and then came and encamped at the Olympîum before Syracuse,* while his fleet assailed the wall of Acradîna on the sea-side. Quinqueremes were lashed together, and wooden towers erected on them, and engines plied, while light troops kept up a constant discharge from vessels ranged behind them. But Archimêdes, the greatest mechanist of the age, was in Syracuse; and in the time of Hiero he had placed engines along the walls, which now baffled all the skill and efforts of the Romans,† and Marcellus found himself obliged to convert the siege into a blockade. Himilco, with a Punic army, having gained over Agrigentum and some other towns, came and encamped on the Anâpus, about eight miles from Syracuse; but finding it in no need of aid, he led off his forces to the town of Murgantia, which the people put into his hands, with the Roman garrison and magazines which were in it. The people of Enna, in the centre of the island, being suspected by the Roman commandant of a similar design, he fell on and massacred them as they were sitting in assembly; and Marcellus, so far from blaming the deed, gave the plunder of the town to the soldiers. As Enna was sacred to the goddesses Ceres and Proserpina, the horror of this impious deed made most of the remaining towns declare for the Punic cause. Marcellus now fixed his winter camp at Leon, about five miles north of Syracuse.

The Romans commenced this year active operations against the king of Macedonia, whom Lævînus defeated near the town of Apollonia in Epirus.‡ In Spain, the advantage was on the side of the Romans, who gained some victories over their antagonists.

The consuls for the next year (539) were Q. Fabius Maximus (son of the late consul) and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. The year is remarkably barren of events. Hannibal remained inactive in the neighborhood of Tarentum;

* See the description and plan of Syracuse, History of Greece, p. 235, 2d edit.

† We are told that some of his machines were iron hands, which seizing the ships by the prow turned them up on the poop, and then let them fall; and that by means of burning-glasses he set fire to several of the Roman vessels. (Livy, xxiii. 34. Zonaras, ix. 4.)

‡ The whole of the wars between Philip and the Romans will be found in the History of Greece, Part III. chap. vii. and viii.

Marcellus lay before Syracuse; the consul Fabius recovered the town of Arpi. In Spain the Scipios were still successful; they began to follow the example of the Carthaginians by taking the natives into pay, and a body of Celtiberians served under their standard. They also extended their views to Africa, where a Numidian prince named Syphax was at war with the Carthaginians. They sent three centurions to him to propose an alliance; their offer was gladly accepted by the Numidian, and at his request one of the centurions remained with him to form and discipline a body of infantry, an arm in which the Numidians had been hitherto very deficient. But the Carthaginians formed an alliance with Gala, the king of that portion of the Numidians named Massylians; and his troops, led by his son Masinissa, a youth of seventeen years of age, being joined with theirs, they gave Syphax a total defeat. He fled to the Maurusians and collected another army; but Masinissa pursued and prevented him from passing over to Spain as he had intended.

The following year (540) was one of the most eventful of the war. Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Ap. Claudius were chosen consuls, and the army was raised to three-and-twenty legions.

Early in the year Tarentum fell into the possession of Hannibal, in the following manner.* A Tarentine envoy at Rome, named Phileas, persuaded his countrymen who were retained there as hostages to make their escape. They were pursued and taken at Tarracina, and being brought back were scourged and cast from the Tarpeian rock. This piece of cruelty irritated the minds of their friends and relatives at Tarentum, and thirteen young men entered into a plot to give the town up to Hannibal. Going out under the pretext of hunting, they sought the Punic camp, which lay at a distance of three days' march; and two of them, named Nico and Philemenus, giving themselves up to the guards, demanded to be led into the presence of Hannibal. The plan was soon arranged, and Hannibal desired them, as they were going away, to drive off the cattle which would be sent out of the camp next morning to graze, as this would give them credit in the eyes of their countrymen, and help to conceal their dealings with him. They did as directed, and, by sharing their booty, gained great favor and manv

* Polybius, viii. 26. Livy, xxv. 7—11.

imitators. They thus went backwards and forwards several times and it was arranged that the rest should remain quiet, while Philemenus, whose passion for the chase was well known, should keep going in and out under the pretext of hunting. He always went and came at night, alleging his fear of the enemy, and always returned loaded with game, partly killed by himself, partly given him by Hannibal. A portion of this he took care to give to Livius, the Roman commandant, and another part to the guards at the gate by which he used to come in. At length he won their confidence so completely, that as soon as his whistle was heard outside in the night, the gate was opened, without any inquiry.

Hannibal judged that the time for action was now arrived. He had hitherto feigned illness, lest the Romans should wonder at his staying so long in the one place; and he now did so more than ever. Then selecting ten thousand of his boldest and most active troops, both horse and foot, and directing them to take four days' provision, he set out with them before dawn; a party of eighty Numidian horse preceded them in order to scour the country, and prevent information of their approach from being conveyed to Tarentum. Philemenus was with him as his guide, and the march was arranged so as to reach the city by midnight.

The day fixed on by the conspirators was one on which Livius was to be at a banquet at the place named the Musæum, close by the market. It was late in the evening when tidings came of the Numidians being seen, and he merely directed a party of horse to go out early in the morning and drive them off; at night he returned home without any suspicion, went to bed, and fell asleep. The conspirators remained on the watch for the signal arranged with Hannibal, who, when he drew near to the gate which had been agreed on, in the east part of the city, was to kindle a fire on a certain spot, and when those within had replied by a similar signal, both fires were to be extinguished. The signal was made and returned in due time; the conspirators then rushed to the gate, killed the guards, and admitted Hannibal, who, leaving his horse without, moved on with his infantry, and took possession of the market. Meantime Philemenus was gone round with a thousand Africans to the gate he was used to enter at. He had the carcass of a huge wild-boar prepared for the purpose, and giving a whistle as usual, the wicket was opened. He him

self and three others bore the carcass on a barrow, and while the guard was handling and admiring it, they killed him: they then let in thirty Africans who were behind them, and cutting the bars opened the gates and admitted all the rest, and they joined Hannibal at the market. He divided a body of two thousand Gauls into three parts, and sent them through the town, with orders to kill all the Romans they met; and the conspirators, who had gotten some Roman trumpets and learned how to sound them, stood at the theatre and blew, and as the soldiers hastened on all sides to the signal, they were met and slain. Livius at the first alarm had run down to the port, and getting into a boat passed over to the citadel.

As soon as it was daylight Hannibal invited all the Tarentines to come without arms to the market. When they appeared he spoke to them kindly as their friend, and dismissed them with directions to set a mark on their houses. He then gave orders to pillage all the houses not marked, as belonging to the Romans or their friends.

As the citadel lay on a small peninsula, and was secured on the town side by a deep ditch and wall, there were no hopes of being able to take it. To secure the city, therefore, Hannibal began to run a rampart parallel to that of the citadel; the Romans attempted to impede the works, but were driven back with great loss. The rampart was then completed, and a ditch also run between it and the town; and Hannibal retired and encamped on the Galæsus, about five miles off. When all was finished, some works were carried on against the citadel; but the Romans, having been reenforced from Metapontum, made a sally by night and destroyed them. Hannibal saw that unless the Tarentines were masters of the sea, there was no chance of reducing the citadel. But their ships which were in the harbor could not get out, as that fortress commanded the entrance; he therefore had them hauled along a street which ran across the peninsula into the open sea on the south side. The fleet then anchored before the citadel; and Hannibal, leaving a garrison in the town, returned to winter in his former camp.*

* Livy says that his authorities differed as to the year of the revolt of Tarentum, some placing it in 539, but the greater number, and nearest to the events, in 540. If this last be the true date, it must have been early in the spring; yet Livy himself says Hannibal went into winter quarters immediately after it; and Polybius (viii. 36, 13) says that he

In the beginning of May the Roman consuls and prætors set out for their respective provinces. The two consuls, Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, encamped at Bovianum, in Samnium, intending to lay siege to Capua. The Campanians, being prevented by their presence from cultivating their lands, sent to Hannibal, imploring him to supply them with corn before the Romans entered their country. He ordered Hanno to attend to this matter, and this general came and encamped near Beneventum; and having collected there a large supply of corn, sent word to the Campanians to come and fetch it. With their usual indolence and negligence, they came with little more than forty wagons, and Hanno, having rated them well for it, appointed another day. But the Beneventines now heard of it: they sent to inform the consuls; and Fulvius set out with his army, and entered Beneventum by night. The Campanians came this time with two thousand wagons and a great crowd of people; and Fulvius, hearing that Hanno was away to get corn, came before daylight and assailed the camp. As this lay on a hill, it cost the Romans much labor and loss to reach it; and the consul having advised with his officers, ordered the call for retreat to be sounded; but the soldiers heeded it not; they rushed on with emulative ardor, carried the rampart, and made themselves masters of the camp and all it contained. The consuls shortly after, having summoned Gracchus from Lucania to the defence of Beneventum, proceeded to lay siege to Capua. But Gracchus was drawn by the treachery of a Lucanian into an ambush laid for him by Mago, and he and all that were with him were slain.

When the consuls entered Campania and began to lay it waste, the Campanians, aided by a body of two thousand horse which Hannibal had sent them, sallied forth and killed about fifteen hundred of the Romans. Hannibal himself soon appeared, and gave the consuls battle; but the engagement was broken off by the sudden appearance in the distance of the army lately commanded by Gracchus, which each supposed to be coming to the aid of the other side. The consuls in the night divided their forces, Fulvius going toward Cumæ, Claudius into Lucania. Hannibal pursued this last, who gave him the slip and returned to Capua. Chance however threw a victory into the hands of the Pu-

remained there the rest of the winter. It seems therefore most probable that the true time was the autumn or beginning of the winter of 539

nic general; for a centurion named M. Centenius having boasted to the senate of all the mischief he could do the enemy, from his knowledge of the country, if they would let him have five thousand men, they had the folly to give him eight thousand, half citizens, half allies, and so many volunteers joined him on the way as doubled his army. With this force he entered Lucania, where Hannibal now was. But it was a far different thing to lead a company, and to command an army opposed to such a general as Hannibal, who speedily brought him to an action; and of his whole force not more than one thousand men escaped. Hannibal moved thence into Apulia, where the prætor Cn. Fulvius lay with an army of eighteen thousand men at the town of Herdonia. The Roman general was rash and unskilful, and his army completely demoralized by laxity of discipline; they therefore yielded the able Carthaginian an easy victory, and but two thousand men escaped from the field.

CHAPTER V.

TAKING OF SYRACUSE.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE SCIPIOS.
 —HANNIBAL'S MARCH TO ROME.—SURRENDER OF CAPUA.
 —SCIPIO IN SPAIN.—TAKING OF NEW CARTHAGE.—AFFAIRS
 IN ITALY.—RETAKING OF TARENTUM.—DEFEAT OF HAS-
 DRUBAL IN SPAIN.—DEATH OF MARCELLUS.—MARCH OF
 HASDRUBAL.—HIS DEFEAT ON THE METAURUS.

WHILE the war thus proceeded in Italy, Marcellus urged on the siege of Syracuse. Taking advantage of a festival of *Diana*, (*Artemis*,) which the Syracusans were wont to celebrate with abundance of wine and revelry, he one night scaled the walls and made himself master of the *Epipolæ*. He encamped between *Tycha* and *Neapolis*,* to the inhabitants of which he granted their lives and dwellings, but both quarters were given up to plunder. The commandant at *Euryâlus* surrendered that important post on condition of the garrison being allowed to reënter the town. Mar

* Part of the *Temenites*. See *History of Greece*.

cellus then formed three camps in order to blockade Acradina, while a Roman fleet lay without to prevent succors or provisions from being brought by sea.

After a few days, Himilco and Hippocrates came to the relief of the town; they encamped at the Great Harbor and it was arranged, that while they attacked the divisor under the legate T. Crispinus at the Olympium, Epicycles should make a sally from Acradina against Marcellus, and the Punic fleet in the Harbor get close in to shore, to prevent any aid being sent to Crispinus. The whole plan however miscarried, for they were repulsed on all sides. It being now the autumn, fevers, produced by the moisture of the soil, broke out in both armies: the Sicilians in the army of Hippocrates returned home to escape it; but the Punic troops having no retreat all perished, and among them their two generals. The Romans suffered less, as they were in the city, and had the shelter of the houses.

Bomilcar, who had run out of the Great Harbor after the capture of Epipolæ, was now at Cape Pachynus with one hundred and thirty ships of war and seventy transports, but the easterly winds kept him from doubling it. Epicycles, fearing he might go back, gave the command at Acradina to the leaders of the mercenaries, and went to him in order to induce him to give battle to the Roman fleet, which was inferior to his in number. The two fleets were now lying one on each side of the cape; and as soon as the wind ceased to blow from the east, Bomilcar stood out to sea in order to double it, but seeing the Roman ships in motion he lost courage, and sending word to the transports to go back to Africa, made all sail for Tarentum. Epicycles then, giving up Syracuse for lost, retired to Agrigentum.

A surrender of Syracuse, on favorable terms, was now near being effected. Some of the inhabitants, learning that Marcellus would consent to leave them in the enjoyment of their liberty and laws, under the dominion of Rome, fell on and slew the governors whom Epicycles had left, and having called an assembly of the people, elected prætors, (*stratègi*;) some of whom were sent to treat with Marcellus. Matters were thus on the point of being accommodated, when the deserters in the town, persuading the mercenaries that their cause was the same with theirs, fell on and killed the prætors and several of the inhabitants, and then appointed six governors of their own, three for Acradina and three for the Island. The mercenaries, however, soon saw that

their case was very different from that of the deserters; and one of the three commandants of Acradina, a Spaniard named Mericus, made a secret agreement to put the town into the hands of Marcellus. For this purpose he proposed that each commandant should take charge of a separate part of the town. This was agreed to, and the part assigned to himself being the Island, from the fount of Arethusa to the mouth of the Greek Harbor, he one night admitted a party of Roman soldiers at the gate next to the fount. In the morning, at daybreak, Marcellus made a general attack on Acradina, and while all the efforts of the besieged were directed against him, troops were landed on the island, and, with little loss, they made themselves masters of it and of a part of Acradina. Marcellus then sounded a recall, lest the royal treasures should be pillaged in the confusion.

The deserters who were in Acradina having made their escape the town surrendered unconditionally, and Marcellus, when he had secured the royal treasure for the state, gave the city up to pillage. During the pillaging a soldier entered the room where Archimedes was deeply engaged over his geometrical figures, and not knowing who he was, killed him. Marcellus, who was greatly grieved at this mishap, gave him an honorable sepulture. The numerous pictures, statues, and other works of art, in which Syracuse abounded, were sent to Rome to adorn that capital. Marcellus shortly after gave the Punic forces and their allies a great defeat on the river Himera.

But equal success did not attend the Roman arms in Spain; for, the Scipios having divided their forces, Publius, hearing that a Spanish prince named Indibilis was coming with seven thousand five hundred men to join the Punic army, set out to give him battle on the road. In the midst of the action the Numidian horse came up, and then the rest of the Punic army; the Romans were cut to pieces, and Scipio himself slain. About a month after, a similar fate befell Cn. Scipio and his army. From the wrecks of the two armies and the garrisons a new one was formed; the soldiers themselves chose a knight, named L. Marcius, to be their general, and under his command they repelled an attack on their own camp, and afterwards stormed two Punic camps with great slaughter of the enemies.

The siege of Capua was now (541) the chief object of interest in Italy. Fulvius and Claudius had shut in that

town completely by a double ditch and rampart; famine pressed, and the difficulty of communicating with Hannibal was extreme. At length, on being informed of the condition of his allies, the Punic general came to their aid, and a combined attack from within and without was made on the Roman lines. It was, however, repulsed with great loss on the part of the assailants, and Hannibal saw that the only chance of saving Capua was to menace Rome, as the army would probably be recalled to its defence. Having, therefore, sent word to the people of Capua to hold out manfully, he collected boats, and put his army over the Vulturnus; then crossing the Liris, marched rapidly along the Latin road by Ferentinum, Anagnina, Lavici, Tusculum, and Gabii, and encamped within eight miles of the city.

The news of Hannibal's march caused great alarm at Rome. It was at first proposed to recall all the troops to the defence of the city; but at last it was thought sufficient for one of the proconsuls to leave Capua, and come with a part of their forces. As Claudius was confined by a wound, Fulvius proceeded with sixteen thousand men along the Appian road. He entered Rome at the Capene gate, and being joined in command with the consuls, marched his forces through the city, and encamped without the Colline gate. Hannibal, who now lay beyond the Anio, only three miles from the city, advanced with two thousand horse as near as the temple of Hercules, in order to view it. Fulvius ordered the Roman horse to charge, and the consuls at the same time directed a body of twelve hundred Numidian deserters who were on the Aventine to come down to the Esquilie. The people who were on the Capitol, seeing them, thought the Aventine was taken, and the consternation that prevailed is not to be described.

Next day Hannibal offered battle, but just as the two armies were drawn out there came on a violent storm of rain and hail which separated them; the very same thing occurred the following day. As soon as they returned to their camps the sky cleared, and Hannibal, it is said, seeing the hand of heaven in it, resolved to retire. It is also said, that he was moved thereto by intelligence of troops having actually left the city at this time for the army in Spain, and of the very ground on which he was encamped being sold, and having brought its full value, — all which proved to him that Rome was not to be conquered.* He then, it is added, in

* If these are not the fictions of Roman vanity, they were mere rhodomontades or artifices to keep up the spirits of the people.

derision called for an auctioneer, and desired him to put up and sell the bankers' shops round the Forum. He moved thence to the river Tutia, six miles from the city, then pillaged the temple of Feronia near Capênum, passed rapidly through the Sabine and Marsian countries,* and thence to the extremity of Bruttium, in the hopes of surprising Rhegium.

On the return of Fulvius to the camp before Capua, the Campanians, hopeless of relief, agreed to an unconditional surrender. Twenty-eight of the principal senators having partaken of a splendid supper at the house of Vibius Virrius, the chief author of the revolt, took poison to escape the vengeance of the Romans. Seventy of the remaining senators were put to death, others were imprisoned in various places, the rest of the people sold for slaves, the town and its territory confiscated to the Roman state.

A part of the besieging army was immediately embarked for Spain under C. Claudius Nero. Being joined by the troops there, he advanced against Hasdrubal, whom he enclosed in a valley; but the Carthaginian, by pretending to treat, contrived to get his troops out of it by degrees, and then bade defiance to the baffled Roman.

Spain, where the chief resources of the enemy lay, was now of equal importance with Italy in the eyes of the Roman people, and *comitia* were held for appointing a proconsul to take the command of the army there. No candidates presented themselves: the people were dejected; when suddenly P. Scipio, the son of Publius who had fallen in Spain, a young man of only four-and-twenty years of age, came forward and sought the command. It was voted to him unanimously; but soon, when the people thought of his age, and of the ill-fortune of his family in Spain, they began to repent of their precipitation. Scipio then called an assembly, and spoke in such a manner on these points as completely reassured them, and changed their fears into confidence.

We have already seen Scipio distinguish himself at the Ticinus, and after the battle of Cannæ. His was destined to be one of the greatest names in Roman story. To the advantages of nature he joined such arts as were calculated to raise him in the eyes of the people. From the day on which he assumed the virile *toga*, he never did any thing

* According to the historian Cælius (Liv. xvi. 11) this was Hannibal's route *to*, not *from* Rome.

either public or private without first ascending the Capitol, entering the temple, and sitting there for some time alone. Hence an opinion spread among the vulgar that, like Alexander the Great, he was of divine origin, and some even talked of a huge serpent that used to be seen in his mother's chamber, and which always vanished when any one entered. These things Scipio never either affirmed or denied, and thus enjoyed the advantage of the popular belief. As a man, a statesman, and a general, his deeds will best display his character.

Having received an additional force of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, with M. Junius Silanus as proprætor under him, Scipio sailed for Spain. He landed at Emporiæ, and having gone thence to Tarraco, held a meeting of the deputies of the allies; he then visited the troops in their quarters, and bestowed great praises on them for their gallant conduct. To the brave Marcius he showed the most marked favor. As it was now late in the year, he returned to Tarraco for the winter.

In Greece, this year, M. Valerius Lævinus formed a treaty of alliance with the Ætolians against king Philip.

While Lævinus was absent in Greece, he was chosen consul with Marcellus for the ensuing year. The army was reduced to twenty-one legions, by discharging those who had served a long time. On the proposal of Lævinus, when pay was not to be had for the seamen, and private persons murmured at being called on to supply rowers as before, the senators set the example, in which they were followed by all orders, of giving their plate and jewels for the service of the state; and an abundant supply was thus obtained.

Early in the spring (542) Scipio set out from Tarraco, and crossed the Ebro at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. The fleet under C. Lælius, having arrived at the mouth of that river, sailed thence along the coast, Lælius alone knowing its destination; and it entered the port of New Carthage just as the army appeared before the walls. Scipio had resolved to open the campaign by the siege of this important town, where all the money, arms, and stores of the enemy lay; and, what was of still more consequence, where the hostages of the native princes were kept.*

The town of New Carthage was thus situated. On the

* This siege is related by Polybius, lib. x.

east coast of Spain a bay, somewhat more than five hundred paces wide, runs for about the same length into the land; a small island at its mouth shelters it from every wind but the south-east. At the bottom of the bay an elevated peninsula advances, on which the town was built. The sea is deep on the east and south side of it; on the west, and partly on the north, it is so shallow as to resemble a marsh, varying in depth with the tide. An isthmus, two hundred and fifty paces long, led from the town to the main land.

Scipio, having secured his camp in the rear, attempted to take the town by escalade on the land side, but the ladders proved too short, and the walls being vigorously defended, he sounded a retreat. After a little time he ordered those who had not been engaged to take the ladders and renew the attack. It was now midday, and the retiring sea, combined with a strong wind from the north, had rendered the marsh quite shallow. Scipio, learning this circumstance, represented it as a visible interference of the gods, and ordered a party of five hundred men to take Neptune as their leader, and wade through the marsh to the town. They easily accomplished this task; and as the wall on that side was low and without guards, they penetrated into the town, and rushing to the gate, on the side where the rest of the army was making its attack, forced it open. The wall was now scaled at all points; the soldiers poured in and slaughtered all they met, till the citadel surrendered, when orders were given to cease from the carnage.

Thus was New Carthage taken in one day. The quantity of naval and military stores and of the precious metals found in it was immense. The hostages were numerous; some accounts said three hundred, others seven hundred and twenty-five; and Scipio, having learned from them to what states they belonged, sent to them to desire them to come and receive their hostages. The wife of Mandonius, the brother of Indibilis, who was one of them, then came and besought him to have a due regard for the honor of the daughters of Indibilis and other noble maidens who were among the hostages, and the young hero gave them in charge to an officer of well-known honor and integrity.

Among the captives was a maiden of distinguished beauty. When led by the soldiers before the conqueror, he inquired who and whence she was; and finding, among other things, that she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Alucius, he sent to summon her parents and her lover. On

their arrival he first spoke with Allucius, and assured him that the maiden, while in his hands, had been treated with the same respect as if she had been in her father's house. In return, he asked him to become the friend of the Roman people. The prince grasped his hand, and with tears assured him of his gratitude. The parents and relatives of the maiden were then called in, and finding that she was to be released without ransom, they pressed Scipio to receive as a gift the gold they had brought. He yielded to their instances; the gold was laid at his feet; he then called Allucius, and desired him to take it as an addition to his bride's dower.* The grateful Spaniard on his return home extolled the magnanimity of Scipio to the skies, and having raised a body of one thousand four hundred horse came and joined him shortly after. Scipio sent Lælius home with the prisoners and tidings of his success, and then led his troops back to Tarraco.

The consul Marcellus had meantime recovered the town of Salapia in Apulia, and taken by storm two Samnite towns. But the proconsul Cn. Fulvius, venturing to give battle to Hannibal near Herdonia, sustained a total defeat. Himself and eleven tribunes, and seven thousand — or, according to some, thirteen thousand — men, fell in the action. Marcellus hastened and engaged Hannibal at Numistro in Lucania; the battle, which lasted all through the day, was indecisive; Hannibal then retired by night into Apulia, whither Marcellus followed him, but nothing of moment occurred.

An embassy came at this time from Syphax to form a friendship with the Roman people. It was received with great favor, and envoys bearing gifts sent back with it. Two ambassadors were also sent to Egypt to renew the friendship with the king of that country.

The consuls of the following year (543) were Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Fabius, being resolved to

* This is told in a much less romantic manner by Polybius. He says that some young Romans brought the maiden to Scipio. He thanked them, and said that nothing could be more agreeable to him if he were a private person than such a gift, but that his office of general did not allow him to accept it. He then sent for her father, and giving her to him desired him to match her with whichever of the citizens he preferred. Polybius, who omits no occasion of extolling the Scipios, could hardly have known any thing of the Prince Allucius. Indeed, in the latter case, the maiden must have been a hostage, which lessens Scipio's merit.

reduce Tarentum if possible, besought his colleague and Marcellus to keep Hannibal in occupation; and Marcellus, who deemed himself alone able to cope with that great general, gladly took the field. They came to an engagement near Canusium, which was terminated by night. Next day it was renewed, and the Romans were defeated with the loss of two thousand seven hundred men. Marcellus, having severely rebuked and punished his men, led them out again the following day, and after a bloody conflict they remained victorious. The loss of the enemy is said to have been eight thousand slain and five elephants, that of the Romans three thousand slain and a great number wounded. Hannibal retired thence to Bruttium.

Fabius, on coming to Tarentum, fixed his camp at the mouth of the harbor, and prepared to assail it by machines worked on ship-board, as Marcellus had done at Syracuse; but treachery enabled him to take the town with less hazard. The garrison was composed of Bruttians, left there by Hannibal, and its commander was in love with the sister of a man in the army of Fabius. This man, with the consul's consent, went into the town as a deserter, and by means of his sister induced the Bruttian to betray it. On the appointed night the trumpets sounded from the ships, the citadel, and camp, as for a general assault; and Fabius, who had secretly gone round with a select body of troops to the east side, was admitted over the wall by the Bruttians. The town was speedily won: the booty was immense; but Fabius abstained from taking the pictures and statues, which nearly equalled those of Syracuse in number and value. Hannibal, who was hastening to its relief, on hearing that it was taken, said, "The Romans have their Hannibal. We have lost Tarentum in the same way that we gained it."

Scipio, having spent the winter in forming alliances with the native princes, crossed the Ebro early in the spring of this year. Near the town of Bæcula he found Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, strongly encamped on an eminence, with the river Tagus in his rear. But the valor of the Roman soldiers led by Scipio overcame all obstacles, and Hasdrubal was routed with the loss of eight thousand men slain, and twelve thousand taken in his camp. Among these last was a youth, the nephew of Masinissa the Numidian, whom Scipio treated with great kindness, and sent safe to his uncle. In imitation of Hannibal's policy, he gave their liberty to all

the Spaniards, but sold the Africans for slaves. He then returned to Tarraco.

The consuls of the ensuing year, (544,) Marcellus and T. Quinctius Crispinus, were joined in command against Hannibal. Crispinus, having made an ineffectual effort to take Locri, proceeded to Apulia to join his colleague, and the two consuls encamped about three miles asunder, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal came from Bruttium, and took up a position near them. There was an eminence covered with wood between his camp and those of the Romans, and expecting that the latter would seek to occupy it, he sent in the night some of his Numidians to lie in ambush on it. The general cry in the Roman camp was to secure this hill, lest Hannibal should get possession of it; and to comply with the wishes of their men the consuls themselves set out with a party of two hundred and twenty horse to explore it. When they had gone a little way up the hill they were suddenly assailed on all sides by the Numidians, and Marcellus was killed; Crispinus escaped badly wounded. Hannibal instantly occupied the height, and Crispinus retired the following night and encamped in the mountains. The Punic general gave honorable sepulture to the body of his rival; but having gotten his ring, he resolved to derive what advantage he could from it, and he wrote in his name to the people of Salapia, by a deserter, to say that he would come thither the following night. Crispinus, however, had prudently sent to all the towns to inform them of his colleague's death, and to warn them against letters sealed with his ring. The attempt on Salapia, therefore miscarried, and Hannibal returned to Bruttium, where he forced the Romans to raise the siege of Locri.

While Hannibal was thus engaged, his brother Hasdrubal was on his march from Spain to join him. After the victories gained by Scipio, and the influence he had obtained over the minds of the natives, the Carthaginians began to consider their cause in that country as nearly hopeless; and, as Hannibal had long been urgent for succors, it was resolved that Hasdrubal should lead an army into Italy. He was preparing to do so at the time when he sustained the defeat from Scipio above related; but as he had before the battle placed his elephants and treasure in safety, he retired to the north coast of Spain, and there enlisted a large body of Celtiberians; and as Scipio had sent troops to guard the eastern passage of the Pyrenees, he entered Gaul at the west side,

and directed his march through Aquitania for the Alps. He had sent to raise troops in Liguria, and eight thousand Ligurians were ready to join him when he appeared in Italy. The Gauls of the Alps, grown familiar with the passage of strangers, offered no opposition; the asperities of the road had been removed by his brother, and he descended into the plain of the Po without having suffered any losses; but instead of passing on to join Hannibal, he consumed the time, which was of so much value, in besieging the strong colony of Placentia.

The consuls elected for this year (545) were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinátor; the former was opposed to Hannibal, the latter advanced to meet Hasdrubal. Claudius, having selected forty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse out of the troops in the south, took his post at Venusia; Hannibal collected his forces from their quarters, advanced to Grumentum in Lucania, whither Claudius also came; and the two armies were encamped about a mile and a half asunder. An engagement, in which it is said that Hannibal was defeated, was fought in the plain which separated the camps, after which Hannibal, as was his wont, decamped in the night. Claudius followed, and coming up with him at Venusia gave him a slight defeat. Hannibal went thence to Metapontum, then back again to Venusia, and on to Canusium, still followed by Claudius.

Meantime Hasdrubal, having given over the siege of Placentia, was advancing southwards. He wrote to his brother to desire him to meet him in Umbria; but his letters fell into the hands of Claudius, who, deeming the time to be come for venturing on something extraordinary, sent the letters to the senate, informing them of what he intended to do, and directing them how to provide for the safety of the city in case of any mishap. He then despatched orders to the people of the country through which he intended to pass to have provisions, horses, and beasts of burden prepared; and selecting six thousand foot and one thousand horse, desired them to be ready at night for an attempt on the nearest Punic garrison. At night he led them in the direction of Picenum, and when at a sufficient distance, informed them that it was his intention to go and join his colleague. Every where, as they passed, the people came forth to congratulate them and pray for their success; supplies poured in in abundance; the soldiers marched day and night, taking barely the necessary repose.

Claudius had sent on to inquire of his colleague whether

he would wish them to join him by day or by night, and whether they should enter his camp, or encamp separately. Livius desired them to enter his camp in secret, and by night; and he arranged that the officers should receive the officers, the men the men, of Nero's army into their tents, so that the camp need not be enlarged, and the enemy might be thus kept in ignorance of their arrival. As Livius was encamped near the colony of Sena, about half a mile from the Punic camp, Nero halted in the neighboring mountains till night came, and he then entered the consul's camp. A council of war was held next day, at which the prætor L. Porcius, who had followed Hasdrubal along the hills, and who was now encamped near the consul, assisted. Most were for a delay of a few days to rest Nero's men, but he himself was decidedly against this course, lest Hannibal, having learned how he had been deceived should be enabled to join his brother. It was therefore resolved to give battle at once.

The suspicions of Hasdrubal were aroused when he saw the old shields of a part of the Roman soldiers, and marked that their horses were leaner than usual, and the number of the men was increased. He sent some down to where the Romans used to water, to observe if any of them were sunburnt as off a journey; and others to go round their camp, and discover if it had been enlarged, and if the trumpet was blown twice or only once. They reported that it was blown twice in one camp, once in the other; and though they had remarked no change in the size, the wary general became convinced that the other consul must be there, and he began to fear that his brother had sustained a decisive defeat; still, thinking his letters might have been intercepted, he resolved to decamp in the night and fall back into Gaul, and there wait till he had some sure tidings of Hannibal. He therefore set out early in the night; but his guides made their escape, and he vainly sought a ford in the river Metaurus, which increased in depth as it approached the sea. In the morning the Roman army came up, and Hasdrubal could no longer decline an engagement.

The Roman army consisted of 45,000 men. Livius led the left, Nero the right wing, Porcius the centre. Hasdrubal's forces exceeded 60,000 men; he placed his Spanish troops, himself at their head, on the right; the Gauls, protected by a hill, on the left; the Ligurians in the centre, with the elephants in their front. The conflict between Livius and Hasdrubal was severe. Claudius, finding that

the hill prevented him from attacking the Gauls, took some cohorts round in the rear and fell on the left flank of the Spaniards and Ligurians, who, being thus assailed on all sides, gave way; the Gauls were also attacked, and easily routed; the elephants were mostly killed by their own drivers. Hasdrubal, who had performed all the parts of an able general, seeing the battle lost, spurred his horse, and rushing into the midst of a Roman cohort, died as became the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal. This victory nearly compensated for Cannæ; 56,000 men, we are told, lay dead; 5400 were taken: the loss of the victors was 8000 men.*

That very night Nero set out, and reached his camp on the sixth day, bearing with him the head of Hasdrubal, which, with a refinement of barbarity, he caused to be flung to the guards of Hannibal's camp, and he sent some of his prisoners in with the intelligence. Hannibal, struck with both the public and private calamity, cried, "I see the doom of Carthage;" and instantly removed to the extremity of Bruttium, being resolved to act merely on the defensive.

CHAPTER VI.

SUCCESSES OF SCIPIO IN SPAIN. — MUTINY IN HIS ARMY. —
 CARTHAGINIANS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN. — SCIPIO'S RE-
 TURN TO ROME. — HIS PREPARATIONS FOR INVADING AFRI-
 CA. — INVASION OF AFRICA. — HORRIBLE DESTRUCTION OF
 A PUNIC ARMY. — DEFEAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS. — AT-
 TACK ON THE ROMAN FLEET. — DEATH OF SOPHONISBA. —
 RETURN OF HANNIBAL. — INTERVIEW OF HANNIBAL AND
 SCIPIO. — BATTLE OF ZAMA. — END OF THE WAR.

THE war in Italy may now be regarded as terminated; in Greece also little of importance occurred; Spain alone attracts attention. In this country, Hasdrubal the son of Gisco, and Hanno and Mago sustained the Punic cause. Against these last two, who had combined their forces, Scipio sent his

* Ely, xxvii. 49. Polybius (xi. 3) makes the slain on one side 10,000, on the other 2000 men.

legate Silanus, who defeated them and took Hanno prisoner he also sent his brother Lucius Scipio to lay siege to a strong town named Oringis, and after a stout defence it was taken.

The following year (546) Hasdrubal and Mago, having raised an army of fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse, took their position at a place named Silpia in Bætica, and prepared to give the Romans battle. Scipio moved from Tarraco to Castulo, and thence to Bæcula, near which he encamped. His army now amounted to forty-five thousand men. The Punic army came and encamped near him, and for several successive days they stood in array without venturing to engage. At length Scipio, having changed the disposition of his forces without the knowledge of the enemy, brought them to an engagement, and completely routed them. Most of their Spanish troops went over to the Romans, and Mago, decamping in the night, hastened away to Gades. The Romans pursued, and the sword and desertion reduced his army to nought. Scipio then returned to Tarraco, leaving Silanus in the vicinity of Gades.

Masinissa took occasion at this time to have a secret interview with Silanus, in which he expressed his desire to be on friendly terms with the Romans. Scipio, as the Punic power was now at an end in Spain, began to think of transferring the war to Africa. He therefore sent Lælius with presents to Syphax; and, at the desire of this prince to hold a personal conference with him, he himself crossed over to Africa. Hasdrubal happened to enter the same port a little time before him, and the two hostile generals were placed on the same couch at the entertainment given them by the king. Having formed a treaty of alliance with Syphax, Scipio returned to New Carthage.

After the death of the two Scipios, the cities of Illiturgis and Castulo had gone over to the enemy, and the people of the former had added to their defection the guilt of murdering the Romans who had sought refuge with them. The time was now come for taking the long-meditated vengeance: Scipio sent L. Marcius with one third of the army against Castulo, while he himself sat down before Illiturgis with the remainder. The Illiturgians, knowing they had no mercy to look for, made a most obstinate defence; but the African deserters in the Roman service, having secretly scaled a part which, from its height, was left unguarded, the

town was taken. Men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy or distinction; the town was burnt, and all traces of it effaced. The fate of Castulo was less severe, as a party there betrayed the town and the Punic garrison into the hands of the Romans. Marcius then crossed the Rætis, and laid siege to a town named Astapa, whose inhabitants lived mostly by plunder. Their town was not strong, and they knew that they had no favor to expect. They resolved to perish nobly; and collecting in their market all their valuable property, they piled it up, and making their women and children sit on the pile, they heaped wood and fagots around them. They set fifty armed youths to guard it, charging them, when they saw the town on the point of being taken, to destroy all there with the sword and fire. They then opened the gates and rushed forth; they drove off the horse and light troops: the legions had to come out against them, and at length, overwhelmed by numbers, they all perished. The fifty young men then drew their swords, slaughtered the women and children, threw their bodies on the pile, set fire to it, and flung themselves into the flames. Such was the end of Astapa.

Some time after, Scipio happened to fall sick, and the Spanish princes Indibilis and Mandonius immediately seized arms and wasted the lands of the Roman allies. A mutiny also broke out in the Roman camp at Sucro, (Xucar.) The men complained of being detained in Spain, and of their pay being withheld; and on hearing a false rumor of the death of Scipio, they drove away their officers and gave the command to two common soldiers. But when they learned he was still alive, their courage fell, and they consented, seeing they had no chance of being able to resist, to go to New Carthage, and submit themselves to their general, with whose leniency they were well acquainted. They entered the town at sunset, and saw all the other troops preparing to march that night against the Spaniards. This sight filled them with joy, as they thought they should now have their general in their power. The other troops marched out at the fourth watch of the night; but they had orders to halt outside the town, and all the gates were secured.

In the morning Scipio mounted his tribunal in the market, and summoned the mutineers before him. They came prepared with fierce mien and insolent words, hoping to bully him; but when they saw his healthy looks, and found that the other troops had reëntered the town and were now surround-

ing them, while they were unarmed, their spirits sank. Scipio sat in silence till he heard that the ringleaders, who had been secured in the night, were at hand and that all was ready. He then rose and addressed them, reproaching them with their mutiny, and concluded by offering pardon to all but their leaders. The soldiers behind clashed their swords on their shields; the crier's voice was heard proclaiming the names of the condemned; they were dragged forth naked, thirty-five in number, bound to the stake, scourged and beheaded, their comrades in guilt not daring even to utter a groan. The mutineers were made to renew their military oath, and they then received their arrears of pay.

When Scipio had reduced his troops to obedience, he took the field against Indibilis and Mandonius, and having given them a decisive defeat, granted them peace on their giving a large sum of money for the pay of the Roman army. He then proceeded toward Gades to meet Masinissa, who was anxious to have a personal conference with him.

The Numidian prince had been, as we have seen, for some time wavering in his faith to Carthage. It is said* that injured love was the motive that now decided him to revolt. He had been educated at Carthage, where Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, pleased with his noble qualities, had promised him the hand of his daughter Sophonisba, the most lovely, accomplished, and highly endowed maiden of her time. He had attended his future father-in-law to Spain, and shown himself worthy of the honor designed him. But Syphax was also an admirer of the fair Sophonisba, and the desire of withdrawing this powerful prince from his alliance with the Romans overcame all sense of justice and honor in the minds of the Carthaginian senate, and, as it would seem, of Hasdrubal himself, and Sophonisba was given to him as the condition of his becoming the ally of Carthage. Masinissa, stung by jealousy, resolved to join the Romans; and pretending to Mago that the horses were injured by the confinement in the island (Isla de Leon) in which Gades lay, he obtained his permission to pass over on a plundering excursion to the main land. He here had an interview with Scipio, and pledged himself to the cause of Rome.

Orders now came from Carthage for Mago to collect all his troops and ships, and sail to the north of Italy, and raising there an army of Ligurians and Gauls, to endeavor to

* Appian, Pun. viii. 37. Zonaras, ix. 11.

join his brother Hannibal. Money was sent him for this purpose, and to this he added what was in the treasury and temples at Gades, and the forced contributions of the citizens. In consequence of this, when, after the failure of a nocturnal attempt on New Carthage, he returned to Gades, he found the gates closed against him; and on his retiring, the city was surrendered to the Romans. As it was now the end of autumn, he took up his winter quarters in the lesser of the Baleâres, (Minorca.)

Scipio, having thus in five years achieved the conquest of Spain, now returned to Rome. The senate gave him audience, according to custom, at the temple of Bellôna, without the city, and he gave a full account of his exploits. He had some hopes of being allowed to triumph; but as this honor had hitherto been restricted to those who were magistrates, he did not urge his claim. At the ensuing *comitia*, he was unanimously chosen consul for the next year (547) with P. Licinius Crassus, who was at this time great pontiff.

Aware of the feeble hold which the Carthaginians had on the affections of their African subjects and allies, and recollecting the ease with which Agathocles and Regulus had brought them to the brink of ruin, Scipio was resolved, if possible, to transfer the war to their own shores. He was therefore desirous of having Africa assigned for his province, and he made no secret of his intention of appealing to the people if refused by the senate. The latter body were highly offended; some were envious of Scipio, others really dubious of the policy of invading Africa while Hannibal was in Italy. Among these last was Q. Fabius Maximus, who spoke at great length against Scipio's plan. Scipio replied; Q. Fulvius then demanded of him if he would leave the decision of the provinces to the Fathers; Scipio's answer was ambiguous; Fulvius appealed to the tribunes, and they declared that they would intercede. Scipio then demanded a day to consult with his colleague, and it ended by the decision being left to the Fathers, and their assigning Bruttium to one consul and Sicily to the other, with permission to pass over to Africa if he deemed it for the advantage of the state.

The senate, being thus obliged to give way, vented their spleen by refusing Scipio leave to levy troops, and by refusing also to be at the expense of fitting out the fleet he might require. He did not press them; he only asked to be al-

lowed to take volunteers and free-will offerings. This could not well be refused: the various peoples of Etruria then contributed the materials for building and equipping ships; they also gave corn and arms; the Umbrians, Sabines, and the Marsian League sent numerous volunteers; the Camertians a complete cohort fully armed. Forty-five days after the trees for the purpose had been felled, a fleet of thirty ships, fully equipped, was afloat. Scipio then passed over to Sicily, where he regimented his volunteers, keeping three hundred youths, the flower of them, about him, unarmed and ignorant of their destination. He soon after selected three hundred young Sicilians of good family, and directed them to be with him on a certain day, fully equipped to serve as cavalry. They came; but the idea of service was death to these effeminate youths and to their parents and relatives. Scipio then offered to provide them substitutes if they did not wish to serve. They gladly embraced his offer: he appointed the three hundred youths to take their place; the Sicilians had to supply them with horses and arms, and have them taught to ride; and thus Scipio acquired without any expense a valuable body of horse. He then draughted the best soldiers from the legions there, especially those who had served under Marcellus, and went to Syracuse for the winter. Lælius passed with a part of the fleet over to Africa, and landing at Hippo Regius plundered the adjacent country. He was here joined by Masinissa, who having been driven out of his paternal kingdom by Syphax, was lurking with a few horsemen about the Lesser Syrtis. Lælius then returned with his booty to Sicily.

In the course of this summer Mago sailed from the Baleares, and landed with 12,000 foot and 2000 horse at Genua, on the coast of Liguria; and when Lælius had appeared in Africa the Punic senate sent him a reënforcement of 6000 foot, 800 horse, seven elephants, and a large sum of money, with directions to lose no time in hiring Gauls and Ligurians, and to endeavor to effect a junction with Hannibal as soon as possible, and thus give the Romans employment at home. In Spain, Indibilis and Mandonius excited some of the native peoples to arms against the Romans; but they were defeated and obliged to sue for peace. In Greece, a peace was concluded with the king of Macedonia.

The consulate of Scipio having expired, his command, as was usual, was prolonged for the ensuing year, (548,) and the eyes of all men were turned to the fine army which he

had assembled for the conquest of Africa. Authorities differ respecting the number of his forces, but they could hardly have been less than thirty-five thousand men, horse and foot. They embarked, taking with them provisions for forty-five days; the transports sailed in the centre; on the right were twenty ships of war under Scipio himself and his brother Lucius, and an equal number on the left under Lælius and M. Portius Cato the quæstor; each transport carried two lights, each ship of war one, the general's ship three; the pilots were directed to steer for the Emporia on the Syrtes. The fleet left Lilybæum at daybreak, and next morning it was off the Hermaïc cape. Scipio's pilot proposed to land there, but he directed him to keep to the left. A fog however came on, and the wind fell; during the night a contrary wind sprang up, and at dawn they found themselves off the Cape of Apollo, on the west side of the bay of Carthage, not far from Utica, and here they landed and encamped.

The consternation was great in Carthage when it was known that the formidable Scipio was actually landed in Africa. Orders were sent to Hasdrubal, who was away collecting troops and elephants, to hasten to the defence of his country, and envoys were despatched to Syphax for a similar purpose. Hasdrubal's son Hanno was directed to take a station with four thousand horse about fifteen miles from the Roman camp to protect the open country; but Masinissa, who was now with Scipio, drew him to where the Roman horse stood covered by some hills, and nearly all his men were slain or taken. He was himself made a prisoner, and afterwards exchanged for Masinissa's mother. Scipio and Masinissa now laid the country waste without opposition, and they set at liberty a great number of Roman captives who were working as slaves in the fields. They laid siege to a large town named Lacha; the scaling-ladders were placed, when the people sent, offering to surrender; Scipio ordered the trumpet to sound the recall; the soldiers heeded it not, the town was stormed, and a general slaughter commenced. To punish his men Scipio deprived them of all their booty, and he put to death three of the most guilty tribunes. Hasdrubal, who was now at hand with an army of 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, 140 elephants, made an attack on the Romans, but was driven off with the loss of 5000 slain and 1800 prisoners.

Scipio, wishing to have a strong town as a place of arms and for winter quarters, now laid siege to Utica: he had brought all the necessary machines from Sicily; but the Uti-

cans defended themselves gallantly and after assailing the town for forty days he was forced to give over the siege. He withdrew, and fixed his winter camp on a rocky peninsula, which ran out into the sea, to the east of that town. Hasdrubal encamped in the vicinity, as also did Syphax, the former with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, the latter with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, but they made no attempt on the Roman camp.

During the winter Scipio entered into negotiations with Syphax, in hopes of detaching him from the Carthaginians,* but the Numidian would not hear of revolt, he proposed that the one party should evacuate Italy, the other Africa, and both remain as they were. Scipio at first would not listen to these terms; but when some of those whom he had sent to Syphax told him how the huts in the Punic camp were formed of wood and leaves, while those of the Numidians were of reeds, or they lay on simple leaves, and many of them without the camp, he conceived the horrible project of setting fire to both the camps in the night, and massacring the troops amidst the flames. He feigned therefore to hearken to the proposal of Syphax; messengers went constantly to and fro, and even remained for days on each side; and Scipio took care to send with them some of his most intelligent soldiers, disguised as slaves, who were to observe the position and form of the camps.

When the spring came, (559,) Scipio, having gained all the knowledge he required, launched his ships and put his machines aboard as if to renew his attacks on Utica, and he fortified an eminence near the town which he had occupied before, and placed on it a body of two thousand men, ostensibly to act against the town, but in reality to prevent an attempt on his camp by the garrison during his absence. He then sent envoys to Syphax to know if the Carthaginians had made up their minds to agree to the terms arranged between them, and the envoys had orders not to return without a categorical answer. Syphax, now quite certain of the Roman's sincerity, sent to Hasdrubal, and receiving a perfectly satisfactory reply, joyfully dismissed Scipio's envoys. But to his great mortification others came almost immediately, to say that Scipio himself was well content to make peace on these terms, but that his council would not on any account accede to them. This was all done by Scipio in order to clear himself from the guilt of breach of truce,

* Polybius, xiv. 1—5. Livy, xxx. 3—6.

in making an attack while negotiations for peace were going on.

Syphax and Hasdrubal, little suspecting the atrocious design of the Roman general, having consulted together, agreed to offer him battle at once. But Scipio about mid-day assembled his ablest and most trusty tribunes, and having communicated to them his plan, (which had hitherto been a most profound secret,) directed them, when the trumpets sounded as usual after supper for setting the guards, to lead their men out of the camp. He then sent for those who had acted as spies, and examined them as to the state of the enemies' camps in the presence of Masinissa. At night, when all was ready he set out, at the end of the first watch, and reaching the hostile camps by the end of the third watch, he divided his forces, giving one half of the soldiers and all the Numidians to Lælius and Masinissa, with orders to attack the camp of Syphax, while he himself led the rest of the army against that of Hasdrubal.

Lælius and Masinissa having divided their troops, the latter went and stationed his men at all the avenues of the camp; while the former set fire to it. The flames, which spread rapidly, roused Syphax and his people from their sleep, and having no doubt that the fire was accidental, they endeavored, naked as they were, to get out of the camp; but several were burnt to death, others trampled down in the rush-out, and those who got out were cut to pieces by Masinissa's soldiers. Those in the other camp, when they saw the flames, also took them to be accidental, and some hastened to give assistance, while the rest came and stood outside of the camp gazing on the conflagration. All were alike fallen on and slaughtered by the Romans, who at the same time set fire to their camp. Here also the flames spread in all directions; in both camps men, horses, and beasts of burden were to be seen, some perishing in the flames, others rushing through them, and all over the plain naked, unarmed fugitives pursued and slaughtered by their ruthless foes; of so many myriads* but about 2000 foot and 500 horse escaped, with Hasdrubal and Syphax.

"Scipio," says Polybius, "performed many great and glorious actions, but, in my opinion, this was the boldest and most glorious he ever achieved." Yet what was it in

* According to Livy, 40,000 men perished by the flames or by the sword.

reality but a tissue of treachery, duplicity, and cruelty? By a pretended negotiation the suspicions of the enemy were lulled to rest, and an opportunity gained for spying out their camps, and then they were secretly assailed and set fire to at the hour when all in them were asleep. Such a treacherous and cowardly procedure may be worthy of a leader of pirates or bandits, but it was surely disgraceful, at the least, to the general of a great republic.

Hasdrubal fled first to a town in the vicinity, and thence to Carthage; where opinions were divided; some were for suing for peace, others for recalling Hannibal, others for raising more troops, calling again on Syphax, and continuing the war. This last opinion prevailed. Syphax, yielding to the tears and entreaties of his lovely wife, and encouraged by the appearance of a fine body of four thousand Celtiberians who were just arrived, consented to make new levies, and in the space of thirty days a combined army of 30,000 men encamped on the Great Plain five days' march from Utica. Scipio, leaving the siege of this town, advanced to engage them. After three days' skirmishing a general action commenced: the Roman army was drawn up with the Italian horse on the right, the Numidians on the left wing. The Celtiberians were in the centre of the opposite army, the Carthaginians on the right, the Numidians on the left. The last two gave way at the first shock; the Celtiberians fought nobly, and perished to the last man. After the battle Scipio held a council, and it was decided that Lælius and Masinissa should pursue Syphax, while Scipio employed himself in reducing the Punic towns, many of which readily surrendered, for the heavy impositions which had been laid on them during the war had made them lukewarm in their allegiance.

In Carthage it was now resolved to send to recall Hannibal, to strengthen the defences of the city, and to send out a fleet to attack that of the Romans at Utica. Scipio meantime advanced and occupied Tunis, a town within view of Carthage, at a distance of about fifteen miles. While here, he saw the Punic fleet putting to sea, and fearing for his own, he led his troops back to Utica. As his ships of war were not in a condition for fighting, being prepared for battering the town, he drew them up close to the shore, pacing the transports three and four deep outside of them, with their masts and yards laid across them, and tied together and covered with planks; and he set about one thousand men to

defend them. Had the Carthaginians come up while all was in confusion, they might have done much injury, but they loitered so that they did not appear till the second day, and with all their efforts they only succeeded in dragging away six of the transports.

Lælius and Masinissa reached Numidia on the fifteenth day, and the Massylians gladly received their native prince. But Syphax having collected another army came and gave them battle, and was again defeated, and having fallen from his horse, that was wounded, he was made prisoner. Masinissa then pressed on for Syphax's capital, named Cirta, which surrendered when assured of that prince's captivity. Here as he entered the palace he met Sophonisba, who falling at his feet implored him to put her to death rather than give her up to the Romans. The prince's love revived, and as the only means of saving her from the Romans he resolved to espouse her that very day. The wedding was celebrated before the arrival of Lælius, who was highly indignant at it, and was even going to drag her from him, but he conceded to the tears of the prince that the decision should rest with Scipio.

When Syphax was brought before Scipio he threw the whole blame of his change of policy on Sophonisba, and probably out of jealousy, assured him that her influence over Masinissa would produce similar effects. This sank deep in the mind of the politic Roman; and, when Masinissa arrived, he lectured him gravely on his conduct, and insisted on his giving up Sophonisba. The lover burst into tears, and prayed to be permitted, as far as was possible, to keep his promise to his bride; he then retired to his tent, and having given way to an agony of grief, called a trusty servant who kept the poison with which monarchs in those times were always provided, desired him to bear it to Sophonisba, and tell her, that unable to keep the first part of his promise he thus performed the second, and it was for her to act as became the daughter of Hasdrubal and the spouse of two kings. The servant hastened to Cirta. "I accept the nuptial gift," said Sophonisba, "no ungrateful one, if a husband could give his wife nothing better. Tell him only this, that I should have died with more glory if I had not married on the eve of death." So saying she took the bowl and drained it.* Scipio, now relieved from his apprehensions, sought to

* Livy, and probably Polybius, says nothing of the previous love of Masinissa. According to Appian, as he approached Cirta, Sophonisba

console Masinissa, he publicly gave him the title of *king*, and, after the Roman custom, presented him with the regal insignia. Syphax was sent to Rome, and he died soon after at Tibur. The senate and people confirmed the honors bestowed by Scipio on Masinissa.

Scipio now returned to Tunis, whither came an embassy from Carthage suing for peace, and throwing all the blame of the war on Hannibal. The terms he proposed were the withdrawal of all their troops from Italy, Gaul, Spain, and the islands, their giving up all their ships of war but twenty, delivering 500,000 measures of wheat and 200,000 of barley, and paying a large sum of money. He gave them three days to consider of them; at the end of that time a truce was made to enable them to send to Rome.

Meantime Hannibal and Mago had both been recalled. The latter having been worsted in a severe-fought battle in Insubrian Gaul, and wounded in the thigh, was glad to leave Italy; he embarked his troops; but he died of his wound when off Sardinia, and several of his ships were taken by the Romans. Hannibal, it is said, groaned when he received the order to return; and as he departed, looking back on the shores of Italy, where he had spent so many years, he cursed his own folly in not having marched for Rome after the victory at Cannæ. This last circumstance proves that we have not here a true account, for Hannibal could not have blamed himself for acting right; and as he must have been by this time perfectly sure that under the present circumstances the conquest of Italy was become hopeless, his groans, if any, were not for his recall, but for the occasion of it. He landed his troops at Leptis.

The Punic envoys received a dubious answer at Rome, and before they returned the truce had been broken; for a number of ships laden with supplies from Sicily for the Roman army, being driven into the bay of Carthage, the Carthaginians seized them; and when Scipio sent envoys to

sent to tell him that she had been obliged to marry Syphax. Masinissa left her at Cirta. Scipio very roughly ordered him to give her up, and not to attempt to deprive the Romans of a part of their booty. The prince then set out with some Romans as if to fetch her, and contriving to see her alone handed her a bowl of poison, and telling her that she must drink it or become a slave to the Romans, gave spurs to his horse and left her. She drank it; and Masinissa having shown the Romans her dead body, buried her as a queen. See also Zonaras, ix. 13. At all events, Scipio's conduct was that of the politician, not of the man of generous feelings.

complain, they narrowly escaped personal ill treatment, and as they returned their vessel was attacked within view of the Roman camp by a Punic ship of war, and most of the crew slain. Notwithstanding this breach of faith, Scipio dismissed in safety the Punic envoys when they reached his camp on their return from Rome.

The war was resumed,* (550,) and the Carthaginians, conscious of wrong, resolved to strain every nerve. Hannibal had now advanced to Adrumêtum, whither numerous volunteers repaired to him, and he engaged a large body of Numidian cavalry. Urged then by the pressing instances of the people of Carthage, he advanced to Zama, a town about five days' march to the west of that city, whence he sent three spies to learn where and how the Romans were encamped. These spies were taken and led before Scipio; but, like Xerxes,† he had them conducted all through his camp and then dismissed in safety. Struck by this conduct, which evinced such confidence in his own strength, Hannibal proposed a personal interview, in hopes, while his forces were still unimpaired, that he should be able to obtain better terms for his country. The Roman did not decline the interview, but said he would appoint the time for it to take place. He was joined next day by Masinissa with six thousand foot and four thousand horse; and he advanced and encamped near a town named Naragara, whence he sent to inform Hannibal that he was ready to confer with him. The Punic general came and encamped on a hill about four miles off; and next day each set out from his camp with a few horsemen, and then leaving their attendants at a little distance they met, an interpreter alone being present. Hannibal commenced by expressing his wish that the one people had never gone out of Africa, or the other out of Italy,—their natural dominions. He reminded Scipio of the instability of fortune, of which he was himself so notable an instance, and concluded by offering on the part of Carthage to cede Spain and Sicily, Sardinia, and all the other islands to the Romans. Scipio commenced by attempting to justify the conduct of the Romans in entering Sicily and Spain as the defenders of their allies. He dwelt on the late breach of faith at the moment when the Roman senate and people had consented to a peace;

* We have the narrative of Polybius (xv. 3—19) hence to the end of the war.

† *History of Greece*, p. 107, 2d edit.

and said that if the less advantageous terms now proposed were agreed to, it would be a premium on bad faith. Victory or unconditional submission alone remained for Carthage. The conference thus terminated, and each general retired to prepare for battle.

At dawn the next day the two armies were drawn out for the conflict which was to decide the fate of Carthage. Never were two more eminent generals opposed to each other; Hannibal the greatest, not merely of his own, but, perhaps of any age, Scipio inferior only to Hannibal. In number of troops the advantage was on the side of the former,* but they were mostly raw levies, and only those who had served in Italy could vie in steadiness and discipline with the troops led by the Roman.

Scipio drew up his troops in the usual manner, but instead of placing the maniples of the Principes opposite the intervals of those of the Hastati, he set them directly behind them; thus leaving open passages through his lines for the elephants to run through. In these intervals he placed the Velites, or light troops, directing them to begin the action, and if oppressed by the elephants to retire through the intervals to the rear; or if they could not do so to fall into the cross-intervals. The Italian cavalry under Lælius was stationed on the left, Masinissa and his Numidians on the right wing. Hannibal placed his elephants (of which he had eighty) in front; behind them his Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Moorish mercenaries, twelve thousand in number; after these the Africans and Carthaginians; and then, at the distance of somewhat more than a furlong, the troops he had brought from Italy.† It was on these last that he placed his chief reliance; the mercenaries were put in front to weary the Romans, if with nothing else, with slaughtering them; the Carthaginians in the middle, that they might be obliged, willing or not, to fight: the Punic horse were on the right, the Numidian on the left wing.

Each general having encouraged his men, the battle com-

* Appian (viii. 40, 41) gives the total of the Punic force 50,000 men, that of the Romans 23,000 foot and 1500 horse, exclusive of the Numidians.

† Livy makes a curious mistake here. Finding in his Polybius τοὺς ἐκ Ἰταλίας ἰσχυτάς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, he renders it by "*aciem Italico-rum militum (Bruttii plerique erant, et ac necessitate plures, quam sua voluntate, decedentem ex Italia sequuti) instruxit.*" It is manifest from Polybius (xv. 11, 6-13) that they were his veteran troops.

menced with the skirmishing of the Numidian horse. Hannibal then ordered the elephants to advance; but the Romans blew their horns and trumpets, and some of the animals, terrified at the clangor, ran to the left, where they threw their own horse into such confusion that they could not stand before that of Masinissa; the rest rushed on the Roman Velites, where they did and received much injury: at length, maddened by the noise and their wounds, they ran part through the intervals of the Roman lines, part to the right, where, by the confusion they caused, they rendered easy the victory of Lælius over the Punic horse.

The infantry on both sides now advanced; the three lines of the Romans supporting each other, while the timid Carthaginians let their front line go forward alone. These mercenaries fought bravely, and killed and wounded many of the Romans; but at length they were forced to give way before the close steady orders of the Romans, and fall back on their second line; and enraged at the cowardice of the Africans, they treated them as enemies. The Carthaginians, thus assailed at the one time by the Romans and by their own mercenaries, gathered courage from despair, and fought with desperation. They threw the Hastats into confusion; the Principes then advanced against them; the slaughter of them and their mercenaries was immense: Hannibal would not allow the fugitives to mingle with his reserve, and they were obliged to scatter over the plain.

The bodies and arms of the slain lay in such heaps that it was difficult for the Roman troops to move forward in regular order over them. Scipio therefore, having sounded the recall for the Hastats, who were in pursuit of the flying foes, made them form beyond the heaps of slain; then increasing the depth of the Principes and Triarians on the wings, he advanced with them over the dead bodies, and on coming up with the Hastats led the whole force against Hannibal's reserve. It was now that the battle might be said to commence in reality. The numbers were nearly equal,* their arms the same, their courage and discipline alike. Long was the contest doubtful; at length fortune, or rather the destiny of Rome, favored the Romans. Lælius and Masinissa returning from the pursuit fell on the rear of Hannibal's troops, and thus assailed in front and rear they were forced to give way. The loss of the Carthaginians in this battle was

* Polybius. Yet it can hardly be true.

20,000 slain, and nearly an equal number taken; that of the victors was from 1500 to 2000 men. Hannibal having, both before and after the battle, by the confession of Scipio himself and the military men of all ages, done all that was in man to secure the victory, fled with a few horsemen to Adrumétum, whence at the call of the government he proceeded to Carthage, which he had not seen since he left it six-and-thirty years before. He advised to sue for peace, as he declared himself to be beaten not merely in a battle but in the war, — meaning that the resources of Carthage were all exhausted.

Scipio, having taken the enemy's camp, led his army back to Utica, where finding a Roman fleet arrived, he sent Lælius home with the news of his victory; and desiring his legate Octavius to lead the troops by land to Carthage, he sailed himself with the fleet for the port of that city. When he came near it, he met a ship adorned with olive-branches, on board of which were ten noble Carthaginians come to sue for peace. He desired them to meet him at Tunis, whither he repaired when he had taken a personal survey of the bay of Carthage. When the Punic envoys came, he held a council of war; all voices were at first for destroying Carthage; but Scipio, aware of the length and difficulty of the siege, and also apprehensive of a successor coming out to rob him of his glory, declared for peace, and his officers readily acquiesced in his views. After reprehending the Carthaginians for their breach of faith, he offered peace on the following conditions. The Carthaginians to retain all they had possessed in Africa before the war; to make good the losses caused by their seizure of the ships during the late truce; to give up all deserters and prisoners, and all their long ships and elephants but ten; not to make war either in or out of Africa without the consent of the Romans; to restore all his possessions to Masinissa; to give three months' corn to the Roman army, and pay till an answer should come from Rome; to pay 10,000 talents at the rate of two hundred a year; and to give one hundred hostages, between the ages of fourteen and thirty years, to be selected by the Roman general.

When the deputies returned to Carthage with these terms, one of the senators, it is said, rose to object to them, but Hannibal went and dragged him down from the pulpit. An outcry being raised at this breach of decorum, Hannibal again stood up and excused himself on the score of his

ignorance, on account of his long absence from home. He then strongly urged to accept of peace on the terms proposed. His advice was followed; the peace was confirmed by the Roman senate and people; and thus, after a duration of seventeen years, was terminated the second Punic war.

Scipio having led home his victorious army entered Rome in triumph. He derived from his conquest the title of Africânus, it is not known how conferred, and his was the first example of the kind known at Rome.*

CHAPTER VII.

MACEDONIAN WAR. — FLIGHT OF HANNIBAL FROM CARTHAGE. — ANTIOCHUS IN GREECE. — INVASION OF ASIA AND DEFEAT OF ANTIOCHUS. — DEATH OF HANNIBAL. — LAST DAYS OF SCIPIO. — CHARACTERS OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO. — WAR WITH PERSEUS OF MACEDONIA. — CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA. — TRIUMPH OF ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

THE victory of Zama gave the Romans the dominion of the West; the ambitious senate then aspired to that of the East, and the king of Macedonia was selected as the first object of attack. The people, wearied out with service and contributions, were with some difficulty induced to give their consent; and war was declared against Philip under the pretext of his having injured the allies of Rome, namely, the Athenians, and the kings of Egypt and Pergamus.†

Philip after the late peace had been assiduous in augmenting his fleet and army; but instead of joining Hannibal when he was in Italy, he employed himself, in conjunction with Antiochus king of Syria, in seizing the islands and the towns on the coast of the Ægæan, which were under the protection of Egypt, whose king was now a minor. This engaged him in hostilities with the king of Pergamus and the Rhodians. A Roman army, under the consul Sulpicius, passed over to Greece, (552;) the Ætolians declared against

* Livy, xxx. 45. See above, p. 85

† For this war and the following events see the History of Greece

Philip, and gradually, the Bœotians and Achæans were induced to follow their example. Philip made a gallant resistance against this formidable confederacy; but the consul T. Quinctius Flaminius gave him at length (555) a complete defeat at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly, and he was forced to sue for peace, which, however, he obtained on much easier terms than might have been expected, as the Romans were on the eve of a war with the king of Syria. The peace with Philip was followed by the celebrated proclamation at the Isthmian Games of the independence of those states of Greece which had been under the Macedonian dominion; for the Romans well knew that this was the infallible way to establish their own supremacy, as the Greeks would be sure never to unite for the common good of their country.

After an interval of a few years, the long-expected war with Antiochus the Great of Syria broke out. The immediate occasion of it was the discontent of the Ætolians, who being mortally offended with the Romans sent to invite him into Greece. He had been for three years making preparations for the war, and he had now at his service the greatest general of the age, if he had known how to make use of him. For Hannibal, having been appointed one of the *suffetes* at Carthage, and finding the power of the judges enormous in consequence of their holding their office for life, had a law passed reducing it to one year. This naturally raised him a host of enemies, whose number was augmented by his financial reforms; for finding that the public revenues had been diverted into the coffers of the magistrates and persons of influence, while the people were directly taxed to pay the tribute to the Romans, he instituted an inquiry, and proved that the ordinary revenues of the state were abundantly sufficient for all purposes. Those who felt their incomes thus reduced sought to rouse the enmity of the Romans against Hannibal, whom they charged with a secret correspondence with Antiochus; and though Scipio strongly urged the indignity of the Roman senate becoming the instrument of a faction in Carthage, hatred of Hannibal prevailed, and three senators were sent to Carthage, ostensibly to settle some disputes between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. Hannibal, who knew their real object, left the city secretly in the night, and getting on board a ship sailed to Tyre. He thence went to Antioch, and finding that Antio-

chus was at Ephesus, he proceeded to that city, where he met with a most flattering reception from the monarch, (557.)

Hannibal, true to his maxim that the Romans were only to be conquered in Italy, proposed to the king to let him have a good fleet and ten thousand men, with which he would pass over to Africa, when he hoped to be able to induce the Carthaginians to take arms again; and if he did not succeed, he would land somewhere in Italy. He would have the king meanwhile to pass with a large army over to Greece, and to remain there ready to invade Italy, if necessary. Antiochus at first assented to this plan of the war; but he afterwards lent an ear to the suggestions of Thoas the Ætolian, who was jealous of the great Carthaginian, and gave it up. He himself passed over at length (560) to Greece with a small army of ten thousand men; but instead of acting at once with vigor, he loitered in Eubœa, where he espoused a beautiful maiden, wasted his time in petty negotiations in Thessaly and the adjoining country, by which he highly offended king Philip, whom it was his first duty to conciliate, and thus gave the consul Acilius Glabrio time to land his army and enter Thessaly. Antiochus hastened from Eubœa to defend the pass of Thermopylæ against him; but he was totally defeated, and forced to fly to Asia, (561.)

Antiochus flattered himself at first that the Romans would not follow him into Asia; but Hannibal soon proved to him that such an expectation was a vain one, and that he must prepare for war. At Rome the invasion of Asia was at once resolved on. The two new consuls, C. Lælius and L. Scipio (562) were both equally anxious to have the conducting of this war; the senate were mostly in favor of Lælius, an officer of skill and experience, while L. Scipio was a man of very moderate abilities. But Scipio Africânus offering, if his brother was appointed, to go as his legate, Greece was assigned to him as his province without any further hesitation. The Scipios then, having raised what troops were requisite, among which 5000 of those who had served under Africânus came as volunteers, passed over to Epîrus with a force of about 13,000 men. In Thessaly, Acilius delivered up to them two legions which he had under his command, and being supplied with provisions and every thing else they required they marched through Macedonia and Thrace for the Hellespont. A Roman fleet was in the Ægæan, which, united with those of Eumenes of Pergamus and the Rhodians, proved an overmatch for that of Antiochus, even though

commanded by Hannibal. When the Scipios reached the Hellespont, they found every thing prepared for the passage by Eumenes. They crossed without any opposition; and as this was the time for moving the *Ancilia* at Rome, P. Scipio, who was one of the *Salii*, caused the army to make a halt of a few days on that account.

While they remained here, an envoy came from Antiochus proposing peace, on condition of his giving up all claim to the Grecian cities in Asia and paying one half of the expenses of the war. The Scipios insisted on his paying all the expenses of the war, as he had been the cause of it, and evacuating Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. The envoy then applied privately to P. Scipio, telling him that the king would release without ransom his son, who had fallen lately into his hands, and give him a large quantity of gold and every honor he could bestow, if through his means he could obtain more equitable terms. Scipio expressed his gratitude, as a private person, to the king for the offer to release his son; and, as a friend, advised him to accept any terms he could get, as his case was hopeless. The envoy retired; the Romans advanced to Ilium, where the consul ascended and offered sacrifice to Minerva, to the great joy of the Ilienses, who asserted themselves to be the progenitors of the Romans. They thence advanced to the head of the river Caicus. Antiochus, who was at Thyatira, hearing that P. Scipio was lying sick at Elæa, sent his son to him, and received in return his thanks, and his advice not to engage till he had rejoined the army. As in case of defeat his only hopes lay in P. Scipio, he took his counsel, and retiring to the foot of Mount Sipylus formed a strong camp near Magnesia.

The consul advanced, and encamped about four miles off; and as the king seemed not inclined to fight, and the Roman soldiers were full of contempt for the enemy, and clamorous for action, it was resolved, if he did not accept the proffered battle, to storm his camp. But Antiochus, fearing that the spirit of his men would sink if he declined fighting, led them out when he saw the Romans in array.

The Roman army, consisting of four legions, each of 5400 men, was drawn up in the usual manner, its left resting on a river; 3000 Achæan and Pergamene foot were placed on the right, and beyond them the horse, about 3000 in number; sixteen African elephants were stationed in the rear. The army of Antiochus consisted of 62,000 foot, 12,000 horse,

and fifty-four elephants. His phalanx of 16,000 men was drawn up in ten divisions, each of fifty men in rank and thirty-two in file, with two elephants in each of the intervals. On the left and right of the phalanx were placed the cavalry, the light troops and the remainder of the elephants, the scythed chariots, and Arab archers, mounted on dromedaries.

When the armies were arrayed there came on a fog, with a light kind of rain, which relaxed the bow-strings, slings, and dart-thongs of the numerous light troops of the king, and the darkness caused confusion in his long and various line. Eumenes also, by a proper use of the light troops, frightened the horses of the scythed chariots, and drove them off the field. The Roman horse then charged that of the enemy and put it to flight; the confusion of the left wing extended to the phalangites, who, by their own men rushing from the left among them, were prevented from using their long *sarissæ*, and were easily broken and slaughtered by the Romans, who now also knew from experience how to deal with the elephants. Antiochus, who commanded in person on the right, drove the four turms or troops of horse opposed to him, and a part of the foot, back to their camp; but M. Æmilius, who commanded there, rallied them. Eumenes' brother, Attalus, came from the right with some horse; the king turned and fled; the rout became general; the slaughter, as usual, enormous: the camp was taken and pillaged. The loss of the Syrians is stated at 53,000 slain, 1400 taken; that of the Romans and their ally Eumenes at only 350 men!

All the cities of the coast sent in their submission to the consul, who advanced to Sardes. Antiochus was at this time at Apamæa: when he learned that P. Scipio, who had not been in the battle, was arrived, he sent envoys to treat of peace on any terms. The Romans had already arranged the conditions of peace, and P. Scipio announced them as follows: Antiochus should abstain from Europe, and give up all Asia this side of Taurus; pay 15,000 Euboic talents for the expenses of the war, 500 down, 1500 when the senate and people ratified the peace, the remainder in twelve years, at 1000 talents a year; give Eumenes 400 talents and a quantity of corn; give twenty hostages; and, above all, deliver up Hannibal, Thoas the Ætolian, and three other Greeks. The king's envoys went direct to Rome, whither also went Eumenes in person, and embassies from Rhodes and other places; the consul put his troops in winter quarters at Magnesia, Tralles; and Ephesus.

At Rome the peace was confirmed with Antiochus. The greater part of the ceded territory was granted to Eumenes, Lycia and part of Caria to the Rhodians, (whose usually prudent aristocracy committed a great error in seeking this aggrandizement of their dominion;) and such towns as had taken part with the Romans were freed from tribute. L. Scipio triumphed on his return to Rome, and assumed the surname of Asiaticus, to be in this respect on an equality with his illustrious brother.

Cn. Manlius Vulso succeeded Scipio in Asia, (563,) and as the Roman consuls now began to regard it as discreditable and unprofitable to pass their year without war, he looked round him for an enemy from whom he might derive fame and wealth. He fixed on the Gallo-Grecians, as the descendants of those Gauls were called who had passed over into Asia in the time of Pyrrhus, and won a territory for themselves, named from them in after-times Galatia. He stormed their fortified camp on Mount Olympus in Mysia, gave them a great defeat on the plains of Ancyra, and forced them to sue for peace. The booty gained, the produce of their plunder for many years, was immense. Manlius then led his army back to the coast for the winter. The next year (564) ten commissioners came out to ratify the peace with Antiochus; they added some more conditions, such as the surrender of his elephants: the peace was then sworn to, and the Romans evacuated Asia.

Hannibal, when he found that the Romans demanded him, retired to Crete; not thinking himself, however, safe in that island, he left it soon after and repaired to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, who felt flattered by the presence of so great a man. But the vengeance of Rome did not sleep, and no less a person than T. Flamininus was sent (569) to demand his death or his surrender. The mean-spirited Prusias, immediately after a conference with the Roman envoy, sent soldiers to seize his illustrious guest. Hannibal, who it is said had, in expectation of treachery, made seven passages, open and secret, from his house, attempted to escape by the most private one; but finding it guarded, he had recourse to the poison which he always carried about him. Having vented imprecations on Prusias for his breach of hospitality, he drank the poison and expired, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

It is said that Scipio Africânus died in the same year with his illustrious rival, an instance also of the mutability



DEATH OF HANNIBAL. 258.



of fortune, for the conqueror of Carthage breathed his last in exile! In the year 559 he had had a specimen of the instability of popular favor; for while at the consular elections he and all the Cornelian *gens* exerted their influence in favor of his cousin P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cnæus, who had been killed in Spain, — and who was himself of so exemplary a character, that when the statue of the Idæan Mother (Cybele) was brought to Rome, it was committed to his charge, as being the best man in the city, — they were forced to yield to that of the vain-glorious T. Quinctius Flamininus, who sued for his brother, the profligate L. Quinctius. But, as the historian observes, the glory of Flamininus was fresher; he had triumphed that very year; whereas Africânus had been now ten years in the public view, and since his victory over Hannibal he had been consul a second time, and censor, — very sufficient reasons for the decline of his favor with the unstable people.

The year after the conclusion of the peace with Antiochus, (566,) the Q. Petillii, tribunes of the people, at the instigation, it is said, of Cato, cited Scipio Africânus before the tribes, to answer various charges on old and new grounds, of which the chief was that of having taken bribes from Antiochus, and not having accounted for the spoil. Scipio was attended to the Forum by an immense concourse of people; he disdained to notice the charges against him; in a long speech he enumerated the various actions he had performed, and taking a book from his bosom, "In this," said he, "is an account of all you want to know." "Read it," said the tribunes, "and let it then be deposited in the treasury." "No," said Scipio, "I will not offer myself such an insult;" and he tore the book before their faces.*

The night came on; the cause was deferred till the next day: at dawn the tribunes took their seat on the Rostra; the accused, on being cited, came before it, attended by a crowd of his friends and clients. "This day, ye tribunes and Quirites," said he, "I defeated Hannibal in Africa. As, therefore, it should be free from strife and litigation, I will go to the Capitol and give thanks to Jupiter and the other gods who inspired me on this and other days to do good service to the state. Let whoso will, come with me and pray the gods that ye may always have leaders like unto me." He ascended the Capitol; all followed him, and the tribunes were left sit-

* Gellius, iv. 18.

ting alone. He then went round to all the other temples, still followed by the people; and this last day of his glory nearly equalled that of his triumph for conquered Africa. His cause was put off for some days longer; but in the interval, disgusted with the prospect of contests with the tribunes, which his proud spirit could ill brook, he retired to Liternum in Campania. On his not appearing, the tribunes spoke of sending and dragging him before the tribunal; but their colleagues interposed, especially Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, from whom it was least expected, as he was at enmity with the Scipios. The senate thanked Gracchus for his noble conduct,* the matter dropped, and Scipio spent the remainder of his days at Liternum. He was buried there, it is said, at his own desire, that his ungrateful country might not even possess his ashes.

The actions of the two great men who were now removed from the scene sufficiently declare their characters. As a general, Hannibal is almost without an equal; not a single military error can be charged on him, and the address with which he managed to keep an army composed of such discordant elements as his in obedience, even when obliged to act on the defensive, is astonishing. The charges of perfidy, cruelty, and such like, made against him by the Roman writers, are quite unfounded, and are belied by facts. Nowhere does Hannibal's character appear so great as when, after the defeat at Zama, he, with unbroken spirit, applied his great mind to the reform of political abuses and the restoration of the finances, in the hopes of once more raising his country to independence. Here he shone the true patriot.

The character of his rival has come down to us under the garb of panegyric; but even after making all due deductions, much remains to be admired. His military talents were doubtless considerable; of his civil virtues we hear but little, and we cannot therefore judge of him accurately as a statesman. Though a high aristocrat, we have, however, seen that he would not hesitate to lower the authority of the senate by appealing to the people in the gratification of his ambition; and we certainly cannot approve of the conduct of the public man who disdained to produce his accounts

* For this, and for his similar conduct to L. Scipio, the family gave him in marriage Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus. The two celebrated Gracchi were their sons.

when demanded. Of his vaunted magnanimity and generosity we have already had occasion to speak, and not in very exalted terms. Still, Rome has but one name in her annals to place in comparison with Africânus; that name, Julius Cæsar, is a greater than his, perhaps than any other.

To return to our narrative. In the period which had elapsed since the peace with Carthage, there had been annual occupation for the Roman arms in Cisalpine Gaul, Liguria, and Spain. The Gauls, whose inaction all the time Hannibal was in Italy seems hard to account for, resumed arms in the year 551, at the instigation of one Hasdrubal, who had remained behind from the army of Mago; they took the colony of Placentia, and met several consular and prætorian armies in the field, and, after sustaining many great defeats, were completely reduced: the Ligurians, owing to their mountains, made a longer resistance, but they also were brought under the yoke of Rome. In Spain the various portions of its warlike population, ill brooking the dominion of strangers, rose continually in arms, but failed before the discipline of the Roman legions and the skill of their commanders. The celebrated M. Porcius Cato when consul (557) acquired great fame by his conduct in this country.

Philip of Macedonia, who with all his vices was an able prince, had long been making preparations for a renewed war with Rome, which he saw to be inevitable. He died (573) before matters came to an extremity. His son and successor, Perseus* was a man of a very different character; for, while he was free from his father's love of wine and women, he did not possess his redeeming qualities, and was deeply infected by a mean spirit of avarice. It was reserved for him to make the final trial of strength with the Romans. Eumenes of Pergamus went himself to Rome, to represent how formidable he was become, and the necessity of crushing him; the envoys of Perseus tried in vain to justify him in the eyes of the jealous senate; war was declared (580) against him on the usual pretext of his injuring the allies of Rome, and the conduct of it was committed to P. Licinius Crassus, one of the consuls for the ensuing year.

The Macedonian army amounted to thirty-nine thousand foot, one half of whom were phalangites, and four thousand horse, the largest that Macedonia had sent to the field since the time of Alexander the Great. Perseus entered Thessaly at the head of this army, and at the same time the Roman

* By the Latin writers he is always named Perses.

legions entered it from Epîrus. An engagement of cavalry took place not far from the Penêus, in which the advantage was decidedly on the side of the king. In another encounter success was on that of the Romans; after which Perseus led his troops home for the winter, and Licinius quartered his in Thessaly and Bœotia.

Nothing deserving of note occurred in the following year. In the spring of 583 the consul Q. Marcius Philippus led his army over the Cambunian mountains into Macedonia, and Perseus, instead of occupying the passes in the rear and cutting off his supplies from Thessaly, cowardly retired before him, and allowed him to ravage all the south of Macedonia. Marcius returned to Thessaly for the winter, and in the spring (584) the new consul, L. Æmilius Paulus, a man of high consideration, of great talent, and who had in a former consulate gained much fame in Spain, came out to take the command.

Meantime the wretched avarice of Perseus was putting an end to every chance he had of success. Eumenes had offered, for the sum of 1500 talents, to abstain from taking part in the war, and to endeavor to negotiate a peace for him: Perseus gladly embraced the offer, and was ready enough to arrange about the hostages which Eumenes agreed to give; but he hesitated to part with the money till he had had the value for it, and he proposed that it should be deposited in the temple at Samothrace till the war was ended. As Samothrace belonged to Perseus, Eumenes saw he was not to be trusted, and he broke off the negotiation. Again, a body of Gauls of 10,000 horse, and an equal number of foot, from beyond the Ister, to whom he had promised large pay, were now at hand; Perseus sought to circumvent them and save his money, and the offended barbarians ravaged Thrace and returned home. It is the opinion of the historian, that if he had kept his word with these Gauls, and sent them into Thessaly, the situation of the Roman army, placed thus between two armies, might have been very perilous. Lastly, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, 300 talents if he went to war with the Romans: he sent ten of them at once, and directed those who bore the remainder to go very slowly; meantime his ambassador kept urging Gentius, who, to please him, seized two Roman envoys who arrived just then, and imprisoned them. Perseus thinking him now fully committed with the Romans by this act, sent to recall the rest of his money.

Paulus led his army without delay into Macedonia, and in the neighborhood of Pydna he forced the crafty Perseus to come to an engagement. The victory was speedy and decisive on the side of the Romans; the Macedonian horse fled, the king setting the example, and the phalanx thus left exposed was cut to pieces. Perseus fled with his treasures to Amphipolis, and thence to the sacred isle of Samothrace. All Macedonia submitted to the consul, who then advanced to Amphipolis after Perseus, who in vain sent letters suing for favor.

Meantime the prætor Cn. Octavius was come with his fleet to Samothrace. He sought ineffectually to induce Perseus to surrender, and then so wrought on the people of the island, that the unhappy prince, considering himself no longer safe, resolved to try to escape to Cotys, king of Thrace, his only remaining ally. A Cretan ship-master undertook to convey him away secretly; provisions, and as much money as could be carried thither unobserved, were put on board his bark in the evening, and at midnight the king left the temple secretly and proceeded to the appointed spot. But no bark was there; the Cretan, false as any of his countrymen, had set sail for Crete as soon as it was dark. Perseus, having wandered about the shore till near daylight, slunk back and concealed himself in a corner of the temple. He was soon obliged to surrender to Octavius, by whom he was conveyed to the consul. Macedonia was, by the direction of the senate, divided into four republics, between which there was to be neither intermarriage nor purchase of immovable property, (*connubium* or *commercium*;) each was to defray the expenses of its own government, and pay to Rome one half of the tribute it had paid to the kings; the silver and gold mines were not to be wrought, no ship-timber was to be felled, no troops to be kept except on the frontiers; all who had held any office, civil or military, under Perseus, were ordered to quit Macedonia and go and live in Italy, lest if they remained at home they should raise disturbances. In Greece, the lovers of their country were put to death or removed to Italy, under pretext of their having favored the cause of Perseus, and the administration of affairs was placed in the hands of the tools of Rome.

Paulus on his return to Rome celebrated his triumph with great magnificence. His soldiers, because he had maintained rigid discipline and had given them less of the booty than they had expected, and instigated by Ser. Sulpicius

Galba, one of their tribunes, a personal enemy to Paulus, had tried to prevent it; but the eloquence of M. Servilius and others prevailed. Perseus and his children, examples of the mutability of fortune, preceded the car of the victor. After the triumph, Perseus was confined at Alba in the Marsian land, where he died a few years after.

Octavius was allowed to celebrate a naval triumph; and the prætor L. Anicinus Gallus, who had in thirty days reduced Illyria and made Gentius and all his family captives, also triumphed for that country.

CHAPTER VIII.*

AFFAIRS OF CARTHAGE. — THIRD PUNIC WAR. — DESCRIPTION OF CARTHAGE. — ILL SUCCESS OF THE ROMANS. — SCIPIO MADE CONSUL. — HE SAVES MANCINUS. — RESTORES DISCIPLINE IN THE ARMY. — ATTACK ON CARTHAGE. — ATTEMPT TO CLOSE THE HARBOR. — CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE. — REDUCTION OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE TO PROVINCES.

AFTER the conclusion of the Hannibalian war, the Carthaginians seemed disposed to remain at peace; but the ambition of their neighbor, Masinissa, whose life, to their misfortune, was extended to beyond ninety years, would not allow them to rest. He was continually encroaching on their territory and seizing their subject towns. The Roman senate, when appealed to as the common superior, sent out commissioners, who almost invariably decided in favor of Masinissa, and he gradually extended his dominion from the ocean inlands to the Syrtes.

On one of these occasions M. Porcius Cato was one of those sent out; and when he saw the fertility of the Carthaginian territory and its high state of culture, and the strength, wealth, and population of the city, he became apprehensive of its yet endangering the power of Rome; his vanity also, of which he had a large share, was wounded, because the

* Henceforth Livy fails us, as we have only the epitomes of his remaining books. Our principal authority for this chapter is Appian *Punica*.

Carthaginians, who were manifestly in the right, would not acquiesce at once in the decision of himself and his colleagues; and he returned to Rome full of bitterness against them. Henceforth he concluded all his speeches in the senate with these words, "I also think that Carthage should be destroyed."* On the other side P. Scipio Nasica, either from a regard to justice, or, as it is said, persuaded that the only mode of saving Rome from the corruption to which she was tending, was to keep up a formidable rival to her, strenuously opposed this course. The majority, however, inclined to the opinion of Cato; it was resolved to lay hold on the first plausible pretext for declaring war, and to those who were so disposed a pretext was not long wanting.

At Carthage there were three parties; the Roman, the Numidian, and the popular party. This last, which, with all its faults, alone was patriotic, drove out of the city about forty of the principal of the Numidian party, and made the people swear never to readmit them or listen to any proposals for their return. The exiles repaired to Masinissa, who sent his sons Micipsa and Gulussa to Carthage on their behalf. But Carthalo, a leader of the popular party, shut the gates against them, and Hamilcar, the other popular leader, fell on Gulussa as he was coming again, and killed some of those who attended him. This gave occasion to a war; a battle was fought between Masinissa and the Punic troops led by Hasdrubal, which lasted from morning to night without being completely decided. But Masinissa, having inclosed the Punic army on a hill, starved them into a surrender; and Gulussa, as they were departing unarmed, fell on and slaughtered them all. The Carthaginians lost no time in sending to Rome to justify themselves, having previously passed sentence of death on Hasdrubal, Carthalo, and the other authors of the war. The senate, however, would accept no excuse; and, after various efforts on the part of the Carthaginians to avert it, war was proclaimed against them, (603,) and the conduct of it committed to the consuls L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius Nepos, with secret orders not to desist from it till Carthage was destroyed. Their army is said to have consisted of 80,000 foot and 4000 horse, which had been previously prepared for this war.

* Plut. Cato Major, 26, 27. Cato one day in the senate-house let fall from his *toga* some fine African figs, and when the senators admired them he said, "The country that produces these is but three days' sail from Rome."

The Carthaginians learned almost at the same moment the declaration of war and the sailing of the Roman army. They saw themselves without ships, (for they had been prohibited to build any,) without an ally, (even Utica, not eight miles from their city, having joined the Romans,) without mercenaries, or even supplies of corn, and the flower of their youth had been lately cut off by Masinissa. They again sent an embassy to Rome, to make a formal surrender of their city. The senate replied that if, within thirty days, they sent three hundred children of the noblest families as hostages to the consuls in Sicily, and did whatever they commanded them, they should be allowed to be free and governed by their own laws, and retain all the territory they possessed in Africa. At the same time secret orders were sent to the consuls to abide by their original instructions.

The Carthaginians became somewhat suspicious at no mention of their city having been made by the senate. They however resolved to obey, and leave no pretext for attacking them; the hostages accordingly were sent to Lilybæum, amidst the tears and lamentations of their parents and relatives. The consuls straightway transmitted them to Rome, and then told the Carthaginians that they would settle the remaining matters at Utica, to which place they lost no time in passing over; and when the Punic envoys came to learn their will, they said that, as the Carthaginians had declared their wish and resolution to live at peace, they could have no need for arms and weapons; they therefore required them to deliver up all that they had. This mandate also was obeyed; two hundred thousand sets of armor, with weapons of all kinds in proportion, were brought on wagons into the Roman camp, accompanied by the priests, the senators, and the chief persons of the city. Censorinus then, having praised their diligence and ready obedience, announced to them the further will of the senate, which was that they should quit Carthage, which the Romans intended to level, and build another town in any part of their territory they pleased, but not within less than ten miles of the sea.* The moment they heard this ruthless command they abandoned themselves to every extravagance of grief and despair; they rolled themselves on the ground, they tore their garments and their hair, they beat their breasts and faces, they called on the gods, they abused the Romans for their treachery and

* It well became the Romans after this to talk of *Punica fides*.

deceit. When they recovered from their paroxysm, they spoke again, requesting to be allowed to send an embassy to Rome. The consul said this would be to no purpose, for the will of the senate must be carried into effect. They then departed, with the melancholy forebodings of the reception they might meet with at home, and some of them ran away on the road, fearing to face the enraged populace. Censorinus forthwith sent twenty ships to cast anchor before Carthage.

The people, who were anxiously waiting their return, when they saw their downcast, melancholy looks, gave way to despair, and lamented aloud. The envoys passed on in silence to the senate-house, and there made known the inexorable resolve of Rome. When the senators heard it, they groaned and wept; the people without joined in their lamentations, then giving way to rage they rushed in and tore to pieces the principal advisers of the delivery of the hostages and arms; and they stoned the ambassadors and dragged them about the city; they then fell on and abused in various ways such Italians as happened to be still there. The senate that very day resolved on war; they proclaimed liberty to the slaves, they chose Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who was at a place called Népheris at the head of a force of twenty thousand men, general for the exterior, and another Hasdrubal, the grandson of Masinissa, for the city; and having again vainly applied to the consuls for a truce that they might send envoys to Rome, they prepared vigorously for defence, resolved to endure the last rather than abandon their city. The temples and other sacred places were turned into workshops, men and women wrought day and night in the manufacture of arms, and the women cut off their long hair that it might be twisted into bow-strings. The consuls meantime, though urged by Masinissa, did not advance against the city, either through dislike of the unpleasant task, or because they thought that they could take it whenever they pleased. At length they led their troops to the attack of the town.

The city of Carthage lay on a peninsula at the bottom of a large bay; at its neck, which was nearly three miles in width, stood the citadel, Byrsa, on a rock whose summit was occupied by the temple of Esmûn, (Æsculapius;) from the neck on the east ran a narrow belt or tongue of land, between the lake of Tunis and the sea; at a little distance inland extended a rocky ridge, through which narrow passes had been hewn. The harbor was on the east side of the

peninsula; it was double, consisting of an outer and an inner one, and its mouth, which was seventy feet wide, was secured with iron chains: the outer harbor was surrounded by a quay for the landing of goods. The inner one, named the Cothon,* was for the ships of war; its only entrance was through the outer one, and it was defended by a double wall; in its centre was an elevated island on which stood the admiral's house, whence there was a view out over the open sea. The Cothon was able to contain two hundred and twenty ships, and was provided with all the requisite magazines. A single wall environed the whole city; that of Byrsa was triple, each wall being 30 ells high, exclusive of the battlements, and at intervals of two hundred feet were towers four stories high. A double row of vaults ran round each wall, the lower one containing stalls for 300 elephants and 4000 horses, with granaries for their fodder; the upper, barracks for 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Three streets led from Byrsa to the market, which was near the Cothon, which harbor gave name to this quarter of the town. That part of the town which lay to the west and north was named Megara; † it was more thinly inhabited, and full of gardens divided by walls and hedges. The city was in compass twenty-three miles, and is said to have contained at this time 700,000 inhabitants.

The consuls divided their forces; Censorinus attacked from his ships the wall where it was weakest, at the angle of the isthmus: Manilius attempted to fill the ditch and carry the outer works of the great wall. They reckoned on no resistance; but their expectations were deceived, and they were forced to retire. Censorinus then constructed two large battering rams, with which he threw down a part of the wall near the belt; the Carthaginians partly rebuilt it during the night, and next day they drove out with loss such of the Romans as had entered by the breach. They had also in the night made a sally, and burnt the engines of the besiegers. It being now the dog days, and Censorinus, finding the situation of his camp, close to a lake of standing water, unwholesome, removed to the sea shore. The Carthaginians then, watching when the wind blew strong from the sea on the Roman station, used to fill small vessels with combustibles, to which

* This was a general name for an artificial harbor, probably from its resemblance to the *κόθων*, a kind of drinking-vessel.

† This is probably a Greek corruption of Magaria or Magalia, *τῆς ἢ δωλλίγης*, connected with the Hebrew *magûr*, 'dwelling.'

they set fire, and spreading their sails let the wind drive them on the Roman ships, many of which were thus destroyed.

Censorinus having gone to Rome for the elections, the Carthaginians became more daring, and they ventured a nocturnal attack on the camp of Manilius, in which they would have succeeded but for the presence of mind of Scipio, one of the tribunes, who led out the horse at the rear of the camp, and fell on them unexpectedly. A second nocturnal attack was frustrated by the same Scipio, who was now the life and soul of the army. Manilius then, contrary to the advice of Scipio, led his troops to Nopheris against Hasdrubal; but he was forced to retire with loss, and four entire cohorts would have been cut off but for the valor and skill of Scipio. Shortly after, when commissioners came out from Rome to inquire into the causes of the want of success, Manilius and his officers laying aside all jealousy, bore testimony to the merits of Scipio; the affection of the army for him was also manifest; of all which the commissioners informed the senate and people on their return. Masinissa dying at this time, left the regulation of his kingdom to Scipio, who divided the regal office among the three legitimate sons of the deceased monarch; giving the capital and the chief dignity to Micipsa, the eldest, the management of the foreign relations to Gulussa, and the administration of justice to Mastanabal. Scipio also induced Himilco Famæas, a Punic commander, who had hitherto done the Romans much mischief, to desert to them with two thousand two hundred horse.

In the spring (604) the new consul L. Calpurnius Piso came out to take the command of the army, and the prætor L. Hostilius Mancinus that of the fleet. They attacked the town of Clupea by sea and land, but were repulsed; and Calpurnius then spent the whole summer to no purpose in the siege of Hippagreta, a strong town between Carthage and Utica. The Carthaginians, elevated by their unexpected good fortune, were now masters of the country; they insulted the Romans, and endeavored to detach the Numidians. Hasdrubal, proud of his successes over Manilius, aspired to the command of the city: he accused the other Hasdrubal of having intelligence with his uncle Gulussa, who was in the Roman camp; and when this last, on being charged with it in the senate, hesitated from surprise, the senators fell on and killed him with the seats; and his rival thus gained his object.

The elections now came on at Rome; Scipio was there as a candidate for the ædileship; all eyes were turned on

him, his friends doubtless were not idle, and the letters from the soldiers in Africa represented him as the only man able to take Carthage. The tribes therefore resolved to make him consul, though he was not of the proper age.* The presiding consul opposed in vain; he was elected, and the people further assumed the power of assigning him Africa for his province.

This celebrated man was son to Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. He had been adopted by Scipio the son of Africanus; the Greek historian Polybius and the philosopher Panætius were his instructors and friends; and he had already distinguished himself as a soldier both in Spain and Africa.

The very evening that Scipio arrived at Utica (605) he had again an opportunity of saving a part of the Roman army; for Mancinus, a vain, rash man, having brought the fleet close to Carthage, and observing a part of the wall over the cliffs left unguarded, landed some of his men, who mounted to the wall. The Carthaginians opened a gate and came to attack them, the Romans drove them back and entered the town; Mancinus landed more men, and as it was now evening he sent off to Utica, requiring provisions and a reinforcement to be sent without delay, or else they would never be able to keep their position. Scipio, who arrived that evening, received about midnight the letters of Mancinus; he ordered the soldiers he had brought with him and the serviceable Uticans to get on board at once, and he set forth in the last watch, directing his men to stand erect on the decks and let themselves be seen; he also released a prisoner, and sent him to tell at Carthage that Scipio was coming. Mancinus meantime was hard pressed by the enemies, who attacked him at dawn; he placed five hundred men who had armor, around the remainder (three thousand men) who had none; but this availed them not; they were on the point of being forced down the cliffs when Scipio appeared. The Carthaginians, who expected him, fell back a little, and he lost no time in taking off Mancinus and his companions in peril.

On his taking the command, finding extreme laxity of discipline and disorder in the army, in consequence of the negligence of Piso, Scipio called an assembly, and having upbraided the soldiers with their conduct, declared his reso-

* The lawful age for the consulate at this time was forty-three years, and Scipio was only thirty-eight.

lution of maintaining strict discipline; he ordered all sutlers, camp-followers, and other useless and pernicious people to quit the camp, which he now moved to within a little distance of Carthage. The Carthaginians also formed a camp about half a mile from their walls, which Hasdrubal entered at the head of 6000 foot and 1000 horse, all seasoned troops.

When Scipio thought the discipline of his men sufficiently revived, he resolved to attempt a night-attack on the Megara; but being perceived by the defenders, the Romans could not scale the walls. Scipio then observing a turret (probably a garden one) which belonged to some private person, and was close to the wall, and of the same height with it, made some of his men ascend it. These drove down with their missiles those on the walls opposite them, and then laying planks and boards across got on the wall, and jumping down opened a gate to admit Scipio, who entered with four thousand men. The Punic soldiers fled to the Byrsa, thinking that the rest of the town was taken, and those in the camp hearing the tumult ran thither also; but Scipio, finding the Megara full of gardens, with trees and hedges and ditches filled with water, and therefore unsafe for an invader, withdrew his men and went back to his camp. In the morning Hasdrubal, to satiate his rage, took what Roman prisoners he had, and placing them on the walls in sight of the Roman camp, mutilated them in a most horrible manner, and then flung them down from the lofty battlements. When the senate blamed him for it, he put some of them to death, and he made himself in effect the tyrant of the city.

Scipio, having taken and burnt the deserted camp of the enemy, formed a camp within a dart's cast of their wall, running from sea to sea across the isthmus, and strongly fortified on all sides. By this means he cut them off from the land; and as the only way in which provisions could now be brought into the city was by sea, when vessels, taking advantage of winds that drove off the Roman ships, ran into the harbor, he resolved to stop up its mouth by a mole. He commenced from the belt, forming the mole of great breadth and with huge stones. The besieged at first mocked at the efforts of the Romans; but when they saw how rapidly the work advanced they became alarmed, and instantly set about digging another passage out of the port into the open sea; they at the same time built ships out of the old materials; and they wrought so constantly and so secretly, that the Romans at length saw all their plans frustrated, a new entrance

opened to the harbor, and a fleet of fifty ships of war and a great number of smaller vessels issue from it. Had their evil destiny now allowed the Carthaginians to take advantage of their consternation and fall at once on their fleet, which was utterly unprepared, they might have destroyed it; but they contented themselves with a bravado, and then returned to port. On the third day the two fleets engaged from morn till eve with various success. The small vessels of the enemy annoyed the Romans very much in the action; but in the retreat they got ahead of their own ships, and blocking up the mouth of the harbor, obliged them to range themselves along a quay which had been made without the walls for the landing of goods, whither the Roman ships followed them and did them much mischief. During the night they got into port, but in the morning Scipio resolved to try to effect a lodgement on the quay which was so close to the port. He assailed the works that were on it with rams, and threw down a part of them; but in the night the Carthaginians came, some swimming, some wading through the water, having combustibles with them, to which they set fire when near the machines, and thus burnt them. They then repaired the works; but Scipio finally succeeded in fixing a corps of four thousand men on the quay.

During the winter Scipio took by storm the Punic camp before Nepheris, and that town surrendered after a siege of twenty-two days. As it was from Nepheris that Carthage almost entirely received its supplies, they now failed, and famine was severely felt.

When the spring came (606) Scipio made a vigorous attack on the port of Cothon. Hasdrubal during the night set fire to the square side of it, expecting the attack to be made in the same place in the morning; but Lælius secretly entered the round part* on the other side of the port, and the attention of the enemy being wholly directed to the square part, he easily made himself master of it. Scipio then advanced to the market, where he kept his men under arms during the night. In the morning he proceeded to attack the Byrsa, whither most of the people had fled for refuge. Three streets of houses, six stories high, led to this citadel from the market; the Romans, as they attempted to penetrate them, finding themselves assailed by missiles from the roofs, burst

* It would appear from this that the wall on one side of the Cothon was rectangular, circular on the other.

into the first houses, and mounting to the roofs, proceeded along them, slaying and flinging down the defenders; others meantime forced their way along the streets; weapons flew in all directions; the groans of the wounded and dying, the shrieks of women and children, the shouts of the victors, filled the air. At length the troops emerged before the Byrsa, and then Scipio gave orders to fire the town behind them. Old men, women, and children, driven by the flames from their hiding-places, became their victims; every form of horror and misery displayed itself. During six days devastation spread around; on the seventh a deputation from the Byrsa, bearing supplicatory wreaths from the temple of Æsculapius, came to Scipio offering a surrender, on condition to all except the deserters; they came out fifty thousand in number, men and women; the deserters, of whom there were nine hundred, retired with Hasdrubal to the Æsculapium, which being on a lofty, precipitous site, they easily defended till they were overcome by fatigue, want of rest, and hunger. They then retired into the temple, where Hasdrubal stole away from them and became a suppliant to Scipio. The Roman general made him sit at his feet in their sight; they reviled and abused him as a coward and traitor, and then setting fire to the temple all perished in the flames. It is said that the wife of Hasdrubal, whom with her two children he had left in the temple, advanced arrayed in her best garments in front of Scipio while the temple was burning, and cried out, "I blame not thee, O Roman, who hast warred against an enemy, but that Hasdrubal, a traitor to me, his children, his country and her temples, whom may the gods of Carthage and thou with them punish!" Then turning to Hasdrubal, "O wretched, faithless, and most cowardly of men, these flames will consume me and my children; but what a triumph wilt thou adorn, thou, the general of mighty Carthage, and what punishment wilt thou not undergo from him before whom thou art sitting!" So saying, she slew her children, and cast them and herself into the flames.*

It is also said, that when Scipio surveyed the ruin of this mighty city, which had stood for seven hundred years, had abounded in wealth, had spread her commerce far and wide,

* This must be a fable. Why would Hasdrubal's wife rather perish with Roman deserters than be saved with her husband and her fellow-citizens?

had reduced so many countries and peoples, and made Rome tremble for her existence, he could not refrain from tears, and he repeated these lines of Homer :

“The day will come when sacred Troy will fall,
And Priam, and strong-speared Priam's people.” *

When Polybius, who was present, asked what he meant, he owned that he had his country in view, for which he feared the vicissitudes of all things human.

Scipio allowed his soldiers to plunder the town for a certain number of days, with the reservation of the gold, the silver, and the ornaments of the temples; and he sent to Sicily, desiring those towns from whom the Carthaginians had taken any of these last, to send to receive them. He despatched his swiftest ship to Rome with the account of the capture of Carthage, where the tidings produced the most unbounded joy. Ten commissioners were sent out forthwith to join with Scipio in regulating the affairs of Africa. What remained of Carthage was levelled, and heavy curses pronounced on any one who should attempt to rebuild it; all the towns which had adhered faithfully to it were treated in a similar manner; those which had joined Rome, particularly Utica, were rewarded with increase of territory. Africa was reduced to a province, a land and poll-tax imposed, and a prætor was sent out every year from Rome to govern it. Scipio triumphed on his return, (606,) and he was henceforth named *Africânus*.

In the first year of the war against Carthage (603) a man named *Andriscus*, who pretended to be a son of king *Perseus*, assumed the name of *Philip*, and induced the *Macedonians* to acknowledge him as their king. He invaded *Thessaly*, but was defeated by *Scipio Nasica*, and the *Achaïans*. *Scipio's* successor, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalma*, brought more troops with him from Italy, (604,) but he lost the greater part of them and his own life in attempting to penetrate into *Macedonia*, and *Andriscus* reëntered *Thessaly*; *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, however, drove him out of it, defeated him in *Macedonia*, and afterwards in *Thrace*, by one of whose princes he was given up to the Romans

* * Ἐσπεται ἡμας, ὅταν ποτ' ἀλώγη ἡ Γλιος Ἰσρί,
Καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς ἱϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο. II. vi. 448.

In like manner *Mohammed II.*, when he entered the palace of the *Cæsars* in *Constantinople* after the capture of that town, repeated a passage of *Ferdousi*, the *Homer of Persia*, to a similar effect,

Another impostor then appeared, who called himself Alexander; but Metellus forced him to seek refuge in Dardania. Metellus triumphed, (606,) and received the title of Macedonicus, and Macedonia was made a province.

Urged by their evil genius the Achaean League now (606) ventured to measure their strength with Rome; but one army was defeated by Metellus, and another by the consul L. Mummius. Corinth was taken and burnt; Thebes and Chalcis were razed; and Greece, under the name of Achaia, was reduced to a province. Mummius took the title of Achaicus, and triumphed, (607,) displaying on this occasion a vast number of the finest pictures and statues, the plunder of Corinth.

CHAPTER IX.*

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. — WAR WITH THE LUSITANIANS. — TREACHERY OF LUCULIUS. — VIRIATHIAN WAR. — MURDER OF VIRIATHUS. — NUMANTINE WAR. — CAPTURE OF NUMANTIA. — SERVILE WAR IN SICILY. — FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ROME. — GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES. — THE PUBLICANS. — ROMAN SUPERSTITION. — ROMAN LITERATURE.

THE hardy tribes of Spain alone now offered resistance to the Roman arms. We will therefore cast a glance at the affairs of that country since the time of the Hannibalian war.

After the departure of Africânus, (547,) Indibilis and Mandonius excited their people to war, but they were defeated by the Romans; the former was slain, and the latter given up by his own people. In 555 a new war broke out, in which the proconsul C. Sempronius Tuditânus was defeated and slain. The prætor Q. Minucius gained some advantages in 557, but it still was found expedient to assign Spain as the province of M. Porcius Cato, one of the consuls of this year. Cato, soon after his arrival, defeated a large army of the natives, and he then had recourse to the following stratagem. When deputations came to him from the several

* Appiar's *Iberica* is the principal authority for this chapter.

owns, he as usual demanded hostages, and sent sealed letters to each, directing them, under pain of slavery in case of delay, to throw down their walls. These letters he took care should all arrive on the same day; there was consequently no time for deliberation; each thought itself alone interested, his commands were every where obeyed; and the whole country thus reduced to tranquillity. Cato then put the silver and iron mines on an advantageous footing for the state, and he triumphed on his return the following year. Spain was now divided into two provinces, named Citerior and Ulterior with respect to the river Ebro.

The restless temper of the natives, and the ambition and cupidity of the Roman generals, would not however allow of permanent tranquillity, and hardly a year passed without fighting. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, when prætor in Spain, (572,) arranged the relations between the Romans and the native population in a manner which gained him general applause. By one of his regulations, the Spaniards were bound not to build any more towns; when therefore the Celtiberians of Segêda increased the compass of their walls, and removed the people of the smaller towns to it, the senate sent to forbid them, and as they did not comply with the demands made on them, the consul Q. Fulvius Nobilior led an army against them, (599;) but the advantage in the campaign was on the side of the Celtiberians. The consul of the next year, (600,) M. Claudius Marcellus, when the senate had refused the Celtiberians peace, attacked and reduced them to submission. His successor, L. Licinius Lucullus, (601,) though the country was tranquil, would not be balked of his hopes of fame and booty. He crossed the Tagus, and; without any pretext, entering the Vaccæan territory; laid siege to the town of Cauca, (Coca;) and the people thus wantonly attacked were obliged to give hostages and one hundred talents of money, and to send their horse to serve with him. He then required them to receive a garrison; and on their consenting, he put two thousand of his best troops into the town, with directions to occupy the walls. When they had done so, he led in the rest of his army, and gave the signal for a general massacre of the male population, and of twenty thousand souls but a few escaped; he then plundered the town. After this vile piece of treachery he advanced through a country which the inhabitants had purposely laid waste and sat down before a town named Intercætia; whence, after the army had suffered severely from hardship, want of neces-

saries, and the incessant attacks of the enemy, he was glad, through the mediation of his legate Scipio, (the future conqueror of Carthage,) — for the people would not trust himself, — to retire, on receiving hostages, a certain number of cattle, and ten thousand cloaks (*sagæ*) for his soldiers. Gold and silver, which he chiefly coveted, they had not to give. He then went to winter in Turditania. The historian remarks that he never was brought to trial at home for thus warring on his own account.

Meantime the Lusitanians, one of the independent tribes of the peninsula, had ravaged the lands of the subjects of Rome, and defeated the prætors, M. Manilius and L. Calpurnius Piso, and the quæstor C. Terentius Varro. They afterwards defeated L. Mummius, the future conqueror of Greece, who had taken the command. The Lusitanians south of the Tagus now shared in the war; a part of their forces crossed over to ravage Africa, while another part besieged a town named Ocila; but Mummius fell on them and routed them with great slaughter, by which he gained the glory of a triumph. His successor, M. Atilius Serranus, reduced a part of them to submission; but when he went into winter quarters, they rose again and laid siege to some of the subject towns. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the successor of Atilius, coming to the relief of one of these towns, was defeated, with the loss of seven thousand men, and was forced to fly.

This was at the time Lucullus was in Spain; and in the spring (602) he and Galba simultaneously attacked the Lusitanians, the former in the south, the latter in the north. Lucullus, having fallen on and cut to pieces those who were returning from Africa, entered Lusitania and laid a part of it waste. Galba invaded the country on the north; and when some of the tribes sent embassies to him, proposing to renew the peace made with Atilius, which they had broken, he received them kindly, affecting to pity them, laying the whole blame of their predatory habits on the poverty of their soil, and offering to give them, as his friends, abundance of fertile land. The simple people gladly embraced the offer, and leaving their mountains came down to the plains which he pointed out to them. These were in three several places; and he directed each portion of them to remain there till he came to regulate them. Then coming to the first, he desired them as friends to put away their arms; when they had done so, he raised a rampart and ditch about them, (their future town as it were,) and sending in a party of soldiers armed

with swords massacred all who were in it. He did the same at the other two places, and but a few escaped being the victims of this detestable piece of treachery.*

About ten thousand of those who had escaped from Lucullus and Galba assembled the next year (603) and invaded Turditania. The prætor C. Vetilius marched against them, and succeeded in driving them into a position where, to all appearance, they must either perish by hunger or face the Roman sword. They sent to sue for lands, offering to become Roman subjects. Vetilius consented to their request; but Viriäthus, one of those who had escaped from Galba, reminding them of Roman treachery, bade them beware, and pledged himself to extricate them if they would be guided by him. They chose him general on the spot; he drew them up in line of battle, directing them to scatter when they saw him mount his horse, and make as best they could for the town of Tribula. All was done accordingly; Viriäthus remained at the head of one thousand horse. Vetilius feared to divide his troops to pursue the fugitives; Viriäthus kept the Romans occupied the whole of that day and the next, and then by ways with which he was well acquainted rejoined his men at Tribula. This stratagem gained him great fame among his countrymen, and his army was speedily augmented. When Vetilius soon after came against Tribula, the Lusitanian laid an ambush, and slew the prætor himself and nearly half his army.

By his accurate knowledge of the country, by his military skill and fertility in resources, and by possessing the confidence and affections of the native tribes, Viriäthus succeeded during five years in baffling or defeating all the Roman generals sent against him.

At length (607) the senate, Carthage and Greece being now reduced, resolved to prosecute with vigor the Lusitanian war, which had assumed a formidable appearance. It was therefore committed to the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Æmiliänus, the son of Æmilius Paulus, and brother of the conqueror of Carthage. As the troops which he brought out were mostly composed of raw recruits, he avoided giving battle for a long time; at length he engaged and defeated

* Galba was prosecuted for this conduct by the tribune L. Scribonius, aided by M. Porcius Cato, now in his 55th year. He escaped by appealing to the compassion of the people, producing his young children to move their pity. Cruelty and meanness often go together (Cic. Orat. i. 53.)

Viriathus, and took two Lusitanian towns. Viriathus however succeeded in gaining over to his side the greater part of the Celtiberian tribes, and he still harassed incessantly the Roman subjects. In 610 the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the adoptive brother of Æmilianus, came out, bringing with him eighteen thousand foot and one thousand six hundred horse. He sent to Micipsa, of Numidia for elephants, and when they arrived he advanced against Viriathus, and defeated him; but the Lusitanian, seeing the Romans scattered in the pursuit, turned back, and having killed three thousand, drove the rest into their camp, which he would have stormed but that night came on. By making attacks in the night or during the heat of the day, he so worried and harassed the Roman army that he at length forced them to retreat to the town of Itucca, whither he pursued them; but want of supplies and loss of men obliged him to return to Lusitania. Servilianus then again invaded that country; but as he was besieging a place named Erisane, Viriathus, who had entered the town by night, headed a sally in the morning, drove off those who were digging the trench, attacked the rest of the army, and chased it into a position whence there was no escape. The Lusitanian used his advantage nobly and moderately; he proposed a peace, on the terms of his being recognized as a friend of Rome, and all those whom he commanded being secured in the possession of their territory. The consul gladly accepted these terms, peace was concluded, and the senate and people of Rome confirmed it.

But Cn. Servilius Cæpio, the brother and successor of Servilianus, (611,) was by no means pleased at losing his chance of fame and plunder. He wrote home describing the peace as highly disgraceful to Rome. The senate gave him leave to harass and provoke Viriathus in secret; but this did not content him, and on his repeated instances he received permission to make war openly. He came up with the army of Viriathus, far inferior in number, in Carpetania. The Lusitanian, not venturing to engage him, drew up his horse on an eminence, and sent off the rest of his troops by a deep glen; and when he thought them in safety he rode after them, in the presence of Cæpio, with such speed as to baffle pursuit. Some time after, however, he sent three of his friends to propose a peace: but the unworthy Roman, by gifts and promises, prevailed on them to engage to assassinate their chief. It was Viriathus' cus-

to sleep in his armor, but his officers had free access to his tent at all hours. The traitors took advantage of this, and going in just as he had fallen asleep, killed him with one blow, they then fled to Cæpio to claim their reward, and he sent them to Rome to claim it there.

The Lusitanians deeply mourned their valiant, able, and noble-minded leader, and celebrated his obsequies with all the pomp and magnificence in use among them. They appointed a chief named Tantalus to take his place; but Viriathus was not to be replaced, and they were obliged to submit to Cæpio, give up their arms, and take the land he assigned them.

The war which Viriathus had kindled in Citerior Spain now drew the attention of the Romans. The chief seat of this war was the city of Numantia, which lay in the present Old Castile. It was built on a steep hill of moderate height, being accessible only on one side; the river Durius (Douro) and another stream ran by it, and it was surrounded by woods. It contained, it is said, only eight thousand fighting men, but these were all first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot. Fulvius Nobilior, in the year 599, had first wantonly attacked Numantia; Marcellus and Lucullus also turned their arms and arts against the Numantines, who therefore readily entered into an alliance with the Lusitanian hero. In the year 612, Q. Pompeius, (the first consul of his name,) having received from his predecessor L. Metellus Macedonicus,* a well-disciplined army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, laid siege to Numantia; but he met with nothing but disgrace and defeat; his army was attacked by disease, and he was forced to disperse it through the towns for the winter. Wishing to end the war before his successor should come out in the spring, he entered into secret negotiations with the Numantines, who were extremely desirous of peace, and at his suggestion they sent an embassy to him. In public he demanded unconditional submission, as alone worthy of Rome; in private he declared he would be satisfied if they gave hostages and

* This was one of the best men Rome ever produced. As he was besieging in this war the town of Nertobriga, the people, to punish one of their citizens who had gone over to the Romans, exposed his children to the battering rams. The father cried out not to heed them, but the generous Metellus gave up the siege, sooner than injure them. The fame of this humane act caused many towns to surrender. Flor. ii. 17. Val. Max. v. 1, 5

thirty talents in money, and delivered up the prisoners and deserters. They agreed, and all was concluded except the payment of a part of the money, when M. Popillius Lænas came out to take the command. Pompeius then turned round and denied having made any convention with them; they appealed to his own officers who were present. Popilius sent them to Rome, and the senate having heard them and Pompeius, sent orders to Popillius to prosecute the war. He accordingly commenced operations against Numantia, but he was utterly defeated by its gallant defenders.

In 615, the consul C. Hostilius Mancinus appeared before Numantia, but in every encounter he was worsted; and on a false report of the approach of the Cantabrians and Vaccæans to relieve the town, he fled in the night, and took refuge in the old camp left by Nobilior: here he was surrounded by the Numantines, and no chance appearing of escape, he sent to propose a peace. The Numantines would only treat with his quæstor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, the son of him who had regulated the state of Spain, and Gracchus succeeded in concluding an honorable peace, and thus saving a Roman army of twenty thousand men. But at Rome this treaty caused high displeasure; some were for giving up to the enemy all concerned in it, as had been done at the Caudine Forks; but the influence of Gracchus' friends prevailed, and it was thought sufficient to deliver up the general Mancinus, who offered himself a voluntary victim; was taken by his successor P. Furius, and handed over naked and in bonds to the Numantines; but, like Pontius, they refused to receive him.

During this time Mancinus' colleague, M. Æmilius Lepidus, not to be idle, made war of himself on the Vaccæans, under the pretext of their having supplied provisions to the Numantines, and he laid siege to their chief town Pallantia. The senate, loath to engage in a new war at this time, sent out to stop him; but he wrote to say that he knew the real state of things better than they, and that all Spain would rise if the Romans showed any symptoms of fear. He then went on with the war; but his hopes of glory and booty were foully disappointed; after a great loss of men and beasts he was obliged to raise the siege and fly in the night, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. The people of Rome deprived him of his office, and fined him heavily. It is not quite certain that such would have been the case if

he had been victorious. The consul Q. Calpurnius Piso (617) did not venture to engage the Numantines, contenting himself with plundering the lands of Pallantia.

It was now become evident that the Numantine war demanded Rome's ablest general; the people therefore resolved to raise Scipio Africânus a second time to the consulate for this purpose, (618,) the law forbidding any one to be consul a second time being suspended in his favor. As there were so many troops already in Spain, no legions were raised, but the name of Scipio brought together about four thousand volunteers; and giving the charge of them to his brother Fabius Maximus, he passed over himself at once to Spain. Here he found the army in such a state of demoralization, that nothing could be undertaken till its discipline was restored. He forthwith gave orders for all sutlers, harlots, diviners and priests, (for ill success had as usual produced superstition,) to quit the camp. He directed all the needless wagons and beasts of burden to be sold; forbade the soldiers to have any cooking utensils but a spit and a brass pot, or to use any food but plain roast and boiled meat, or to have more than one drinking-cup; he also obliged them to sleep on the ground, himself setting them the example. By various regulations of this kind, he got the troops into good order, and having seasoned them by marches and countermarches, making them dig trenches and fill them up again, raise walls and throw them down, he led them into the Vaccæan territory, whence the Numantines drew their chief supplies, and laid it waste, and then took up his winter quarters in that of Numantia. While here he was joined by Jugurtha, the nephew of Micipsa king of Numidia, with twelve elephants and a body of horse and light troops.

In the spring (619) Scipio formed two camps in the vicinity of Numantia under himself and his brother. His plan being to starve the town, he refused all offers of battle; he divided his army into different portions, and raised ramparts and towers round the town, except where it was washed by the Durus; and to prevent provisions or intelligence being conveyed in by boats or by divers, he placed guards on the river above and below, and from these stations he let long beams of timber, armed with swords and darts and fastened by ropes to the shore, float along the stream, which being very rapid kept whirling them round and round, so that

nothing could pass. The works round the town were six miles in circuit, those of the town being three miles; and the besieging army counted sixty thousand men.

The Numantines made several gallant but fruitless attacks on the Roman works. Hunger began to be felt, and all communication with their friends was cut off. A man named Retogenes, we are told, having engaged five of his friends to join in the attempt, they went one dark night, each with his horse and a servant, up to the Roman works, with a ladder made for the purpose. Having ascended, they fell on and slew the guards on each side, and then getting up their horses,* they sent back their servants, and mounted and rode to solicit the Druacians to aid their kinsmen of Numantia; but their terror of the Romans was too great to allow them. The Numantines then went to a town named Lutia: here the young men were for giving aid, but the elders sent secretly to inform Scipio. It was the eighth hour when the word came; he collected what troops he wanted, and though the distance was forty miles he reached Lutia by dawn. He demanded the principal of the youth; he was told they were gone away; he threatened to plunder the town if they were not produced; they were then brought, to the number of four hundred; he cut off their hands, left the town, and at dawn next day reëntered his camp.

The Numantines hopeless of relief, now sent five deputies, offering to surrender if they could obtain moderate terms. The unfeeling Roman would grant no conditions: the Numantines would not yet surrender at discretion. But the famine grew sorer every day; they ate leather and other nauseous substances, and even, it is said, began to feed on human flesh. They sent once more to Scipio; he desired them to give up their arms on that day, and repair on the next to a certain place. They asked a respite of one day, and in that time their leading men put an end to themselves. On the third day a miserable remnant came forth; Scipio selected fifty to adorn his triumph, the rest he sold for slaves; † he then levelled the town, and divided its territory among its neighbors. He triumphed on his return, and was named Numanticus. Little, however, on this occasion was the real glory of Scipio or of Rome. An army of sixty

* If this story be true, the ladder must have been broad and boarded, so that the horses could walk up it.

† According to Florus and Orosius, all the Numantines put an end to themselves, after burning their arms, goods, and houses.

thousand men starved out one of four thousand, to whom they would give no opportunity of fighting: a people who had generously granted life and liberty to twenty thousand Romans, were attacked, in breach of a solemn treaty, and destroyed, because they maintained their liberty.

In the year 614 the consul D. Junius Brutus had entered Lusitania, and having subdued the country south of the Durus, he crossed that river and advanced to the Minius, (Minho,) which he also passed, (616:) he made war successfully on the Callæci, who dwelt to the north of it, and obtained the title of Callæicus.

The year after the capture of Numantia the consul P. Rupilius terminated a war which had been going on for some years in Sicily. It had thus originated.*

In this fertile island, the wealthy natives, and the Roman speculators who had made purchases in it, were in possession of large tracts of land. As the cheapest mode of cultivating them, they bought whole droves of slaves at the various slave-marts, whom they branded and placed on their estates. These men, who seem to have been mostly Asiatics, were treated with great cruelty, and so stinted in food that they used to go out in gangs, (it is added, with their masters' permission,) and rob on the highways, and even attack and plunder the villages; and the influence of their masters was so great at Rome that the prætors did not venture to suppress this disorder. The slaves thus got union and a kind of discipline: they learned their own strength, and began to form plots.

Among the slaves was a Syrian named Eunûs, who affected to be inspired by the Syrian goddess: by various juggling tricks he attained great repute among his fellows, and he publicly declared himself destined to be a king. A wealthy Sicilian named Damophilus, who resided at Enna, treated his slaves with remarkable rigor, and his wife equalled him in cruelty; their wretched slaves therefore formed a plot to murder them; but they previously resolved to consult the prophet. Eunûs promised them success; they placed him at their head, and to the number of four hundred entered Enna, where they were joined by their fellow-slaves, and committed excesses of all kinds. Damophilus and his wife were seized and brought before their tribunal; as he was pleading for his life two of the slaves

* Diodorus, xxxiv. Florus, iii. 19.

fell on and slew him; his wife was given up to her female slaves, who, when they had tortured her, cast her down a precipice; but their daughter, who had always been kind and humane to the slaves, was treated with the utmost consideration, and sent, under the escort of some whose honor and fidelity could be relied on, to her relations at Catana.*

Eunûs now assumed royalty. In three days he had an army of six thousand men, armed with axes, scythes, spits, etc.; it gradually increased to beyond ten thousand; he defeated the troops of the prætor P. Manilius, (616); and the same fate befell P. Lentulus the following year. A Cilician slave named Cleôn, in imitation of Eunûs, put himself at the head of another body of slaves, and plundered Agrigentum and its territory. It was expected that these leaders would turn their arms against each other; but, on the contrary, Cleôn placed himself under the command of Eunûs, and their forces at length, it is said, increased to 200,000 men.

The prætor L. Plautius Hypsæus was defeated by the rebels, (618,) and the consul C. Fulvius Flaccus met with little success; the next consul, L. Calpurnius Piso, defeated them before Messâna, and his successor, P. Rupilius, (620,) ended the war, their strongholds, Tauromenium and Enna, being betrayed to him: numbers of the rebels were slain in battle or crucified; Cleôn fell fighting like a hero; Eunûs was made a prisoner, and he expired in a dungeon at Murgentia.

WE will conclude this Part by a few observations on the foreign policy and government of the Romans at this time, and the state of their literature.

It was always Rome's policy to form alliances, if possible, with the neighbors, or natural enemies as they are called, of any state with which she was at war. We thus find that in 479 a Roman embassy appeared at Alexandria in Egypt, and concluded an alliance with Ptolemæus Philadelphus, the object of which was a joint war against Pyrrhus, who was now become formidable; but the death of that prince the following year made the treaty of no effect. The feeble

* What was Scipio's boasted virtue to this?

successors of the Egyptian king continued to regard the Romans as their protectors, and the year 586 offers a remarkable instance of the Roman influence. Antiochus Epiphanes had invaded Egypt; Rome was applied to; an embassy, headed by M. Popilius Lænas, came out. Antiochus offered his hand to Popilius, who declined it, till the king should have read the letter of the senate, ordering him out of Egypt. Having perused it, he said he would advise with his friends. Popilius, drawing a circle round him with a wand, desired him not to leave it till he had given him a reply. The king then said that he would obey the senate, and the haughty envoy at length condescended to give him his hand.

The kings of Pergamus and Bithynia were the obedient slaves of the Roman senate, who employed them against the kings of Macedonia and Syria; and as, lion-like, Rome always gave her jackals a share of the prey, their dominions were augmented by her victories. The meanness of Prusias of Bithynia was unparalleled; he styled himself the freedman of the Romans, and would go out to meet their ambassadors with a shaven head and the freedman's cap, (*pilcus*), as being just emancipated. Attalus III. of Pergamus, dying (619) without issue, left his kingdom to the Roman people.*

Such portions of their conquests as they did not leave with their rightful owners, or give away, the Romans reduced to provinces, which were governed by those who had borne the offices of consul and prætor at Rome. The power of these Roman governors was nearly as despotic as that of the Turkish pashas, and they but too often plundered the unhappy provincials in a dreadful manner; the conduct of the infamous Verres, as detailed by Cicero in his pleadings against him, though an extreme case, will show to what lengths robbery and extortion might be, and sometimes were, carried by Roman prætors and proconsuls. What augmented the evil was, that the office of governor was annual, and each governor was attended by a *cohort* of officers, friends, and dependents, who had to make *their* fortunes also, so that (though the command was sometimes prolonged,) the provinces had every year to expect a new swarm of bloodsuckers to feed on them. These governments were, in fact, the chief objects of ambition among the Roman nobility,

* Mithridates, in his letter to Arsaces, (Sallust, *Fragm.*) says that the will was a forgery.

who looked forward to them as the sources of wealth and fame; for besides robbing those whom they were sent to protect, it was easy for them to pick a quarrel with some neighboring tribe or nation, slaughter a few thousands of them, and thence acquire plunder, and, on their return home, the honor of a triumph. The only remedy the provincials had, when oppressed, was a prosecution for extortion, (*rerum repetundarum*,) which they always found some one at Rome ready to undertake; but this was in general but poor satisfaction, and the dread of it often caused the robbery to be the greater, as the plunderers had to get the means of bribing their judges and advocates; thus Verres, who had pillaged Sicily for three years, declared that he would be content if he could keep the plunder of but one year.*

Another great source of misery to the subjects was the Roman custom of farming out all the revenues of the state. There was a large body of capitalists at Rome, chiefly consisting of the equestrian order, divided into companies, who took all the government contracts, farmed all the revenues, and lent their money on high interest at Rome, on exorbitant interest in the provinces. They were named Publicans, (*Publicani*), as farming the *public* revenues: their wealth gave them such influence at Rome that they could dispose of political power as they pleased; and between exorbitant interest for their money (we find most respectable men charging 48 per cent.) and excessive tolls and customs, they ground down, and alienated and exasperated the minds of the provincials. Even in the year 585 the senate, when regulating Macedonia, declared that the gold and silver mines should not be wrought, or the domain-lands let, because it could not be done without the publicans, "and where there is a publican," said they, "the public right is vain, or the liberty of the allies is nought."†

In the internal condition of the Roman state at this period we have to observe the absence of all civil commotions, the

* Another evil were the Free Legations. When a man of rank had any private business to transact in the provinces, he applied to the senate for a free legation, as it was called, that is, to be appointed a supernumerary or unattached legate (as we may term it) to the governor of the province. He was thus invested with a public character, and entitled to make demands on the subjects for lodging, &c. at free cost; and this was easily converted into a means of plunder and extortion.

† Liv. xlv. 18.

foreign wars which prevailed all through t giving ample employment for all orders of the people; but the lower orders, by constant service abroad, gradually lost the character of the simple rustic plebeian in that of the soldier; and the generals, to gain the votes of the troops at elections, acquired the pernicious habit of seeking to win their favor by gifts and by the relaxation of discipline; whence in the later wars of this time we find the Roman arms unfortunate, till a Scipio or an Æmilius Paulus comes to restore discipline.

The superstition of the Romans at this time is also deserving of notice. Every year, as regular as the election of magistrates, is the expiation of prodigies, such as temples, walls, and gates being struck with lightning, showers of stones, milk, or blood, oxen or babes in the womb speaking, lambs yeaned with two heads, cocks turned into hens, and *vice versâ*, mice gnawing gold, etc. etc.; to obviate the ill effects of which, victims were slain and supplications offered to the gods by orders of the senate; partly, it is probable, merely in compliance with the popular superstition, in part also from their sharing in it.

Rome at this time began to form the literature which has come down to us; but unfortunately, instead of being national and original, it was imitative and borrowed, consisting chiefly of translations from the Greek. In the year after the end of the first Punic war, (512,) L. Livius Andronicus, an Italian Greek by birth, represented his first play at Rome. His pieces were taken from the Greek; and he also translated the *Odyssey* out of that language into Latin. Cn. Nævius, a native of Campania, also made plays from the Greek,* and he wrote an original poem on the first Punic war, in which he had himself borne arms. These poets used the Latin measures in their verse; but Q. Ennius, from Rudia in Calabria, who is usually called the Father of Roman poetry, was the first who introduced the Greek metres into the Latin language. His works were numerous tragedies and comedies, (from the Greek,) satires, and his celebrated *Annals*, or poetic history of Rome, in hexameters, the loss of which, (at least of the early books) is to be lamented. M. Accius Plautus, an Umbrian, and Cæcilius Statius, an

* A translation of the Greek poem, the *Cypria*, is also ascribed to him; but it would seem without reason, as the fragments of it are hexameters. The name of the real author is said to have been Lævius

Insubrian Gaul, composed numerous comedies, freely imitated from the Greek. M. Pacuvius of Brundisium, the nephew of Ennius, made tragedies from the Greek; L. Afranius was regarded as the Menander of Rome; and P. Terentius, (Terence,) a Carthaginian by birth, gave some beautiful translations of the comedies of Menander and Apollodôrus. None of these poets but Plautus and Terence have reached us, except in fragments; the former amuses us with his humor, and gives us occasional views of Roman manners, while we are charmed with the graceful elegance of the latter. It is remarkable that not one of these poets was a Roman. In fact Rome has never produced a poet.

Q. Fabius Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, A. Postumius Albinus, M. Porcius Cato, and Cassius Hemina wrote histories (the first three in Greek) in a brief, dry, unattractive style. Cincius also wrote on constitutional antiquities, and seems to have been a man of research; and a work of Cato's on husbandry has come down to us, which we could well spare for his *Origines*, or early history of Italy.

THE
HISTORY OF ROME.

PART IV.*

THE REPUBLIC.
CONQUEST OF THE EAST, AND DOWNFALL
OF THE CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.†

STATE OF THINGS AT ROME. — TIBERIUS GRACCHUS : — HIS TRIBUNATE AND LAWS : — HIS DEATH. — DEATH OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS. — CAIUS GRACCHUS : — HIS TRIBUNATES AND LAWS : — HIS DEATH. — THE GRACCHI, AND THEIR MEASURES. — INSOLENCE AND CRUELTY OF THE OLIGARCHS. — CONQUESTS IN ASIA AND GAUL.

HITHERTO we have seen the Romans, in consequence of their admirable civil and military institutions, advancing from conquest to conquest, till no power remained able to contend with them for the mastery ; and, though their conduct was far from according with justice and the rigid rule of right, the wisdom and energy of their measures must

* There is no consecutive history of this period but the epitome of Livy and those of Eutropius and others, and the agreeable sketch of the ingenious but prejudiced Velleius. Appian's Civil Wars gives the internal history ; and from the year 683 we have the continuous narrative of Dion Cassius. The works of Cicero also furnish many particulars, and there are Lives of all the great men of this period by Plutarch.

† Appian, B. C. i. 1—27. Velleius, ii. 1—7. Plut., T. J. and C. Gracchus

command our applause. Internal tranquillity had also prevailed during this period of glory, and all orders in the state had acted together in harmony. The scene now changes. Henceforth the foreign wars become of comparatively little account, while internal commotions succeed one another almost without intermission; liberty is lost in the unhallowed contests, and anarchy brings forth its legitimate offspring, despotism. The progress to this consummation we will now endeavor to trace.

The political state of Rome at this time was such as is most unfavorable to the maintenance of liberty. The people, who had the power of bestowing all the great and lucrative offices in the state were poor, while a portion of the nobility were immensely rich. There were thus an oligarchy and a democracy together in the state, and unless this condition of things could be changed there must be an end of the constitution.

We have above shown one of the modes in which the Roman nobles acquired wealth, namely, by the oppression of the provinces. They had also been large purchasers of land in the sales of its domain made by the state; and as, on account of the constant wars in which Rome had been engaged since she had made the conquest of Italy, the vast tracks of public land which had been acquired remained mostly unassigned, they were occupied by the men of wealth. Had they, in conformity with the Licinian law, employed free laborers on these lands the evil had been less; but the victories of the Roman people had filled the market with slaves, and the great landholders, finding that the work of slaves would come cheaper than that of freemen, who were moreover always liable to be draughted for the army, purchased large numbers of them, whom they kept in workhouses (*ergastula*) badly fed and hardly treated, and forced to labor in fetters on their lands. These men were not, like the negroes, an inferior race; they were Gauls, Spaniards, Ligurians, Asiatics, and other intelligent or energetic portions of the human family. They had known the blessings of freedom, and, as the late events in Sicily had shown, they might endanger the state by a revolt.

On the other hand, the frugal independent yeomanry, which in the good times had formed the pride and the strength of Rome, was greatly diminished, and at the same time was debased and corrupted. Engaged in distant service they were kept for years away from their farms, and

frequently on his return the soldier found that his family had been driven from their cottage by some wealthy neighbor who coveted their spot of land, and justice could not always be obtained against him. Or, having lost all relish for a life of frugal and laborious industry, they were easily induced to sell their little patrimony for what they could get, and then settled at Rome, living as they could, and selling their votes, or else they adopted a military life altogether.

This state of things caused great apprehension to the prudent and patriotic, who could discern no remedy but a return to the provisions of the Licinian law; and Lælius, the friend of the conqueror of Carthage, had in his tribunate contemplated some measure of this kind, but he desisted when he saw the opposition which the nobility were prepared to give, and hence it is said he acquired his title of *Sapiens*, i. e. *wise* or *prudent*. Some time after, (619,) Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been quæstor to Mancinus at Numantia, being made tribune of the people, resolved to attempt to remedy the evils of his country by enforcing the agrarian law of Licinius Stolo.

Tib. Gracchus was the son of that Tib. Gracchus of whom we have already spoken; his mother Cornelia was the daughter of the great Africânus. This admirable woman had devoted herself to the education of Tiberius and his younger brother Caius, anxiously desiring that they should be the first men of their time in virtue and in ability. Nor were her labors fruitless; of Tiberius it is said, by one who condemned his measures, that "he was ('the present enterprise set off his head') most pure in life, most abundant in genius, most upright in purpose; in fine, adorned with as many virtues as human nature, perfected by careful culture, is capable of."* He was married to the daughter of App. Claudius, and his sister was the wife of Scipio Africânus.

As is usual, various causes were assigned for the conduct of Tib. Gracchus. Some said that he was excited by two Greek philosophers; † others, by Cornelia, who reproached him that people called her the mother-in-law of Scipio instead of the mother of the Gracchi; others, by jealousy of a

* Vell. Pat. ii. 2. Cicero also, though he always condemns the conduct of Tiberius in the strongest terms, calls his "revolt from the senate" his only fault. (De Ha. usp. Resp. 19.)

† Diophanes of Mytilène, and Blossius of Cumæ in Campania.

young man of his own age, his rival in eloquence; others, by anger and fear at the conduct of the senate on the occasion of the Numantine treaty.* But by far the most probable cause is that given by his brother Caius, who said that as he passed through Etruria, on his way to Numantia, he was struck with the deserted look of the country in consequence of the large estates, and observing that all those who were cultivating them were slaves, he began to reflect on a remedy. After his return to Rome he communicated his views to his father-in-law App. Claudius, to P. Mucius Scævola, the great jurisconsult, and to P. Licinius Crassus, the chief pontiff—men not to be suspected of demagogy—and other eminent persons, all of whom agreed with him in sentiment. Encouraged by their opinions, and further invited by anonymous writings on the walls and public monuments calling on him to resume the public land for the poor, he brought forward a bill prohibiting any one from holding more than five hundred jugers of public land himself, and half that quantity for each of his sons; and directing triumvirs to be appointed annually for dividing the surplus lands among the poor citizens, who were moreover not to be permitted to sell their allotments.

The wealthy exclaimed against this law as a crying injustice: they had, they said, inherited this property from their fathers, or fairly purchased it: they had received it in dowry with their wives, and given it in dowry with their daughters; they had laid out their money on it in buildings and plantations; they had borrowed or lent money on it; the tombs of the fathers of many were on these estates, so long had they been in their families. On the other hand, the poor complained of the state of misery to which they had been reduced; they enumerated the campaigns in which these lands had been acquired by the blood of their fathers; they upbraided the rich with their want of feeling and patriotism in preferring faithless barbarian slaves to free citizens and brave soldiers. The people of the colonies, municipal towns,† and others who had any concern in this land, flocked to Rome as the time for putting the law to the vote drew nigh, and, as they saw reason to hope or fear from it, sided with one party or the other.

* Cicero, Brut. 27; De Harusp. Resp. 20. Vell. Pat. ii. 2.

† These were the Latin and Italian towns. (Niebuhr, ii. 52, note.)

Gracchus himself, excited by the magnitude and anticipated good of his object, and warmed by opposition, exerted all the powers of his eloquence in his harangues from the Rostra. The beasts of the field in Italy, he said, had their holes and dens to lie in, while those who fought and died for it partook of its light and air, but of nought else, wandering about houseless and homeless with their wives and children. It was a mockery of the generals to call on their men in battle to fight for their altars and the tombs of their fathers, for of so many Romans not one had a family altar or tomb; they fought and died for the wealth and luxury of others: they were called the lords of the world, while they had not a sod of their own. He asked the wealthy if slaves were better, braver, or more faithful than freemen: he showed them that, by thus diminishing the free population, they were running the risk not only of not making the further conquests to which they aspired, but of losing to the public enemies the lands they already possessed. He finally told them that if they cheerfully yielded up what they held beyond the limits specified in his law, they should have the remainder in absolute property, and he gave an adequate remuneration for the money they had laid out on what they surrendered. He then desired the clerk to read out the bill.

But the rich, fearing to make any opposition in their own persons, had engaged Octavius, one of the tribunes, on their side, and he interposed his *veto*. The clerk therefore stopped reading. Gracchus then put the matter off till the next market-day; but with no better success, for Octavius again interposed. Gracchus appointed another day, and judging that Octavius' opposition proceeded from his being a holder of public land, he offered to make good out of his own fortune any loss he might sustain. Finding him obstinate, he suspended by his intercession the functions of all the magistrates till his bill should have passed, and he placed his seal on the temple of Saturn, that the *quæstors* might take nothing into or out of it.* The wealthy now assumed the garb of mourners; they at the same time laid plots for the life of Gracchus, who aware of them went constantly armed with a dagger, taking care to let it be seen.

Another assembly-day came: the people were preparing

* As this was the treasury, this was what we now call *stripping the supplies*.

o vote, when Octavius again interposed; they lost patience, and were about to have recourse to violence; but Manlius and Fulvius, two consulars, with tears implored Gracchus to leave the matter to the senate. He snatched up his bill and ran with it into the senate-house; but here the party of the rich was too strong for him: he came out again, and in sight of the people besought Octavius to give up his opposition; and when he could not prevail he declared that the public weal must not be endangered by their disputes, and that one or other of them must be deprived of his office. He then desired Octavius to put the question of his deposition to the vote, and on his refusal he said that he would propose that of Octavius. The assembly was then dismissed.

Next day he proposed the question; the first or prærogative tribe having voted for it, he conjured Octavius to change, but in vain. When seventeen tribes had voted, he again implored him; Octavius, who was naturally of a mild, moderate temper, hesitated and was silent; but on looking at the rich, false shame overcame him, and he persisted: the eighteenth tribe then voted, and he ceased to be a tribune. Gracchus ordered one of his officers, a freedman, to pull him down: the people rushed to seize him, the rich to defend him, and he escaped with some difficulty. Q. Mummius was forthwith chosen in his place.

Gracchus now carried his laws without opposition; he himself, his young brother Caius, and App. Claudius his father-in-law, were appointed triumvirs for dividing the lands. The senate, at the instigation of P. Scipio Nasica, an extensive holder of public land, had the meanness and folly to insult Gracchus by refusing him a tent, (a thing always given to triumvirs,) and by assigning him only 4½ asses a day for his expenses.

Just at this time Eudæmus, of Pergamus, arrived with the will of king Attalus. Gracchus immediately proposed that the royal treasures should be brought to Rome, and divided among those to whom land should be assigned, to enable them to purchase cattle and farming implements. He further maintained that it was for the people, not the senate, to regulate the dominions of the deceased monarch. This galled the senate, and Pompeius rose and asserted that being Gracchus' neighbor he knew that Eudæmus had given him, as the future king of Rome, the diadem and purple robe of Attalus. Q. Metellus reproached him with letting the poorer

citizens light him home at night, whereas, when his father was censor, people used to put out their lights as he was going home, lest he should know that they kept late hours. Others said other things; but what most injured Gracchus, even with his own party, was the deposition of Octavius. Being aware of this, he entered into a public justification of his conduct on that occasion; but his arguments, though ingenious, are not convincing.*

The nobility made no secret of their intention to take vengeance on Gracchus when he became again a private man, and his friends saw no safety for him but in being re-elected. To secure the people he declared his intention of shortening the period of military service, and to give an appeal, in civil suits, from the judges to the people. He also (perhaps to gain the knights) proposed to add an equal number from the equestrian order to the panel of judges, who had been hitherto exclusively senators.

When the day of election came, the party of Gracchus was much more feeble than usual, for his chief supporters being countryfolk were away getting in the harvest, and they did not attend to his summons. He therefore threw himself on the people of the town, and though the strength of his enemies lay in that quarter the first two tribes voted in his favor. The rich then interrupted the proceedings, exclaiming that the same man could not be twice tribune; a dispute arose among the tribunes, and Gracchus put off the election till the next day.† Though inviolate by his office he put on mourning, and during the rest of the day he went leading his young son about with him, and commending him to the care of the people, as he despaired of life for himself. The people attended him home, assuring him he might rely on them, and many of them kept watch at his house during the night.

In the morning the friends of Gracchus, having early occupied the Capitol, where the election was to be held, sent to summon him. Various unfavorable omens, it is said, occurred as he was leaving home, but his friend Blossius, the philosopher, bade him despise them. He went up: the election commenced; the rich men and their party began to disturb it; Gracchus made the sign which he had arranged

* Plutarch gives the heads of his speech. Cicero (*Laws*, iii. 10) imputes the ruin of Gracchus to his deposition of his colleague.

† Appian, i. 14. Plutarch says that it was the friends of Gracchus who began to quarrel when they found the election going against him.

with his friends during the night, for recurring to force: his party seized the staves from the officers and broke them up, and, circling their gowns about them fell on the rich men and drove them off the ground with wounds and bruises. The tribunes fled: the priests closed the doors of the temple; some ran here, some there, crying that Gracchus was deposing the other tribunes; others said that he was making himself perpetual tribune without any election at all.

The senate meantime was sitting in the temple of Faith. When Gracchus moved his hand to his head to give the signal, some ran down crying that he was demanding a diadem of the people. Scipio Nasica called on the consul Mucius Scævola to do his duty and save the republic; but he mildly replied that he would not use force or put any one to death without a trial; that if Gracchus made the people pass any illegal measure, they were not bound by it. Nasica sprang up, and cried, "Since the consul is false to the state, let all who will aid the laws follow me." Then, regardless of his dignity as chief pontiff, and setting the retention of the public land, of which he held so large a portion, before all things, he threw the skirt of his gown over his head as a signal to his party, and began to ascend the Capitol. A number of senators, knights, and others, wrapping their gowns round their arms, followed him; the crowd gave way through respect; they snatched the staves from the Gracchians, broke up the forms and benches, and laid about with them on all sides. Some of the Gracchians were precipitated down the steep sides of the hill; about three hundred were slain, and among them Gracchus himself, at the door of the temple, by the statues of the kings; or, according to another account, by a blow of a piece of a seat from Satureius, one of his colleagues, as he was running down the *clivus* of the hill. In the night the bodies of all the slain were flung into the Tiber, that of Gracchus included, which his murderers refused to the entreaties of his brother. Some of his friends were driven into exile; others, among whom was Diophanes, were put to death. Blossius, when taken before the consuls, declared that he had done every thing in obedience to Gracchus. "What," said Lælius, "if he had ordered you to burn the Capitol?" Blossius said that Gracchus would have given no such order; but when pressed he answered that he would have obeyed it, as it must in such case have been for the public good. Strange to say, he was set at liberty!

Thus, for the first time for centuries, was blood shed in

civil contest in Rome, — a prelude to the atrocities which were soon to be of every-day occurrence. To no other Roman aristocracy, and to their ultimate ruin, their avarice first caused civil discord; and their contempt of law, divine and human, sprinkled the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with the sacred blood of a tribune, and taught the Roman people to despise the majesty of office and the sanctity of religion.

The senate pronounced the death of Gracchus and his friends to be an act of justice; * but the people were so incensed against Nasica that he deemed it advisable to get out of their sight; and though his office of chief pontiff bound him not to leave Italy, he obtained from the senate a *free legation* to Asia; where, after wandering about for some time, he died at Pergamus.

Scipio Africanus was at Numantia at this time, and it is said that when he heard of the death of Tib. Gracchus, he cried out in the words of Homer,

Thus perish all who venture on such deeds! †

And when, after his return, (621,) the tribune Carbo demanded of him before the people what he thought of the death of Tib. Gracchus, he replied that he was justly slain if he had a design of seizing on the government. At this the assembly groaned and hooted at him, but he said, "How should I, who so oft have heard undismayed the shouts of armed enemies, be moved by those of you to whom Italy is but a stepdame?" ‡ The agrarian law also caused Scipio to sink in the popular favor; for M. Fulvius Flaccus and C. Papirius Carbo, who were made triumvirs in the place of Tib. Gracchus and of App. Claudius, (who was dead,) finding that those who held the public land did not give in an account of it, invited informers to come forward. Immediately there sprang up a rank crop of legal suits; for those Italians to whom the senate had re-granted their lands, and those who had purchased, were required to produce their title deeds; but some had been lost, others were ambiguous, and time and one cause or another had

* Cicero (Plane. 36. Pro, Domo, 54) says that Mucius applauded and defended the deed of Nasica. This hardly accords with his approval of Gracchus' project.

† Ως ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅ τις τοιαῦτά γε ἔποι. Od. I. 47.

‡ Meaning that they were mostly freedmen, not genuine Roman citizens.

produced such confusion and uncertainty in the various possessions, that the encroachments of the rich could not be ascertained with any exactness, so that no man was sure of his property.*

In this state of things the Italians applied to Scipio Africanus, under whom so many of them had served, to advocate their cause. Not venturing openly, on account of the people, to impugn the agrarian law, he contented himself with representing that it was not right that those who were to divide the lands should be the judges of what was public or not. As this seemed reasonable, the consul C. Sempronius Tuditanus (623) was appointed to act as judge; but not liking the office he marched with an army into Illyria, under the pretext of some disturbance there. The whole matter came to a stop: the people were enraged with Scipio, and his enemies gave out that it was his design to abrogate the law by force. One evening Scipio went home from the senate in perfect health, attended by the senators and a large concourse of the Latins and the allies. He got ready a table in order to write in the night what he intended to say to the people next day. In the morning he was found dead in his bed, but without any wound. Of the nature and cause of his death there were various opinions, some said it was natural,† others that he put an end to himself; others, that his wife Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, (for whom he had little affection on account of her ugliness and her sterility,) and it was even added with the aid of her mother Cornelia, strangled him, that he might not abrogate the law of Gracchus.‡ His slaves, it is also said, declared that some strangers who were introduced at the rear of the house had strangled him: the triumvirs Carbo and Fulvius are expressly named as the assassins.§ Those who know how virulent and how little scrupulous of means parties were in ancient times, will probably feel disposed to suspect that he was murdered, and it is needless to say by what party. At all events no judicial inquiry was made, and the conqueror of Carthage had only a private funeral.||

* The effect of the writ *quo warranto* in the reign of Edward I. was similar.

† Which Velleius says was the more general account.

‡ Appian, i. 20. Cicero, *Sonn. Scip.* 2. Liv. *Epit.* 59. Cicero's allusion may be to C. Gracchus, who was suspected. Plut. *C. Grac.* 10.

§ Cicero, *ad Divers.* ix. 21; *Ad Quint.* ii. 3; *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 5. iii. 32. Plut. as above.

|| Pliny, *H. N.* x. 43, 60.

Scipio Africânus is one of the most accomplished characters in Roman story. As a general he was brave and skilful and though he had not the opportunities of displaying military talents of the highest order, success attended all his operations, and he cannot be charged with any errors. He was of a noble, generous spirit in all his dealings, and in money matters he acted with a liberality that was thought surprising in a Roman. Scipio was moreover an accomplished scholar; he was the pupil of Polybius and Panætius, and the patron of the elegant poet Terence, who is said to have been indebted to him and his friend Lælius for many of the graces of his dramas.

For seven years (619–626) after the death of Tib. Gracchus, his brother Caius seems to have abstained from public affairs. In 626 he was appointed quæstor to the consul L. Aurelius Orestes, who was going out to take the command in Sardinia. This appointment gave much joy to the nobility, who had been greatly troubled by the eloquence which he had lately displayed in the defence of one of his friends, and at the favor shown him by the people. Cicero * assures us that on this occasion Gracchus had a dream, in which his brother appeared to him and said, that, linger as he might, he must die the same death that *he* had died. The conduct of Gracchus during his quæstorship was deserving of every praise.

The next year, to the mortification of the senate, M. Fulvius Flaccus was chosen one of the consuls. Aware of the impolicy of alienating the Italians by putting them in apprehension for their lands, Fulvius proposed to conciliate and compensate them by granting them the Roman civic franchise, and he prepared a law to that effect. The senators admonished and entreated him to no purpose; he persisted in his measure: but just then the Massilians having sent to implore aid against the Salluvian Gauls, Fulvius was induced to take the command of the army sent to their relief; and his victories in this and the following year gained him the honor of a triumph, (629.)

The Latins and the Italians, who had gladly consented to accept the boon of citizenship in lieu of the disputed lands, were highly provoked at their disappointment, and many of their states began to think of appealing to arms. The people of Fregellæ did actually revolt, but they were betrayed by Nunitorius Pulus, one of their chiefs, to the prætor L. Opimius, who was sent with an army against them. Opimius

* De Div. i. 26.

razed the town, and this severity deterred the people of the other towns from rebellion.

Anrelius had now been two years in Sardinia, and the senate, though they changed the troops, continued him in his command, thinking that Gracchus would not quit his general, but Gracchus, seeing their object, became indignant, and sailed at once for Rome, (628.) His enemies exclaimed, that his friends were offended at such unusual conduct; but he defended himself before the censors, and proved that he was justified in acting as he had done. The nobles then charged him with having excited the Fregellians to their revolt, but he easily cleared himself. He then offered himself as a candidate for the office of tribune, and on the day of election such multitudes of citizens flocked to Rome, from all parts of Italy that the Forum could not contain them, and numbers gave their votes from the house-tops.

Soon after he had entered on his office, (629,) he brought forward two laws, one declaring any person who had been deprived of one office by the people incapable of holding any other; a second making it penal for a magistrate to try any person capitally without the consent of the people.* The first was directed against the deposed tribune Octavius; but he gave up this bill on the entreaty of Cornelia, to whom Octavius was related: the other was levelled at P. Popillius Lænas, who was prætor when Tib. Gracchus was murdered; Popillius, fearing to stand a trial, left Italy. Gracchus then had the following laws passed. 1. A renewal of his brother's agrarian law. 2. One forbidding the enlistment of any one under seventeen years of age. 3. One for clothing the soldiers without making any deduction from their pay on that account. 4. One for making roads through Italy. 5. One for selling corn to the citizens every month out of the public granaries at $\frac{2}{3}$ As (*semisse et triente*) the *modius*, or peck,† for which purpose he directed the revenues of Attalus' kingdom to be let by the censors.‡

Such were the measures of Gracchus in his first tribunate. The law for making roads was eminently useful, and he devoted much of his attention to them. They were straight and level, with bridges where requisite, and milestones placed all along them. His frumentary law was a poor-law of the worst kind; it drained the treasury, and drew to Rome an idle, turbulent population. It is very difficult to believe that

* Cicero, Rabirius, 4. † Liv. Epit. 60. ‡ Cic. Verres, iii. 6

his motives in passing it could have been pure; it was afterwards repealed with the full consent of the people.* Gracchus also gained favor with the provincials this year by the following act. The proconsul Q. Fabius having sent from Spain a large quantity of corn extorted from the provincials, a senatus-consult was made on the motion of Gracchus, ordering the corn to be sold and the price returned to the Spaniards, and reprimanding Fabius for his conduct.

By a law lately passed the people had been empowered to reelect any tribune who had not had time to complete a measure which he had brought forward; accordingly Gracchus was chosen one of the tribunes for the next year also, (630.) On this occasion he gave a strong proof of his influence over the people. He said to them one day that he had a favor to ask, but he would not complain if they refused him; and while all were wondering what it might be, and if he wanted them to make him consul as well as tribune, he brought forward C. Fannius Strabo, and recommended him for the consulship. His object was to keep out L. Opimius, a determined oligarch; and he succeeded, for Fannius was chosen with Cn. Domitius.

Gracchus' first law was one taking the judicial power from the senate, who had enjoyed it from the time of the kings, and giving it to the knights. As the senatorial judges had of late shown scandalous partiality in the cases of some governors of provinces; the senate was ashamed to make any opposition, and the law passed. It is said that when proposing this law from the Rostra, instead of facing the Comitium as had hitherto been the custom, he turned to the Forum,† thereby intimating that the power of the state was in the people; and he continued this practice. It is also said that when the law had passed, he cried out that he had destroyed the senate. Yet he at the same time proposed and carried a law directing that the senate should every year before the elections decide what provinces should be consular and what prætorian, and that with respect to the former no tribune should have the power of interceding. Gracchus next proposed a law for communicating the civic franchise to the Latins and the Italians, and extending Italy to the

* Cic. Brut. 62.

† He was not the first to do so; in 607 C. Licinius Crassus, when proposing a law for giving the choice of members of the sacred colleges to the people, had faced the Forum. (Cicero, Lælius, 25.)

Alps. It does not appear that this law passed, and it is likely that it injured him with the people, to gratify whom he proposed sending colonists to Capua and Tarentum.

The senate had gained the consul Fannius to their side; but not deeming this enough, they adopted a new system of tactics; they directed M. Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes, a man of birth, wealth, and eloquence, and entirely devoted to them, to endeavor to outbid Gracchus for popularity. Drusus therefore proposed that twelve colonies of three thousand persons each should be founded, that the rent imposed by the Sempronian law* on the lands which were, or were to be, divided should be remitted, and decemvirs be appointed for dividing them. He also brought in a bill extending immunity from flogging in the army to the Latins. These bills were readily passed by the people, and Drusus now rivalled Gracchus in popularity; and as he declared that he was acting entirely with the approbation of the senate, who gave a cheerful assent to all his measures, that body also rose in the popular favor. Drusus had a further advantage over Gracchus in that he abstained from handling the public money, and he appointed others, not himself, to lead his colonies.

Gracchus was absent at this time. The tribune Rubrius had selected as the site of a colony the spot where Carthage had stood, and which Scipio had devoted to be a waste forever, and Gracchus and his friend Fulvius Flaccus had been sent to lay out the colony, which was to be named Junonia.† Various unpropitious signs, we are told, appeared; a violent wind shook and broke the first standard, swept the sacrifices off the altar and carried them beyond the bounds, and wolves (the sacred animals of the sire of the founder of Rome) plucked up the boundary-marks and bore them away.‡ Gracchus however persisted, and after remaining there seventy days he returned to Italy to collect his colonists. Finding his influence on the wane, he moved down from the Palatine, on which he resided, to the neighborhood of the Forum, where the lower sort of people mostly dwelt, to prove

* That is, of Tib. Gracchus. Laws were always called after the gentile name of their proposer; thus Sulla's were the Cornelian, Cæsar's, the Julian laws.

† After Juno, or Astarte, the patron-deity of Carthage. (Virg. *Æn.* i.)

‡ Appian says it was after the return of Gracchus that the prodigy of the wolves (the only one he mentions) occurred, and that he and Fulvius said it was an invention of the senate, who wanted a pretext for doing away with the colony.

his devotion to them. But his measure of setting the Italians on a level with them was too unpalatable to be digested by the populace of Rome, who, as is always the case, were as fond of monopoly, as jealous of their privileges, and as heedless of justice in maintaining them, as any oligarchs whatever. When he proposed anew the granting the franchise to the allies, the consul Fannius, at the desire of the senate, issued an order forbidding any who were not qualified to vote to be in the city, or within five miles of it, on the day of voting. Gracchus, on the other hand, gave public notice to the Italians that he would protect them if they staid. He however did not, for he looked calmly on while one of his own Italian friends was seized and dragged away by the lictors, probably feeling that he could not now rely on the people, in his anxiety to gain whom he had also offended his own colleagues. For on the occasion of a combat of gladiators to be given in the Forum, they had erected scaffolds around it in order to let the seats; Gracchus desired them to pull them down, that the poor might see the sport without payment. As they took no heed of him, he waited till the night before the show, when collecting a body of workmen he demolished the scaffolds and left the place clear for the populace, by whom this paltry piece of demagogy was of course highly applauded.

The time of elections now came on, and Gracchus stood a third time for the tribunate; but he failed, some said through the injustice of his colleagues, who made a false return of the votes, but more probably through the ill-will of the people at his wanting to extend the franchise; and moreover the senate succeeded in having L. Opimius, a man on whom they could rely, raised to the consulate. They deemed that they might now endeavor to abrogate the laws of Gracchus, and the first attempt was to be made on that of the African colony. Gracchus at first bore their proceedings patiently; at length, urged by Fulvius and his other friends, he resolved to collect his adherents and oppose force to force. On the day of voting on the law, both parties early occupied the Capitol; the consul, as usual, offered sacrifice; and as one of his lictors, named Antillius, was carrying away the entrails, he cried to those about Fulvius, "Make way, ye bad citizens, for the good!" they instantly fell on him and despatched him with their writing-styles.* Gracchus was

* Plutarch. Appian relates this event somewhat differently.

sorely grieved at this violent deed; but to Opimius it was a matter of exultation, and he called on the people to avenge it. A shower of rain, however, came on and dispersed the assembly. Opimius then* called the senate together, and, while they were deliberating, the body of Antillius was brought, with loud lamentations, through the Forum to the senate-house by those to whom Opimius had given it in charge: he, however, pretended ignorance. The senators went out to look at it; some exclaimed at the heinousness of the deed, others could not help reflecting how different had been the treatment of the body of Tib. Gracchus and of this common lictor by the oligarchs. A decree however was passed that the consuls should see that the state suffered no injury.† Opimius then directed the senators to arm themselves, and ordered the knights to appear next morning early, each with two armed slaves. Fulvius on his side also prepared for battle. It is said that Gracchus, as he was leaving the Forum, stopped before his father's statue, and having gazed on it a long time in silence, groaned and shed tears. The people kept watch during the night at his house and at that of Fulvius; at the former in silence and anxiety, at the latter with drinking and revelry, Fulvius himself setting the example.

In the morning Opimius, having occupied the Capitol with armed men, assembled the senate in the temple of Castor. Summonses to appear before the senate and defend themselves were sent to Gracchus and Fulvius; but, instead of obeying, they resolved to occupy the Aventine. Fulvius having armed his adherents with the Gallic spoils with which he had adorned his house after his triumph, moved toward the Aventine, calling the slaves in vain to liberty. Gracchus went in his *toga*, with no weapon but a small dagger. They posted themselves at the temple of Diâna; and, at the desire of Gracchus, Fulvius sent his younger son to the senate to propose an accommodation. They were desired to lay down their arms and to come and say what they would, or to send no more proposals. Gracchus, it is said, was for compliance, but Fulvius and the others would not yield. The youth, however, was sent down again; and then Opimius, who thirsted for civil

* Plutarch says, next morning; but it is not likely that there could have been such delay. Appian makes the death of Gracchus take place the following day.

† "Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat," was the form of the decree. It invested them with dictatorial power

blood, seized him as being no longer protected by his office, and putting himself at the head of his armed men advanced to the attack. The Gracchians fled without making any resistance. Fulvius took refuge in a deserted bath, whence he was dragged out and put to death with his eldest son. Gracchus, retiring into the temple, attempted to put an end to himself: but two of his friends took the weapon from him and forced him to fly. As he was going, it is said, he knelt down, and, stretching forth his hands, prayed to the goddess that the Roman people might be slaves forever, as a reward for their ingratitude and treachery to him, — a prayer destined to be accomplished! His pursuers pressing on him at the Sublician bridge, his two friends, to facilitate his escape, stood and maintained it against them till they were both slain. Gracchus in vain prayed for some one to supply him with a horse; then, finding escape hopeless, he turned, with a faithful slave who accompanied him, into the grove of the goddess Furina, where he ordered his slave to despatch him: the slave obeyed, and then slew himself over his body. The heads of Gracchus and Fulvius were cut off and brought to Opimius, who had promised their weight in gold for them; and the person who brought the former is said to have previously taken out the brain and filled it with lead. Their bodies and those of their adherents, to the number of three thousand,* were flung into the Tiber, their properties confiscated, their wives forbidden to put on mourning, and Licinia, the wife of Gracchus, was even deprived of her dower, contrary to the opinion of Mucius Scævola. Opimius, by way of clemency, gave the young Fulvius, whom he had cast into prison, the choice of the mode of his death, though what his crime was it is not easy to see. To crown all, having purified the city by order of the senate, Opimius built a temple to Concord!

Plutarch compares the Gracchi with the last two kings of Sparta; and the parallel between Agis and Tiberius is certainly just. Both were actuated by the purest motives; both attempted to remedy an incurable evil; both were murdered by the covetous oligarchs. But Agis committed no illegal act, while the deposition of Octavius plainly violated the constitution. The comparison of C. Gracchus with Cleomenes is less just; the Roman was the better man, though, but for his

* Orosius, (v. 12.) who wrote from Livy, says that only 250 were slain on the Aventine, but that Opimius afterwards put to death more than 3000 persons, without trial, who were mostly innocent.

law increasing the power of the senate, we might say that he was a demagogue, like Pericles, who cared not what evil he introduced provided he extended his own influence. In talent, Caius was beyond his brother; his eloquence was of the highest order; and if, as we incline to believe, his views were pure, he also may claim to be ranked among Rome's most illustrious patriots.

With respect to the great measure of the Gracchi, the resumption of the public land, its legality is not to be questioned; and the objects proposed, the relief of the people and increase of the free population, were most laudable. But a hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the conquest of Italy, during which there had been few or no assignments of land; and such dangers are apt to arise from disturbing long possession, even though not strictly legal in its origin, that it is doubtful if in any case good could have resulted from the measure. As it was, the evil was beyond cure; the Republic was verging to its fall, and no human skill could avail to save it. Still our applause is due to those who did not despair of it, and who manfully attempted to stem the torrent of vice and corruption.

Whatever may have been the faults of the Gracchi and their friends, the nobility have little claim on our sympathy; for they used their victory with the greatest insolence and cruelty. When they had glutted their vengeance, they began to think of their interest; a law was passed allowing those who had received lands under the Sempronian law, to sell them, and the rich soon had them again by purchase, or under that pretext. Sp. Thorius, a tribune, then (645) directed that no more land should be divided; that those who held it should keep it, on payment of a quit-rent, to be annually distributed among the people, — a measure which, though it might relieve the poor, had no effect on the increase of the free population, the great object of Tib. Gracchus. This, however, was not pleasing to the oligarchs: so another tribune, to gratify them, did away with the quit-rents altogether; and thus ended all the hopes of the people.

It is remarkable that, at the time the Roman people were thus voting away their rights, they actually had the ballot, and, we may say, universal suffrage. In 614 Q. Gabinus, a tribune of low birth, had a *tabellarian** law passed, by which the people were to vote with tablets on the election of magistrates;

* So named from the wooden tablets with which they gave their votes

in 618, L. Cassius, the well-known rigid judge, when tribune, extended this principle to trials; and in 622, C. Papirius Carbo further extended it to the voting on laws: * yet we see of how little avail it was. Cicero † remarks that after it was introduced more state criminals escaped than when the people voted openly; and we know how such acquittals were obtained by the plunderers of the provinces.

L. Opimius was accused in 632, by the tribune Q. Decius, for having put citizens to death without trial; and it is rather startling to find the consul of that year, C. Papirius Carbo, the friend of the Gracchi, exerting his eloquence (in which he excelled) in his defence, and maintaining that C. Gracchus had been justly slain. Opimius of course was acquitted. This change of party did not, however, avail Carbo: he was prosecuted the next year (633) by the young orator L. Crassus, for his share, as it would seem, in the measures of the Gracchi, and seeing no prospect of escape he put an end to his own life.

Having concluded the narrative of this first civil discord, we will cast a glance over the foreign affairs of the state at this period.

When Attalus of Pergamus left his kingdom to the Roman people, (619,) his natural brother Aristonîcus took up arms to assert his claim to it. There was perhaps some doubt in the senate as to the justice of their cause; for it was not till two years after (621) that Asia was decreed as a province to the consul P. Licinius Crassus, who, though he was chief pontiff, and therefore bound not to leave Italy, led an army thither. But thinking more on booty than war, he was defeated and made a prisoner in a battle fought near Smyrna, and he was put to death by the victor. Aristonîcus, however, was forced to surrender (623) to M. Perperna, and the kingdom of Attalus became a Roman province under the title of Asia.

In 627 the consul Fulvius, as above related, led an army to the aid of the Massilians against the Salluvian Gauls. The consul C. Sextius (628) gave this people a defeat at a place, afterwards named from him and its warm springs, Aquæ Sextiæ, (Aix.) The Allobroges and Arvernians were next attacked, under the pretence of their having given shelter to the king

* Cicero, Laws, iii. 16.

† Laws, iii. 17. The rule he here gives is as follows: "*Optimatibus nota, plebi libera sunt* (suffragia)

of the Salluvians, and having ravaged the lands of the Ædunans, who were the allies of Rome. They were reduced (630) by the consul Cn. Domitius. The next year Q. Fabius Maximus, the colleague of Opimius, gained a great victory over the Allobroges, whose king, Betultus, having gone to Rome to excuse himself to the senate, was detained, and placed in custody at Alba, and directions were sent to bring his son to Rome also, as their presence in Gaul was dangerous. In 634 the colony of Narbo Marcius (Narbonne) was founded by Q. Marcius Rex, and the Roman dominion in Gaul now extended to the Pyrenees.

CHAPTER II.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ADHERBAL. — BESTIA IN AFRICA. — JUGURTHA AT ROME. — DEFEAT OF AULUS. — METELLUS IN AFRICA. — ATTACK ON ZAMA. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH JUGURTHA. — TAKING OF THALA. — CAIUS MARIUS. — TAKING OF CAPSA. — TAKING OF THE CASTLE ON THE MULUCHA. — SULLA AND BOCCHUS. — DELIVERY UP OF JUGURTHA. — HIS END. — CIMBRIC WAR. — VICTORY AT AQUÆ SEXTIÆ. — VICTORY AT VERCELLÆ. — INSURRECTION OF THE SLAVES IN SICILY.

A WAR now broke out which, as narrated by an excellent historian,* displays in an appalling manner the abandoned profligacy and corruption of the Roman nobility at this time.

Micipsa, king of Numidia, died, (634,) leaving two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, with whom he joined his nephew Jugurtha, the son of Manastabal, as a partner in the kingdom. Jugurtha was a young man of talent, highly popular with the army, ambitious, and hungering after dominion with the avidity which has at all times characterized Eastern and African princes, and like them unscrupulous as to means. He had been incited by many Romans of rank whom he was intimate with at Numantia, to seize the kingdom on the death of Micipsa, and assured by them that money was omnipotent at Rome. Accordingly he soon had Hiempsal,

* C. Sallustius Crispus.

the more spirited of the two princes, murdered; and, when Adherbal took up arms to defend himself, he defeated him and drove him out of his kingdom.

Adherbal repaired to Rome, whither he was followed by envoys from Jugurtha, bearing plenty of gold and silver, which they distributed to such effect, that when the senate had heard both parties, they decreed that ten commissioners should go out to divide the realm of Micipsa between Adherbal and Jugurtha! L. Opimius was at the head of the commission, (635,) and Jugurtha plied him and most of his colleagues so well with gifts and promises, that the far more valuable half was given to him; and so convinced was he now of the venality of every one at Rome, that they were hardly gone when he invaded and plundered Adherbal's dominions, hoping thus to provoke him to a war. But Adherbal, a quiet, timid prince, contented himself with sending an embassy to complain of the injury. Jugurtha replied by reëntering his realm at the head of a large army. Adherbal assembled an army; but Jugurtha fell on his camp, near the town of Cirta, in the night, and cut his troops to pieces. Adherbal fled to Cirta, which would have been taken, but that there happened to be in it a great number of Italian traders, who manned the walls and defended it. Jugurtha, aware that Adherbal had sent to Rome, pressed on the siege with all his might, hoping to take the town before any one could come to prevent him. Three commissioners, however, arrived, with orders for the kings to abstain from war, and decide their quarrel by equity. Jugurtha, alleging that he had taken up arms in self-defence, as Adherbal had plotted against his life, said he would send envoys to Rome to explain all matters. The commissioners then went away, not having been allowed to see Adherbal, and Jugurtha urged on the siege more vigorously than ever.

Two of Adherbal's followers, however, made their way through the camp of the besiegers, and brought a letter from him to the senate. Some were for sending an army to Africa; but the influence of Jugurtha's party succeeded in having only a commission appointed, composed however of men of the highest rank, among whom was M. Æmilius Scaurus, at that time the chief of the senate, a man of talents of a high order, but of insatiable avarice and ambition. On arriving at Utica they sent orders to Jugurtha to come to them in the province; and having made one more desperate but fruitless effort to storm the town, he obeyed, fearing to

irritate Scaurus. But the interview was of no effect, for, after wasting words in vain, the commissioners went home. It would perhaps have been better for Adherbal if they had not come at all; for the Italians in Cirta, convinced that the power of Rome would be a security to *them*, insisted on his surrendering the town, only stipulating for his life; and, though he knew how little reliance was to be placed on Jugurtha's faith, he yielded, as it was in their power to compel him. Jugurtha first put Adherbal to death, with torture, and then made a promiscuous slaughter of the male inhabitants, the Italian traders included, (640.)

Jugurtha's pensioners at Rome attempted to gloss over even this atrocious deed; but C. Memmius, a tribune elect, in his harangues to the people, so exposed the motives of those who advocated his cause, that the senate grew alarmed, and by the Sempronian law Numidia was assigned as one of the provinces of the future consuls. It fell to L. Calpurnius Bestia, (641;) an army was levied, and all preparations made for war. Jugurtha was not a little surprised when he heard of this. He sent his son and two of his friends as envoys to Rome, to bribe as before; but they were ordered to quit Italy, unless they were come to make a surrender of Jugurtha and his kingdom. They therefore returned without having effected any thing. The consul, who, like so many others, was a slave to avarice, having selected as his legates Scaurus and some other men of influence, whose authority, he hoped, would defend him if he acted wrong, passed over to Africa with his troops, and made a brisk inroad into Numidia. Jugurtha, instead of trying the chance of war, assailed him by large offers of money, displaying at the same time the difficulties of the war; and Scaurus, whose prudence had hitherto been proof against all his offers, yielded at last, and went hand in hand with the consul. They agreed to a peace with him; he came to the camp and made a surrender of himself, and delivered to the quæstor thirty elephants, a good number of horses and cattle for the army, and a small quantity of money. Bestia then went to Rome to hold the elections, as his colleague was dead.

The senate were dubious how to act; the disgraceful transaction was vehemently reprobated by the people, but the authority of Scaurus was great with them. Memmius seized the occasion of assailing the nobility; he detailed their acts of cruelty and oppression, he exposed their avarice, venality, and corruption, and he finally succeeded in having

the prætor L. Cassius sent to Africa to bring Jugurtha to Rome, in order to convict Scaurus and the others by his evidence. Cassius having pledged the public faith and his own, (which was of equal weight,) for his safety, Jugurtha came with him to Rome, (642.) Here, besides his former friends, he gained C. Bæbius, one of Memmius' colleagues; and when Memmius produced him before the people, and, having enumerated all his crimes, called on him to name those who had aided and abetted him in them, Bæbius ordered him not to answer. The people were furious, but Bæbius heeded them not; and Jugurtha soon ventured on another murder.

There was at Rome a cousin of his, named Massiva, the son of Gulussa, whom the consul elect, Sp. Postumius Albinus, anxious for the glory of a war, persuaded to apply to the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. Jugurtha, seeing him likely to succeed, desired his confidant, Bomilcar, to have him put out of the way. Assassins were then, as in more modern times, easily to be procured at Rome. Massiva was slain, but his murderer, on being seized, informed against Bomilcar, who, more in accordance with equity than with the law of nations, was arrested. Fifty of Jugurtha's friends gave bail for him; but Jugurtha, finding this to be a case beyond his money, sent him away, heedless of his bail, for he feared that his other subjects would be less zealous to serve him if he let Bomilcar suffer. In a few days he himself was ordered to quit Italy. It is said that as he was going out of Rome he turned back, and gazing on it, said, "Venal city, and soon to perish if a purchaser were to be found!"

Albinus passed over to Africa without delay; but, with all his diligence, he was baffled by Jugurtha, who never would give an opportunity of fighting, and kept illuding him with offers of surrender. Many people suspected that the consul and he understood one another. The elections being at hand, Albinus returned to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus in command of the army. A delay having occurred, in consequence of two of the tribunes wanting to remain in office, in opposition to their colleagues, Aulus, hoping to end the war, or extort money from Jugurtha, led out his troops in the month of January, (643,) and by long marches came to a town named Suthul, where the royal treasures lay. The town was strong by nature and art: Jugurtha mocked at the folly of the legate, and, by holding out hopes of sur

render, drew him away from it. By bribes he gained some of the centurions and captains of horse to promise to desert, others to quit their posts; he then suddenly assailed the camp in the night; a centurion admitted him; the Romans fled to an adjacent hill, where they were obliged to surrender, pass under the yoke, and engage to evacuate Numidia within ten days.

Grief, terror, and indignation prevailed at Rome when this disgraceful treaty was known. The senate, as was always the case, pronounced it not to be binding. Albinus hastened to Africa, burning to efface the shame; but he found the troops in such a state of indiscipline that he could not venture on any operations. At Rome, the tribune C. Mamilius Lincetanus took advantage of the state of public feeling, to bring in a bill for inquiring into the conduct of those who had advised Jugurtha to neglect the decrees of the senate, and of those who had taken bribes from him, had given him back the elephants and deserters, or made treaties with him. The nobility, conscious of their guilt, strained every nerve against the bill; the people, more out of hatred to *them* than regard for the republic, urged it on and passed it. Strange to say, Scaurus, one of the most guilty, had influence enough to have himself chosen among the three inquisitors whom the bill appointed. The inquiry was prosecuted with great asperity, the people being delighted to have an opportunity of humbling the nobility; common fame was deemed sufficient evidence, and Opimius, Bestia, Albinus and others, were condemned.

Albinus' successor (643) was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, a man who was an honor to his order, of high talents, of stainless integrity, of pure morals; his only defect was pride, "the common evil of the nobility," as the historian observes. He found the army as Scipio Africanus had found his at Carthage and Numantia, and he employed the same means to restore its discipline. Jugurtha, aware of the kind of man he had to deal with, and that there was now no room for bribes, began to think of submission in earnest, and he sent envoys offering a surrender, and stipulating only for the lives of himself and his children. But Metellus, knowing there would be no peace in Africa while Jugurtha lived, treated with the envoys separately, and by large promises induced some of them to engage to deliver him up alive or dead: in public he gave them an ambiguous reply.

In a few days he entered Numidia, but saw no signs of

war; the peasantry and their cattle were in the fields, the governors of towns came forth to meet him, and furnished every thing he demanded. He put a garrison into a large town named Vaga, which was a place of great trade, and would therefore be of advantage if the war was to continue. Meantime Jugurtha sent a still more pressing embassy; but Metellus, as before, engaged the envoys to betray him, and, without promising or refusing him the peace he sought, waited for them to perform their engagements.

Jugurtha, finding himself assailed by his own arts, and that all hopes were illusive, resolved once more to try the fate of arms. Learning that Metellus was on his march for a river named Muthul, he placed his troops in ambush on a hill near it, by which the Roman army had to pass; but the wild olives and myrtles among which they lay did not sufficiently conceal them, and Metellus had time to prepare for action. Jugurtha displayed all the talent of an able general, but his troops were far inferior in quality to those to which they were opposed, and, after a hard-fought contest, a complete victory remained with the Romans. Having given his men four days' rest, Metellus led them into the best parts of Numidia, where he laid waste the fields, took and burned towns and castles, putting all the males to the sword, and giving the plunder to his soldiers. Numbers of places therefore submitted and received garrisons, and Jugurtha became greatly terrified at this mode of conducting the war. Aware that nothing was to be hoped from a general action, he left the army he had assembled where it was, and, placing himself at the head of a select body of horse, hovered about the Romans, attacking them when scattered, and destroying the forage and the springs of water. These desultory attacks greatly harassed the Roman troops; and, as the only means of forcing Jugurtha to an action, Metellus resolved to lay siege to the large and strong town of Zama. Jugurtha, learning his design from deserters, hastened thither before him, and conjured the townsmen to hold out bravely, promising to come with an army to their relief, and leaving them the deserters to assist in the defence.

Metellus, on coming before Zama, attempted a storm. In the heat of the engagement Jugurtha made a sudden attack on the Roman camp and broke into it; the soldiers fled in dismay toward those who were attacking the town. Metellus sent his legate Marius with the horse and some cohorts of the allies to the defence of the camp, and the Numidians

were driven out with loss. Next day, when they would renew the attack, they found the horse prepared to receive them. A smart cavalry action commenced, and lasted all through the day, and at the same time the town was gallantly attacked and defended: night ended the conflict.

Metellus, seeing that there was no chance of taking the town, or of making Jugurtha fight, except when and where he pleased, and that the summer was at an end, raised the siege and led his troops into the province for the winter. He then renewed his secret dealings with Jugurtha's friends; and having induced even Bomilcar to come to him privately, he engaged him, by a promise of pardon from the senate, to undertake to deliver up his master. Bomilcar took the first opportunity to urge Jugurtha to a surrender, by picturing to him the wretched condition to which he was reduced, and the danger of the Numidians making terms for themselves without him. Envoys were therefore sent to Metellus, offering an unconditional surrender. Metellus, having assembled all the senators who were in Africa, and other fit persons, held a council after the Roman usage, and with their concurrence sent orders to Jugurtha to deliver up 200,000 pounds of silver, all his elephants, and a part of his horses and arms. This being done, he ordered him to send him the deserters: all were brought, except a few who had time to make their escape to the Moorish king Bocchus. Jugurtha was then directed to repair to the town of Tisidium, there to learn his fate; but his guilty conscience made him hesitate, and after fluctuating a few days he resolved once more to try the fortune of war. The senate continued Metellus in his command as proconsul; (644.)

Jugurtha now strained every nerve. At his instigation the people of Vaga treacherously massacred the Roman garrison; but they paid the penalty of their crime within two days; for when Metellus heard of it, he took what troops he had with him, set out in the night, came on the Vagenses by surprise, slaughtered them, and gave the town up to plunder. About this time Bomilcar's plans failed. He had associated with himself a man of high rank named Nabdalsa, to whom he wrote a letter urging immediate action. Nabdalsa, lying down to rest, put the letter on his pillow, and his secretary coming into the tent while he was asleep, took and read it. He immediately hastened to give Jugurtha information. Nabdalsa was saved by his rank and his protestations of his intention to reveal the plot, but Bomilcar and several others

were put to death; some fled to the Romans, some to Bocchus, king of the Gætulians, and Jugurtha remained without any one in whom he could place confidence, haunted by fear and suspicion. In this condition he was forced to an action, and defeated by Metellus. He fled to a large town named Thala; whither Metellus, though there was no water to be had for the space of fifty miles, resolved to pursue him. He collected vessels of every kind, which he filled at the nearest river, and he ordered the Numidians to convey supplies of water to a place which he designated. When he reached that place a copious rain fell, and he thus came before Thala, from which Jugurtha fled in the night with a part of his treasure. After a siege of forty days the town was taken; but the deserters had collected the things of most value into the palace, and then, after feasting and drinking, set fire to it and perished in the flames. Jugurtha now sought to arm the Gætulians in his cause, and he prevailed on Bocchus, whose daughter was among his wives, to form an alliance with him. Such was the condition of the war when (645) the consul Marius came out to supersede Metellus.

C. Marius* was the son of a small proprietor at Arpinum in the Volscian country; he entered the army when young, and distinguished himself by his courage, his military skill, his temperance, and other qualities becoming a good soldier. He rose through the inferior grades of the service, and was at length appointed by the people, who hardly knew him but by fame, to be a military tribune; he served under Scipio at Numantia, (thus he and Jugurtha were fellow-soldiers,) and that able man foretold, it is said, his future eminence. In the year 633 he was made a tribune of the people, and he had a law passed to lessen the influence of the nobility at elections, and another abrogating that by which corn was ordered to be sold to the people at a reduced price, — certainly no demagogic measure: but the hardy peasant probably saw, that an idle town-population could not but be injurious to the state. He then stood for both ædileships in the one day, and failed, but undismayed he shortly after sought the prætorship, and gained it, though he was accused of having used unfair means. He next had, as proprætor, the government of Ulterior Spain, which he cleared of the bands of robbers that infested it. Marius married into the noble family of the Julii; and his character stood so high, that Metellus, when appointed to Numidia, made him one of his legates.

* See Plutarch, Marius.

The great object of Marius' ambition was the consulate; but this was an office which had hitherto been the exclusive property of the nobility, to which no *new man*,* be his merit what it might, had ever dreamed of aspiring. Marius however knew that the times were changed, and that the people would gladly seize an occasion to spite the nobility. Vulgar minds are commonly superstitious; that of Marius was eminently so, and it happened that as he was sacrificing, when in winter quarters at Utica, the haruspex declared that mighty things were portended to him, and bade him rely on the gods and do what he was thinking of. He instantly applied to Metellus for leave to go to Rome to sue for the consulate. The proud noble could not conceal his amazement; by way of friendship he advised him to moderate his ambition, and seek only what was within his reach; telling him, however, that he would give him leave when the public service permitted it. Marius applied again and again to no effect; he then became exasperated, and had recourse to all the vulgar modes of gaining favor with the various classes of men; he relaxed the discipline of his soldiers; to the Italian traders, of whom there was a great number at Utica, and to whom the war was very injurious, he threw the whole blame of its continuance on the general's love of power, adding that if *he* had but one half of the army he would soon have Jugurtha in chains. There was moreover in the Roman quarters a brother of Jugurtha's, named Gauda, a man of weak mind, but to whom Micipsa had left the kingdom in remainder, who was at this time highly offended because Metellus had refused him a guard of Roman horse and a seat of honor beside himself. While he was in this mood Marius accosted him, exaggerated the affront he had received, called him a great man, who would without doubt be king of Numidia if Jugurtha were taken or slain; as he would be if he were consul. The consequence was that all these people wrote to their friends at Rome, inveighing against Metellus, and desiring the command to be transferred to Marius.

Metellus, having delayed Marius as long as he could, at length let him go home. He was received with high favor by the people; *he* was extolled, Metellus abused; the one was a noble, the other, one of themselves, the man of the people; party spirit is always blind to the defects of its favorites,†

* A *novus homo*, or 'new man,' was one in whose family there had been no curule dignity, and who therefore had no images.

† Political partisans are, in this, like lovers. "Mr. Wilks squints no

and the merits of its adversaries. The tribunes harangued the peasants and the workmen of the city neglected their business to support Marius; the nobility were defeated, and he was made consul. The senate had already decreed Numidia to Metellus; but they were to be further humbled; a tribune asked the people whom they would have to conduct the war with Jugurtha, and they replied, Marius.*

The new consul set no bounds to his insolent exultation; he made incessant attacks on the nobility, vaunting that he had won the consulate from them as spoils from a vanquished enemy. The senate dared refuse none of his demands for the war; they even cheerfully decreed a levy, thinking that the people would be unwilling to serve, and that Marius would thus sink in their favor. But it was quite the contrary; all were eager to go and gain fame and plunder under Marius; who, having held an assembly, in which as usual he inveighed against the nobility and extolled himself, commenced his levy. In this he set the pernicious example of taking any that offered, mostly Capite-censi, instead of raising them in the old way from the classes: † he knew that those who had nothing to lose, and all to gain, were best suited to a man greedy of power and indifferent to the welfare of his country. Having thus raised more than had been decreed, he passed over to Africa, where the army was given up to him by the legate Rufilius, as the proud spirit of Metellus could not brook the sight of his insolent rival. Yet so variable is the multitude, so really just when left to itself, that Metellus was received with as much favor by the people as by the senate on his return, and he obtained a triumph and the title of Numidicus as the true conqueror of Numidia. ‡

Marius displayed great energy and activity; he laid the whole country waste, and forced the two kings to keep at a distance. Aware, like Metellus, that it was only by taking his towns he could reduce Jugurtha, and desirous of performing some feat to rival that of the capture of Thala, he fixed on a town named Capsa, similarly situated, but with this difference, that while there were springs outside of the former, there was but one at the latter, and that within the walls. Having

more than a gentleman ought to do," said an admirer of that remarkable man.

* This was a manifest violation of the Sempronian law. See above p. 303.

† Not those of Servius; see above, p. 172.

‡ Ve leius Paterculius, ii. 11.

made his men load themselves and the beasts, mosly with skins of water at the river Tama, he set forth at nightfall, not saying whither he was going; and resting by day and marching by night, he reached before day on the third morning a range of hills within two miles of Capsa; and when it was day, and the people were come out of the town, he ordered his horse and light troops to rush for the gates. In this way the town was forced to capitulate; but, contrary to the laws of nations, the grown males were put to the sword, the rest sold, the plunder given to the soldiers, and the town burnt.

This fortunate piece of temerity, for it was nothing better, greatly magnified the fame of Marius, and scarcely any place ventured to resist him. He now proceeded to another act of similar fool-hardiness. There was near the river Mulucha a strong castle, on a single rock in the plain, in which the royal treasures were deposited. It was well supplied with men, arms, and provisions, and had a good spring of water; one single narrow path led up to it from the plain, nature having secured it on all other sides. Marius spent several days before it; and having lost some of his best men to no purpose, he was thinking of retiring, when fortune again stood his friend. A Ligurian, seeing some snails on the back part of the rock, climbed up to get them, and going higher and higher as he saw them, he at length reached the summit. He descended again, carefully noting the way, and then went and informed the consul of his discovery. Marius resolved to take advantage of it; he sent with the Ligurian five trumpeters and four centurions, who climbed up while he kept the garrison occupied by an attack. Suddenly the Roman trumpets were heard to sound above them, and the women and children were seen flying down; Marius then urged on his men, the wall was scaled, and the fort carried.

About this time the quæstor L. Cornelius Sulla,* afterwards so renowned, arrived in the camp with a large body of horse, to raise which he had been left in Italy: Jugurtha having induced Bocchus, with a promise of a third of his kingdom, to aid him effectually, their combined forces fell one evening on the Romans as they were marching to their winter quarters. The Romans were forced to retire to two neighboring

* *Sulla*, not *Sylla*, is the orthography of all good writers. The Latin language had no *y* in it at this time. *Sulla*, i. e. *surula*, is said to be a diminutive of *sura*.

hills, around which the barbarians bivouacked; but toward morning, when they were mostly asleep, the Romans sounded their trumpets and rushed down and slaughtered them. In the neighborhood of Cirta, four days after, the two kings ventured on another attack; but they were again routed with great loss. The consul then went into quarters for the winter at Cirta, whither envoys came from Bocchus, requesting that two trusty persons might be sent to confer with him. Marius committed the affair to Sulla and the legate Manlius; and the arguments of the former had no little effect on the king, who soon after sent five other envoys to Marius. They were so unlucky as to fall in with robbers on their way, by whom they were stript and plundered; but Sulla, who commanded in the absence of Marius, treated them with great kindness; and on the return of the consul a council was assembled, and three of the envoys were, as Bocchus had desired, sent to Rome, where the senate granted him the friendship and alliance which he sought, provided he should deserve it.

Bocchus then desired that Sulla might be sent to him. Sulla went (646) with a slight escort, and having run no small risk of being captured or slain by Jugurtha, through whose camp he had to pass, reached the Moorish territories. By employing all the arts of a skilful negotiator, and working on the hopes and fears of the king, he at length engaged him to betray Jugurtha. The crafty Numidian was lured to a conference, and there seized and delivered up to Sulla. Marius remained in Africa as proconsul for two years. He was chosen consul a second time in his absence, and he triumphed on the kalends of January, (648,) the day of his entering on office. Jugurtha adorned his triumph, and at its conclusion was thrust nearly naked into a dungeon. "Hercules!" said he, with a forced smile, as he entered it, "what a cold bath you have!" He was there left to perish by hunger, and his guilty life ended on the sixth day.

The cause of Marius being raised a second time to the consulate, in violation of rule and precedent, was an imminent danger which menaced the republic from the north, and which he alone was judged able to avert.

In the year 639 intelligence reached Rome of the approach of a barbarous people named Cimbrians to the north-eastern frontier of Italy. This people is supposed to have inhabited the peninsula of Jutland, and those parts which afterwards sent forth the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of England. At this time, urged by some of the causes which usually set bar-

barous tribes in motion, they resolved to migrate southwards. The consul Cn. Papirius Carbo gave them battle in the modern Carinthia, but he sustained a defeat. The barbarians, instead of advancing into Italy, turned back, and being joined by a German people named the Teutones, poured into Southern Gaul, where (643) they defeated the consul M. Junius Silanus. The next year the consul M. Aurelius Scaurus had a similar fate; and in the following year (645) the consul L. Cassius Longinus was defeated and slain by the Tigurinians, a Helvetic people who had joined the Cimbrians, and the remnant of his army had to pass under the yoke to escape destruction. Q. Servilius Cæpio, the consul of the year 646, turned his arms, as the Cimbrians appear to have been in Spain, against the Tectosages, and plundered their capital Tolosa (Toulouse) of its sacred treasure, which he diverted to his own use. Cæpio was continued the next year in his command; and as the Cimbrians were returned from Spain, the consul Cn. Manlius led his army into Gaul; but he and Cæpio, instead of uniting their forces, wrangled and quarrelled with each other, and kept separate camps on different sides of the Rhone; in consequence of which both their armies were literally annihilated by the barbarians, who now seem to have seriously thought of invading Italy. It was at this conjuncture that Marius was made consul a second time.

The Cimbrians however returned to Spain, where they remained during this and the following year. Marius, who was made consul a third time, (649,) employed himself chiefly in restoring the discipline of the army; and Sulla, who was his legate the first and a tribune the second year, displayed his diplomatic talent now in Gaul as before in Numidia, and thus augmented the envy and hatred, with which the rude, ferocious consul regarded him. His colleague happening to die just before the elections, Marius went to Rome to hold them, and there his friend the tribune L. Apuleius Saturninus, as had been arranged between them, proposed him for consul a fourth time. Marius affected to decline the honor; Saturninus called him a traitor to his country if he refused to serve her in the time of her peril; the scene was well acted between them, and Marius was made consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, (650.)

The province of Gaul was decreed to both the consuls; and as the barbarians were now returned from Spain and had divided their forces, the Cimbrians moving to enter

Italy on the north-east, the Teutones and Ambrônes from Gaul, Marius crossed the Alps, and fortified a strong camp on the banks of the Rhone, that he might raise the spirit of his men, and accustom them to the sight of the huge bodies and ferocious mien of the barbarians. He refused all their challenges to fight, and contented himself with repelling their assaults on his camp and at last the barbarians, giving up all hopes, of forcing him to action, resolved to cross the Alps, leaving him behind them. We are told that they spent six days in marching by the Roman camp, and that as they went they jeeringly asked the soldiers if they had any messages to send to their wives. Marius then broke up his camp, and followed them, keeping on the high grounds till he came to Aquæ Sextiæ. He here chose for his camp an eminence where there was no water, and when his soldiers complained he pointed to a stream running by the enemies' camp, and told them they must buy it there with their blood. "Lead us on then at once while our blood is warm!" cried they. "We must first secure our camp," coolly replied the general.

The camp servants, taking with them axes, hatchets, and some spears and swords for their defence, went down to the stream to water the beasts, and they drove off such of the enemies as they met. The noise roused the Ambrônes, who, though they were full after a meal, put on their armor and crossed the stream; the Ligurians advanced to engage them, some more Roman troops succeeded, and the Ambrônes were driven back to their wagons with loss. This check irritated the barbarians exceedingly, and the Romans passed the night in anxiety, expecting an attack. In the morning Marius, having sent Claudius Marcellus with 3000 men to occupy a woody hill in the enemy's rear, prepared to give battle. The impatient barbarians charged up-hill; the Romans, with the advantage of the ground, drove them back, Marcellus fell on their rear, and the rout was soon complete: the slain and the captives were, it is said, not less than 100,000. As Marius after the battle stood with a torch, in the act of setting fire to a pile of their arms, messengers arrived with tidings of his being chosen consul for the fifth time.

Catulus, meantime, had not been equally fortunate: not thinking it safe to divide his forces for defending the passes of the Alps, he retired behind the Atesis, (Adige,) securing the fords, and having a bridge in front of his position to communicate with the country on the other side. But when

the Cimbrians poured down from the Alps, and were beginning to fill up the bed of the river, his soldiers grew alarmed, and, unable to retain them, he led them back, abandoning the plain of the Po to the barbarians. Catulus was continued in his command as proconsul the next year, (651 :) his deficiency of military talent was made up for by the ability of L. Sulla, who had left Marius to join him. Marius, who was at Rome, instead of triumphing as was expected, summoned his troops from Gaul, and proceeded to unite them with those of Catulus, hoping to have the glory of a second victory ; and when the battle took place in the neighborhood of Vercellæ, he placed his own troops on the wings, and those of Catulus in the centre, which he threw back in order that they might have as little share as possible in the action. But his manœuvre was a failure, for an immense cloud of dust rising, which prevented the troops from seeing each other, Marius in his charge left the enemy at one side, and the brunt of the battle fell on the troops of Catulus. The dust was of advantage to the Romans, as it prevented their seeing the number of their foes : the heat of the weather, (it being now July,) exhausted the barbarians, and they were obliged to give way, and as their front ranks had bound themselves together by chains from their waists, they could not escape. A dreadful spectacle presented itself when the Romans drove them to their line of wagons ; the women rushed out, fell on the fugitives, and then slew themselves and their children ; the men too put an end to themselves in various ways : the captives amounted to 60,000, the slain to double the number. Marius and Catulus triumphed together, and though the former had had little share in the victory, his rank, and the fame of his former one, caused this also to be ascribed to him ; the multitude called him the third founder of Rome, and poured out libations to him with the gods at their meals. He would have triumphed alone but for fear of Catulus' soldiers ; and, as we shall see, he never forgave him his victory.*

One evil of great magnitude which resulted from this war was, the great number of slaves that it dispersed over the Roman dominions ; and at this very time those of Sicily were again in insurrection. Under the guidance of a slave,

* The details of the battle are only to be found in Plutarch, (Marius,) whose authority were Sulla's own Memoirs, and therefore must be received with some suspicion.

named Salvius, who assumed the name of Trypho and the royal dignity, they defeated the Roman officers. In another part of the island the slaves made one Athenio, a Cilician, their king, but he submitted to Trypho, after whose death he had the supreme command. At length (651) the consul M. Aquilius slew Athenio with his own hand in an engagement, and suppressed the rebellion.

CHAPTER III.*

STATE OF ROME. — TRIBUNATE OF SATURNINUS. — HIS SEDITION AND DEATH. — RETURN OF METELLUS. — TRIBUNATE AND DEATH OF DRUSUS. — SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR. — MURDER OF THE PRÆTOR BY THE USURERS. — SEDITION OF MARIUS AND SULPICIUS. — SULLA AT ROME. — FLIGHT OF MARIUS.

THE cruelty with which the nobility had used their victory over the Gracchi, and the scandalous corruption and profligacy which they had exhibited in the case of Jugurtha, had greatly exasperated the people against them, and alienated from them the affections of the lovers of justice and honor. Ambitious and revengeful men took advantage of this state of feeling to have themselves made tribunes, and to have measures passed injurious to the nobles as a body, or as individuals. Cæpio, who had attempted to modify Gracchus' law, which deprived the senators of the right of being judges, was, after his defeat by the Cimbrians, deprived of his command, and his estate was confiscated, and the following year, (648,) the tribune C. Cassius Longinus had a bill passed, (levelled at him,) prohibiting any one who had been deposed by the people from sitting in the senate. He was some years after prosecuted for the plunder of the gold of Tolôsa, and he ended his days in exile. Cassius' colleague, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, deprived the pontiffs of the right of choosing their own colleagues, and gave it to the people; and another

* Appian, B. C. i. 23—63. Velleius, iii. 13—17. Plut., Marius and Sulla

of the tribunes, C. Servilius Glaucia, offered the freedom of the city to any of the Latins or the allies who should prosecute a magistrate to conviction.

These, however, were but preludes to what was to follow. Marius was raised a sixth time to the consulate, (652,) and it is said that he employed both money and arts to prevent Metellus from being his colleague, and to have L. Valerius Flaccus, on whom he could rely, appointed. His allies were Glaucia and Saturninus, both mortal enemies to Metellus, who, but for his colleague, would, in his censorship, have degraded them for their scandalous lives. Glaucia as prætor presided when Saturninus stood a second time for the tribunate. He was notwithstanding rejected, and A. Nonius, a bitter enemy to them both, elected; but when he left the assembly, they sent a body of their satellites after him, who murdered him; and next morning Glaucia, without waiting for the people, had Saturninus appointed by his own crew to take his place, no one venturing even to murmur.

A series of measures of a demagogic nature were now introduced. By one law the land which had been recovered from the Cimbrians beyond the Po was to be treated as conquered land, without any regard to the rights of its Gallic owners, and divided among Roman citizens and soldiers; 100 jugers apiece were to be given to the veterans in Africa; * colonies were to be led to Sicily, Achaia, and Macedonia; † the Tolosan gold was to be employed in the purchase of lands to be divided. By another law, corn was to be sold to the people at a reduced rate. ‡ It was added to the law for dividing the Gallic land, that in case of its passing, the senate must, within five days, swear to it, and that any one who refused should be expelled the senate, and fined 500,000 sesterces.

The laws relating to the division of the lands were not at all pleasing to the town population, who saw that the advantages would fall mostly to the Italians. The movers, therefore, took care to bring in from the country large numbers of those who had served under Marius, to overawe and outvote the people of the city. These last cried out that it thundered; Saturninus took no heed, but urged on his law:

* Aur. Victor.

† Cic. Balbus, 21.

‡ At the *semis et triens*. (See p. 301.) Auctor ad Herenn. i. 12. Cæpio, who was now quæstor, we are here told, when he could not prevent the law from being put to the vote in any other way, broke the hustings-bridges, (*pontes*;) and took away the voting-urns.

they then girt their clothes about them, seized whatever came to hand, and fell on the country folk, who, incited by Saturninus, attacked them in turn, drove them off, and then passed the law. Marius, as consul, laid the matter before the senate, declaring that *he* for one would never take the oath. Metellus, for whom the snare was laid, made a similar declaration; the rest expressed their approbation, and Marius closed the senate. On the fifth day he assembled them again in haste, telling them that the people were very hot on the matter, and that he saw no remedy but for them to swear to it as far as it was law, and that when the country people were gone home they might easily show that it was not law, as it had been carried by force, and when there was thunder. He himself and his friends then swore; the rest, though they now saw through the trick, were afraid not to do the same. Metellus alone refused. Next day Saturninus sent and had him dragged out of the senate-house; when the other tribunes defended him, Glaucia and Saturninus ran to the country people, telling them they had no chance of land if Metellus remained in Rome. Saturninus then proposed that the consuls should be directed to interdict him from fire, water, and lodging. The town people armed themselves, and were resolved to defend him; but Metellus, thanking them for their zeal, said he would not have his country endangered on his account, and he went into voluntary exile at Rhodes. Saturninus then had his bill against him passed, and Marius made the proclamation with no little pleasure.

When the elections came on, Saturninus had himself re-chosen, and with him one L. Equitius Firmo, whom he gave out to be a son of Tib. Gracchus, which gained him the popular favor. But his great object was to get Glaucia into the consulate, which was a matter of some difficulty, for M. Antonius, the celebrated orator, had been already chosen for one of the places, and C. Memmius, a man of high character and extremely popular,* stood for the other. They did not, however, let this difficulty long stand in their way. They sent some of their satellites, armed with sticks, who in the open day, in the midst of the election, and before all the people, fell on Memmius and beat him to death! The assembly was dissolved, and Saturninus, next morning, having summoned his adherents from the country, occupied the Capitol, with Glaucia, the quæstor C. Sauscius, and some

* See above, pp. 311, 312.

others. The senate, having met, declared them public enemies, and directed the consuls to provide for the safety of the state. Marius had then reluctantly to take arms against his friends. While he loitered, some of the more determined cut the pipes which supplied the Capitol with water. When the thirst became intolerable, Saufeius proposed to burn the temple; but the others, relying on Marius, agreed to surrender on the public faith. There was a general cry to put them to death; but Marius, in order to save them, shut them up in the Curia Hostilia, under pretext of acting more legally. The people, however, would not be balked of their vengeance; they stripped off the roof, and flung the tiles down on them and killed them. A number of their adherents also were slain, among them the pseudo-Gracchus.

A decree for the recall of Metellus was joyfully passed by the senate and people, (653:) Marius, having vainly tried to prevent it, left the city, to avoid witnessing the return of his enemy. He went to Asia Minor, under pretence of offering some sacrifices he had vowed to the Mother of the Gods, (Cybele,) but in reality to try if he could excite the king of Pontus to a war, for peace he felt not to be his element, and his conduct since his triumph had lost him the favor of all parties. The tribune P. Furius, whom Metellus had degraded when censor, (650,) also opposed his recall, and stood firm against the tears and entreaties of his son. His filial piety gained for the youth the surname of Pius, (*dutiful*), and Furius being prosecuted the next year by his late colleague, C. Canuleius, was torn to pieces by the people, who would not even listen to his defence. When Metellus arrived at Rome the concourse of those who came to congratulate him was so great that an entire day did not suffice for him to receive them.

Matters now remained rather tranquil for a few years. In 661 the tribune M. Livius Drusus, the son of the opponent of C. Gracchus, a young man of many estimable qualities but of great pride, brought forward a series of measures by which he proposed to remedy the evils of the state, and restore the authority of the senate. In the first place the knights had not exercised the exclusive right of acting as judges, given to them by the Sempronian law, one whit more impartially than the senators had done. Of this the late condemnation of P. Rutilius had been a glaring instance. Rutilius, one of the most upright and honorable men of his time, had been both quæstor and legate in Asia, and he had

exerted himself in defending the provincials against the abominable oppressions and extortions of the publicans. This drew on him the hatred of the whole equestrian order, a charge of extortion was got up against him; the judges joyfully found him guilty; and he had to go into exile. Drusus now brought in a bill, by which, as the senators amounted to three hundred, an equal number should be selected from the equestrian order, and the decuries of judges be taken out of these six hundred, and he added that they should take cognizance of cases of bribery and corruption. This just and well-meant measure gave satisfaction to no party. The senate saw in it a loss of dignity, and they dreaded the influence their new associates might acquire. The knights in general viewed it only as a plan for gradually withdrawing from them the judicial power which they had found so profitable, and they were prepared to be envious and jealous of the three hundred of their own body who might be selected. Above all, they were offended at the bribery clause, as they had thought themselves quite secure of impunity on that head.

To gain the common people at Rome, Drusus proposed that the colonies in Italy and Sicily, which had been long since voted, should be formed, and that the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn should be retained. He further, whether it was what he had originally in view, or annoyed at finding his good intentions so ill received,* resolved to give the freedom of the state to all the Italians. He carried on his measures not without violence; and one evening when he returned home from the Forum, followed as usual by a great crowd, and was in his hall dismissing them, he cried out that he was wounded. A shoemaker's knife was found stuck in his thigh, but the assassin was not discovered. "Ah! my friends and relations," said he, as he lay dying, "will the republic ever have a citizen such as I?"* No judicial inquiry was instituted into this murder, and all the laws of Drusus were abrogated by a single *senatusconsult*, on the motion of the consul L. Marcius Philippus, as having been contrary to the auspices.

The knights resolved to push their success to the utmost, and to deprive the allies of all hopes of the civic franchise. They therefore made the tribune Q. Varius, a Spaniard by birth, bring in a bill to punish all those who

* Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

had openly or secretly aided the Italians in their designs against the state; for, as many of the leading senators had favored their claims, they intended in this way to drive them from the city. The other tribunes interposed; but the knights stood around them brandishing their naked daggers, and the bill was passed; and prosecutions were instantly commenced against the leading senators. Many were condemned: others, such as Bestia and Cotta, went into voluntary exile. M. Æmilius Scaurus, the chief of the senate, being accused by Varius before the people, made the following defence: "Varius of Sucre says that Æmilius Scaurus has excited the allies to take up arms. M. Scaurus, the chief of the senate, denies it. There is no witness. Which, Quirites, should you believe?" The tribune did not attempt to go on with the prosecution.*

The allies meantime, seeing that they had nothing now to expect from the justice of Rome, had resolved on an appeal to arms, and began secretly to make the requisite combinations among themselves. The Romans, aware of what they were meditating, sent spies to the different towns; and one of these, seeing a youth led as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, gave information to the proconsul Q. Servilius, who hastened thither and sharply rebuked the Asculans for what they were doing; but they fell on and slew him and his legate Fonteius, and then massacred all the Romans in the place and pillaged their houses. Before, however, the confederates commenced the war, they sent to Rome requiring to be admitted to a participation in the honors and advantages of that state, to whose greatness they had so mainly contributed. The senate replied that if they repented of what they had done they might send a deputation, otherwise not. The confederates then resolved to try the chance of arms: their army, formed from the contingents of their several states, amounted to one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the domestic forces of each state.

All the peoples of the Sabellian race, except the Sabines and Hernicans, who had long since become Roman citizens, shared in the war which now broke out; in which Rome had to struggle for her existence with enemies whose troops equalled her own in number, discipline, and valor, and who had generals as skilful as those she could oppose to them. The allies chose Corfinium, the chief town of the Peligni.

* Asconius on Cicero pro Scauro. Quintil. v. 12. Curious enough Varius himself was condemned on his own law. (Asconius as above.)

ans, for their capital, under the name of Italia; they appointed a senate of five hundred members, two consuls, and twelve prætors. The first consuls were Q. Pompædius Silo, a Marsian, and C. Papius Mutilus, a Samnite; the former with six prætors had the command of the north and west the latter with six prætors also commanded in the south and east. Among the prætors were the following, T. Lafrenius, C. Pontidius, Marius Egnatius, M. Lamponius, C. Judacilius, Vettius Scato, Pontius Telesinus, L. Cluentius, and P. Ventidius. The war is named the Social, Marsic, or Italian war, from the names of those engaged in it.

The Roman senate made diligent preparations to meet the coming danger; the Latins, Tuscan, Umbrians and the people of some other parts of Italy remained faithful, and troops came from Gaul and from the foreign allies. The chief command of the forces, which equalled those of the Italians in number, was given to the consuls L. Julius Cæsar and P. Rutilius Lupus; the former had as legates his brother P. Lentulus, L. Sulla, T. Didius, M. Marcellus and M. Licinius Crassus; the legates of the other consul were C. Marius, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Perperna and Valerius Messala.

The advantages were at first all on the side of the Italians. Vettius Scato defeated the consul Julius, and took the town of Æsernia in Samnium. Marius Egnatius took Venafrum by treachery, and destroyed two Roman cohorts that were in it. P. Presentinus defeated a force of 10,000 men under the legate Perperna, and killed 4000 of them; for which Rutilius deprived Perperna of his command, and gave what remained of his troops to C. Marius. Lamponius defeated Crassus with a loss of eight hundred men, and forced him to shut himself up in Grumentum. Papius entered Campania and took Nola, Stabiæ, Minturnæ, and Salernum; the troops in all these places entered his service, and when he laid waste the country round Nuceria the neighboring towns all declared for him and augmented his forces with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. He then laid siege to Acerræ, to whose relief the consul Julius came with 10,000 Gallic foot and a body of Moorish and Numidian troops; but Papius, sending to Venusia for a son of Jugurtha's who was a prisoner there, clad him in purple, and showed him to the Numidians, a great number of whom deserted; and Cæsar became so dubious of the rest that he sent them away home. When, however, Papius made an attempt on his camp, he was repelled with the loss of 6000 men.

Rutilius and Marius advanced to the Liris, over which they threw two bridges within a short distance of each other. Vettius Scato, who was encamped opposite that of Marius, went and lay in ambush during the night at that of Rutilius; and when the Romans crossed in the morning he drove them back with great loss, Rutilius receiving a wound in the head, of which he afterwards died. But meantime Marius had crossed over and taken Vettius' camp, which obliged him to retreat. When the bodies of the consul and other men of rank were brought to Rome for interment, the sight was so dispiriting that the senate made a decree that in future all who fell should be buried on the spot; the Italians when they heard of it made a similar decree.

Marius and Cæpio were directed to take the command of Rutilius' army, as no consul could now be elected in his place. Pompædius then pretended to desert to Cæpio, and urging him to advance and fall on his troops, now without a leader, led him into an ambush, where he and most of his men were slain. At the same time, as Cæsar was leading his army, said to be 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, through a defile, he was fallen on and routed by Egnatius. He escaped with difficulty to Teânium, where having reassembled his troops he went and encamped over against Papias, who was still before Acerræ.

The Marsians having attacked Marius were driven back into some vineyards, whither he did not venture to pursue them; but Sulla, who was encamped behind the vineyards, when he heard the noise fell on the fugitives, and the entire loss of the Marsians was six thousand men. This, however, only exasperated that gallant people; and they soon took the field again. On the side of Falernum, Judacilius, Latrenius, and Ventidius, having united their forces, drove Pompeius into Firmum, where, leaving Lafrenius to watch him, the others went away. But P. Sulpicius came to his relief, and while the besieged made a sally he fell on the camp of the besiegers and set it on fire. The Italians were defeated and their general slain.

In this war the conduct of Marius was little worthy of his former fame; whether in consequence of his age, (he was now sixty-five,) or of a nervous disorder as he himself said, he acted with timidity and irresolution, shutting himself up in an entrenched camp, and allowing the enemy to insult him, and finally resigning his command.

The first year of the war was now drawing to a close; the

senate had been obliged to allow the freedmen to be enlisted for the legions, and the Tuscans and Umbrians showed strong symptoms of an inclination to share in the revolt. The opponents to the claims of the allies were forced to yield, and the consul Julius had a law passed granting the civic franchise to the Latins and those who had not revolted, and finally to those who should lay down their arms. This prudent measure at once quieted the Tuscans.

The consuls of the next year (663) were Cn. Pompeius and M. Porcius Cato. The former defeated a body of 15,000 Italians who were on their march for Etruria; the slain were 5000 in number; and it being winter, more than half of those who escaped perished by hunger and the severity of the weather. His colleague was less fortunate, for about the same time, having gained some advantages over the Marsians, he made an attack on their camp, but was defeated and slain. Pompeius laid siege to Asculum; the prætor Cosconius was defeated by the Samnites, but being joined by the prætor Luceius he again engaged, and routed them with a loss of 15,000 men and their general Marius Egmatius.

Sulla defeated the Italian general Cluentius at Pompeii in Campania. He then entered Samnium, and took the town of Æculanum. He defeated Papius near Æsernia, and then took Boviânium.

Pompeius meantime urged on the siege of Asculum. Judacilius, who was a native of that town, advanced with eight cohorts to its relief, sending word to the people to make a sally when they saw him. This however they did not do; he forced his way in, nevertheless, and seeing there was no chance of his being able to maintain the town, he resolved not to let those escape who had turned the people against him. He seized and put them to death, and then raised a pyre in a temple on which he placed a couch, and having feasted with his friends and swallowed poison, he lay down, directing them to set fire to it, and he thus perished.

Fortune was now every where adverse to the allies; one by one they had lost their best generals; the spirit of resistance gradually died away; and they all, but the Samnites and Lucanians, submitted and received the Roman franchise; and thus, after two years, ended the Social war, which had cost Italy the loss of three hundred thousand of the flower of her population, in the concessions that might have obviated it. To prevent the allies from acquiring a prepon-

derance by their numbers in the Comitia, the senate, instead of distributing them in the actual tribes, formed, as was the ancient practice, eight new tribes to contain them; a measure which, though not noticed at the time, gave rise to future dissensions.

During the Social war an event occurred at Rome which strongly shows the disregard for law, both human and divine, which then prevailed. The money-lenders were pressing hard on their debtors, and, contrary to law, insisting upon interest on interest. The prætor A. Sempronius Asellio, in the trials which took place, reminded the jurors of the law on the subject; and this so incensed the usurers, that they resolved to fall on him as he was sacrificing to Castor and Pollux in the Forum. A stone was thrown which struck the cup out of his hand; he fled for refuge to the temple of Vesta, which was hard by, but the usurers got between him and it; he then ran into a tavern, whither they pursued and killed him. Some even went into the temple, which it was not lawful to enter, thinking he had fled to the Vestals, and resolved that even so he should not escape. The senate offered a reward in money to any freeman, liberty to any slave, and a pardon to any accomplice, who would give information against the murderers; but the usurers had disguised themselves so that they could not be identified, or perhaps people were too much in terror of them to give information.

The merits of Sulla in the Social war had been so great that he was raised immediately to the consulate (664) with Q. Pompeius Rufus, and the conduct of the war against Mithridates king of Pontus was committed to him. But the envy and the cupidity of Marius were excited, and he resolved if possible to deprive him of his command. He leagued himself for this purpose with P. Sulpicius Rufus, a tribune of the people, a man of talent and a daring character, and they projected a law for transferring the command to Marius. For this purpose it was necessary to get a majority in the tribes; and as this could not be effected as they were then constituted, Sulpicius brought in a bill for distributing the new citizens among all the tribes; for as they were highly discontented with their present position, he reckoned that they would give their votes to those who would relieve them from it. But the old citizens were not so willing to part with their monopoly; they employed

sticks and stones against the intruders. The consuls, as the day of voting drew near, being apprehensive of further disturbance, proclaimed a *Justitium*. Sulpicius directed his adherents to come to the Forum that day with concealed daggers, and to do as he should direct them. When therefore all was ready, he called on the consuls to dissolve the *justitium* as being illegal. A tumult ensued, the daggers were drawn and brandished, and the consuls menaced. Pompeius fled; Sulla retired to consult the senate; and while he was away the Sulpician party fell on and murdered Pompeius' son, for freely speaking his mind. Sulla then dissolved the *justitium*, and set out for his army, which was at Nola: Sulpicius had his bill passed forthwith, and the Mithridatic war decreed to Marius.

Sulla having assembled his troops told them all that had occurred at Rome, and as their hopes of plunder in the East were high, and they feared that Marius would have other troops and other officers, they called on him to lead them at once to Rome. He gladly obeyed, and set forth at the head of six legions. The soldiers stoned the tribunes whom Marius sent to take the command; the senate, compelled by Marius, sent two prætors to prohibit the advance of Sulla, but they narrowly escaped with their lives from the soldiery. Other embassies followed, praying Sulla not to come nearer than where he was, at the fifth milestone, Marius wishing to get time to prepare for defence. Sulla seeing through the design gave the promise; but he followed close on the heels of the envoys, and he himself with one legion seized the Cælian gate, while Pompeius with another seized the Colline; a third went to the bridge, a fourth staid without, and Sulla led the remaining two into the city. The people began to throw missiles and tiles on them from the roofs; but when Sulla threatened to set fire to the houses, they desisted. Marius and his party gave them battle at the Esquiline, but they were defeated, and Marius and Sulpicius having vainly essayed to excite the slaves fled out of the city.

Sulla next day assembled the people, and having deplored the condition into which the constitution had been brought by the arts and the violence of wicked men, proposed, as the only remedy, a return to the former wholesome state of things; that no measure should be brought before the people that had not been examined and approved of by the

senate; and that the voting should be by the classes, as arranged by king Servius, and not by the tribes. He then, as the senate was so much reduced, selected three hundred of the most respectable men to augment it. All the late measures of Sulpicius were declared illegal, and he, Marius and his son, and about twelve other senators, were outlawed and their property confiscated.

Sulpicius was betrayed by a slave and put to death. Marius escaped in the night to Ostia, where one of his friends had provided a vessel for him; he embarked, but a storm coming on he was obliged to land near Circaum, where, as he and his companions were rambling about, some herdsmen who knew him telling him that a party of horse had just been seen in quest of him, they got into a wood, where they passed the night without food. Next morning, they set out for Minturnæ, but on turning round they saw a troop of horsemen in pursuit of them. There happened to be two vessels just then lying close in to the shore, and they ran and got aboard of them. The horsemen came to the water's edge, and called out to the crews to put Marius out, but they were moved by his entreaties, and, refusing to deliver him up, sailed away; but afterwards, reflecting on the danger they were running, they persuaded him to land at the mouth of the Liris to get some food and repose, and, while he was lying in the grass, they went on board, and, making sail, left him to his fate. He rambled about the marshes till he reached the solitary hut of an old man, whose compassion he implored. The old man led him away into the marsh, and making him lie down in a hollow spot near the river covered him with sedge and rushes. Presently Marius heard at the hut the voices of those who were in pursuit of him; and fearing lest his host might betray him he got up, and went and stood up to his neck in the mud and water of the marsh. Here, however, he was soon discovered, and was dragged out, naked as he was, and led to Minturnæ and placed in confinement. The authorities there having consulted together resolved to put him to death, and a Gallic horseman was sent to despatch him. The Gaul, when he approached the spot where he was lying in a dark room, was daunted by the fiery glare of the old warrior's eyes, and when he rose and cried with a tremendous voice, "Dost thou dare to slay Caius Marius?" he rushed out, crying, "I cannot kill Caius Marius." The

magistrates then determined not to have the blood of so great a man on their heads, and they gave him his liberty, and leading him to the coast put him on board of a vessel to pass over to Africa. He landed at Carthage; but presently came a messenger from C. Sextilius, the governor of the province, ordering him to depart. He long sat in silence, looking sternly at the envoy, on whose inquiry of what reply he should make to the prætor, he groaned, and said, "Tell him you saw Caius Marius sitting an exile among the ruins of Carthage." He then retired to the little isle of Cercina, where he was joined by his son and several of his other friends, and they remained there watching the course of events.

Sulla sent back his army to Capua, in order to pass over to Greece; his colleague Q. Pompeius was to remain to protect Italy with the troops of Cn. Pompeius; but this army, probably with the approbation of their general, fell on and murdered the consul when he came to the camp, and Sulla was obliged to leave the command with Cn. Pompeius. He moreover found that the people were adverse to him, for they rejected his nephew Nonius and his friend Servius with contempt when he recommended them for office. He affected to be pleased at seeing the people exercising the liberty, for which he said they were indebted to him; and he acquiesced in the appointment of L. Cornelius Cinna, of the opposite faction, to the consulate with Cn. Octavius, who was of his own party. He tried to bind Cinna, by the solemnity of an oath, to attempt no innovation in his absence. They ascended the Capitol, and Cinna, in the ancient mode, grasping a stone prayed that if he did not keep his engagement he might be cast out of the city as he flung away that stone. Sulla then departed for his army.

CHAPTER IV.*

STATE OF ASIA. — FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR. — SULLA IN GREECE. — VICTORIES OF CHÆRONEA AND ORCHOMENUS. — PEACE WITH MITHRIDATES. — FLACCUS AND FIMBRIA. — SEDITION OF CINNA. — RETURN OF MARIUS. — CRUELITIES OF MARIUS AND CINNA. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MARIUS. — RETURN OF SULLA. — HIS VICTORIES. — PROSCRIPTIONS OF SULLA. — HIS DICTATORSHIP AND LAWS. — HE LAYS DOWN HIS OFFICE AND RETIRES. — HIS DEATH AND FUNERAL. — HIS CHARACTER.

THE acquisition of the kingdom of Attalus caused the Romans to become deeply interested in the affairs of the East. We will therefore now take a slight view of the political condition of Anterior Asia at this time.

After the reign of Antiochus the Great the kingdom of Syria had gone rapidly to decay. The dominions east of the Euphrâtes were gradually occupied by the Parthians, a people probably of Turkish race, and their empire finally extended over the whole of Persia; their princes were named Arsacides, from Arsaces, the first of their line. Another portion of the Syrian dominions was about this time seized on by Tigrânes king of Armenia, who became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia. The kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia were dependent on the Romans; but the kingdom of Pontus on the Euxine, under its present monarch Mithridâtes VI., a prince of great activity and talent, had risen to considerable importance. It was against this monarch that Sulla was now to direct the arms of Rome, with whom the war had originated as follows.

Mithridâtes, having, it is said, caused the king of Cappadocia, who was married to his sister, to be murdered, claimed the guardianship of his infant nephew. His sister appealed for protection to Nicomêdes of Bithynia; but Mithridâtes entered Cappadocia, murdered his nephew, and seized the kingdom. The Cappadocians rebelled against him, and called on the Romans. The senate declared them free, and directed them to form a republic; but knowing none but the

* Appian, *Mithridatica*, 1—63. *Bell. Civ.* i. 55—107. *Velleius*, ii 20—28. *Plut.*, *Marius and Sulla*.

regal form of government, they sent to entreat that they might have a king. Their wish was acceded to, and their choice fell on one Ariobarzanes. Mithridâtes made no opposition; but he secretly stirred up the Armenians, who drove the new monarch from his throne; and Sulla, who had just been prætor, was sent from Rome (660) to restore him. On this occasion Sulla advanced to the Euphrâtes, where Parthian ambassadors came to him proposing an alliance with Rome.

On the death of Nicomêdes (661) the throne of Bithynia was disputed by his sons Nicomêdes and Socrates named Chrestos; the Pontic king, in alliance with his powerful son-in-law Tigrânes of Armenia, supported the latter, and at the same time drove Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia. The Romans sent (662) an embassy, headed by M. Aquilius, to restore the two kings, which was done without any attempt on the part of Mithridâtes to prevent it. Aquilius and his friends and followers, who had, according to the usual custom, made the kings and all the towns pay large sums of money or enormous interest for what they lent them, looking forward to the advantages to be derived from a war, required the kings to make an irruption into the dominions of Mithridâtes. Nicomêdes unwillingly complied, on their assurance that they would aid him. Mithridâtes, desirous to put the Romans in the wrong, offered no resistance, but sent an embassy to complain; and on receiving an ambiguous, unsatisfactory reply, he entered and seized Cappadocia. He then sent again to the Romans, displaying his power and advising them to justice and peace; but they in indignation ordered his envoy to quit their camp and never to return.

The Roman commissioners, with L. Cassius, the governor of the province of Asia, now took upon them, without consulting the senate and people, and in the very midst of the Social war, to make war on a most powerful monarch. They collected a force of 120,000 men, and dividing them into three corps, Cassius, Aquilius, and Q. Oppius took different positions, while Nicomêdes was at the head of an army of his subjects. But the Pontic generals Archelâus and Neoptolemus, two Cappadocians by birth, defeated Nicomêdes; the Roman commanders successively had the same fate, and Mithridâtes was speedily master of the whole of Asia north of Mount Taurus; the isles of the Ægæan also cheerfully submitted to his dominion, Rhodes alone remaining faithful to the Romans.

Mithridâtes now gave a dreadful proof of his hatred to the Romans. He sent secret orders to the people of the Greek towns on the coast to rise on a certain day and massacre all the Romans and Italians, men, women and children, slaves and free, without mercy; and such was the hatred the Romans had brought on themselves by their insolence, oppression and extortion, that the mandate was strictly obeyed, — less, says the historian, from fear of the king than from animosity toward them. No mercy was shown, no temple was a sanctuary; those who grasped the images of the gods were torn from them; the children were slain before the face of their mothers, whose own fate was only so long deferred. The lowest calculation gives eighty thousand as the number of those who perished. Such as escaped sought refuge in Rhodes, which Mithridâtes besieged by sea and land; but to no effect, as he was obliged to retire with disgrace. Meantime in Greece the Athenians, Bœotians, Achæans, and Laconians had declared for him, and Archelâus passed over and made the Piræus his head-quarters, while an Epicurean philosopher named Aristion became the tyrant of the city by means of a garrison of two thousand men that Archelâus had given him to guard the treasure which was transferred thither from Delos. Near Chæronêa, Brutius Sura, the legate of Q. Sentiur governor of Macedonia, engaged the Pontic troops for three days, and forced them to fall back to Athens.

Sulla was now (665) landed with five legions and some troops of the allies. The Bœotians returned to their allegiance to Rome; he advanced into Attica, and laid siege to Athens and the Piræus, being desirous to end the war as speedily as possible and return to Rome. He first tried to storm the Piræus, but, failing in the attempt, he made all kinds of machines, cutting down for that purpose the trees of the Academy and the Lycæum, and taking the sacred treasures from Epidaurus, Delphi, and Olympia. All the assaults on the Piræus were gallantly repelled by Archelâus, and as the Pontic fleet commanded the sea no want was felt; but in the city famine soon began to rage, while the misery of the wretched citizens was augmented by the insolence and cruelty of Aristion. At length the chatter of some old men, blaming him for not having secured a certain part of the wall, was overheard by the Romans, and Sulla attacked the town on that side and forced his way in. He gave orders for an indiscriminate slaughter; no age or sex was spared; the very

streets ran blood, till night ended the carnage; he then granted to the prayers of his friends, and the former renown of the city, the lives of those who remained. Aristion fled to the Acropolis, but thirst soon compelled him to surrender, and he was put to death. Sulla then pressed the siege of the Piræus more vigorously than ever, and Archelâus having at length embarked his troops and left it to its fate, he took and burned it, without sparing its noble docks and arsenal, (666.)

Archelâus meantime, in conjunction with the other generals, had assembled an army stated at 120,000 men, with which he encamped near Charonéa. Sulla led his troops into Bœotia. Archelâus, knowing the inferiority of his soldiers, wished to avoid an action, but the impetuosity of some of the other generals was not to be restrained; they gave battle to disadvantage, and sustained so entire a defeat that only 10,000 men, it is said, of the whole army escaped, while we are assured that the Romans lost but thirteen men! Archelâus fled to Eubœa, and soon after Mithridâtes, having sent another army of 80,000 men under Dorylâus into Greece, he joined it, and, taking the command, encamped at Orchomenus. Sulla, seeing the fine plain which extends thence to Lake Copâis so well adapted for the action of the enemies' numerous cavalry, dug trenches through it ten feet wide to impede them. Archelâus, observing what he was about, made a charge; the Romans were giving way, when Sulla, jumping from his horse, seized a standard, and advancing alone with it cried out, "If any ask you, Romans, where you left your general, say, Fighting at Orchomenus." Shame took place of fear, the troops turned, Sulla sprang again to horse, the enemies were driven to their camp with a loss of 15,000 men, and next day the camp was stormed, and those who were in it slaughtered or driven into the marshes, where they were drowned. Archelâus fled to Chalcis, and Sulla retired to Thessaly for the winter.

Meantime matters at Rome had taken a turn highly unfavorable to Sulla, and his friends came flying for safety to his camp. He was therefore anxious to terminate the war, and gladly hearkened to the proposal of an interview with Archelâus for that purpose. The Pontic general, who knew his situation, proposed that he should give up all designs on Asia and return to the civil war in Italy, for which Mithridâtes would supply him with money, ships, and troops. This being indignantly rejected, it was agreed that the king should restore all his conquests in Asia, pay two thousand talents,

and furnish seventy ships fully equipped, and then be secured in his other dominions and declared an ally of Rome. Sulla then, accompanied by Archelâus, set out for the Hellespont; but envoys came from Mithridâtes refusing to give up Paphlagonia. This roused the indignation of Sulla. Archelâus craved permission to go to his master; and an interview between Sulla and Mithridâtes having taken place at Dardanium, all was arranged as Sulla desired. He excused himself to his soldiers for not exacting more satisfaction for the blood of so many myriads of Roman citizens, by telling them that if the king and Fimbria were to unite their troops he should be unable to withstand them.

C. Flavius Fimbria was at this time in Asia, at the head of a Roman army of the Marian faction. Cinna, as we shall presently relate, having made L. Valerius Flaccus his colleague in the consulate, sent him with two legions to take the conduct of the Mithridatic war from Sulla, and, as he was not a military man, Fimbria, who was a good officer, was sent out as his legate. Fearing, as it would seem, to meet Sulla, Flaccus led his troops through Macedonia to the Hellespont, and here a quarrel taking place between him and Fimbria, the latter, having excited a sedition against him among the soldiers, whom his avarice had alienated, murdered him and took the command of the army, with which he gained some advantages over Mithridâtes and his son. He was encamped at Thyatira at the time of the peace, and Sulla instantly marched against him. Fimbria's troops began at once to desert, and finding he could not rely on them, and being mortified by Sulla's refusal of a personal interview, he put an end to himself. His army then joined that of Sulla, who having regulated the affairs of Asia, rewarding those who had been faithful to Rome, and imposing such heavy fines on the rest of the towns as immersed them in debt to the usurers and became a source of incalculable misery, set out for Greece on his return to Italy, where a new war awaited him.

For scarcely had he left Rome when Cinna, heedless of his oath, and having, it is said, received a large bribe for the purpose, renewed Sulpicius' project of dividing the new citizens among all the tribes. Octavius, with the senate and the old citizens, opposed him. A large number of the new citizens armed with daggers occupied the Forum, to carry the law by terror; but Octavius, at the head of the opposite party, also armed, came down and dispersed them. Several

were slain, and Cinna, having vainly essayed to excite the slaves, fled from the city. The senate declared his dignity to be forfeited, and L. Cornelius Merula, the Flamen Diâlis, was made consul in his place. Cinna repaired to the army at Nola; which he induced to declare for him; he also gained several of the allied towns, which furnished him with men and money; and C. Milonius, Q. Sertorius, and others of his senatorial friends, having come from Rome and joined him, he resumed the consular ensigns and advanced against the city, which Octavius and Merula had put in a state of defence. They had also summoned Pompeius Strabo to their aid, and he was now encamped before the Colline gate.

Cinna having recalled Marius, he embarked with his friends and made sail for Italy. He landed in Etruria, where his name and his promises respecting the places in the tribes drew about six thousand men to his standard; he then sent to Cinna, offering to serve under him. Cinna overjoyed sent him proconsular ensigns; but Marius, who still wore the dress in which he had fled from Rome, and had never cut or trimmed his hair since that time, replied that they did not become one in his condition. They divided their forces into three parts, Cinna and Cn. Carbo lying before the city, Sertorius above, Marius below it; and Marius having taken Ostia, and put its inhabitants to the sword, threw a bridge over the river so that no provisions could reach the city.

Octavius was advised to offer liberty to the slaves; but he replied that he would not give slaves a share in that country, from which, in defence of the laws, he was excluding C. Marius. Orders were sent to Q. Metellus Pius, who was acting against the Samnites, to make terms with them and come to the aid of the city. But while he hesitated to grant the terms they required, Marius sent, and promising them all they demanded, gained them over to his side. Ap. Claudius, a military tribune who had charge of the Janiculum, admitted Marius into the town, who then let in Cinna; but the troops of Octavius and Pompeius drove them out again. Pompeius was shortly after killed by lightning.

Famine now began to be dreaded in the city, and both slaves and free deserted in great numbers. The senate therefore sent envoys to treat with Cinna: he asked if they came to him as consul or as a private person; they hesitated, and retired. He then encamped nearer the city, and the senate finding the desertion increase were obliged to deprive Merula of his office, and send to Cinna as consul. They

only asked him to swear that there should be no slaughter; he declined to swear, but promised that he would not of his own accord be the cause of any one's death, and he desired that Octavius should leave the city lest any evil should befall him. Cinna spoke thus from his tribunal, beside which stood C. Marius in silence; but his stern look showed what he was meditating. When the senate sent to invite them to enter the city, Marius said, smiling ironically, that such was not permitted to exiles. The tribunes assembled the tribes to vote his recall, but not more than three or four had voted, when he flung off the mask, entered the city at the head of a body-guard of slaves named Bardianians, who slew all he pointed out to them; it at length sufficing for Marius not to return any one's salute for these ruffians to murder him. Their atrocities at length rose to such a height that Cinna and Sertorius found it necessary to fall on and massacre them in their sleep.

We will enter into some details of the murders now perpetrated. Octavius, declaring that while consul he would never quit the city, retired to the Janiculan. Here, while he sat on his tribunal surrounded by his lictors, some horsemen, sent for the purpose, killed him, and, cutting off his head, brought it to Cinna, by whom it was fixed on the Rostra. C. and L. Julius, Atilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, and M. Bæbius were overtaken and slain as they fled. Crassus and his son being pursued, the father killed the son, and then was slain himself. M. Antonius, the great orator, sought refuge in the house of a peasant, who, having sent his slave to a tavern to get somewhat better wine than usual, the host inquired the reason; the slave whispered it to him, and he went off, and, finding Marius at supper, gave him the information. Marius clapped his hands with joy, and was hardly kept from going himself to seize him. He sent a tribune named Annius, who, staying without, sent some soldiers in to kill him; but the eloquence with which Antonius pleaded for his life was such that the soldiers stood as if enchanted. Annius, wondering at their delay, went in and himself cut off Antonius' head, and brought it to Marius. Q. Ancharius, seeing Marius about to sacrifice on the capitol, and thinking he might be in a merciful mood, approached and addressed him, but the signal was given and he was slain. L. Merula and Q. Catulus, Marius' colleague in the Cimbric war, and whom he had never forgiven, put themselves to a voluntary death. Merula opened his veins, and a tablet was found by

him saying that he had previously taken off his sacred hat, (*aper.*) in which it was not lawful for a flamen to die.* Catulus shut himself up in a room newly plastered with lime, and burning charcoal in it suffocated himself. Nor must the fidelity of the slaves of Cornutus go without its praise, who concealed their master, and taking and dressing the corpse of some common person burned it as his, and then conveyed him away secretly to Gaul. All the friends of Sulla were murdered; his house was razed, his property confiscated, and himself declared an enemy. Murder, banishment, confiscation raged every day, and even sepulture was refused to the bodies of the slain. Marius, whose appetite for blood increased with indulgence, was at the end of the year made consul the seventh time with Cinna, but he died in the first month while meditating new schemes of vengeance.† Cinna then had L. Valerius Flaccus, and when he heard of his murder, Cn. Papirius Carbo, chosen as his colleague, (667.)

Caius Marius was one of those men who, in particular states of society, rise to eminence without being really great. His talents were purely military; his good qualities those of the mere soldier; he was temperate and free from avarice, but he was envious, jealous, ignorant, superstitious, and cruel, even to ferocity. As a statesman he was contemptible, the mere tool of others, and deficient in moral courage. Even in his military capacity he was rather a good officer than a great general. In Numidia he only imitated Metellus, who had really brought the war to a conclusion; there is nothing remarkable in his conduct of the Cimbric war; and, if Sulla is to be believed, the battle at Vercellæ did him no great credit. It was party spirit, not a sense of his superior merits, that renewed his consulates at this time; for surely Metellus, if no other, could have conducted the Cimbric war as well as Marius. Finally, in the Social war, when opposed to able generals and good troops, his deficiencies became apparent.‡

* The office now remained vacant till 744. Dion, liv. 36; Tac. Ann. iii. 58; Suet. Octav. 31.

† Fimbria, who was at this time *quæstor*, at the funeral of Marius ordered Q. Scævola, the chief pontiff to be slain. Finding that the wound was not mortal, he prosecuted him; and being asked what charges he could bring against so excellent a man, he replied, that of not receiving the whole weapon in his body. (Cicero, Roscius Amer. 12.)

‡ It may surprise some to find the aristocratic Cicero constantly lauding Marius; but they were natives of the same place, their families had been connected, and Cicero was a vain-glorious man.

Those who had escaped from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna sought refuge with Sulla, and they were so numerous that his camp seemed to contain a senate. Cinna and Carbo, knowing their danger, exerted themselves to the utmost to raise troops and money through Italy to oppose him. It was however carried in the senate to send an embassy to treat of peace. Orders were forwarded to Cinna to give over levying troops till Sulla's answer should arrive; to which he promised obedience, but yielded none. He assembled his troops to pass over to Liburnia to oppose Sulla there, but he was shortly after killed by them in a mutiny, and Carbo remained sole consul, (668.)

Sulla's answer now arrived, declaring his willingness to obey the senate, provided all those who had sought refuge with him were restored to their country, and himself to all his dignities and honors; but that he never could be the friend of those who had perpetrated such atrocities, though the people might pardon them if they pleased: adding that he should be better able to protect himself and friends by retaining a well-affected army. His envoys however, hearing at Brundisium of the death of Cinna, did not proceed in the business. Carbo, to strengthen himself, had the freedmen distributed through all the tribes, and he wished to exact hostages from all the towns and colonies in Italy, but was prevented by the senate. He had also a decree passed ordering all the armies to be disbanded.

In Africa the cause of Cinna's faction was at this time triumphant, for C. Fabius, whom they had sent thither as pro-prætor, defeated and drove out of it Q. Metellus Pius, who supported the cause of the aristocracy.

At length (669) Sulla, having regulated the affairs of Greece and Asia, embarked in 1600 vessels, with an army of 40,000 men, at Patræ, and landed at Brundisium.* He was joined by Metellus with what troops he had, and the nobility flocked to him in such numbers that scarcely any seemed left in the city. Cn. Pompeius, (the son of him who had been struck by lightning,) a young man of but three-and-twenty years, who had impeded the levies of Carbo in Picenum, and raised there an army of three legions on his own account, with which he had successfully opposed the troops of Carbo's generals, also came to join him. Sulla received this young

* Appian. Velleius says 30,000 men and Plutarch that he sailed from Dyrrhachium in 1200 ships.

man with distinguished favor, styled him *Imperator*, and always rose at his approach and uncovered his head,—honors which he showed to no one else.

Those of the other party at Rome, well aware of Sulla's merciless, unrelenting character, saw that there was no medium for them between victory and ruin; and the people in general, knowing that his victory would be followed by murders and confiscations, made every effort to resist him. The consuls, therefore, L. Scipio and C. Junius Nordânus were enabled to enroll a force of 100,000 men for the war against him. The first battle was fought between him and Norbânus at Canusium, where the latter was defeated with the loss of six thousand men, and fled to Capua. Sulla advanced into Campania: at Teânum he proposed a conference with Scipio about regulating the state, and he took advantage of the negotiations to gain the consul's troops, who, when Sulla prepared to attack their camp, all went over to him, leaving Scipio and his son alone in their tent; they were, however, dismissed in safety by Sulla. He then tried the same course with Norbânus and his troops at Capua, but without success. Carbo hastened to the defence of Rome, where he caused Metellus and all the senators who were with Sulla to be declared public enemies. The rest of the year was spent by both parties in augmenting their forces, in which the consuls had the advantage, being largely reënforced from the greater part of Italy and from Cisalpine Gaul. Among the events of this year was the conflagration of the temple erected on the Capitol by the last kings of Rome.

Carbo had himself and C. Marius, the son of the great Marius, chosen consuls for the next year, (670.) The campaign was opened with the defeat at the *Æsis*, a stream which divides Umbria from Picênium, of Carbo's legate, C. Albius Carrinas, by Metellus; and soon after Marius, giving battle to Sulla at Sacriportum near Signia, was overcome, in consequence of a part of his troops going over to the enemy. Marius and the rest of his troops fled to Præneste, but when a part had gotten in, the Prænestines closed their gates lest the pursuers should enter also. Marius himself was drawn up by a rope; but those without, who were mostly Samnites, were slaughtered without mercy by Sulla; who, having left Q. Lucretius Ofella to blockade the town, led his troops toward Rome. Marius, being resolved that his enemies there should not escape, sent orders to the prætor L. Junius Brutus Damasippus to assemble the senate as if for some other

purpose, and then to seize and put to death P. Antistius, P. Carbo, L. Domitius, and Q. Mucius Scævola the chief pontiff. His orders were executed; Scævola, it is said, was butchered in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta.

Sulla, having led his army to the field of Mars, entered the city, from which all his enemies had fled. He sold all their goods by auction, and then assembling the people lamented the necessity he was under of acting thus, and assured them that all would soon be well again. Leaving Rome he marched against Carbo, who was at Clusium: but we need not enter into an enumeration of the various actions which now occurred in different parts; the superiority in military skill was so decided on the part of Sulla and his generals that they had the advantage in every encounter; many places submitted; the defeated armies mostly dispersed and went to their several homes; Norbânus fled to Rhodes, and Carbo to Africa.

The Samnites and Lucanians had taken a large share in the war, and now their troops, under Pontius Telesînus and Lamponius, united with the remnants of Carbo's army under Carrinas, Marcius, and Damasippus, — having vainly attempted to relieve Præneste, — advanced against Rome; Telesînus crying that "there never would be wanting wolves to ravage Italy if the wood that harbored them was not cut down." Their forces amounted to forty thousand men. Sulla returned with all speed to Rome, and late in the day a furious engagement commenced before the Colline gate. Sulla's right wing under Crassus was victorious, the left led by himself was driven back to the city, but the gates were shut against them, and they were forced back on the enemy. The engagement lasted till late in the night. The whole number of the slain on both sides is said to have been fifty thousand, among whom was Telesînus, whose head and those of Marcius and Carrinas were cut off and exposed before Præneste. Marius, in attempting to escape by a mine from that town, was killed by those who saw him coming out; others say he put an end to himself. His head was cut off and fixed on the Rostra by Sulla, who now assumed the title of Felix, or Fortunate. After his victory Sulla collected about six or eight thousand of his prisoners in a public place, near the temple of Bellôna, whither he called the senate. As he was addressing them, the cries of the captives, whom the soldiers were slaughtering by his orders, reached their ears: the fathers started, but he coolly desired them to attend

to him as it was only some bad persons who were being chastised by his orders. They saw then that the tyrant was changed, not the tyranny.

Sulla and his partisans now gave a loose to their vengeance; murders were committed all over the city; and the Marians were not alone the victims, as several took the opportunity of killing their private enemies or their creditors. Universal terror prevailed: at length a young man named C. Metellus ventured, in the senate, to ask Sulla when there was to be an end of the slaughter. "We do not ask," said he, "to save those whom you intend to destroy, but to free from apprehension those whom you mean to save." Sulla replied that he did not yet know whom he would spare. "Then tell us," said Metellus, "whom you will punish." Sulla said he would, and he at once posted (*proscripsit*) the names of eighty persons; next day he added two hundred and twenty names, and the following day an equal number. He addressed the people, telling them that these were all he could recollect at present, but that he would add any others that occurred to him, as he was resolved to spare none who had borne any command, or aided his enemies since the day that Scipio, as he alleged, had broken his engagement with him, but that if the people obeyed him he would make a salutary change in their condition.*

In this *proscription*, as it was named, lists of those included in it were hung up in the Forum, and a reward of 50,000 sesterces was offered for each head; it was made a capital offence to harbor or save any of the *proscribed*. The properties of all in the proscription lists were declared forfeit, and their children and grandchildren incapable of holding office in the state.

In the present state of morals at Rome the effect of this proscription may be easily conceived. Men were fallen on and butchered in the face of day in the streets and in the temples, and their heads cut off and brought before the tribunal of Sulla. Sons might be seen bearing the gory visages of their fathers, brothers those of their brothers slaves those of their masters: wives closed their doors against their own husbands.

Fresh lists soon appeared; some made interest with Sulla to have their private enemies proscribed, others those whose houses or lands they coveted. Q. Aurelius, a quiet man

* Appian says he then proscribed 40 senators and 1600 knights.

who had abstained from politics, reading the proscription list one day in the Forum, saw his own name in it. "Alas!" cried he, "my Alban estate has ruined me," and he had gone but a few steps when he was followed and slain. L. Catilina, afterwards so notorious, killed his own brother, and then applied to Sulla to have him put in the list. To evince his gratitude he soon after slew the prætor C. Marius Gratidiânus with great cruelty at the tomb of Catulus, and, bringing his head to Sulla as he sat in the Forum, went coolly, before all the people, and washed his hands in the holy-water vessel at the adjoining temple of Apollo. Sulla himself always presided at the sale of the goods and properties of the proscribed, saying that he was selling his spoils; and many of his friends, such as his step-son Æmilius Scaurus, and M. Licinius Crassus, were enabled to acquire immense fortunes by their purchases at these sales.

Sulla's atrocities were not confined to Rome. Murder and confiscation spread all through Italy; the states and towns which had aided Cinna, Carbo, or his other foes with men, money, or in any other way, were called to a severe reckoning, their citadels and walls were pulled down, and heavy fines or taxes imposed on them. Some, especially in Tuscany, were depopulated, and the houses and lands given to his soldiers, for whom he also founded other colonies, and thus provided his three-and-twenty legions with lands.

The great object of Sulla was to break down the democracy, and to reëstablish the ancient aristocratic form of the constitution. For this purpose he resolved to revive in his own person the dictatorship, which had now been out of use one hundred and twenty years. As there were no consuls he directed the senate to appoint an interrex: M. Valerius Flaccus was chosen, and acting under the directions of Sulla he proposed to the people to create him dictator for as long a time as might suffice to regulate the city and all Italy, that is, to give him the office for as long as he might choose to hold it. The people of course voted as required, and Sulla now appeared with four-and-twenty lictors and a strong guard. He allowed, however, M. Tullius and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella to be chosen consuls for the next year.

While Sulla was thus engaged in Italy, Pompeius had passed over to Sicily. Perperna, who was in the island, quitted it when he landed; and shortly after Carbo, who was coming thither from Africa, was made a prisoner and led in chains before the young general's tribunal. Pompeius, after

reproaching him bitterly, ordered him to be executed, though Carbo when in power had befriended him and prevented his property from being confiscated. Pompeius then passed over to Africa, and having defeated Cinna's son-in-law Domitius, reduced it within forty days. Though he was only a knight, and had never been consul or prætor, Sulla allowed him to triumph. On this occasion the dictator gave him the title of Magnus — *Great*.

We will enumerate the principal of the Cornelian laws, as those now passed by Sulla were named. First, respecting the colleges of priests, the Domitian law was repealed, and the right of coöpting their members restored to the sacred colleges; the number of the pontiffs and augurs was raised from ten to fifteen. Respecting the magistracies, no one was to be prætor before quæstor, or consul before prætor; twenty quæstors to be chosen annually, partly by the people, partly by the consuls; in like manner the number of prætors to be raised from six to eight; those who had been tribunes to be incapable of the higher offices, and the tribunes not to have the power of proposing laws. He restored the judicial power to the senators, and prohibited any one from challenging more than three jurors, and they were to give their verdict openly or secretly at the option of the accused. It was also forbidden to any governor to go out of his province or to make war without the consent of the senate and people. The laws against extortion in the provinces were made more strict, it being Sulla's wish to attach the provincials to the government. Sumptuary and other laws relating to morals were passed; in that against assassins especial care was taken to exempt those who had murdered the proscribed. As the senate was now greatly reduced, Sulla augmented it by three hundred members from the equestrian order, each of them being chosen by the comitia of the tribes. He also selected ten thousand of the slaves of the proscribed, to whom he gave their liberty, and enrolled them in the tribes under the name of Cornelianians. These men were therefore always at his devotion, and his old soldiers were ready to appear when summoned, so that he was under no apprehension for his power.

Sulla showed in the case of L. Lucretius Ofella that he would have his laws obeyed, for when he saw him suing for the consulate without having been quæstor or prætor, he sent to tell him to desist. Ofella taking no notice of the warning, a centurion was despatched to kill him; and when

the people seized the centurion for the murder, and brought him before Sulla, he said it was done by his order, adding, "A ploughman was one time annoyed by the vermin; he stopped the plough twice and shook his coat, and when they still bit him he burned the coat not to lose his time; so I advise those who have been twice overcome not to expose themselves the third time to the fire."

During the first year of his dictatorship (671) Sulla had himself and Metellus Pius chosen consuls for the following year. In 673, having had P. Servilius and Ap. Claudius elected, he, to the surprise of all men, laid down his office and retired into private life. The man who had put to death ninety senators, fifteen consulars, two thousand six hundred knights, besides having driven numbers into exile, and in whose struggle for the supremacy one hundred thousand men had perished, who had confiscated the property of towns and individuals to such an extent as had reduced thousands and thousands to beggary and desperation* — that man dismissed his lictors, walked alone about the Forum and the streets of Rome, calmly offering to account for any of his public actions! It is said that one day a young man followed him home cursing and reviling him, and that he bore it patiently, only saying, "That youth's conduct will teach another not to lay down such an office so readily."

Sulla retired to Cumæ, where he employed his time in writing his memoirs, in hunting and fishing, and in drinking and revelling with players and musicians. He was here attacked the very next year with the most odious of all diseases, (*morbus pedicularis*,) a judgment, one might almost say, from heaven on him; and one day hearing that a magistrate of the adjacent town of Puteoli was putting off the payment of a debt to the corporation expecting his death, he sent for him to his chamber and had him strangled before his eyes. The exertions he made caused him to throw up a quantity of blood, and he died that night, in the sixtieth year of his age, (674.)

Though the Cornelian gens had hitherto always inhumed their dead, it was Sulla's desire that his body should be burnt, lest the impotent vengeance he had exercised on the remains of Marius might in a turn of affairs be directed against his own. After some opposition on the part of the consul Lepidus, it was decided by the senate that his corpse should be

* Appian, B. C. i. 203.

conveyed in state to Rome, and be burnt in the Field of Mars. It was carried on a golden bier, horsemen and trumpeters followed it, his old soldiers flocked from all parts to attend the procession: they moved in military array, standards and axes preceding the bier. The priests and vestals, the senate, magistrates, and knights, came forth to meet it; more than two thousand golden crowns, the gifts of the towns, his legions, and his friends, were borne along; the Roman ladies contributed spices in such abundance that large figures of Sulla and a lictor were formed out of them, in addition to two hundred and twenty basketfuls which were to be flung on the pyre. The morning being lowering, the corpse was not brought out till toward evening; but when the pyre was kindled, a strong breeze sprang up and the corpse was rapidly consumed; an abundant rain then fell and quenched the embers, so that Sulla's good fortune seemed to attend him to the last.

Sulla composed his own epitaph, the purport of which was, that no one had ever exceeded him in serving his friends, or in injuring his enemies. He was a man doubtless of great talents, both as a general and a statesman, but never did a more ruthless soul animate a human body than his; he was cruel, less from natural ferocity than from a calm contempt of human nature. He thoroughly despised mankind; therefore, he was an aristocrat,* and *therefore* he ventured to lay down his power, confident that none would dare to attack him, and not in reliance on his soldiers or his Cornelians, for how could they protect him against the dagger of the assassin? In this contempt of mankind he resembled Napoleon, as he also did in his superstitious belief in fortune, and in the circumstance of having left the world an account of his actions written by himself; but Napoleon was incapable of Sulla's cold-blooded cruelty.

* Let us not be misunderstood; we mean that a proud man, like Sulla, who thinks thus of human nature, will be in general an aristocrat, — not that pride and contempt of mankind are by any means the necessary characteristics of an aristocracy. — The demagogue is usually of the same way of thinking, but he is mean enough to flatter those whom he despises. The honest democrat, on the contrary, is often a man of the most amiable and generous character, and *his* error is that of judging of others by himself. Bias' maxim *οἱ πλείους κακοί* ('most men are bad,' that is, selfish) should always be present to the mind of a politician, and he should think how *they*, not how the good, would act under any given circumstances.

CHAPTER V.*

SEDITION OF LEPIDUS. — SERTORIAN WAR IN SPAIN. — DEATH OF SERTORIUS, AND END OF THE WAR. — SPARTACIAN OR GLADIATORIAL WAR. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SPARTACUS. — CONSULATE OF POMPEIUS AND CRASSUS. — PIRATIC WAR. — REDUCTION OF CRETE.

THE consuls of the year in which Sulla died were Q. Lutatius Catulus of the Sullian, and M. Æmilius Lepidus of the Marian party; the latter had been chosen through the influence of Pompeius, contrary to the opinion of Sulla, who warned him of the consequences of what he had done. Events proved the dictator's foresight, for no sooner was the funeral over than Lepidus proposed a law to recall the proscribed, and to rescind all the acts of Sulla. The first measure seems but barely just, yet it would in fact have been a renewal of the civil war. The senate, therefore, headed by Catulus, the best man of his time, opposed it. Lepidus retired into Etruria, and drew together an army of the proscribed and others; and the senate, to prevent a conflict, gave him Cisalpine Gaul as his province. But at the end of his year Lepidus, leaving M. Junius Brutus in charge of Gaul, led his troops toward Rome, demanding the consulate a second time. He was declared an enemy; Catulus headed an army to oppose him, while Pompeius was sent into Gaul against Brutus. Lepidus was defeated in a battle near the Mulvian bridge, and driven into Etruria, where he was routed a second time: he then fled to Sardinia. Pompeius meantime had reduced Cisalpine Gaul, but his conduct to Brutus on this occasion was a great stain on his character. Brutus had surrendered, and by his direction had retired to a town on the Po: the next day there came a man named Geminius, sent by Pompeius, who put him to death. Lepidus died shortly after he reached Sardinia, and the remains of his army were led into Spain by Perpenna.

The Marian cause was however not yet despaired of, for Sertorius, a man of first-rate talent, still upheld it in Spain. After the ruin of the cause in Italy, through the folly of the

* Appian, B. C. i. 107—121. Velleius, ii. 29—32. Dion, xxxvi 1—27. Plutarch, Sertorius, Pompeius, and Crassus.

consul Scipio, Sertorius, whose advice he would not follow, set out with all haste for Spain, of which he had been appointed prætor. He exerted himself to gain the affections of the people by justice and affability, and by the reduction of the tributes; and, knowing that Sulla would soon pursue him, he despatched a force of six thousand men to guard the Pyrenees; but treachery aided C. Annius, whom Sulla sent as proconsul (671) to Spain, and Sertorius, unable to maintain himself there, passed over to Africa, where, aiding one of the native princes, he defeated and killed Paccianus, one of Sulla's officers. While considering what further course he should take, he was invited by the Lusitanians to come and be their leader against the troops of Sulla. He gladly accepted the command; and, uniting in himself the talents of a Viriathus and of a Roman general, equally adapted for the *guerilla* and the regular warfare, he speedily routed all the Roman commanders, and made himself master of the country south of the Ebro. He did not disdain having recourse to art to establish his influence over the natives. Having been presented by a hunter with a milk-white fawn, he tamed it so that it would come when called, and heeded not the noise and tumult of the camp, and he pretended that it had been a gift of a deity to him, and was inspired, and revealed distant or future events. He trained his Spanish troops after the Roman manner, and, having collected the children of the principal persons into the town of Osca, (Huesca,) he had them instructed in Greek and Latin literature, that they might be fit for offices of state, though he had in this a further object in view, namely, that they should be hostages for the fidelity of their parents. So many Romans of the Marian party had repaired to him, that he formed a senate of three hundred members, which he called the real senate, in opposition to that of Sulla. Though his troops were mostly all Spaniards, he gave the chief commands to the Romans: yet he did not thereby lose the affections of the natives.

The fame of Sertorius reached the ears of Mithridâtes, who was now again at war with the Romans, and he sent to him to propose an alliance, on condition of all the country which he had been obliged to surrender being restored to him. Sertorius, having assembled his senate, replied, that Mithridâtes might, if he pleased, occupy Cappadocia and Bithynia, but that he could not allow him to hold the Roman province. "What would he not impose," said the king,

“if, sitting in Rome, when, thus driven to the edge of the Atlantic, he sets limits to my kingdom, and menaces me with war?” The alliance however was concluded, but it came to nought.

Sulla had committed the war in Spain to Metellus Pius, but Metellus, being only used to regular warfare, was quite perplexed by the irregular system adopted by Sertorius; and he was so hard pressed at the time of the fall of Lepidus, that Pompeius, with the consent of the senate, led his army to his aid, (676.) Sertorius at the same time received an accession of force, for Perpenna having passed over to Spain with fifty-three cohorts, thinking to carry on the war independently, his men forced him to join Sertorius.

The fame of Pompeius* was so great, that when it was known that he was entering Spain several towns declared for him. Sertorius laid siege to one of these towns; Pompeius came to its relief; he was preparing to occupy an adjacent hill, but Sertorius anticipated him. Thinking then that he had Sertorius in a trap between his army and the town, Pompeius sent in to tell the people to mount their walls and see Sertorius besieged. Sertorius, when he heard this, laughed, and said he would teach Sulla's pupil that a general should look behind as well as before, and pointed to six thousand men he had left in his camp. Pompeius feared to stir; the town surrendered before his face, and Sertorius burned it, to prove how little able Pompeius was to aid revolters.

At a place named Sucro, (Xucar,) he gave Pompeius battle, selecting the evening, as the night would be against the enemy, who knew not the country, whether victors or vanquished. He drove back the wing opposed to him under L. Afranius, then sped away to the other, where Pompeius was gaining the advantage, and defeated him. Finding that Afranius had penetrated to his camp and was plundering it, he came and drove off his troops with great loss. Next day he offered battle again; but just then Metellus came up. “If that old woman* had not come,” said he, “I should

* Metellus was not more than fifty-six years of age, but he had given himself up to luxurious habits, and had grown very corpulent. He was an amiable man. When Calidius, who had been the means of recalling his father, stood for the prætorship, Metellus canvassed for him, and, though consul, styled him his patron and the protector of his family. (Cicero, Plancus.)

have whipped this boy well, and sent him back to Rome.' He then retired.

Sertorius eventually reduced his opponents to such straits that it was apprehended he would even invade Italy. Pompeius wrote word, that, unless supplied with money from home, he could not stand; Metellus offered a large reward for Sertorius' head; and envy and treachery at length relieved them from all their fears. Perperna had all along been jealous of Sertorius' superiority; he did his utmost to alienate the affections of the Spaniards from him by exercising severities in his name, and he organized a conspiracy against him among the Romans. He finally invited him to a feast at Osca, and there he was fallen on and murdered, (680.) Perperna hoped to be able to take his place, but the Spaniards, having no confidence in him, submitted to Pompeius and Metellus; and, venturing to give battle with the troops he had remaining, he was defeated and taken. He had found among the papers of Sertorius letters from several of the leading men at Rome, inviting him to invade Italy, and these he offered to Pompeius to save his life; but Pompeius nobly and wisely had these and all Sertorius' other papers burnt, without being read by himself or any one else, and he put Perperna to death without delay, lest he should mention names, and thus give occasion to new commotions.

Thus, after a continuance of eight years, terminated the war in Spain. Meantime Italy was the scene of a contest of a most sanguinary and atrocious character.

We have already related what an enormous slave-population there was in Italy, and how hardly the slaves were treated by their masters. The passion of the Roman people for the combats of gladiators had increased to such an extent, that it was become a kind of trade to train gladiators in schools, and hire them out to ædiles, and all who wished to gratify the people with their combats; and stout, strong slaves were purchased for this purpose. The cheapness of provisions in Campania made it a great seat of these schools, and here those in the school of one Lentulus Batnâtus, at Capua, resolved (679) to break out, and, if they could not escape to their homes, to die fighting for their liberty, rather than slaughter one another for the gratification of a ferocious populace. Their plot was betrayed, but upwards of seventy got out, and, arming themselves with spits and cleavers from the adjoining cook-shops, they broke open other schools, and

freed those who were in them. Near the town they met a wagon laden with arms for the use of the schools in other towns; and, having thus armed themselves, they took a strong position on Mount Vesuvius. Here they were joined by great numbers of slaves, and they routed the troops sent from Capua to attack them, and got possession of their arms. The chief command was given to Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had served in the Roman army, though he had been afterwards reduced to slavery; and under him were two other gladiators, Crixus and Cœnomaüs.

The prætor Claudius Pulcher was now sent against them with 3000 men. He forced them to retire to the summit of a steep hill, which had but one narrow approach. This he guarded straitly; but they made themselves ladders of the branches of the wild vine, with which the hill was overgrown, and let themselves down on the other side, and then suddenly fell on and routed the troops of the prætor. Spartacus was now joined by vast numbers of the slaves who were employed as herdsmen. He armed them with such weapons as fortune offered, and he spread his ravages over all Campania and Lucania, plundering towns, villages, and country-houses. He defeated the prætor P. Varinius, his legate Furius, and his colleague Coscinius: but, aware that they would not eventually be able to resist the disciplined troops of Rome, Spartacus proposed that they should march for the Alps, and, if they reached them, then disperse and seek their native countries. This prudent plan was rejected by the slaves, who, as they were now forty thousand strong, looked forward to the plunder of Italy. The senate meantime, aware of the importance which the war was assuming, directed (680) the consuls L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus to take the field against them. The prætor Arrius engaging Crixus (who, with the Germans, had separated from Spartacus) in Apulia, killed him and twenty thousand of his men; but he was soon after himself defeated by Spartacus, as also were both the consuls. Spartacus was now preparing to march against Rome at the head of 120,000 men; but, as the consuls had posted themselves in Picenum to oppose him, he gave up his design and fell back to Thurii, which he made his head-quarters.

The war against Spartacus had lasted nearly three years, the hopes of the Romans were in the prætor M. Licinius Crassus, to whom it was now committed, (681.) Six legions were raised, to which he joined those of the consuls which

had fought so ill, having previously decimated a part of them. Spartacus retired, on the approach of Crassus, to the point of Rhegium, where he agreed with some Cilician pirates to transport him and his men over to Sicily, hoping to be able to rouse the slaves there again to arms. The pirates agreed, took the money, and then sailed away, leaving them to their fate. Crassus, to prevent all escape, ran a ditch and wall across from sea to sea at the neck of the peninsula of Bruttium; but Spartacus, taking advantage of a dark, stormy night, made his way over the rampart. A body of Gauls or Germans which separated from him was defeated by Crassus, who soon after gave Spartacus himself a signal defeat; but the gladiator in his turn routed the quæstor and legate of Crassus. The confidence which this advantage gave the slaves caused their ruin; for they would not obey their leader and continue a desultory war, but insisted on being led against the Romans. Crassus on his part was equally anxious for a battle, as Pompeius, who, at his desire, had been recalled by the senate, was now on his way, probably to rob him of the glory of ending the war. The slaves were so eager for the combat that they attacked as he was pitching his camp. A general engagement ensued: Spartacus fell fighting like a hero, and his whole army was cut to pieces: about six thousand who were taken were hung by Crassus from the trees along the road from Capua to Rome. Pompeius, however, came in for some share of the glory, for he met and destroyed a body of five thousand who were endeavoring to make their way to the Alps. The Servile War, in which it is said sixty thousand slaves perished, thus terminated. Pompeius and Metellus triumphed for their successes in Spain: Crassus, on account of the mean condition of his foes, only sought the honor of an ovation.

The enormous wealth of Crassus, and his eloquence, gave him great influence in the state, and he was one of the chief props of the aristocracy; Pompeius on the other hand sought the favor of the people, whose idol he soon became. Both now stood for the consulate. Pompeius, though he had borne no previous office, as the Cornelian law required, and was several years under the legitimate age of forty-two years, was certain of his election: while Crassus could only succeed by Pompeius asking it for him as a favor to himself. They were both chosen, but their year (682) passed away in strife and contention. Before they went out of office the people insisted on their becoming friends, and

Crassus declaring that he did not think it unbecoming in him to make the first advances to one on whom senate and people had bestowed such honors at so early an age, they shook hands in presence of the people, and never again were at open enmity. In this consulate the tribunes were restored to all the rights and powers of which Sulla had deprived them; the measure proceeded from Pompeius with a view to popular favor. With his consent also the prætor L. Aurelius Cotta put the judicial power into the hands of the senators, knights, and the ærarian tribunes;* for the senators alone had shown themselves as corrupt as ever, and the knights, while the right had been exclusively theirs, had been no better. It was hoped that three separate verdicts might be more favorable to justice.

Crassus now returned to his money-bags, and was wholly occupied in augmenting his already enormous wealth. Pompeius, whose passion was glory, kept rather out of the public view, rarely entering the Forum, and when he did visit it being environed by a host of friends and clients. At length the alarming extent to which the pirates of Cilicia now carried their depredations gave him another opportunity of exercising extensive military command.

From the most remote ages piracy had been practised in various parts of the Mediterranean sea. The Athenians, in the days of their might, had kept it down in the Ægæan; the Rhodians had followed their example; but when their naval power had been reduced by the Romans, the Cilicians, who had been encouraged in piracy by the kings of Egypt and Syria in their contests with each other, carried on the system to an extent hitherto unparalleled. Not only did private persons join in this profitable trade, but whole towns and islands shared in it. The slave-market at Delos was abundantly supplied by the pirates; the temples of Samothrace, Claros, and other renowned sanctuaries were plundered; towns on the coasts were taken and sacked; the piratic fleets penetrated to the straits of Gades. They landed in Italy, and carried off the Roman magistrates and the senators and their families, whom they set at heavy ransoms. They even had the audacity to make an attack on the port of Ostia: the corn-fleets destined for Rome were intercepted, and famine menaced the city.

* These were wealthy plebeians, to whom the quæstors issued the pay of the soldiers.

Fleets and troops had at various times been sent against the pirates to no effect. In 674 P. Servilius put to sea with a strong fleet, and having routed their squadrons of light vessels, took several of their towns on the coast of Lycia, and reduced the country of Isauria, (677,) whence he gained the title of *Isauricus*. But he had hardly triumphed when the sea was again covered with swarms of pirates. The prætor M. Antonius (678) was then sent against them, with most extensive powers; but he effected nothing; their depredations became as numerous as ever, and they even laid siege to the city of Syracuse. In this state of things the tribune A. Gabinus, (685,) either moved by Pompeius or hoping thereby to gain his favor, proposed that to one of the consulars should be given the command against the pirates, with absolute power for three years over the whole sea and the coasts to a distance of fifty miles inland, and authority to make levies and take money for the war out of the treasury and from the publicans in the provinces, and to raise what number of men he pleased. Though no one was named, all knew who was meant. The aristocratic party exerted themselves to the utmost against the law. Gabinus was near being killed in the senate-house: the people would then have massacred the senate, but they fled; the consul C. Calpurnius Piso was indebted to Gabinus for his life. When the day for voting came, Pompeius spoke, affecting to decline the invidious honor; but Gabinus, as of course had been arranged, called on the people to elect him, and on him to obey the voice of his country. The tribunes Trebellius and L. Roscius attempted to interpose, but, like Tib. Gracchus, Gabinus put it to the vote to deprive Trebellius of his office: when seventeen tribes had voted, Trebellius gave over. Roscius, as he could not be heard, held up two fingers, to intimate that he proposed that two persons should be appointed; but such a shout of disapprobation was raised that it is said a crow flying over the Forum fell down stunned. Catulus, the chief of the senate, being present, Gabinus called on him to speak, expecting that he would take warning by the fate of the tribune, and not oppose the law. The people listened in respectful silence while he argued against it; and when, in conclusion, having extolled Pompeius, he asked them whom, if any thing should happen to him, they would put in his place, the whole assembly cried out, "Thyself, Q. Catulus!" Finding further opposition useless, he retired, and the law was passed. Pompeius, who had

left the town, returned in the night, and next day he called an assembly, and had various additions made to the law, which nearly doubled the force he was to have, giving him 500 ships, 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, with 24 senators to command as legates under him. Such was the general confidence in his talents and fortune, that the prices of corn and bread fell at once to their usual level.

Pompeius lost no time in making all the needful arrangements. He placed his legates with divisions of ships and troops along all the coasts from the straits of Gades to the *Ægæan*; and in the space of a few months the pirates were destroyed, or forced to take refuge in their strongholds in Cilicia. He sailed thither with a fleet in person, and the reputation of his clemency making them deem it their safest course to submit, they surrendered themselves, their strongholds, their ships, and stores; and thus, in forty-nine days after his departure from Brundisium, Pompeius terminated the Piratic War. The pirates were not deceived in their expectations: he placed them as colonists in Soli, Adana, and other towns of Cilicia which had been depopulated by *Tigrânes*; and even *Dyme*, in *Achaia*, received a portion of them to cultivate its territory, which was lying waste.

In this year also the island of Crete was reduced. The *Cretans*, who appear so contemptible in Grecian history that one hardly knows how to give credit to the greatness of their *Minôs* in the mythic ages, had of late become of rather more importance. *M. Antonius*, when he was sent against the pirates, hoping to acquire plunder and fame in Crete, accused the *Cretans*, probably with justice, of being connected with them, and proceeded to invade the island; but he was repulsed with disgrace. The *Cretans*, knowing that a storm would burst on them from Rome, tried to avert it by an embassy, laying all the blame on *Antonius*; but the terms offered by the senate were such as were beyond their power to fulfil, and they had to prepare for war. The proconsul *Q. Metellus* invaded their island, (683:) under two chiefs named *Lasthenes* and *Panares* they held out bravely for two years. The war was one of extermination on the part of *Metellus*, who wasted the whole island with fire and sword; and, having at length reduced it, gained the honor of a triumph, and the title of *Creticus*, (685.)

CHAPTER VI.*

SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR. — THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR — VICTORIES OF LUCULLUS. — HIS JUSTICE TO THE PROVINCIALS. — WAR WITH TIGRANES. — DEFEAT OF TIGRANES. — TAKING OF TIGRANOCERTA. — INVASION OF ARMENIA. — DEFEAT OF A ROMAN ARMY. — INTRIGUES OF LUCULLUS' ENEMIES AT ROME. — MANILIAN LAW. — POMPEIUS IN ASIA. — DEFEAT OF MITHRIDATES. — POMPEIUS IN ARMENIA: — IN ALBANIA AND IBERIA: — IN SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND. — DEATH OF MITHRIDATES. — RETURN AND TRIUMPH OF POMPEIUS.

WHILE the Roman arms were occupied in Europe by the Sertorian and the other wars above related, the contest with Mithridâtes for the dominion of Asia still continued.

Sulla had left as proprætor in Asia L. Licinius Murêna, with Fimbria's two legions under him. As was the usual practice, Murêna, in hopes of a triumph, tried to stir up a war. Archelâus, who had fled to him when he found himself suspected by his master, furnishing him with pretexts, he invaded the territories of Mithridâtes, who, instead of having recourse to arms, sent an embassy to Rome to complain, and Q. Calidius came out with orders to Murêna to desist from attacking a king with whom there was a treaty. After a private conference with Calidius, however, Murêna took no notice of the public order; and then Mithridâtes, finding that negotiation was of no use, took the field against him, and forced him to retire into Phrygia. Sulla, displeased at seeing the treaty he had made thus despised, sent out A. Gabinius with orders in earnest to Murêna, and thus the war ended for the present. Murêna had the honor of a triumph, but how merited it is not easy to see.

Mithridâtes was well aware that he would soon be at war again; and he found the period after the death of Sulla so favorable, while the Roman arms were engaged in so many quarters, that he resolved to be the aggressor. At his impulsion his son-in-law Tigrânes, of Armenia, invaded Cappadocia, and swept away three hundred thousand of its

* Appian, *Mithridatica*, 64 to the end. *Dion*, xxxvi. 23 to the end; xxxvii. 1—23. *Plut.*, *Lucullus* and *Pompeius*.

inhabitants, whom he sent to people the city of Tigranocerta, which he had lately built. Mithridâtes himself invaded Bithynia, which its last king, Nicomêdes II., dying without heirs, (678,) had left to the Roman people.

The Pontic monarch, knowing the contest in which he was now to engage to be for his very existence, made all the preparations calculated to insure its success. He sent to Spain and formed an alliance with Sertorius; he also made alliances with all the peoples round the Euxine; during eighteen months he had timber felled in the forests of Pontus, and ships of war built; he hired able seamen in Phœnicia, and laid up magazines of corn in the towns of the coast; he armed and disciplined his troops in the Roman manner; and his army, we are told, amounted to 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, with 100 scythed chariots. Still these troops were Asiatics, and little able to cope with the legions of Rome.

The war against Mithridâtes was committed to the consuls of the year, (678,) M. Aurelius Cotta and L. Licinius Lucullus, the latter of whom had been Sulla's quæstor in the first war. Cotta was soon driven by Mithridâtes out of his province, Bithynia, and he was besieged in Chalcedon. When Lucullus came out, he brought with him one legion from Rome, which, joined with the two Fimbrian and two others already there, gave him a force of thirty thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. Mithridâtes, being forced by him to raise the siege of Chalcedon, led his troops against Cyzicus, a town lying in an island joined by two bridges to the main land. Lucullus followed him thither, and Mithridâtes, (by the treacherous advice of one of the Romans sent him by Sertorius, who assured him that the Fimbrian legions which had served under that general would desert,) let him without opposition occupy a hill, which enabled him to cut off his communication with the interior, so that he must get all his supplies by sea, and the winter was now at hand.

The defence of the Cyzicenes was most heroic; mounds, mines, rams, towers, and all the modes of attack then known were employed against them in vain. Mithridâtes, finding his cavalry useless, and that it was suffering from want of forage, sent away it and the beasts of burden, but Lucullus fell on it at the passage of the Ryndactus, killed a part, and took 15,000 men and 6000 horses with all the beasts of burden. A storm now came on and shattered

Mithridâtes' fleet; all the horrors of famine were felt in his camp; still he persevered, hoping to take the town. At length he got on shipboard by night, leaving his army to make the best of its way to Lampsacus. It reached the river *Æsêpue*; but while it was crossing that stream, which was now greatly swollen, the Romans came up and routed it with the loss of 20,000 men, (679.)

A tremendous storm assailed and shattered the fleet of Mithridâtes, and he himself escaped with difficulty to Nicomedia, whence he sent envoys and money on all sides to raise new troops, and to induce *Tigrânes* and other princes to give him aid. Meantime *Lucullus*, having overcome in the *Ægêan* a Pontic fleet which was sailing to aid *Spartacus*, advanced and entered Mithridâtes' paternal dominions, where the plunder was so abundant that a slave was sold for four drachmas and an ox for one. This however did not content the troops, they longed for the pillage of some wealthy city, and loudly blamed their general for receiving the submission of the towns. To gratify them *Lucullus* formed the siege of *Amîsus* and *Themiscÿra*; but these towns made a stout defence, and Mithridâtes, who was at *Cabîra*, sent them abundant supplies of men, arms, and provisions.

These sieges lasted through the winter. In the spring (680) *Lucullus*, leaving *Murêna* before *Amîsus*, advanced against Mithridâtes. As the king was so superior in cavalry, he kept along the hills, and finding a hunter in a cave, made him guide him till he came close to *Cabîra*; he there encamped in a strong position, where he could not be forced to fight. As *Lucullus* drew his supplies from *Cappadocia*, the king, hoping by cutting them off to reduce him to extremity, sent his cavalry to intercept the convoys; but his officers were so unskillful as to make their attacks in the narrow passes instead of in the plains, where the superiority of their cavalry would be decisive; and the consequence was, that they were completely defeated, and but a small portion of their troops reached the camp. Mithridâtes, having lost his cavalry, in which his strength lay, resolved to fly that very night. He summoned his friends to his tent, and informed them of his design: they immediately thought only of saving their property, and were sending it off on beasts of burden. But the number of these was so great that they impeded one another in the gates; the noise called the attention of the soldiers, who finding themselves thus about to be abandoned, in their anger and terror began at once to

pull down the rampart and to fly in all directions. Mithridâtes vainly endeavored to restrain them; he was obliged to join in the flight. Lucullus sent his horse in pursuit, and leading his infantry against the camp, gave orders to abstain from plunder and to slay without mercy; but the former command was little heeded by the greedy soldiery, and the king himself escaped captivity through the cupidity of his pursuers, who stopped to divide the gold with which a mule was laden. He reached Comâna, whence he repaired to Tigrânes, having sent the eunuch Bacchus to put all the women of his harem to death, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans.

Lucullus having sent his brother-in-law P. Clodius to Tigrânes to demand the surrender of Mithridâtes, proceeded (681) to reduce the Pontic towns and fortresses. Many surrendered; Amîsus, Heraclêa, and others were taken; and Mithridâtes' son, Machares king of Bosphorus, was received into friendship and alliance. The wretched condition of the people of the province of Asia next claimed the attention of Lucullus, for they were ground to the dust by the avarice and oppression of the Roman usurers and publicans. The fine of 20,000 talents imposed by Sulla had by addition of interest upon interest been raised to the enormous sum of 120,000 talents; they were obliged to sell the ornaments of their temples and public places, nay, it is added, their very sons and daughters, to satisfy their remorseless creditors. The remedies devised by Lucullus were simple, just, and efficacious; he forbade more than twelve per cent. interest to be paid, cut off the portion of interest due above the amount of the capital, assigned the creditor a fourth part of the debtor's income, and deprived him who charged compound interest of both capital and interest. In four years all incumbrances were cleared off and the provincials out of debt! But great was the indignation of the worshipful company of knights, who farmed the revenues and lent out money; they considered themselves treated with the utmost injustice, and they hired the demagogues at Rome to attack and abuse Lucullus, and at length succeeded in depriving him of his command; but he had the blessings of the provincials and the good-will of all honest men.

P. Clodius had to go as far as Antioch on the Orontes, and there to wait the arrival of Tigrânes, who was in Phœnicia. While there he held secret communication with many of the towns subject to that monarch, and received

their assurances of revolt when Lucullus should appear. When admitted (682) to an audience with the king, he rudely desired him to surrender Mithridâtes, or else to prepare for war. The offended despot set the Romans at defiance, and Clodius departed. Lucullus then returned to Pontus, and laid siege to and took the city of Sinôpe, (683;) and leaving one legion under Sornatius to keep possession of the country, he set out himself with two legions and five hundred horse to make war on the potent king of Armenia. He reached the Euphrâtes, and having passed it advanced to the Tigris unopposed; then turning northwards he entered the mountains, directing his course for Tigranocerta. Meantime Tigrânes was ignorant of the approach of the Romans, for, as he had cut off the head of the first who brought him tidings of it, as a spreader of false alarms, all others were deterred. At length Mithrobarzanes, one of his friends, venturing to assure him of the fact, he was ordered to take a body of horse and ride down the Romans, and to bring their leader captive; Mithrobarzanes, however, was defeated and slain, and Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta.

Tigrânes, finding the danger so near, summoned troops from all parts of his empire, and assembled an immense army, containing, it is said, 150,000 heavy and 20,000 light infantry, 55,000 horse, of which 17,000 were in full armor, and 35,000 pioneers, and advanced to the relief of his capital. Mithridâtes and his general Taxiles, who knew by experience how ill suited Asiatic troops were to cope with Europæans, strongly urged Tigrânes not to risk a general engagement, but to cut off the supplies, and thus reduce the Romans by famine. But the despot laughed these prudent counsels to scorn, and descended into the plain; and when he saw the small appearance of the Roman army, he cried, "If they are come as ambassadors they are too many, if as enemies too few." Never, however, was defeat more decisive than that of the Armenian king; he himself was one of the first to fly: the earth for miles was covered with the slain and with spoils, and the Romans declared themselves ashamed of having employed their arms against such cowardly slaves. Lucullus gave all the booty to his soldiers, and then resumed the siege of Tigranocerta, which its mingled population, who had been dragged from their homes to people it, gladly put into his hands. Having taken possession of the royal treasures for himself, he gave his soldiers permission to pillage the town, and he afterwards gave them a

donation of 800 drachmas a man. The inhabitants of Tigranocerta were allowed to return to their respective countries.

The fame of the justice and moderation of Lucullus caused several of the native princes to declare for him, (634,) and even the Parthian king sent an embassy to propose an alliance; but Lucullus, having discovered that he was dealing double, being at the same time in treaty with Tigrânes, resolved to make war on him, and thus perhaps acquire the glory of having overcome the three greatest monarchs in the world. He sent to Sornatius, desiring him to join him with the troops from Pontus; but these positively refused to march; and Lucullus' own army, hearing of their refusal, applauded their conduct and followed their example. Lucullus, thus forced to give up all hopes of glory from a Parthian war, as it was now midsummer, invaded Armenia anew; but, when he had crossed the ridges of Taurus, and entered on the plains, he was greatly dismayed to find the corn still green in that elevated land. He however obtained a sufficient supply in the villages, and, having vainly offered battle to the troops of Tigrânes, he advanced to lay siege to Artaxata, the former capital of Armenia. As Tigrânes' harem was in that city, he could not calmly see it invested, and he gave Lucullus battle on the road to it; but skill and discipline triumphed as usual over numbers, and he sustained a total defeat. Lucullus was desirous of following up his success and conquering the whole country, but it was now the autumnal equinox, and the snow began already to fall; the rivers were frozen and difficult to cross, and the soldiers having advanced for a few days mutinied and refused to go any further. He implored them to remain till they had taken Artaxata; but finding his entreaties to no purpose he evacuated the country, and, entering Mygdonia, besieged and stormed the wealthy city of Nisibis.

Here ended the glory of Lucullus: he was disliked by his whole army; his extreme pride disgusted his officers; the soldiers hated him for the rigorous discipline which he maintained, and his want of affability; his having appropriated to himself so much of the spoils of Tigranocerta and other places was another cause of discontent; and his own brother-in-law, Clodius, mortified at not being made more of than he was, added continual fuel to the flame, especially addressing himself to those who had served under Fimbria.

Meantime Mithridâtes had returned to Pontus, where he

attacked and defeated Fabius, who commanded there, and shut him up in Cabira. Triarius, who was on his way from the province to join Lucullus, came to the relief of Fabius and drove off Mithridates, whom he followed to Comagena, where he gave him a defeat. Both sides now retired to winter quarters. In the spring (685) Mithridates, knowing that Triarius had sent to summon Lucullus from Nisibis to his aid, did his utmost to bring on an action before he should arrive: for this purpose he despatched a part of his army to attack a fortress named Dadasa, where the baggage of the Romans lay. The soldiers, fearing the loss of their property, forced Triarius to lead them out. Before they had time to form, the barbarians assailed them on all sides, and they would have been utterly destroyed, but that one of them, feigning to be one of Mithridates' soldiers, went up to him and gave him a wound in the thigh. He was instantly slain, but the confusion caused by the danger of the king enabled many of the Romans to escape. Their loss however is stated at seven thousand men, among whom were twenty-four tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions. It was rare indeed for the Romans to lose so many officers since the days of Hannibal.

Lucullus' enemies at Rome were meantime not idle: they loudly accused him of protracting the war from ambition and avarice, and a decree of the people was procured, (686,) under the pretext of returning to the old practice of shortening the duration of military command, assigning to the consul M. Acilius Glabrio the province of Bithynia and Pontus, and directing that the Fimbrians and the oldest of the troops in Asia should have their discharge. Lucullus was encamped opposite the army of Mithridates when the proclamation of Glabrio arrived, announcing that he was deprived of his command, giving their discharge to those who were serving under him, and menacing with the loss of their property those who did not obey the proclamation. The Fimbrian soldiers immediately left Lucullus; he could do nothing with those who remained; Q. Marcius Rex, the consul of the preceding year, who was in Cilicia, declined giving him any aid, alleging that his troops would not obey him, but probably influenced by Clodius, who was also *his* brother-in-law, and to whom he had given the command of the fleet. Glabrio remained inactive in Bithynia, and the two kings recovered the whole of their dominions.

Such was the state of things in the East when the tribune

C. Manilius, with the private view, it is said,* of gaining the favor and protection of Pompeius, brought in a bill, giving him, in addition to the command and the forces he had against the pirates, the conduct of the war against Tigranes and Mithridates, with the troops and provinces which Lucullus had, and also those of the proconsuls Glabrio and Marcius, — in short, placing the whole power of the republic at his disposal. This measure was viewed with just dread and apprehension by the aristocracy, who plainly saw that the giddy, thoughtless populace were thus creating a monarch, and they opposed it to the utmost. Hortensius and Catulus employed all their eloquence against it. “Look out,” cried the latter to the senate from the Rostra, “look out for some hill and precipice like our ancestors, whither you may fly to preserve our liberty.”† The bill was supported by C. Julius Cæsar and by M. Tullius Cicero, — not, says the historian,‡ out of regard to Pompeius or that they thought it good for the state, but because they knew it must pass; the former, who had already formed the plan he afterwards executed, wished to court the populace and establish a precedent, and, by heaping honors on Pompeius, to make him the sooner odious to the people; the latter, a vain man, wanted to display his own importance, by showing that whatever side he took would have the superiority. The bill was passed by all the tribes, and the Republic was now virtually at an end.

Pompeius received the intelligence of his appointment with complaints of not being allowed to retire into private life, for which he longed so much; but his very friends were disgusted with this hypocrisy, as his actions soon proved it to be. His first care was to reverse all the acts of Lucullus, to prove to all the people there that his power was at an end; he also called all his troops from him, and took especial care to reënroll the Fimbrians, who had shown themselves so refractory to him. The two commanders then had a conference in a plain of Galatia. They at first behaved to one another with great courtesy; but they soon gave vent

* “Semper venalis et alienæ minister potentiæ,” is Velleius’ character of Manilius.

† Plut., Pomp. 30. It is doubtful whether the allusion is to the Sacred Mount or the Capitol.

‡ Dion, xxxvi. 26. This writer is frequently unjust toward Cicero. The orator on this occasion seems to have sought the favor of Pompeius; perhaps he really thought the measure necessary. He was also at all times anxious to gain favor with the knights, who were now hostile to Lucullus.

to their ill feeling, Pompeius reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, the latter replying by likening his rival to the bird that comes to feed on the carcasses of those slain by others, affirming that he was doing now what he had before done in the cases of Lepidus, Sertorius, and Spartacus, who had been vanquished by Catulus, Metellus, and Crassus, when he came to share their fame, — a reproach in which there was no little truth. Pompeius took all Lucullus' troops from him but sixteen hundred men, whom he knew to be inimical to him and would be useless to himself.

Mithridâtes, aware of the immense force that could now be brought against him, sent to ask on what terms peace might be had. The answer was, the surrender of the deserters and his own unconditional submission. As worse could not be expected in any case, he resolved to try once more the fate of war; and, assembling the deserters, and assuring them that it was on their account he refused peace, he swore eternal hostility to Rome: he then retired before the Romans, laying the country waste. Pompeius entered Armenia, and Mithridâtes, fearing for it, came and encamped on a hill opposite him, cutting off his supplies, but giving no opportunity of fighting. His position was so strong that Pompeius did not venture to attack him by decamping, however, he drew him down, and then, laying an ambuscade, cut off several of his men. Soon after, Pompeius being joined by the troops of Marcus, Mithridâtes broke up by night and marched for Tigrânes' part of Armenia. Pompeius pursued, anxious to bring him to a battle, but Mithridâtes encamping by day and marching by night, he could not succeed till they came to the frontiers: then taking advantage of the midday repose of the barbarians, Pompeius marched on before them, and coming to a hollow between hills through which they were to pass, he halted, and placed his troops on the hills. At nightfall the barbarians set forth, unsuspecting of danger; it was dark night when they entered the hollow: suddenly their ears were assailed by the sound of the trumpets of the Romans, and the clashing of their arms and their shouts over their heads, and arrows, darts, and stones were showered down upon them, and then the Romans fell on with their swords and *pila*. The slaughter was great and promiscuous, none could make any resistance in the dark; and when the moon at length rose, it favored the Romans by being behind their backs, and thus lengthening their shadows.

Mithri lates, having escaped, was proceeding to Tigrânes; but this king, irritated by his misfortunes, and attributing the conduct of his son, who was in rebellion against him, to the councils of Mithridâtes, refused him an asylum, and even, it is said, set a reward on his head. He therefore turned and directed his course for Colchis, whence he went on to the Mæotis and Bosphorus, where he caused his son Machares, who had joined the Romans, to be put to death, and employed himself in making further preparations for continuing the war. Pompeius, when he found he had passed the Phasis, gave up all thoughts of pursuit, and employed himself in founding a city named Nicopolis in the country where he had gained his victory, settling in it his wounded and invalid soldiers, and such of the neighboring people as chose to make it their abode.

The young Tigrânes had fled to Phraâtes king of the Parthians, who was his father-in-law; and, as Phraâtes had formed an alliance with Pompeius, and promised to make a diversion in his favor, he now joined the young prince in an invasion of Armenia. They advanced and laid siege to Artaxata: the old king fled to the mountains; and Phraâtes, leaving a part of his forces with Tigrânes to continue the siege, which seemed likely to be tedious, returned to his own dominions. The elder Tigrânes then came down and defeated his son, who at first was flying to Mithridâtes; but learning that he was himself a fugitive, he repaired to Pompeius, and became his guide into Armenia. Pompeius had passed the Araxes and was approaching Artaxata, when Tigrânes, whose proposals for peace had been hitherto frustrated by his son, embraced the resolution of surrendering his capital, and coming himself as a suppliant to the Roman general. He laid aside most of the ensigus of his dignity, and approaching the camp on horseback, was preparing after the oriental fashion to ride into it, when a licitor met and told him that it was not permitted to any one to enter a Roman camp on horseback. He then advanced on foot, and coming to the tribunal of Pompeius, cast himself on the ground before him. The Roman general raised and consoled the humbled monarch; while his son, who was sitting beside the tribunal, did not rise or take any notice of him, and when Pompeius invited the king to supper the young prince did not appear at it; conduct which drew on him the aversion of Pompeius, who, next day, having heard both parties, decided that the king should retain his paternal

dominions, giving up all his conquests and paying 6000 talents, and the prince gave the provinces of Gordyène and Sophène. As the treasures were in this last country, the prince claimed them, and he irritated Pompeius so much, that at length he laid him in bonds and reserved him for his triumph.

Pompeius wintered in Armenia, forming three separate camps on the banks of the Cyrnus, (Kûr.) Orôses, king of the neighboring Albanians, having been in alliance with the young Tigrânes, and fearing that his country would be invaded in the spring, resolved to fall on the Romans while they were separate. In the very depth of the winter, therefore, he made three simultaneous attacks on their camps; but his troops were every where driven off with loss, and he was obliged to sue for a truce.

When spring came, (637,) Pompeius advanced into the country of the Iberians, whose king gave hostages and made a peace. Pompeius then entered Colchis, intending to pursue Mithridâtes; but when he heard what difficulties he would have to encounter, he gave up the project, and returning to Albania again defeated Orôses. He then made peace with the Albanians and several of the tribes that dwelt toward the Caspian. Returning to Pontus, he received the submission of several of Mithridâtes' governors and officers; large treasures were put into his hands, all of which, unlike Lucullus, he delivered up to the quæstors; and he sent Mithridâtes' concubines uninjured to their parents and friends.

Having regulated the affairs of this part of Asia, Pompeius proceeded to take possession of the part of Syria which had been conquered by Tigrânes. All the cities submitted at his approach; the Arabian emirs did him homage, and he reduced Syria to a province. In the summer of the following year (638) he had to return to Armenia to the aid of Tigrânes, who had been attacked by Phraâtes. He thence proceeded to Pontus, where he wintered.

At Damascus the next year (639) Pompeius was waited on by the two brothers Hyrcânus and Aristobûlus, who were contending for the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, and now appeared as suitors for the favor of the powerful Roman. As Pompeius inclined to the former, Aristobûlus secretly retired to the Holy City, and the Roman legions entered Judæa for the first time. Knowing his inability to resist, Aristobûlus gave himself up, to remain as a prisoner till the

gates of Jerusalem should be opened and his treasures delivered up to the Romans. But when A. Gabinius, who was sent to take possession of the city, appeared, the gates were closed against him: Pompeius, accusing Aristobûlus of treachery, put him into close confinement and advanced to lay siege to the city. Timber for the construction of machines was brought from Tyre; but, though the friends of Hyrcânus admitted the Romans into the lower town, the temple was so bravely defended that the siege lasted three months; and it was only by taking advantage of the Sabbath, on which the superstition of the Jews would not let them defend themselves, and storming on that day, that it was taken. Pompeius, it is said, entered into the Holy of Holies of the temple, but he took away none of the sacred treasures; the priesthood was given to Hyrcânus; all the conquests made by his predecessors were taken from him, and an annual tribute was imposed on the land.

When Pompeius was about to form the siege of Jerusalem, tidings came to him of the death of Mithridâtes. This persevering monarch, undismayed by his reverses, had, it is said, formed the bold plan of effecting a union of the various tribes and nations dwelling from the Mæotis to the Alps, and at their head descending on Italy while Pompeius was away in Syria. His friends and officers, however, shrank from this daring project, and thought rather of making their peace with the Romans; some of them had even carried off his children, and put them into Pompeius' hands. This made the old king suspicious and cruel, and he put some of his sons to death. His son Pharnâces, fearing for himself, and expecting to get the kingdom from the Romans, conspired against him in the city of Panticapæum, where they were residing. Mithridâtes on learning the conspiracy sent his guards to seize the rebel, but they went over to his side, and the citizens also declared for him. Having vainly sent to ask permission to depart, and seeing that all was now over, the aged monarch retired into the palace, and, taking the poison which he had always ready, he gave part of it to his two virgin daughters and drank the remainder himself. The princesses died immediately; but his body had, it is said, been so fortified with antidotes, that the poison took little effect on him. He then implored a Gallic chief not to let him endure the disgrace of being led in triumph, and the Gaul despatched him with his sword.

Thus perished in the seventy-third year of his age, and

after a contest of twenty-seven years with Rome, the king of Pontus, a man certainly to be classed among those whom we denominate great. Enterprising, ambitious, of great strength and dexterity of mind and body, quick to discern advantages, unscrupulous as to means, utterly careless of human life, and therefore at times barbarously cruel, his greatness was that of an Asiatic, and his character will find many a parallel, though not many an equal, in Oriental history. As a proof of his mental powers, we are told that, ruling over twenty-two different peoples, he could converse with each of them in their own language.

Pompeius, giving up all thoughts of Arabia, of which he had proposed the conquest, returned to Pontus. At Amîsus he was met by envoys bearing the submission of Pharnâces, with presents and the embalmed body of Mithridâtes and his royal ornaments. The Roman general, who warred not with the dead, sent the corpse for interment to Sinôpe. He confirmed Pharnâces in the kingdom of Bosporus, and reduced Pontus to a province; and, having wintered at Ephesus, he set out (690) on his return for Italy. Great apprehension was felt at Rome, as it was surely expected that, elate with conquest and possessed of such power, he would lead his army to the city and make himself absolute. But, true to his character, on landing at Brundisium he dismissed his soldiers to their homes, only requiring them to appear at his triumph, and then, attended by his friends alone, he set out for Rome.

His triumph, which took place the following year (691) and lasted for two days, was the most magnificent Rome had as yet seen. The names of the numerous kings and peoples he had warred with were proclaimed aloud; the immense treasures and spoils he had won were displayed; pictures of towns and battles and other events were borne along; the captive princes, Tigrânes, Aristobôlus, and others, with their families, walked in procession; the images of Mithridâtes, the elder Tigrânes, and other absent princes were carried; a table declared the numbers of ships that had been taken and cities founded, and the names of the kings who had been conquered. Pompeius appeared in a stately chariot, followed by his officers and his whole army, horse and foot. Contrary to the usual practice, none of the captive princes were put to death. The money brought into the treasury amounted to 20,000 talents, besides 16,000 which he had

distributed among his soldiers, the lowest sum given to any of them being 1500 drachmas.

Even before he came to Rome, a decree had been passed allowing him to wear a triumphal robe at the Circensian games, the *prætecta* at all others, and a laurel wreath at all. He had however the modesty to take advantage but once of this decree.

CHAPTER VII.*

CATILINA'S CONSPIRACY. — ARREST AND EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF CATILINA. — HONORS GIVEN TO CICERO. — FACTIOUS ATTEMPTS AT ROME. — CLODIUS VIOLATES THE MYSTERIES OF THE BONA DEA. — HIS TRIAL.

WHILE Pompeius was absent in the East, a conspiracy was discovered and suppressed at Rome, which from the rank of those engaged in it, and the atrocious means resorted to to accomplish the most nefarious objects, sets in a strong light the state of moral corruption among the Roman nobility of this time, and shows that no form of government but the single power of monarchy was adequate to maintaining the state.

L. Sergius Catilina, a member of one of the oldest patrician families, was a man of very great powers of mind and body, but from his youth familiar with every species of crime. In the time of Sulla he was the murderer of his own brother; he afterwards, it was firmly believed, put his own son out of the way, to make room for his marriage with a beautiful but abandoned woman; and he was accused of various other enormities. He had been prætor (686) in Africa, and he aspired to the consulate; but he only regarded this high office as the means of relieving his desperate circumstances, by renewing scenes of proscription, bloodshed, and robbery, similar to those in which he had acted in the days of Sulla.

Catilina had collected around him a vast number of des-

* Sallust, Catilina. Appian, B. C. ii. 1—7. Dion, xxxvii 24—46. Plut. Cicero and Cæsar.

peradoꝛs of every description, — all bankrupts in fame and fortune, all who had been punished or feared punishment for their crimes, all in fine who had any thing to hope from a revolution. He sought by every means to inveigle young men of family, and for this purpose spared no expense to gratify their propensities and vices. But it was not such alone that were engaged in his designs; they were shared in by some of the first men in Rome, magistrates, senators, and knights. In an assembly which met on one occasion at his house, when he unfolded his views, there were present, of the senatorian order, P. Lentulus Sura, C. Cethégus, P. and Ser. Sulla, (all of the Cornélian gens,) L. Cassius Longinus, P. Autronius, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Calpurnius Bestia, and Q. Curius; of the equestrian, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius. It was thought too that M. Licinius Crassus and C. Julius Cæsar knew at least of the conspiracy. Several women of rank were also engaged in it, as Catilina expected them to be useful in raising the slaves, in firing the city, in gaining over, or, if not, in murdering, their husbands. The young noblemen in general were favorably disposed to it; several leading men in the colonies and municipal towns joined in it; and it was reckoned that Sulla's soldiers, who had dissipated their gains, would be easily brought to take arms again, along with those whom he had robbed of their lands.

The meeting alluded to was held about the kalends of June, 688; and Catilina, having addressed the conspirators in the strain usual on such occasions, representing them as the most injured and unhappy of mortals, and the possessors of wealth as the most oppressive of tyrants, called on them to aid in every way to gain him the consulate; promising in return the abolition of debts, proscription of the wealthy, the possession of the lucrative priesthoods and magistracies, and rapine and plunder of every kind. It was even reported, that before they separated they bound themselves by an oath, drinking human blood mingled with wine.

A woman was the cause of the affair coming to light. Curius, who carried on an intrigue with a lady named Fulvia, had been of late rather slighted by her, as he was not able from poverty to make her presents as heretofore; but he now completely altered his tone, boasting of the wealth he should have, and treating her with the greatest insolence. Fulvia, guessing that there must be some secret

cause for such a change; never ceased till she had drawn the truth from him; and she made known what she had heard without naming her author. The nobility, whose pride had hitherto made them adverse to Cicero's getting the consulate, as he was what was called a *new man*, now being menaced with ruin, and knowing him to be the only man able effectually to oppose Catilina, gave him their support, and he and C. Antonius were elected.

Catilina, though disappointed, did not despair; he resolved to stand for the consulate again, (689;) he exerted himself to gain more associates at Rome and throughout Italy; and, having borrowed money on his own and his friends' credit, he sent it to Fæsulæ to one C. Mallius, one of Sulla's old officers, to enable him to raise troops. He also made every effort to have Cicero taken off; but this able consul went always well guarded, and having, through Fulvia, gained over Curius, he received regular information of Catilina's designs; he also, by giving his colleague the choice of provinces, secured his fidelity to the state.

The day of election came, and Catilina was again foiled. He now became desperate and resolved on war, for which purpose he sent Mallius back to Fæsulæ, C. Julius to Apulia, and one Septimius to Picenum, and others to other places; then, assembling the principal conspirators and upbraiding them with their inertness, he declared his intention of setting out for Mallius' army, but that he must first have an end put to Cicero, who impeded all his plans. A senator and a knight, L. Vargunteius and C. Cornelius, forthwith offered to go that very night with armed men to the consul's house, and, under pretence of saluting, to murder him. Curius, as no time was to be lost, hastened to Fulvia; the consul was warned in time, and his doors were closed against the assassins. Cicero, having also ascertained that Mallius was actually in arms, saw that there was no further room for delay; he laid the whole matter before the senate, and it was decreed in the usual form that the consuls should take measures for the safety of the state. The prætors and other officers were sent to Apulia and elsewhere to provide against emergencies; guards were placed at Rome; the gladiators were removed to Capua and other towns; rewards were offered for information, to a slave his freedom and 100,000 sesterces, to a freeman double that sum and a pardon.

At length Catilina, as if he were the victim of persecution,

boldly entered the senate and faced his foes. Cicero's anger was roused at the sight of him; he poured forth a flood of indignant oratory: the overwhelmed traitor muttered some sentences of exculpation; the whole senate called him an enemy and a parricide; he then flung off the mask; in a fury he cried out that he would quench the flames raised around him in the ruins of his country, and hurried to his home. Then, having directed Lentulus and the others how to act, he set out that night with a few companions for the camp of Mallius. On his way he wrote to several consulars, saying that he was going into exile at Massilia: it was, however, soon ascertained that he had entered the rebel camp with fasces and other consular ornaments. The senate then proclaimed him and Mallius public enemies, and offered a pardon to all those, not guilty of capital crimes, who should quit them before a certain day; but neither this nor the former decree had the slightest effect, such was the general appetite for change, for blood, and for rapine.

Lentulus meantime was exerting himself to gain associates, and, as there happened to be ambassadors from the Allobroges then at Rome, — come, as usual, to try if they could get redress from the senate for the oppression of the Roman governors, — he had them sounded by one Umbrénus, and, when they eagerly caught at hopes of relief, Umbrénus introduced them to Gabinius and informed them of the conspiracy, telling them the names of those engaged in it, and mentioning among others many innocent persons. They agreed on the part of their nation to join it; but afterwards, when they reflected coolly on the matter, they thought the course too hazardous, and went and revealed all they knew to Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state. Sanga instantly informed Cicero, who directed that they should pretend the greatest zeal for the plot, and learn as much of it as they could.

The conspirators had now arranged their plan. On a certain day Bestia, who was a tribune, was to harangue the people, throwing all the blame of the civil war now on the eve of breaking out on Cicero; the following night Statilius and Gabinius with their bands were to fire the city in twelve places, while Cethégus should watch at Cicero's doors, others at those of other men of rank, to kill them as they came out; the young noblemen were to murder their fathers; and thus having filled the city with blood and tumult, the whole party were to break out and join Catilina.

By Cicero's direction the Allobroges required an oath, sealed by the principal conspirators, to take home to their people. This was readily given them, and one T. Volturcius was directed to go with them and introduce them, on the way, to Catilina, to whom he was also the bearer of a letter from Lentulus. They left Rome by night, and when they came to the Mulvian bridge they were assailed by the troops which they knew the consul had placed there: they gave themselves up at once, as also did Volturcius, seeing resistance was in vain, and all were brought back to Rome. Cicero, having now sufficient evidence in his hands, sent for the principal conspirators and arrested them. He then called together the senate; the letters were read, the Allobroges gave their evidence; Volturcius, being promised life and liberty, made a full confession; Lentulus and the rest acknowledged their seals. It was decreed that Lentulus, who was prætor, should lay down his office, and that he and all the rest should be held in free custody. The tide of popular feeling turned completely against the conspirators, when it was known that they had designed to fire the city, and every voice now extolled the consul.

In a day or two after, one L. Tarquinius was taken on his way to Catilina, and, being promised his life, told the same story with Volturcius, but added, that he was sent by M. Crassus to tell Catilina not to be cast down at the arrest of Lentulus and the others, but on the contrary to advance with all speed toward the city. The information perhaps was true, but such was the power and influence his wealth gave Crassus, and so many of the senators were in his debt, that it was at once voted false, and Tarquinius was ordered to be laid in chains till he should tell at whose instigation he acted. Some thought it was a plan of Autronius, that, by implicating Crassus, he might save himself and the others; others, that it was done by Cicero to keep Crassus from taking up the cause of criminals, as was his wont. Crassus himself affected to take this last view of the case. Catulus and Piso, it is said, vainly tried to induce the consul to implicate Cæsar; * yet the opinion of his being concerned was so strong, that some of the knights menaced him with their swords as he came out of the senate.

Some days after, (the nones of December,) Cicero, having

* Sallust, *Catil.* 49. Perhaps they only wanted him to produce the evidence he possessed.

ascertained that Lentulus and Cethégus were making every exertion to induce the slaves and the rabble to rise in their favor, again assembled the senate, and put the question what should be done with those in custody, as they had already declared them guilty of treason. D. Junius Silanus, consul elect, being, as was usual, asked the first, voted for capital punishment. When the consul put the question to C. Cæsar, prætor elect, he rose, and, in an artful speech, dissuaded from severity, and proposed that their properties should be confiscated, themselves confined in the municipal towns, and that any one who should speak in their favor to the senate or people, should be held to have acted against the interests of the republic. This speech caused many to waver; but when M. Porcius Cato, one of the tribunes, rose, and displayed the guilt of the conspirators in its true colors, and the danger and impolicy of ill-timed clemency, their execution was decided on almost unanimously. Cicero, that very day, having directed the Capital Triumvirs to have every thing ready, himself conducted Lentulus to the prison, where he was immediately strangled by the officers, as also were Cethégus, Statilius, Gabinus, and Cæparius. When Cicero came forth, he said, using a common euphemism, "They have lived!" in order to extinguish the hopes of such of their confederates as were in the Forum. The populace then gave a loose to their joy, and followed him home, calling him the savior and founder of the city; and it being now evening, lights were set at the doors throughout all the streets, and the women stood on the roofs of the houses to gaze on him as he passed.

Catilina had meantime augmented his forces from two thousand men to two legions, of which however only a fourth were properly armed. On the approach of Antonius, who was sent against him, he fell back into the mountains, avoiding an action till he should hear from Rome. He also rejected the slaves, who at first were flocking to him in great numbers. But when the news of the execution of Lentulus and the others came, and he found his forces melting away, — as those whose only object had been plunder, thinking the case now desperate, were going off every day, — he tried to escape into Cisalpine Gaul with those who remained. But Q. Metellus Celer, who commanded in Picenum, being informed, by deserters, of his design, came and encamped at the foot of the mountains. Catilina, seeing escape thus cut off, resolved to give battle at once to Anto-

nus. He chose a position between hills on one side, and rocks on the other; and, having placed his best men in front, and sent away all the horses, that the danger might be equal, he prepared for action. Antonius, being either really ill of the gout, or making it a pretext, gave the command to his legate M. Petreius. Catilina and his men fought with desperation, and were slain to a man; and the loss on the part of the victors was also considerable, (690.)

The suppression of this conspiracy was doubtless the most glorious act of Cicero's life; and, could he have controlled his vanity, which was inordinate, and left more to others the task of praising it, his fame would perhaps be purer. Pompeius declared more than once in the senate that the safety of the state was due to Cicero, and that he had vainly been entitled to claim a third triumph if Cicero had not preserved a republic for him to triumph in. Crassus said on one occasion that he was indebted to Cicero for his being now a senator, a citizen, free, and alive; and that whenever he looked at his wife, his house, his country, he beheld his good deeds. L. Gellius declared in the senate that he deserved a civic crown; and the censor L. Aurelius Cotta had a supplication* decreed him, — an honor never before granted to a gowned citizen. Finally, he was styled by Q. Catulus the first of the senate, Father of his Country; and several of the senators, even Cato included, joined in the appellation; and when, on going out of office, he was prevented by the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos from haranguing the people, as was usual, before he made oath that he had kept the laws, he swore aloud that, through him alone, the republic and the city had been saved; and the whole people averred that he had sworn the truth.

But the party who wished the subversion of the state persisted in their efforts against him. The same Metellus, urged on by Cæsar, it is said, proposed a bill to recall Pompeius with his army, to end the seditions caused by the attempt of Catilina and the tyranny of Cicero. As this was evidently directed against the senate, Cato tried at first, in that assembly, to soothe Metellus, reminding him of the aristocratic feelings always shown by his family; but when he found that this only increased his insolence, he changed

* The *supplication* or thanksgiving (the probable origin of the *Te Deum* of modern times) was usually given only on occasion of victories over foreign enemies in the field.

his tone, and loudly declared that while *he* lived Pompeius should not bring an army into the city; and he pointed out to the senate the evident danger of the proposed measure.

When the day of voting came, Metellus filled the Forum with strangers, gladiators, and slaves, being resolved to carry his bill by force. Cato's family and friends were under great apprehension for him; but, fixed on doing his duty, when one of his colleagues, Q. Minucius, came and called him up in the morning, he rose and set out for the Forum. Seeing the temple of Castor occupied by gladiators, while Cæsar and Metellus sat on the Rostra, he cried, "What a bold and timid man, who has raised such a force against one unarmed man!" He then advanced to the Rostra, and took his seat between the two: numbers of well-disposed persons in the crowd cried out to him to be stout, and to those about them to stand by him in defence of their freedom. Metellus then ordered the clerk to read out the bill; Cato forbade him. Metellus took it himself, and began to read it; Cato snatched it from him. Metellus then began to repeat it from memory; but Minucius put his hand on his mouth and stopped it. Metellus then ordered his gladiators to act. The people were dispersed; Cato remained alone; he was assailed with sticks and stones; but Muræna, whom he had one time prosecuted, threw his gown over him, and brought him into the temple of Castor. Metellus then dismissed his bandits, and was proceeding at his ease to pass his law, when the opposite party rallied and drove him and his partisans away. Cato came forth and encouraged them, and the senate met and passed a decree for the consuls to take care of the republic. Metellus, having assembled the people, and uttered a tirade against the tyranny of Cato and the conspiracy against Pompeius, went off to Asia to boast to him of what he had done. The senate deprived both him and Cæsar of their offices: the latter, at first, disregarded the decree, and sat in court as usual; but, finding that force was about to be employed against him, he dismissed his lictors and retired to his house; and when, two days after, a multitude repaired to him offering to re-instate him by force, he declined their services. This conduct, so unexpected, was so grateful to the senate, that they sent forthwith to thank him, and rescinded their decree.*

At the close of Cæsar's prætorship, the rites of the Bona

* Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. 16.

Dea were according to usage, celebrated by the women in his house. At this festival no man was allowed to be present; but P. Clodius, the brother-in-law of Lucullus, a man of such profligacy of morals that the suspicion of incest with his own sisters was so strong against him that Lucullus had divorced his wife on account of it, shrank not from polluting the mysteries. He was violently enamored of Cæsar's wife, Pompeia; and it was arranged between them that, to elude the vigilance of her mother-in-law, Aurelia, he should come disguised as a woman. He got into the house, but while the slave who was the confidant was gone to inform her mistress, he went roaming about, and meeting one of Aurelia's slaves was discovered by her. She gave the alarm; he was found in his hiding-place, and turned out of the house. The affair was soon known to every one. The senate consulted the pontiffs, and on their pronouncing it to have been impiety, the new consul, M. Pupius Piso, (691,) was directed to bring the matter before the people. Piso, himself a man of indifferent character, and the creature of Pompeius, worked underhand against it. Clodius and his partisans exerted themselves to have a good body of the rabble in readiness to disturb the voting. The nobles, seeing how it would be, had the assembly dismissed; and, on the motion of Hortensius, it was resolved that the prætor and the usual judges, who were to be chosen by lot, should try the matter. Money and every other inducement was now to be employed on the judges, who were mostly embarrassed and profligate men. Crassus, as usual, was most liberal; * and out of fifty-six, thirty-one acquitted Clodius. The judges, pretending fear, had asked a guard from the senate. "Were you afraid," said Catulus, a few days after, to one of them, "that the money would be taken from you?" When Clodius in the senate afterwards said to Cicero, who had given evidence against him, † that the judges had not given him credit, "Yes," replied he, "twenty-five did; but thirty-one would not give you credit, for they received the money beforehand," — so notorious was the manner in which the verdict had been obtained. Cæsar, when examined on

* Cicero ad Att. i. 15.

† Clodius had attempted to prove an *alibi*, by bringing people to swear that he had been at Interamna, sixty miles off, at the time he was said to have been in Cæsar's house; but Cicero, when examined, declared that he had been with him at Rome that very morning. Clodius never forgave him for not having perjured himself.

the trial, though his mother and sister had given the fullest and most satisfactory evidence, denied that he had found any thing wrong. He had however divorced his wife; and on being asked why he did so, as he declared her to be innocent, he replied, "Because I will have those belonging to me as free from suspicion as from crime."* A very specious sentiment certainly! Cæsar however had no doubt of his wife's guilt, but he wanted to secure the aid of Clodius, whom he knew to be a bold villain, for his future projects, and he thought the purchase worth the price.

CHAPTER VIII. †

POMPEIUS AND LUCULLUS. — C. JULIUS CÆSAR. — M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. — M. PORCIUS CATO. — M. TULLIUS CICERO. — POMPEIUS AT ROME. — CONSULATE OF CÆSAR. — EXILE OF CICERO. — ROBBERY OF THE KING OF CYPRUS. — RECALL OF CICERO. — HIS CONDUCT AFTER HIS RETURN.

As Catulus died about this time, the leading men in the Roman state were Lucullus, Pompeius, Cæsar, Crassus, Cato, and Cicero. We will now, therefore, sketch the previous history of these persons. The actions of the first two have been already related. Pompeius now only aimed at maintaining a virtual supremacy in the state: he was no tyrant by nature; but he was vain and covetous of fame, and finding himself thwarted and opposed in the senate, he courted the favor of the people. Lucullus, after his return from Asia, took little share in public affairs; he abandoned himself to luxurious enjoyments to such an excess as to have made his name proverbial. His luxury, however, was of a far more refined and elegant nature than was usual, and he was a zealous patron and cultivator of literature. He rarely visited the senate or Forum, and only when it was necessary to oppose the projects of Pompeius, with whom he was justly incensed for his treatment of him in Asia. His politics were at all times aristocratic.

* Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. 74.

† Appian, B. C. ii. 8—16. Dion, xxxviii. 1—30, xxxix. 6—11, 17—23. Plut. Cicero, Cato, Cæsar, and Pompeius.

C. Julius Cæsar, of an ancient patrician family, was nephew by marriage to Marius, and had married the daughter of Ciuna, whom, when ordered by Sulla, he refused to divorce. The dictator refused to allow him to assume the dignity of Flamen Diâlis, (to which he had been nominated by Marius and Ciuna) deprived him of his wife's portion, and his gentile rights of inheritance; and only granted his life to the prayers of the Vestals, and of his relations Mam. Æmilius and C. Aurelius Cotta, telling them at the same time, it is said, that he would one time be the destruction of the aristocratic party, for that there were many Marii in him. Cæsar retired to Asia, and his enemies always asserted that at this time he prostituted himself to Nicomêdes, king of Bithynia. On the death of Sulla he returned to Rome, and prosecuted Cn. Cornelius Dolabella for extortion in Greece; but, failing to convict him, he retired to Rhodes to attend the lectures of the rhetorician Molo. On his way he was taken by pirates, and while detained by them, waiting for his ransom, he used, apparently in jest, to threaten that he would yet crucify them; but when at liberty, he collected a fleet, attacked them, and did as he had threatened. When he came back to Rome he was chosen by the people one of the military tribunes, (682,) and he was active in aiding Pompeius and Crassus in restoring their powers to the tribunes of the people. His wife Cornelia being now dead, he espoused Pompeia the niece of Sulla. He then (686) went as quæstor with Antistius Vetus to Ulterior Spain; but finding no occupation there for his ambitious spirit, he obtained leave to return to Rome. He tried to excite the Latin colonies who were claiming the civic franchise, but, finding that the legions destined for Cilicia were detained on account of it, he gave up this project. He soon after (687) fell under a strong suspicion of being concerned with Crassus, Catilina, Piso, and others to murder a part of the senate; Crassus, it is said, was then to be dictator, and Cæsar his master of the horse. Crassus however lost courage, and the attempt was not made. Piso being sent to Spain, Cæsar, it is added, planned a simultaneous rising with him; but the death of Piso prevented its execution. Cæsar was ædile this year, and he entertained the people with all kinds of shows at an enormous expense; and, as a means of repairing his fortune, he sought Egypt as his province, where the people of Alexandria had expelled their king; but the nobility opposed, and to spite them he re-

placed on the Capitol the statues and the Cimbric trophies of Marius, which Sulla had removed; he also caused to be prosecuted as murderers those who had received money out of the treasury for bringing the heads of the proscribed; and he excited T. Labiënus to prosecute C. Rabirius for the murder of L. Saturninus, who was put to death by order of the senate thirty-seven years before. Q. Catulus, observing these proceedings, exclaimed, "Cæsar assails the constitution now with engines, not by mines." On the death of the chief pontiff Metellus Pius, (688,) Cæsar stood for the office against Q. Catulus and P. Servilius Isauricus, two of the first men in the state, relying on the power of his money; for he had bribed to such an extent, and was thereby so immersed in debt, that, when taking leave of his mother on the day of election, he said to her, "Mother, you will see your son to-day chief pontiff or an exile." He was elected; having had more votes in his competitors' own tribes than they had altogether. He was prætor elect at the time of Catilina's conspiracy, and we have seen his conduct on that occasion and his union with Metellus Nepos. On the expiration of his office he was appointed proprætor in Spain; but his creditors would not let him go, till Crassus, who knew how useful he might be to him, satisfied the most urgent, and gave security to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents to the others.

M. Licinius Crassus was a man of considerable talent and eloquence, but of insatiable avarice. In the time of Sulla he obtained by gift or purchase at low rates an immense quantity of the property of the proscribed, and he used every means to augment his wealth. He courted the people with entertainments; he lent money to his friends without interest, and to others on interest; and by these means had such a number of persons under his influence, that he possessed considerable power in the state. His eloquence gave him great advantage as an advocate, and he usually undertook the defence of those accused of crimes. Crassus had not the great talents of Cæsar, but his private character was much purer.

M. Porcius Cato, a descendant of the celebrated censor, was like him a rigid maintainer of the old Roman manners. His life was stainless, his morals austere; but he was not totally exempt from the vanity which seemed inherent in his family. Having served as a military tribune in Macedonia, and made a tour through Asia, he returned to

Rome, and devoted himself to public affairs. He was first appointed to the quæstorship, and (what was, it seems, very unusual at the time) before he entered on the duties of his office he made himself master of the laws and rules belonging to it. The clerks, who heretofore had done all the business as they pleased under the name of the ignorant young noblemen who were appointed to the office, now found matters quite altered; they attempted to thwart him, but he turned some of them out, and soon reduced them to order. He brought the treasury into a more flourishing state than it had been for some time. He made those who had received from Sulla the 50,000 sesterces for the murder of the proscribed refund, as possessing the public money unlawfully; and they were then prosecuted for the murders they had committed. Cato never was absent from a sitting of the senate or an assembly of the people; he was the first to enter, the last to leave, the senate-house; in the intervals of business he drew his cloak before his face and read, having a book always with him. When his friends, in the year 689, urged him to stand for the tribunate, he declined and retired to his estate in Lucania; but on his road meeting the train of Metellus Nepos, who was going, with Pompeius' approbation, to sue for the office, he paused, and, having reflected on the evil Metellus might do if not vigorously opposed, he returned, offered himself as a candidate, and, being elected, acted as we have seen above. Cicero objected to Cato that he did not, like himself, bend to circumstances, speaking, as he terms it, as if he were in Plato's republic and not in the dregs of Romulus; and his observation is just; but it is this very thing that gives dignity to Cato's character: as for the republic, it was already past redemption.

M. Tullius Cicero was a native of Arpinum in the Volscian country, where his family had been connected with that of Marius. His superior talents early displayed themselves, and were sedulously cultured; and, though of rather a timid character, he ventured to plead the cause of Sex. Roscius, who was unjustly prosecuted for parricide by Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus and his agents, after they had robbed him of his property. Though he succeeded Sulla testified no enmity toward him; he, however, some time after went to Greece for the sake of study, and of hearing the lectures of the most distinguished teachers of rhetoric. After his return he was appointed (677) frumentary quæstor for Sicily,

and in this office he exhibited that spirit of humanity and justice which always distinguished him. In 682, when Pompeius and Crassus were consuls, Cicero, then ædile elect, appeared as the prosecutor of the notorious C. Verres for robbery and extortion in Sicily. He was chosen prætor for the year 686. It would appear that, as the haughty nobility looked down on him as being a *new man*, he now chiefly sought the favor of the people and of Pompeius; for while in office he strenuously supported the Manilian law, which was certainly not a constitutional measure. The danger caused by Catilina however drew Cicero and the aristocracy closely together; they raised him to his glorious consulate, and he ever after continued to be their ablest supporter.

Pompeius on his return from Asia found his party in the senate not so strong as hitherto; Lucullus and Metellus Creticus were both hostile to him, Crassus bore him the old grudge, Cicero had somewhat cooled in his ardor. The first request which he had made, namely, to have the consular elections for 691 deferred till he should arrive to canvass for his friend M. Pupius Piso, was refused, Cato opposing it as unconstitutional. Piso however was elected; but he does not appear to have quite answered Pompeius' purpose, being perhaps impeded by his colleague M. Valerius Messâla. At the next election (691) Pompeius (Piso being his agent) actually bought the consulate for his creature L. Afranius, paying the tribes so much apiece for their votes.* Even this did not answer, as Afranius was a man of little account, and his colleague Q. Metellus Celer was personally hostile to Pompeius for having divorced his sister Mucia. What Pompeius chiefly wanted to accomplish was, to get lands for his soldiers, and to have all his acts in Asia confirmed in the mass by the senate; but Lucullus and his party insisted, with reason, that they should be gone through separately, and confirmed or not according to their merits. At Pompeius' desire the tribune L. Flavius moved an agrarian law, and to gain the people they were joined in it with the soldiers. Cicero, proposing amendments for the security of private property, and for the purchase of the lands to be divided out of the new revenues of the state, gave the bill his support; for he wished to oblige Pompeius, and he expected that it would help to remove the rabble from the city.† But

* Cicero ad Att. i. 16. Plut. Pomp. 44.

† Cic. ad Att. i. 19

the senate was strongly opposed to it; the tribune on his side was violent; he cast the consul Metellus into prison, and, when Metellus summoned the senate thither, Flavius placed his official seat in the door and told them they must make their way through the wall. Pompeius however, through shame and fear of disgusting the people, ordered him to rise and leave the passage free. The bill appears to have been then given up.

Cæsar, who, by expeditions against the Lusitanians, had, as he considered, gotten sufficient materials for a triumph, and was anxious to obtain the consulate, hastened home when the time of the elections was at hand, (692.) As there was no room for delay, he applied to the senate for permission to enter the city before his triumph in order to canvass the people; but Cato and his friends opposing it, it was refused. Cæsar, who was not a man to sacrifice the substance for the show, gave up the triumph; and, entering the city, formed a coalition with L. Luceius, a man of wealth who was also a candidate, of which the terms were that Luceius should distribute money in his own and Cæsar's name conjointly, and Cæsar in like manner give him a share in his influence. The nobles, when they saw this coalition, resolved to give all their interest to M. Calpurnius Bibulus, the other candidate, and, with even Cato's consent, authorized him to offer as high as Luceius, engaging to raise the money among them. Bibulus therefore was elected with Cæsar, whose daring projects the senate thus hoped to restrain.

Cæsar, who well knew the character of Pompeius, resolved to make him and Crassus the ladder of his ambition. He represented to them how absurd their jealousy and enmity was, which only gave importance to such people as Cato and Cicero; whereas if they three were united they might command the state. They saw the truth of what he said, and each, blinded by his vanity and ambition, expecting to derive the greatest advantage from it, agreed to the coalition; and thus was formed a Triumvirate, bound by a secret pledge that nothing displeasing to any one of them should be allowed to pass.

Cæsar, as soon as he entered on his office, (693,) introduced an agrarian law for dividing all the public land (except in Campania) among Pompeius' soldiers and the poorer citizens; purchasing it however from the present possessors, and appointing twenty commissioners to carry the law into

effect, among whom were to be Pompeius and Crassus. This law, to which they could make no objection, was highly displeasing to the adverse party in the senate, who suspected Cæsar's ulterior designs, and Cato declared strongly against any change. Cæsar menaced to drag him off to prison; he professed himself ready to go that instant, and several rose to follow him. Cæsar then grew ashamed and desisted, but he dismissed the senate, telling them he would bring the matter at once before the people; and he called the senate together no longer during his consulate.

He then laid his bill before the people, to which he had added a clause for dividing the lands of Campania, in lots of ten jugers, among twenty thousand poor citizens with three or more children;* and, being desirous to have some of the principal persons to express their approbation of it, he first addressed his colleague, but Bibulus declared himself adverse to innovation; he then affected to entreat him, asking the people to join with him, as if Bibulus wished they might have it; "Then," cried Bibulus, "you shall not have it this year even if you all will it," and went away. Cæsar, expecting a similar refusal from the other magistrates, made no application to them, but bringing forward Pompeius and Crassus desired them to say what they thought of the law. Pompeius then spoke highly in favor of it, and on Cæsar and the people asking him if he would support them against those who opposed it, he cried, elate with this proof of his importance, "If any man dares to draw a sword, I will raise a buckler!" Crassus also expressed his approbation, and as the coalition was a secret, the example of these two leading men induced many others to give their consent and support to the law. Bibulus however was still firm, and he was supported by three of the tribunes; and, as a means of impeding the law, he declared all the remaining days of the year *nefasti*, or holydays. When Cæsar, regardless of his proclamations, fixed a day for passing the law, Bibulus and his friends came to the temple of Castor, whence he was haranguing the people, and attempted to oppose him; but he was pushed down, a basket of dung was flung upon him, his lictors' *fascæ* were broken, his friends (among whom were Cato and the trib-

* Cicero (ad Att. ii. 16) highly disapproved of this. He however expected that, as the land would yield but 5000 lots, the people would be discontented

unes) were beaten and wounded, and so the law was passed. Bibulus henceforth did not quit his house, whence he continually issued edicts declaring all that was done on the nefast days to be unlawful. The tribune P. Vatinius, one of Cæsar's creatures, even attempted to drag him to prison, but he was opposed by his colleagues.

The senate were required to swear to this law, as formerly to that of Saturninus. Metellus, Cato, and Cato's imitator Favonius at first declared loudly that *they* would not do so; but having the fate of Numidicus before their eyes, and knowing the inutility of opposition, they yielded to the remonstrances of their friends.

Having thus gained the people, Cæsar proceeded to secure the knights, and here Cato's Utopian policy aided him. This most influential body thinking, or pretending, that they had taken the tolls at too high a rate, had applied to the senate for a reduction, but Cato insisted on keeping them to their bargain. Cæsar, without heeding him or the senate, reduced them at once a third, and thus this self-interested body was detached from the party of the aristocracy, and all Cicero's work undone. Cæsar now found himself strong enough to keep his promise to Pompeius, all whose acts in Asia were confirmed by the people.*

The triumvirate, or rather Cæsar, was extremely anxious to gain Cicero over to their side, on account of the influence which he possessed. But, though he had a great personal regard for Pompeius, he rejected all their overtures. Cæsar then resolved to make him feel his resentment, and the best mode seemed to be to let Clodius loose at him. This profligate had long been trying to become a tribune of the people, but for that purpose it was necessary he should be a plebeian, which could only be effected by adoption. His first efforts were unavailing; but when Cicero, in defending his former colleague Antonius, took occasion to make some reflections on the present condition of the commonwealth, Cæsar, to punish him, had the law for Clodius' adoption passed at once, Pompeius degrading himself by acting as augur on this occasion, in which all the laws and rules on the subject were violated.†

* It was probably on this occasion that Cæsar so terrified Lucullus by false accusations that he threw himself at his feet. Suet. Jul. Cæs. 20.

† To make an adoption legal, it was necessary that the adopter should be older than the adopted, have no children, and be incapable

Some time after, one Vettius, who had been one of Cicero's informers in the affair of Catilina, being suborned, it is said, by Cæsar, declared that several young noblemen had entered into a plot, in which he partook, to murder Pompeius; and he named L. Æmilius Paulus, who was then actually pro-quæstor in Macedonia, as the head of it. The senate ordered him to prison; next day Cæsar produced him on the Rostra, when he omitted some whom he had named to the senate, and added others, among whom were Lucullus and Cicero's son-in-law Piso, and hinted at Cicero himself. Vettius was taken back to prison, where he was privately murdered by his accomplices, as Cæsar said,* — by Cæsar himself, according to others.†

The senate, to render Cæsar as innoxious as possible, had, in right of the Sempronian law, assigned the woods and roads as the provinces of the consuls on the expiration of their office. But Cæsar had no idea of being foiled thus; and his creature, the tribune Vatinius, had a law passed by the people, giving him the province of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with three legions, for five years; and when, on the death of Metellus Celer, he expressed a wish to have Transalpine Gaul added, the senate, as he would otherwise have applied to the people, granted it to him with another legion. In order to draw the ties more closely between himself and Pompeius, he gave him in marriage his lovely and amiable daughter Julia, and he himself married the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, whom, with A. Gabinius, a creature of Pompeius, the triumvirs had destined for the consulate of the following year. They also secured the tribunate for Clodius; and thus terminated the memorable consulate of Cæsar and Bibulus.

Clodius lost no time (694) in preparing for his attack on Cicero. He first secured the consuls, who were distressed and profligate men, by engaging to get Macedonia and Achaia for Piso as his province, and Syria for Gabinius. Then, to win the people, he proposed a law for distributing corn to them gratis; by another law he reestablished the

of having any, and that there should be no collusion in the affair; all of which should be proved before a college of the priests. Now Fonteyus, who adopted Clodius, was not twenty, while his adopted son was thirty-five: he had moreover a wife and children, and the priests were never consulted. How this transaction must make one hate Cæsar, and despise Pompeius!

* Appian, B. C. ii. 12.

† Suet. Jul. Cæs 20.

clubs and unions,* which the senate had suppressed, and formed new ones out of the dregs of the people and even of the slaves; by a third law he prohibited any one from watching the heavens on assembly days;† and by a fourth he forbade the censors to note any senator unless he was openly accused before them, and that they both agreed. Having thus, as he thought, secured the favor of the consuls and the people, and having a sufficient number of ruffians from the clubs and unions at his devotion, he proposed a bill interdicting from fire and water any person who, without sentence of the people, had or should put any citizen to death. Cicero, who, though he was not named, knew that he was aimed at, was so foolish and cowardly as to change his raiment, (a thing he afterwards justly regretted,) and go about supplicating the people according to custom, as if he were actually accused; but Clodius and his ruffians met him, in all the streets, threw dirt and stones at him, and impeded his supplications: the knights, the young men, and numbers of others, with young Crassus at their head, changed their habits with him and protected him. They assembled on the Capitol, and sent some of the most respectable of their body on his behalf to the consuls and the senate, who were in the temple of Concord; but Gabinius would not let them come near the senate, and Clodius had them beaten by his ruffians. On the proposal of the tribune L. Ninius, the senate decreed that they should change their raiment as in a public calamity; but Gabinius forbade it, and Clodius was at hand with his cut-throats, so that many of them tore their clothes, and rushed out of the temple with loud cries. Pompeius had told Cicero not to fear, and repeatedly promised him his aid; and Cæsar, whose design was only to humble him, had offered to appoint him his legate, to give him an excuse for absenting himself from the city; but Cicero, suspecting his object in so doing, and thinking it derogatory to him, had refused it. He now found that Pompeius had been deceiving him, for he kept

* The *sodalitates* were, properly speaking, guilds or companies of trades, and as such they had religious festivals, a common purse, officers, &c. As their members were of a very low rank in society, trade being in no repute at Rome, and as we find them mere tools of demagogues in their political capacity, we think the terms in the text will give the reader of the present day a more correct idea of them than the more dignified ones of *guilds* and *companies*.

† Because thunder, &c. would cause the assembly to be put off, and by this means bad measures, and good ones too, had often been stopped

out of the way lest he should be called on to perform his promises. Sooner, as he says, than be the cause of civil tumult and bloodshed, he retired by night from the city which, but five years before, he had saved from the associates of those who now expelled him. Cæsar, who had remained in the suburbs waiting for the effect of Clodius' measures, then set out for his province. When Clodius found that Cicero was gone, he had a bill passed interdicting him from fire and water, and outlawing any person living within four hundred miles of Italy who should entertain him. He burned and destroyed his different villas and his house on the Palatine, on the site of which he built a temple to Liberty! His goods were put up to auction; but, as no one would bid for them, the consuls took possession of them for themselves.

Cicero, it is much to be lamented, bore his exile with far less equanimity than could have been wished for by the admirers of his really noble character; his extant letters are filled with the most unmanly complaints, and he justly drew on himself the derision of his enemies. But his was not one of those characters which, based on the high consciousness of worth, derive all their support and consolation from within; it could only unfold its bloom and display its strength beneath the fostering sun of public favor and applause, and Cicero was great nowhere but at Rome. It was his first intention to go to Sicily, but the prætor of that island, C. Virgilius, who had been his intimate friend, wrote desiring him not to enter it. He then passed over to Greece, where he was received with the most distinguished honors, and finally fixed his residence in Macedonia, where the quæstor Cn. Plancius showed him every attention.

Having driven Cicero away, Clodius next proceeded to remove Cato, that he might not be on the spot to impede his measures. And he proposed at the same time to gratify an old grudge against the king of Cyprus, the brother of the king of Egypt; for when Clodius was in Asia he chanced to be taken by the pirates, and, having no money, he applied to the king of Cyprus, on whom he certainly had no claim. The king, who was a miser, sent him only two talents, and the pirates sent the paltry sum back, and set Clodius at liberty without ransom. Clodius kept this conduct in his mind; and, just as he entered on his tribunate, the Cyprïotes happening to send to Rome to complain of their king, he had a bill passed to reduce Cyprus to the

form of a province, and to sell the king's private property; he added in the bill, that this province should be committed to Cato as quæstor, with prætorian power, who (to keep him the longer away from Rome) was also directed to go to Byzantium, and restore the exiles who had been driven thence for their crimes. Cato, we are assured, undertook this most iniquitous commission against his will;* he executed it, however, most punctually. He went to Rhodes, whence he sent one of his friends named M. Canidius to Cyprus, to desire the king to resign quietly, offering him the priesthood of the Paphian goddess. Ptolemæus however preferred death to degradation, and he took poison. Cato then, not trusting Canidius, sent his nephew, M. Junius Brutus, to look after the property, and went himself to Byzantium, where he effected his object without any difficulty. He then proceeded to Cyprus to sell the late king's property; and, being resolved to make this a model-sale, he attended the auction constantly himself, saw that every article was sold to the best advantage, and even offended his friends by not allowing them to get bargains. He thus got together a sum of 7000 talents, which he made up in vessels containing 2 talents 500 drachmas each, to which he attached a cord and cork, that they might float in case of shipwreck. He also had two separate accounts of the sale drawn out, one of which he kept, and the other he committed to one of his freedmen; but both happened to be lost, and he had not the gratification of proving his ability of making the most of a property.

When the news that Cato had entered the Tiber with the money reached Rome, priests and magistratès, senate and people, poured out to receive him; but, though the consuls and prætors were among them, Cato would not quit his charge till he had brought his vessel up to the quay. The people were amazed at the quantity of the wealth, and the senate voted a prætorship to Cato, though he was under the legal age, and permission to appear at the games in a *prætecta*, of which however he took no advantage. No one thought of the iniquity of the whole proceeding; and when Cicero, after his return, wished to annul all the acts of Clodius' tribunate, Cato opposed him, and this caused a coolness between them for some time.

* A Roman was not at liberty to refuse a charge committed to him by the state.

Cicero had been gone but two months when his friend Ninius the tribune, supported by seven of his colleagues, made a motion in the senate for his recall. The whole house agreed to it, but one of the other tribunes interposed. Pompeius himself was, however, now disposed to join in restoring him, for Clodius' insolence was gone past his endurance. This ruffian had by stratagem got into his hands the young Tigranes, whom Pompeius had given in charge to the prætor L. Flavius. He had promised him his liberty for a large sum of money; and when Pompeius demanded him, he put him on board a ship bound for Asia. A storm having driven the vessel into Antium, Flavius went with an armed force to seize the prince, but Clodius met him on the Appian Road, and, after an engagement in which several were slain on both sides, drove him off.* While Pompeius was brooding over this insult, one of Clodius' slaves was seized at the door of the senate-house with a dagger, which he said his master had given him that he might kill Pompeius; Clodius' mob also made frequent attacks on him, so that out of real or pretended fear he resolved to keep his house till the end of the year; indeed he had been actually pursued to and besieged in it one day by a mob, headed by Clodius' freedman Damio, and the consul Gabinus had to fight in his defence.† Pompeius therefore now resolved to befriend Cicero; and P. Sextius, one of the tribunes elect, took a journey into Gaul to obtain Cæsar's consent. About the end of October the eight tribunes again proposed a law for his recall, and P. Lentulus Spinther, the consul elect, spoke strongly in favor of it. Lentulus' colleague, Q. Metellus Nepos, though he had been Cicero's enemy, seeing how Cæsar and Pompeius were inclined, promised his aid, as also did all the tribunes elect: Clodius, however, soon managed to purchase two of them.

On the 1st of January (695) Lentulus moved the senate for Cicero's recall. L. Cotta said, that, as he had been expelled without law, he did not require a law for his restoration. Pompeius agreed, but said that for Cicero's sake it would be better if the people had a share in restoring him. The senate were unanimously of this opinion, but the tribune Sex. Serranus interposed. The senate then appointed the 22d for laying the matter before the people. When that day came, the tribune Q. Fabricius set out before it was

* Asconius on Cic. for Milo.

† Id. *ut supra*

light with a party to occupy the Rostra; but Clodius had already taken possession of the Forum with his own gladiators, and a band he had borrowed from his brother Appius, and his ordinary troop of ruffians.* Fabricius' party was driven off with the loss of several lives. Another tribune, M. Cispus, was treated in a similar manner. Q. Cicero only saved himself by getting under the bodies of his slaves and freedmen who were slain about him in the Comitium; the tribune Sextius was left for dead in the temple of Castor. The Tiber and the sewers were filled with dead bodies, and the Forum was covered with blood as in the time of the contest of Cinna and Octavius. Clodius, elate with his victory, then burned the temple of the Nymphs, where the books of the censors were kept; he attacked the houses of the prætor L. Cæcilius and the tribune T. Annius Milo. The latter impeached Clodius, *de vi*, but his brother Appius the prætor, and the consul Metellus, screened him, and meantime aided his suit for the ædileship, which would protect him for another year. Milo then, to repel force by force, also purchased a band of gladiators, and daily conflicts occurred in the streets.

The senate, resolved not to be thus bullied, directed the magistrates to summon well-affected voters from all parts of Italy. They came in great numbers from every town and district. Pompeius, who was then at Capua, exerted himself greatly in the affair. Encouraged by their presence the senate passed a decree in proper form for Cicero's restoration; but Clodius still was able to prevent its ratification by the people. The senate then met on the Capitol, (May 25;) Pompeius spoke highly in praise of Cicero; others followed him; Metellus, who had been playing a double part all through, ceased to oppose, and a decree was passed, Clodius alone dissenting. The senate met again the next day; and Pompeius and the other leading men, having previously addressed the people, and told them all that had been said, the law was made ready to be laid before the centuries; yet, strange to say! Clodius, though deserted by all, was still able to cause a delay of two months. At length (Aug. 4) the centuries met on the Field of Mars, and, by a unanimous vote, Cicero was recalled.

* These are always called the *operæ*, (operatives.) They were the common workmen of the city, members of the unions, (*sodalitates*, see p. 393,) freedmen, slaves, &c.

That very day Cicero sailed from Dyrrhachium and landed at Brundisium; the people poured out from every town and village as he passed to congratulate him, and all ranks and orders at Rome received him at the Capene gate. Next day he returned thanks to the senate and people; and to prove his gratitude to Pompeius, he was the proposer of a law, giving him the superintendence of the corn trade for a term of five years,* and Pompeius in return made him his first legate. The senate decreed that Cicero's house and villas should be rebuilt at the public expense. Cicero then asserted that, as Clodius had become a plebeian in an illegal manner, all the acts of his tribunate were equally so, and should be annulled. But here he was opposed by Cato, whose vanity took alarm, and who feared lest he should lose the fame of the ability with which he had conducted the robbery of the king of Cyprus; and this produced a coolness between him and Cicero, who also was disgusted, and with reason, with the conduct of several of the other leaders of the aristocratic party, at which we need not be surprised when we find them, purely to annoy Pompeius, aiding Clodius so effectually that he was chosen ædile without opposition. This pest of Rome immediately accused Milo of the very crime (*de vi*) of which he had been accused himself. Pompeius appeared and spoke for Milo, and it came to a regular engagement between their respective partisans, in which the Clodians were worsted and driven off the Forum. Pompeius saw that Crassus was at the bottom of all the insults offered him, and that Bibulus, Curio, and others of the nobles were anxious to destroy his influence, and Cicero agreed to join him and repel force by force if needful.

Cicero at this time abstained as much as he could from public affairs, attending entirely to the bar. To understand his conduct we must keep his known character in view, in which vanity and timidity were prominent; but he was also grateful, placable, and humane. He had all his life had a strong personal affection for Pompeius, and he was now full of admiration for the exploits of Cæsar in Gaul, while he was disgusted with the paltry conduct of the leading aristocrats. Hence we find him, at the request of Cæsar or Pompeius, employing his eloquence in the defence of even his personal

* On the motion of the tribune C. Messius it was added that Pompeius should have as extensive powers as were committed to him in the Piratic war.

enemies, and doing things for which we sometimes must pity, sometimes despise him. It is pleasing, however, to behold the triumph of his eloquence in the defence of his friend Sextius, whom the Clodians had the audacity to prosecute *de vi*, for not having died, we may suppose, of his wounds.* Cicero also carried a motion in the senate that, as there was not money in the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's law were to be divided, the act itself should be reconsidered. Finding, however, that this was highly displeasing to Cæsar and Pompeius, and that those who applauded him for it did it because they expected it would produce a breach between the latter and him, he thought it best to consult his interest, and therefore dropped it.

CHAPTER IX.†

SECOND CONSULATE OF POMPEIUS AND CRASSUS. — PARTHIAN WAR OF CRASSUS. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH. — ANARCHY AT ROME. — DEATH OF CLODIUS. — POMPEIUS SOLE CONSUL. — TRIAL AND EXILE OF MILO. — GALLIC WARS OF CÆSAR.

It was Cæsar's custom to return after his summer campaigns in Gaul to pass the winter in his Cisalpine province, in order to keep up his intercourse with Rome. He came in the present winter (696) to Luca, (Lucca,) on the verge of his province, whither Pompeius, Crassus, and such a number of the Roman magistrates repaired, that one hundred and twenty lictors have been seen at a time at his gates. It was here privately agreed by the triumvirate that Pompeius and Crassus should stand for the consulate, and that, if successful, they should obtain a renewal of Cæsar's government for five years longer. As the present consuls, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, and L. Marcius Philippus, were adverse to the triumvirate, the tribune C. Cato was

* Like Scævola, see above, p. 344, *note*.

† Appian B. C. ii. 17—25. Dion, xxxviii. 31, to the end; xxxix. 1—5, 24—54; xl. 1—57. Cæsar Gallic Wars. Plut., Pompeius, Crassus, and Cæsar.

directed to impede all elections for the rest of the year; and, in consequence of his opposition, the consular elections were held by an interrex in the beginning of the next year, (697.) Pompeius and Crassus were chosen without opposition, for M. Cato's brother-in-law, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who alone ventured to stand, was, we are told,* attacked by their party as he was going out before day to solicit votes: the slave who carried the torch before him was killed; others were wounded, as was Cato himself; Domitius fled home, and gave up his canvass. Cato then stood for the prætorship; the consuls, aware of the trouble he would give them if elected, made every effort to prevent him. They bribed extensively for his opponent P. Vatinius, and procured a decree of the senate that the prætors should enter on their office at once, instead of remaining private men for sixty days, as was the usual course. The first century, however, when the election came, voted for Cato. Pompeius, who presided, pretended that he heard thunder, and put off the election; and the consuls took care to have Vatinius chosen on the following one. The tribune C. Trebonius then by their directions proposed a bill, giving them when out of office the provinces of Syria and the Spains for five years, with authority to raise what troops they pleased; this law, though strongly opposed in the senate, was carried, and then Pompeius proposed and carried the one he had promised Cæsar.

The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Syria, as he coveted, fell to Crassus; and Pompeius was equally well pleased to have the Spains, which, as being at hand, he could govern by his lieutenants, while he himself, under pretext of his office of inspector of the corn-market, might remain at Rome and enjoy the domestic happiness in which he so much delighted. The triumvirs not thinking it necessary to interfere, L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius were elected consuls, and Cato one of the prætors, for the following year, (698.)

Crassus, though nothing was said in the law about the Parthians, made little secret of his design to make war on them; and Cæsar, it is said, wrote encouraging him to it. Many, however, were or affected to be shocked at the injustice of making war on a people who had given no just cause, and the tribune C. Ateius Capito was resolved to prevent his

* Plut. Cato, 41.

departure Crassus begged of Pompeius to see him out of the city, as he knew he should be opposed. Pompeius complied with his request, and the people made way in silence; but Ateius meeting them, called to Crassus to stop, and when he did not heed him, sent a beadle to seize him; the other tribunes however interposed. Ateius then ran on to the gate, and kindling a fire on a portable altar, poured wine and incense on it, and pronounced direful curses on Crassus, invoking strange and terrible deities.

Heedless of the tribune's imprecations, Crassus proceeded to Brundisium and embarked, though the sea was rough and stormy. He reached Epîrus with the loss of several of his ships, and thence took the usual route over land to Syria. He immediately crossed the Euphrâtes, and began to ravage Mesopotamia. Several of the Greek towns there cheerfully submitted; but instead of pushing on, Crassus returned to Syria to winter, thus giving the Parthians time to collect their forces. He spent the winter busily engaged in amassing treasures: to a Parthian embassy which came to complain of his acts of aggression he made a boastful reply, saying that he would give an answer in Seleucîa; the eldest of the envoys laughed, and showing the palm of his hand said, "Crassus' hairs will grow there before *you* see Seleucîa."

The Roman soldiers, when they heard of the numbers of the Parthians, and their mode of fighting, were dispirited; the soothsayers announced evil signs in the victims; C. Cassius, the quæstor, and his other officers advised Crassus to pause, but in vain. To as little effect did the Armenian prince Artabâzes, who came with six thousand horse and promised many more, counsel him to march through Armenia, which was a hilly country and adverse to cavalry, in which the Parthian strength lay: he replied that he would go through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans in garrison. The Armenian then retired, and Crassus passed the river at Zeugma, (699;) thunder roared, lightning flashed, and other ominous signs, it is said, appeared; but they did not stop him. He marched along its left bank, his army consisting of seven legions, with nearly one thousand horse, and an equal number of light troops.

As no enemy appeared, Cassius advised to keep along the river till they reached Seleucîa; but an Arab emir, named Agbar, (Akbar, *i. e.* Great,) who had been on friendly terms with the Romans when Pompeius was there, now came and

joined Crassus, and assuring him that the Parthians were collecting their most valuable property with the intention of flying to Hyrcania and Scythia, urged him to push on without delay. But all he said was false; he was come to lead the Romans to their ruin: the Parthian king Orôdes had himself invaded Armenia, and his general, Surêna, was at hand with a large army. Crassus, however, gave credit to the Arab; he left the river and entered on the extensive plain of Mesopotamia. Cassius gave over his remonstrances: the Arab led them on, and when he had brought them to the place arranged with the Parthians, he rode off, assuring Crassus that it was for his advantage. That very day a party of horse, sent to reconnoitre, fell in with the enemy and were nearly all killed. This intelligence perplexed Crassus, but he resolved to proceed; he drew up his infantry in a square, with the horse on the flanks, and moved on. They reached a stream, where his officers wished him to halt for the night, and try to gain further intelligence; but he would go on, and at length they came in sight of the enemy. Surêna, however, kept the greater part of his troops out of view, and those who appeared had their armor covered to deceive the Romans. At a signal the Parthians began to beat their numerous kettledrums; and when they thought this unusual sound had thrilled the hearts of the Romans, they flung off their coverings, and appeared glittering in helms and corselets of steel, and pouring round the solid mass of the Romans, showered their arrows on them, numerous camels being at hand laden with arrows to supply them. The light troops vainly essayed to drive them off; Crassus then desired his son to charge with his horse and light troops. The Parthians, feigning flight, drew them on, and when they were at a sufficient distance from the main army, they turned and assailed them, riding round and round so as to raise such a dust that the Romans could not see to defend themselves. When numbers had been slain, P. Crassus broke through with a part of the horse and reached an eminence, but the persevering foe gave them no rest. Two Greeks of that country proposed to P. Crassus to escape with them in the night, but he generously refused to quit his comrades. Being wounded, he made his shield-bearer kill him; the Parthians slew all that were with him but five hundred, and cutting off his head set it on a spear.

Crassus was advancing to the relief of his son when the rolling of the Parthians' drums was heard, and they came

exhibiting the head of his son. The spirits of the Romans were now quite depressed; Crassus vainly tried to rouse them, crying that the loss was his not theirs, and urging them to renewed exertions. The Parthians after harassing them through the day retired for the night. Cassius and the legate Octavius, having vainly tried to rouse their general, who was now sunk in despair, called a council of the officers, and it was resolved to attempt a retreat that night. The wailing of the sick and wounded who were left behind informed the Parthians, but it not being their custom to fight at night they remained quiet till morning. They then took the deserted camp and slaughtered four thousand men whom they found in it, and pursuing after the army cut off the stragglers. The Romans reached the town of Carrhæ, in which they had a garrison. Surêna, to keep them from retreat, made feigned proposals of peace; but finding that he was only deceiving them, they set out in the night under the guidance of a Greek: their guide however proved treacherous, and led them into a place full of marshes and ditches. Cassius, who suspected him, turned back and made his escape with five hundred horse; Octavius with five thousand men, having had faithful guides, reached a secure position among the hills, and he brought off Crassus, who was assailed in the marshes by the Parthians. Surêna, fearing lest they should get off in the night, let go some of his prisoners, in whose hearing he had caused to be said that the king did not wish to carry things to extremities; and he himself and his officers rode to the hill with unbent bows, and holding out his hand he called on Crassus to come down and meet him. The soldiers were overjoyed, but Crassus put no faith in him; at length when his men, having urged and pressed, began to abuse and threaten him, he took his officers to witness of the force that was put on him, and went down accompanied by Octavius and some of his other officers. The Parthians at first affected to receive him with respect, and a horse was brought for him to mount; but they soon contrived to pick a quarrel, and killed him and all who were with him. The head and right hand of Crassus were cut off; quarter was then offered to the troops, and most of them surrendered. The loss of the Romans in this unjust and ill-fated expedition was 20,000 slain and 10,000 captured. The Parthians, it is said, poured molten gold down the throat of Crassus, in reproach of his insatiable avarice. They afterwards made irruptions into Syria, which Cassius gallantly defended against them.

When the news of Crassus' defeat and death reached Rome, the concern felt for the loss of the army was considerable, that of himself was thought nothing of; yet this was in reality the greater loss of the two, for he alone had the power to keep Cæsar and Pompeius at unity, as Julia, whom they both agreed in loving as she deserved, and who was a bond of union between them, had lately died in childbirth, to the grief not merely of her father and husband, but of the whole Roman people.

Affairs at Rome were now indeed in a state of perfect anarchy; violence and bribery were the only modes of obtaining office. In 698, all the candidates for the consulate were prosecuted for bribery; and C. Memmius, one of them, actually read in the senate a written agreement between himself and a fellow-candidate Cn. Domitius Calvinus on one part, and the consuls L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius on the other, by which the two former bound themselves, if elected through the consuls' influence, to pay them each 40,000 sesterces unless they produced three augurs to declare that they were present when the curiate law was passed, and two consulars to aver that they were present when the consular provinces were arranged, which would give the ex-consuls the provinces they desired, — all utterly false.* By these and other delays the elections were kept off for seven months, Pompeius looking quietly on in hopes that they would be obliged to create him dictator. Many spoke of it as the only remedy; and though they did not name, they described him very exactly as the fittest person; but Sulla had made the name of dictator too odious: others talked of consular military tribunes. Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messâla were, however, chosen consuls at the end of the seven months, (699.)

The next year (700) T. Annius Milo was among the candidates, and he bribed to a most enormous extent. Clodius stood for the prætorship, and between his retainers and those of Milo and the other candidates scenes of tumult and bloodshed occurred in the streets almost daily. Pompeius and the tribune L. Munatius Plancus purposely kept the patricians from meeting to appoint an interrex to hold the elections. During this time Milo, who was dictator of his native place Lanuvium, had occasion to go thither to appoint a chief-priest; Clodius, who had been to harangue the magis

* Cicero ad Att. iv. 18

trates at Aricia, where he had a great deal of influence, happened to be returning just at this time, and he met Milo near Bovillæ. Milo was in his carriage with his wife, the daughter of Sulla, and a friend, and he was attended by a numerous train, among which were some of his gladiators: Clodius was on horseback, with thirty armed bravos, who always accompanied him. Two of Milo's people followed those of Clodius and began to quarrel with them, and when he turned round to menace them, one of them ran a long sword through his shoulder. The tumult then became general; Clodius had been conveyed into an adjoining tavern, but Milo forced it, dragged him out, and killed him outright; his dead body was thrown on the highway, where it lay till a senator, who was returning to the city from his country seat, took it up and brought it with him in his litter. It was laid in the hall of Clodius' own house, and his wife Fulvia with floods of tears showed his bleeding wounds to the rabble who repaired thither, and excited them to vengeance. Next morning Clodius' friends, the tribunes Q. Pompeius Rufus and L. Munatius Plancus, exposed it on the Rostra, and harangued the populace over it. The mob snatched it up, carried it into the senate-house, and making a pyre of the seats burned it and the house together. They then ran to Milo's house intending to burn it also, but they were beaten off by his slaves.

The excesses committed by the mob having injured the Clodian cause, Milo ventured to return to the city; and to go on bribing and canvassing for the consulate. The tribune M. Cœlius, whom he had gained, having filled the Forum with a purchased mob, led Milo thither to defend himself, in hopes of having him acquitted by them as by the people; but the adverse tribunes armed their partisans and fell on and scattered them. Milo and Cœlius were forced to fly in the dress of slaves; the rabble killed, wounded, and robbed without distinction; houses were broken open, plundered, and burnt, under the pretext of seeking for the friends of Milo. These excesses lasted for several days, and the senate at length decreed that the interrex, the tribunes of the people, and Pompeius, should see that the republic sustained no injury; and finally, as there seemed an absolute necessity for some extraordinary power, to avoid a dictatorship, and to exclude Cæsar (who was spoken of) from the consulate, it was resolved on the motion of Bibulus, with the assent of Cato, to make Pompeius sole consul.

Pompeius, as soon as he entered on his office, had two laws passed, one against violence, the other against bribery. He himself selected the persons who were to act as judges; regulated the number of pleaders in a cause; gave two hours to the prosecutor to speak, three to the accused to reply, and forbade any one to come forward to praise the accused. To insure prosecutions for bribery, he promised a pardon to any one found guilty of it if he convicted two others of an equal or lesser degree, or one of a greater.

These preparations being made, the prosecution of Milo commenced. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of the year 698, was chosen president by the people, and a jury, one of the most respectable we are assured that Rome ever beheld, was appointed. Milo and Cælius had recourse to every means to prevent a conviction. The former was charged with having seized five persons who had witnessed the murder of Clodius, and kept them in close custody for two months at his country seat; the latter with taking by force one of Milo's slaves out of the house of one of the *Triumviri Capitales*.* Cicero was to plead Milo's cause. On the first day the tumult was so great that the lives of Pompeius and his lictors were endangered; he had therefore soldiers placed in various parts of the city and Forum, with orders to strike with the flat of their swords any that were making a noise; but this not sufficing, they were obliged to wound and even kill several persons. When quiet was restored, Cicero advanced to speak. He was received with a loud shout of defiance by the Clodian faction; and the sight of Pompeius sitting surrounded by his officers, and the view of the temples and places around the Forum filled with armed men, so daunted him, that he pleaded with far less than his usual ability. Milo was found guilty, and he went into exile at Masilia.

Other offenders were then prosecuted. P. Plautius Hypsæus was found guilty of bribery, as also were P. Sextius, C. Memmius, and M. Scaurus. This last then accused, under the late law, Pompeius' own father-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio.† Pompeius was weak enough to become a sup-

* The best account of the death of Clodius, and trial of Milo, is given by Asconius, in his argument to the notes on Cicero's oration. We have followed this writer chiefly in the preceding narrative.

† Pompeius was now married to Scipio's daughter Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, a young lady of the highest mental endowments and of great beauty and virtue.

pliant for him, and he sent for the three hundred and sixty persons who were on the jury-panel, and besought them to aid him. When Memmius saw Scipio come into the Forum surrounded by those who would have to try him, he gave over the prosecution, lamenting the ruin of the constitution. Rufus and Plancus when out of office were prosecuted for the burning of the senate-house, and Pompeius again was weak enough to break his own law by sending a written eulogy of Plancus into the court. Cato, who was one of the jury, said that Pompeius must not be allowed to violate his own law. Plancus then challenged Cato; but it did not avail him, as the others found him guilty.

Pompeius, having acted for some time as sole consul, made his father-in-law his colleague for the five months that remained of his consulate. He had his own command in Spain extended for another term of five years, but he governed his province, as before, by legates; and to soothe Cæsar, he had a law passed to enable him to sue for the consulate without coming to Rome in person. To strengthen the laws against bribery, it was enacted that no consul or prætor should obtain a province till he had been five years out of office; and to provide for the next five years, it was decreed that the consulars and prætorians who had not had provinces should now take them. Cicero, therefore, much against his will, was obliged to go as proconsul to Cilicia; his government of it was a model of justice and disinterestedness, and proves how he would have acted if free at all times to follow his own inclinations, and, we must add, if less under the influence of vainglory and ambition. We must now turn our regards to Cæsar and his exploits in Gaul.

While such was the condition of affairs at Rome, this great man was acquiring the wealth and forming the army by means of which he hoped to become master of his country. He has himself left a narrative of his Gallic campaigns which, though of course partial,* is almost our only authority for this part of the Roman history.

Fortune favored Cæsar by furnishing him with an early occasion of war, though his province was quite tranquil when he received it, (694.) The Helvetians, a people of Gallic race, who dwelt from Mount Jura far into the Alps, resolved to leave their mountains and seek new seats in

* Here, as in the Punic wars we have reason to regret that the lions were not painters!

Gaul; and having burnt all their towns and vilages, they set forth with wives and children to the number of 350,000 souls. As their easier way lay through the Roman province, they sent, on hearing that Cæsar had broken down the bridge over the Rhone at Genève, and was making preparations to oppose them, to ask a free passage, promising to do no injury. Cæsar, who had not all his troops with him, gave an evasive answer, and meantime ran a ditch and rampart from the Lemane lake to Mount Jura. The Helvetians then turned, and going by Mount Jura entered the country of the Sequanians and Æduans; but Cæsar fell on them as they were passing the Arar, (Saone,) and defeated them; he afterwards routed them again, and finally compelled them to return to their own country, lest the Germans should occupy it.

The Æduans, who were ancient allies of Rome, then complained to Cæsar that their neighbors, the Arvernians and Sequanians, having in their disputes with them invited a German chief named Ariovistus (*Heer-fürst*, 'Army-prince?') to their aid, he had occupied a part of the land of the Sequanians, and now menaced the freedom of all the surrounding peoples; their only hopes, they added, lay in the Romans. This invitation was, as they knew, precisely what Cæsar desired; he promised aid, and as in his consulate he had had Ariovistus acknowledged as a king and friend of the Roman people, and he now wished to put him in the wrong, he sent to require him to meet him at a certain place. The German haughtily replied, that if Cæsar wanted to speak with him he should come to *him*. Cæsar, further to irritate him, desired him to give back the hostages of the allies of Rome, and not to enter their lands or to bring over any more auxiliaries from Germany. Ariovistus replied by seizing on the Sequanian town of Besontion, (Besançon.) On learning that the powerful nation of the Suevians were sending troops to Ariovistus, Cæsar resolved to march against him at once. But his soldiers were daunted by what they heard of the strength and ferocity of the Germans, till he made a speech to reassure them, in which he declared that with the tenth legion alone he would prosecute the war. At the desire of Ariovistus a conference was held, at which however nothing could be arranged; and while it was going on, news (true or false) was brought to Cæsar that the Germans had attacked the Romans; this broke off the conference; Cæsar

refused to renew it; and a battle taking place, Ariovistus was defeated, and forced to recross the Rhine.

Cæsar then retired for the winter to Cisalpine Gaul, under the pretext of regulating the province, but in reality to keep up his communication with Rome, and acquire new friends there. As he had left his troops in the country of the Sequanians, the Belgians, a powerful people, who were a mixture of Germans and Gauls, and dwelt in the north-east of Gaul, fearing for their independence, resolved to take up arms. The Germans on this side of the Rhine joined them, and they invaded (695) the states in alliance with the Romans. Cæsar lost no time in repairing to the defence of his allies; and the Belgians finding that the Æduans had invaded their country, and moreover, being in want of supplies, returned home; but they were fallen on and defeated with great loss by a division of Cæsar's troops, and he himself entering their country took the town of Noviodûnum, (Noyon,) and obliged the Suessiônes, (Soissons),* Bellavacans, (Beauvais,) and Ambianians (Amiens) to sue for peace. He then entered the territory of the Nervians, (Hainault.) This people, the bravest of the Belgians, attacked him by surprise, routed his cavalry, and killed all the centurions of two legions; the camps on both sides were taken, and Cæsar himself was for some time surrounded with his guards on a hill: victory, however, was finally on the side of the Romans, and the Nervians sued for peace. The Atuaticans, when they saw the military machines advanced against their walls, submitted; but they resumed their arms, and Cæsar took and plundered the town, and sold 53,000 of the inhabitants. Cæsar's legate, P. Crassus, who (we are not told why) had led a legion against the Venetans (Vannes) and other neighboring peoples on the Ocean, now sent to say that they had submitted. The legions were then placed for the winter in the country of the Carnûtes, (Chartres,) Andes, (Anjou,) and Turônes, (Tourraine,) and Cæsar returned to Italy. On the motion of Cicero the senate decreed a supplication of fifteen days for these victories, — the longest ever as yet decreed.

During the winter P. Crassus, who was quartered with the seventh legion in the country of the Andes, being in want of corn sent some of his officers to apply for some to

* As in France the name of the people is usually retained only in that of the town, we give this last.

the Venetans and the adjoining peoples. The Venetans however detained the envoys, in order to get back their hostages in exchange, and the rest followed their example. Cæsar, when he heard of this, sent directions to have ships of war built on the Ligeris, (Loire,) and ordered sailors and pilots to repair thither from the province, and in the spring (696) he set out to take the command in person. The Venetans were a seafaring people, their towns mostly lay on capes, where they could not easily be attacked, and their navy was numerous. The contest Cæsar saw must be on the sea, and his fleet therefore entered the ocean. The Roman ships of war were, as usual, impelled by oars, while those of the enemy, which were also much higher, were worked by sails. At first the advantage was on the side of the Gauls; but Cæsar had provided a number of scythes set on poles, with which the Romans laid hold on the rigging of the Gallic ships, and then urging on their own, thus cut the cordage, and caused the sails to fall. This device, like that of the *ravens* in the old times, gave the Romans the victory: a sudden calm that came on was also greatly in their favor. The Venetans were forced to sue for peace, and as they had only detained his agents, Cæsar was mercifully content with putting their whole senate to death, and selling the people for slaves.

As the Morinians and Menapians of the north coast (Picardy) had been in league with the Venetans, Cæsar invaded their country, which abounded in woods and marshes; but the approach of the wet season obliged him to retire. Having put his troops into winter quarters, he set out to look after his affairs in Italy, and had the meeting at Luca with Pompeius and Crassus above related. During this summer P. Crassus, who had been sent into Aquitaine to keep it quiet, or rather, as it would appear, to raise a war, routed the Sotiâtes, (Sôs,) forced their chief town to surrender; and defeated a large army of the adjoining peoples, and the Spaniards who had joined them. Shortly after he left Gaul to join his father in Syria, taking with him 1000 Gallic horse.

Tribes of Germans named Usipetes and Tencterians having crossed the Rhine and entered the Menapian country. Cæsar feared lest their presence might induce the Gauls to rise, and hastened (697) to oppose them. Some negotiations took place between them, during which (if we may credit Cæsar) a body of eight hundred German horse fell on, and

even put to flight with a loss of seventy-four men, five thousand Roman cavalry; and they then had the audacity to send an embassy, in which were all their principal men, to the Roman camp to justify themselves and to seek another truce. But Cæsar was even with them; he detained the envoys, and, having thus deprived them of their leaders, fell on and slaughtered them; and most of those who escaped were drowned in the Rhine and Meuse as they fled. Being resolved that Gaul should be all his own, Cæsar thought it would be well to show the Germans that *their* country too might be invaded. Accordingly, under the pretext of aiding the Ubians against the Suevians, he threw a bridge over the Rhine, and having ravaged the lands of the Sicambrians, who had retired to their woods, he entered the country of the Ubians; then hearing that the Suevians had collected all their forces in the centre of their territory, and waited there to give him battle, he returned to the Rhine, having, as he says, accomplished all he had proposed. This run into Germany had occupied but eighteen days; and as there was a part of the summer remaining, he resolved to employ it in a similar inroad into the isle of Britain, whose people had been so audacious as to send aid to the Gauls when fighting for their independence against him: moreover, the invasion of unknown countries, like Germany and Britain, would tell well at Rome. He accordingly had ships brought round from the Loire to the Morinian coast, (Boulogne,) and putting two legions on board he set sail at midnight. At nine next morning he reached the coast of Britain; but as the cliffs (Dover) were covered with armed men, he cast anchor, and in the evening sailed eight miles further down, (Deal,) and there effected a landing, though vigorously opposed by the natives. The Britons soon sent to sue for peace; and they had given some of the hostages demanded of them, when a spring-tide having greatly damaged the Roman fleet, they resolved to try again the fate of war. They fell on the seventh legion as it was out foraging, and Cæsar had some difficulty in bringing it off; they afterwards assailed the Roman camp, but were repulsed, and Cæsar, who had neither cavalry nor corn, and who wanted to get back to Gaul, readily made peace on their promise of sending a double number of hostages thither after him. He then departed; and having written the wonderful news to Rome, a supplication of *twenty* days was decreed.

As but two of the British states sent the hostages, Cæsar

resolved to make this a pretext for a second invasion of their island. When, therefore, he was setting out as usual for Italy, he directed his legates to repair the old and build new ships; and on his return in the spring (698) he found a fleet of twenty-eight long ships and six hundred transports ready. He embarked with five legions and two thousand Gallic horse, and landed at the same place as before. The Britons retired to the hills; and Cæsar, having left some troops to guard his camp, advanced in quest of them. He found them posted on the banks of a river, (the Stour,) about twelve miles inland. He attacked and drove them off; but next day, as he was preparing to advance into the country, he was recalled to the coast by tidings of the damage his fleet had sustained from a storm during the night. Having given the needful directions, he resumed his pursuit of the Britons, who laying aside their jealousies had given the supreme command to Cassivelaunus, king of the Trinobantes, (Essex and Middlesex;) but the Roman cavalry cut them up so dreadfully when they attacked the foragers, that they dispersed, and most of them went to their homes. Cæsar then advanced, and having forced the passage of the Thames invaded Cassivelaunus' kingdom, and took his chief town;* and having received the submissions and hostages of various states, and regulated the tributes they should (but never did) pay, he returned to Gaul, where it being now late in autumn, he put his troops into winter quarters. The Gauls, however, who did not comprehend the right of Rome and Cæsar to a dominion over them, resolved to fall on the several Roman camps, and thus to free their country. The eighth legion and five cohorts who were quartered in the country of the Eburones (Liege) were cut to pieces by that people, led by their prince Ambiorix; the camp of the legate Q. Cicero was assailed by the Eburones and the Nervians, and only saved by the arrival of Cæsar in person, who gave the Gauls a total defeat. The country became now tolerably tranquil; but Cæsar, knowing that he should have a war in the spring, had three new legions raised in Italy, and he prevailed on Pompeius to lend him one which he had just formed.

The most remarkable event of the following year (699) was Cæsar's second passage of the Rhine to punish the

* The British towns were merely fastnesses in the woods without any walls; their dwellings were mere cabins. The Britons were much behind the Gauls in civilization.

Germans for giving aid to their oppressed neighbors. He threw a bridge over the Rhine a little higher up the river than the former one, and advanced to attack the Suevians; but learning that they had assembled all their forces at the edge of a forest and there awaited him, he thought it advisable to retire, fearing, as he tells us, the want of corn in a country where there was so little tillage as in Germany.* Having broken down the bridge on the German side, and left some cohorts to guard what remained standing, he then proceeded with all humanity to extirpate the Eburônes, on account, he says, of their perfidy. He hunted them down every where; he burned their towns and villages, consumed or destroyed all their corn, and then left their country with the agreeable assurance that those who had escaped the sword would perish of famine. Then, having executed *more majôrum* a prince of the Senones, and thus tranquillized Gaul, as he terms it, he set out for Italy to look after his interests there.

The next year (700) there was a general rising of nearly all Gaul against the Roman dominion. The chief command was given to Vercingetorix, prince of the Arvernians, (Auvergne,) a young man of great talent and valor. Cæsar immediately left Italy, and crossing Mount Cebenna, (Cevennes,) though the snow lay six feet deep on it, at the head of his raw levies entered and ravaged the country of the Arvernians, who sent to recall Vercingetorix to their aid. Then leaving M. Brutus in command, Cæsar departed, and putting himself at the head of his cavalry, went with all speed to the country of the Lingones, (Langres,) and there assembled his legions. Vercingetorix then laid siege to Gergovia, in the country of the Bituriges: Cæsar hastened to his relief; on his way he took the towns of Vellanodûnum (Béaune) and Genabum, (Orleans,) and having crossed the Loire, laid siege to Noviodûnum, (Nouan.) and on its surrender advanced against Avaricum, (Bourges,) the capital of the country, and one of the finest cities in Gaul. Vercingetorix, who had raised the siege of Gergovia, held a council, in which he proposed, as the surest mode of distressing the Romans, to destroy all the towns and villages in the country. This advice being approved of, upwards of twenty towns were levelled; but, at the earnest entreaty of the Bituriges, Avaricum was exempted; a garrison was put into it, and

* We may suspect that he feared something else also

the Gallic army encamped at a moderate distance from the town in order to impede the besiegers. Avaricum nevertheless was taken after a gallant defence: the Romans spared neither man, woman, nor child; and of forty thousand inhabitants eight hundred only escaped. Cæsar then laid siege to a town also named Gergovia; but, though he defeated the Gallic armies, he was obliged to raise it on account of the revolt of the Æduans. Some time after, Vercingetorix, having attacked Cæsar on his march, and being repulsed, threw himself into Alesia, a strong town in the modern Burgundy, built on a hill at the confluence of two rivers. The Gauls collected a large army and came to its relief; but their forces were defeated, and the town was compelled to surrender. Vercingetorix was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph, to whom a supplication of twenty days was decreed at Rome.

In the next campaign (701) Cæsar and his legates subdued such states as still maintained their independence. As the people of Uxellodûnum (in Querçi) made an obstinate defence, Cæsar, (his lenity being, as we are assured, so well known that none could charge him with cruelty,) in order to deter the rest of the Gauls from insurrection and resistance, cut off the hands of all the men, and then let them go, that all might see them. The following year, (702,) as all Gaul was reduced to peace,* he regulated its affairs, imposing an annual tribute; and, having established his dominion over it, he prepared to impose his yoke on his own country.

The military talent displayed by Cæsar in the conquest of Gaul is not to be disputed, and it alone would suffice to place him in the first rank of generals. But is it to be endured that a man should obtain praise and renown for slaughtering innocent nations in order to be enabled to overthrow the constitution of his country? We are told that he took or received the submission of 800 towns, subdued 300 nations; defeated in battle 3,000,000 of men, of whom 1,000,000 were slain, and 1,000,000 taken and sold for slaves; † and all this misery was inflicted that Cæsar might be great!

* "Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant," said the Caledonian warrior. Tacit. Agric. 30.

† Appian, Celt. 2 Pliny, H. N. vii. 25.

CHAPTER X.*

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR. — CÆSAR AT ROME
 — CÆSAR'S WAR IN SPAIN. — SURRENDER OF MASSILIA. —
 CÆSAR'S CIVIL REGULATIONS. — MILITARY EVENTS IN EPI-
 RUS

THERE were now in the Roman world two men, Cæsar and Pompeius, of weight and influence far superior to all others; there were also two parties in the state, one for maintaining the constitution as it was, the other for revolution; it was therefore hardly possible that each party should not range itself under its appropriate chief, and a civil contest ensue.

At the elections in 701† the consuls chosen for the following year were L. Æmilius Paulus and M. Claudius Marcellus; M. Cælius was one of the ædiles, and C. Scribonius Curio one of the tribunes, — all hitherto of the aristocratic party, but Cæsar had secretly purchased Paulus and Curio, and he had also gained over Cælius. On the first of March (702) a motion which had long been meditated was made by the consul Marcellus for regulating the consular provinces, and therefore requiring Cæsar to resign his command; Curio, who was now openly on Cæsar's side, declared his approbation of it, provided Pompeius did the same. To this the senate would not consent, and Curio then put his negative on every other resolution. Pompeius was resolved that Cæsar should not be consul, unless he resigned his army and provinces, and Cæsar was persuaded that there was no safety for him if he left his army; for Cato and his friends had already menaced him with a prosecution for his illegal acts in his consulate. He however gave up two legions, to be sent to Syria; but they were retained by Marcellus, and kept near the city.

Pompeius was at this time as eager for war as Cæsar possibly could be. The zeal and anxiety shown by the people

* Cæsar, Civil Wars. Dion, xl. 58, to the end; xli. 1—52. Appian, B. C. ii. 26—65. Velleius, ii. 48—51. Suetonius, Jul. Cæsar. Plutarch, Lives of Cæsar and Pompeius.

† At the elections of the preceding year Cato stood for the consulate but as he would neither bribe nor court the electors he was of course unsuccessful.

of Italy, on occasion of an illness he had this year in Campania, gave him the most exaggerated ideas of his influence over them, and he was completely misled by the accounts he received of the ill-humor of Cæsar's legions and the disaffection of his provinces. He therefore derided those who expressed apprehension, and when some one said that if Cæsar entered Italy there were no troops to oppose him, he replied, "Wherever I but stamp with my foot legions will rise up."

On the first of January, 703, Curio came with a letter from Cæsar, saying that he would lay down his command if Pompeius did the same; otherwise he would march into Italy, and avenge himself and the republic. The consuls, C. Marcellus and L. Lentulus Crus, would not allow the senate to take the letter into their consideration; and after some debate it was agreed to declare Cæsar a public enemy if he did not disband his army against a certain day. The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, sworn allies of Cæsar, put their negative on this decree, and nothing was then decided on. Pompeius expressed his approbation of the conduct of the consuls and more resolute members of the senate, and his veteran officers now began to flock from all sides to Rome in hopes of a war. The contest meantime in the senate was continued till the seventh day, when the consuls menaced the two tribunes, and it is even said ordered them to leave the house; and a decree was made that the consuls and other magistrates should take care that the republic sustained no injury. That very night Antonius and Cassius, disguised as slaves, left Rome in a hired carriage, and hastened to join Cæsar, and they were followed by Curio and Cælius.

The senate was then, on account of Pompeius, held without the city, and he expressed his entire approbation of what had been done, and said that he had ten legions in arms, and that he knew Cæsar's troops to be discontented. It was resolved that troops should be raised all through Italy, Pompeius be supported with money out of the treasury, and governors be sent out to all the provinces. War in effect was declared against Cæsar.

Cæsar was at Ravenna with but one legion when he heard of the proceedings against him. He forthwith assembled his soldiers and complained to them of the treatment he had received from the senate, and dwelt particularly on the indignities offered the tribunes. The soldiers having declared

their resolution to stand by him, he sent off orders to his legates in Transalpine Gaul to make all haste to join him with their troops, and he then set forward for Ariminum. It is said that he sent his cohorts on secretly before him with directions to occupy that town, the first in Italy, and that he himself, to obviate suspicion, having spent the day in viewing the exercises of gladiators, sat down as usual to supper in the evening. When it grew dark he rose and went out, telling the company he would return presently. But he had desired some of his friends to set forth, and he himself mounting a hired horse took at first the contrary way, then turned and directed his course for Ariminum. When he came up with his troops at the Rubicon, a stream which divided Italy from Gaul, he halted and paused for some time, reflecting on the consequences of the step he was about to take. He debated the question with C. Asinius Pollio and his other friends: at length, bidding adieu to reflection, he cried out, "Let the die be cast!" he passed the bridge, followed by his troops, and at dawn entered and took possession of Ariminum, where he found Antonius and Cassius, whom he produced in their servile disguise to the soldiers, and expatiated on the wrongs they had sustained. He sent Antonius with five cohorts to seize Arretium; others to Pisaurum, (Pesaro,) Fanum and Ancôna, and Curio to Iguvium, (Agabbio,) while he himself remained to levy more troops. His principal legate T. Atius Labiênus left him at this time, and went to join Pompeius and the senate, who were much animated by his arrival and the report he made of Cæsar's forces.

When the intelligence of Cæsar's advance reached Rome, Pompeius, the consuls, and the senate retired with the utmost celerity to Capua, not even taking the money out of the treasury. P. Lentulus Spinther threw himself into Asculum with ten cohorts; L. Domitius repaired to Corfinium, in order to impede Cæsar's progress. Pompeius and the consuls meantime went on with the levies in the colonies; but the names were given slowly and reluctantly, and Pompeius now began to distrust his strength. It was therefore resolved to try the way of accommodation, and the prætor L. Roscius and the young L. Cæsar were sent to Cæsar to learn his demands. These were that Pompeius should retire to his province, the new levies be disbanded, and the garrisons withdrawn; Cæsar would then disband his troops, give up his provinces, and come to Rome to stand for the consulate

in the usual manner. These terms were accepted, even Cato consenting, provided Cæsar withdrew his troops from the towns he had seized. With this last condition he declined to comply, alleging that he should not be safe if he did so. Various efforts were made to no purpose: letters were written and published in justification of either side, but war now seemed inevitable. Pompeius, who relied on his army in Spain, and on the troops of the East, sought only to gain time; Cæsar, who had but one army, saw that his only hopes lay in despatch. Leaving Auximum, therefore, where he now was, he advanced with his single legion through Picenum to the town of Cingulum, which opened its gates when he appeared. He was here joined by his twelfth legion, and he went on to Asculum, which Lentulus quitted at his approach. Lentulus being deserted on his retreat by most of his men, joined L. Vibullius Rufus with the remainder, and their united force amounting to thirteen cohorts, they led it by forced marches to Corfinium and joined Domitius. While Cæsar was advancing toward this town, Pompeius, who had reason to fear that he could not fully rely on the two legions he had with him, and seeing that the consular levies were not ready, wrote pressing Domitius to evacuate Corfinium, and to join him with the troops under him, as these were considered well affected; but Domitius chose to judge for himself, and when Cæsar appeared under the walls he wrote urging Pompeius to advance, and by getting in Cæsar's rear to cut off his supplies. Pompeius replied, declaring it to be out of his power, and again desiring him to try and join him if possible. Domitius dissembled the contents of this letter, and assured his men that Pompeius was coming to their aid. But they observed that his looks did not correspond with his words, and they found that he was planning to make his escape. They mutinied, made him a prisoner, and sent deputies to surrender themselves and the town to Cæsar. Next morning Cæsar had Domitius, Lentulus, and the other leading Pompeians brought before him, and after gently reproaching them with their opposition to him gave them their liberty and their property. He made the soldiers take the military oath to him, and, without loss of time, he set out for Apulia in pursuit of Pompeius, who, having lost the better part of his army through Domitius' obstinacy, retired from Nuceria, where he then was, to Brundisium: for he had all along intended to pass over and transfer the war to Greece. Cæsar made all haste

to impede him, and on the ninth of March he sat down before Brundisium with six legions. Pompeius had but twenty cohorts in the town, as he had sent thirty with the consuls over to Dyrrhachium. Cæsar attempted to shut him up by running moles across the mouth of the harbor; but the consuls having sent back the shipping, Pompeius, on the seventeenth of March, embarked, and brought off his troops in a very masterly manner and departed, thus abandoning Italy to his rival.

Cicero greatly blames Pompeius for quitting Italy; yet what could he have done? He was deceived in all his expectations of the public spirit of the people, his troops were all deserting, Cæsar had eleven veteran legions and abundance of cavalry, the lower orders were in his favor or longed for a change, and the higher classes are thus described by Cicero himself: "I do not understand," says he to Atticus, "what you mean by patriots, (*bonos*;) I know of none; I mean I know of no order of men deserving that appellation. Take them man by man they are very worthy gentlemen, but in civil dissensions we are to look for patriotism in the constituent members of the body politic. Do you look for it in the senate? Let me ask you by whom were the provinces left without governors? Do you look for patriotism among the farmers of the revenue? Alas! they never were steady, and now they are entirely devoted to Cæsar. Do you look for it in our trading or our landed interest? They are fondest of peace. Can you imagine that they have any terrible apprehension of living under a monarchy, they to whom all forms of government are indifferent, provided they enjoy their ease?"* Italy therefore could not be maintained; but Pompeius' error lay, some thought, in not going to Spain, where he had a veteran army and a brave population well affected to him. He certainly seems to have relied too much on the ability of his lieutenants there, and it may have been his plan (had not Cæsar's celerity disconcerted it) to coop him up in Italy, and overwhelm him by a combined attack from the east and the west. At all events he had not shipping to convey his troops to Spain, and if he had gone thither Greece and the East would probably have been lost. But the great error of Pompeius and his party lay in their

* Cic. to Att., vii. 7. He says elsewhere, "I have had a great deal of talk with our townsmen, and a great deal with our country gentlemen in these quarters, and take my word for it they have no concern but about their lands, their farms, and their money."

having given Cæsar's cause the semblance of justice and self-defence; the term of his command was not expired when they required him to resign his provinces, and they refused to let him stand for the consulate when absent, in contravention of Pompeius' own law to that effect. Cæsar in fact had no alternative between victory and ruin; he had no doubt voluntarily placed himself in that situation, but he *was* in it, and could not now recede. When we see such men as Asinius Pollio on his side, we may be sure that his cause was not so bad in the eyes of his contemporaries as it may seem in ours. In fact it is a mockery to dignify with the name of constitution the anarchy that had reigned for some years at Rome; people plainly saw that Cæsar or Pompeius must be master of the republic, and hence the indifference of which Cicero complains, and in which he partly shared.

As the want of shipping prevented Cæsar from following Pompeius, he resolved to turn his strength without delay against the army in Spain. Lest in his absence Pompeius should, as it was expected, try to starve Italy by stopping the supplies of corn, he took measures for securing Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. Curio was sent to the former island, with directions when he had gained it to pass over to Africa; the legate Valerius to the latter, the people of which declared for him as soon as he appeared. Cato, to whom the senate had given charge of Sicily, at first made preparations for defence; but finding that Pompeius had abandoned Italy, he said he would not engage the island in a war, and retired at the approach of Curio. Having settled Sicily, Curio passed with two legions over to Africa, where he had some success against P. Atius Varus, who commanded there for the senate; but his army was soon after cut to pieces and himself slain by the troops of Juba king of Numidia.

Cæsar proceeded from Brundisium to Rome; the people of the towns on the way, some through love, some through fear, poured forth to congratulate him. He came to Rome, and, having assembled such of the senate as were attached to him, or who had not courage to refuse, he detailed his wrongs, as he affected to consider them; dwelt on the cruelty and insolence, as he termed it, of those who had circumscribed the tribunician power; and begged of them to aid him in governing the republic, adding, that if they would not he would do it by himself. He proposed that some one should be sent to treat with Pompeius: the senate approved, but no one was willing to go, as Pompeius had declared that

he should regard those who staid at Rome as much his enemies as those in Cæsar's camp. Cæsar then, having committed the charge of Rome to the prætor L. Æmilius Lepidus, and the command of the troops in Italy to M. Antonius, prepared to set out for Spain. He would not, however, imitate the folly or good faith of his opponents by leaving the treasury untouched; and when the tribune L. Metellus, relying perhaps on the horror Cæsar had expressed at the violation of the sacred authority of the tribunes, ventured to oppose him and referred to the laws, he told him that this was no time to talk of laws, that he and all who had opposed must now obey him. When he came to the door of the treasury the keys were not to be found; he then sent for smiths to break open the doors: Metellus again opposed; but Cæsar threatened to slay him, and "Know, young man," added he, "that this is easier to do than to say." Metellus then withdrew, and the assertor of the laws took out all the money, even the most sacred deposits. This conduct disgusted the people so much that Cæsar did not venture to address them as he had intended, and he left Rome after a stay of only six or seven days.

When he came into Gaul he found that the citizens of Massilia had resolved not to admit him into their town, wishing, as they said, to remain neuter; but when L. Domitius, to whom the senate had given the province of Cisalpine Gaul, appeared before their port they received him. Cæsar then laid siege to the town, having had some ships built for the purpose at Arles; and leaving the conduct of the siege to C. Trebonius, and the command of the fleet to D. Brutus, he hastened on to Spain, having previously sent C. Fabius with three legions to secure the passes of the Pyrenees. On his way, to make sure of the fidelity of his troops, he borrowed all the money he could from his officers and distributed it among the soldiers, thus binding both to him by the ties of interest.

Pompeius had three legates in Spain, L. Afranius, M. Petreius, and M. Terentius Varro, and their troops amounted to seven legions. When they heard of Cæsar's approach, they agreed that Varro should remain with two legions in Ulterior Spain, while Afranius and Petreius, with the remaining five, should oppose the invader. They therefore encamped on an eminence between the rivers Cinga (Cinca) and Sicoris, (Segre,) near the town of Ilerda, (Lerida,) in which they had placed their magazines; and a bridge over

the Sicoris kept up their communication with the country beyond it, whence they drew their supplies. When Fabius arrived, some skirmishing took place between him and the Pompeian generals, without any advantage on either side. Cæsar, when he came, encamped at the foot of the hill on which the enemy lay, and forthwith made a bold attempt to seize an eminence in the plain between it and the town, as the possession of it would enable him to cut off their communication with the town and bridge. Afranius, aware of his design, had sent some troops to occupy it; the Cæsarians were driven off; they were reënfined, and chased the Afranians to the walls of Ilerdá: the engagement lasted five hours, and Afranius finally remained in possession of the eminence, which he took care to fortify. Soon after a flood in the Sicoris carried away two bridges which Cæsar had thrown over it; his communications being thus cut off, famine began to prevail in his camp, while the enemy had abundance of every thing. Having vainly endeavored to repair the bridges, he gave orders to build a number of *coracles*, or boats of osier covered with raw hide, such as he had seen in Gaul, which he conveyed in wagons twenty-two miles up the river, and passed a legion over in them; and, having secured a hill on the other side, he then threw a bridge across. As he was greatly superior in cavalry the advantage was now on his side, and several of the native peoples declared for him. This bridge being too far off, he set about rendering the river fordable by cutting canals from it; and he had nearly completed his project, when Afranius and Petreius, having resolved to transfer the war to Celtiberia, set out for the Ebro, where they had a camp fortified and a bridge of boats constructed. As the Sicoris was still too deep for his infantry to pass without hazard, Cæsar sent over his cavalry to pursue and harass them; but his infantry soon growing impatient, he was obliged to let them attempt the passage, though the stream was very rapid and the water above their shoulders. He placed two lines of cavalry in the stream, one above to break the force of the current, the other below to stop those who might be carried away, and they thus got over without the loss of a single man. They came up with the enemy about three in the afternoon, and thus obliged them to encamp earlier than they intended. Next day both parties sent out to examine the country, and they found that all depended on which should first secure the passes in the hills between them and the Ebro. Cæsar's

superior celerity however overcame all difficulties, and when the Afranians came in view of the passes they found his regions in array before them. They halted on a rising ground; Cæsar's officers and soldiers were urgent with him to attack them, but hoping to make them surrender by cutting off their provisions he allowed them to regain their camp. He then encamped close by them, having secured the passes to the Ebro.

Conferences now took place between the soldiers of the two armies; the Afranians proposed to join Cæsar if the lives of their generals were spared, and some of their principal officers went to treat with him. The men of both armies visited one another in their tents, and every thing seemed on the point of being arranged, when Petreius, arming his slaves, with some Spanish cavalry, forced his men to break off all conference, and put to the sword all the Cæsarians whom he could find. He then went through the camp imploring the soldiers to have pity on him and Pompeius, and not thus to give them up to the vengeance of their enemy. He made the whole army renew their military oath, and ordered them to produce all the Cæsarians in their tents that they might be put to death; some obeyed, but the greater part concealed their friends and let them go in the night. Cæsar, as he was wont, followed a different and a nobler course; he sought out the Afranians, and sent them back uninjured. The Pompeian generals now endeavored to return to Ilerda, but they were so closely followed and harassed by the troops of Cæsar, that they were obliged to halt and encamp on a hill, round which Cæsar commenced drawing lines; and he at length cut them off so completely from water and forage that they were obliged to propose a surrender. He only required them to disband their forces and to quit Spain; these terms were joyfully accepted: one third of the army, as having possessions in Spain, was discharged on the spot, the rest on the banks of the Var in Gaul. In Southern Spain Varro, finding the people of all the towns in favor of Cæsar, resigned his command and left the province, the whole of which joyfully submitted to Cæsar.

Meantime Massilia was assailed and defended with equal energy and perseverance. At length however the works raised against the city were so numerous and powerful, that the people sent deputies offering a surrender, but requiring a truce till the arrival of Cæsar. The truce was granted,

but we are told they broke it: it was however again renewed, and when Cæsar came he obliged them to deliver up all their arms, ships and money, and receive a garrison of two legions into their town. He spared the town, he said, out of regard to its antiquity and renown, not for any merits its people had toward him.

While Cæsar was at Massilia he heard that, pursuant to his directions, Lepidus had a decree passed by the people for nominating him dictator to hold the elections. He did not however set out yet for Rome, but remained some time to regulate Cisalpine Gaul, and while he was there a mutiny broke out in the ninth legion at Placentia. The soldiers, probably as they had not yet gotten the plunder promised them, demanded their dismissal. Cæsar coolly addressed them, reproaching them with their ingratitude and folly; and telling them he never should want for soldiers to share his triumphs, said he would dismiss them, but that he would first punish them by decimation. They threw themselves at his feet imploring pardon; their officers interceded; Cæsar was for some time inexorable; at length he agreed to pardon all but one hundred and twenty of the most guilty, and these being given up he selected thirty of the most turbulent for execution. He then went to Rome to hold the consular elections, and had himself and P. Servilius Isauricus chosen consuls; Trebonius and Cælius were two of the new prætors. Antonius and others of his partisans, who were overwhelmed with debt, urged him to a total abolition of debts; but Cæsar, who wished to found an empire for himself, would establish no such precedent. He passed a law, directing that the property of debtors should be estimated at the value it bore before the war, and transferred to their creditors, adding that the interest which had been paid should be deducted from the principal; by which the creditors lost about a fourth of their money. Cæsar then had all those who had been condemned for bribery under Pompeius' law, and who had resorted to him, restored to their civic rights, — Milo, the slayer of his friend Clodius, was however excepted; he also restored the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla. Having then held the Latin Holydays he laid down his dictatorship and set out for Brundisium, where, on the first of January, (704,) he entered on his office of consul.

Pompeius meantime had been making every effort to collect a large fleet and army. Ships came from all the

ports of Greece and Asia, and a numerous navy was assembled, the chief command of which was given to Cæsar's former colleague Bibulus. His army consisted of nine Roman legions, besides the auxiliaries of Greece, Macedonia, and Asia. He had received large sums of money from the kings, princes, and states of the East; he had collected great quantities of corn for the support of his army, which he intended should winter in the towns of the coast of Epirus, while his fleet cruised in the Adriatic to prevent Cæsar's passage. Toward the end of the year, the consuls having assembled the senators, two hundred in number, who were with them at Thessalonica, and declared them to be the true senate, Pompeius was made commander in chief of the armies of the republic, and the consuls and other magistrates were directed to retain their offices under the titles of pro-consuls, etc.

Cæsar found twelve legions and all his cavalry at Brundisium, but the legions had been so reduced by fatigue and sickness that they were very incomplete. The ships which had been collected barely sufficed to transport seven legions (only 20,000 men) and six hundred horse; but with these he embarked, and eluding Bibulus landed at a place named Pharsalus, in Epirus; he then sent back the ships for the rest of his troops, but Bibulus met them and took thirty, and then strictly guarded the whole coast. Cæsar received the submissions of the towns of Oricum and Apollonia; and most of the states of Epirus declared for him. He was advancing against Dyrrhachium, when, hearing that Pompeius was rapidly marching to its defence, he halted and encamped on the banks of the river Apsus, whither Pompeius came, and encamped also on the other side of that river. According to Cæsar's own account he was so anxious for peace, that immediately on landing he had sent off L. Vibullius Rufus, whom he had twice made a prisoner, proposing to Pompeius that they should both disband their armies and submit to the decision of the senate and people. Vibullius had gone off with all speed, more with the intention of informing Pompeius of Cæsar's landing than of promoting peace; and it was only in his camp on the Apsus that Pompeius heard of these proposals, to which however he refused to listen. Cæsar also tells us that as the soldiers of the two armies used to converse together across the river, he directed his legate P. Vatinius to go and call out, asking if citizens

might not send to citizens to treat of peace, a thing Pompeius had not refused to robbers and pirates. He was heard in silence, and told that A. Varro would come the following day to treat. Next day a great number appeared on both sides, and Labiènus advanced and began in a low voice to confer with Vatinius; a shower of missiles, which wounded several of the Cæsarians, broke off the conference, and Labiènus then cried, "Give over talking of accommodation; there can be no peace unless you bring us Cæsar's head."

While Cæsar was lying on the Apsus, his friend Cælius, whom he had left one of the prætors at Rome, displeased that he had not been able to get rid of all his debts, began to raise disturbances. He commenced by opposing Trebonius in every way he could; and this not succeeding, he proposed two laws, the one for exempting from rent all the tenants of the state, the other for a general abolition of debt. At the head of the multitude he then attacked Trebonius, and wounded some of those about him: the senate in return forbade him to execute the functions of his office. He then left Rome under the pretence of going to Cæsar, but he had secretly written to his old friend Milo urging him to come and raise some disturbance in Italy; and Milo, having collected his gladiators and what other forces he could, had laid siege to the town of Cosa, near Thurii. Cælius proceeded to join him, but Milo had been killed by a stone flung from the walls; and Cælius, attempting to seduce some Gallic and Spanish horse that were in Cosa, was slain by them.

Cæsar's great object now was to get over the rest of his troops, and Pompeius was equally anxious to prevent their passage. Bibulus had lately died of an illness caused by cold and fatigue; but Libo and others kept the sea, and impeded the transport. Some months had now passed, and as the wind had frequently been favorable for them, Cæsar thought there must be some fault on the part of M. Antonius and Q. Fufius Calènus, who commanded at Brundisium, and he wrote to them in the most peremptory terms. He even, it is said, resolved to pass over in person, and disguising himself as a slave he embarked in a fishing-boat at the mouth of the Apsus; but the sea proved so rough that the fishermen feared to go on; Cæsar then discovered himself, saying to the master, "Why dost thou fear? thou carriest Cæsar!" and they made another attempt; but the sea was so furious that he was obliged to let them put back again.

At length Antonius put to sea, and succeeded in landing near Lissus. Cæsar and Pompeius, when they heard of his arrival, both put their troops in motion, the one to join, the other to attack him. Antonius kept within his entrenchments till Cæsar came up. Pompeius then retired; Cæsar followed him; and having offered him battle in vain, set out for Dyrrhachium. Pompeius delayed for one day, and then took a shorter route for the same place, and encamped on a hill named Petra near it, close to the sea. As there were hills at a little distance near Petra, Cæsar raised forts on them, proposing to circumvallate Pompeius' camp. Pompeius, to oblige him to take in a greater space, also formed a line of forts, inclosing an extent of fifteen miles, so as to yield him forage for his cavalry; and he received abundant supplies by sea, while Cæsar's men were obliged to live chiefly on a root, named *chara*, for want of bread. But the forage soon began to run short with Pompeius' army; and as Cæsar had turned the streams, the want of water also was severely felt. At length Pompeius made a bold and judicious attack on the enemy's lines, and forced them; and in the action which ensued he gained the victory. Cæsar then resolved to transfer the war to Macedonia, and he set out for that country, closely followed by Pompeius. After a pursuit of three days Pompeius changed his course, and taking a nearer route arrived the first in Macedonia, where he was near surprising Cæsar's general Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Cæsar entered Thessaly and took the town of Gomphi by assault, and then advanced and encamped near the town of Metropolis. Pompeius entered Thessaly a few days after, and joined his father-in-law Scipio, who lay at Larissà; and the two armies finally encamped opposite each other on the ever-memorable plain of Pharsalus.

CHAPTER XI.*

BATTLE OF PHARSALIA. — FLIGHT AND DEATH OF POMPEIUS. — HIS CHARACTER. — CÆSAR'S ALEXANDRIAN WAR. — THE PONTIC WAR. — AFFAIRS OF ROME. — MUTINY OF CÆSAR'S LEGIONS. — AFRICAN WAR. — DEATH OF CATO. — HIS CHARACTER. — CÆSAR'S TRIUMPHS. — REFORMATION OF THE CALENDAR. — SECOND SPANISH WAR. — BATTLE OF MUNDA. — HONORS BESTOWED ON CÆSAR. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. — HIS DEATH. — HIS CHARACTER.

THE two armies now lay in sight of each other; that of Pompeius, which consisted of forty-five thousand men, of which more than a sixth was cavalry, was superior in number but inferior in quality. Cæsar's army, of twenty-two thousand men, only one thousand of whom were cavalry, were all hardy veterans, used to victory and confident in themselves and their leader.

The superior number of their troops and their late successes had raised the confidence of the Pompeian leaders, and nothing, we are told, could exceed their insolence; they contended with one another for the dignities and priesthoods in the state, and disposed of the consulate for several years to come. Scipio, Lentulus Spinther, and L. Domitius had an angry contest for the chief-priesthood with which Cæsar was invested, for of his defeat not a doubt was entertained; and when Pompeius acted with caution, he was accused of protracting the war out of the vanity of seeing such a number of consulars and prætorians under his command. Proscriptions and confiscations were resolved on; in short, says Cicero, "excepting Pompeius himself and a few others, (I speak of the principal leaders,) they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even of our success without horror. To this I must add that some of our most dignified men were deeply involved in

* Cæsar, Civil Wars. Hirtius' and others' Books of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Dion, xli. 53, to the end; xlii., xliii., and xliv. Appian, ii. 56, to the end. Suetonius, Jul. Cæsar Plutarch, Lives of Pompeius, Cæsar, Cato, and Brutus.

debt; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause." *

Pompeius, who was superstitious by nature, had been greatly encouraged by accounts of favorable signs in the entrails of the victims and such like sent him by the haruspices from Rome, and he resolved to risk a general engagement. He drew up his army at the foot of the hill on which he was encamped; but Cæsar, unwilling to engage him to a disadvantage, prepared to decamp. Just, however, as the order was given, seeing that Pompeius had advanced into the plain, he changed his mind, and made ready to engage. The right wing of the Pompeians, commanded by Lentulus, rested on the river Enipeus. Pompeius himself, with Domitius, commanded the left; his father-in-law, Scipio, the centre; the horse and light troops were all on the left. Cæsar's right was commanded by himself and P. Sulla; his left by M. Antonius; the centre by Domitius Calvinus: to strengthen his cavalry, he had mingled through it some of his most active foot-soldiers; and he placed six cohorts separate from his line, to act on occasion against the enemy's horse. Pompeius had directed his men to stand and receive the enemy's charge, hoping thus to engage them when out of breath with running; but the Cæsarians, when they found that the enemy did not advance, halted of themselves, and, having recovered their breath, advanced in order and hurled their *pila*. They then fell on sword in hand; the Pompeians did the same; and while they were engaged, their horse and light troops having attacked and defeated Cæsar's cavalry were preparing to take his infantry in flank, when he made the signal to the six cohorts, who fell on and drove them off the field. It is said that Cæsar had directed his men to aim their blows at the faces of the horsemen, and that the young Roman knights fled sooner than run the risk of having their beauty spoiled.† The six cohorts then took the Pompeian left wing in the rear, while Cæsar brought his third line, which had not been yet engaged, against it in front. It broke, and fled to the camp. Pompeius, whose whole reliance was on his left wing, now despairing of victory, retired to his tent to await the event of the battle. But Cæsar soon led his men to the attack of the camp, which was carried

* Cic. ad Divers. vii. 3. Cicero always speaks with horror and apprehension of the success of the Pompeians.

† This is not very likely; the young Roman knights could have formed but a small part of a body of 7000 horse.

after an obstinate resistance from the cohorts which had been left to guard it. Pompeius, laying aside his general's habit, mounted a horse, and left it by the Decuman gate. Cæsar found the tents of Lentulus and others hung with ivy, fresh turves cut for seats, tables covered with plate, and all the preparations for celebrating a victory. Leaving some troops to guard the two camps, he followed a body of the Pompeians who had fled to a hill, but they abandoned it and made for Larissa; he however got between them and that town, and finally forced them to surrender. His own loss in this battle, he tells us, was only 200 men and 30 centurions; that of the Pompeians was 15,000, of whom but 6000 were soldiers, the rest being servants and the like: upwards of 24,000 were made prisoners. He granted life and liberty to all; and finding, it is said, in Pompeius' tent the letters of several men of rank, he imitated the conduct of Pompeius in Spain, and burned without reading them. L. Domitius had been slain in the pursuit; Labiænus fled with the Gallic horse to Dyrrhachium, where he found Cicero and Varro with Cato, who commanded there; they passed over to Corcyra, and being joined by the young Cn. Pompeius and other commanders of the fleet, held a council; but as they could decide on nothing, they separated, and went different ways. Labiænus, Scipio and some others sailed to Africa to join Varus and king Juba; Cato and young Pompeius went in quest of Pompeius; Cicero returned to Italy, intending to seek the victor's clemency.

We must now follow the unhappy Pompeius Magnus. He rode with about thirty followers to the gates of Larissa, but would not enter the town lest the people should incur the anger of Cæsar. He then went on to the Vale of Tempe, and at the mouth of the Peneüs got on board a merchantman which he found lying there; thence he sailed to the mouth of the Strymôn, and, having gotten some money from his friends at Amphipolis, proceeded to Mytilène in Lesbos, where he had left his wife Cornelia. Having taken her and his son Sextus on board, and collected a few vessels, he proceeded to Cilicia, and thence to Cyprus. He had intended going to Syria, but finding that the people of Antioch had declared for Cæsar, as also had the Rhodians, he gave up that design; and having gotten money from the publicans and some private persons, and collected about two thousand men, he made sail for Egypt.

It is said that he had consulted with his friends whether

he should seek a refuge with the king of the Parthians, or retire to king Juba in Africa, or repair to the young king of Egypt, whose father had been restored to his throne through his influence some years before.* The latter course was decided on, and he sailed for Pelusium, where the young king (who was at war with his sister Cleopatra, whom their father had made joint heir of the throne) was lying with his army. Pompeius sent to request his protection, on account of his friendship for his father. The king's ministers, either fearing that Pompeius, by means of the troops which had been left there by Gabinius, might attempt to make himself master of the kingdom, or despising his fallen fortunes, resolved on his death. They sent Achilles, a captain of the guard, with Septimius, a former Roman centurion, and some others, in a small boat to invite him to land. He was requested to come into the boat, as the shore was too oozy and shallow for a ship to approach it. He consented, and directing two centurions and his freedman Philip and a slave to follow him, and having embraced Cornelia, he entered the boat, and then turning round repeated the following lines of Sophocles :

He who unto a prince's house repairs
Becomes his slave, though he go thither free.†

They went on some time in silence ; at length Pompeius, turning to Septimius, said, "If I mistake not, you and I have been fellow-soldiers." Septimius merely nodded assent ; the silence was resumed ; Pompeius began to read over what he had prepared to say to the king in Greek. Meantime the boat approached the shore ; Cornelia and his friends saw several of the royal officers coming down to receive Pompeius, who, taking hold of Philip's arm, rose from his seat. As he rose, Septimius stabbed him in the

* Ptolemæus Aulæus promised Cæsar 6000 talents for himself and Pompeius, for having him acknowledged as king of Egypt by the senate. He was forced by his subjects to fly when he oppressed them by raising that sum. He came to Rome ; Pompeius wished to have the profitable task of restoring him ; but the laws and Sibylline oracles were alleged by his opponents, and Ptolemæus being obliged to leave Rome for having poisoned the ambassadors sent thither by his subjects, Pompeius gave him letters to Gabinius, the governor of Syria, who, on being promised by him 10,000 talents, set the laws and oracles at nought, marched his troops out of his province, and replaced him on the throne of Egypt.

† "Ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τῖραννον ἐμπορεύεται
Κείνου ἴστί δοῦλος, καὶν ἐλεύθερος μὴν."

back; Achilles and a Roman named Salvius then struck him: Pompeius drew his gown before his face, groaned, and died in silence. Those on ship-board gave a loud, piercing cry of grief, and set sail without delay, pursued by some Egyptian vessels. The head of Pompeius was cut off; his trunk was thrown on the beach, where his faithful freedman staid by it, and, having washed it in the sea, collected the wreck of a fishing-boat and prepared a pyre to burn it. While he was thus engaged, an old Roman who had served under Pompeius came up, and saying that the honor of aiding at the obsequies of the greatest of Roman generals compensated him in some sort for the evils of an abode in a foreign land, assisted him in his pious office.

Such was the end of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. In his person he was graceful and dignified; he spoke and wrote with ease and perspicuity, and was always heard with attention and respect. In private life his morals were remarkably pure, unstained by the excesses which disgraced Cæsar and so many others at that time; of the amiability of his character there can be no stronger proof than the fact of his having gained the entire and devoted affection of two such women as Julia and Cornelia, both so many years younger than himself. The public character of Pompeius is far less laudable; his love of sway was inordinate; he could not brook a rival; he would, however, be the freely chosen head of the republic, and in such case would have respected and maintained the laws. Not succeeding in this course he was led to the commission of several illegal acts, and he formed that fatal coalition with Cæsar, for whom neither as a statesman nor as a general was he a match, and who, during their union, always exerted over him the power of a superior mind, and that mostly for evil. Pompeius was by no means inclined to cruelty; yet Cicero feared, and with reason, that his victory would have been more sanguinary than that of Cæsar; for though his natural humanity might have kept him from imitating Sulla as he threatened, he had not Cæsar's energy to restrain the violence of his followers. Cæsar, we must allow, was better fitted for empire; Pompeius was by far the better man.

Cæsar, on learning that Pompeius was gone to Egypt, made all the speed he could to overtake him, and thus end the war. He arrived at Alexandria with two legions, (3200 foot and 800 horse :) the head and ring of Pompeius were presented to him; he shed some tears (counterfeit, we may

well suspect) over them, and caused the head to be burnt with costly spices. He then set about regulating the affairs of Egypt, and he summoned Ptolemæus and his sister before him.* The superior influence of Cleopatra was soon apparent, and Pothinus, the young king's minister, seeing the small number of the Roman troops, sent to desire Achilles to advance with the army from Pelusium. This army consisted of eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, all good troops, several of them being Romans left by Gabinius, and Cæsar found it necessary to act on the defensive. Achilles made himself master of all the town except the palace which Cæsar had fortified. A great struggle was made for the port, as with the shipping there the blockade of the palace might be made complete. Cæsar however succeeded in burning all the ships in it; unfortunately the flames extended, and the magnificent library of the kings was nearly all consumed. He then secured the island of Pharos, at the mouth of the port, and the mole leading to it. Ganymêdes, the successor of Achilles who had been slain, then mixed sea-water with that of the Nile in the aqueducts which supplied Cæsar's quarters; but this evil he obviated by sinking wells. In a naval action in the port, Cæsar, with only a few ships, gained the advantage; but, in an attempt to retake the mole and island, which the Alexandrians had recovered, he lost about eight hundred men and some ships, and he had to throw himself into the water and swim to a merchantman for safety.†

The Alexandrians now sent to demand their king who was in his hands, and Cæsar, seeing no use in detaining him, let him go, and the war was then renewed more fiercely than ever. Meantime Mithridâtes, an officer whom Cæsar had sent to levy troops in Syria, was advancing with a large army to relieve him, but as he had to go round the Delta, the young king despatched a part of his army to oppose him: These troops, however, were defeated; the king hastened with the rest of his army to their aid, and Cæsar at the same time joined Mithridâtes. He now resolved to try and ter-

* It is said that, to escape her brother's troops, Cleopatra had herself wrapped up in a bale of bedclothes, and thus conveyed into Alexandria.

† He held, it is said, on this occasion, his papers with one hand over the water to save them from being wetted. It is rather strange that he should have had papers in his hand, or even about him, in such a hot engagement.

minate the war by an attack on the Egyptian camp, which was on an eminence over the Nile, one of its sides being defended by the steepness of the ground, the other by a morass. While the attack was carried on in the front of the camp, some cohorts climbed up the steep of the hill, and fell on the enemy's rear. The Egyptians fled on all sides, mostly to the Nile, and the king trying to escape was drowned in the river. Cæsar returned to Alexandria, whose inhabitants came forth, preceded by their priests, to implore his mercy. He gave the crown to Cleopatra and her younger brother, leaving them the greater part of his troops to protect them, and then set out for Syria. After his departure Cleopatra was delivered of a son, who was said to be his, and was named Cæsarion.

When the civil war broke out, Pharnâces, the son of Mithridâtes the Great, resolved to seize the occasion of recovering his paternal dominions. He speedily regained Pontus, and then overran Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. Deiotarus, the king of the former, applied for aid to Cn. Domitius, who commanded for Cæsar in Asia; and after some fruitless attempts at negotiation, Domitius collected what troops he could, and advancing to Nicopolis gave Pharnâces battle, but he was defeated and forced to retire. Cæsar was meantime hastening from Egypt; for though he had learned that things were in the utmost confusion at Rome, he resolved not to quit Asia till he had reduced it to peace. Though his force was small, he decided on giving battle without delay, and he advanced to within five miles of Pharnâces' camp, which was on a hill, and commenced fortifying another hill in its vicinity. Pharnâces, relying on the number of his troops, and recollecting that it was in this very place his father had defeated Triarius, crossed the valley, and, leading his army up the hill, attacked the Roman troops. The battle was long and dubious; at length the right wing of the Romans was victorious, the centre and left were soon equally successful; the enemy was driven down the hill and pursued to his camp, which was speedily taken: Pharnâces himself escaped, but nearly his whole army was slain or taken. "I came, I saw, I conquered," (*Veni, vidi, vici*), were the terms in which Cæsar wrote to announce his victory, which ended the Pontic war.

Having regulated the affairs of Asia, Cæsar set out for Italy: at Brundisium he was met by Cicero, whom he received very kindly; he then went on to Rome, which he

found in a state of distraction. For Cæsar, having been created dictator after the battle of Pharsalia, had sent M. Antonius, his master of the horse, to govern Italy in his absence; and P. Cornelius Dolabella, another of his friends, being made one of the tribunes, had revived the laws of Cælius for the abolition of debts and rents. Antonius, who like Dolabella was immersed in debt, was at first willing to support him, but he finally sided with the senate and two of the other tribunes in opposing him. The people were of course for Dolabella, and such conflicts took place, during an absence of Antonius, between debtors and creditors, that the Vestals found it necessary to remove the sacred things to a place of safety. When Antonius returned the senate gave him the usual charge to see that the state suffered no injury. Dolabella, on the day of proposing his laws, had the Forum barricadoed, and even wooden towers erected to keep off all opponents; but Antonius came down with soldiers from the Capitol, broke the tables of the laws, and seizing some of the more turbulent flung them down from the Tarpeian rock. When Cæsar arrived he took no notice of what had occurred; he however steadily refused the abolition of debts, but remitted the interest that had accrued since the war began, and he also remitted to those who paid under 2000 sesterces rent, a year's rent at Rome, a quarter's throughout Italy. To gratify his friends, he let them have good bargains at the sales of the properties of Pompeius and others which he confiscated; he increased the number of priesthoods and prætorships, and placed several of his officers in the senate. Having had himself and his master of the horse, M. Lepidus, (for he continued to be dictator,) chosen consuls for the following year, he was preparing to pass over to Africa, when a mutiny broke out among his veteran legions, who were disappointed at not having yet gotten the rewards that had been promised them. It began with his favorite tenth legion. C. Sallustius, (the historian,) whom he sent to assure them that when the war was ended they should have 1000 denars a man, besides the lands and money already due to them, was obliged to fly for his life. They marched from Campania to Rome, plundering and murdering on their way, and came and posted themselves on the Field of Mars. Cæsar, in spite of his friends, went out, and mounting his tribunal demanded what had brought them thither, and what they wanted. They were disconcerted, and merely said that they had hoped he would give them

their discharge in consequence of their wounds and length of service. "I give it you," said he, and then added, "and when I have triumphed with other soldiers I will still keep my word with you." He was retiring; his officers stopped him, and begged him to be less severe, and to speak to them again. He addressed them, commencing with *Quirites!* and not as usual *Commilitōnes!* This totally overcame them; they cried out they were his soldiers, and would follow him to Africa or any where else if he would not cast them off; he then pardoned them, and passed over at their head to Sicily, though it was now far in the winter.

The Pompeians, aided by king Juba, were now in great force in Africa. Cato, having met Pompeius' ships, with Cornelia and Sex. Pompeius at Cyrène, landed all his troops there, and marching them over land to the African province joined Scipio and the other leaders. The chief command was given to Scipio as being a consular, and Cato took the government of the town of Utica.

Cæsar, having assembled six legions in Sicily, set sail from Lilybæum with a part of them (about 3000 men) and landed near Adrumetum. Having failed to take that town, he proceeded to another named Ruspina, which he reached on the first January, (706;) he thence advanced to Leptis, but he soon returned in order to go and look after his fleet, which had steered by mistake for Utica. Having been joined by the troops on board the fleet he encamped at Ruspina, and some days after engaged a numerous army, chiefly Numidians, commanded by Labiænus. The battle lasted from before mid-day to sunset, and the advantage was on the side of Labiænus. As Scipio and Juba were said to be approaching with eight legions and three thousand horse, Cæsar fortified his camp with the greatest care, and sent to Sicily and elsewhere for supplies. When Scipio came he offered battle repeatedly; but Cæsar, taught by the experience of the late action, steadily refused to fight; endeavoring at the same time to gain over Scipio's troops and the people of the country, in which he is said to have had some success. After some time he found himself strong enough to offer battle, but Scipio had now prudently resolved to protract the war. Cæsar then decamped at midnight, and went and laid siege to the town of Thapsus. Scipio and Juba followed him thither, and forming two camps about eight miles from his, attempted to throw succors into the town; failing in this, they resolved to give him battle, though Cato, it

said, strongly advised against it. Scipio moved down to the seaside, and having thrown up some intrenchments drew his army out before them with his elephants on the wings. Cæsar also drew out his nine legions. While he was hesitating whether to attack or not, a trumpeter sounded on the right wing; the troops then charged in spite of their officers: the elephants, not being well trained, turned on their own men when assailed by the missiles, and rushed into the camp. Scipio's troops broke and fled to their former camp, and then to that of Juba; but this also being forced they retired to a hill, whither they were pursued and slaughtered by Cæsar's veterans. Ten thousand was the number of the slain; the loss of the victors was but fifty men. Cæsar then leaving three legions to blockade Thapsus, and sending two against a town named Tisdra, advanced with the remainder toward Utica.

Cato, who commanded in this town, had formed a council of three hundred of the Roman traders who resided in it. When the news of the defeat at Thapsus arrived, he assembled his council and tried to animate them; but finding them inclined to have recourse to Cæsar's clemency, he gave up all hopes of defending the town, and sent word to that effect to Scipio and Juba, who were now in the neighborhood. Soon after the cavalry which had fled from Thapsus arrived; Cato went out to try and engage them to stay, but while he was away the three hundred met and determined on a surrender: when he heard this he prevailed on the cavalry to stop for one day, and he put the gates and citadel into their hands; his object being to get time to send away the Roman senators and others by sea. Having closed all the gates but one leading to the port, he got ships and every thing ready for those who were to go. Meantime the cavalry had begun to plunder; but he went to them, and by giving them money prevailed on them to leave the town: he then went down to the port to see his friends off. He afterwards arranged his accounts, and commended his children to his quæstor L. Cæsar. In the evening he bathed and supped as usual with his friends, discussing philosophical questions; and having walked after supper he retired to his room, where, it is said, he read over Plato's dialogue named Phædo, which treats of a future state and the immortality of the soul, and it is added slept soundly. Toward morning he stabbed himself with his sword: the sound of his fall being heard, his friends ran to the room, and his surgeon went to

bind up the wound; but he thrust him from him, tore it open, and instantly expired.

Thus died M. Porcius Cato, in the forty-eighth year of his age, a man possessed of many noble and estimable qualities, but joined with some defects, among which his vanity and his obstinacy were conspicuous. He was certainly patriotic, and was for maintaining the constitution; but it may be doubted if personal hatred to Cæsar was not the secret source of many of his apparently most patriotic actions. His politics were of too Utopian a cast ever to be really useful; for such is our nature that the politician *must* know how to yield to circumstances if he would do good. We may therefore admire, but should never think of imitating, the character of Cato.

Cæsar soon arrived at Utica, where he granted their lives to L. Cæsar and the other Romans; as for the three hundred, he said he would content himself with confiscating their properties for their crime in supplying Varus and Scipio with money; he however most graciously let them off for a sum of two hundred millions of sesterces, to be paid in the course of six years to the republic — that is, to himself.

King Juba had set out with Petreius for his town of Zama; he found the gates closed against him, and he and his companion, seeing no hopes, agreed to kill one another in a single combat; Petreius died at once, Juba was obliged to employ the hand of a slave. Afranius and Faustus Sulla were met and made prisoners in Mauritania, as they were making for Spain with the cavalry from Utica, by Sittius, a Roman *condottiere* who had declared for Cæsar, and Cæsar put them and L. Cæsar to death. Scipio, on his way to Spain, being obliged to put into the port of Hipponne, where Sittius' freebooting squadron lay, was attacked by it. Having seen most of his vessels sink, he stabbed himself, and when one of Sittius' soldiers on boarding asked where was the general, he calmly replied, "The general is safe." Cæsar went from Utica to Zama, where he sold the property of king Juba, and seized that of the Romans who resided there. He converted the kingdom into a province, giving Cirta to Sittius. On his return to Utica he seized and sold the property of all who had been centurions under Juba and Petreius, and he fined all the towns in proportion to their means; he, however, did not allow his soldiers to pillage any of them. He then set sail homewards, leaving

C. Sallustius as proconsul to govern the new province of Numidia, by whom it was plundered in a merciless manner.*

On Cæsar's arrival in Rome honors of every kind were decreed to him by his obsequious senate. They had already resolved that forty days should be devoted to the celebration of his African victory; that he should be dictator for ten years, inspector of morals for three; that his chariot should be placed on the Capitol opposite the statue of Jupiter, and his statue standing on a brazen figure of the world with the inscription "Cæsar the semigod." Having addressed the senate and the people, and assured them of his clemency and regard for the republic, he prepared to celebrate his triumphs for his various conquests; and in one month he triumphed four times, the first triumph being for Gaul, the second for Ptolemæus of Egypt, the third, for Pharnâces of Pontus, and the fourth for Juba of Numidia. The first was the most splendid; but as the procession went along the Velabrum the axle of the triumphal car broke, and in consequence of the delay he could not ascend the Capitol till dark, when forty elephants, ranged on his right and left, bore lights, and he went up the steps on his knees. In the second triumph were seen pictures of the deaths of Pothînus and Achilles, and the Pharos on fire; the third displayed a tablet with VENI, VIDI, VICI! on it. The money borne in triumph is said to have amounted to 65,000 talents, and the gold crowns to have been 2822 in number, and to have weighed 2414 pounds. He feasted the people at 22,000 tables placed in the streets; and to 150,000 citizens he gave ten pecks of corn, ten pounds of oil, and 400 sesterces apiece. There were public games of all kinds, sham-battles, hunting of wild beasts, horse and chariot races, the Trojan game, etc. To reward his veterans he gave them each 24,000 sesterces, double the sum to the centurions, the quadruple to the tribunes; and he assigned them lands, but not in continuous tracts, in order that present possessors might not be disturbed.

Cæsar now turned his thoughts to legislation. He confined the judicial power to the senators and knights; he reduced by a census the number of citizens who received corn to about one half; he sent eighty thousand citizens away as colonists; he enacted that no freeman under twenty

* Dion, xliii. 9. He was prosecuted for extortion the next year, but Cæsar saved him; hence his apologists say that it was for Cæsar, not for himself, that he had pillaged the province.

or over forty years of age should be more than three years out of Italy, and no senator's son at all, unless in the retinue of a magistrate; that all graziers on the public lands should not have less than a third of their shepherds freemen. He granted the freedom of the city to all physicians and professors of the liberal arts; he made or renewed various sumptuary laws; and he encouraged marriage, and gave rewards to those who had many children.

As a means of securing his power he abolished all the clubs and unions except the ancient ones; for however useful they might have formerly proved in forwarding his own views, he knew them to be totally incompatible with all regular government. Judging also by his own experience, he enacted that no prætor should hold a province for more than one year, no consul for more than two. He further reserved to himself the appointment of one half of those who were to be elected to offices in the state, and at the approach of the elections he always notified to the people whom he would have chosen.*

It was at this time also that Cæsar made his celebrated reformation of the calendar. The Roman year had been the lunar one of 354 days, and it was kept in accordance with the solar year by intercalating months in every second and fourth year. The pontiffs were charged with this office; but they exercised it, it is said, in an arbitrary manner, from motives of partiality, and the year was now more than two months in arrear. Cæsar therefore added 67 days between November and December of this year, which with the intercalary month of 23 days made an entire addition of 90 days; and he divided the year into months of 30 and 31 days, directing a day to be intercalated every fourth year, to keep it even with the course of the sun. His agent in this change was an Alexandrian named Sosigenes.

Towards the end of the year Cæsar was obliged to return to Spain, where the sons of Pompeius with Labiænus and Varus had collected a force of eleven legions, and had driven Trebonius, who commanded there, out of Bætica. In twenty-seven days he travelled from Rome to the neighborhood of Corduba, and after various movements the two armies met (March 17th, 707) on the plain of Munda. Cn. Pompeius, who commanded in chief, had the advantage in position and

* The following was the form of his *cong. d'élire*: "Cæsar, dictator illi tribui Commendo tibi illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant." (Suet. Jul. Cæs. 41.)

numbers, and he was so near gaining the victory, that Cæsar, it is said, was about to put an end to himself. He alighted from his horse, took a shield, and advancing before his men declared that he would never retire. This action excited them to renewed exertions; and just then a Moorish prince in Cæsar's army having fallen on Pompeius' camp, Labiënus sent five cohorts to protect it; Cæsar cried aloud that the enemy was flying; this roused the courage of one side and excited the fears of the other, and after a severe contest victory remained with Cæsar. Labiënus, Varus, and 30,000 men, among whom were 3000 knights, lay slain on the side of Pompeius; the victors had 1000 killed and 500 wounded. Cæsar declared that in his other battles he had fought for victory, in this for his very life: it was the last conflict of the Civil War. Cn. Pompeius fled to Carteia, where his fleet lay; but finding the people inclined to Cæsar, he put to sea with thirty ships. Didius, who commanded Cæsar's fleet at Gades, pursued him, and when he was obliged to land for water attacked and burned several of his ships. Pompeius, who was wounded, fled from one place to another: and being found in a cavern in which he had taken shelter, he was put to death, and his head, like his father's, brought to Cæsar. Sex. Pompeius, who commanded in Corduba, fled to the mountains of Celtiberia. Munda was taken after a siege of three weeks; Corduba, Hispalis, (Seville,) Gades, and the other towns opened their gates. Cæsar, in order to raise money, heavily fined some places, sold privileges to others, and even plundered the temple of Hercules at Gades; and having thus collected all the money he could, he set out on his return to Rome, leaving C. Asinius Pollio as legate in Spain.

Cæsar celebrated his triumph on the 1st of October, but though a magnificent it was a melancholy sight to the people, who regarded it as a triumph over themselves. The senate however was never weary of heaping honors on him. He was made perpetual dictator and inspector of morals, given the *prænomen* of Imperator, and the *cognomen* of Father of his Country; his statue was placed among those of the kings on the Capitol and in all the temples and towns; it was carried with those of the gods at the Circensian games, and there was a *pulvinar*, or state-couch, for it as for theirs; he had a flamen and Luperci like Quirinus, and the month Quintilis was named Julius after him. He was allowed to wear a laurel crown constantly to have a golden seat in the

senate-house, a id Forum, etc. Friends and enemies concurred in heap ng these honors on him, the former out of zeal, the latter it is said in the hope of making him incur the hatred of the people.

Insatiate of fame and impatient of repose, Cæsar had already resolved on a war with the Parthians, and he now sent his legions before him into Macedonia. Meantime he was forming various magnificent projects for his own glory and the benefit of the people. He proposed to rebuild Carthage and Corinth and several Italian towns, to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to let off the Fucine lake, to dig a new bed for the Tiber from Rome to the sea, to form a large port at Ostia, to make a causeway over the Apennines to the Adriatic. He employed the learned Varro to collect books for a public library, and he proposed reducing the mass of the Roman laws to a moderate compass.

It was thus that Cæsar meditated improving the empire which he had acquired by his sword; he moreover proclaimed an amnesty, replaced the statues of Sulla and Pompeius which had been thrown down, and dismissing his guards went attended only by lictors. But, in the intoxication of power he did not sufficiently spare the feelings and prejudices of those over whom he ruled. He introduced Gauls into the senate, he set his slaves over the mint and the revenue, he did as he pleased with all the high offices; he would use such language as this, "There is no republic; Sulla was an idiot to lay down the dictatorship. Men should speak more respectfully to me, and consider my word to be law." When the whole senate waited on him one day with a decree in his honor, he did not even deign to rise from his seat to receive them. Finally, like Cromwell, not content with the solid power of a king, he longed, it is said, for the empty title, and various modes of feeling the pulse of the people on this subject were employed. As he was returning (708) from keeping the Latin Holidays on the Alban Mount, some voices in the crowd called him King, and some one placed a diadem and a crown of laurel on one of his statues. Seeing that the people was not pleased, he replied, "I am Cæsar, not king;" but he deprived of their office two of the tribunes when they imprisoned the man who had crowned his statues. A few days after, on the festival of the Lupercalia, (Feb. 15,) Antonius, then his colleague in the consulate and one of the new Luperci, ran up to him as he was seated in state on the

Rostra and placed a diadem on his head; a few hired voices applauded: Cæsar rejected it, and a general shout of applause ensued; the offer was repeated with the same effect. Cæsar then rose, desiring the diadem to be placed on the statue of Jupiter as the only king of the Romans. It was also rumored that it was found in the Sibylline books that the Parthians could only be conquered by a king, and that therefore Cotta, one of the keepers of them, was to propose making Cæsar king.

But at this very time there was a conspiracy formed to deprive Cæsar of life and empire. The members of it were sixty in number, some of them his adherents, others those who had fought against him, to whom he had given their lives, and even promoted them to honors. Among the latter were C. Cassius and M. Junius Brutus. Of these Cassius had, as we have seen, been Crassus' legate in the Parthian war; he had commanded a division of Pompeius' fleet, and meeting Cæsar on his way to Egypt had been pardoned by him, and was now one of the city prætors. He was a man of very considerable talent, but of rather a harsh and stern temper. Brutus was the nephew of Cato, to whose daughter he was now married, having divorced his former wife Claudia for that purpose. After the battle of Pharsalia he fled to Larissa, whence he sent his submission to Cæsar, who joyfully received him, and when he was going to Africa set him over Cisalpine Gaul, and had now made him one of the city prætors. His sister Junia was the wife of Cassius. A mistaken sense of patriotism may have been, and probably was, the motive which actuated these and some others; * and even Cæsar's own partisans who shared in the conspiracy, such as D. Brutus and Trebonius, may have acted from the same motives, for though they fought for Cæsar against Pompeius, it does not follow that they approved of the overthrow of the constitution. C. and P. Servilius Casca, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basilus, also of the Cæsarian party, were among the conspirators. Cn. Domitius and Q. Ligarius were Pompeians who engaged in the plot.

Cassius is said to have originally contrived the plot; those to whom he communicated it advised him strongly to engage Brutus in it if possible on account of his name and influence, and Brutus when sounded readily entered into it.

* In the case of Brutus, no one who reads his letters to Cicero and Atticus can doubt of it. How he rises in moral dignity in these letters over Cicero!

Brutus was further urged, it is said, by hints such as these on his tribunal he found written, "Brutus, dost thou sleep?" and "Thou art not a true Brutus!" and on the statue of the elder Brutus was written, "Would there were a Brutus now!" Knowing the timidity of Cicero's character, and certain of his support when the deed was done, the conspirators did not make him privy to their design; but it is said they had had some thoughts of admitting Antonius, who was offended with Cæsar for having made him pay for Pompeius' property which he had bought, but Trebonius had diverted them from it. It was then warmly debated among them whether they should not kill Antonius and Lepidus along with Cæsar, but the two Brutuses declaring strongly against such an act as unjust and impolitic, it was imprudently given up. The place and time of performing the deed were also matter of debate, as they were resolved that this act of public justice, as they deemed it, should be done in the face of day: some proposed the Field of Mars, others the Via Sacra or the entrance of the theatre; but as the senate were to meet in the Curia of Pompeius on the ides of March, that place and day were finally fixed on. It is said moreover that Cæsar knew that there was a conspiracy against him, but that he disdained to take any precautions, saying that he would rather die at once by treachery than live in fear of it; that he had lived long enough, and that the state would be a greater loser than he by his death.

On the morning of the ides (15th) of March, Brutus and Cassius sat calmly in the Forum to administer justice, with daggers concealed under their gowns. Cæsar, who felt himself indisposed, and whose wife is said to have had ominous dreams, was thinking of not going to the senate, but D. Brutus urging him he ascended his litter and set out: on the way, we are told, Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, handed him a paper with an account of the plot, desiring him to read it immediately; but he went in with the paper in his hand.* Popillius Lænas, who a little before had intimated to Brutus and Cassius his knowledge of the plot, went up and spoke earnestly to him; the conspirators, who did not hear what he said, were in alarm, and laid their hands on their daggers. At length Popillius retired, and Cæsar advanced and took his seat; the conspirators gathered

* It is also said that Spurrinna, an aruspex, had warned him to beware of the ides of March; and now seeing him he said, "Well, the ides of March are come." "Yes, but they are not past!" replied Spurrinna.

round him; Cimber began to plead for his brother who was in exile, the others joined earnestly in the suit: Cæsar was annoyed at their importunity; Cimber then gave the appointed signal by seizing his gown and pulling it off his shoulder. "This is violence," cried Cæsar. Casca instantly stabbed him under the throat. Cæsar rose, ran his writing-styie into Casca's arm, and rushed forward; but another and another struck him; then despairing of life he thought only of dying with dignity, and wrapping his gown around him, he fell, pierced by three-and-twenty wounds, at the foot of Pompeius' statue.* Brutus then waving his bloody dagger called aloud on Cicero, and congratulated him on the recovery of the public liberty.† He was going to address the assembly, but the senators fled out of the house in dismay.

Thus perished in his fifty-sixth year, C. Julius Cæsar, the greatest man Rome, we would almost say the world, ever beheld. Equally the general, the statesman, the orator, and the man of letters and taste,‡ he must have shone in any station and under any form of society. His courage was not merely physical, it was moral; his eloquence was simple and masculine; his taste pure and elegant. He was clement, generous, and magnanimous; but he was also insatiably ambitious: and though not cruel, (as no really great man is,) he could shed torrents of blood without remorse when he had any object to gain; and though he enforced the laws when he had the supreme power, he had trampled on them with contempt when they stood in his way. To say that Cæsar overthrew the liberties of his country, unless we dignify anarchy with the name of liberty, we hold to be incorrect; and had his motive been the love of Rome, and not the gratification of his own ambition, we might even feel disposed to praise him. But he cared not for his country; the love of fame alone actuated him; instead of staying in Rome, and seeking to promote the happiness of those who were become his subjects, he was now

* Some writers say that when Brutus struck, Cæsar cried out in Greek, "And thou, my son!" Cæsar, it is well known, had an intrigue with Servilia, Brutus' mother, but he was only fifteen years older than Brutus, and so could not well have been his father.

† Cic. Phil. ii. 12.

‡ His solicitude about his dress and his personal appearance was a curious trait in Cæsar's character. No honor that was decreed him gave him more pleasure than that of wearing a laurel wreath, as it helped to conceal his baldness. Suet. Jul. Cæs. 45.

on the point of running, in imitation of Alexander, to attempt the conquest of the East, leaving the supreme power at Rome in the hands of such men as Antonius and Dolabella. According to the old Valerian law,* Cæsar was legally slain: we are not justified in ascribing any but patriotic motives to most of the conspirators: but if his assassination was an act of justice, according to the ideas of those times, never was there a more useless, a more pernicious act of justice performed.

CHAPTER XII.†

AFFAIRS AT ROME AFTER CÆSAR'S DEATH. — HIS FUNERAL. — CONDUCT OF ANTONIUS. — OCTAVIUS AT ROME. — QUARREL BETWEEN HIM AND ANTONIUS. — MUTINENSIAN WAR. — CÆSAR MADE CONSUL. — THE TRIUMVIRATE AND PROSCRIPTION. — DEATH OF CICERO. — HIS CHARACTER. — ACTS OF THE TRIUMVIRS. — WAR WITH BRUTUS AND CASSIUS. — BATTLE OF PHILIPPI. — DEATH OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS. — ANTONIUS AND CLEOPATRA. — CÆSAR'S DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS. — PERUSIAN WAR. — RETURN OF ANTONIUS TO ITALY. — WAR WITH SEX. POMPEIUS. — PARTHIAN WAR. — RUPTURE BETWEEN CÆSAR AND ANTONIUS. — BATTLE OF ACTIUM. — LAST EFFORTS OF ANTONIUS. — DEATH OF ANTONIUS AND CLEOPATRA. — SOLE DOMINION OF CÆSAR. — CONCLUSION.

THE terror of the senate at the assassination of Cæsar was shared by the people, and the conspirators not knowing how they might finally act, and aware of the great number of soldiers that were in and about the city, deemed it their safest course to retire to the Capitol, whither several of the senate and the nobility repaired to them. The dead body of Cæsar, which lay in the senate-house, was placed in his litter by three of his slaves and taken home. Antonius fled and concealed himself; Lepidus retired to the troops

* See above, p. 33.

† Dion, xlv.-li. Appian, B. C. iii.-v. Vell. Pat. ii. 59-89. Plut. Cicero, Brutus, Antonius.

which he had in the island of the Tiber,* and transported them without delay over to the Field of Mars.

The next day passed in conferences and negotiations. Brutus and Cassius came down and harangued the people in the Forum, and were heard with respect; but when the prætor L. Cornelius Ciuna began to accuse Cæsar, the people showed such anger that the conspirators deemed it prudent to return to the Capitol; and Brutus, expecting to be besieged, made those who had joined them there retire, not to share in the danger. On the third day (the 17th) Antonius,† as consul, assembled the senate in the temple of Earth, (Tellus,) to make the final arrangements with the conspirators. Cicero proposed an amnesty, like that at Athens in the time of the Thirty; to which all agreed. Antonius moved that the conspirators should be invited to join them, and he sent his son to the Capitol as a hostage for their security. They came down, and Cassius supped that evening with Antonius, Brutus with Lepidus. Antonius also moved that all Cæsar's acts should be confirmed; this was opposed; but on his assurance that it should only extend to those acts which were public and known, that only one exile was to be restored, and no immunities granted to any towns or countries, it was passed, with a restriction that no grant which was to take place after the ides of March should be valid. It was finally resolved that Cæsar's funeral should be solemnized at the public expense, a measure to which Brutus had agreed, though Cassius opposed it; and Cicero's prudent friend, T. Pomponius Atticus, had de-

* He was preparing to set out with them for Spain, of which Cæsar had given him the government.

† As Antonius becomes now an actor of so much importance, we will sketch his previous history. He was grandson of the great orator, (see p. 343,) and son of the Antonius who commanded against the pirates, (p. 360, 361.) In his youth he was riotous and debauched, and squandered his patrimony before he assumed the *toga*. His step-father was Catilina's associate Lentulus; after whose death he joined Clodius, and shared in the violence of his tribunate. He then went abroad, and became commander of the horse under Gabinus in Syria, and had his part in the restoration of Ptolemæus, (p. 431.) On his return, his debts driving him from Rome, he went to Gaul to Cæsar, who aided him with his money and credit in his suit for the quæstorship; and Cicero, to oblige Cæsar, exerted himself so strenuously in his favor, that Antonius attributed his success to him, and, to prove his gratitude, attempted to kill Clodius in the Forum. As soon as he was made quæstor, he went back to Cæsar, without waiting for an appointment from the senate; he afterwards returned, and was chosen one of the tribunes; and we have seen how useful he proved to Cæsar.

clared that if there was a public funeral all was lost. At this time also Cicero's son-in-law, P. Dolabella, whom Cæsar had nominated to be consul in his place, entered of himself on the office and Lepidus took in like manner the high priesthood which Cæsar had held. The following day the thanks of the senate were given to Antonius for his prudent conduct, and provinces decreed to the principal conspirators.

Cæsar's will was now opened and read at the house of Antonius, and it was found that he had adopted and made his principal heir C. Octavius, the grandson of his sister; that he had bequeathed the citizens 300 sesterces apiece, and left them his gardens near the Tiber. The funeral then took place. A small temple adorned with gold was raised in front of the Rostra, and his body placed in it on an ivory couch, the robe in which he had died being hung over it; the pyre meantime was formed in the Field of Mars, whither all who chose were directed to carry their spices and perfumes to be burnt on it. Antonius then ascended the Rostra; he directed the decrees of the senate in Cæsar's honor to be read, and the oath taken by the senators not only not to make any attempt on his life, but to defend it at the hazard of their own. He then briefly addressed the people.* The magistrates and those who had borne office under Cæsar took up the body to carry it to the Field of Mars; but the rabble, who had been excited by verses distributed among them, would not allow them to proceed, some insisting that it should be burnt in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, others in the curia of Pompeius, in which he was slain. Suddenly two armed soldiers advanced with lighted tapers and set fire to the bier; the crowd broke up all the seats and got brushwood and every thing else that came to hand to feed the flames; the musicians and players threw on them their dresses, the veterans their arms, the women their own and their children's ornaments to honor Cæsar. The mob then attempted to set fire to the houses of the conspirators, and they murdered C. Helvius Cinna, a tribune, and one of Cæsar's friends, mistaking him for his namesake the prætor, and carried his head about on a spear.

The conspirators now found it advisable to leave Rome; but Antonius, not feeling himself yet strong enough to act as he intended, still wore the mask of moderation. He

* Suetonius, *Jul. Cæsar*, 84. Others say he displayed Cæsar's bloody robe and excited the people to vengeance; but this cannot have been, as it was his policy now to keep fair with the conspirators.

spoke highly of Brutus and Cassius, obtained leave for them, though prætors, to stay away from the city, and had a decree passed abolishing forever the name and office of dictator. As the mob had erected an altar with a pillar on the spot where they had burnt Cæsar's body and offered sacrifices on it, he seized and put their ringleader to death; and Dolabella afterwards demolished the pillar and altar, and executed several of the most riotous of the mob.

Antónius, having made a tour through Italy to collect the veterans and draw them toward Rome, assembled the senate on the 1st of June; when as none ventured to appear but his own partisans, he had what decrees he pleased passed. Pretending fear on account of the decrees in favor of the republic, he asked for a guard to protect him, and when it was granted, he surrounded himself with six thousand veterans. He then had the execution of Cæsar's acts committed to the consuls, and as he had Cæsar's papers and his secretary Faberius in his hands he now could forge and do as he pleased. He therefore recalled exiles, granted immunities to whom he chose and who could pay for them,* and thus amassed a large quantity of money. Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, had, in her first terror, given up to him all the ready money that Cæsar had left behind him, amounting to 100,000,000 sesterces, and he seized the public treasure of 700,000,000 sesterces which Cæsar had placed in the temple of Ops. He thus had been enabled to pay off his own debts of 40,000,000 sesterces, purchase over his colleague Dolabella, and gain the soldiery to his side. As Sex. Pompeius was again in arms, Antonius and Lepidus, aware of the annoyance he might give them, had a decree passed restoring him to his estates † and honors, and giving him the command at sea with as full powers as his father had enjoyed.

The young C. Octavius, a youth of nineteen years of age, was at Apollonia pursuing his studies at the time of Cæsar's death: the officers of the troops about there waited on him with a tender of their services, and some of his friends ad-

* Though Cæsar hated no man more than Deiotarus, Antonius restored him his dominions, in compliance, as he said, with the will of Cæsar. The price paid by the king was 10,000,000 sesterces: the bargain was made by his agents with Fulvia the wife of Antonius.

† It may give some idea of the wealth of the Roman nobles to know that Pompeius' property (independent of his plate and jewels) was valued at 700,000,000 sesterces, or £5,651,037 of our money.

vised him to accept them; but this course did not suit his naturally cautious temper, and he only said that he would go to Rome and claim his uncle's estates. In the present posture of affairs even this course seemed too hazardous to many of his friends, and his mother Atia and her husband L. Marcius Philippus wrote to dissuade him from it. He however persisted, and on his landing at Brundisium, the veterans flocked to him complaining of Antonius' tardiness to avenge the death of Cæsar. He thence proceeded to join his mother at Cumæ, and there he was introduced to Cicero, whom he assured that he would be always governed by his advice. Octavius then set out for Rome; when he came near the city crowds of Cæsar's friends met him and attended him on his entrance. Next day, having had his claim duly registered, he went to M. Antonius and demanded possession of his uncle's money and assets, that he might pay the legacies. Antonius made a brief reply, telling him he was young and did not know what he was about; he impeded him in getting his adoption confirmed by the curies; and further, when Octavius, though a patrician, sought the tribunate vacant by the murder of Helvius Cinna, Antonius also opposed him.

Octavius, (whom we shall henceforth call Cæsar,*) seeing he had no hopes of Antonius, turned to the senate and people; the former seemed disposed to favor him against Antonius, and he easily won the latter by a promise of even more money than Cæsar had left them in his will, and of treating them with splendid shows. To perform these promises he had to sell his own estate and his succession to his uncle's, and even those of his mother and his father-in-law, who now supported him heartily.

Brutus and Cassius soon after left Italy, regarding their cause there as lost, and the chief hope of the republicans lay in the increasing coolness between Cæsar and Antonius. The latter did all in his power to gain the veterans; he estranged himself more and more from the republican party, which therefore looked to his rival, who, it is said, formed a design against his life, and sent some slaves to his house to assassinate him.† They both began to make preparations

* By the rule of adoption, his name now became C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. It is quite an error to call him henceforth Octavius; we might as well call the younger Africanus Æmilius.

† Suet. Octav. 10.

for war, and Antonius in the beginning of October set out for Brundisium to meet four legions which he had recalled from Macedonia. Cæsar sent his agents to try to purchase the fidelity of these legions; he himself went to solicit the veterans settled about Capua, and as he gave 500 denars a man, a number of them joined him. Antonius was but coolly received by the soldiers, and when he offered them 100 denars each, they left his tribunal with contempt. In a rage he summoned the centurions whom he suspected to his quarters, and had them massacred in the presence of himself and his wife Fulvia. Cæsar's agents took advantage of this to gain over the soldiers, and but one of the legions could be induced to follow Antonius to Rome; the other three marched along the coast without declaring for either side. At Rome Antonius published several edicts in abuse of Cæsar, Cicero, and others, and he had summoned the senate with the intention of having Cæsar declared a public enemy; but hearing that the three legions had declared for him, he left Rome in haste, and putting himself at the head of his troops set out for Cisalpine Gaul, which, though the province of D. Brutus, he had made the people decree to himself without asking the consent of the senate.

Rome being now free from the presence of Antonius' troops, Cicero ventured to return to it; and having received an assurance that Cæsar would be a friend to Brutus, and seen that he allowed Casca, who had given the dictator the first blow, to enter on the tribunate to which he had been elected, he resolved to keep no measures with Antonius; both in the senate and to the people he inveighed against him, extolling Cæsar and D. Brutus, and calling on the senate to act with vigor in the defence of the republic.* The remainder of the year was spent in making preparations for war against Antonius, who was now actually besieging D. Brutus in Mutina. Cæsar, with the approbation of Cicero, who had procured him the title of prætor, marched after Antonius to watch his movements.

On the first of January (709) the new consuls, A. Hir-tius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered on their office; and in the senate, in spite of the eloquence of Cicero, the motion of Q. Fufius Calenus to send an embassy to Antonius was carried, after a debate of three days. Three consulars, Sex.

* The speeches, fourteen in number, delivered by Cicero against Antonius are called Philippics, after those of Demosthenes.

Sulpicius, L. Pisò, and L. Philippus were sent. Meantime the levies went on with great spirit, and an army under Hirtius took the field against Antonius. The embassy having been detained by the illness and death of Sulpicius, did not return till the beginning of February, when the senate was informed that Antonius refused obedience unless they would confirm all the acts of his consulate, give lands and rewards to all his troops, and to himself the government of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions. On the motion of Cícero, Antonius was then in effect, though not in words, declared a public enemy, and the people were ordered to assume the *sagum*, or military habit. As Brutus was closely pressed in Mutina, attempts were made in the senate to have the negotiations with Antonius renewed, but they were defeated by the forcible eloquence of Cícero; and Pansa at length set out about the middle of March to attempt the relief of Brutus.

When Antonius heard of Pansa's approach he secretly drew out his best troops to attack him before he should join Hirtius. On the 15th of April, the day that Pansa was to enter Hirtius' camp, he found the horse and light troops of Antonius, who kept his legions out of view in an adjacent village, prepared to oppose him. A part of his troops charged them without waiting for orders; Antonius brought out his legions; the action became brisk and general; and Pansa's troops were finally driven to their camp, which Antonius vainly attempted to storm; and as he was returning he was met by Hirtius and defeated with great loss, and another body of his troops, which attacked Hirtius' camp, was driven off by Cæsar, who commanded there. Three or four days after, Hirtius and Cæsar made a vigorous attack on the camp of Antonius, who drew out his legions and gave them battle; in the heat of the action Brutus made a sally from the town. Hirtius forced his way into the camp, but was slain near the *prætorium*; Cæsar however completed the victory, and Antonius fled with his cavalry toward the Alps.

The consul Pansa, who had been severely wounded in the first engagement, died the next day at Bononia, (Bologna,) whither he had been conveyed. The deaths of the two consuls happened so very opportunely for Cæsar, that he was accused, though certainly without reason, of having caused them.* He was now at the head of nearly the entire army, for the vete-

* Suet. Octav. 11.

rans would not serve under Brutus, who was thus unable to pursue Antonius; and as Cæsar, having other views, would not follow him, he was able to form a junction with his legate P. Ventidius, who was bringing him three legions, and to effect his retreat over the Alps. At Rome, on the motion of Cicero, all kinds of honors were lavished on the slain and living generals; and, among the rest, the lesser triumph, named *ovation*, was decreed to Cæsar.

There were in this time two Roman armies in Gaul, the one commanded by Lepidus, who had stopped there on his way to Spain, the other by L. Munatius Plancus, the consul elect. The former, though he had sent reiterated assurances of fidelity to the senate, joined Antonius when he came to the vicinity of his camp: the latter united his forces with those of D. Brutus; but when he found that Asinius Pollio had led two legions out of Spain to the aid of the rebels (for Lepidus had been also declared a public enemy) he took the same side, and even attempted to betray Brutus to them. Brutus endeavored to make his escape to M. Brutus, who was in Macedonia, but he was betrayed and taken and put to death by the soldiers whom Antonius had sent in pursuit of him.

Cæsar, not content with the honors decreed him, demanded, it is said, a triumph, and on its being refused began to think of a reconciliation with Antonius. Though but a youth he then resolved to claim the consulate, and it is also said that he induced Cicero to approve of his project by flattering his self-love, holding out to him the prospect of becoming his colleague and his director. As however no one could be found to propose him, he sent a deputation of his officers to demand it. The senate hesitated; the centurion Cornelius, throwing back his cloak, showed the hilt of his sword and said, "This will make him if you will not." Cæsar himself soon appeared at the head of his troops; two legions which were just arrived from Africa, and had been set to defend the Janiculan, went over to him; no opposition could be made; an assembly of the people chose him and his cousin Q. Pedius consuls, and they entered on their office on the 19th of the month Sextilis. Cæsar was now resolved to keep measures no longer with the republican party. Pedius proposed a law for bringing to trial all concerned, directly or indirectly, in causing the dictator's death; the conspirators were all impeached, and none of course appearing they were outlawed. Sex. Pompeius, though he had not had the slightest

concern in the deed, was included in the sentence, as the object proposed was not to avenge the death of the elder, but to establish the power of the younger Cæsar, who for this purpose now distributed to the citizens the legacies left them by his uncle.

Having settled the affairs of the city to his mind, Cæsar set out with his troops to hold the personal interview, which had been long since arranged, with Lepidus and Antonius, who had passed the Alps for the purpose. The place of meeting was a small island in a stream named the Rhenus, (Reno,) about two miles from Bononia. Each encamped with five legions in view of the island, which Lepidus entered the first to see that all was safe; and on his giving the signal, Cæsar and Antonius approached and passed over to it from the opposite banks by bridges, which they left guarded each by three hundred men. They first, it is said, searched each other to see that they had no concealed weapons, and then sat in conference during three days, the middle seat being given to Cæsar as consul. It was agreed among them, that under the title of Triumvirs for settling the Republic they should jointly hold the supreme power for five years, appoint to all offices, and decide on all public affairs; that Cæsar should have for his province Africa, Sicily, and the other islands, Lepidus Spain and Narbonese Gaul, and Antonius the two other Gauls both sides of the Alps; that Cæsar and Antonius, each with twenty legions, should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, and Lepidus with three have charge of the city; that finally, at the end of the war, eighteen of the best and richest municipal towns and colonies* of Italy, with their lands, should be taken from their owners and given to their faithful soldiers. They then proceeded to the horrible act of drawing up a proscription list after the example of Sulla, which was to contain the names of their public and private enemies, and of those whose wealth excited their avarice. Antonius insisted on Cicero's being included; Cæsar is said to have shrunk from this deed, but after holding out for two days he at length gave him up, as did Lepidus his own brother Paulus, and Antonius his uncle L. Cæsar. The list is said to have contained the names of 300 senators and 2000 knights.† Cæsar as consul read to

* Appian enumerates Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Hipponium.

† Appian B. C. iv. 5. Livy says 130, Florus 140 senators.

the soldiers all the articles of their agreement but the proscription list; their joy was unbounded, and they insisted on a marriage between Cæsar and Clodia, the daughter of Antonius' wife Fulvia by her first husband Clodius.

The triumvirs having selected seventeen names of the most obnoxious persons, sent off some soldiers to murder them without delay. Four were met and slain at once, but the tumult made by the soldiers in searching after the others filled the city with such alarm that the consul Pedius had to run about the streets all night to quiet the people, and in the morning he published the names of the seventeen. He died the next day in consequence of his great exertions and uneasiness of mind. A few days after, the triumvirs arrived, and having had a law proposed by one of the tribunes for investing them with their new office, entered on it on the 27th of November. They immediately published their proscription list, and the scenes of Sulla's days were renewed in all their horrors, and the vices and virtues of human nature had again full room for display. "The fidelity of the wives of the proscribed," says a historian,* "was exemplary, that of the freedmen middling, slaves showed some, sons none at all."

M. Cicero, his brother and his nephew were among the first sought out. Cicero, who in reliance on Cæsar had feared no danger, was at his Tusculan villa when he heard that his name was in the fatal list. He set out with his brother and nephew for his villa at Astûra, which was on the coast near Antium, intending to make their escape by sea; but Q. Cicero having no money returned to Rome with his son, thinking he could remain concealed there till he had procured what he wanted; they were however betrayed by their slaves and both put to death. M. Cicero got on board a vessel at Astûra, and sailed as far as Circeii, where he landed: He was perplexed how to act, and whether he should go to Brutus, Cassius, or Pompeius: at times he did not wholly despair of Cæsar; at other times he thought of returning secretly to Rome, and entering Cæsar's house kill himself on his hearth, and thus draw on him the vengeance of heaven; death in fine he now regarded as his only refuge: † he however yielded to the entreaties of his slaves, and let them convey him by sea to his villa at Caiëta; but he would go no further, de-

* Vell. Pat. ii. 67. "So hard," he adds with respect to the sons 'is the delay of a hope any how conceived!"

† Seneca, Suasor. 6.

claring that he would die in the country he so often had saved.* He went to bed and slept soundly, though a flock of crows, we are told, as if to warn him of his impending fate, made a continual fluttering and crying about the house. His slaves, apprehending danger, made him get up, and placing him in a litter carried him through the woods toward the sea. The soldiers soon arrived at the villa, and finding him gone pursued after him. When they came up, his slaves prepared to fight in his defence, but he forbade them, and stretching his neck out of the litter, and regarding the soldiers with an air of resolution which almost daunted them, bade them do their office and take what they wanted. They struck off his head and hands, and C. Popillius Lænas the tribune, who commanded the party, a man whom Cicero had formerly defended on a capital charge, took them and carried them to Antonius. The triumvir was sitting in the Forum when he arrived; Lænas held up the bloody spoils when he came in sight, and he forthwith received the honor of a crown and a large sum of money. The head and hands were placed on the Rostra, where the sight of them drew tears from many an eye, and awoke many a sigh in the bosoms of those who called to mind the eloquence with which he had so often from that place defended the laws and liberties of his country.

Such was the end, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, of the greatest orator, the most accomplished writer that Rome ever possessed. In his private character Cicero was every way amiable, and a just and benevolent spirit pervades all his writings; as a magistrate, whether at Rome or in the provinces, few were so upright or incorruptible; it is only his political character that is stained with blemishes. His vanity was insatiable, and any one who would minister to it could wield him at his pleasure; he had a cowardly dread of the ills of life, and lost all sense of dignity in his anxiety to escape them.† He wanted that firmness, that fixedness of purpose, without which no statesman can be great; he was ever vacillating, and to gratify his ambition, which was inordinate, he could even be base.‡ Though Cæsar had caused his banish-

* Liv. in Senec. Suasor.

† "We have too great a dread," says Brutus, "of death, of exile, and of poverty. These Cicero looks upon as the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find people who will grant him what he desires, who will respect and applaud him, he has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honorable one."

‡ One could hardly believe, had we not his own words for it, (Ad Att. i. 2.) that he had thoughts of defending Catilina, though he knew

ment he sought and obtained favors from him; he flattered him grossly when in power, and yet he exulted at and applauded his assassination. Cicero's patriotism had not the moral purity of that of Demosthenes; we could believe that the latter, provided he saw Athens great and flourishing, would have been content to have been one of her humblest citizens; to Cicero the republic was nothing if he was not the leading man in it, its animating spirit. To speak thus hardly of so great, so generally excellent a man is painful to us, but our regard for truth will not allow us to join in the unqualified eulogies which have been lavished on his memory.

Numbers of the proscribed made their escape to Pompeius or to Brutus. Even Antonius showed some mercy; when Cicero's head was brought to him, he declared the proscription on his part at an end; he let his uncle escape, and he erased from the list the names of the learned Varro, and of Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, and some others; we are however assured that he and his spouse Fulvia set in general but little bounds to their appetite for blood and plunder. Lepidus saved his brother. Cæsar, whom as having few personal enemies we should have expected to have been the most moderate, is said to have acted with more cruelty than his colleagues; but he was not actuated by revenge or the love of rapine, he went on the cool, deliberate principle of exterminating the aristocracy, and thus making room for his own power. When at the end of the proscription Lepidus made in the senate a sort of apology for it, and held forth hopes of clemency in future, Cæsar declared that he would not bind himself, but would still reserve the power of proscribing.*

The triumvirs having satiated their vengeance next thought of raising money for the war. They had recourse to all modes of extortion; they seized the treasures in the charge of the Vestals; they laid a heavy tax on four hundred women of fortune, and then on all the citizens who had above a certain property. They appointed the magistrates for several years to come; and having made Lepidus and Plancus consuls, Cæsar and Antonius put themselves at the head of their army and crossed over to Epîrus.

We must now follow Brutus and Cassius. After their de-

his character, and that his guilt was as clear as the sun at noon day in the hopes of that villain joining forces with him in their joint suit for the consulate.

* Sueton. Octav. 27.

parture from Italy they went first to Athens, where they were received with great honors, and the vainglorious people decreed their statues to stand beside those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the fancied founders of Athenian freedom. Brutus collected all the troops he could; * the three legions commanded by P. Vatinius went over to him; Q. Hortensius the proprætor of Macedonia, delivered it up to him, and when C. Antonius, whom his brother had appointed to it, came out, he was defeated and made a prisoner; and Brutus thus remained master of Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum.

Cassius proceeded to Syria. Dolabella, for whom his colleague Antonius had obtained that government, had on his way through Asia treacherously seized and put to death with torture Trebonius, one of the conspirators, the governor of that province; for this the senate had declared him a public enemy; but while they were deliberating whom to send against him, Cassius went to Syria, where all the troops declared for him; and Dolabella being besieged in Laodicea put an end to himself. Being now at the head of ten legions, Cassius was preparing to invade Egypt, when he was summoned by Brutus to come to his aid against Antonius and Cæsar. They met at Smyrna, and Cassius being of opinion that they should first reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who had refused to pay contributions, he himself attacked and plundered the former, while Brutus turned his arms against the latter, whose town of Xanthus he took and burned, after slaughtering the men, women, and children without distinction. Having levied contributions in all quarters, they met at Sardes, and thence crossed over to the Chersonese. † As P. Decidius Saxa and C. Junius Norbanus, whom the triumvirs had sent forward with eight legions, occupied the pass leading into Macedonia, Brutus and Cassius sent a detachment, under the guidance of a Thracian prince, by a circuitous route through the mountains; at the sight of which the triumvirs' legates fell back to Amphipolis, and the republican generals then came and encamped on an eminence near the town of Philippi.

* Cicero's son and the poet Horace, who were studying at Athens, took arms on this occasion and received commands from Brutus.

† It is said that at this time, as Brutus was sitting up late one night reading in his tent, he beheld a strange and terrific figure standing by him. He asked who he was, and why he was come; the phantom replied, "I am thy evil genius; thou wilt see me at Philippi!" "I shall see thee then," said Brutus, and the figure vanished. This may be a fiction, but it is such a trick as fancy might have played.

Antonius, who was an active general when he chose to rouse himself, made all haste to save his legates, and on his arrival he encamped within a mile of the enemy. He was joined in a few days by Cæsar, and their united force was nineteen legions and thirteen thousand horse; the other army had the same number of legions and twenty thousand horse; Antonius, as his army, being excluded from the sea, was in want of provisions, sought to bring on an action, which Cassius, aware of his motive, steadily refused. At length however the impatience of his troops, or, as some say, of his officers and his colleague, obliged him to consent to give battle. As Cæsar was unwell, Antonius had the sole command of the other army, and he defeated the troops of Cassius which were opposed to him and took their camp; but on the other side, Cæsar's troops were routed by those of Brutus, and their camp was taken. Cassius having vainly tried to rally his men retired to an eminence, and seeing a body of horse coming toward him he sent one of his friends, named Titinius, to know who they were. As they were part of Brutus' troops they received Titinius joyfully, and taking him among them still advanced. Cassius, whose sight was imperfect, became convinced that they were enemies, and crying out that he had caused the capture of his friend, withdrew into a lonely hut and made a faithful freedman strike off his head. Titinius slew himself when he heard of his death, and Brutus on coming to the place wept over him, calling him the last of the Romans: lest his funeral should dispirit the soldiers, he sent his body over to the adjacent isle of Thasos. He then assembled and encouraged his troops, promising them a donation of 2000 drachmas a man.

The loss on the side of the republicans had been eight thousand men, while that of the triumvirs was double the number; yet Antonius, as his troops lay in a wet marshy situation and were suffering from want of supplies, still offered battle, which Brutus, whose camp was well supplied, prudently declined: his fleet had also defeated that of the triumvirs, but of this he was ignorant. At length, urged by the impatience of his soldiers and fearing the effect of dissensions between his own men and those of Cassius, he led them out after a delay of twenty days, promising them the plunder of two cities if they were victorious. Both sides fought with desperation, but victory finally declared for the triumvirs. Brutus, having crossed a stream that ran through a glen, retired for the night to the shelter of a rock with a few of his friends,

and looking up at the sky, now full of stars, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which, from the *Medæa* of Euripides, ran thus : *

Zeus ! may the cause of all these ills escape thee not !

He passed the night, in enumerating and mourning over those who had fallen. Toward morning he whispered his servant Clitus, who wept and was silent ; he then drew his shield-bearer aside ; he finally besought his friend Voluminius to hold his sword for him to fall on it. Being refused by all, he continued to discourse with them some time longer, and then retired with his friend Strato and one or two others to a little distance ; he there threw himself on his sword, which Strato held for him, and expired. Antonius, when he came to where the body of Brutus lay, cast a purple robe over it and he sent his remains to his mother Servilia. †

* Ζεὺς, μὴ λῦθοις σε τῶνδ' ὅς αἴτιος κακῶν.

Dion (xlvii. 49) and Florus (iv. 7) say that he repeated these verses from the *Hercules* of the same poet :

ὦ πλῆμοι ἀρετῆ, λόγος ἴσθ' ἰγὼ δέ σε,
ὧς ἴσθαι ἴσθαι σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἰδοίλευες τ' ἔχῃ.

“O wretched virtue ! a mere word thou art, but I
Practised thee as a real thing, while thou art nought
But Fortune's slave.”

† It was said that Brutus' wife Porcia, when she heard of his death, put an end to herself by swallowing burning coals, — a thing physically impossible. She might have smothered herself by inhaling the fumes of charcoal ; but it appears from the letters of Brutus and his friends that she had died of disease before this time.

As the charge of avarice is the greatest stain that has been fixed on the character of Brutus, we will here relate the case which has given occasion to it. When Cicero was going out as governor of Cilicia, Brutus strongly recommended to him two persons named Scaptius and Matinius, to whom the people of Salamis in Cyprus owed a large sum of money. Cicero's predecessor, Ap. Claudius, who was Brutus' father-in-law, had given Scaptius a prefecture in Cyprus, which Brutus wished Cicero to continue him in ; but Cicero, who had laid it down as a rule not to grant these commands to traders and usurers, refused ; particularly as he knew that Scaptius had shut up the senate of Salamis in their house till five of them died of hunger. Moreover Scaptius demanded 48 per cent., and Cicero in his edict had declared that he would allow of no more than 12 per cent. on any bonds. Brutus and Atticus both wrote repeatedly to Cicero about it, and the former at length confessed that he was the real creditor and the others were but his agents. To Cicero's honor he stood firm, and would not permit such robbery and oppression when he could prevent it. This affair is but one proof among many of the manner in which the Roman nobles oppressed the provincials.

All who had been concerned in the death of Cæsar followed the example of Brutus; others made their escape to Thiasos. M. Valerius Messâla and Bibulus having collected about fourteen thousand men, sent to offer their submission to the triumvirs. The victorious generals spent some days in glutting their vengeance and extirpating the friends of independence; and we are assured that the cool, calculating Cæsar far surpassed the brutal Antonius in cruelty and insolence.* They then made a new division of the empire; Antonius getting all the provinces of the East; Cæsar those of the west, except Africa, which was left to Lepidus. Italy, as their common country, remained unappropriated. Having made their arrangements, Antonius proceeded to levy money in the East for the soldiers' rewards, while Cæsar undertook to put them in possession of the lands promised them in Italy.

Antonius went first to Greece, and spent some time at Athens, where he amused himself attending the games and the disputes of the philosophers, and having himself initiated in the Mysteries. He behaved with great mildness and was very liberal to the city. Leaving L. Censorinus to command in Greece, he passed with his army of eight legions and ten thousand horse over to Asia, where he disposed of public and private property at his will; kings waited humbly at his doors, queens and princesses vied in offering him their wealth and their charms. He exacted from the unfortunate people the enormous sum of 200,000 talents, most part of which he squandered away in luxury. Meeting at Ephesus several of the friends of Brutus and Cassius, he granted their lives to all but two; he acted also with great generosity to the towns which had suffered for their attachment to the Cæsarian cause. From Tarsus in Cilicia he sent to summon Cleopatra (who having murdered her young brother was now sole sovereign of Egypt) to justify herself for not having been more active in the cause of the triumvirs. She came, relying on her charms. At the mouth of the Cydnus she entered a barge, whose poop was adorned with gold and whose sails were of purple; the bars, set with silver, moved in accordance with the sound of flutes and lyres. The queen herself, attired as Venus, lay reclined beneath the shade of a gold-embroidered umbrella, fanned by boys resembling Loves; while her female attendants, habited as Nereides and Graces, leaned against the shrouds and sides of the vessel; and costly spices

* Suet. Octav. 13.

and perfumes, as they burned before her, filled the surrounding air with their fragrance. All the people of the city crowded to behold this novel sight, and Antonius was left sitting alone on his tribunal in the market. He sent to invite the fair queen to supper, but she required that he should come and sup with her. Antonius could not refuse; the elegance and variety of the banquet amazed him: next day he tried, but in vain, to surpass it. The guileful enchantress cast her spell over him and twined herself round his heart. Cruel as fair, she obtained from him an order to drag her sister Arsinoe from the sanctuary at Ephesus, and put her to death. Her general Serapion, and an impostor who personated her elder brother, were likewise torn from sanctuaries and given up to her vengeance, and she then set out on her return to Egypt. Antonius, unable to live without her, gave up all his previous thoughts of war on the Parthians, and putting his troops into winter quarters, hastened to follow her and abandoned himself wholly to luxury and enjoyment in her society.

Meantime Cæsar came to Rome, (711,) and set about giving his soldiers their promised rewards; a task of no small difficulty and danger, for they demanded the towns which had been fixed on before the war, while the people of these towns required that the loss should be shared by all Italy, and that those who were deprived of their lands should be paid for them. Young and old, men, women, and children, they repaired to Rome; they filled the Forum and temples with their lamentations; and the people there sympathized with their grief and mourned their wrongs.* Cæsar, however, urging the tyrant's plea of necessity, went on distributing lands to his soldiery; and he even borrowed money from the temples to divide among them for the purchase of stock and farming implements. This gained him additional favor with them, which was increased by the cries and reproaches of those whom he was robbing of their properties for them. Like every army of the kind, they knew their power over their chief, and exercised it with insolence, as the following instances will show. One day, when Cæsar was present in the theatre, a common soldier went and took his seat among the knights; the people murmured, and Cæsar had him removed. The soldiers took offence at this, and surrounding

* See the first and ninth of Virgil's eclogues for affecting pictures of the evils of these confiscations.

him as he was going out of the theatre demanded their comrade's release : they were obeyed ; he came ; but when he assured them that he had not been in prison as they supposed, they reviled him as a liar and a traitor to the common cause. Again, Cæsar summoned them to the Field of Mars for a division of lands. In their eagerness they came before it was day, and finding that he delayed, they began to grow angry. A centurion named Nonius reminded them of their duty to their general ; they laughed and jeered at him, but gradually they grew warm and abused and pelted him ; he jumped into the river to escape, but they dragged him out and killed him : they then laid the body where Cæsar was to pass. When he came he took but little notice of it, affecting to regard the crime as the deed of a few, and merely advised them to be more sparing of one another in future ; he then proceeded to distribute the land, to which he added gifts to both the deserving and the undeserving. The soldiers were touched ; they bade him to search out and punish the murderers. He said, " I know them ; but I will leave their punishment to their own consciences and to your disapprobation." A shout of joy was raised at these words. How different from the conduct of the old dictators and consuls, and their armies, when Rome had a constitution and freedom, and her troops served from duty and not for plunder, like these hordes of bandits who raised their leaders to empire over their fellow-citizens !

Cæsar's situation was at this time rather precarious. Sex Pompeius was powerful at sea, Cn. Domitius was also at the head of a large fleet in the Adriatic, and they cut off the supplies of corn from Italy, where tillage was now neglected and discontent was general ; for the soldiers, not satisfied with what had been given them, seized on such pieces of land as took their fancy, and Cæsar did not dare to check them. Antonius' wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, who was now consul, resolved to take advantage of this state of things. They promised to protect those who had been deprived of their lands, and declared that the properties of the proscribed and the money raised by Antonius in Asia were quite sufficient for paying the soldiers what had been promised them ; and they gave out that Antonius was willing to lay down his power and restore the constitution. They required Cæsar at any rate to be content with providing for his own legions, and to leave those of Antonius to them ; but Cæsar, whose object was to attach the soldiery to himself, declined this, al

leging his agreement with Antonius; aware however of the affection of the army for Antonius, and of the present enmity of the people of Italy to himself, he agreed to the terms which a congress of the officers of Antonius party proposed for ending the differences. He did not however execute them, and L. Antonius and Fulvia, affecting to fear for their lives, retired to Præneste, and sent to inform M. Antonius of the state of affairs. After another vain attempt at reconciliation both sides began to prepare for war.

The good wishes, and in some cases the means and arms of the people of Italy were with L. Antonius; the remains of the Pompeian and republican parties joined him in the hope of restoring the republic, and his brother's legions and colonies supported him; but most of the veterans regarding Cæsar's cause as their own were zealous in his favor. Antonius' generals Pollio, Ventidius, and Plancus do not seem to have exerted themselves as they ought, and L. Antonius, being obliged to throw himself into the town of Perusia, (Perugia,) was there besieged by Cæsar. After a gallant defence, famine compelled him to surrender, (712.) Cæsar granted him and his soldiers favorable terms, but for the Roman senators and knights, the remnant of the Pompeian or republican party who were in it, he had no mercy. "Thou must die," was his laconic, ruthless reply to every one who sued for mercy or sought to excuse himself. Nay, it is even said, that he reserved three hundred captives of rank to sacrifice to the manes of the dictator on the following ides of March.* The town of Perusia was destined to be plundered, but one of its citizens having set fire to his house the whole city was consumed.

This last effort of the republican party crushed their hopes forever, and it threw several more provinces for confiscation into Cæsar's hands; some indeed were of opinion that it was with a view to this that he had kindled the war.† Several persons, among whom was Julia the mother of the Antonii, sought refuge with Sex. Pompeius. Fulvia with her children and Plancus fled to Greece.

M. Antonius was preparing to march against the Parthians, who had invaded Syria and taken and plundered Jerusalem, when he heard of the late events in Italy. He assembled two hundred ships and a large army and sailed to Athens, where he met Fulvia, whom he blamed much for her recent conduct.

* Sueton. Octav. 15.

† Id. ib.

and leaving her sick at Sicyôn, where she died soon after, he proceeded toward Italy. Domitius joined him with his fleet, and Sex. Pompeius (though Cæsar in the hopes of gaining him to his side had lately married Scribonia, the sister of his father-in-law Libo, a woman many years older than himself*) preferring an alliance with Antonius, sent his mother Julia to him, and a kind of treaty was concluded between them. When Antonius came before Brundisium he was refused admittance; he then blockaded the port, and sent calling on Pompeius to invade Italy. Cæsar came to the relief of Brundisium: but his soldiers were unwilling to fight against Antonius and the two armies sought to reconcile their leaders. C. Asinius Pollio and C. Cilnius Mæcenas on the parts of Antonius and Cæsar, and M. Cocceius Nerva a common friend, came,† and, having conferred together, settled the terms of agreement. All past offences were to be forgotten; Antonius, who was now a widower, was to espouse Cæsar's half-sister Octavia, a lady of great beauty, sense and virtue; and the division of the empire was to remain nearly as before.‡

Antonius sent Ventidius to conduct the Parthian war, while he himself remained in Italy. The chief object now was to come to some arrangement with Sex. Pompeius, who was actually starving Rome by cutting off the supplies of corn. Cæsar, who was personally hostile to him, would not hear of accommodation till one day he was near being stoned by the famishing multitude. This operated on his cautious, timid nature, and the two triumvirs had an interview with Pompeius at Cape Misênum, but his demands were so high that nothing could be arranged. The increasing distress obliged them to have another meeting, and it was agreed (713) that Pompeius should possess the islands and Peloponnesus, be chosen augur, be allowed to stand for the consulate in his absence, and to discharge its duties by deputy, and be paid 70,000,000 sesterces; that all who had sought refuge with him out of fear should be restored to their estates and rights, and all the proscribed (except the actual assassins) have liberty to return and get back a fourth of their estates.

* Cæsar, on the rupture with Fulvia, sent her back her daughter Clodia, having never consummated his marriage.

† Horace (Sat. I. v.) has given a very agreeable description of the journey of Mæcenas, whom he accompanied from Rome to Brundisium on this occasion.

‡ The blessings which were to result from this peace are, as Voss has proved, the theme of Virgil's fourth eclogue.

On his part he was to allow the sea to be free, and to pay up the arrears of corn due from Sicily. When the peace was concluded the chiefs entertained each other; Pompeius gave his dinner on board his ship. At the feast, Menas, one of his officers, whispered him, saying, "Let me now cut the cables, and you are master of Rome." Pompeius pondered a moment: "You should have done it," said he, "without telling me; I cannot perjure myself." Having been entertained in return he set sail for Sicily, and Cæsar and Antonius went back to Rome; the latter soon after set out for Athens, where he spent the rest of the year.

The following year (714) Ventidius, who had been successful against the Parthians, defeated and killed their brave young prince Pacorus, for which Antonius allowed him to have the honor of a triumph.* In this year also the war was renewed between Cæsar and Pompeius: and Menas, the admiral of the latter, having deserted to Cæsar, put him in possession of Sardinia and Corsica. Cæsar assailed Sicily with two separate fleets, but both were destroyed by Pompeius; and Cæsar himself, who was on board of one of them, narrowly escaped being taken or drowned. The triumvirs now of themselves renewed their office for another five years, disdainingly to consult the senate or people. The whole of the succeeding year (715) was devoted by Cæsar to the preparations against Pompeius, and a large fleet was built under the superintendance of the consul, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, a man of humble birth, but of great civil and military talents, and wholly devoted to the service of Cæsar.†

Early in the following year (716) when Cæsar was preparing to act against Pompeius, Antonius came with three hundred ships to Brundisium, under the pretext of assisting him, but in reality with other views. Being refused admittance he sailed to Tarentum, whence Octavia went to her brother, and by her influence with his friends Agrippa and Mæcenas, prevailed on him to agree to a meeting with Antonius. The cautious Cæsar appointed a place where there would be a river between them, but when they came to it,

* Ventidius, who was the son of the general of the same name in the Marsic war, had himself adorned as a captive the triumph of Pompeius Strabo at the end of that war.

† At this time the celebrated Julian Port was made, by running a strong mole between the Lucrine lake and the sea, with two passages in it for ships, and cutting a ship-canal from that lake to lake Avernus. See Virg. *Geor.* ii. 161. Horace, *De Art. Poet.* 63.

Antoni^{us}, more brave and more generous, jumped into a boat to cross over; Cæsar, then, assuming the virtue he had not, did the same; they met in the middle, and then disputing which should pass over, Cæsar prevailed, as he said he would go to Tarentum to visit his sister. They soon arranged all matters: Antoni^{us} lent Cæsar one hundred and twenty ships, and received in return twenty thousand soldiers for his Parthian war, and he then set out for the East, leaving Octavia in Italy.

Cæsar, having every thing now prepared, resolved to make three simultaneous attacks on Sicily. Lepidus was to invade it from Africa, Statilius Taurus with the ships of Antoni^{us} from Tarentum, Cæsar himself and Agrippa from the Julian Port. Lepidus alone effected a landing; the other two fleets were shattered by a tempest. Pompeius, affecting to view the peculiar favor of the sea-god in this destruction of the hostile fleet by a summer-tempest, sacrificed to Neptune and the Sea, (Amphitrite,) styled himself their son, and changed the color of his robe from purple to dark-blue, (*cæruleus*.) Cæsar declared that he would conquer in spite of Neptune, and forbade the image of that god to be carried at the next Circensian games.*

Lepidus had with him twelve legions and five thousand Numidian horse; he sent orders to his remaining four legions to come and join him, but they were met on the passage by Papias, one of Pompeius' commanders, and two of them destroyed; the other two found means to join him some time after. Cæsar's fleet having passed over to the Liparæan isles sailed thence under the command of Agrippa, and engaged that of Pompeius led by his admirals Papias, Menecrates, and Apollophanes, off Mylæ. Cæsar's ships were larger, those of Pompeius lighter and more active; the former had the better soldiers, the latter the better sailors, but Agrippa had invented grappling implements, somewhat like the old *ravens*. The fight was long and obstinate; at length the Pompeians fled with the loss of thirty vessels. Agrippa sailed thence and made an ineffectual attempt on the town of Tyndaris.

Cæsar had gone to Taurus' camp at Scylacæum, intending to pass over in the night from Rhegium to Sicily; but he took courage when he heard of Agrippa's success, and having first prudently ascended a lofty hill to assure himself that

* Suet. Octav. 16.

no enemy was in sight; he went on board with what troops his ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messâla till he could send the ships back for them. Being refused admittance into Taurominium he sailed further on, and landing, began to encamp, but suddenly Pompeius was seen coming with a large fleet, and bodies of horse and foot appeared on all sides. Had Pompeius now made a general attack he might have gained a complete victory, but as it was evening he did not wish to engage, and his cavalry alone assailed the enemy. During the night the Cæsarians fortified their camp, and Cæsar leaving the command with L. Cornificius, and desiring him to hold out to the last, embarked to return to Italy for succors; his vessel being hotly pursued he was obliged to get into a small boat to save himself, and he escaped with difficulty. Pompeius next day fell on and destroyed the whole Cæsarian fleet, and Cornificius soon began to be in want of provisions; having vainly offered the enemy battle he resolved to abandon his camp and march for Mylæ, and though harassed by the enemy's horse and light troops, and suffering from heat, thirst, and fatigue during five days, his troops effected their retreat. Agrippa had now taken Tyndaris, whither Cæsar soon transported twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse and five thousand light troops. Lepidus moved from Lilybæum, and their united forces met before the walls of Messâna. Pompeius seeing no hopes but in a general battle sent to propose a combat of three hundred ships a-side, and Cæsar, jealous of Lepidus, departed from his usual caution and accepted the challenge. The victory was complete on the side of Cæsar. Pompeius' land army, with the exception of eight legions in Messâna, surrendered, and he himself, with his seventeen sole remaining ships abandoning Sicily, passed over to Asia, where raising a new war he was taken and put to death by P. Titius, one of Antonius' officers.

Messâna soon surrendered, and the whole island submitted; Cæsar then proceeded to deprive his colleague Lepidus of his office and power; and having ascertained the temper of his officers and men, he ventured to enter his camp with a few attendants. Lepidus being deserted by his troops was forced to assume the garb of a suppliant, and throw himself at the feet of Cæsar, who, never wantonly cruel, and knowing how powerless he would remain, raised him, granted him his life, and allowed him to pass

the rest of his days at Circeii, retaining his dignity of high priest

As Cæsar was preparing to return to Italy, a mutiny broke out, his troops demanding their discharge and rewards equal to those of the victors at Philippi. He threatened and remonstrated in vain; when he promised crowns and purple robes, one of the tribunes cried out that these were only fit for children, but that soldiers required money and lands. The soldiers loudly applauded; Cæsar left the tribunal in a rage; the tribune was extolled, but that very night he disappeared, and was heard of no more. As the soldiers still continued to clamor for their discharge, Cæsar dismissed and sent out of the island those who had served at Mutina and Philippi. He then praised the rest, and gave them 500 denars a man, raised by a tax on the Sicilians. On his return to Rome he was received with every demonstration of joy by the senate and people; and aware now of the tyranny which the army would exercise over him if he continued to depend on it, he sought to gain the affections of the people of Rome and Italy. It was probably with this view that he purchased fairly the lands which he required for his veterans.

While Cæsar was thus laying the foundation of his future empire, Antonius was wasting his troops and his fame in an inglorious war with the Parthians. Under pretence of aiding the king of Armenia, he entered that country with an army of 60,000 legionaries, 10,000 horse, and 30,000 auxiliary light troops; and though it was late in the summer, he passed the Araxes, and leaving his artillery on the frontiers under the guard of two legions, marched against Praaspa, the capital of Media Atropatena. But the kings of Parthia and Media cut the two legions to pieces and destroyed the machines, and then came to the relief of Praaspa, where they so harassed the Romans by cutting off their supplies that Antonius was obliged to commence a retreat. Led by a faithful guide he kept to the mountains, followed closely by the Parthians; his troops suffered severely from famine and thirst; but at length they reached and got over the Araxes, having in the retreat sustained a loss of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Instead of wintering in Armenia he set out for Syria, impatient to rejoin Cleopatra; in the march to which he lost eight thousand more of his men. The queen came to Berytus to meet him, and

he returned with her to Alexandria, where they passed the winter in feasting and revelry.

In the year 718, Antonius, in alliance with the king of the Mædes, entered Armenia, and by treachery made its king a prisoner. He defeated the Armenians when they took up arms, and on his return to Alexandria he triumphed after the Roman fashion, — a thing which gave the greatest possible offence to the people of Rome when they heard of it. The next year (719) he marched again to the Araxes, and concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the king of Media, to whom he gave a part of Armenia. On his return to Egypt he acted with the greatest extravagance. He and Cleopatra sat in public on golden thrones, the one attired as Bacchus, the other as Isis; * he declared her his lawful wife, and queen of Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, and Cœle-Syria, associating with her Cæsariôn, her son by Cæsar, and giving kingdoms to the two sons whom she had borne to himself. The most unbounded luxury followed this degradation of the majesty of Rome.

When Antonius was setting out on his second expedition against the Parthians, (719,) Octavia obtained leave from her brother to go and join him; but Antonius, urged by Cleopatra, sent word to her to return to Italy. Cæsar, glad perhaps of the pretext for war, laid before the senate the whole of Antonius' conduct, (720,) who in revenge sent Octavia a divorce; and, after various insulting messages and letters on both sides, Antonius directed his general P. Canidius to march sixteen legions to Ephesus, whither he himself soon after repaired with Cleopatra; and here he was joined by the consuls Cn. Domitius and C. Sosius, and his other friends who had come from Italy. Domitius urged him in vain to send away Cleopatra; she gained over Canidius, and Antonius was unable to resist their joint arguments. He and she passed over to Samos, and spent their days in revelry, while the kings of the East were forwarding their troops and stores to Ephesus. From Samos they went to Athens, where they passed some time.

Cæsar meantime was making his preparations in Italy, for which purpose he was obliged to lay on heavy taxes. As the people were in ill humor at this, he sought by all

* At one of these banquets Cleopatra dissolved and drank a pear of great price. Pliny, H. N., ix. 35, 50

means to render Antonius odious and contemptible in their eyes; and Plancus, who deserted to him at this time, having informed him of the contents of Antonius' will, he forced the Vestals, in whose custody it was, to give it up, and then most basely and dishonorably made it public. He had a decree passed depriving Antonius of the triumvirate and declaring war against Cleopatra, affecting to believe that she, not Antonius, was the real leader of the hostile forces.

In the autumn Antonius sailed to Corcÿra, but not venturing to pass over to Italy, he retired to Peloponnésus for the winter.

The next year (721) Antonius occupied the bay of Ambracia with his fleet; that of Cæsar lay at Brundisium and the adjacent ports, whence Agrippa sailed with a division and took the town of Methône, (Modon,) and seized a large convoy. Cæsar then embarked his army, and landing at the Ceraunian mountains, marched and encamped on the north side of the bay of Ambracia; the army of Antonius was on the south side; and they thus lay opposite each other for some months. Meantime Agrippa took Patræ, Corinth and some other towns; and Domitius and other leaders deserted to Cæsar.

Antonius' land forces amounted to 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, besides the auxiliaries; his fleet counted 500 ships. Cæsar had 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 250 ships; his troops and sailors were both superior to those of his opponent; his ships, though smaller in size, were better built and better manned. The great question with Antonius was, whether he should risk a land or a sea battle. Canidius was for the former, Cleopatra for the latter, and the queen of course prevailed. Antonius selected 170 of his best ships, which were all he could fully man, and burned the rest; with these he joined Cleopatra's 60 vessels, and he put 20,000 soldiers on board. On the 2d of September he drew up his fleet in line of battle before the mouth of the bay. Cæsar's fleet, led by Agrippa, kept about a mile out to sea; the two land armies, the one from the cape of Actium, the other from the opposite point, stood as spectators of the combat. Antonius had directed his officers to keep close to shore, and thus render the agility of the enemy's vessels of no avail; but when about noon a breeze sprang up, his left wing, eager to engage, began to advance. Agrippa made his right wing fall back, to draw it on; the engagement soon became general and both sides fought

with great courage; but in the midst of the action, whether from fear, treachery, or a conviction that the battle would be lost, Cleopatra, followed by all her ships, turned and fled for Egypt: and Antonius, when he saw her going, left the battle and followed after her. The battle still lasted till five in the evening, when finding themselves abandoned by their leader, the naval forces accepted the offers of Cæsar and submitted to him. The land army refused for seven days to listen to his solicitations; but at length, being deserted by Canidius and their other leaders, they yielded to necessity and submitted. Cæsar, having made offerings to Apollo of Actium, sent home his veterans with Agrippa; he then proceeded to Athens, and thence to Asia; but he was obliged to return to Italy in the middle of the winter, on account of the turbulence of the veterans, whom Agrippa could not keep in order.

When Antonius overtook Cleopatra he went on board of her ship, but during three days he sat in silence, refusing to see her. At Tænaron in Laconia her women brought about a reconciliation, and Antonius having written to Canidius to lead the army to Asia, they sailed for Egypt; they parted on the confines of Cyrène, but when Antonius found that the governor of this province also had declared for Cæsar, it was with difficulty that his friends were able to keep him from destroying himself. They brought him to Alexandria, where Cleopatra was busily engaged in a new project; she had had some of her ships hauled over the Isthmus of Suez, intending to fly with her treasures to some unknown region; but the Arabs, at the instance of Didius, who commanded for Cæsar in Syria, burned her vessels and thus frustrated her design. She then began to put her kingdom into a state of defence. Nevertheless, she, Antonius, and their friends, were resolved to die; meantime they spent their time in feasting and revelry.

Cæsar, having staid but twenty-seven days at Rome, returned (722) to Asia, all whose kings submitted to him. An envoy from Antonius and Cleopatra came to him; the latter resigning her crown, and only asking the kingdom of Egypt for her children; the former requesting to be allowed to live as a private man at Athens. To Antonius he deigned no reply; the queen was assured of every favor if she banished or put him to death. Meantime he himself advanced on the east and seized Pelusium, while Cn. Cornelius Gallus made himself master of Peritonium on the west of

Egypt. Antonius flew to oppose this last, but was driven off with loss. When Cæsar drew nigh to Alexandria, Antonius put himself at the head of his troops and gave him a check; and emboldened by this success he drew out his army and his fleet on the 1st of August for a general engagement. His fleet was seen to advance in good order till it met that of Cæsar; it then turned round, and both together took a station before the port. Antonius' cavalry seeing this, also went over to Cæsar; his infantry was then forced to yield, and he himself returned in a rage to the town, crying that Cleopatra had ruined and betrayed him.

The queen had a little time before had a kind of sepulchre built near the temple of Isis, in which she placed her jewels and other valuables, and covered them with combustibles, with the intention, as she declared, of burning them and herself if driven to it. The knowledge of this had caused Cæsar to send her various assurances of his respect and his kind intentions. She now shut herself up in the sepulchre, and caused a report to be spread of her death. This event revived the tenderness of Antonius; he resolved not to survive her; he bade his faithful freedman Erôs, who had engaged by oath to kill him, to perform his promise. Erôs drew his sword, but plunged it into his own body and fell dead at his feet. Antonius then drew his own sword and stabbed himself in the belly; he threw himself on his bed, where he lay writhing, vainly calling on his friends to despatch him. Meantime Cleopatra, having heard what had been done, sent to tell him she was alive, and to request that he would let himself be carried to her; he assented, and as she would not have the door of her retreat opened, she and her maids drew him up by cords at a window. She laid him on her bed, and gave way to the most violent transports of grief: Antonius sought to console her, begged of her to save her life if she could with honor, and among Cæsar's friends recommended to her Proculeius. He then expired, in the fifty-third year of his age.

The sword with which Antonius slew himself was brought to Cæsar, who, it is said, shed tears at the sight. Anxious to secure Cleopatra and her treasure, he sent Proculeius to her: she refused to admit him; he then returned to Cæsar, who sent back Gallus with him with new proposals; and while Gallus was talking to her at the door, Proculeius and two others got in at the window and made her prisoner. Cæsar, when he entered Alexandria, had her treated with the

utmost respect; and he allowed her to solemnize the obsequies of Antonius, which she performed with the greatest magnificence.

Cæsar soon after paid her a visit; she received him slightly arrayed, with her hair in disorder; her eyes were red with weeping, and her voice faint and tremulous. She threw herself at his feet; he raised her, and sat beside her; she attempted to excuse her previous conduct, and seemed as if she wished to live. Cæsar made many promises; it was a trial of skill between two consummate actors; the artful queen sought to catch him in the net of love; the cold-blooded Cæsar wished to make her live to grace his triumph. He left her, certain that he had succeeded, but he was deceived. In a few days Cleopatra learned that she and her children were to be sent on to Syria before him; she then resolved on death, and having obtained permission to visit the tomb of Antonius, she embraced it and crowned it with flowers; and then, as if her mourning was over, bathed and sat down richly arrayed to a splendid banquet. While she was at table a peasant came with a basket of fine figs; the guards suspecting nothing let him in. The queen took the basket, aware of its contents; she wrote a letter to Cæsar requesting to be buried with Antonius; and then, retaining in the room only her maids Charmion and Iras, applied to her arm an asp which had been concealed among the pretended peasant's figs. When those whom Cæsar sent to prevent her death arrived, they found her lying dead on her bed, Iras also dead at her feet, and Charmion just expiring in the act of arranging the diadem on the head of her mistress. Cæsar gave Cleopatra and her faithful maids a magnificent funeral, and buried her as she wished by the side of Antonius. He put to death her son Cæsariôn; her two other sons adorned his triumph.

Cleopatra died in the thirty-ninth year of her age; the last of the Ptolemæan family. Her influence over Cæsar and Antonius testifies for her beauty, talents, and accomplishments; but she was utterly devoid of principle, and capable of committing any crime.

Cæsar reduced Egypt to the form of a province, and its wealth, when transported to Rome, enabled him to reward his legions without the odium of robbing any more proprietors of their lands. He returned to Italy the following year, (723,) and in the month of Sextilis (August) celebrated three triumphs; he then closed the temple of Janus,

which had stood open for two centuries. The senate knew no end of heaping honors on him; his name was inserted in the public prayers; the consul and senate swore on the kalends of every January to obey his orders; under the title of Imperator he held the command of the army; and gradually all the chief offices of the state were united in his person. In 725 the senate, on the motion of L. Munatius Plancus, conferred on him the title of AUGUSTUS, a term hitherto only employed in a religious sense. He was now the sole master of the Roman world; and during the space of nearly half a century it enjoyed beneath his sway a degree of peace and tranquillity such as it had never known before.

Though the last period of the republic was of so unquiet a character, literature was cultivated with much ardor by persons of rank and fortune. The language, the philosophy, and the poetry of the Greeks were familiar to every Roman of education; a library formed an essential part of every respectable house, and its contents were chiefly Greek. Roman poetry was still imitative, and the drama the great object of imitation. L. Attius, the younger contemporary of Pacuvius, may be regarded as the last of that rough but vigorous race of poets who ventured to tread in the foot-prints of Æschylus and Sophocles. But the higher drama seems to have been as unattainable to ancient as to modern Italy. Attius' contemporary C. Lucilius followed Ennius in writing satires; of these he left several books, all of which have perished. In the time of Cicero, T. Lucretius Carus put the physics of Epicurus into verse; and in no portions of Roman poetry is the true, the born poet, so discernible as in those where his ill-chosen subject allowed him to give free course to his genius. C. Valerius Catullus was also a poet of true genius; grace, elegance, ease, and feeling strongly characterize many of his extant poems.

Numerous histories also were written in this period: L. Calpurnius Piso and Cælius Antipater in the time of the Græchi wrote histories of Rome, and they were followed by Cn. Gellius, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, Q. Valerius Antias, (notorious for mendacity,) and C. Licinius Macer, with whom the series of annalists ends. Histories of their own

lives or times were written by C. Fannius, Sempronius Asellio, P. Rutilius, L. Cornelius Sisenna, Q. Catulus, L. Sulla, L. Lucullus, and others. C. Junius, named Gracchanus from his friendship with C. Gracchus, wrote a valuable history of the constitution, which, though lost, is mediately the chief source whence our knowledge of it is derived. The only historian of this period of whose works any perfect portions have reached us is C. Sallustius Crispus. This writer seems to have taken Thucydides as his model, but he can by no means stand a rivalry with the great Athenian. Cæsar's narrative of his own wars is a perfect specimen of that species of composition to which it belongs. The various writings, oratorical, philosophical, and didactic, of Cicero, are well known and most justly admired. Of the numerous works of M. Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans, but a small portion has been preserved.

We have thus traced the history of Rome from the time when she was only a village on the Palatine to that when she became the mistress of the world; a future work will be devoted to the history of the enormous empire of which she now only formed a part. In the progress of Rome to dominion it is difficult not to discern the hand of a predisposing cause; the steadiness and perseverance of the Roman character; the preponderance of the aristocratic elements in her constitution at the time of her conflicts with her most powerful rivals; the advantage which the unity produced by a capital, as a fixed point, gave her over the brave but loose federation of Samnium, and her armies of citizens and allies over the mercenaries in the pay of Carthage; and the circumstance of all other states being in their decline when she engaged them,—all tend to show that the empire of the world was reserved for Rome. But in the attainment of this empire she was also destined to lose her own freedom. Neglecting to enforce her agrarian laws, and not being a commercial state, she possessed no middle class of citizens,*

* L. Marcius Philippus, when proposing an agrarian law in his tribunate, (648,) asserted that there were not two thousand citizens who were possessed of property, ("non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent." Cicero, Off. ii. 21.) Many of the leading families of both orders in the early ages of the republic must have died off, or have dwindled into insignificance, in consequence probably of there being neither law nor custom of primogeniture. In the Fasti and history of the last century we rarely meet the names of the Quinctii.

without which there can be no permanent liberty; the Hortensian law placed all political power at the disposal of the lower order of the people; the incessant foreign wars corrupted the genuine Roman character, and the constant influx and manumission of slaves further debased it. Meantime the government of provinces, the conduct of wars, and the farming of the public revenues, enabled some of the nobility and the knights to acquire immense wealth, with which they purchased impunity for their crimes and the lucrative and influential offices of the state; for the votes of electors without property are always in danger of becoming venal. The consequence of this condition of society was, as we have seen, a century of turbulence and anarchy, ending in a despotism.

Manlii, Fabii, Furii, Decii, Curii, and never those of the Horatii, Menenii, Veturii, Genucii, Iciliij, Numitorii. The Virgilioi of the late, are probably the Virginiij of the old Fasti; Atilius and Atinius (like Manlius and Mallius) are perhaps the same.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

NOTE. — It would be impossible to present the reader, in this table, with a complete view of the contemporary history of all nations. The fulfilment of that design, though highly useful, would, of itself, occupy a volume. The reader may be referred to a work, in which it has been carried out through the whole range of ancient History, entitled, “Comparative View of Ancient History, and Explanation of Chronological Eras,” by the editor of this volume. What can be here done will be merely to present a view of the *principal* events which transpired in the most renowned among the nations of antiquity, at about the same time that the *most marked* events took place in the history of Rome. The details may be filled up by reference to the work already mentioned. It is most important, in the study of *individual* histories, that a knowledge should be constantly present of the contemporary events transpiring in other nations or members of the great human family.

Years of Rome.	Years B. C.	Events of Rome.	Events of Greece.	Events of other Nations.
1 *	753	Rome founded; Romulus king.....	.....	Bocchoris king of Egypt.
11 to 30	743 724	.....	First Messenian war.	
43	721	.....	.....	Israel destroyed by Assyria.
39	715	Nuna Pompilius.		

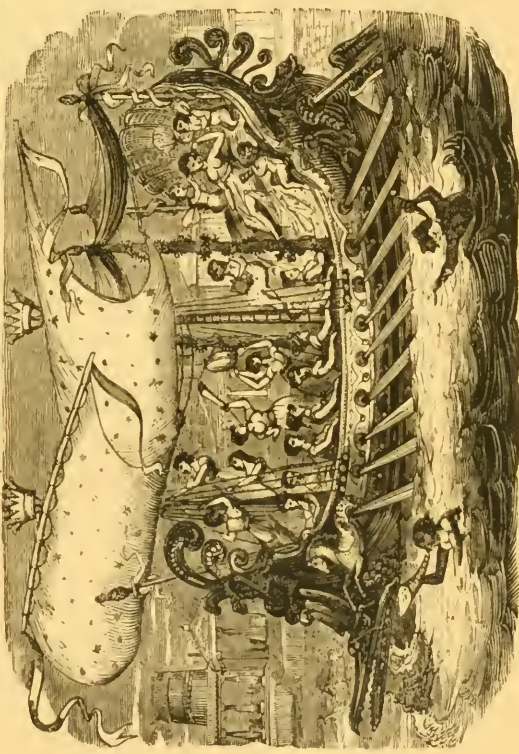
* See “Comparative View, &c., and Explanation of Chronological Eras,” as above, p. 92, title “Era of the Foundation of Rome;” and “Synchronous Table,” in the same work, p. 116.

Years of Rome.	Years B. C.	Events of Rome.	Events of Greece.	Events of other Nations.
69 to 83	685 to 671	.....	Second Messenian war.	
82 to 138	672 to 616	Tullus Hostilius. Ancus Martius. L. Tarquinius Priscus.		Judah subverted by Babylon; 70 years' captivity begins.
149 to 160	605 to 594	.....	Solon archon of Athens.	
176 to 195	578 to 559	Servius Tullius.		Babylon falls before Cyrus.
220 to 245	534 to 509	L. Tarquinius Superbus. Royalty abolished		
264 to 296	490 to 458	Internal discontent.....	Persian wars commence.	Ezra renews ancient system of polity among the Jews.
302 to 323	452 to 431	Romans send to Greece for laws; whence 12 tables framed	Internal dissensions.	
350 to 364	404 to 390	.....	Peloponnesian war	Palestine under Persia till time of Alexander the Great; thence under his Successors in Syria
398 to 416	356 to 338	Incursion of Gauls	Sacred wars...	
418 to 433	336 to 321	.....	Alexander the Great..... Division of his empire	Ptolemy of Egypt conquers Palestine.
474 to 490	280 to 264	Pyrrhus of Epirus contends with Rome	Achæan league.	
553 to 557	216 to 197	Punic wars.....	Internal dissensions.....	Parthia rises, under Arsaces.
566 to 624	188 to 130	Battle of Cannæ. Asia Minor chiefly subject to Rome.		Jews subject to Syria.
586 to 608	168 to 146	Conquest of Macedon... Rome masters of Greece. Destruction of Carthage.....	Battle of Corinth, and fall of Greece.	Jews, under Maccabees, throw off Syrian yoke
612 to 613	142 to 141	Macedon a Roman province.		
621 to 633	133 to 121	Numantine war. Death of the Gracchi.		
643 to 664	111 to 106	Jugurthine war.....		
666 to 681	90 to 88	Social war..... Sulla and Marius.....		Egypt in continual turmoil
688 to 688	88 to 66	Servile war..... Mithridatic war.....		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of Rome.	Years B. C.	Events of Rome.	Events of Greece.	Events of other Nations.
686	68	.....	.....	Syria a Roman province. Jerusalem opened to Pompey.
691	63	Catiline's conspiracy....	.....
696 to 701	58 }	Gaul reduced.		
706	48	Battle of Pharsalia.		
710	44	Death of Cæsar.		
711	43	Triumvirate of Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus.		
712	42	Battle of Philippi.		
723	31	Battle of Actium.		
724	30	.....	.....	Egypt a Roman province.
727	27	Octavianus first emperor of Rome, under the name of Augustus.		





CLEOPATRA'S BARGE. 461.

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

FROM THE
ACCESSION OF AUGUSTUS TO THE END OF THE
EMPIRE OF THE WEST;

BEING A CONTINUATION OF
THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF GREECE," "HISTORY OF ROME," "HISTORY OF
ENGLAND," ETC., ETC.

EDITED BY
JOSHUA TOULMIN SMITH,
AUTHOR OF "PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE ANCIENTS," "COMPAR-
ATIVE VIEW OF ANCIENT HISTORY," "NORTHMEN IN NEW
ENGLAND," ETC., ETC.

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1877.

HISTORY

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

W. M. L. ...

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P R E F A C E

TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

THE present valuable addition to the "History of Rome" was not published in England when that work was prepared for the press in this country. It is, therefore, thought better to publish it, as it was published in England, as a separate work, than as a second volume of that work, although none can feel the history of Rome to be complete without tracing it, not only from its rise to its highest pitch of greatness, but through the gradual steps of its decline and fall.

The present volume is peculiarly valuable on many accounts. It embraces a period, the history of which exists in no accessible form, while its *facts* are of a most interesting and important nature, as connected with the rise, and spread, and influence, and corruptions of the Christian church. It forms a connecting link between the times and nations properly called *ancient*, and those properly called *modern*, inasmuch as it displays the first inroads of the peoples and races destined gradually to mould the latter, upon the strength, and power, and sway of the former, and their final rise upon their ruins.

The same impartiality marks this History, both in its treatment of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, as marks Mr. Keightley's other histories.

The labor of the editor has been somewhat more called for in this volume than in the "History of Rome." More points seemed to need note and illustration, it being a period less familiar. In some places, too, owing to the confusion of authorities, errors of dates, &c., had crept in, all of which have been carefully altered. In this case, the alterations have been made without any distinctive mark. In all other cases, the same marks of addition or alteration as have been used in the other volumes of this series of historical works have been here used. That series, comprising the Histories of Greece, Rome, and England, is completed with this volume.

J. T. S

BOSTON, December 1, 1840.

P R E F A C E .

THE present work completes my History of Rome. Instead, however, of entitling it a second volume, I have made it a distinct work; for, having been induced to depart from my original plan, and write a History of England after the completion of that of the Roman Republic, and fearing lest some event might occur to prevent my completing my design, I was desirous that a work on which I had employed so much time and thought should not present an imperfect appearance. A further motive was, that some persons were of opinion that the History of the Empire would not be read so generally in schools as that of the Republic; and I wished to shun the imputation of forcing any one to buy a volume that he might not want.

This last opinion I am disposed to regard as erroneous. There is no part of the Roman history more necessary to be read in classical schools than the reigns of Augustus and his successors to the end of that of Domitian; for, without a knowledge of the history of that period, the writers of the Augustan age, and Juvenal, cannot be fully understood. Of this period we have actually no history, at least none adapted to schools; and hence arises the imperfect acquaintance with the historic allusions in Horace and the other poets which most readers possess, in consequence of being obliged to derive their information piecemeal from annotations. I have, therefore, taken especial care, in the present volume, to obviate this inconvenience; and I believe that scarcely any historic allusion in those poets will be found unnoticed.

Another feature of this work is, the sketch of the history of the church, its persecutions, sects, and heresies, during the first four centuries, with brief notices of the principal

Fathers and their writings. To write a history of the Roman Empire without including that of the church, would have been absurd; but, as readers might not have sufficient confidence in me as an ecclesiastical guide, and as my works are chiefly designed for youth, I have deemed it the safer course to take as my usual authority the learned and candid Mosheim, whose works have stood the test of nearly a century, and are always included in the list of those recommended to students in divinity. It is the work *De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, in the excellent translation of Mr. Vidal, that I have chiefly used. At the same time, I must declare that I am by no means a stranger to the Fathers. Many years ago, I had occasion to read them a good deal; and the opinions which I then formed of them as writers and teachers have been confirmed by my renewed acquaintance with their works.

The advantages, therefore, to be derived by students from this volume are, illustrations of the Latin poets, some knowledge of the early history of the church, and tolerably correct ideas of the causes and course of the decline and fall of the mighty empire whose rise and progress have been traced in the History of Rome. Nearly one half of it, it will be observed, is devoted to the history anterior to the commencement of Gibbon's work, which begins with the reign of Commodus. As I have already said, that part of the history is not generally accessible; and with respect to the remainder, few, I believe, would willingly put Gibbon into the hands of youth.

The same attention has been directed to chronology and geography as in my other histories. The Roman proper names had become so confused in this period, that it was not possible for me to mark the *prænomina*, and arrange names under their *gentes*, as I have so carefully done in the History of Rome. I have further employed the modern forms of the names, as it would have seemed mere affectation to use Vespasianus, Constantinus, etc.

T. K.

LONDON, August 26, 1840.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE CÆSARIAN FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS.

A. U. 725—746. B. C. 29—8.

PAGE

THE Roman empire. — Regulation of it by Augustus. — Augustus in Spain — in Asia. — Laws. — Family of Augustus. — Death of Agrippa. — German wars. — Death of Drusus, and of Mæcenas. — Literature..... 1

CHAPTER II.

AUGUSTUS, (CONTINUED.)

A. U. 746—767. B. C. 8—A. D. 14.

Tiberius. — Banishment of Julia. — German wars of Tiberius. — Defeat of Varus. — Death and character of Augustus. — Form and condition of the Roman empire. 20

CHAPTER III.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO CÆSAR.

A. U. 767—790. A. D. 14—37.

Funeral of Augustus. — Mutiny of the legions. — Victories of Germanicus. — His death. — Civil government of Tiberius. — Rise and fall of Sejanus. — Death of Agrippina and her children. — Death of Tiberius..... 39

CHAPTER IV.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA.

A. U. 790—794. A. D. 37—41.

Accession of Caius. — His vices and cruelty. — Bridge over the Bay of Baiæ. — His expedition to Germany. — His mad caprices. — His death..... 67

CHAPTER V.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR.

A. U. 794—807. A. D. 41—55.

PAGE.

- Accession of Claudius.—His character.—His useful measures.—
Messalina and the freedmen.—Her lust and cruelty.—Claudi-
us in Britain.—Vicious conduct of Messalina.—Her death.—
Claudius marries Agrippina.—Is poisoned by her..... 77

CHAPTER VI.

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

A. U. 808—821. A. D. 55—68.

- Decline of Agrippina's power.—Poisoning of Britannicus.—
Murder of Agrippina.—Nero appears on the stage.—Murder
of Octavia.—Excesses of Nero.—Burning of Rome.—Conspir-
acy against Nero.—Death of Seneca.—Deaths of Petronius,
Thraseas, and Soranus.—Nero visits Greece.—Galba pro-
claimed emperor.—Death of Nero..... 80

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

- The Jewish Messiah.—Jesus Christ.—His religion.—Its propa-
gation.—Causes of its success.—Church government..... 116

PART II.

EMPERORS CHOSEN BY THE ARMY.

CHAPTER I.

GALBA, OTHO, VITELLIUS.

A. U. 821—823. A. D. 68—70.

- Galba.—Adoption of Piso.—Murder of Galba.—Otho.—Civil
war.—Battle of Bedriacum.—Death of Otho.—Vitellius.—
Vespasian proclaimed emperor.—Advance of the Flavians.—
Storming of Cremona.—Burning of the Capitol.—Capture of
Rome.—Death of Vitellius..... 124

CHAPTER II.

THE FLAVIAN FAMILY.

A. U. 823—849. A. D. 70—96.

- State of affairs at Rome.—German war.—Capture and destruc-
tion of Jerusalem.—Return of Titus.—Vespasian.—Character

CONTENTS.

ix

PAGE.

of his government. — His death. — Character and reign of Titus. — Public calamities. — Death of Titus. — Character of Domitian. — Conquest of Britain. — Dacian war. — Other wars. — Cruelty of Domitian. — His death. — Literature of this period. 145

CHAPTER III.

NERVA, TRAJAN, HADRIAN, ANTONINUS, AURELIUS.

A. U. 849—933. A. D. 96—180.

Nerva. — Adoption of Trajan. — His origin and character. — Dacian wars. — Parthian wars. — Death of Trajan. — Observations. — Succession of Hadrian. — His character. — Affairs at Rome. — Hadrian in Gaul and Britain — in Asia and Greece — in Egypt. — Antinous. — Adoptions. — Death of Hadrian. — His character as an emperor. — Rebellion of the Jews. — Reign of Antoninus Pius. — M. Aurelius. — Parthian war. — German wars. — Revolt of Cassius. — Death of Aurelius. — His character. . . . 167

CHAPTER III.

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, JULIANUS, SEVERUS.

A. U. 933—964. A. D. 180—211.

Commodus. — Conspiracy against him. — Perennis. — Cleander. — Maternus and the deserters. — Death of Cleander. — Vices of Commodus. — His death. — Elevation and murder of Pertinax. — Empire put to auction. — Pescennius Niger. — Septimius Severus. — Clodius Albinus. — March of Severus. — Death of Julian. — Prætorians disbanded. — Severus at Rome. — War with Niger — with Albinus. — Parthian war — Family of Severus. — Plautianus. — Severus in Britain. — His death. — Maxims of government. 189

CHAPTER IV.

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, ELAGABALUS, ALEXANDER.

A. U. 964—988. A. D. 211—235.

Caracalla and Geta. — Murder of Geta. — Cruelty of Caracalla. — German war. — Parthian war. — Massacre at Alexandria. — Murder of Caracalla. — Elevation of Macrinus. — His origin and character. — Conspiracy against him. — His defeat and death. — Elagabalus. — His superstition and cruelty. — Adoption of Alexander. — Death of Elagabalus. — Mamæa. — Alexander's character and mode of life. — Murder of Ulpian. — Revolution in Persia. — Persian war. — Alexander in Gaul. — His murder. — The Roman army. 207

CHAPTER V.

MAXIMIN, PUPIENUS, BALBINUS, AND GORDIAN, PHILIP,
DECIUS, GALLUS, EMILIAN, VALERIAN, GALLIENUS.

A. U. 988—1021. A. D. 235—268. PAGE

The empire. — Maximin. — His tyranny. — Insurrection in Africa.
— The Gordians. — Pupienus and Balbinus. — Death of Maxi-
min. — Murder of the emperors. — Gordian. — Persian war. —
Murder of Gordian. — Philip. — Secular Games. — Decius. —
Death of Philip. — The Goths. — Gothic war. — Death of Decius.
— Gallus. — Æmilian. — Valerian. — The Franks. — The Ale-
mans. — Gothic invasions. — Persian war. — Defeat and captiv-
ity of Valerian. — Gallienus. — The Thirty Tyrants. — Death
of Gallienus..... 223

CHAPTER VI.

CLAUDIUS, AURELIAN, TACITUS, PROBUS, CARUS, CARINUS,
AND NUMERIAN.

A. U. 1021—1038. A. D. 268—285.

Claudius. — Invasions of the Goths. — Aurelian. — Alemannic
war. — War against Zenobia. — Tetricus. — Death of Aurelian.
— Tacitus. — His death. — Probus. — His military successes. —
His death. — Carus. — Persian war. — His death. — Death of
Numerian. — Election of Diocletian. — Battle of Margus..... 240

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Persecutions of the church. — Corruption of religion. — The
Ebionites. — Gnostic heresies. — Montanus. — The Paschal
Question. — Councils. — The hierarchy. — Platonic philoso-
phy, its effects. — Rites and ceremonies. — Christian writers. . 259

PART III.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

CHAPTER I.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

A. U. 1038—1056. A. D. 285—303.

State of the empire. — Character of Diocletian. — Imperial power
divided. — The Bagauds. — Carausius. — Rebellion in Egypt.
— Persian war. — Triumph of the emperors. — Their resigna-
tion. — Persecution of the church..... 236

CHAPTER II.

GALERIUS, CONSTANTIUS, SEVERUS, MAXENTIUS, MAXIMIAN,
LICINIUS, MAXIMIN, CONSTANTINE.

A. U. 1057—1090. A. D. 304—337. PAGE

The emperors and Cæsars. — Constantine. — Maxentius. — Fate of Maximian. — War between Constantine and Maxentius. — Constantine and Licinius. — Constantine sole emperor. — Constantinople founded. — Hierarchy of the state. — The army. — The great officers. — Conversion of Constantine. — Deaths of Crispus and Fausta. — The imperial family. — War with the Goths. — Death and character of Constantine..... 299

CHAPTER III.

CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS.

A. U. 1090—1114. A. D. 337—361.

Slaughter of the imperial family. — Persian war. — Deaths of Constantine and Constans. — Magnentius. — Gallus. — Julian. — Silvanus. — Court of Constantius. — War with the Limigantes. — Persian war. — Julian in Gaul. — Battle of Strasburg. — Julian proclaimed emperor. — His march from Gaul. — Death of Constantius. 319

CHAPTER IV.

JULIAN, JOVIAN.

A. U. 1114—1117. A. D. 361—364.

Reformations of Julian. — His religion. — His tolerance. — Julian at Antioch. — Attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. — The Persian war. — Death of Julian. — Election of Jovian. — Surrender of territory to the Persians. — Retreat of the Roman army. — Death of Jovian..... 337

CHAPTER V.

VALENTINIAN, VALENS, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II., AND THEODOSIUS.

A. U. 1117—1143. A. D. 364—395.

Elevation of Valentinian and of Valens. — Procopius. — German wars. — Recovery of Britain. — Rebellion in Africa. — Quidan war. — Death of Valentinian. — His character. — Gratian. — The Goths. — The Huns. — The Gothic war. — Battle of Hadrianople and death of Valens. — Ravages of the Goths. — Theodosius. — Settlements of the Goths. — Maximus. — Death of Gratian. — Defeat of Maximus. — Massacre at Thessalonica. — Clemency of Theodosius. — Death of Valentinian II. — Defeat and death of Eugenius. — Death and character of Theodosius. — State of the empire. 358

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

	PAGE
Suppression of paganism. — Religion of the fourth century. — State of morals. — The Donatists. — The Arians — Other heretics. — Ecclesiastical constitution. — Fathers of the church. — The Manichæans.	387

CHAPTER VII.

HONORIUS, VALENTINIAN III., ETC.

A. U. 1148—1229. A. D. 395—476.

Division of the empire. — Rufinus. — The Goths in Greece. — Gildo. — Invasion of Italy by Alaric — by Radagaisus. — Murder of Stilicho. — Claudian. — Alaric's second invasion. — Sack of Rome. — Death of Alaric. — Barbarians in the empire. — Valentinian III. — Boniface and Ætius. — Genseric. — His conquest of Africa. — Attila. — Theodoric. — Battle of Châlons. — Attila's invasion of Italy. — Murder of Ætius — and of Valentinian. — Maximus. — Sack of Rome by Genseric. — Avitus. — Majorian. — Severus. — Anthemius. — Nepos and Glycerius. — Romulus Augustus. — End of the empire. — Conclusion. 409

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

PART I.
THE CÆSARIAN FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS

A. U. 725—746. B. C. 29—8.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—REGULATION OF IT BY AUGUSTUS.—
AUGUSTUS IN SPAIN — IN ASIA. — LAWS. — FAMILY OF
AUGUSTUS. — DEATH OF AGRIPPA. — GERMAN WARS. —
DEATH OF DRUSUS, AND OF MÆCENAS. — LITERATURE.

THE battle of Actium, fought between M. Antonius and
C. Cæsar Octavianus, in the 723d † year of Rome, termina-

* Authorities: Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius. For
a full account of the authorities for this History, see Appendix (A.)

† We shall use the Varronian chronology in this volume, as it is the
one followed by Tacitus, Dion, and other historians. [In the former
part of this work, Mr. K. made use of the Catonian computation. It
is immaterial which is used, though the Varronian is undoubtedly the
more correct, and was employed by the editor in the "Chronological
Table," at the end of that work. The difference is only two years —
a difference of little importance with respect to the history of the *Re-*
public, but of more in reference to the history of the *Empire*. See the
editor's "Comparative View of Ancient History, and Explanation of
Chronological Eras" p. 92, title, *Era of the Foundation of Rome*. —
J. T. S.]

ted the contest for the supreme power in the Roman state, which had continued for so many years. After the death of his rival, Cæsar, now, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, saw himself the undoubted master of the Roman world. An army of forty-four legions* regarded him as its chief; the civil wars and the proscription had cut off all the men of eminence at Rome; the senate and people vied with each other in their willingness to accept a sovereign; and though we may despise their servility, reason will evince that they were right in their determination; for he must be strangely intralled by sounds, who, charmed by the mere words liberty and republic, looks back through the last century of the history of Rome, and prefers the turbulent anarchy, which then prevailed, to the steady, firm rule of a single hand. We will add, though the assertion may appear paradoxical, that their knowledge of Cæsar's character may have given them fair hopes of his proving an equitable sovereign.

But, independently of all other considerations, the enormous magnitude of the Roman empire was incompatible with any other form of government than the monarchic, if the happiness of the subjects was to be a matter of moment. The formation of this empire is perhaps the most striking phenomenon in the annals of the world. Fabulous as is the early history of Rome, the fact of its having been in its commencement nothing more than a single town, or rather village, with a territory of a very few miles in compass, may be regarded as certain. Step by step it thence advanced in extent; under its kings it became respectable among the Italian states: when the supreme magistracy was made annual, the consuls were anxious to distinguish their year by some military achievement; their ambition was sustained by the valor and discipline of the legions, and the wisdom of the senate cemented together into one strong and firm mass the various territories reduced by the arms of Rome. In the East, empires of huge extent are at times formed with rapidity, but their decay is in general equally rapid; modern Europe has seen great empires formed by a Charlemagne and a Napoleon, but they fell to pieces almost as soon as erected: the Roman empire, on the contrary, endured for centuries. Perhaps the nearest parallel is that of Russia; but of this the stability remains to be proved: watched by

* Orosius, vi. 18. These legions, however, were far from complete, some of them being mere skeletons.

jealous and powerful rivals, its step is stealthy, artful, and treacherous, while that of Rome was comparatively open, bold, and daring.

The Roman empire, at the time of which we write, embraced all the countries contained between the Ocean, the Rhine, and Euphrates, on the west and east, and the mountain ranges of the Alps and Hæmus on the north, and that of Atlas and the African sandy desert on the south. With respect to the condition of the various nations and peoples contained within its limits, it may be compared to that acquired with such rapidity by England in India. A portion were under the immediate government of the sovereign state, while others, under the name of allies, possessed a certain degree of independence in their internal relations, but their external policy was under the control of Rome.* As aristocracy and democracy are equally tyrannic to subjects, the oppressions of the proconsuls and proprætors, set over the provinces by the republic, had been such as to make the provincials look forward with hope to the establishment of a monarchy at Rome. Such, then, was the condition of the Roman world at the time when our narrative commences.

When intelligence of the death of Antonius reached Rome, the senate hastened to decree to Cæsar the tribunitian power for life, a casting-voice in all the tribunals, the power of nominating to all the priesthoods, and various other honors. They ordered that he should be named in all the public prayers, and libations be poured to him at both public and private entertainments. It was directed that the gates of Janus should be closed, as war was now at an end.†

Cæsar, meantime, having regulated the affairs of Egypt, over which he placed Cn. Cornelius Gallus as governor, set out on his return for Rome. He spent the winter in the province of Asia, adjusting the affairs of the surrounding countries; and during his abode there the Parthian king Phraates sent his son to him to be conducted as a hostage to Rome. In the summer (725) he proceeded to Italy, and on coming to Rome he celebrated a triumph of three days' duration for his own victories at Actium and Alexandria, and

* These allies were either kings or republics. The former were those of Judæa, of the Arabs, the Nabathæans, Comagene, Cilicia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Thrace, Numidia; the latter, Cydonia and Lampæa in Crete, Cyzicus, Rhodes, Athens, Tyre and Sidon, Lycia, and the Ligurians of the Maritime Alps.

† Dion, li. 19, 20. Suet. Oct. 31.

those of his lieutenants in Dalmatia and Pannonia. He distributed money to the people; he paid all his debts and forgave his debtors; and the abundance of money became so great in Rome, that the rate of interest fell two thirds.*

We are told that at this time Cæsar had serious thoughts of laying down his power and restoring the republic, and that he consulted with his friends Agrippa and Mæcenas on the subject. The historian Dion Cassius has composed speeches for these two eminent men, the former of whom he makes advocate, though with but feeble reasons; the cause of the republic, while the latter lays down the whole system of the future monarchy. It is almost needless to state that these cannot be genuine speeches; yet the consultation may have been held. Cæsar was of a cautious temper; he had the fate of his uncle, the dictator, before his eyes, and the examples of Sulla and Pompeius showed that power might be resigned with safety. A conspiracy of young Lepidus, the son of the triumvir and nephew of Brutus, to assassinate him on his return to the city, had lately been discovered, and the author put to death by Mæcenas, who had the charge of the city.† Still it is difficult to believe that Cæsar could have really intended to divest himself of his authority.

The counsel of Mæcenas having prevailed, or such being his previous resolution, Cæsar prepared to establish his power on a firm basis. The object which he proposed was to frame a constitution which, under the forms of the republic should be in reality a disguised military monarchy. With this view he conceived it necessary that the senate should be limited in number and respectable in character; whereas it was at this time in a state of the utmost degradation; for the dictator, out of hatred to the aristocracy, had introduced all kinds of rabble into it, and after his death M. Antonius had, for money or out of favor, admitted any one that chose to seek the dignity,‡ so that the senators were now upwards of a thousand in number. Cæsar adopted the following course of reformation. Having caused himself and Agrippa to be chosen censors, instead of arbitrarily ejecting unworthy persons from the senate, he made them judges of their own qualifications. Fifty were thus induced to resign voluntarily; he then compelled one hundred and forty more to follow their example, and, having thus got rid

* Dion, li. 21. Suet. Oct. 41. † Vell. Pat. ii. 83. Suet. Oct. 19

‡ Suet. Oct. 35.

of the most disreputable portion, he went no farther in his reformation for the present. As the patrician families had been greatly reduced by the civil wars, he augmented their number. In order to obviate the danger of civil commotions, he renewed the regulation of his uncle for preventing the senators from visiting the provinces without permission, excepting Sicily and Narbonese Gaul. To quiet their apprehensions on account of the late troubles, and prevent their forming any designs against himself in consequence of them, he assured them that he had burned all the papers of M. Antonius; and he had in fact burned some, but he retained the greater part, to use, if he found it necessary.

The title of Imperator (*general*) had been already conferred on Cæsar, as on his uncle; * and in his sixth consulate, (726,) when he formed the list of the senators, he received the denomination of Princeps Senatus, (*First-of-the Senate*), according to the old republican custom; and this he always used as his favorite title. Having forgiven all debts due to the state, and burnt the securities, gratified the people with shows, and done other popular acts, Cæsar (727) addressed the senate, requesting them to take the government now into their own hands, and to permit him to retire to the enjoyment of a private station. He was heard with various emotions; a few only were in the secret, and knew his object; there were some who were willing to take him at his word, but the greater number had a horror of the anarchy and turbulence of a republic; all therefore united, from different motives, in calling on him not to resign his authority. He yielded with well-feigned reluctance. The supreme power was conferred on him by a decree of the senate and people, and double pay was voted to his guards, to increase their vigilance and fidelity.

Cæsar thus attained his object, the legal establishment of his power; but he refused to receive it for more than a period of ten years, alleging that by that time the state would be brought to a condition of order and tranquillity. He, further, though accepting the charge of superintendance over the whole empire, would not assume the direct government of all the provinces; but, making a division of them into two classes, committed the more peaceful and orderly,

* Hence our word *Emperor*. It was usually bestowed by the soldiers on their general after a victory. It now became the constant title of the monarch, being prefixed instead of postfixed (as in the ordinary way) to his name.

such as Africa, Asia, Bætic Spain, to the senate and people; while he reserved to himself the administration of the more warlike and turbulent, such as Gaul, northern Spain, and Egypt. The governors of the former were to be selected by the senate out of their own body by lot; they were to hold their office for the space of a year, under the title of Proconsul, whether they had been consuls or not; their jurisdiction was to be purely civil, and they were therefore neither to carry swords nor wear the military habit. Cæsar himself was to appoint directly the governors of the remaining provinces; they were to be named Legates and Proprætors, to continue in office as long as he pleased, and to wear a sword and the military habit, as having the power of life and death over the soldiery. A proconsul was to be preceded by twelve, a proprætor, by six lictors. Quæstors appointed by Cæsar were to be sent into all the provinces to collect and regulate the revenue, and all the governors and inferior officers were to receive fixed salaries, and not be allowed to pay themselves, as under the republic.

The senate decreed at this time that laurels should be placed before the doors of Cæsar's house on the Palatium, and an oak-leaf-crown be suspended over them, to indicate that he was perpetual victor over the enemies of the state, and perpetual preserver of the citizens. It was also proposed to confer on him some peculiar appellation. He himself would have preferred that of Romulus, as being a second founder of the state; but finding that it would excite suspicion of his aiming at royalty, he acquiesced in that of Augustus, which was proposed by L. Munatius Plancus, and which indicated a certain degree of sanctity.*

Augustus, (as we shall henceforth name him,) having thus laid the foundations of his power, quitted Rome under the pretext of completing the conquest of Britain.† Finding Gaul in an unsettled state, he remained some time there, to reduce it to order. The incursions of the Asturians and Cantabrians into the Roman provinces in Spain then induced him to assume the conduct of the war against them. He, however, found them a foe in contending with whom little glory was to be acquired; for they would not descend from their mountains and give battle in the plain, and they har-

* The Tiber overflowed on the night following the decree. Dion, liii. 20. This is thought to be the inundation noticed by Horace, Carm. i. 2.

† Hor. Carm. i. 35, 29.

assed his troops by ambushes in the woody glens. Vexation and fatigue causing him to fall sick, he retired to Tarraco, leaving the command with C. Antistius, by whom and T. Carisius some advantages were gained over these mountaineers. Augustus then discharged such of the soldiers as had served out their legal time, and founded for them in Lusitania a town named Augusta Emerita, (*Merida*.) He then returned to Rome, (730,) having been absent during the better part of three years.* He had hardly, however, quitted Spain, when the Cantabrians and Asturians again took arms; and though the proprætor L. Æmilius chastised them, these hardy mountaineers were never, properly speaking, conquered, and they always retained their rude independence.

At this time also (730) avarice or the lust of conquest induced Augustus to order Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, to undertake an expedition against the Happy Arabia.† In the attempt, however, to cross the sandy desert, his troops suffered so severely from the heat of the sun, the bad quality of the waters, and a novel kind of disease, and they were so harassed by the native tribes, that, after losing the greater part of them, Gallus was obliged to give up his design; and the conquest of Arabia was never again attempted by the Romans.‡

Augustus, it would seem, long continued to be affected by the disease with which he had been first attacked in Spain. The year after his return to Rome, (731,) he had a fit so severe as to leave little hopes of his life; and believing himself to be near his end, he gave to Cn. Calpurnius Piso, his colleague in the consulate, in presence of the principal senators and knights, a book containing an account of the forces and the revenues of the state; he at the same time placed his ring on the finger of Agrippa, but said not a word of who should be his successor, though every one had expected him to appoint his nephew Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia, to whom he had given in marriage his only daughter Julia. A physician named Antonius Musa, how-

* Hor. Carm. iii. 14; 8, 21.

† Dion, lii. 29. Strabo, xvi. p. 730; xvii. p. 819. Plin. H. N. vi. 28. Horace seems to refer to this expedition, Carm. i. 29.

‡ [The chief cause of the failure of this expedition seems to have been the treachery of Syllæus, chief minister to Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs, through whose country the Romans had to pass. See *Strabo*, lib. xvi. — J. T. S.]

ever, restored him to health by a system of cold bathing and cold drinking. When he recovered, he wished to have his will read out in the senate, to prove that he had not named a successor; but the senators would not permit it to be done. It is doubtful whether it was his intention to restore the republic, or if he wished his place in the state to be occupied by Agrippa: the latter, which is more consonant to his character, seems to be the more probable supposition. The senate now conferred on him the tribunitian power for life,* gave him the power of bringing before them any matter he pleased, even when not consul, and granted him a perpetual proconsular authority.

Whatever the designs of Augustus might have been with respect to Marcellus, they were frustrated at this time by the death of that promising youth in the twentieth year of his age — an event which caused a general grief, as he had inherited the amiable qualities of his mother Octavia, and was beloved of all people.†

Augustus had now been consul for nine successive years; and, feeling his power sufficiently established, he regarded that dignity as no longer needful to him. The consuls therefore for the year 732 were M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Aruntius; but the year proving to be one of disease and scarcity, the superstitious people fancied that their calamities arose from Augustus's not being consul, and surrounded the senate-house, threatening to burn the senate in it if they did not proclaim him dictator; then, seizing the rods of the twenty-four lictors, they brought them to him, imploring him to assume that office, and also that of overseer of the corn-market. The latter he accepted; but, satisfied with possessing all the power of the dictatorship, he declined the invidious title, and even rent his garments when the people would have forced him to accept it. He in like manner declined the censorship for life when it was proffered to him, but he always used a censorian authority.

Beloved as Augustus was by the people in general, there were still some unquiet spirits at Rome, who could not submit to the rule of a single person, how moderate soever it

* The former decree of this power (above, p. 3) had not, it would seem, been carried into effect. Tacitus (Ann. iii. 56) says that Augustus devised the term *tribunitia potestas*; while Dion (xlii. 20) asserts that it was conferred on Cæsar the dictator. Lipsius reconciles them by showing that Cæsar did not use it publicly.

† Propert. iii. 18. See Virg. *Æn.* vi. 861, *seq.*

might be. A conspiracy against Augustus was detected at this time, at the head of which was Fannius Cæpio, and in which L. Muræna, the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, was said to be implicated. They made no defence on their trial, and being found guilty by their judges, they were put to death.

Augustus now resolved to visit and regulate the eastern parts of the empire, and leaving Rome, he first proceeded to Sicily, (733.) While he was there, the consular elections at Rome gave occasion to so much tumult and disturbance, that his return was eagerly desired and urged by the more prudent citizens. He would not, however, comply with their wishes; but in order to keep the city in order, he summoned Agrippa from Asia, where he was then residing; and having made him divorce his wife, (though she was his own niece,) and marry Julia, the widow of Marcellus,* he committed to him the government of Rome, where his able administration speedily restored order and tranquillity.

From Sicily, Augustus, attended by his stepson Tiberius, proceeded to Greece; and having regulated the affairs of that now insignificant country, he passed over to Samos, where he spent the winter. In the spring (734) he proceeded to Asia, and thence to Syria. He arranged all matters concerning the petty monarchies which were in alliance with or under the protection of Rome,† and then returned to Samos for the winter. Here he received numerous embassies from various nations, among whom was one from the Indians, to ratify the treaty of peace and amity which had been already concerted. Among the presents which they brought was a man without arms, who bent a bow and shot arrows, and held a trumpet to his mouth, with his feet. They also presented him with some tigers, being the first of this species ever brought to Europe.‡

While Augustus was in Asia, Phraates, the Parthian king, who had hitherto eluded the fulfilment of his engagement to restore the standards and prisoners taken from Crassus and Antonius, fearing a war, hastened to perform it. We are not

* Mæcenas, when consulted on this occasion, is reported to have said to him, "You have made him (Agrippa) so great that he must either be your son-in-law or be put to death."

† It was at this time that he sent Tiberius with an army to settle a disputed claim to the throne of Armenia. Some of the Epistles of Horace (i. 3. 8, and perhaps 9. and ii. 2) were written at this time. See also Ep. i. 12, 26 *seq.*

‡ Dion, liv. 9. Pliny, N. H. viii. 17.

informed of the number of soldiers thus restored to their country, but they probably bore only a small proportion to the number originally captured; for many were dead, and many more preferred remaining in a country to which they had now become habituated. By Augustus himself this was always regarded as the most glorious event in his life, and to commemorate it he built a temple on the Capitol to Mars the Avenger, (*Ultor*), while the poets who adorned his reign poured forth their strains in commemoration of the peaceful triumph.*

A new sedition, on account of the consular elections, which proceeded even to bloodshed, recalled Augustus to Rome, (735.) The senate, as usual, would have lavished honors on him, but he would only allow of the erection of an altar to *Fortuna Redux*, and the insertion of the day of his return among the public holidays, under the title of *Augustalia*. He was appointed inspector of manners for five years, and given the censorian power for the same period, and the consular for life. Agrippa was at this time in Spain; for after he had established order at Rome, he found it necessary to proceed to Gaul, which was suffering from sedition and from the incursions of the Germans, whence he was called to Spain by a new insurrection of the Cantabrians. Having, not without much difficulty, reduced this restless people, he returned to Rome, declining, with his usual moderation, the triumphal honors which had been decreed him on the proposal of Augustus himself.

The senate was still too numerous a body for the place in the state which Augustus wished it to occupy. He thought he might now venture to make a further reduction in it; but the difficulties which he encountered were such, that, instead of bringing it down, as he proposed, to three hundred, he was obliged to be content with a house consisting of six hundred members. Even this moderate reduction gave occasion to several real or imputed conspiracies against him and Agrippa.

To keep up a respectable aristocracy in the state was a favorite object with this prudent prince, who was well aware of the evils of oligarchy and [an ignorant] democracy. It was with this view that he labored to render the senate lim-

* Hor. Epist. i. 18, 56; Carm. iv. 15, 6. Propert. ii. 10; iii. 4, 9, 5, 43; iv. 6, 79. Ovid, Fast. vi. 647; Trist. ii. 1, 223. See also Virg. Æn. vii. 606. Hor. Carm. iii. 5.

ited in number and respectable in character. As a further means he most anxiously, both by law and precept, encouraged marriage among the members of the senatorian and equestrian orders, (736.) * But the profligacy of manners which then prevailed was such that all the honors, and rewards, and immunities, which he proposed were of but little avail. A practice was even introduced by which the intention of the laws might be eluded, while the benefits proposed by them were attained: it was that of betrothal with infants, to obviate which he enjoined that no betrothal should be valid except in cases where the marriage might be consummated within the space of two years; that is, with no child under ten years of age. It was unfortunate for Augustus that his own character and conduct gave but little weight to his regulations on the subject of matrimony, for he was notoriously unfaithful to his wife Livia.

It may be of use to give here some account of the family of Augustus. By his first wife, Scribonia, he had one child, a daughter, named of course Julia; he had no children by Livia, and we hear nothing of any natural children. He first married Julia to his nephew Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia by her first husband, Claudius Marcellus; and on his death he obliged Agrippa to divorce his wife, who was the sister of Marcellus, and espouse the widow, by whom he had two sons, named Caius and Lucius, both of whom Augustus adopted. By her first husband, Tib. Claudius Nero, Livia had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, the latter of whom was born after her marriage with Augustus. The former was married to Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa by his first wife, a daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus.

In the 737th year of Rome, Augustus and Agrippa celebrated with great magnificence the Sæcular Games.† Augustus then deemed it advisable to absent himself for some time from Rome, and having sent Agrippa to Asia, he proceeded to Gaul on the pretext of the invasions of the Germans requiring his presence; but some said that his secret motive was the desire of enjoying more freely the society of Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas, with whom he had long carried on an intrigue. He took with him his stepson Tiberius, and after an absence of about three years, spent in regulating

* See Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 17, *seq.*; iv. 5, 12, *seq.*; 15, 9, *seq.*; Carm. Sæc. 17 *seq.*

† They were the fifth that had been celebrated. Dion, liv. 18. Censorin. 17. Horace composed the hymn sung on the occasion.

the concerns of Gaul, Spain, and the German provinces, he returned to Rome, (741,) and in the following year (742) he assumed the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, now vacant by the death of Lepidus, his former colleague in the triumvirate, whom (though he at all times treated him with studied indignity) he allowed to hold that honorable office as long as he lived.

Agrippa, who had been all this time in Asia, returned to Rome likewise in 741; and Augustus, whose confidence in him never abated, had the tribunitian power conferred on him for another period of five years. He also committed to him the charge of suppressing an expected invasion of the Pannonians. This people, however, when they heard of the approach of Agrippa, laid aside all thoughts of war. He therefore led back his troops, and in the following spring (742) he fell dangerously ill in Campania. Augustus, who was then celebrating the festival of the Quinquatrus at Rome, hastened to him, but found him dead. He caused the corpse to be conveyed to Rome, where he himself pronounced the funeral oration over it in the Forum, and then laid his ashes in his own monument, though the deceased had prepared one for himself in the Field of Mars. Agrippa had not completed his fifty-first year when he was thus prematurely carried off.*

There are few characters in history more pleasing to contemplate than that of M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Born in a humble station, he raised himself entirely by his own merit, and by the honorable fidelity which he always exhibited to the man to whose fortunes he was attached. To prince and people he was equally acceptable: the former viewed in him a sincere friend and an able minister and general; the latter regarded him as a patron and a benefactor. His wealth, which was immense, † he devoted to the public service, benefiting the people and adorning the city. He thus raised at a great expense several aqueducts, particularly that which conveyed the Aqua Virgo to the Field of Mars, (735.) He adorned (728) the porticoes built round the Septa, in the same place, by Lepidus, with marble plates and with paintings, naming them Julian in honor of Augustus. He also built a beautiful portico to the temple of Neptune, and erected the circular temple named the Pantheon, ‡ which still exists.

* Plin. N. H. vii. 8.

† He owned the entire Chersonese, (Dion, liv. 29;) he had also large estates in Sicily (Hor. Ep. i. 12) and elsewhere.

‡ Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 15) says it was dedicated to Jupiter Ultor

By his will he left his gardens and the baths named after him to the Roman people. Augustus, who was his principal heir, gave in his name a donation of one hundred drachmas a man to the plebeians.

The place of Agrippa was not to be supplied; but as some one in his station was absolutely necessary to Augustus, he, much against his inclination, made choice of his stepson Tiberius. As he seems to have made it a rule that the person next to himself should be the husband of his daughter Julia, he obliged Tiberius to divorce Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, to whom he was most sincerely attached, and who had borne him one child and was bearing another, and épouse Julia. He then sent him against the Pannonians, who had resumed their arms when they heard of the death of Agrippa.

We will now for some time direct our attention to the foreign relations and military affairs of the empire.

Within the limits of the empire the only people who ventured to resist the arms of Rome was the Basque population of the mountains in the north of Spain, who, secured by the nature of their country, though often defeated and reduced, were never completely conquered. On the southern frontier in Africa the native tribes gave occasional employment to the governors of the adjoining provinces. In the year 732, the Æthiopians, led by their queen Candace, invaded Upper Egypt, and advanced as far as the city of Elephantina; but they were speedily repelled by the governor C. Petronius, who invaded their country in return, and forced them to sue for peace. On the side of Parthia all was quiet during the reign of Augustus; but the tribes in the vicinity of the Danube and Rhine, who were destined to be Rome's most dangerous foes, even now required the employment of large armies to repel or subdue them, and more than once they sent alarm even into the city.

The reduction of Thrace to a province gave occasion to some warfare; for the native tribes, unused to submission, and defended by the ranges of Rhodope and Hæmus, were prone to rebellion. A general rising among them took place in 743; and, after lasting three years, it was at length sup-

Dion (liii. 27) would seem to intimate that it was consecrated to Mars and Venus. He thinks that it was named from its resemblance in form to the heaven. The supposition of its being dedicated to all the gods is a modern error.

pressed by the governor L. Piso, who thereby obtained the triumphal honors.

The Roman frontier had, in the latter times of the republic, been gradually advanced into Illyricum, the region lying to the north of the Adriatic, and commercial relations were formed with the nations who dwelt farther inland. Their own unquiet spirit, and the arrogance and oppression of the Romans, naturally gave occasion to hostilities. In 738 two of the Alpine tribes, named Camunians and Venians, took arms; but they were speedily reduced by P. Silius, the prætor. Immediately after, the Pannonians, aided by the Noricans, invaded Istria; but they were repelled also by Silius, who then carried his arms into Noricum and reduced it. Shortly after, the Rætians of the Alps, and the Vindelicans* who dwelt between them and the Danube, began to make incursions into Gaul and Italy, and they seized and put to death such of the Romans or allies whom they found travelling through their country. Augustus committed the task of reducing them to his stepson Drusus, who gave them a defeat in the hills of Tridentum, (*Trent*;) and, as they still plundered Gaul, he caused Drusus's brother Tiberius to attack them on that side; and by the united efforts of the two brothers and their lieutenants, the mountaineers were completely brought under subjection.† The more vigorous portion of their male population was carried away, and only those left who were too feeble for insurrection. The Pannonic war already alluded to broke out in 743. It was conducted and successfully terminated by Tiberius, who was decreed for it a triumph by the senate; but Augustus would only allow him to receive the triumphal ornaments.

Drusus was meantime carrying on war in Germany. The Roman dominion having been extended by Cæsar, the dictator, to the Rhine, the Ubians, Vangionians, and some other German tribes, ‡ had been induced to cross that river and settle on its left bank, under the protection and authority of the Romans, whose manners they gradually adopted. The territory in which they dwelt was hence named the Upper and

* Dion (liv. 22) mentions only the Rætians, but he appears to include the Vindelicans in that name. The Vindelicans are expressly mentioned by Suetonius, (Tib. 9,) Velleius, (ii. 95,) and Horace, (Carm. iv. 4, 18.)

† See Horace, Carm. iv. 4 and 14.

‡ See Appendix (C.) for an account of the German tribes.

Lower Germany; it extended from the modern town of Schlettstadt into the district of Cleves. The Romans had several fortified posts along the Rhine, but they had as yet no footing beyond that river. They had, however, the usual relations of trade and intercourse with the peoples of the opposite bank.

In 729 the Germans murdered some Romans who had gone over in the usual manner into their country. To punish them, M. Vinicius, who commanded on the left bank of the river, led his troops against them, and his successes gained him the honor of the triumphal ornaments. Nothing further occurred till the year 738, when the tribes named Sicambrians, Usipetans, and Tencterans, seized and crucified the Roman traders in their country, and then, crossing the Rhine, ravaged Gaul and the Germanies. M. Lollius, the legate, led his troops to engage them; but they laid an ambush for the cavalry, which was in advance, and routed it. In the pursuit they came unexpectedly on Lollius himself, and defeated him, taking the eagle of the fifth legion. The intelligence of this disgrace caused, as we have seen, Augustus to set out for Gaul; but the Germans did not wait for his arrival, and when he came, they obtained a truce on giving hostages.

Augustus remained nearly three years in Gaul. When leaving it, (741,) he committed the defence of the German frontier to his stepson Drusus. His departure imboldened the Sicambrians and their allies to resume hostilities; and as disaffection appeared likely to spread among the Gauls, Drusus took care to secure their leading men by inviting them to Lugdunum, (*Lyons*,) under pretext of the festival which was to be celebrated at the altar raised there in honor of Augustus: then watching the Germans when they passed the Rhine, he fell on and cut them to pieces, and crossing that river himself, he entered the country of the Usipetans, and thence advanced into that of the Sicambrians, laying both waste, (742.) He embarked his troops on the Rhine and entered the ocean, and sailing along the coast, formed an alliance with the Frisians who inhabited it. His slight vessels, however, being stranded by the ebb of the tide on the coast of the Chaucans, he was indebted for safety to his Frisian allies. He then led his troops back, and put them into winter-quarters. In the spring (743) he again crossed the Rhine, and completed the subjection of the Usipetans; and taking advantage of the absence of the Sicambrian warriors, who had

marched against the Chattans on account of their refusal to join their league, he threw a bridge over the Lippe, (*Lupia*), and marching rapidly through the Sicambrian country, and crossing that of the Cherusans, advanced as far as the Weser, (*Visurgis*.) Want of supplies, however, forced the Romans to return without passing that river. In their retreat they were harassed by the Germans, and on one occasion they fell into an ambush, where they were only saved from destruction by the excessive confidence of the enemy, who, regarding them as already conquered, attacked them in disorder, and were therefore easily repelled by the disciplined legionaries. Drusus built a fort at the confluence of the Elson and the Lippe, and another in the Chattan country on the Rhine, and then returned to Gaul for the winter. The following year (744) Augustus, on account of the German war, went and took up his abode at Lugdunum, while Drusus again crossed the Rhine, and carried on the war against the Sicambrian league, which had now been joined by the Chattans, who became in consequence the principal sufferers. At the end of the campaign, Augustus and his stepsons returned to Rome.

The next year (745) Drusus passed the Rhine for the fourth time. He laid waste the Chattan territory, whence he advanced into Suevia, which he treated in a similar manner, routing all that resisted him; then entering the Cheruscan country, he crossed the Weser, and advanced till he reached the Elbe, (*Albis*), wasting all on his way. Having made a fruitless effort to pass this river, he led back his troops to the Rhine; but his horse having fallen with him on the way, he received so much injury by the fall, that he died before he reached the banks of that stream.* His body was conveyed to Rome, where the funeral orations were pronounced by Augustus and Tiberius, and his ashes were deposited in the Julian monument. The title of Germanicus was decreed to him and his children, and, among other honors, a cenotaph was raised by the army on the bank of the Rhine.

Drusus was only in his thirtieth year when he thus met with his untimely fate. He was married to the younger daughter of Octavia by M. Antonius, the triumvir, by whom he had several children; but only three, Germanicus, Claudius, and Livilla, survived their father. The character of Drusus stood high both as a soldier and a citizen; and it

* Livy, Epit. 140.

was generally believed that he intended to restore the republic, if ever he should possess the requisite power.* It is even said that at one time he wrote to his brother proposing to compel Augustus to reëstablish the popular freedom, but that Tiberius showed the letter to his stepfather.† Some even, in the usual spirit of calumniating Augustus, went so far as to hint that he caused Drusus to be taken off by poison when he neglected to give instant obedience to his mandate of recall, issued in consequence of that information.‡

Death had already (743) deprived Augustus of his sister Octavia, and within two years after the loss of Drusus, he had to lament that of Mæcenas, his early friend, adviser, and minister, who died toward the end of the year 746, leaving him his heir, notwithstanding the affair of Terentia.

Mæcenas was a man in whom were united the apparently opposite characters of the refined voluptuary and the able and judicious statesman. When called on to exert himself in public affairs, no man displayed more foresight, vigor, and activity; but the moment he could withdraw from them, he hastened to relax into an ease and luxury almost more than feminine. Satisfied with the abundance of wealth which he derived from the bounty of Augustus, and content with having the power to bestow honors and offices on others, he sought them not for himself, and to the end of his life he remained a simple member of the equestrian order in which he had been born. It does not appear, that, like Agrippa, he devoted his wealth to the improvement or ornament of the city; but he was the patron, and in some cases the benefactor, of men of letters; and while the poetry of Virgil and Horace shall be read, (and when shall it not?) the name of Mæcenas will be pronounced with honor by thousands to whom that of the nobler Agrippa will be comparatively unknown. Such is the power of literature to confer everlasting renown!

This was in effect the most splendid period of Rome's literary history. Though we cannot concede that literary genius is the creation of political circumstances, yet we may observe that it usually appears synchronously with great political events. It was during the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, that the everlasting monuments of the Grecian muse

* Suet. Claud. 1. Tac. Ann. i. 33. † Suet. Tib. 50.

‡ Suet. Claud. 1. Tac. Ann. ii. 82.

were produced; and it was while the fierce wars excited by religion agitated modern Europe, that the most noble works of poetic genius appeared in Italy, Spain, and England. So also the first band of Roman poets were coëxistent with the Punic wars, and the second and more glorious, though perhaps less vigorous, display of Italian genius rose amid the calamities of the civil wars.

The first of these poets in name, as in genius, is P. Virgilius Maro, who was born at Andes, a village near Mantua, in 684, and died at Brundisium, in 735. Residing in the country, and fond of rural life, his first poetic essays were pastorals in the manner of Theocritus. In this attempt, however, his success was not eminent; for though his verse is sweet and harmonious, and his descriptions are lovely, he attains not to the nature and simplicity of his Grecian master. He next wrote his *Georgics*, a didactic poem on agriculture; and here his success was beyond doubt; for it is the most perfect piece of didactic poetry that the world possesses. He then made the daring attempt of competing with Homer in the fields of epic poetry; and though the *Æneis* is inferior in fire and spirit to the *Iliad*, and possesses not the romance and the domestic charms of the *Odyssey*, and as an epic must even perhaps yield to the *Jerusalem Delivered* of modern Italy, it is a poem of a very high order, and one which will never cease to yield delight to the cultivated mind. In thus selecting Roman subjects, Virgil proved his superior judgment; and he assumed the place which had been occupied by Ennius, and became the national poet.

Q. Horatius Flaccus, born at Venusium in Apulia, in 689, is distinguished for the graceful ease, mild, philosophic spirit, and knowledge of men and the world,* displayed in his satires and epistles. He had also the merit of transferring the lyric measures of Alcæus, Sappho, and other Grecian poets, to the Latin language. His odes of a gay and lively, or of a bland, philosophic tone, are inimitable; in those of a higher flight he has less success, and the appearance of effort may at times be discerned. Horace died in 746, in the same year with his friend and patron Mæcenas.

Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

Persius, Sat. i. 116

Albius Tibullus and Sex. Aurelius Propertius wrote love elegies addressed to their courtesan-mistresses under feigned names, such as Neæra and Cythia. The former approaches nearer than any of the ancient poets to modern sentimentality; the latter shows extensive mythologic learning, correct taste, and a degree of delicacy and purity hardly to be expected from an amatory poet of that age.

Varius, Valgius, Cornelius Gallus, Plotius Tucca, Varro Atacinus, and a number of other poets, wrote at this period. They are praised by their surviving contemporaries, but their works have perished — a proof, perhaps, that their merit was not considerable. They were all imitators of the Greeks.

P. Ovidius Naso belongs to the second period of the reign of Augustus, whom he survived. He was born in 711, at Salmo, in the Pelignian country, and died in 771, in exile, at Tomi, on the Euxine. Ovid was a poet of original genius, which he tried on a variety of subjects. He wrote Heroic Epistles in the names and characters of the heroes and heroines of Grecian antiquity; love elegies; a didactic poem called the Art of Love; Metamorphoses; and a poem on the Roman Fasti. He also composed a tragedy, named Medea, which was much praised by the ancient critics. Grace, ease, and gayety, prevail throughout the compositions of this poet; but he was deficient in vigor, and was too prone to trifle on serious subjects; and in his amatory poetry he was very far from imitating the delicacy of Tibullus and Propertius. Yet, with all his defects, he is a delightful poet. The origin of his exile to Tomi in 762 is a mystery which can never be unveiled. He ascribes it himself to two causes, his Art of Love, and his having seen something which he should not see. The epistles written after his exile evince a spirit quite broken, and exhibit little trace of the poet's former powers.

The reign of Augustus was also the period of the appearance of the eloquent and picturesque history of the Roman republic by T. Livius. This great historian was born at Padua (*Patavium*) in 695, and he died in 771, the same year with Ovid. His history (of which the larger and more valuable part is lost) extended from the landing of Æneas to the death of Drusus in 745.

CHAPTER II.*

AUGUSTUS. (CONTINUED.)

A. U. 746-767. B. C. 8-A. D. 14.

TIBERIUS. — BANISHMENT OF JULIA. — GERMAN WARS OF TIBERIUS. — DEFEAT OF VARUS. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF AUGUSTUS. — FORM AND CONDITION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

TWENTY-ONE years had now elapsed since the return of Augustus, victorious over Antonius, and his assumption of the sole supreme authority in the state. In that period, death had deprived him of his nephew, his nobler stepson, and his two ablest and most attached friends. His hopes now rested on his two grandsons and adopted sons Caius and Lucius, and their posthumous brother, named Agrippa after their father; on Tiberius, and on the children of Drusus.

Caius was now (746) in his thirteenth year; his brother was three years younger. As they grew up, the characters which they displayed were such as caused pain to their grandfather. They were in fact *porphyrogeniti*, (the first that Rome had seen,†) and therefore were spoiled by public and private flattery, and displayed insolence and presumption in their conduct. Though Augustus was fully aware of the defects in the character of Tiberius, he could not avoid assigning him the place in the state for which his age, and his abilities and experience, qualified him. He had, therefore, on the death of Drusus, committed to him the conduct of the war in Germany; and, in 746 and the following year, the Roman legions were led by him over the Rhine, but no resistance was offered by the Germans. The next year, (748,) Augustus conferred on him the tribunitian power for a period of five years, and appointed him to go to regulate Armenia, where affairs were now in some disorder.‡

Tiberius, however, had resolved on retiring for a time from public life. The pretext under which he sought permission from Augustus, was a satiety of honors and a longing for

* Authorities same as for the preceding chapter.

† [That is, the first *princes-born*; having been born since the assumption of supreme authority by Augustus. — J. T. S.]

‡ Zonaras, x 35.

quiet and repose. What he afterwards assigned as the real cause was his wish not to appear to stand in the way of Caius and his brother, who were now growing up to man's estate.* The improper conduct of his wife, Julia, was also given as a reason for his retirement, or his expectation by absence to increase his authority in the state in case his presence should be again required: it was even said that he was banished by Augustus for conspiring against his sons. It was with great difficulty that he obtained permission from his mother and stepfather to put his design into execution. We are told that, to extort it, he menaced to starve himself, and actually abstained from food for four days. When he had thus drawn from them a reluctant consent, he went down privately with a very few attendants to Ostia, and, getting on board a vessel, proceeded along the coast of Campania. Hearing that Augustus was taken ill, he halted; but, finding that his so doing was imputed to a design of aiming at the empire in case of his death, he set sail, though the weather was not very favorable, and proceeded on his voyage to Rhodes.

He had selected this island for his retreat, having been pleased with its amenity and salubrity, when he visited it on his return from Armenia, in the year 735. He adopted a private mode of life, dwelling in a moderately-sized house, and living on terms of equality with the respectable inhabitants. He was visited in his retreat by all those who were going out as proconsuls or legates to Asia. When Caius Cæsar was sent out to regulate the affairs of Armenia, (753,) Tiberius passed over to Chios to wait on him. The young man showed him all marks of respect as his stepbrother and elder; but the insinuations of M. Lollius, whom Augustus had given him as a director, soon alienated his mind from Tiberius.

The period of his tribunitian power being now expired, Tiberius sought permission to return to Rome, avowing that his motive for quitting it had been the wish to avoid the suspicion of emulation with Caius and Lucius. As they were now grown up, and were able to maintain their station as the second persons in the state, his absence was no longer requisite, and he wished to be permitted to revisit his friends and relatives. He, however, received a positive refusal; and all his mother could obtain was his being named a legate, in order to cover his disgrace. He remained at Rhodes two years longer, when Caius, without whose approbation Augustus

* Suet. Tib. 10. Vell. Pat. ii. 99.

tus had determined to do nothing in his case, having quarrelled with Lollius, gave his consent to his recall. He was therefore permitted to return, but on the express condition of abstaining from public affairs, (755.)

During the absence of Tiberius from Rome, the dissolute conduct of his wife, Julia, after having long been generally known, had at length (752) reached the ears of her father. Julia had been unchaste even when the wife of the excellent Agrippa; some of the noblest men of Rome were among her paramours; and she had at length become so devoid of shame and prudence as to carouse and revel openly at night in the Forum, and even on the Rostra. Augustus had already had a suspicion that her mode of life was not quite correct; when now convinced of the full extent of her depravity, his anger knew no bounds. He communicated his domestic misfortune to the senate; he banished his dissolute daughter to the isle of Pandateria, on the coast of Campania, whither she was accompanied by her mother, Scribonia. He forbade her there the use of wine and of all delicacies in food or dress, and prohibited any person to visit her without his special permission. He caused a bill of divorce to be sent her in the name of her husband, Tiberius, of whose letters of intercession for her he took no heed. He constantly rejected all the solicitations of the people for her recall; and, when one time they were extremely urgent, he openly prayed that they might have wives and daughters like her.* At length, after a period of five years, he allowed her to remove to the town of Rhegium, on the continent, and made her treatment somewhat milder.

Among the adulterers of Julia was Julius Antonius, the son of the triumvir by Fulvia.† Augustus had treated him with the greatest kindness; he had given him in marriage the daughter of his sister Octavia, and had conferred on him all the honors and dignities of the state. His ingratitude was therefore without excuse, and he expiated his offence by a voluntary death.‡ Of the rest, such as Sempronius Gracchus, Quinctius Crispinus, and Appius Claudius, some were executed and others banished.

* Her freedwoman and confidant Phœbe having hung herself when the discovery was made, Augustus declared that he would sooner have been the father of Phœbe than of Julia.

† It was to him that Horace addressed the second ode of the 4th book of his Odes, probably in the year 739.

‡ Vell. Pat. ii. 100.

It was in his family and his domestic relations that Augustus was destined to feel the adverse strokes of fortune. In 755, his grandson Lucius fell sick on his way to Spain, and died at Massalia; and, eighteen months later, (757,) Caius breathed his last in Lycia, as he was on his return to Italy. Augustus had now only one grandson remaining, the posthumous child of Agrippa, of the same name with his father. He therefore adopted him and Tiberius on the same day, saying with regard to the latter, "This I do for the sake of the republic." He at the same time made Tiberius adopt Germanicus, the eldest son of his brother Drusus, although he had a son of his own by his first wife, also named Drusus.

Tiberius was invested with the tribunitian power for another period of five years, and was immediately despatched to assume the conduct of the German war, which had been going on for the last three years.* In his first campaign, he passed the Weser, and, having kept the field till the month of December, he placed his troops in winter quarters at the head of the Lippe, and returned himself to Rome. In the following campaign, (758,) having received the submission of the Chaucans and broken the power of the Langobards, who were regarded as the fiercest of the German tribes, he advanced to the banks of the Elbe; while his fleet, having safely circumnavigated the coast from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Elbe, joined the land army in this river, and aided its operations.

The plan of the campaign for the ensuing year (759) was a very extensive one. The people named Marcomans had quitted their original seats, and occupied the country named Bohemum, (*Bohemia*,) which lay in the heart of the great Hercynian forest. Their prince, named Maroboduus, was one of those men of superior talent, who have so often, among barbarous tribes, evinced the power of mental over corporeal qualities. He had established an undisputed authority over his own nation, and reduced all his neighbors to submission by arms or by persuasion. He maintained a disciplined army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse; and, as his southern frontier was little more than two hundred miles from the Alps, it was in his power suddenly to pour a large army even into Italy; and he was always ready to support revolt in the German or Illyrian provinces. Tiberius, a far-seeing statesman, resolved to anticipate the danger, and prepared to make a combined attack on the Marcoman prince. He therefore sent

orders to C. Sentius Saturninus to invade Bohemia in the north from the country of the Cattans, while he himself should enter it from the south with the army of Illyricum, which he had assembled for the purpose at Carnuntum, in Noricum.

But this extensive plan was frustrated by a formidable insurrection of the Dalmatians; for this people, who ill bore the weight of tribute imposed on them by the Romans, when they saw the troops that were in their country drawn away for the German war, and at the same time, in consequence of orders given them to prepare an auxiliary force, became aware of their own numbers and strength, at the impulsion of a Dalmatian named Bato, resolved to assert their independence. The Breucans, a Pannonian tribe, led by another Bato, joined them, and speedily all Pannonia shared in the revolt.

We should only weary the reader were we to enter into the details of this war, which lasted for the space of three years, employed fifteen legions and an equal number of auxiliaries, and was regarded as the most dangerous foreign war that had occurred since the days of Hannibal; for the seat of it was the confine of Italy; so that Augustus declared openly in the senate, that, if proper measures were not adopted, the enemy might come within view of the city on the tenth day. The Pannonians were also remarkably familiar with the language, arts, and knowledge of the Romans. The forces of the confederates were estimated at 200,000 foot and 9000 horse, under able and active leaders. In order to raise a force sufficient for the war, Augustus was obliged to call out all the veterans, to employ freedmen as soldiers, and to purchase for this purpose able-bodied slaves from their masters and mistresses. To add to his difficulties, Rome was at this time suffering severely from famine.

In the conduct of the war, Tiberius certainly proved himself to be an able general, and his adopted son Germanicus, to whom Augustus had given a command, laid the foundation of his future fame. The success of the war was complete, the whole country, from the Adriatic to the Danube, and from Noricum to Thrace and Macedonia, being reduced to complete submission, (762).*

* When Bato surrendered and appeared before the tribunal of Tiberius, the latter asked him why they had revolted. "Yourselves," replied he, "are the cause, for you send to your flocks, wolves, and not dogs or hee'smen." Dion, lv. 33; lvi. 16.

This dangerous war was hardly brought to a close, when intelligence arrived of a dreadful disaster which had befallen the Roman arms in Germany. Since the reduction of a part of the country beyond the Rhine, a military force had been maintained in it, and some forts were erected; the Germans were gradually adopting Roman manners, and accustoming themselves to Roman institutions. Had they been prudently managed, they might have been civilized and made useful subjects; but the present commander in Germany, P. Quinctilius Varus, who had been governor of Syria, and was therefore in the habit of meeting with a prompt obedience to all his commands, forgetting the difference between unwarlike Syrians and barbarous Germans, began to treat them with rigor, and to impose heavy taxes. Their native spirit was roused, and they secretly formed a plan for delivering themselves from the foreign yoke. Their principal leader was Arminius, (*Hermann*), son of Sigimer, a Cheruscan prince who had long served with the Roman armies, and had obtained the freedom of the city and the equestrian rank. The plan adopted being to lull Varus into security, they made a show of yielding the most cheerful obedience to all his commands, and thus induced him to quit the Rhine, and advance toward the Weser. Sigimer and Arminius were continually with him; and so completely had they won his confidence, that when Segestes, prince of the Chattans, had given him information of the plot, and advised him to seize himself Arminius and the other leaders, Varus refused to believe in it.

When all the necessary preparations had been made, some of the more distant tribes were directed to take up arms, in order that Varus might be attacked with more advantage when on his march to reduce them. Arminius and the others remained behind, under the pretext of raising troops with which they were to join him; and, as soon as he was gone, they fell on and slaughtered the various detachments, which, at their own particular desire, he had stationed in their country; then, collecting a large force, they followed and came up with the legions when in a place suited to their purpose.

The Roman army, consisting of three legions, with their requisite cavalry and auxiliaries, in all of upwards of 24,000 men, accompanied by women and children, by wagons and beasts of burden, was advancing without regular order, as in a friendly country. They had reached a place surround

ed by hills, and covered with marshes, and with trees, which they were obliged to cut down in order to effect a passage. The weather was tempestuous, and, in the midst of the wind and rain, while they were floundering in the mire, and impeded by the standing stumps and fallen trunks of the trees, they found themselves assailed on all sides by the Germans. After suffering much from their desultory assaults, they seized a dry spot, where they encamped for the night, having burnt or abandoned the greater part of their baggage. Next day they attempted to march through the woods; but the wind and rain still continued, and the persevering enemy gave them no rest. At length Varus and his principal officers, seeing no chance of escape, rather than be taken or slain by the barbarians, terminated their lives with their own hands. The soldiers now lost all courage: some imitated the act of their officers, others ceased to resist, and suffered themselves to be slain or taken; and, had not the barbarians fallen to plunder, not a man had escaped captivity or death. The legate Numonius Vala* broke away with the greater part of the horse, and made for the Rhine.

When intelligence of this calamity arrived at Rome, the consternation which prevailed was extreme. Since the days of Crassus, no such misfortune had befallen the Roman arms. It was feared that the victorious Germans would invade Gaul, and even push on for Italy and Rome itself, and there was no army of either citizens or allies on foot to resist them. Augustus shared in the general alarm. He rent his raiment in grief; he vowed (what had only been done in the Cimbric and Marsic wars) great games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, if the state should return to a safer condition; † he doubled the guards in the city, and prolonged the command of the governors of the provinces. Finding that none of the men of the military age came forward to enroll themselves, he made them cast lots; and of those under five-and-thirty every fifth, of those over that age every tenth man, was to lose his property and to be infamous. Yet so degenerate were the Romans become, that even this

* This is probably the person to whom the fifteenth epistle of the 1st book of Horace's Epistles is addressed.

† Any one acquainted with the character of Augustus will not easily believe, that, according to the report (*ferunt*) mentioned by Suetonius, (Oct. 23,) and Dion, (lvi. 23,) he let his hair and beard grow for several months, and used to dash his head against the doors, crying, "Quintilius Varus, give back the legions." Augustus, we may observe, was at this time upwards of seventy years of age.

severe measure failed to fill the ranks, and Augustus found it necessary to put some of them to death. He finally took the veterans by lot, and as many freedmen as he could collect, and, having thus formed an army, he sent Tiberius in all haste with it to Germany. At the same time, he ordered all the Gauls and Germans at Rome to quit the city, and he removed his German guards to some of the islands off the coast, lest they should revolt.* Tiberius led his army over the Rhine, (763,) but met with no enemies. In the following year, he and Germanicus again appeared in Germany, but, as before, no opportunity was given for fighting. In 765, Tiberius, with the permission of Augustus, triumphed in the usual manner for the Pannonian war.

The domestic events of late years had not been numerous. Augustus still was doomed to suffer in his own family. His granddaughter Julia, whom he had married to L. Æmilius Paulus, imitated the profligacy of her mother, and he found it necessary to banish her. Her brother, the young Agrippa, proved of so violent and dangerous a temper, that Augustus, having at first renounced him and placed him in retirement at Surrentum, at length, finding him growing worse every day, had him removed to the isle of Planesia, near Corsica, and a guard of soldiers set over him.

The life of Augustus still continued to be menaced by conspiracies. In 757, one was discovered, in which the person chiefly concerned was L. Cornelius Cinna, the grandson of Pompeius Magnus, and of the dictator Sulla. Augustus was long in doubt how to act, for experience had shown him that the execution of those engaged in one plot did not prevent the formation of another. He was finally induced by the arguments of his wife, Livia, to try the effects of lenity. He called the conspirators before him, and, after remonstrating with them, pardoned and dismissed them; and he even made Cinna consul for the following year. The effect of such generosity on the minds of them and others was such, that no plots were formed against him during the remaining years of his life.†

* He had had Spanish guards till after the battle of Actium: he then employed Germans. Suet. Oct. 49.

† Dion, iv. 14—22. Seneca de Clem. i. 9. Suetonius (Oct. 19) mentions various persons who had conspired against Augustus, but without giving the dates of their attempts. Such were those of M. Egnatius Rufus, (see Dion, liii. 24,) of Plautius Rufus, and L. Paulus, of Asinius, and of Audasius, a forger, Epicadius, a Parthian hybrid,

The year after the triumph of Tiberius, Augustus received the supreme power for a fifth period of ten years. He then invested Tiberius anew with the tribunitian power, and he took a census of the people for the third time. In the following year, (767,) having sent Germanicus to command in Germany, he proposed sending Tiberius to regulate the affairs of Illyricum, intending to dismiss him at Beneventum, after they should have assisted at the gymnastic games, celebrated every fifth year in his honor by the people of Neapolis. He proceeded by land as far as Astura, and, contrary to his usual habit, he left that place in his litter by night for the sake of the cool air. He was, in consequence, attacked by a complaint in his bowels; but he did not heed it. He went on shipboard, and sailed leisurely along the coast of Campania. He spent four days in the isle of Capræ, passed then over to Neapolis, and viewed the games. He thence proceeded to Beneventum, where he dismissed Tiberius, and then returned to Nola, growing every day worse and worse. Messengers were sent to recall Tiberius, with whom he is said to have held a long private conference, after which he spoke no more of public affairs.* On the day of his death, he called for a mirror, and had his hair arranged and his cheeks plumped out. He asked those present if they thought that he had played his part well in the drama of life, adding the formula in which actors at the conclusion besought the applause of the audience. He then dismissed them; and, as he was inquiring, of some who were just come from Rome, after the health of one of Drusus's daughters who was sick, he breathed his last in the arms of Livia, saying, "Livia, live mindful of our marriage, and farewell!" † The chamber in which he expired, it may be ob-

and of Telephus, a slave. It was the plan of Audasius and Epicadius to release Julia and Agrippa, and take them to the armies, and to attack Augustus and the senate.

* Vell. Pat. ii. 123. Suet. Oct. 98. Tib. 21. Dion (lvi. 31) says that the more general and credible account was, that he died before the arrival of Tiberius, but that Livia kept his death secret. Tacitus (Ann. i. 5) leaves the matter uncertain.

† Livia was accused of poisoning him (Dio i. lvi. 30; Tac. Ann. i. 5) by means of some fresh figs which he gathered with his own hand off the tree, but which she had previously anointed. This, by the way, was odd diet for a man with a bowel complaint. The reason assigned was, that Augustus had some months before gone secretly to Planesia to see Agrippa. We consider charges of this nature to be entitled to little credit.

served, was that in which his father had died seventy-two years before.

Augustus died on the afternoon of the 19th of August. He wanted little more than a month of completing his seventy-sixth year. Computing from the battle of Actium, he had exercised the supreme authority in the Roman world for a space of forty-four years.* In person Augustus was below the middle size; his countenance was at all times remarkably serene and tranquil, and his eyes had a peculiar brilliancy. He was careless of his appearance, and plain and simple in his mode of living, using only the most ordinary food, and wearing no clothes but what were woven and made by his wife, sister, and daughters. In all his domestic relations he was kind and affectionate; he was a mild and indulgent master, and an attached and constant friend. He was fond of witnessing the sports of the Circus and other public shows, though it may be that he only sought thus to increase his popularity. He also took pleasure in playing at dice, but not for gain, as he did not exact his winnings. The heaviest charge made against him is his incontinence; but, as we have above observed, this is evidently greatly exaggerated.

In his public character, as the sovereign of the Roman empire, few princes will be found more deserving of praise than Augustus. He cannot be justly charged with a single cruel, or even harsh action, in the course of a period of forty-four years. On the contrary, he seems in every act to have had the welfare of the people at heart. In return, never was prince more entirely beloved by all orders of his subjects; and the title, Father of his Country, so spontaneously bestowed on him, is but one among many proofs of the sincerity of their affection.

Nothing, however, is more common with modern writers, than to treat Augustus as a tyrant † who had destroyed lib-

* Exactly 44 years minus 14 days. The reign of Augustus is also computed by some from the death of Cæsar in 710, = 57^y 5^m 4^d; by others from his first consulate in 711, = 56^y; or from the triumvirate in 712, = 55^y 8^m 23^d; or, finally, from his entrance into Alexandria in 724, = 43^y 10^d. See Clinton *ad A. D.* 14.

† Montesquieu (*Considerations, &c.* ch. 13) terms him a *rusé tyran*. In a note he says that he uses the word *tyran* in its Greek and Latin sense, signifying one who had overturned a democracy. The employment of the term, when thus explained, is not very objectionable. Gibbon (ch. iii.) calls Augustus a *crafty tyrant*, without any limitation of the term.

erty, and had raised his own power on the servitude of his country. But liberty had vanished from Rome long before his time, and surely no friend of mankind would prefer the preceding anarchy to the peace and tranquillity which he introduced and maintained. It was the evil destiny of Rome, not the fault of Augustus, that his successors did not resemble himself; it was necessity, not choice, that made him raise Tiberius to the second place in the state and his evident desire that his own place should be filled by the noble Agrippa, vouches for his love of his country. In fine, we recognize in Augustus a man of consummate prudence,* and of a temperament naturally mild and moderate, raised by the force of circumstances to supreme power, and exercising it for the advantage of those over whom he ruled.

The Roman empire, as modelled by Augustus, presented the following appearance:—

Augustus himself was at its head, but not in the manner of emperors and kings of ancient or modern times. He was surrounded by no pomp; no guards attended him; no officers of the household were to be seen in his modest dwelling; he lived on terms of familiarity with his friends; he appeared, like any other citizen, as a witness in courts of justice, and in the senate gave his vote as an ordinary member. His power arose from the union in his person of all the high and important offices of the state. As High Pontiff, he had the greatest authority in affairs of religion, and as Censor, the right to regulate the morals of all orders of the people. By possessing the consular power for life, he enjoyed the supreme authority, civil, judicial, and military; and the tribunitian power, with which he was also invested, being in its nature the constitutional check on that of the consuls, his authority was thus without legal control. His titles were, First of the Senate, (*Princeps Senatus*,†) which was his favorite one; Augustus and General, (*Imperator*;) that of Master, (*Dominus*,) when offered to him, he always rejected with indignation. Cæsar was merely his family name.

It may have been that Augustus saw the importance of a respectable aristocracy in a monarchy; but it is more prob-

* As a general, too, he was extremely cautious. A battle, he said, should never be fought, unless the hope of advantage was visibly greater than the fear of loss. The contrary conduct he compared to that of a man who should angle with gold hooks. Suet. Oct. 25.

† Hence the modern term *prince*.

able that he was under the influence of the love of conservation of ancient institutions, so strong in the character of every Roman. At all events, he knew that, if a senate was to remain a part of the constitution, it was necessary that its members should possess both character and property. Hence, as we have seen, he twice purged the senate,* and, though he did not reduce it as low as he designed, he brought it down to little more than one half of its number at the time when he obtained the sole power, and he raised the qualification for a seat in the house to 1200 sesteria.† He required the senate to meet only on the Kalends and Ides of each month, and he excused their attendance entirely in the sickly months of September and October, excepting a committee chosen by lot, in order to make the requisite decrees. To give greater solemnity to their acts, he directed that each member, before taking his place, should offer wine and incense on the altar of the deity in whose temple the senate sat. The first row of seats at every public show was ordered to be reserved for the senators. Their sons were also allowed to wear the *laticlave*, or senatorian dress, and to be present at the sittings of the senate; and when they entered the army, they were made at once, not merely tribunes of the legions, but colonels of horse, (*præfecti alarum*.) The senatorian order thus assumed the form of a body of nobility, in the modern sense of the term; the senate formed a council of state, a high court of justice, and a legislative assembly, in some points resembling the British house of lords, in others the French chamber of peers. In order to give a share of the honors and emoluments of the state to as many of the two higher orders as possible, he devised a great number of new offices; he increased the number of the prætors, and he introduced the practice of making *suffect* consuls, i. e. consuls in addition to the ordinary ones of the year. ‡

The populace at Rome, in consequence of the civil wars,

* He made a trifling purgation in 757, (Dion, liv. 13.) Perhaps this was the occasion of the conspiracy of Cinna in that year. When selecting the senate in 736, he wore, it was said, his sword, and had a corselet under his tunic, and ten of the most able-bodied of his friends stood round his seat, and, according to Cremutius Cordus, no senator was admitted until he had been searched, (Suet. 35.) At this time many plots were said to be formed against him and Agrippa. Dion, liv. 15.

† Suet. Oct. 41.

‡ This was afterwards carried to so great an extent, that in the reign of Commodus there were 25 consuls in one year.

and of its degradation by the enfranchisement of numerous slaves, no longer bore a resemblance to the commonalty of the better days of the republic. It was factious and turbulent, and at the same time mean and servile. A body of disciplined troops was therefore always at hand to repress its excesses, and Augustus sought at the same time to keep it in good temper by gifts and entertainments. The greatest care was taken that the supply of corn from the provinces should be regular and abundant. In times of scarcity Augustus gave corn *gratis*, or at a very low price, to the people; he also frequently made distributions of money (*congiaria*) among them; and in the Forum, the Circus, the Amphitheatre, the Septa, and other public places, he entertained them with shows of all kinds. Sometimes they were assembled to witness the bloody combats of gladiators, or the less cruel contests of wrestlers; at others they were amused with chariot or foot races, or the hunting and slaughter of wild beasts fetched from various parts of the empire — even the crocodiles of the Nile being brought to Rome to gratify the populace with the sight of their expiring agonies. On one occasion, a large lake was dug in the Field of Mars, for the exhibition of a naval combat. At the same time, Augustus endeavored to purify and elevate the character of the people of Rome, by throwing difficulties in the way of manumission, and by granting citizenship very sparingly to strangers.*

To adorn and improve the city was another great object with Augustus, and he effected so much by his own exertions and the coöperation of his friends, that when dying he could boast that he had found the city built of brick, and left it built of marble.† Thus he built (726) a temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with a portico and a library; and a temple of Jupiter Tonans on the capitol. He also made a new Forum with a temple in it of Mars Ultor. Others of his works bore the names of his wife and the other members of his family. Such were the portico of Livia and that of Octavia, the theatre of Marcellus, and the portico and basili-

* Suet. Oct. 40. [The idea of "purifying and elevating their character" by such exclusive and ungenerous means as these, while their lowest propensities were daily fed and nourished by brutal combats such as have been named, savors somewhat of a *satire* on all that is truly pure, and lofty, and noble, in the character of a people. — J. T. S.]

† *Id. ib.* 28. Dion, lvi. 30. [This was a somewhat more effectual means of elevating their character. It was, at any rate, refining their taste, which is a great step towards elevating character. — J. T. S.]

ca of Caius and Lucius. Tiberius built the temples of Concord and of Castor and Pollux; Marcius Philippus that of Hercules of the Muses; Munatius Plancus that of Saturn; L. Cornificius that of Diana. Asinius Pollio built the hall or court (*atrium*) of Liberty, and Statilius Taurus a magnificent amphitheatre. The works of Agrippa have been already enumerated.

To secure the city against inundations, Augustus cleared out and widened the bed of the Tiber. He first divided the city into wards or quarters, (*regiones*,) fourteen in number, and subdivided into streets, (*vici*,) with officers over them, chosen out of the inhabitants by lot. He established a body of watchmen and firemen to prevent the conflagrations which were so frequent. He caused all the great public roads to be repaired and kept in order. As the confusion and license of the civil wars had, as is usually the case, given origin to illegal associations, and to the formation of bands of robbers, (*grassatores*,) he took every care to suppress them. He therefore, as his uncle had done, dissolved all guilds but the ancient ones, and he disposed guards in proper stations for the prevention of highway robbery. He caused all the slave-houses (*ergastula*) throughout Italy to be visited and examined, it having been the practice to kidnap travellers, (freemen and slaves alike,) and shut them up and make them work in these prisons. In order to facilitate the administration of justice, he added upwards of thirty days to the ordinary court-days, and he increased the number of the decuries of jurors, and reduced the legal age of jurymen from five-and-twenty to twenty years. He himself sat constantly to hear causes and administer justice.

Every wise sovereign will be desirous to see a proper sense of religion prevalent among his subjects. Augustus accordingly turned his serious attention to this important subject. He rebuilt or repaired the temples which had been burnt or had fallen; he reestablished and reformed various ancient institutions which had gone out of use, such as the augury of health, the *flamen dialis*, the secular games, the Lupercal rites, &c. He increased the number and the honors and privileges of the priesthoods, particularly that of the Vestal Virgins; he caused all the soothsaying books which were current, to the number of upwards of two thousand, to be collected and burnt, only retaining the Sibylline oracles,*

* [For an excellent account of the Sibylline oracles, see Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, under the year 13. — J. T. S.]

which he had carefully revised and placed in two cases under the statue of the Palatine Apollo. His efforts, however, remained without effect; infidelity and its constant concomitant, immorality, were spread too widely for him or any human legislator to be able to check them, and the polytheism of Greece and Rome was destined to fall before a far purer system of faith and doctrine.

We have already spoken of the exertions made by Augustus to overcome the prevalent aversion to marriage. The principal cause of this was the extreme dissoluteness of manners at the time, exceeding any thing known in modern days; but poverty prevented many a man of noble birth from undertaking the charge of supporting a wife and family, and the court which was paid by greedy legacy-hunters to the rich and childless* had charms for many of both sexes. The promotion of marriage had always been an object of attention with the Roman government. One of the questions invariably put to each person by the censors was, whether he was married or not; and there was a fine, named *uxorium*, laid on old bachelors. Cæsar the dictator had sought to encourage marriage by offering rewards; but the first law on the subject was the Julian *De maritandis ordinibus* of 736, and, this having proved ineffectual, a new and more comprehensive law, embracing all the provisions of the Julian, and named the "Papia-Poppæan," (from the consuls M. Papianus and Q. Poppæus,) was passed in the year 762.†

The principal heads of this law were, 1. All persons except senators might marry freedwomen. 2. No maiden was to be betrothed under the age of ten years. 3. Widows were allowed to remain single two years, divorced women a year and a half, before contracting a second marriage. 4. Those who had children were to have various honors and advantages, such as better seats at the public spectacles, the preference when candidates for honors and in the allotment of the provinces, immunity from guardianship and other personal burdens, etc. etc. 5. Bachelors could receive no legacies except from their nearest relations, and the childless only the half of what was left them. 6. A woman whose guilt was the cause of a divorce was to lose her dower.

The evil, however, was too deeply seated to be eradicated by law, and it still remained a subject of complaint. Of as

* See Horace, Sat. ii. 5.

† See Dion, lvi. 1—10. He remarks that neither of the consuls had wife or child.

little avail was the sumptuary law which he caused to be enacted; he even failed in his desire to bring the *toga* again into general use.*

Such were the principal civil regulations made during the reign of Augustus. The changes in the military system were also considerable.

In Rome, as in all the ancient republics, the army had been nothing more than a burgher militia, in which every freeman of the military age was required to serve when called on. The long foreign wars, however, in which Rome was afterwards engaged, gradually converted the original militia into a standing army, and war became a profession, as in modern times. The character of the soldier had also deteriorated since the change in the mode of enlistment made by C. Marius; and the Roman soldiery, further demoralized by the various civil wars, stood no higher in moral worth than the mercenary troops of modern Europe. The extent of the Roman empire, with warlike nations on its frontiers, could only be guarded by a regular standing army, disciplined and always in readiness to take the field. Accordingly, in the speech which Dion ascribes to Mæcenas, we find that statesman thus advising Augustus: † “The soldiers must be kept up, immortal, citizens, subjects, and allies, in some places more, in some less; through each nation as need may require, and be always in arms, and always engaged in military exercises; having their winter quarters in the most suitable places, and serving for a limited period, so as to have some part of their life to themselves before old age. For, living so far away from the frontiers of the empire, and having enemies dwelling on every side of us, we could not have troops ready for any sudden emergency; but if we allow all who are of the suitable age, to possess arms and to practise military exercises, they will be always raising factions and civil wars; and again, if we prohibit them to do so, and then call upon them to serve on any occasion, we shall run the risk of having none but raw and undisciplined troops. I there-

* The *lacerna*, a kind of military great-coat of a dark color and with a hood to it, was generally worn instead of the *toga*. Augustus one day seeing, as he sat on his tribunal in the Forum, a number of the people thus habited, cried out in indignation: “En

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam,”

and gave orders to the ædiles henceforth not to admit any one without a *toga* into the Forum or Circus. Suet. Oct. 40.

† Dion, lii. 27.

fore give it as my opinion that all the rest should live without arms or camps, while the most able-bodied and necessitous should be selected and disciplined; for these will fight the better, having nothing else to occupy them; and the others can devote themselves more entirely to agriculture, navigation, and the other arts of peace, not being called on to serve personally, and having others to protect them; and that portion of the population which is the strongest and most vigorous, and the most likely to live by robbery, will be supported at its ease, and all the rest will live free from danger."

It was therefore determined that the legions should be *immortal*, i. e. that the army should henceforth be a standing one. The legions were to be twenty-five in number, which we find thus stationed at the time of Augustus's death: *—On the Rhenish frontier eight; in Spain three; in Africa one; in Egypt two; in Syria four; in Pannonia three; in Mæsia two, and two more in Dalmatia for the protection of Italy. Attached to each of these divisions was a body of troops termed auxiliaries, furnished by the different states subject to, or in alliance with the empire; and, as in the old days of the republic, their number nearly equalled that of the legions.† The legion at this time contained 6100 infantry and 726 horse; the twenty-five legions, therefore, mustered, when complete, 170,000 men; to which adding as many more for the auxiliaries, we have a sum total of 340,000 men. These, however, did not form the whole military force of the empire; there was a body of 10,000 guards, divided into nine cohorts, named Prætorian, and three Urban cohorts, containing 6000 men.‡ These two last bodies were always recruited in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and the ancient Roman colonies. They had double pay, and their period of service was shorter than that of the legionaries. Augustus allowed only three of the cohorts to remain in the city; the rest were distributed through the towns in the vicinity.§ There were two commanders of the

* Dion, iv. 23. Tac. Ann. iv. 5. It is for the ninth year of Tiberius that this last furnishes us with the distribution of the legions given in the text; but there had been no alteration of any account since the time of Augustus.

† "Neque multo secus in iis virium." Tac. Ann. iv. 5.

‡ Tac. *ut supra*. Dion (iv. 24) says 10 Prætorian and 4 Urban cohorts.

§ Suet. Oct. 49; the three would seem to be the Urban cohorts, thus confirming the numbers given by Tacitus.

Prætorian guards named prefects; they were always to be taken from the equestrian order. At Ravenna in the Upper, and Misenum in the Lower Sea, were stationed fleets of galleys, with their due complement of rowers, and each with its legion of marines attached to it; there also lay at Forum Julii, (*Frejus*,) on the coast of Gaul, a fleet composed of the ships taken at Actium.*

The pay of the legionary soldier was ten *asses* a day; that of the prætorian was double; the former had to serve twenty, the latter sixteen years before he could claim his discharge. The former then received a gratuity of 3000, the latter of 5000 denars, answering to the pension of modern times.

The pay and rewards of so large an army, the salaries of the numerous public officers, and the other indispensable expenses of government, required a considerable revenue. From the time when Æmilius Paulus brought the treasures of Perseus to Rome, the citizens had been free from the payment of the annual tributes or direct taxes hitherto levied, and so often, in the early days of the republic, the cause of seditions. An annual tribute was imposed on every conquered state; and as the tide of conquest rolled eastwards and westwards, a larger amount of revenue flowed annually to Rome. In the time of Augustus, the annual tributes of Asia, Egypt, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, produced a sum which has been estimated at from fifteen to twenty millions sterling.† Yet even this large revenue did not suffice for the exigencies of the state, and Augustus found it necessary not merely to continue the port duties, (*portoria*,) or customs which had been imposed by the dictator, but to establish an excise, and to lay on some direct taxes.

In all commercial states, at all ages of the world, duties have been levied on imported foreign commodities; they originated, probably, in the mistaken idea, that it was on the foreign merchant, and not on the domestic consumer, that they fell. They were levied at Rome as elsewhere till the

* Tac. Ann. iv. 5. Suet. Oct. 49. Vegetius, v. 1.

† Gibbon, i. ch. vi. [This sum is just equal to the annual expenditure of the British government at present, though the British dominions are far more extensive than those of Rome in her most powerful days, and though that expenditure is commonly, and not unjustly, considered to be on a very lavish scale. How wasteful, then, must have been the expenditure of Rome, for which even this sum did not suffice! — J. T. S.]

end of the Mithridatic war, when they were abolished; but Julius Cæsar caused them to be again collected.* They were levied *ad valorem* by Augustus, and varied from twelve and a half to two and a half per cent.; articles of luxury, such as the precious stones, silks, and spices, of the East, being, of course, the most highly taxed. The excise was imposed by Augustus chiefly with the view of providing a fund for the payment of the troops; it was a duty of one per cent. (*centesima*) levied on all articles, great and small, sold in the markets or by auction at Rome or throughout Italy. This not proving sufficient, he imposed (759) a duty of five per cent. on all legacies and inheritances, except in the case of the poor, or of very near relations.† This equitable tax, however, proving very odious to the legacy-hunting nobility of Rome, in order to stop their murmurs, he sent (766) to the senate, requesting them to suggest some less onerous imposition to the same amount; and when they could not, yet declared that they would pay any thing rather than it, he substituted a property tax, and sent out officers to make an estimate of the property in lands, houses, etc., throughout Italy. This brought them to reason, and there was no further opposition to the legacy duty.‡

The treasury of the prince, whence the pay of the army was to issue, was named the *Fisc*, (*Fiscus*.) and was distinct from the public treasury, (*Ararium*.) and managed by different officers; but the distinction was more apparent than real, as both were equally at the devotion of the master of the legions.

Such was the form of the Roman empire, as reduced into order, and regulated by the wisdom and prudence of Augustus. While the civilized world thus formed one body, ruled by one mind, it pleased the Ruler of the universe to send his Son into it, as the teacher of a religion unrivalled in sublimity, purity, and beneficence, and which was gradually to spread to the remotest ends of the earth. In the year of Rome 752 by the Catonian, 754 by the Varronian computation, Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judæa.§

* Cic. Att. ii. 16. Dion, xxxvii. 51. Suet. Jul. 43.

† Dion, lv. 25.

‡ Dion, lvi. 23.

§ We shall henceforth reckon by the Christian era.

CHAPTER III.*

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO CÆSAR.

A. U. 767—790. A. D. 14—37.

FUNERAL OF AUGUSTUS. — MUTINY OF THE LEGIONS. — VICTORIES OF GERMANICUS. — HIS DEATH. — CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS. — RISE AND FALL OF SEJANUS. — DEATH OF AGRIPPINA AND HER CHILDREN. — DEATH OF TIBERIUS.

THE death of Augustus was kept secret by Livia and Tiberius till the danger of a disputed succession should be removed by the death of Agrippa Posthumus. Orders in the name of Augustus were therefore sent to the officer who had him in charge, to put him to death. The orders were forthwith executed; but when the centurion, who was the agent, made his report to Tiberius, according to the usual custom, the latter made answer that *he* had not ordered it, and that the centurion must account to the senate for it. The matter, however, ended there, for no inquiry was ever instituted.

When the death of Augustus was at length made known at Rome, the senate, the knights, the army, and the people, hastened to swear obedience to Tiberius, who had already assumed the command of the army as *Imperator*. The body of Augustus was conveyed by night from town to town by the *decurions* or councilmen of each. At Bovillæ it was met by the Roman knights, who carried it into the city, and deposited it in the vestibule of his house on the Palatine. Tiberius, by virtue of his tribunitian authority, convoked the senate to consult about the funeral and the honors to be decreed to the deceased. These, had the real or pretended wishes of the senate prevailed, would have been excessive; but Tiberius set a limit to their adulation, and only consented that the senators should carry the body to the pyre. The will of Augustus, which was in the custody of the Vestals, was then produced and read. The funeral orations were pronounced by Tiberius himself and his son Drusus. The body was borne on the shoulders of the senate to the Campus Martius, and there burnt; the ashes were collected

* Authorities: Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion.

by the principal men of the equestrian order, and deposited in the Mausoleum, which he had built in his sixth consulate, (726,) between the Flaminian road and the Tiber, and surrounded with plantations and public walks. An eagle had been let to ascend from the flaming pyre, as the bearer of the soul of the deceased to heaven; and Numinius Atticus, a man of prætorian rank, swore publicly that he saw Augustus mounting to the skies; for which falsehood Livia gratified him with a gift of 25,000 denars. A *Heroum* was therefore decreed to be raised to Augustus, as to one who had not shared the fate of ordinary mortals, but, like Hercules or Romulus, was become a god.

By his last will, Augustus had made Tiberius and Livia (whom he had placed in the Julian family, and named Augusta) his heirs, the former of two thirds, the latter of one third, of the property which would remain after payment of the numerous legacies which he left. He bequeathed a sum of 43,500,000 sesterces to the Roman people; to the Prætorians 1000 sesterces each; half that sum to each of the Urbans, and 300 to each of the legionaries. He also bequeathed various sums to his friends. He expressly forbade either of the Julias to be laid in his monument when they died. Beside his will, Augustus left three pieces in writing, the one containing the directions about his funeral, another an account of his actions, which he directed to be cut on brazen tables, and set up before his Mausoleum, and a third giving a view of the condition of the whole empire, the number of soldiers under arms, the quantity of money in the treasury and fisc, or elsewhere, adding the names of the freedmen and slaves who might be called on to account for it.

The man into whose hands the supreme power was now transferred, was in character diametrically opposite to Augustus. Tiberius Claudius Nero, who was by adoption a member of the Julian house, was nearly fifty-four years of age. He had exercised all the principal offices in the state, and had commanded armies with reputation. He was fond of literature and science, and of the society of learned men; but he had all the innate haughtiness of the Cláudian family; he was suspected of an inclination to cruelty; yet so profound was his power of dissimulation, that he had attained to that mature age without his character being generally understood.*

* In his first campaigns, the soldiers, noticing his love of wine, called him *Biberius Caldius Mero*. Suet. Tib. 42.

His manners and carriage were repulsive and forbidding, he was generally silent, and did not unbend and decline into familiarity.

When all due honors had been decreed to Augustus, the senate turned to Tiberius, imploring him to assume the supreme power; but he feigned reluctance, spoke of the difficulty of the task, and his own incompetence, saying that, in a state possessing so many illustrious men, such power should not be committed to any single person. This only caused them to urge him the more; they called on the gods and on the statue of Augustus: Tiberius marked the words of each, and for some incautious speakers he laid up future vengeance. At length, yielding as it were to compulsion, he accepted the wretched and onerous servitude, as he termed it, until the senate should see fit to grant some repose to his old age.

In this affected reluctance, Tiberius, no doubt, was acting according to his natural character of dissimulation, and seeking to learn the real sentiments of the leading senators; but he had other reasons and causes of apprehension. He was uncertain how the two great armies, which were stationed in Pannonia and Germany, would act when they heard of the death of Augustus; and he feared lest Germanicus, who commanded the latter, and who was universally beloved, might choose to grasp the supreme power when within his reach, rather than wait for it to come to him by the more tedious course of succession. He did, however, the noble Germanicus injustice; but his suspicions of the legions were not unfounded, for they broke out into mutiny when intelligence reached them of the late events.

The mutiny commenced in the Pannonian army of three legions under the command of Junius Blæsus. The soldiers complained of the smallness of their pay and the length of their service, and demanded to be placed on an equality in both these points with the Prætorians. Blæsus having succeeded, in some measure, in calming them, they selected his own son as their deputy; to lay their grievances before Tiberius; but when he was gone, the mutiny broke out anew, and they killed one of their officers, drove the rest out of the camp, and plundered their baggage. When Tiberius heard of the mutiny, he sent off his son Drusus with a guard of the Prætorians, and bearing letters to the troops, in which he promised to lay their grievances before the senate, adding that Drusus was authorized to concede at once all that could be granted without a decree of the senate.

The soldiers received and listened to Drusus with respect; but when they found that he had not in fact the power to grant any of their demands, they quitted his tribunal in anger. The greatest apprehensions were entertained that they would break out into violence during the night; but an unexpected event altered the whole course of affairs. The moon, which was shining at the full in an unclouded sky, was suddenly observed to grow dim. The ignorant, superstitious soldiers, viewing this as ominous of their own condition, clashed their arms and sounded their horns and trumpets, to relieve the labor of the goddess of the night; and as she still grew darker, they gave way to despair, saying that the gods had declared against them, and that their toils were to have no end. The officers, who had influence with them, took advantage of this disposition, and went about all the night long reasoning with and persuading them. In the morning, Drusus again addressed them, and Blæsus and two other deputies were sent to Tiberius. Meantime Drusus caused some of the most mutinous to be executed. A premature winter, with violent rain and storm, increased the superstitious terrors of the soldiery, and the legions gradually returned to their obedience without even waiting for the answer of Tiberius.

The mutiny which broke out at the same time in the German army was still more formidable. This army, consisting of two divisions of four legions each, was quartered in the Upper and Lower Germany; the former commanded by C. Silius, the latter by A. Cæcina. The commander-in-chief was Germanicus, who was at this time absent, being engaged in taking a census of Gaul. The mutiny commenced in the camp of Cæcina; the complaints were the same as those of the Pannonian legions, but the soldiers showed themselves more determined and ferocious. They seized their centurions, threw them on the ground, beat them nearly to death, and then cast them out of the camp or into the Rhine; they refused all obedience to their superior officers; they set the guards themselves, and performed all the necessary military duties.

Germanicus hastened to the camp; the soldiers came forth to meet him with all tokens of respect. He entered and ascended his tribunal; they stood round in their companies. He addressed them; they listened in silence, while he spoke in praise of Augustus and Tiberius, and extolled their own exploits. But, when he began to touch on their late con-

duct, they stripped their bodies, showing the scars of wounds and the marks of blows; they enumerated the laborious tasks they had to perform; the veterans counted up the thirty and more campaigns that they had served. Some called for the money bequeathed to them by Augustus, and expressed their wishes for Germanicus himself to assume the supreme power. At these words, he sprang down from the tribunal; they opposed his departure with menaces; he drew his sword, and was about to plunge it into his bosom, but those near him caught his hand. Some of the more distant, however, called out to him to strike; and one soldier had the audacity to offer him his sword, saying that it was sharper than his own. The rest were appalled at this daring act, and paused; and his friends then got Germanicus into his tent. He there deliberated on the state of affairs; and, as it was known that the mutineers were about to send deputies to solicit the legions in Upper Germany, and that the Germans would probably take advantage of the mutiny to cross the Rhine, it was resolved to try to appease them. A letter was therefore written, in the name of Tiberius, giving a total discharge to those who had served twenty, and a partial one to those who had served sixteen campaigns; and adding, that they should receive double the sum left them by Augustus. As two of the legions insisted on being paid their money down, Germanicus and his friends had to supply it from their own private funds.

Germanicus then proceeded to the army of Upper Germany, in which the spirit of mutiny had been very slight; and, though the soldiers did not ask for them, he gave discharges and money as to the other army. On his return to the place named The Ubians' Altar, (*Bonn*,) where two of the lately mutinous legions were quartered, he met a deputation from the senate, headed by Munatius Plancus. The soldiers, conscious of guilt, began to fear that they were the bearers of a decree for annulling the concessions which they had extorted by their mutiny; they again broke into a tumult; they assailed the gate of Germanicus's dwelling in the night, and forced him to get up and deliver to them a standard which they demanded.* The deputies (especially Plancus, whom they fancied to have been the proposer of the obnoxious decree) narrowly escaped with their lives. In the

* Tac. Ann. i. 39. Lipsius thinks it was the red flag which used to be hung out over the general's tent as the signal for battle.

morning, Germanicus remonstrated with them on their conduct, but they listened in sullen silence. He then dismissed the deputies with an escort of horse of the allies; and, on his friends representing to him the imprudence of allowing his wife and young son to remain in a place of so much danger, he resolved to send them to the Trevirians for security.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was the daughter of Agrippa and Julia; she was a woman of a high spirit, devotedly attached to her husband, and of unsullied chastity; and she was now far advanced in pregnancy. Her young son, Caius, had been reared in the camp, and been given by the soldiers the name of Caligula, from his being made to wear the military shoes, which were so called. When, therefore, the soldiers saw the wife and child of their general, accompanied by the wives of his friends, all weeping and lamenting, about to quit a Roman camp in order to seek the protection of provincials, they were filled with grief and shame, and more especially with envy of the Trevirians. Some stopped them, and insisted on their remaining, while others crowded round Germanicus, who now rebuked them severely for their conduct. They acknowledged their fault, besought him to punish the guilty, to forgive the misguided, to lead them against the enemy, but to bring back his wife and child, and not deliver the nursling of the legions as a hostage to Gauls. He consented to the return of his son, but excused that of his wife, on account of her pregnancy and the approach of the winter. The soldiers were contented: they forthwith seized the ringleaders of the mutiny, and dragged them, bound, before C. Cæronius, the legate of the first legion. They then stood with their swords drawn: each of the prisoners was placed on a bank of earth before the tribunal: if the soldiers cried out, "Guilty," he was thrown down, and they despatched him. Germanicus finally made an inquiry into the conduct of the centurions, and dismissed the service all who were proved guilty of avarice or cruelty.

Order being thus restored in these two legions, Germanicus made preparations for conducting a body of the allies against the other two legions, who had begun the mutiny, and were now lying at the Old Camp, (*Vetera Castra* 'Santen.'). He wrote, however, previously, to Cæcina, to say that, if not prevented by the punishment of the guilty, he would come and make a promiscuous slaughter. Cæcina secretly com-

municated this letter to the officers and the sound part of the army, and it was resolved to fall unawares on the mutineers, and slaughter them. The plan was carried into effect, and numbers were thus butchered. Germanicus, on coming to the camp, shed copious tears, calling it a massacre, and not a medicine, and ordered the bodies of the slain to be burnt. The soldiers clamored to be led against the enemy, in order, by receiving honorable wounds, to appease the Manes of their comrades. A bridge was hastily thrown over the river, and they advanced some way into Germany, where, falling on the unsuspecting barbarians on the night of one of their solemn festivals, they slaughtered all ages and sexes promiscuously; they laid the country waste for a space of fifty miles, levelling all edifices, sacred and profane, alike. Germanicus then led them back to winter quarters.

Tiberius received the account of the suppression of the mutiny with mingled feelings. He rejoiced that it was at an end, while he was uneasy at the popularity which Germanicus must have acquired by his able and vigorous conduct. He, however, praised him to the senate; but it was observed that his praises of Drusus, at the same time, though more brief, were more sincere. He gave the Pannonian legions all the advantages which Germanicus had granted to the German army.

Early in the spring, (15,) Germanicus led his whole army over the Rhine, and invaded the country of the Chattans, where he wasted the land and slaughtered the inhabitants in the usual manner. Segestes, the Chattan prince, who, as we have seen, through enmity to Arminius, was in favor of the Romans, having sent to apprize Germanicus that he was surrounded by his hostile countrymen, who were under the influence of Arminius, the Roman army was instantly marched to his relief, and he and his family, (among whom was his daughter, the wife of Arminius,) and a large body of his clients, were received under the protection of the Romans, and given a settlement on the left bank of the Rhine.

Germanicus led back his army; but Arminius, maddened at the captivity of his wife, went from place to place, rousing the Cheruskans and the conterminous tribes to arms against the Romans. He was joined by his uncle, Inguiomer, a man whose talents the Romans held in the highest respect; and Germanicus, therefore, judging that the war would be very serious, resolved to prevent, if possible, the whole weight of it from falling on one place. With this view, he despatched

Cæcina, with forty cohorts, through the Bructerian country, to the River Ems, (*Amisia*), while the prefect Pedo led the cavalry through the country of the Frisians; and he himself, putting four legions on shipboard, sailed through the lakes. The whole force rendezvoused on the Ems, and all the country between it and the Lippe was laid waste.

As the Teutoburg forest, in which Varus and his legions had been slaughtered, was at hand, Germanicus resolved to proceed thither, and render the last honors to the slain. On arriving at the fatal spot, the Romans found the camp of Varus bearing evidence of the fate of the army: around lay whitening the bones of men and horses; broken weapons strewed the ground; human heads were fixed on trunks of trees; the altars, at which the officers had been sacrificed, stood in the adjoining woods. The soldiers mournfully collected the bones of their comrades, and raised a mound over them, Germanicus himself laying the first sod. The jealousy of Tiberius was offended at this popular act, which, he said, tended to damp the spirit of the soldiers.

The Romans, on their return to the Ems, were fallen on, in their march through the woods and marshes, by Arminius, and narrowly escaped a defeat. Germanicus then reëmbarked his legions, sending the cavalry, as before, round the coast. He charged Cæcina to make all the speed he could to get beyond the Long Bridges, as a causeway was named which the Romans had some years before constructed in the extensive marshes which lay not far from the Ems. Cæcina accordingly advanced with rapidity, but the speed of Arminius exceeded his; and, on arriving at the Bridges, he found the woods all occupied by the Germans. He also, to his mortification, saw that the causeway had become so decayed with time, that it must be repaired before the army could pass it; he therefore resolved to encamp on the spot.

The Germans assailed the Romans as they were engaged in forming their camp, and the legions were saved from destruction only by the intervention of night. As there was now little chance of their being able to pass by the Bridges, Cæcina saw that his only course was to endeavor to force his way through a narrow plain, which lay between the marshes and the hills occupied by the enemy. After passing a miserable night, the army set out at dawn; but the two legions, which were appointed to cover the flank of the line of march, disobeyed orders, and pushed on for the dry ground; and Arminius, waiting till he saw the Romans completely en

gaged in the marshes, charged the unprotected line, and broke it. The horses were the chief object of attack; and, pierced by the long spears of the Germans, they fell, and flung their riders, or, rushing on, trampled on those before them; Cæcina's own horse was killed under him, and he was near being taken by the enemy. Fortunately for the Romans, the barbarians, in their usual manner, fell to plundering, and, at the approach of evening, they succeeded in reaching the dry ground. Here they were obliged to encamp, but most of their implements were lost; they were without tents, they had no dressings for their wounded, and their provisions were all spoiled; they, however, succeeded in securing themselves for the night.

A horse having got loose in the night, the soldiers fancied that the Germans had broken into the camp; and they were preparing to fly for their lives, when Cæcina, having ascertained that the alarm was groundless, called them together, and showed them that their only chance of safety was to remain within their ramparts till the enemy should assail them, and then to break out and push on for the Rhine. The horses, not excepting his own, were then given to the bravest men, who were to be the first to charge the enemy. The Germans, on their part, were also deliberating how to proceed; Arminius was for letting the Romans quit their camp unmolested, and assailing, as before, their line of march; but Inguiomer insisted on storming the ramparts, as there would then be more captives made, and the plunder would be in better condition. His opinion prevailed, and a general assault was made at daybreak. But, while the Germans were scaling the ramparts, the signal was given to the cohorts, the trumpets sounded, and the assailants found themselves attacked in the rear. They made but a feeble resistance; they were slaughtered in heaps all through the day by the legionaries, who next morning pursued their march unmolested for the Rhine.

Germanicus resolved to conduct the next campaign (16) on different principles from the preceding ones. He had observed that, in consequence of the nature of the country, abounding in forests and morasses, the loss of men and horses in an invasion of Germany was immense; whereas, if the infantry were conveyed thither by sea, and the horse led round the coast, the campaign might be begun earlier, and the troops be exposed to less toil and danger. He therefore caused a multitude of vessels of all descriptions to be built

in various places, and appointed the isle of the Batavians as the place of rendezvous and embarkation. When all was ready, he put the Roman army of eight legions and their attendant auxiliaries on board of a fleet of about 1000 vessels, of all forms and sizes, and, sailing up the Rhine, through the lake, and along the coast of the ocean, entered the mouth of the Ems, where having landed his troops, he advanced to the Weser. On reaching that river, he found its opposite bank occupied by Arminius and the Cheruscan warriors. He, however, forced the passage, and, the Germans having given him battle in a plain encompassed by hills on one side, on the other by the river, they were routed with great slaughter, the ground for a space of ten miles being covered with their arms and bodies. Undismayed by their reverses, they fell once more on the Romans, as they were marching through a narrow, marshy plain, hemmed in by woods and the river; but success was once more on the side of discipline and superior arms, and Germanicus, in the inscription which he put on a pile of the armor of the vanquished Germans, could boast of having conquered all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe. As the summer was now far advanced, he sent a part of his army to their winter quarters by land; he himself embarked with the remainder in the Ems; but, when they got into the open sea, they were assailed by a furious tempest; some of the vessels were driven on the German coast, others on the adjacent islands, others even to Britain; and the loss of horses and baggage was immense. When the storm was over, the ships which had escaped were repaired without delay, and sent to search the islands, and bring off the men who had been cast away on them.

Germanicus and his officers were decidedly of opinion that one campaign more would end the war, and complete the subjugation of Germany; but the jealousy of Tiberius would not let him permit Germanicus to remain longer at the head of so large an army; and he urged him to return to Rome to celebrate the triumph which had been decreed him, offering him, as an inducement, a second consulate. Germanicus, though he saw through his motives, yielded obedience to his wishes; and thus finally terminated the projects of the Romans for conquest in northern Germany.*

* The gallant Arminius afterwards engaged in war with and defeated Maroboduus. He finally perished by the treachery of his relations, being charged with aiming at royalty. Tacitus (ii. 88) gives him the following encomium: "Liberator haud dubie Germaniæ, et qui non

On his return to Rome, (17,) Germanicus celebrated his triumph over the Chættans, Chæruscans, and Angivarians. Tiberius gave in his name a donation to the people of 300 sesterces a man, and nominated him his colleague in the consulate for the ensuing year. As, about this time, the kings of Cappadocia, Commagene, and Cilicia, were dead, and the affairs of Armenia were in their usual disorder, and Syria and Judæa were applying for a diminution of their burdens, Tiberius, who did not wish to let Germanicus remain at Rome, or who, as some suspected, had designs on him which could best be accomplished at a distance, took advantage of this occasion for removing him; by a decree of the senate, he was therefore assigned the provinces beyond the sea, with an authority, when in any of them, paramount to that of its actual governor. Tiberius at the same time removed Silanus, the governor of Syria, whose daughter was affianced to Germanicus's son, and appointed in his place Cn. Piso, a man of a fierce and violent temper, and whose wife, Plancina, a haughty and arrogant woman, was the intimate friend of Livia. It was suspected that they were selected as fit agents for the execution of some secret design against Germanicus.

After visiting his brother Drusus, who held the command in Illyricum, and with whom he was always on the most cordial terms, Germanicus proceeded to Greece, (18,) whence he passed over to Asia, where he invested Zeno, son of the king of Pontus, with the diadem, and reduced Commagene and Cappadocia to the form of provinces. He thence (19) proceeded to Egypt, urged chiefly by the laudable curiosity of viewing the wonders of that land of mystery. On his return to Syria, he fell sick, and it was suspected that the cause of his disease was poison, privily administered by Piso and Plancina, with whom he was now at open enmity: Germanicus himself was of this opinion, and he therefore sent Piso orders to quit the province. The disease, however, proved fatal, and he died shortly after, with his last breath charging his friends to appeal to his father, brother, and the senate, for punishment on Piso and Plancina, as the authors of his death.

primordia Pop. Rom. sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium læcesserit; præliis ambiguus, bello non victus; xxxvii. annos vitæ, xii. potentæ explevit; canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur; Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi."

Such was the end of the noble Germanicus, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Unlike the Claudian family, from which he sprang, he was mild, affable, and clement in temper. Not content with military glory, he sought fame also in the peaceful fields of literature.* He was a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, a constant friend; in fine, both in public and private virtues, he has few superiors in the pages of history.

After the death of Germanicus, a consultation was held, by such of the senators as were present, on the subject of the government of the province of Syria, now vacant, and it was resolved to commit it to Cn. Sentius. Meantime Piso, who was at Côs when the news of the death of Germanicus reached him, consulted as to what *he* should do. His son urged him to pursue his journey to Rome without a moment's delay; but one of his friends, Domitius Celer, advised him to return to Syria, and wrest the government of it from Sentius. Piso adopted this last course; but, failing in his attempts to seduce the legions, he was besieged by Sentius in a castle on the coast of Cilicia, and surrendered on condition of being allowed to proceed to Rome.

Agrippina had already (20) reached the city with the urn which contained the ashes of her illustrious husband. The mourning of the people was universal and sincere; but the honors of the dead were limited by the jealousy of Tiberius. When Drusus, after the funeral, returned to Dalmatia, he was visited by Piso, who hoped to gain his protection; but, failing in his object, he had to proceed to Rome, where the friends of Germanicus made no delay in exhibiting articles of accusation against him. The cause was referred by Tiberius to the senate. All the charges but that of poisoning were proved; and Piso, seeing Tiberius, the senate, and the people, equally hostile to him, sought a refuge from ignominy in a voluntary death. Plancina was acquitted through the influence of Augusta, at whose desire Tiberius himself became her intercessor.

Before we proceed to notice the internal affairs of the empire during the early part of the reign of Tiberius, we will mention briefly the slight military movements on the frontiers.

In Africa a Numidian named Tacfarinas, who had served in the Roman army, and had then become a freebooter, and

* The Fasti of Ovid are dedicated to this prince.

gradually collected a good body of men, being joined by a Moorish chief named Mazippa, began to lay waste and plunder the province, (17.) The proconsul Furius Camillus led the Roman troops out against them; Tacfarinas had the courage to give him battle, but his Numidians were easily routed; the triumphal insignia were decreed to Camillus, who, as the historian observes, was the first of his family, since the time of the great Camillus and his son, who had acquired military glory. Tacfarinas continued to harass the province by his incursions for some years; at length (24) he was defeated and slain by the proconsul P. Dolabella.

The trifling commotions which took place in Thrace, and were easily repressed, are not deserving of particular notice; but an insurrection which broke out in Gaul (21) threatened to be of serious consequence. The origin of it was the heavy weight of debt caused by the excessive amount of the tributes, to meet which the states were obliged to borrow money from the wealthy men at Rome on enormous interest; to which were added the pride and severity of the Roman governors. The heads of the revolt were Julius Florus, a Trevirian, and Julius Sacrovir, an Æduan, both men of great influence, and whose ancestors had been honored with the Roman right of citizenship. The people of Anjou and Touraine were the first to rise, but they were easily put down; Sacrovir, who had not yet declared himself, fighting on the occasion in the Roman ranks. Florus, with his Trevirians, occupied the forest of Ardenne, (*Arduenna*;) but his unorganized rabble was easily dispersed by a party under Julius Indus, another Trevirian, who was at enmity with him; and he slew himself to escape captivity. Sacrovir meantime seized on Autun, (*Augustodunum*,) the capital of the Æduans, where most of the young nobility of Gaul were placed for the purpose of education, in order that he might thus draw their parents and relations in to share in the war. He collected 40,000 men, only a fifth of whom were completely armed: with these he gave battle to the Roman legions; and, being defeated, he fled with a few companions to a country-house near Autun, where he put an end to himself. The Gallic war was thus terminated, and the empire remained at peace during the remainder of the reign of Tiberius.

It is now time that we should trace the conduct of this wily prince during the period of which we have related the military transactions.

All the historians are agreed that he both disliked and feared Germanicus, and that it was the awe in which he stood of that favorite of the soldiery and the people that caused him to act with so much moderation in his first years, in which there is really little to reprehend.

His plan was to possess the reality of power without exciting hatred or envy by the useless display of the show of it. He therefore rejected the titles that were offered him such as that of Imperator, as a *prænomen*, and that of Father of his Country; even that of Augustus, though hereditary, he would only use in his letters to kings and dynasts: above all, he rejected that of Master, (*Dominus*;) he would only be called Cæsar, or First of the Senate. This last (which we shall henceforth term Prince) was his favorite title: he used to say, "I am the Master of my slaves, the Imperator of the soldiers, and the Prince of the rest." He would not allow any thing peculiar to be done in honor of his birthday, nor suffer any one to swear by his fortune; neither would he permit the senate to swear to his acts on new year's day, or temples, or any other divine honors, to be decreed him. He was affable and easy of approach; he took no notice of libels and evil reports of which he was the object, while he repelled flattery of every kind.

To the senate and the magistrates he preserved (at least in appearance) all their pristine dignity and power. Every matter, great or small, public or private, was laid before the senate. The debates were apparently free, and the prince was often in the minority. He always entered the senate-house without any attendants, like an ordinary senator; he reproved consulars in the command of armies for writing to him instead of the senate; he treated the consuls with the utmost respect, rising to them and making way for them. Ambassadors and deputies were directed to apply to them, as in the time of the republic. It was only by his tribunitian right of interceding that he exercised his power in the senate. He used also to take his seat with the magistrates as they were administering justice, and by his presence and authority gave a check to the influence of the great in protecting the accused; by which conduct of his, while justice gained, liberty, it was observed, suffered.*

The public morals and the tranquillity of the city were

* "Sed dum veritati consulitur libertas corrumpitur." Tac Ann. i. 75.

also attended to. A limit was set to the expenses of plays and public shows, and to the salaries of the players, to whom the senators and knights were forbidden to show marks of respect, by visiting them or attending them in public. Profligacy had become so bold and shameless, that ladies were known to have entered themselves in the list of professed courtesans in order to escape the penalties of the law, and young men of family to have voluntarily submitted to the mark of infamy in order to appear with safety on the stage or the *arena*; both these infamous classes were now subjected to the penalty of exile. Astrologers and fortune-tellers were expelled the city; the rites and ceremonies of the Egyptian and Judaic religions were suppressed. Guards were placed throughout Italy to prevent highway robbery; and those refuges of villany of all kinds, the sanctuaries, were regulated in Greece and Asia.

Yet people were not deceived by all this apparent regard for liberty and justice; for they saw, as they thought, from the very commencement, the germs of tyranny, especially in the renewal of the law of treason, (*majestas*.) In the time of the republic, there was a law under this name, by which any one who had diminished the greatness (*majestas*) of the Roman people by betraying an army, exciting the plebs to sedition, or acting wrong in command, was subject to punishment. It applied to actions alone; but Sulla extended it to speeches,* and Augustus to writings against not merely the state, but private individuals, on the occasion of Cassius Severus having libelled several illustrious persons of both sexes. Tiberius, who was angered by anonymous verses made on himself, directed the prætor, when consulted by him on the subject, to give judgment on the law of treason. As this law extended to words as well as actions, it opened a wide field for mischief, and gave birth to the vile brood of Delators, or public informers, answering to the sycophants, those pests of Athens in the days of her democratic despotism. This evil commenced almost with the reign of Tiberius, in whose second year two knights, Falonius and Rubrius, were accused, the one of associating a player of infamous character with the worshippers of Augustus, and of having sold with his gardens a statue of that prince, the other of having sworn falsely by his divinity. Tiberius, however, would not allow these absurd charges to be en-

* Cic. ad Fam. iii. 11.

tertained. Soon after, Granius Marcellus, the prætor of Bithynia, was charged with treason by his quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus, for having spoken evil of Tiberius, having placed his own statue on a higher site than that of the Cæsars, and having cut the head of Augustus off a statue, to make room for that of Tiberius. This last charge exasperated Tiberius, who declared that he would vote himself on the matter; but a bold expression used by Cn. Piso brought him to reason, and Marcellus was acquitted.

After the death of Germanicus, Tiberius acted with less restraint; for his son Drusus did not possess the qualities suited to gain popularity, and thus to control him. In fact, except his affection for his noble adoptive brother, there was nothing in the character of Drusus to esteem. He was addicted to intemperance, devoted to the sports of the amphitheatre, and of so cruel a temper, that a peculiarly sharp kind of swords were named from him Drusians. Tiberius made him his colleague in the consulate,* and then obtained for him the tribunitian power, (22;) but Drusus was fated to no long enjoyment of the dignity and power thus conferred on him. A fatal change was also to take place in the conduct and government of Tiberius himself, of which we must now trace the origin.

Seius Strabo, who had been made one of the præfects of the prætorian cohorts by Augustus, had a son, who, having been adopted by one of the Ælian family, was named, in the usual manner, L. Ælius Sejanus. This young man, who was born at Vulsinii in Tuscany, was at first attached to the service of Caius Cæsar, after whose death he devoted himself to Tiberius; and such was his consummate art, that this wily prince, dark and mysterious to all others, was open and unreserved to him. Sejanus equalled his master in the power of concealing his thoughts and designs; he was daring and ambitious, and he possessed the requisite qualities for attaining the eminence to which he aspired; for, though proud, he could play the flatterer; he could, and did, assume a modest exterior, and he had vigilance and industry, and a body capable of enduring any fatigue.

When Drusus was sent to quell the mutiny of the Pannonian légions, Sejanus, whom Tiberius had made colleague

* Dion (lvii. 20) says that people forthwith prophesied the ruin of Drusus; 'or it was observed that every one who had been Tiberius's colleague in the consulate came to a violent end, as Quinctilius Varus, Cn. Piso, Germanicus, and afterwards Drusus and Sejanus.

with his father, Strabo, in the command of the prætorians, accompanied him as his governor and director. Strabo was afterwards sent out to Egypt, and Sejanus was continued in the sole command of the guards; he then represented to Tiberius how much better it would be to have them collected into one camp, instead of being dispersed through the city and towns, as they would be less liable to be corrupted, would be more orderly, and of greater efficiency if any insurrection should occur. A fortified camp was therefore formed for them near the Viminal gate; and Sejanus then began to court the men, and he appointed those on whom he could rely to be tribunes and centurions. While thus securing the guards, he was equally assiduous to gain partisans in the senate; and honors and provinces only came to those who had acquired his favor by obsequiousness. In all these projects he was unwittingly aided by Tiberius, who used publicly to style him "the associate of his labors;" and even allowed his statues to be placed and worshipped in temples and theatres, and among the ensigns of the legions.

Sejanus had, in fact, formed the daring project of destroying Tiberius and his family, and seizing the supreme power. As, beside Tiberius and Drusus, who had two sons, there were a brother and three sons of Germanicus living, he resolved, as the safer course, to remove them gradually by art and treachery. He began with Drusus, against whom he had a personal spite, as that violent youth had one time publicly given him a blow in the face. In order to effect his purpose, he seduced his wife, Livia, or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus; and then, by holding out to her the prospect of a share in the imperial power, he induced her to engage in the plan for the murder of her husband.* Her physician, Eudemus, was also taken into the plot; but it was some time before the associates could finally determine what mode to adopt. At length a slow poison was fixed on, which was administered to Drusus by a eunuch named Lygdus; and he died apparently of disease, (23.) Tiberius, who, while his son was lying dead, had entered the senate-house, and addressed the members with his usual composure, pronounced the funeral oration himself, and then turned to business for consolation.

So far, all had succeeded with Sejanus, and death carried off the younger son of Drusus soon after his father; but

* "Neque femina, amissa pudicitia, alia abnuerit," observes Tacitus.

Nero and Drusus, the two elder sons of Germanicus, were now growing up; and the chastity of their mother, and the fidelity of those about them, put poison out of the question. He therefore adopted another course; and, taking advantage of the high spirit of Agrippina, and working on the jealousy of her which Augusta was known to entertain, he managed so that both she and Livia should labor to prejudice Tiberius against Agrippina by talking of the pride which she took in her progeny, and the ambitious designs which she entertained. At the same time, he induced some of those about her to stimulate her haughty spirit by their treacherous language. He further proposed to deprive her of support, by destroying those persons of influence who were attached to her family, or the memory of her husband. With this view, he selected for his first victims C. Silius and Titius Sabinus, the friends of Germanicus, and Silius's wife, Sosia Galla, to whom Agrippina was strongly attached, and who was therefore an object of dislike to Tiberius. Omitting, however, Sabinus for the present, he caused the consul Visellius Varro to accuse Silius of treason, for having dissembled his knowledge of the designs of Sacrovir, having disgraced his victory by his avarice, and countenanced the acts of his wife. Having vainly asked for a delay till his accuser should go out of office, and seeing that Tiberius was determinedly hostile to him,* Silius avoided a condemnation by a voluntary death. His wife was banished; a portion of his property was confiscated, but the remainder was left to his children.

Urged by his own ambition, and by the importunity of Livia, Sejanus had soon (25) the boldness to present a petition to Tiberius, praying to be chosen by him for her husband. Tiberius took no offence; his reply was kind, only stating the difficulties of the matter with respect to Sejanus himself, but at the same time expressing the warmest friendship for and confidence in him. Sejanus, however, was suspicious; and he began to reflect that, while Tiberius remained at Rome, many occasions might present themselves to those who desired to undermine him in the mind of that jealous prince; whereas, could he induce him to quit the

* "Adversatus est Cæsar, solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis jus, cujus vigiliis nitiretur ne quod republica detrimentum caperet. Proprium id Tiberic fuit scelera nuper reperta prisca verbis obtegere." Tac.

city, all access to him would be only through himself, all letters would be conveyed by soldiers who were under his orders, and gradually, as the prince advanced in years, all the affairs of the state would pass into his hands. He therefore, by contrasting the noise and turbulence of Rome with the solitude and tranquillity of the country, gradually sought to bend him to his purpose, which he effected in the following year.

During this time, the deadly charge of treason was brought against various persons. The most remarkable case was that of A. Cremutius Cordus, the historian. He had made a free remark on the conduct of Sejanus; and, accordingly, two of that favorite's clients were directed to accuse him of treason, for having in his history called Cassius the last of the Romans.* Cremutius, when before the senate, observing the sternness of Tiberius's countenance, took at once the resolution of abandoning life, and therefore spoke as follows:—

“Fathers, my words are accused, so guiltless am I of acts; but not even these are against the prince or the prince's parent, whom the law of treason embraces. I am said to have praised Brutus and Cassius, whose deeds, while several have written, no one has mentioned without honor. Titus Livius, who is preëminent for eloquence and fidelity, extolled Pompeius with such praises, that Augustus used to call him a Pompeian; nor was that any hinderance of their friendship. He nowhere calls Scipio, Afranius, this very Cassius, this Brutus, robbers and parricides, which names are now given them; he often speaks of them as distinguished men. The writings of Asinius Pollio transmit an illustrious record of them; Messala Corvinus used to call Cassius his general; and both of them flourished in wealth and honors. To the book of Marcus Cicero, which extolled Cato to the skies, what did the dictator Cæsar but reply in a written speech, as if before judges? The letters of Antonius, the speeches of Brutus, contain imputations on Augustus which are false, and written with great bitterness. The verses of Bibaculus and Catullus, which are full of abuse of the Cæsars, are read; nay, the divine Julius himself, the divine Augustus himself, both bore with them and let them remain; I cannot well say whether more through moderation or wisdom; for what are despised go out of mind; if

* He probably only used the words of Brutus, who spoke thus of Cassius. See *Hist. of Rome*, p. 459.

you are angry with them, their truth seems to be acknowledged. I speak not of the Greeks, among whom not only liberty but license was unpunished; or if any one *did* take notice, he avenged himself on words by words. But there was the greatest freedom, and no reproach, when speaking of those whom death had removed from enmity or favor. Do I, in the cause of civil war, inflame the people by my harangues, while Brutus and Cassius are in arms, and occupying the plains of Philippi? Or do they, who are now dead these seventy years, as they are known by their images, which the conqueror did not destroy, retain in like manner their share of memory in literary works? Posterity allots his meed to every one; nor, should a condemnation fall on me, will there be wanting those who will remember not only Brutus and Cassius, but also *me*."

Having thus spoken, Cordus left the senate-house, and, returning to his own abode, starved himself to death. The senate decreed that the copies of his work should be collected and burnt by the ædiles; but some were saved by his daughter Marcia, and were republished in the succeeding reign.*

At length, (26,) Tiberius quitted Rome, and went into Campania, under the pretext of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one to Augustus at Nola; but with the secret intention of never returning to the city. Various causes, all perhaps true, are assigned for this resolution. The suggestions of Sejanus were not without effect; he was grown thin, and stooped; he was quite bald, and his face was full of blotches and ulcers, to which he was obliged to have plasters constantly applied; and he may therefore have sought, on this account, to retire from the public view. It is further said that he wished to escape from the authority of his mother, who seemed to consider herself entitled to share the power which he had obtained through her exertions; but perhaps the most prevalent motive was the wish to be able to give free course to his innate cruelty and lusts when in solitude and secrecy.

He was accompanied only by one senator, Cocceius Ner-

* See Sen. Cons. ad Marciam; Suet. Cal. 16. "Quo magis socordiam [i. e. vecordiam] eorum inridere licet," observes Tacitus, "qui præsentis potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam; nam contra, punitis ingenii gliscit auctoritas; neque aliud externi reges, aut qui eadem severitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere."

va, who was deeply skilled in the laws, by Sejanus and another knight, and by some persons, chiefly Greeks who were versed in literature. A few days after he set out, an accident occurred, which was near being fatal to him, but proved fortunate for Sejanus. As, at one of his country-seats, near Fundi, named the Caverns, (*Speluncæ*,) he was, for the sake of the coolness, dining in one of the natural caverns, whence the villa derived its appellation, a great quantity of the stones, which formed its roof, fell down and crushed some of the attendants to death. Sejanus threw himself over Tiberius, to protect him with his own body, and was found in that position by the soldiers who came to their relief. This apparent proof of generous self-devotion raised him higher than ever in the estimation of the prince.

While Tiberius was rambling from place to place in Campania, (27,) a dreadful calamity occurred at Fidenæ, in consequence of the fall of a temporary amphitheatre erected by a freedman named Atilius, for giving a show of gladiators; the number of the killed and maimed is said to have been fifty thousand. The conduct of the nobility at Rome, on this melancholy occasion, showed that all virtue had not departed from them; they threw open their houses for the sufferers, and supplied them with medical attendance and remedies; so that, as the great historian observes, the city wore the appearance of the Rome of the olden time, when, after battles, the wounded were thus humanely treated. This calamity was immediately followed by a tremendous fire on the Cælian Hill; but Tiberius alleviated the evil, by giving the inhabitants the amount of their losses in money.

Having dedicated the temples, and rambled for some time through the towns of Campania, Tiberius finally fixed on the islet of Capræ, in the Bay of Naples, as his permanent abode. This isle, which lay at the short distance of three miles from the promontory of Surrentum, was accessible only in one place; it enjoyed a mild temperature, and commanded a most magnificent view of the Bay of Naples and the lovely region which encompassed it.* But the delicious retreat was speedily converted by the aged prince into a den of infamy—such as has never perhaps found its equal; his vicious practices, however, were covered by the veil of secrecy, for he still lay under some restraint.

* Augustus was so taken with the charms of this island, that he gave lands in exchange for it to the people of Naples, to whom it belonged. Dion lii. 43.

When Tiberius left Rome, Sejanus renewed his machinations against Agrippina and her children and friends. He directed his first efforts against her eldest son, Nero, whom he surrounded with spies; and as this youth was married to a daughter of Livia's, his wife was instructed by her abandoned mother to note and report all his most secret words and actions. Sejanus kept a faithful register of all he could learn in these various ways, and regularly transmitted it to Tiberius. He also drew to his side Nero's younger brother Drusus, a youth of a fiery, turbulent temper, and who hated him because he was his mother's favorite. It was, however, Sejanus's intention to destroy him also, when he should have served his purpose against Nero.

At this time also he made his final and fatal attack on Titius Sabinus, whose crime was his attachment to the family of Germanicus. The bait of the consulate, of which Sejanus alone could dispose, induced four men of prætorian dignity to conspire his ruin. The plan proposed was, that one of them, named Latinius Latiaris, who had some knowledge of Sabinus, should draw him into conversation, out of which a charge of treason might be manufactured. The plot succeeded: Latiaris, by praising the constancy of Sabinus in friendship, led him gradually on to speak as he thought of Sejanus, and even of Tiberius. At length, under pretence of having something of great importance to reveal, he brought him into a chamber where the other three were concealed between the ceiling and the roof. A charge of treason was therefore speedily concocted and forwarded to Tiberius, from whom a letter came on new year's day, (28,) plainly intimating to the senate his desire of vengeance. This sufficed for that obsequious body, and Sabinus was dragged forth and executed without delay.

In his letter of thanks to the senate, Tiberius talked of the danger he was in, and of the plots of his enemies, evidently alluding to Agrippina and Nero. These unfortunate persons lost their only remaining refuge, the following year, (29,) by the death of the prince's mother, Julia Augusta,* whose influence over her son, and regard for her own descendants, had held Sejanus in restraint. This soon appeared by the arrival of a letter from Tiberius, accusing

* Writers differ as to her age. Tacitus merely says *extrema ætate*. Pliny (x.v. 8) makes her 82, Dion (lviii. 1) 86 years old. This last seems to be the more correct, as her son Tiberius was now 70 years of age.

Nero of unnatural practices, and speaking of the arrogance of Agrippina; but, while the senate were in debate, the people surrounded the house, carrying the images of Agrippina and Nero, and crying out that the letter was forged, and the prince deceived. Nothing therefore was done on that day, and Sejanus took the opportunity of irritating the mind of Tiberius, who wrote again to the senate; but, as in the letter he forbade their proceeding to extremes, they passed a decree, declaring themselves prepared to avenge the prince, were they not hindered by himself.

Most unfortunately the admirable narrative of Tacitus fails us at this point; and for the space of more than two years, and those the most important of the reign of Tiberius, we are obliged to derive our knowledge of events from the far inferior notices of Dion Cassius and Suetonius. We are therefore unable to display the arts by which Sejanus effected the ruin of Agrippina and her children, and can only learn that *she* was relegated to the isle of Pandateria, where, while she gave vent to her indignation, her eye was struck out by a centurion; and that Nero was placed in the isle of Pontia, and forced to terminate his own life. The further fate of Agrippina and Drusus we shall have to relate.

Sejanus now revelled in the enjoyment of power; every one feared him, every one courted and flattered him. "In a word," says Dion, "*he* seemed to be emperor, Tiberius merely the ruler of an island;" for, while the latter dwelt in solitude, and apparently unthought of, the doors of the former were thronged every morning with saluting crowds, and the first men of Rome attended him on his way to the senate. His pride and insolence, as is always the case with those who rise otherwise than by merit, kept pace with his power, and men hated while they feared and flattered him.

He had thus ruled for more than three years at Rome, with power nearly absolute, when (31) Tiberius made him his colleague in the consulate—an honor observed to be fatal to every one who had enjoyed it. In fact, the jealous tyrant, who had been fully informed of all his actions and designs,* had secretly resolved on his death; but fear, on account of Sejanus's influence with the guards, and his uncertainty of how the people might stand affected, prevented him from pro-

* According to Josephus, (Antiq. xviii. 6.) Antonia, the widow of his brother Drusus, wrote him a full account of Sejanus's proceedings, and sent it by a trusty slave named Pallas.

ceeding openly against him. He therefore had recourse to artifice, in which he so much delighted. At one time, he would write to the senate, and describe himself as so ill that his recovery was nearly hopeless; again, that he was in perfect health, and was about to return to Rome. He would now praise Sejanus to the skies, and then speak most disparagingly of him; he would honor some and disgrace others of his friends solely as such. In this way both Sejanus himself and all others were kept in a state of the utmost uncertainty. Tiberius further bestowed priesthoods on Sejanus and his son, and proposed to marry his daughter to Drusus, the son of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus; yet, at the same time, when Sejanus asked permission to go to Campania, on the pretext of her being unwell, he desired him to remain where he was, as he himself would be coming to Rome immediately.

All this tended to keep Sejanus in a state of great perturbation; and this was increased by the circumstance of Tiberius, when appointing the young Caius to a priesthood, having not merely praised him, but spoken of him in some sort as his successor in the monarchy. He would have proceeded at once to action, were it not that the joy manifested by the people on this occasion proved to him that he had oily the soldiers to rely on; and he hesitated to act with them alone. Tiberius then showed favor to some of those to whom *he* was hostile; and, when writing to the senate on the occasion of the death of Nero, he merely called him Sejanus, and directed them not to offer sacrifice to any man, nor to decree any honors to himself, and of consequence to no one else. The senators easily saw whither all this tended; and their neglect of Sejanus was now pretty openly displayed.

Tiberius, having thus made trial of the senate and the people, and finding he could rely on both, resolved to strike the long-meditated blow. In order to take his victim more completely at unawares, he gave out that it was his intention to confer on him the tribunitian power. Meantime he gave to Nævius Sertorius Macro a secret commission to take the command of the guards, made him the bearer of a letter to the senate, and instructed him fully how to act. Macro entered Rome at night, and communicated his instructions to the consul, C. Memmius Regulus, (for his colleague was a creature of Sejanus,) and to Græcinus Laco, the commander of the watchmen, and arranged with them the plan

of action. Early in the morning, he went up to the temple of the Palatine Apollo, where the senate was to sit that day and, meeting Sejanus, and finding him disturbed at Tiberius's having sent him no message, he whispered him that he had the grant of the tribunitian power for him. Sejanus then went in highly elated; and Macro, showing his commission to the guards on duty, and telling them that he had letters promising them a largess, sent them down to their camp, and put the watchmen about the temple in their stead. He then entered the temple, and, having delivered the letter to the consuls, immediately went out again, and, leaving Laco to watch the progress of events there, hastened down to the camp, lest there should be a mutiny of the guards.

The letter was long and ambiguous; it contained nothing direct against Sejanus, but first treated of something else, then came to a little complaint of him, then to some other matter, then it returned to him again, and so on; it concluded by saying that two senators, who were most devoted to Sejanus, ought to be punished, and himself be cast into prison; for, though Tiberius wished most ardently to have him executed, he did not venture to order his death, fearing a rebellion. He even implored them in the letter to send one of the consuls with a guard to conduct him, now an old man and desolate, into their presence. We are further told that such were his apprehensions, that he had given orders, in case of a tumult, to release his grandson Drusus, who was in chains at Rome, and put him at the head of those who remained faithful to his family; and that he took his station on a lofty rock, watching for the signals that were to be made, having ships ready to carry him to some of the legions, in case any thing adverse should occur.

His precautions, however, were needless. Before the letter was read, the senators, expecting to hear nothing but the praises of Sejanus and the grant of the tribunitian power, were loud in testifying their zeal toward him; but, as the reading proceeded, their conduct sensibly altered; their looks were no longer the same; even some of those who were sitting near him rose and left their seats; the prætors and tribunes closed round him, lest he should rush out and try to raise the guards, as he certainly would have done, had not the letter been composed with such consummate artifice. He was in fact so thunderstruck, that it was not till the consul had called him the third time that he was able to reply. All then joined in reviling and insulting him. he

was conducted to the prison by the consul and the other magistrates. As he passed along, the populace poured curses and abuse on him; they cast down his statues, cut the heads off of them, and dragged them about the streets. The senate, seeing this disposition of the people, and finding that the guards remained quiet, met in the afternoon in the temple of Concord, close to the prison, and condemned him to death. He was executed without delay; his lifeless body was flung down the Gemonian steps, and for three days it was exposed to every insult from the populace; it was then cast into the Tiber.* His children also were put to death: his little daughter, who was to have been the bride of the prince's grand-nephew, was so young and innocent, that, as they carried her to prison, she kept asking what she had done, and whither they were dragging her, adding that she would do so no more, and that she might be whipped if naughty. Nay, by one of those odious refinements of barbarity which trample on justice and humanity while adhering to the letter of the law, because it was a thing unheard of for a virgin to be capitally punished, the executioner was made to deflower the child before he strangled her. Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus, on hearing of the death of her children, and seeing afterwards their lifeless bodies on the steps, went home; and, having written to Tiberius a full account of the true manner of the death of Drusus, and of the guilt of Livilla, put an end to herself. In consequence of this discovery, Livilla, and all who were concerned in that murder, were put to death.

The rage of the populace was also vented on the friends of Sejanus, and many of them were slaughtered. The prætorian guards, too, enraged at being suspected, and at the watchmen being preferred to them, began to burn and plunder houses. The senators were in a state of the utmost perturbation, some trembling on account of their having paid court to Sejanus, others, who had been accusers or witnesses, from not knowing how their conduct might be taken. All, however, conspired in heaping insult on the memory of the fallen favorite.

Tiberius, now free from all apprehension, gave loose to his vengeance. From his island retreat he issued his orders, and the prison was filled with the friends and creatures of

* See the graphic picture of the fall of Sejanus in Juvenal, Sat. x 56, *seq.*

Sejanus; the baleful pack of informers was unkenneled, and their victims of both sexes were hunted to death. Some were executed in prison; others were flung from the Capitol; the lifeless remains were exposed to every kind of indignity, and then cast into the river. Most, however, chose a voluntary death; for they thus not only escaped insult and pain, but preserved their property for their children.

In the following year, (32,) Tiberius ventured to leave his island, and sail up the Tiber as far as Cæsar's gardens; but suddenly, no one knew why, he retreated again to his solitude, whence by letters he directed the course of cruelty at Rome. The commencement of one was so remarkable that historians have thought it deserving of a place in their works; it ran thus: "What I shall write to you, P. C., or how I shall write, or what I shall not write, at this time, may the gods and goddesses destroy me worse than I daily feel myself perishing, if I know."* A knight named M. Terentius, at this time, when accused of the new crime of Sejanus's friendship, had the courage to adopt a novel course of defence. He boldly acknowledged the charge, but justified his conduct by saying that he had only followed the example of the prince, whom it was their duty to imitate. The senate acquitted him, and punished his accusers with exile or death, and Tiberius expressed himself well pleased at the decision. But, in the succeeding year, (33,) his cruelty, joined with avarice, (a vice new to him,) broke out with redoubled violence. Tired of murdering in detail, he ordered a general massacre of all who lay in prison on account of their connection with Sejanus. Without distinction of age, sex, or rank, they were slaughtered; their friends dared not to approach, or even be seen to shed tears; and as their putrefying remains floated along the Tiber, no one might venture to touch or to burn them.

The deaths of his grandson Drusus, and his daughter-in-law Agrippina, were added to the atrocities of this year. The former perished by the famine to which he was destined, after he had sustained life till the ninth day by eating the stuffing of his bed. The tyrant then had the shamelessness

* Suet. Tib. 67. Tac. Ann. vi. 6. "Adeo," adds Tacitus, "facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ [Plato] firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur."

to cause to be read in the senate the diary which had been kept of every thing the unhappy youth had said or done for a course of years, and of the indignities which he had endured from the slaves and guards who were set about him. Agrippina had cherished hopes of meeting with justice after the fall of Sejanus; but, finding them frustrated, she resolved to starve herself to death. Tiberius, when informed, ordered food to be forced down her throat; but she finally accomplished her purpose: he then endeavored to defame her memory by charging her with unchastity. As her death occurred on the same day as that of Sejanus, two years before, he directed it to be noted; and he took to himself as a merit that he had not caused her to be strangled or cast down the Germanian steps. The obsequious senate returned him thanks for his clemency, and decreed that, on the 18th of October, the day of both their deaths, an offering in gold should be made to Jupiter.

The Cæsarian family was now reduced to Claudius, the brother, and Caius, the son of Germanicus, and his three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, (whom Tiberius had given in marriage respectively to Cn. Domitius, L. Cassius, and M. Vinicius,) and Tiberius and Julia, the children of Drusus, which last had been married to her cousin Nero, and now was given in marriage to Rubellius Blandus.

From his very outset in life, Tiberius had been obliged more or less to conceal his natural character. Augustus, Germanicus, Drusus, his mother, had successively been a check on him; and even Sejanus, though the agent of his cruelty, had been the cause of his lusts being restrained.* But now all barriers were removed; for Caius was so abject a slave to him, that he modelled himself on his character and his words, only seeking to conceal his own vices.† He therefore now at length gave free course to all his vicious propensities; and it almost chills the blood to read the details of the horrid practices in which he indulged amidst the rocks of Capreæ. Meantime there was no relaxation of his cruelty; Macro was as bad as Sejanus, only more covertly; there was no lack of delators, and men of rank perished daily.

Nature, however, at last began to give way. He had quitted his island, and approached to within seven miles of Rome, (37;) but terrified, it is said, by a prodigy, he did not venture to enter the city. As he was on his way back to Cam

* Tac. Ann. vi. 51.

† *Id. ib.* 20

pania, he fell sick at Astura; having recovered a little, he went on to Circeii, where, to conceal his condition, he appeared at the public games, and even flung darts at a wild boar which was turned out into the arena. The effort, however, exhausted him, and he became worse; still he went on, and reached the former abode of Lucullus at Misenum. Each day he lay at table and indulged as usual. A physician named Charicles, under pretence of taking leave, one evening contrived to feel his pulse. Tiberius perceived his object, and, ordering more dishes up, lay longer than usual, under the pretext of doing honor to his departing friend; but Charicles was not to be deceived; he told Macro that he could not last two days, and measures were forthwith taken for securing the succession of Caius. On the 16th of March, he swooned away, and appeared to be dead. Caius was congratulated by most of those present, and was preparing to assume the imperial power, when word was brought that Tiberius had revived and called for food. All slunk away, feigning grief or ignorance: Caius remained in silence, expecting his fate, when Macro boldly ordered clothes to be heaped on him; and Tiberius thus was smothered to death, in the 78th year of his age.

CHAPTER IV.*

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA.

A. U. 790—794. A. D. 37—41.

ACCESSION OF CAIUS. — HIS VICES AND CRUELTY. — BRIDGE OVER THE BAY OF BAÏÆ. — HIS EXPEDITION TO GERMANY. — HIS MAD CAPRICES. — HIS DEATH.

THE intelligence of the death of Tiberius diffused universal joy. The memory of Germanicus, and the hard fate of his family, recurred to men's minds, and led them to think favorably of his son, and to conceive hopes of happiness

* Authorities: Suetonius and Dio 1.

under his dominion. As Caius,* therefore, in a mourning habit, and in attendance on the corpse of his grandfather moved from Misenum to Rome, joyful crowds poured forth to meet him, altars were raised and victims slain on the way, and the most endearing epithets greeted him as he passed along.†

When he reached Rome, he proceeded to the senate-house, and the will of the late prince was opened and read. It appeared that he had left Caius and Tiberius the son of Drusus joint heirs; but the will was at once set aside, under the pretext of the testator not having been in his right mind, and the sole power was conferred on Caius, so entirely with the public approbation, that it was computed that in less than three months upwards of 160,000 victims were slain in testimony of the general joy. Caius, in return, was lavish of professions, assuring the senate that he would share his power with them, and do every thing that pleased them, calling himself their son and foster-child. He then released all who were in prison on charges of treason, and he burned (or rather pretended to do so) all the papers relating to them which Tiberius had left behind him, saying that he did so in order that, if he should feel ill disposed toward any one on account of his mother and brothers, he might not have it in his power to gratify his vengeance.

As soon as he had celebrated the obsequies of his grandfather, whose funeral oration he pronounced himself, he got on shipboard, and, though the weather was tempestuous, passed over to the isles of Pandateria and Pontia; and, having collected, and with his own hand inurned the ashes of his mother and brother, he brought them to Rome, and deposited them in the Mausoleum of Augustus. He appointed annual religious rites in their honor; he directed the month of September to be called Germanicus, after his father; he caused all the honors, which had ever been bestowed on Livia Augusta, to be conferred, by one decree, on his grandmother Antonia; he made his uncle Claudius, who had hitherto been in the equestrian order, his colleague in the consulate; he adopted his cousin Tiberius the day he took the virile *toga*, and named him Prince of the Youth; he caused his sisters'

* So he is called by all the historians. For the origin of his *soubriquet* "Caligula," see above, p. 44.

† "Fausta omnia sidus et pullum et puppum et alumnum appellatum." Suet. Cal 13.

names to be associated with his own in oaths and other solemnities.*

He drove from the city all the ministers of the monstrous lusts of Tiberius, being with difficulty withheld from drowning them. He permitted the works of Crenutius Cordus and others to be made public. He gave the people abundance of public shows, and he distributed to them and the soldiers all the money that had been left them by Tiberius and Livia Augusta.

Such was Caius in the first months of his reign. He then had a severe fit of illness, in consequence of which his intellect, it would seem, became disordered, for his remaining acts were those of a madman; and the world witnessed the dreadful sight of a monster, devoid of reason, possessed of unlimited power. There, however, seems to have been no reason to expect that, under any circumstances, Caius would have made a good prince; he was already stained with every vice. While yet a boy, he was, it was said, guilty of incest with his sister Drusilla. On the death of his wife, Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus, he formed an adulterous connection with Ennia, the wife of Macro, and gave her an engagement to marry her if he should attain the empire. Though he conducted himself with the most consummate dissimulation, and manifested such obsequiousness to Tiberius as gave occasion to the well-known saying of Passienus, that "there never was a better slave nor a worse master," yet the sagacious old prince saw his real character; and, as Caius was one day in his presence speaking with contempt of Sulla, he told him that *he* would have all Sulla's vices and none of his virtues; he also said at times that Caius lived for his own destruction and that of all others, and that in him he was rearing a serpent for the Roman people and a Phaëthon for the earth.

One of the first acts of Caius, after his restoration to health, was to put his cousin Tiberius to death, under the pretext of his having prayed that he might not recover. He also forced his father-in-law, Silanus, to terminate his own life, because he had not accompanied him on his late voyage, pretending that he intended to occupy the empire if any thing adverse had befallen him, though Silanus's only reason

* "Auctor fuit ut omnibus sacramentis adjiceretur, *Neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quam Caium sororesque ejus. Item relationibus consulum. Quod bonum felixque sit C. Cesari sororibusque ejus.*" Suet. Cal. 15.

had been dislike of the sea. A knight had vowed to fight as a gladiator, and another person to die, if Caius should recover; and, instead of rewarding them as they expected, he forced them to perform their vows.

Thus passed the first nine months of Caius's rule. He began the next year (38) auspiciously, by directing that the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the revenue should be made public, according to the practice adopted by Augustus, but intermitted by Tiberius. He also revised the equestrian order, removing unworthy members, and introducing men of birth and property. He restored to the people the right of election, and abolished the excise duty of one per cent. — measures, however, both, it is said, condemned by men of sense, who deemed that no good could arise from giving power to those who knew not how to exercise it, and from diminishing without cause the regular revenue of the state.

On the other hand, he showed the natural ferocity of his disposition by the delight with which he regarded the massacres of the amphitheatre, where, on one occasion, the number of condemned persons who were to be exposed to the wild beasts proving short, he ordered some of the spectators to be seized and cast to them, having previously cut out their tongues, to prevent their crying out or reproaching him. He made Macro and his wife, Ennia, be their own executioners, and he put to death numbers of persons on the charge of having been the enemies of his parents or his brothers, producing against them the very papers which he pretended to have burnt. It was in fact the desire to gain possession of their properties that was his motive; for the vast treasures accumulated by Tiberius had already been dissipated.

Caius had renewed his incestuous commerce with his sister Drusilla, whom he took from her husband, L. Cassius, and then married to M. Lepidus, also the partaker in his vices. She died, however, in the course of the year; and nothing could exceed the grief which he manifested. He gave her a magnificent public funeral, and proclaimed so strict a *Justitium*, that it was a capital offence to laugh, bathe, or dine with one's own family or relations. All the honors which had been conferred on Livia were decreed to her; her statue was placed in the senate-house and forum. A temple was built and priests appointed in her honor; women, in giving testimony, were to swear by her divinity; a festival like that of the Mother of the Gods was to be cele-

brated on her birthday, and under the name of Panthea she received divine honors in all the cities of the empire. A senator named Livius Geminius obtained a large reward by swearing, imprecating destruction on himself and his children if he lied, that he saw her ascending into heaven and mingling with the gods. Caius, in the first vehemence of his grief, fled from Rome in the night, and never stopped till he reached Syracuse, whence he returned with his hair and beard grown to a great length. His oath ever after, when addressing the people or the soldiers, was by the deity of Drusilla. He lived in an incestuous commerce with his other sisters also, and at meals they used to lie by turns below him in the *triclinium*, while his wife lay above; yet he used to prostitute them to the ministers of his lusts.

His first wife, after he came to the empire, was Livia Orestilla; this lady was married to C. Piso; but Caius, when invited to the nuptial feast, took a fancy to her, and saying to Piso, "Do not touch my wife," carried her off; and next day he issued an edict, saying "that he had purveyed him a wife after the fashion of Romulus and Augustus." Within a few days, however, he divorced her; and, two years after, he banished her for having resumed her intimacy with her first husband. Hearing the beauty of the grandmother of Lollia Paullina praised, he summoned that lady from the province where her husband, Memmius Regulus, was in the command of the troops, and, having obliged Regulus to divorce her, he made her his wife.

The following year (39) witnessed the same scenes of cruelty and of reckless extravagance; it was distinguished by the novel caprice of bridging over the sea from Baiæ to Puteoli, a space of more than three miles and a half. All kinds of craft were collected, so that, in consequence of the want of foreign corn, a great scarcity prevailed throughout Italy; and, these not proving sufficient, a large number were built for the purpose: they were anchored in two lines, and timber laid across them, and a way thus formed similar to the Appian road. Places for rest and refreshment were erected at regular distances, and pipes laid for conveying fresh water. When all was completed, Caius, putting on the breastplate (as it was said to be) of Alexander the Great, a military cloak of purple silk adorned with gold and precious stones, and girding on a sword, and grasping a shield, his brows crowned with oak, and having previously sacrificed to Neptune and some other gods, (particularly to Envy, to

escape her influence,) entered the bridge from Baiæ, mounted on a stately horse, and followed by horse and foot in warlike array, and, passing along rapidly, entered Puteoli as a captured city. Having rested there as after a battle, he returned the next day along the bridge in a two-horsed chariot, drawn by the most famous winning horses of the circus. Spoils and captives (among whom was Darius, an Arsacid, one of the Parthian hostages then at Rome) preceded the shaw conqueror; his friends followed in chariots, and the troops brought up the rear. The glorious victor ascended a tribunal erected on a ship about the centre of the bridge, and harangued and extolled his triumphant warriors. He then caused a banquet to be spread on the bridge as if it were an island, and, all who were to partake of it crowding round it in vessels of every kind, the rest of the day and the whole of the night were spent in feasting and revelry. Lights shone from the bridge and the vessels; the hills which enclose the bay were illumined with fires and torches; the whole seemed one vast theatre, and night converted into day, as sea was into land. But the monster, for whose gratification all these effects had been produced, could not refrain from indulging his innate ferocity. When his spirits were elevated with meat and wine, he caused several of those who were with him on the bridge to be flung into the sea, and then, getting into a beaked ship, he sailed to and fro, striking and sinking the vessels which lay about the bridge, filled with revellers. Some were drowned; but, owing to the calmness of the sea, the greater part, though they were drunk, escaped.

Various causes were assigned for this mad freak of bridging over the sea. Some ascribed it, and probably with reason, to the wish to surpass Xerxes; others said that his object was to strike with awe of his power the Germans and Britons, whose countries he meditated to invade. Suetonius says that, when a boy, he heard from his grandfather that the reason assigned by the people of the palace was a desire to give the lie to a declaration of the astrologer Trasyllus, who, on being consulted by Tiberius about the succession, had said that "Caius would no more reign than he would drive horses through the Bay of Baiæ."

Whatever was the cause, the effect was the destruction of an additional number of the Roman nobility, for the sake of confiscating their properties, in order to replace the enormous sums which the bridge had absorbed. When Rome

and Italy had been thus tolerably well exhausted of their wealth, the tyrant resolved to pillage in like manner the opulent provinces of Gaul, and then those of Spain. Under the pretext of repelling the Germans, he suddenly collected an army, and set out for Gaul, going sometimes so rapidly that the prætorian cohorts were obliged to put their standards on the beasts of burden, at other times having himself carried in a litter, and the people of the towns on the way being ordered to sweep and water the roads before him. He was attended by a large train of women, gladiators, dancers, running-horses, and the other instruments of his luxury. When he reached the camp of the legions, he affected the character of a strict commander, dismissing with ignominy each of the legates as brought up the auxiliary contingents slowly. He then turned to robbing both officers and men, by dismissing them a little before they were entitled to their discharge, and cutting down the pensions of the rest to 6000 sesterces.

The son of Cinobelliaus, a British prince, who was banished by his father, having come and made his submission to him, he wrote most magniloquent letters to Rome, as if the whole island had submitted. He crossed the Rhine as if in quest of the German foes; but some one happening to say, as the troops were engaged in a narrow way, that there would be no little consternation if the enemy should then appear, he sprang from his chariot in a fright, mounted his horse, and galloped back to the bridge, and, finding it filled with the men and beasts of the baggage-train, he scrambled over their heads to get beyond the river. On another occasion, he ordered some of his German guards to conceal themselves on the other side of the Rhine, and intelligence to be brought to him, as he sat at dinner, that the enemy was at hand; he sprang up, mounted his horse, and, followed by his friends and part of the guards, rode into the adjoining wood, and, cutting the trees and forming a trophy, returned with it to the camp by torch-light. He then reproached the cowardice of those who had not shared his toils and dangers, and rewarded with what he called *exploratory crowns* those who had accompanied him. Again, he took the young German hostages from their school, and, having secretly sent them on, he jumped up from a banquet, pursued them, as if they were running away, with a body of cavalry, and brought them back in chains. In an edict he severely rebuked the senate and people of Rome for holding banquets, and frequenting

theatres and delicious retreats, while Cæsar was carrying on war, and exposed to such dangers.

His invasion of Britain was, if possible, still more ridiculous. He marched his troops to the coast, and drew them up with all their artillery on the strand. He then got aboard of a galley, and, going a little way out to sea, returned, and, ascending a lofty tribunal, gave the signal for battle, and, at the sound of trumpets, ordered them to charge the ocean, and gather its shells as spoils due to the Capitol and Palatium. He bestowed a large donative on his victorious troops, and built a lighthouse to commemorate the conquest of ocean.

Meantime he was not neglectful of the purpose for which he came. He pillaged indiscriminately, and put to death numbers whose only crime was their wealth. One day, when he was playing at dice, he discovered that his money was out; he retired, and, calling for the census of the Gauls, selected the names of the richest men in it, ordering them to be put to death; then, returning to his company, he said, "*You* are playing for a few denars, but *I* have collected a hundred and fifty millions." He afterwards caused the most precious jewels and other possessions of the monarchy to be sent to him, and put them up to auction, saying, "This was my father's; this was my mother's; this Egyptian jewel belonged to Antonius; this to Augustus;" and so on, at the same time declaring that distress alone caused him to sell them. The buyers were of course obliged to give far beyond the real value of the articles.

Among those put to death while he was in Gaul was M. Lepidus, the husband of his beloved Drusilla, and the sharer in all his vices and debaucheries. The pretext was a conspiracy of Lepidus with Livilla and Agrippina against his life. He wrote to the senate in the most opprobrious terms of his sisters, whom he banished to the Pontian isles. As he was sending them back to Italy for this purpose, he obliged Agrippina to carry the whole way in her bosom the urn which contained the ashes of Lepidus. To commemorate his escape, he sent three daggers to be consecrated to Mars the Avenger.

At this time also he put away Lollia Paullina, under the pretext of her infecundity, and married Milonia Cæsonia, a woman neither handsome nor young, and of the most dissolute habits, and the mother already of three daughters. She was at the time so far gone with child by him that she was

delivered of a daughter immediately after her marriage. He loved her ardently as long as he lived; he used to exhibit her naked to his friends, and take her riding about with him through the ranks of the soldiery, arrayed in a cloak, helmet, and light buckler. Yet he would at times, in his fondness, protest that he would put her to the rack to make her tell why he loved her so much.

Before he left Gaul, (40,) he proposed to massacre the legions which had mutinied against his father. He was dissuaded from this course; but nothing would withhold him from decimating them, at the least. He therefore called them together unarmed, and surrounded them with his cavalry; but, when he observed that they suspected his design, and were gradually slipping away to resume their arms, he lost courage, and, flying from the camp, hastened back to Rome, breathing vengeance against the senate. To the deputies, sent to entreat him to hasten his return, his words were, "I will come — I will come; and this with me," striking the hilt of his sword; and he declared that the senate would find him in future neither a citizen nor a prince. He entered Rome in ovation instead of triumph on his birthday, (Aug. 31,) the last he was to witness; for the measure of his guilt was full, and the patience of mankind nearly exhausted.

It may be worth while to notice some of the acts of which a madman possessed of absolute power was capable.

Caius declared himself to be a god, and had a temple erected to his deity, in which stood a golden statue of him, habited each day as he was himself. Peacocks, pheasants, and other rare birds, were offered in sacrifice every day: his wife Cæsonia, his uncle Claudius, and some persons of great wealth, (who had to purchase the office at a high rate,) were the priests. He added himself and his horse Incitatus to the college. He appeared in the habit and with the insignia sometimes of one, sometimes of another god or goddess. He used to invite the moon, when shining full and bright, to descend to his embraces. He would enter the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, and engage in confidential discourse, as it were, with the god, sometimes even chiding or threatening him. Being invited, he said, to share the abode of that deity, he threw a bridge, for the purpose, over the Forum, from the Palatium to the Capitol. It would be endless to relate all his freaks of this kind.

He devised new and extraordinary taxes. He laid an impost on all kinds of eatables; he demanded two and a half

per cent. on all lawsuits, and severely punished all those who compounded their actions. Porters were required to pay an eighth of their daily earnings; prostitutes were taxed in a similar manner. He even opened a brothel in his palace, which he filled with respectable women, and sent persons through the Forum inviting people to resort to it. When his daughter was born, he complained bitterly of his poverty, and received presents for her support and dower. On new year's day, he used to stand at the porch to receive the gifts which were brought to him. He would often walk barefoot on heaps of gold coin, or lie down and roll himself on them.

His natural cruelty made him delight in the combats of gladiators: he was equally fond of chariot-races; and, as he chose to favor the sea-colored faction, he used to cause the best drivers and horses of their rivals (the green) to be poisoned. He was so fond of one of his own horses named Incitatus, that he used to invite him to dinner, give him gilded barley and wine out of golden cups, and swear by his safety and his fortune; and he was only prevented by death from raising him to the consulate.

One day, at a show of gladiators, he ordered the awning, which screened the spectators from the burning rays of the sun, to be withdrawn, and forbade any one to be let go out. Another time, when the people applauded contrary to his wishes, he cried out, "O that the Roman people had but one neck!"

A conspiracy at length delivered the world from the monster who thus oppressed it. The principal freedmen and officers of the guards were concerned in it; they were actuated by a principle of self-preservation, and not by any patriotic views or generous aspirations after the liberty and happiness of the Roman people. It was, in effect, such a conspiracy as most usually occurs in absolute and despotic governments.* The most active agents were Cassius Chærea and Cornelius Sabinus, two tribunes of the guards, who had private motives of revenge, in particular Cassius, whom, though advanced in years, and a man of great strength and courage, Caius used to term effeminate, and to give Venus or Priapus, or some such lascivious term, when he came to him for the watchword.

* A very circumstantial account of the murder of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, is given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 1—4.

On the 24th of January, (41,) a little after noon, though his stomach was suffering from the effects of the previous day's excess, Caius yielded to the instances of his friends, and was proceeding from the theatre, where he had passed the morning, to the dining-room. As he was going along the vaulted passage leading to it, he stopped to inspect some boys of noble birth from Ionia, whom he had caused to come to Rome to sing in public a hymn made in his honor. While thus engaged, he was fallen on and slain by Chærea, Sabinus, and other officers of the guards. A centurion, by the order of Chærea, killed, in the course of the night, his wife, Cræsonia, and the brains of their infant daughter were dashed out against a wall. Such was the end of this execrable tyrant, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of somewhat less than four years. After his death, there were found in his cabinet two books, the one having for its title the Sword, the other the Dagger, and containing the names of those whom he intended to put to death. There was also discovered a large chest full of all kinds of poisons.

CHAPTER V.*

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR.

A. U. 794—807. A. D. 41—55.

ACCESSION OF CLAUDIUS. — HIS CHARACTER. — HIS USEFUL MEASURES. — NESSALINA AND THE FREEDMEN. — HER LUST AND CRUELTY. — CLAUDIUS IN BRITAIN. — VICIOUS CONDUCT OF NESSALINA. — HER DEATH. — CLAUDIUS MARRIES AGRIPPINA. — IS POISONED BY HER.

As soon as the death of Caius was known, the consuls set guards throughout the city, and assembled the senate on the Capitol, where the remainder of the day and all the night were spent in deliberation; some wishing to reëstablish the republic, others to continue the monarchy. But while they were deliberating, the question had been already determined in the camp of the prætorian cohorts.

* Authorities: Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion.

When Caius was slain, his uncle Claudius, in his terror, hid himself behind the door curtains of one of the rooms. A common soldier, who was running through the palace in quest of plunder, happening to see his feet under the curtain, dragged him out. Claudius fell on his knees, suing for mercy; but the soldier, recognizing him, saluted him emperor, and led him to his comrades, who placed him in a litter, and carried him, trembling for his life, to their camp. The consuls sent the tribunes of the people to summon him as a senator to come and give his presence at their deliberations; but he replied that he was detained by force. In the morning, however, finding the troops unanimous in their design of conferring the supreme power on him, he consented to accept it, promising them a gratuity of 15,000 sesterces a man — thus introducing the pernicious practice of bargaining for the support of the guards. The senate, unable to agree among themselves, finding the people indifferent, and being deserted by the urban cohorts, abandoned the futile project of restoring the republic, and quietly yielded submission to the behest of the soldiery.

Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar, who was thus unexpectedly raised to empire, was the younger brother of Germanicus. He was from infancy of a sickly, delicate constitution, and the disease of his body affected his mind. His mother, Antonia, used to call him a portent of a man begun but not completed by nature; and when she would describe any one as particularly stupid, she would say he was a greater fool than her son Claudius. His grandmother Livia held him in the most supreme contempt. Augustus had so mean an opinion of him, that he would not confer on him any of the honors of the state. Tiberius treated him in a similar manner. Caius, in the first days of his reign, made him his colleague in the consulate; but it was only his contempt for his folly (which Claudius cunningly affected beyond nature) that saved him from sharing the fate of so many better men.

Mental ability is very distinct from good sense and wisdom. It need not therefore surprise us to learn that this prince, whose name in his own family was synonymous with stupidity, was learned, and wrote with ease and elegance in both the Greek and Latin languages.* He also, as is usually the case with such persons, exhibited occasional glimpses

* Suetonius (Claud. 41) speaks rather favorably of his historical writings. He seems to have been honest and impartial.

of shrewdness and sagacity, and made just observations, and conceived or proposed judicious plans. In fact, in examining the history and character of Claudius, one is often reminded of James I. of England, though the advantage, it must be allowed, is greatly on the side of the British monarch.

The first act of Claudius was to declare a full and complete amnesty (to which he faithfully adhered) of all that had been said and done in the last two days. He executed, however, Chærea, and some of the other assassins of Caius, not out of regard to him, but to deter others from attempting the life of an emperor; Sabinus died by his own hand. Claudius exhibited no enmity against those who had injured or insulted him in the two last reigns, of whom the number was necessarily not small. He entirely abolished the law of treason; and, taking the Sword and Dagger, and all the papers which Caius had pretended to burn, he showed them to the senate, and, letting them see the names of the writers, and of the persons against whom they were written, burned them in good earnest. While he sedulously abolished all the wild innovations of Caius, he was anxious to have all kinds of honors bestowed on the memory of his family. He recalled his nieces, Agrippina and Livilla from their exile, and restored to them their property.

Claudius, who was fifty years of age, and whose life had been passed chiefly in the study of antiquity, understood and wished to conform as much as possible to the forms of the ancient constitution. He declined to use the prænomens emperor; he refused excessive honors; he celebrated the weddings of his two daughters as if he had been a simple citizen; he did nothing of public import without the authority of the senate; he showed all due marks of respect to the consuls and the other magistrates. By this conduct, he so won the popular favor, that, when one time he went to Ostia, and a rumor was spread that he had been assassinated, the people assembled and poured their maledictions on the senate and the guards, as murderers and traitors, and were not pacified till they were assured by the magistrates of his safety.

In the second year of his reign, (42,) Claudius commenced a work of great utility, but of enormous expense. For many years past, tillage had been so completely abandoned in Italy, that nearly all the corn that was used in Rome was imported from Africa and Sicily. But, as there were no secure

ports or landing-places at the mouth of the Tiber, the supplies could only be brought in during the fine season; and, if a sufficient quantity was not then warehoused for the winter's consumption, a famine was the sure consequence. To remedy this evil, Claudius, undeterred by the magnitude of the estimate given in by the surveyors, resolved to construct a port at Ostia. It was formed in the following manner: A large basin was dug in the land, on the right bank of the river, and the sea let into it; two extensive moles were then run out into the sea, including another large basin, at the entrance to which, on an artificial island, stood a Pharos or lighthouse to direct vessels into it.* By means of this port, corn could be brought in at all times of the year, and the danger of famine in the city was greatly diminished. Another public work, effected by Claudius, was the bringing the stream named the New Anio to Rome, and distributing it there into a number of handsome reservoirs. He attempted a still greater work, namely, the draining of the Fucine lake, in the Marsian country, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak. Another of his public works was the rebuilding of the theatre of Pompeius, which had been destroyed by fire.

The conduct of Claudius had been so far commendable; but constancy was not to be expected in a man of his feeble character. It was observed that he took immoderate delight in the barbarous sports of the amphitheatre, and hence it was inferred that he would shed blood without any repugnance; but what caused greater apprehension was his absolute submission to his wife and freedmen, of whose will he was merely the agent. His wife was Valeria Messalina, the daughter of his cousin Barbatus Messala, a woman whose name has become proverbial for infamy. His most distinguished freedmen were the ennuich Posidus; Felix, whom he made governor of Judæa, and who had the fortune to be the husband of three queens; and Callistus, who retained the power which he had acquired under Caius. But far superior in point of influence to these were the three secretaries, (as we may term them,) Polybius, Narcissus, and Pallas. The first was the assistant of his studies, (*a studiis*,) and ranked so high that he might be often seen walking between the two consuls; Narcissus was his private secretary, (*ab*

* Dion, lx. 11. Suet. Claud. 20. Juvenal (Sat. xii. 75, seq.) also describes this port.

epistolis;) and Pallas (the brother of Felix) was treasurer, (*a rationibus*.) The two last were in strict league with Messalina; *she* only sought to gratify her lusts; *they* longed for honors, power, and wealth; and such were the riches they acquired, that when Claudius was one time complaining of the poverty of his exchequer, some one told him that he would be rich enough if he could induce his two freedmen to take him into partnership.

Their plan, when they would have any one put to death, was to terrify Claudius (who, like weak people in general, was a consummate coward) by tales of plots against his life. They commenced in his very second year, by assailing C. Annæus Silanus, whom Claudius had summoned from Spain, where he was governor, given him in marriage the mother of Messalina, and treated him as one of his most intimate friends. The abandoned Messalina soon cast an eye of lust on her stepfather; and, on his rejecting her advances, she plotted with Pallas to destroy him. Accordingly, Pallas came, early one morning, into Claudius's chamber, and told him that he had had a dream, in which he saw him slain by Silanus. Messalina helped to increase his alarm, and an order was obtained for the execution of the innocent nobleman.

This wanton murder caused general alarm, and was the occasion of a conspiracy against Claudius, in which the principal person engaged was Annæus Vinicianus, a man of high rank. As he had no force to oppose to the guards, he sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who commanded in Dalmatia, inviting him to join in the conspiracy, and holding out to him a prospect of the empire. Camillus assented; many senators and knights repaired to him; he took the title of emperor, and wrote to Claudius, desiring him to retire into a private station—a command which the feeble prince had thoughts of obeying. But the legions of Camillus, though at first inclined to second him, when they heard him speak of the people, and of ancient liberty, began to think that a revolution would not be for their advantage. They therefore refused to obey him, and he fled to an island off the coast, and put an end to his life. Messalina and the freedmen now gave a loose to their passion for blood and for plunder. Slaves and freedmen were admitted as witnesses against their masters; and, though Claudius had sworn, at his accession, that no freeman should be put to the torture, knights and senators, citizens and strangers, were tortured

alike. Vinicianus and some others anticipated the executioner. Men and women perished alike, and their bodies were indiscriminately flung down the Gemonian Steps. Yet some, and those of the most guilty, escaped, partly by favor, partly by money given to the freedmen; and the children, without exception, of those who perished remained uninjured; some even obtained part of the property of their family.

Among those who suffered, there were two whose cases are deserving of notice. Galæsus, a freedman of Camillus, when brought before Claudius and the senate, exhibited great constancy and courage. Pallas, stepping forward presumptuously, said to him, "What would you have done, Galæsus, if Camillus had become the monarch?" "I would have stood behind him and held my tongue!" was the reply of the undaunted freedman. The other case was that of Cæcina Pætus and his wife, Arria. When Pætus, who was engaged with Camillus, was put on board a ship to be conveyed to Rome, Arria besought the soldiers to allow her to go in the vessel with him, saying that surely they would let a man of consular rank have some slaves to dress him and to attend him at table, and that she would discharge these offices. They, however, refused, and she then hired a small fishing-boat, and followed the ship.* When Pætus was condemned to die, this high-minded woman, though she might have lived in honor by the favor of Messalina, who had much regard for her, disdained to survive him; and not merely so, but when she saw him hesitating to die, she took the sword, and, having stabbed herself, handed it to him, saying, "See! Pætus; I am in no pain." "They were praised," adds the historian Dion; for, from the continuance of evil, matters were come to that state that nothing but dying courageously was counted virtue.

At length, when no more victims remained, the persecution ceased, (43.) Claudius then, as usual, made some useful acts of legislation, such as diminishing the number of holidays, and obliging governors to repair betimes to their provinces, and not to remain in the city. He also deprived many unworthy persons of the right of citizenship, and conferred it on others. In this Messalina and the freedmen carried on a most extensive trade; and, in their eagerness to catch at all that could be obtained, they brought down so

* Plin. Ep. iii. 16.

much the price, (which used to be very high,) that it became a common saying that one had only to give a parcel of broken glass to be made a citizen.

Messalina now set no bounds to her vicious courses. Not content with being infamous herself, she would have others so; and she actually used to compel ladies to prostitute themselves even in the palace, and before the eyes of their husbands, whom she rewarded with honors and commands, while she contrived to destroy those who would not acquiesce in their wives' dishonor. Her cruelty extended also to her own sex, and to her husband's kindred; she had already (41) caused Livilla to be put to death, on a charge of adultery, (in which the philosopher Seneca was implicated, and in consequence exiled to Corsica;) but the real ground of offence was Livilla's beauty, and her intimacy with her uncle. She now became jealous of Julia, the granddaughter of Tiberius, whom she soon contrived to deprive of life. Meantime her own excesses were unknown to her husband, for she generally caused one of her maids to occupy her place in his bed; and she bought off by benefits, or anticipated by punishments, those who could give him information.*

The wars on the frontiers had been of late against the Germans in Europe, and the Moors in Africa, and Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the future emperor, had vanquished the Chattans, and C. Suetonius Paulinus had carried the Roman arms to the foot of Atlas. The plan of conquering Britain was now resumed, and partly effected.† An exiled British prince having applied to Claudius, orders were sent to A. Plautius, who commanded in Gaul, to lead his troops into the island. Plautius obeyed, and subdued a part of the country south of the Thames. At his desire, Claudius himself proceeded to Britain; and, having crossed that river, and defeated an army of the natives, he returned to Rome (after a stay of only sixteen days in the island) and celebrated a triumph, (44.) The title of Britannicus was decreed by the senate to himself and to his young son, and honors were conferred on Messalina similar to those enjoyed by Livia Augusta.

Little of importance occurred for the next two or three years. As the 800th year of the city arrived in his reign,

* The picture of the depravity of this abandoned woman given by Juvenal (vi. 114, *seq.*) is not overcharged.

† For the affairs of Britain, the reader is referred to the author's History of England.

(47,) Claudius celebrated the sæcular games, alleging (it would seem with truth, though he had asserted the contrary in his own historical works) that Augustus had anticipated the proper time. The proclamation being made in the usual form, caused a good deal of merriment; for the crier invited the people to games "which no one had seen before nor would ever see again," whereas there were many who well remembered those of Augustus in the year 737, and even some of the actors who had then performed appeared now on the stage.*

While Claudius was celebrating his games, and regulating, often advantageously, the affairs of the empire, Messalina still ran her mad career of vice, often making her stupid husband the broker, as it were, of her pleasures. Thus, when Mnester, a celebrated dancer, with whom she fell violently in love, could be seduced neither by her promises nor her threats, she obtained from Claudius (pretending some other purpose) an order to him to do whatever she should require of him. Mnester therefore, thinking that she had full license from her husband, complied with her desires. The same was the case with many others, who deemed that they were acting in obedience to the wishes of the prince when intriguing with his wife.

The chief object of her affection at this time was C. Silius, the handsomest man in Rome, and then consul elect. She drove away his wife, Junia Silana, that she might have the sole possession of him; and Silius, knowing that to refuse would be his destruction, while by compliance he might possibly escape, yielded to his fate. The adulteress had now become so secure, that she disdained concealment; she went openly to his house; she heaped wealth and honors on him; the slaves, the freedmen, the whole property, as it were, of the prince, were transferred to the house of her paramour. Messalina thought not of danger; but Silius saw that he was so deep in guilt, that he or Claudius must fall. He therefore proposed to his mistress the murder of her husband, and the seizure of the supreme power, offering then to marry her, and to adopt her son. She hesitated, not from affection to her husband, but from fear lest Silius should, when in power, cast her off. The prospect of a more eminent degree of infamy finally prevailed with her,

* [Both these statements are highly improbable, not to say impossible, no less than 63 years having passed between the times. — J. T. S.]

and she even resolved to become the wife of Silius at once.

What followed, Tacitus thought would be regarded as so utterly beyond belief, that he deemed it necessary to assure his readers, that he faithfully recorded the accounts transmitted by contemporary writers. Taking advantage of the absence of Claudius, who was gone to celebrate a sacrifice at Ostia, (48,) Messalina and Silius had their marriage publicly performed, with all the requisite forms and ceremonies; and, as it was now the season of the vintage, they and their friends, habited as Bacchanals, acted all kinds of extravagances in the gardens of Silius's house. The freedmen, meantime, consulted how they should act. The confidence between them and Messalina was at an end, for she had caused Polybius to be put to death, and they saw that no reliance could be placed on her. The others hesitated, but Narcissus resolved to run all risks, and inform Claudius of her conduct. Having made the rest promise not to give Messalina any warning, he hastened down to Ostia, and there prevailed on Calpurnia and Cleopatra, two mistresses of the prince, to communicate to him the intelligence. Accordingly, when they were alone with him, Calpurnia, throwing herself at his knees, exclaimed that Messalina was married to Silius; Cleopatra confirmed her words; Narcissus was then called in. He craved pardon for having concealed her former transgressions, but said that this was a more serious case, and that the empire itself was at stake. Claudius then consulted with his friends, and it was their unanimous opinion that he should hasten at once to the camp of the prætorians, and secure their fidelity. As, however, Geta, their commander, could not be relied on, Narcissus, seconded by those who stood in equal peril with himself, declared that it was absolutely necessary that the command of the guards should for that one day be transferred to one of the freedmen, and offered to take the charge on himself. Then, fearing lest L. Vitellius and P. Lælius Cæcina, who were the creatures of Messalina, should succeed in moving Claudius to pity on his way to Rome, he asked and obtained a seat in the same carriage with him and them.

Intelligence of what was going on at Ostia soon reached Rome. The guilty pair were struck with consternation. Messalina retired to the gardens of Lucullus, for the sake of which (a Roman Jezebel) she had, by means of her creature L. Vitellius, lately caused their owner, Valerius Asiaticus,

to be judicially murdered. Silius, to conceal his fears, went about his public duties; but some centurions soon arrived, who put him and many others in bonds. Messalina resolved to try the effect of her presence on her weak husband. She ordered his children Britannicus and Octavia to be brought to her; she implored Vibidia, the eldest of the Vestals, to come and intercede for her. She then, with only three companions, crossed the city on foot, and, getting into a gardener's cart, set out on the road to Ostia.

When she met her husband, she cried out to him from afar to hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus; but Narcissus reiterated Silius and her marriage, and gave Claudius the records of her infamy to read. As he was entering the city, his children were presented to him; but Narcissus desired them to be removed. Vibidia then appeared, and required that he would not condemn his wife unheard. Narcissus replied that she should have an opportunity of defending herself, and bade the Vestal meantime to go and attend to her sacred duties.

Narcissus conducted Claudius to the house of Silius, that he might have ocular proof of his guilt. He thence took him to the camp, where Claudius, at his dictation, addressed a few words to the soldiers, who replied with a shout, calling for judgment on the guilty. Silius was brought before the tribunal; he made no defence, and only prayed for a speedy death. His example was followed by several illustrious knights. The only case that caused any delay was that of the dancer Mnester, who pleaded the prince's command for what he had done. Claudius was dubious how to act; but the freedmen urged that it would be folly to think of a player when so many noblemen were put to death, and that it mattered not whether he acted voluntarily or not in committing such a crime. Mnester also was therefore put to death.

Messalina had returned to the gardens of Lucullus. She did not yet despair, if she could but get access to her husband. As Claudius, when he grew warm with wine at his dinner, desired some one to go tell that wretched woman (so he termed her) to be prepared to make her defence the next day, Narcissus saw that all was again at stake. He therefore ran out, and told the tribune and centurions on guard that the emperor had ordered his wife to be put to death. They proceeded to the gardens of Lucullus, where they found her lying on the ground, her mother Lepida, who in her prosperity had avoided her, sitting beside her, and persuading

her to take refuge in a voluntary death. The unfortunate woman's mind, however, was too much enervated by luxury for her to possess sufficient courage for such an act. The freedman who accompanied the officers having loaded her with abuse, she took a sword and made some ineffectual attempts to stab herself; the tribune then ran her through. Claudius, when informed of her fate, testified neither joy nor grief. By a decree of the senate, all memorials of Messalina were abolished, and the quæstorian ensigns were voted to Narcissus.

The freedmen now had the task of selecting another wife for their feeble prince, who was not capable of leading a single life, and who was sure to be governed by the successful candidate. The principal women in Rome were ambitious of the honor of sharing the bed of the imperial idiot; but the claims of all were forced to yield to those of Lollia Paulina, the former wife of Caius, Julia Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and Ælia Petina, Claudius's own divorced wife. The first was patronized by Callistus, the second by Pallas, the last by Narcissus. Agrippina, however, in consequence of her frequent access to her uncle, easily triumphed over her rivals; the only difficulty that presented itself was that of a marriage between uncle and niece being contrary to Roman manners, and being even regarded as incestuous. This difficulty, however, the compliant L. Vitellius, who was then censor, undertook to remove. He addressed the senate, stating the necessity of a domestic partner to a prince who had on him such weighty public cares. He then launched forth in praise of Agrippina; as to the objection of the nearness of kindred, such unions, he said, were practised among other nations, and, at one time, first cousins did not use to marry, which now they did so commonly. The servile assembly outran the speaker in zeal; they rushed out of the house, and a promiscuous rabble collected, shouting that such was the wish of the Roman people. Claudius repaired to the senate-house, and caused a decree to be made legalizing marriages between uncles and nieces; and he then formally espoused Agrippina. Yet such was the light in which the incestuous union was viewed, that, corrupt as the Roman character was become, only two persons were found to follow the imperial example.*

* The Church of Rome forbids both these marriages, but grants dispensations for them. In Popish countries, the marriages of uncle and

Agrippina also proposed to unite her son Domitius with Octavia, the daughter of Claudius; but here there was a difficulty also, for Octavia was betrothed to L. Silanus. Again, however, she found a ready tool in the base Vitellius to whose son Junia Calvina, the sister of Silanus, had been married. As the brother and sister indulged their affection imprudently, though not improperly, the worthy censor took the occasion to make a charge of incest against Silanus, and to strike him out of the list of senators. Claudius then broke off the match, and Silanus put an end to himself on the very day of Agrippina's marriage. His sister was banished, and Claudius ordered some ancient rites expiatory of incest to be performed, unconscious of the application of them which would be made to himself.

The woman who had now obtained the government of Claudius and the Roman empire, was of a very different character from the abandoned Messalina. The latter had nothing noble about her; she was the mere bondslave of lust, and cruel and avaricious only for its gratification; but Agrippina was a woman of superior mind, though utterly devoid of principle. In *her*, lust was subservient to ambition; it was the desire of power, or the fear of death, and not wantonness, that made her submit to the incestuous embraces of her brutal brother Caius, and to be prostituted to the companions of his vices. It was ambition and parental love that made her now form an incestuous union with her uncle. To neither of her husbands, Cn. Domitius or Crispus Passienus, does she appear to have been voluntarily unfaithful; the bed of Claudius was, however, not fated to be unpolluted; for, as a means of advancing her views, Agrippina formed an illicit connection with Pallas.

The great object of Agrippina was to exclude Britannicus, and obtain the succession for her own son, Nero Domitius, now a boy of twelve years of age. She therefore caused Octavia to be betrothed to him, and she had the philosopher Seneca recalled from Corsica, whither he had been exiled by the arts of Messalina, and committed to him the education of her son, that he might be fitted for empire. In the following year, (51,) Claudius, yielding to her influence, adopted him.

In order to bring Nero forward, Agrippina caused him to assume the virile *toga* before the usual age, (52;) and the

niece are common. The late queen of Portugal was married to her uncle; the present is married two brothers in succession.

servile senate desired of Claudius that he might be consul at the age of twenty, and meantime be elect with proconsular power without the city. A donative was given to the soldiers, and a congiary (*congiarium*) to the people, in his name. At the Circensian games, given to gain the people, Nero appeared in the triumphal habit; Britannicus, in a simple *prætecta*. Every one who showed any attachment to this poor youth, was removed, on one pretence or another, and he was surrounded with the creatures of Agrippina. Finally, as the two commanders of the guards were supposed to be attached to the interests of the children of Messalina, she persuaded Claudius that their discipline would be much improved if they were placed under one commander. Accordingly, those officers were removed, and the command was given to Burrus Afranius, a man of high character for probity, and of great military reputation, and who knew to whom he was indebted for his elevation.

The pride and haughtiness of Agrippina far transcended any thing that Rome had as yet witnessed in a woman. When (51) the British prince Caractacus and his family, whom P. Ostorius had sent captives to the emperor, were led before him, as he sat on his tribunal in the plain under the prætorian camp, with all the troops drawn out, Agrippina appeared, seated on another tribunal, as the partner of his power. And again, when (53) the letting off of the Fucine lake was celebrated with a naval combat, she presided with him, habited in a military cloak of cloth of gold.

Agrippina at length (55) grew weary of delay, or fearful of discovery. Narcissus, who saw at what she was aiming, appeared resolved to exert all his influence in favor of Britannicus; and Claudius himself, one day, when he was drunk, was heard to say, that it was his fate to bear with the infamy of his wives, and then to punish it. He had also begun to show peculiar marks of affection for Britannicus. She therefore resolved to act without delay; and, as Claudius, having become unwell, had retired to Sinuessa for change of air and the benefit of the waters, she proposed to take advantage of the opportunity thus presented. She procured, from a woman named Locusta, infamous for her skill in poisoning, a poison of the most active nature. The eunuch Halotus, who was his taster, then infused it in a dish of mushrooms, a kind of food in which he delighted. The poison, however, acted violently on his bowels, and Agrippina, in dismay lest he should recover, made a physician who

was at hand introduce a poisoned feather into his throat, by way of making him discharge his stomach; and in this manner the nefarious deed was completed. The death of Claudius was concealed till all the preparations for the succession of Nero should be made, and the fortunate hour marked by the astrologers be arrived. He then (Oct. 13) issued from the palace, accompanied by Burrus; and, being cheered by the cohort which was on guard, he mounted a litter, and proceeded to the camp. He addressed the soldiers, promising them a donative, and was saluted emperor. The senate and provinces acquiesced without a murmur in the will of the guards.

Claudius was in his sixty-fourth year when he was poisoned; and he had reigned thirteen years and nine months, wanting a few days.

CHAPTER VI.*

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

A. U. 808—821. A. D. 55—68.

DECLINE OF AGRIPPINA'S POWER. — POISONING OF BRITANNICUS — MURDER OF AGRIPPINA. — NERO APPEARS ON THE STAGE. — MURDER OF OCTAVIA. — EXCESSES OF NERO. — BURNING OF ROME. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST NERO. — DEATH OF SENECA. — DEATHS OF PETRONIUS, THRASEAS, AND SORANUS. — NERO VISITS GREECE. — GALBA PROCLAIMED EMPEROR. — DEATH OF NERO.

THE new emperor † was only seventeen years of age. On account of his youth and his obligations to her, Agrippina hoped to enjoy the power of the state; but Nero was not feeble-minded, like Claudius, and Seneca and Burrus were resolved to keep in check the influence of a haughty, unprincipled woman. All outward honors, however, were shown her. When the tribune, according to custom, asked the emperor for the word, he gave, 'My best Mother;' the sen-

* Authorities: Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion.

† We shall henceforth employ this term. Its original meaning must be familiar to the reader.

ate decreed her sundry privileges, but Burrus and Seneca checked her lust of blood. She had, however, caused Junius Silanus, the proconsul of Asia, to be poisoned for being of the imperial family, and she forced Narcissus to be his own executioner. When the senators were summoned to the palace on any affair of state, she used to stand behind the door curtain, that she might be present and share in the debate without being seen; and when ambassadors came from Armenia, she was about to ascend the tribunal with her son, had not Seneca bidden the emperor to go and meet his mother; and thus, by the show of filial duty, the disgrace to the majesty of Rome was avoided.

All now was full of promise. The young emperor made speeches, the compositions of Seneca, replete with sentiments of clemency and justice. He declared that Augustus should be his model in government. He diminished the taxes, and reduced the rewards of informers to a fourth. When required to sign the warrant for the execution of a criminal, "How I could wish," said he, "that I were ignorant of letters!" He practised many popular arts, and acted in a character easy to assume, but difficult to maintain if not prompted by nature.

The power of Agrippina received its first shock (56) by the passion of her son for a freedwoman named Acte, a native of Asia, and, as he fain would have it, a descendant of the kings of Pergamus. His graver friends were willing to wink at this attachment, for, as he testified an aversion for his chaste and modest wife, Octavia, they thought it would be a means of keeping him from debauching women of rank. But the violent Agrippina at first set no bounds to her rage; then, passing to the other extremes, she offered him her purse and her apartments for the gratification of his wishes. Nero and his friends, however, saw through her arts, and the plan for reducing her power was steadily pursued. Accordingly Pallas was now deprived of his office of treasurer. This again drove her furious; she menaced her son with setting up Britannicus against him, declaring that she would take him to the camp, and, as the daughter of Germanicus, appeal to the soldiers against her unworthy son.

Nero now became alarmed; he knew of what his mother was capable, and a late incident* had shown him that Britan-

* In the Saturnalia when boys were, as usual, giving the kingdom by lot, it fell to Nero As all were then bound to obey his commands,

nicus was not without spirit, and was possessed of friends. He therefore resolved to remove him, and for this purpose had a poison procured from Locusta, and administered by those about the youth. It proved, however, too weak; and the emperor, sending for Locusta, beat her with his own hands, and made her prepare a stronger dose, of which he made trial on a kid and a pig, till he was satisfied of its efficacy. He then had it brought into the dining-room, and given in some cold water to Britannicus, as he sat at dinner. The unhappy youth dropped suddenly dead; Nero said carelessly, that he had been subject to epilepsy from his infancy, and that he would soon recover. Agrippina was struck with terror and consternation, but did not venture to express them. Octavia, young as she was, had learned to conceal her feelings. So, after a brief interval of silence, the entertainment was resumed. The body of Britannicus was burnt that very night, the arrangements for it having been previously made.

To stifle the memory of this atrocious deed, Nero bestowed large gifts on the persons about him of most influence. By many Seneca and Burrus were much blamed for accepting them, while others excused them by the plea of necessity. Nothing, however, could soften Agrippina; she embraced Octavia; she held secret meetings with her friends; she collected money; she courted the officers of the guards; she treated the remaining nobility with great respect. Nero, in return, deprived her of the guard of honor which had been hitherto assigned her, appointed a different part of the palace for her residence, and never visited her without a party of centurions.

The enemies of Agrippina were now emboldened to attack her life. Junia Silana,* who had been her intimate friend, irritated by her having been the means of depriving her of an advantageous match, caused two of her clients, named Itarius and Calvitiuſ, to accuse her of a design to marry Rubellius Plautus, who was related to Augustus in the same degree that Nero was, and to set him up as his rival for the empire. This information was communicated to Atimetus, a freedman of Domitia, Nero's aunt, who also was at enmity with

he ordered Britannicus to stand in the middle and sing a song. Britannicus obeyed; but the song he sang was one expressive of his own fate in being cast out from empire and his paternal seat. Tac. An. xiii. 15. It is probably to this play that Horace alludes, Ep. i. 1, 59. It is also the original of our Twelfth-day kings.

* See above, p. 84.

Agrippina; and he urged Paris the actor, another of her freedmen, to go at once and inform the emperor of the danger that menaced him, & Paris hastened to the palace. It was late at night when he arrived. Nero, who had been drinking freely, was dreadfully alarmed at this intelligence. In the first access of his terror, he would have had both his mother and Plautus put to death immediately; but he was withheld for the present by the instances of Burrus. In the morning, Burrus, Seneca, and some of the freedmen, waited on Agrippina. She treated the charge with disdain, exposed its absurdity, and assigned the motives of its inventors. She insisted on being admitted to an audience of her son; and, when she saw him, she demanded, and she obtained, rewards for her friends, and vengeance on her enemies. Silana was exiled, Calpurnius and Iturius were relegated, Atimetus was put to death; but Paris was too necessary to the pleasures of the prince to allow of his being punished.

Pallas and Burrus were now accused of a design to set up Cornelius Sulla, the son-in-law of Claudius. But the charge was so manifestly absurd, that the accuser was sent into exile. A remarkable instance of the pride and insolence of Pallas appeared on this occasion; when the freedmen who were his confidants were named, he replied that in his house he always indicated his wishes by a nod or by a sign of his hand, or, if many things were to be expressed, he wrote them down, that he might not mingle his voice with those of his servants.

Little of importance occurred at Rome during the three succeeding years. The matter of most note was the connection which Nero formed (59) with a lady named Poppæa Sabina. This woman, who, as Tacitus remarks, possessed every thing but virtue, was at this time married to M. Salvius Otho, for whom she had quitted her former husband, Rufius Crispinus. Otho, who was one of Nero's greatest intimates, could not refrain from boasting frequently before him of the beauty and elegance of his wife. Nero's desires were inflamed; he soon managed to become acquainted with Poppæa; and this artful woman pretended to be captivated with his beauty, but at the same time declared that she was strongly attached to Otho, on account of the noble and splendid life which he led, while Nero, the associate of the freedwoman Acte, could not be expected to be any thing but mean and servile. This line of conduct succeeded completely; Nero

became all her own, and Otho, that he might not be in the way of their amours, was sent out as governor of Lusitania.

It was now that Agrippina was in real danger. Poppæa, whose power over her lover continually increased, knew that, as long as his mother lived, she could not hope to succeed in making him divorce Octavia and marry herself. She therefore had recourse to her usual arts, calling him a ward, telling him that he did not possess freedom, much less empire; and tauntingly asking him, was it on account of her noble ancestors, or her beauty, or her fecundity, or her spirit, that he delayed espousing her, and so forth.

Tacitus relates, on the authority of several writers, and of common fame, that Agrippina's desire for the retention of power was such, that she actually sought to seduce her son to the commission of incest; and her design was only prevented by Seneca's making Acte tell the prince that the fame of it was gone abroad, and that the soldiers would not submit to the rule of a profane prince. Others said that the guilty party was Nero himself, but that he was diverted from his design by Acte, as just related. Nothing, we fear, is too bad to be believed of either mother or son.

Be the truth as it may, Nero henceforth avoided all occasions of being alone with his mother; and he secretly resolved on her death. The difficulty was how to accomplish it; poison was out of the question against a woman of such caution; a violent death could not be concealed, and he also feared that he could get no one to attempt her life. At length Anicetus, a freedman who commanded the fleet at Misenum, proposed the expedient of a ship which should go to pieces. The prince embraced the idea, and, as he was spending the festival of the Quinquatrus at Baiæ, (60,) he invited his mother, who was at Antium, to visit him there, saying that children should bear with the temper of their parents. He met her on the way, and conducted her to a villa named Bauli, on the sea-coast. Among the vessels lying there was one superior to the others, as if to do her honor. She was invited to proceed in it to Baiæ; but it is said that she had gotten warning, and therefore declined, and proceeded thither in her litter. The caresses of her son, however, dispelled her suspicions, if she had any; the banquet was prolonged into the night, and, when she rose to depart, the emperor attended her to the shore where she was to embark, and, as he was taking leave of her, he kissed her eyes and bosom repeatedly

either the more completely to veil his purpose, or possibly from some remnants of the feelings of nature.

The night was starlight — the sea was calm: Agrippina, attended only by Creperius Gallus and her maid Acerronia, went on board. The vessel had proceeded but a little way, when, as Creperius was standing near the helm, and Acerronia was reclining over the feet of her mistress, and congratulating her on the recent reconciliation, the deck, which was laden with lead, at a given signal came down on them: Creperius was killed on the spot; the strength of the sides of the bed saved Agrippina and Acerronia; the ship did not go to pieces, as intended. The rowers then attempted to sink it by inclining it to one side, but did not succeed. Acerronia foolishly crying out that *she* was Agrippina, and calling to them to aid the mother of the prince, was despatched with blows of boat-hooks and oars. Agrippina, who preserved silence, only received a wound in the shoulder; and she floated along till she was picked up by some small boats, and conveyed to her villa on the Lucrine lake. She now saw through the whole design of her impious son; but, deeming it her wisest course to dissemble, she sent Agerinus, one of her freedmen, to inform him of the escape which the goodness of the gods had vouchsafed her, begging him not to come to visit her, as she required repose.

Nero's consternation was extreme when he heard of her escape. He deemed that she would now set no bounds to her vengeance; that she would arm her slaves, and appeal to the soldiers, the senate, and the people, against her parricidal son. He summoned Burrus and Seneca to advise him. They both maintained a long silence: at length Seneca, seeing that either Nero or Agrippina now must fall, looked at Burrus, and asked if a soldier should be ordered to slay her? Burrus replied that the soldiers would not touch the issue of Germanicus, and added that it would be better for Anicetus to go through with what he had commenced. Nero was overjoyed when Anicetus declared his willingness. Just then Agerinus arrived; and, as he was delivering his message, Nero cast a sword at his feet, and then caused him to be put in chains, that he might be able to say that his mother had sent her freedman to assassinate him, and had killed herself out of shame when she had failed in her design.

When Anicetus arrived at Agrippina's villa, he dispersed the crowds which had assembled to congratulate her on her escape. He set a guard round the house, and then, with a

captain of a galley and a centurion of the marines, entered her chamber, where she was waiting with extreme anxiety for intelligence. The only maid about her was leaving her. "Do you also desert me?" said she; and, looking around, she beheld Anicetus. She told him, if he came to see her, to say that she was recovered; if to perform a crime, she would not believe that her son would command the murder of his mother. The captain struck her with a stick on the head; as the centurion was drawing his sword, she showed her womb, crying out, "Strike here:" she was then despatched with several wounds. Such was the termination of the guilty ambition of the highly-gifted daughter of Germanicus. It was said that she had long foreknown her fate; for, having one time consulted the astrologers on the future fortunes of her son, they replied that he would reign, but that he would kill his mother. "Let him kill me," cried she, "provided that he reigns."

Some writers related that Nero came to view the dead body of his mother, and that he criticised the various parts, observing, on the whole, that he did not think she had been so handsome. Yet conscience asserted its rights: terrific dreams scared him from his couch; the aspect of the smiling shores of the Bay of Baia became gloomy to his view; imagination heard the wailing of trumpets from the place where the unhonored ashes of Agrippina lay. Though the officers of the guards, at the impulsion of Burrus, came to congratulate him on his escape from the treachery of his mother; though his friends and the adjacent towns of Campania wearied heaven with thanksgivings, and the obsequious senate decreed supplications and honors of all kinds, his mind could not find rest, and for years he was haunted by the memory of his murdered parent.

Nero went first to Naples, and, having remained some time in Campania, dubious of the reception he might meet with at Rome, he was at length impelled by his flatterers to enter the city boldly. He did so, and found that he had had no just cause for alarm; for senate and people alike, all ages and sexes, vied in servility and adulation. His entrance was like a triumph, and he ascended the Capitol and returned thanks to the gods.

The restraint of his mother being removed, Nero now gave a free course to his idle or vicious propensities. He had always been fond of driving a chariot, and of singing to the lyre after his dinner, justifying it by the example of ancient

kings and heroes, such as the Homeric Achilles. Seneca and Burrus thought it advisable to humor him in the former propensity; and a space was enclosed in the Vatican valley for his chariot driving. But he was not contented till the people were admitted to witness and to applaud his skill. In order that the infamy of his exhibitions might be diminished by diffusion, he obliged some of the noblest of both sexes to appear on the stage, the arena, and the circus. He also instituted games called *Juvenalia*, (from his then first shaving,) in which, in theatres erected in his gardens, he himself sang and danced; and he forced the nobility of all ages and sexes, without any regard to the honors they had borne, to do the same. A lady, for example, named *Ælia Catella*, rich and noble, and eighty years of age, was thus obliged to dance in public! He finally appeared on the public stage; and the lord of the Roman world was seen to come forward, lyre in hand, wearing a long, trailing robe, and, having addressed the audience in the usual form, ("Gentlemen, hear me with favor,") sing to his chords the story of *Attis* or the *Bacchæ*. The officers of the guards stood around, Burrus grieving and applauding. He further selected five thousand young men, named *Augustans*, who were divided into companies, whose task was to applaud him when he was singing.

The death of Burrus, (63,) which some ascribed to poison, removed another check from the vices of Nero. The command of the guards was again divided; *Fenius Rufus*, an honest but inactive officer, being joined in it with *Sofonius Tigellinus*, a man polluted by every vice, but whom similarity of manners had recommended to the favor of the prince. Seneca, finding his influence reduced by the death of Burrus, and himself marked as the object of attack by the base minions of the court, craved an audience of the prince, and requested to be allowed to restore all the possessions which he had bestowed on him; and permitted to retire into the shades of private life. But Nero, accomplished in hypocrisy, made the most affectionate objections, would not hear of his retirement, and lavished caresses on him. Seneca returned thanks and retired; but he altered his mode of life, and henceforth avoided publicity as much as possible.

Cornelius Sulla and *Rubellius Plautus*, being both descended in the female line from *Augustus*, were objects of alarm to Nero; he had therefore removed them from the city; the former resided in Gaul, the latter in Asia. But

Tigellinus, now pretending extreme solicitude for the safety of the prince, and exaggerating the dangers to be apprehended from those noblemen, obtained permission to murder them. Sulla therefore was slain as he was sitting at dinner at Marseilles, and Plautus as he was engaged in gymnastic exercises. Their heads were brought to Nero, who mocked at the first as gray before his time, and observed of the second, that he was not aware of his having had so large a nose. He, moreover, when he saw the head of Plautus, cried out, that now he might venture to put away Octavia, blameless and loved of the people as she was, and espouse his dear Poppæa. Accordingly, having informed the senate of the deaths of Sulla and Plautus, and finding that supplications and so forth were decreed without hesitation, he judged that he had nothing to apprehend from that spiritless assembly; he therefore at once put away Octavia, on the pretence of sterility, and married Poppæa, who then attempted to convict Octavia of an intrigue with a flute-player named Eucerus. But the noble constancy of the greater part of that lady's female slaves, whom all the tortures of the rack could not induce to testify falsely against their mistress, defeated the iniquitous project. The murmurs of the populace soon obliged Nero to take back Octavia, and the public joy was manifested in the most signal manner; the statues of Poppæa were flung down, and those of Octavia were carried about covered with flowers, and placed in the temples. Poppæa, now seriously alarmed for her safety, exerted all her influence over Nero; and he obliged the notorious Anicetus to confess a criminal intercourse with Octavia. Pretending, then, that her object had been to gain over the fleet, he caused her to be confined in the fatal isle of Pandataria; and a few days after, orders were sent for her death. The poor young woman, to whom, though only in her twenty-second year, life had ceased to yield any pleasure, still feared to die; but she was bound, her veins were opened, and she was placed in a warm bath. When life was extinct, her head was cut off and brought to Poppæa. Thanks to the gods were of course decreed by the senate.*

The murder of Octavia was succeeded by the deaths (by

* "Quod ad eum finem memoravimus," says Tacitus, "ut quicumque casus temporum illorum, nobis vel aliis auctoribus, noscent, præsumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et cædes jussit princeps, totiens grates deis actas, quæque rerum secundarum olim tum publicæ cladis insignia fuisse."

poison, as was believed) of Pallas and some of the other freed men. The crime of Pallas was his detaining, by living too long, his immense wealth from the covetous prince.

At length, (64,) to his excessive joy, Nero became a father Poppæa being delivered of a daughter at Antium, the place of his own birth. The senate, who had already commended the womb of Poppæa to the gods, now decreed to her and the infant the title of Augusta; supplications, temples, games, and all other honors, were voted; and when the baby died, in its fourth month, it was deified by the obsequious and impious assembly, and a temple and priest were voted to it.

Hitherto Nero had confined the exercise of his scenic powers to his palace and gardens; but he longed for a more ample field of display. He would not yet, however, venture to insult the prejudices and feelings of the people by appearing on the stage openly at Rome; and he therefore selected Naples, as a Grecian city, for the place in which he would make his *débüt* in public, intending then to pass over to Greece, and contend at all the great games of that country, and thus overcome the prejudices of the Romans. He accordingly appeared, (65,) before a large audience, in the theatre of Naples; and even the shock of an earthquake, which rocked the building, did not prevent him from finishing his piece. Instead, however, of proceeding directly to Greece, he returned to Rome, and there, declaring that his absence would not be long, he ascended the Capitol to pray to the gods for the success of his journey; but when he entered the temple of Vesta, he was seized with a violent tremor in all his limbs, (the effect probably of the stings of conscience;) and he gave up his design for the present, to the great joy of the populace, who feared a scarcity of corn in his absence. to the senate and nobles it was uncertain whether his absence or his presence was the more to be dreaded.

To prove to the people that he preferred Rome to all other places, he made the whole city, as it were, his house, and held his banquets in the public places. Historians have deemed one of these, given by Tigellinus, deserving of memory; [but the details are far too disgusting to be repeated. The infamy to which Nero reduced himself was of the lowest and vilest kind.]

Rome was at this time visited by a calamity worse than any that had befallen her since she was a city. On the 19th of July, a fire broke out in a part of the circus which was full of shops containing inflammable substances. The

flames spread rapidly, the wind accelerating their career. It was not till the sixth day, that, by pulling down houses, the course of the conflagration was stopped at the foot of the Esquiline. The loss of lives and property was immense : of the fourteen quarters into which the city was divided, four only escaped ; three were totally destroyed, and of the other seven but little remained standing.

Nero, who was at Antium, did not return till he heard that the flames were spreading to his palace ; but when he arrived, he was unable to save it. He threw open his gardens, the Campus Martius, and the monuments of Agrippa to the sufferers ; he caused supplies of all kinds to be fetched from Antium and other places, and he reduced the price of corn considerably. All he could do, however, would not remove the suspicion that the city had been fired by his own orders. It was said that he longed for an opportunity of rebuilding it with more of regularity and beauty ; and it was asserted that, while the fire was raging, he ascended a tower in the gardens of Mæcenas in his scenic dress, and, charmed with what he termed "the beauty of the flame," sang to his lyre *The Taking of Ilium*. He caused the Sibylline books to be consulted, and, in obedience to them, supplications to be made to various deities ; he spared no expense in the rebuilding of the city ; and when all would not avail to clear him, he laid the guilt on the innocent. The members of the society named Christians, which had arisen some years before in Judæa, were now numerous at Rome. From causes which we will hereafter assign, they were objects of general aversion, and any charge against them was likely to gain credit. Some of them were seized and forced to confess : on their evidence, a great multitude of others were taken and condemned. They were put to death with torture and insult, some being sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then torn to pieces by dogs, some crucified, and others wrapped in pitch and other inflammable materials, and set on fire to serve for lamps in the night. The scene of their agonies was Nero's gardens ; and he, at the same time, to please the populace, gave Circensian games, driving about at Rome in the dress of a charioteer. Still the sufferers, though believed to be guilty of crimes, were pitied, as the victims of the real criminal.

The city was rebuilt (at the heavy cost of Italy and the provinces) with more of regularity and beauty than it had ever before possessed. Many, however, complained of the width

of the streets, as, when narrow, they had enjoyed more of shade and coolness. But the great object of Nero's ambition was to rebuild his palace on a scale of unexampled magnificence. He had already extended it from the Palatine to the Esquiline; and it was thence called the Transitory-house: the new one was named the Golden-house, from the quantity of gold and precious stones employed in it. It covered an immense extent of ground on the Palatine and Esquiline, containing within its bounds woods, plains, vineyards, ponds, with animals both wild and tame, and a great variety of buildings. The numerous dining-rooms were ceiled with ivory plates, which were movable, to shower down flowers, and perforated, to sprinkle odors on the guests. The principal one was round, and made to revolve day and night, in imitation of the world. The baths were supplied with water from the sea and from the river Albula. When the whole was completed, Nero observed that at length he had begun to dwell like a man.

Men, however, were grown weary of being the objects of the tyrannic caprice of a profligate youth, and a widely-extended conspiracy to remove him and give the supreme power to C. Piso, a nobleman of many popular qualities, was organized, (66.) Men of all ranks, civil and military, were engaged in it, — senators, knights, tribunes, and centurions, — some, as is usual, on public, some on private grounds. While they were yet undecided where it were best to fall on Nero, a courtesan named Epicharis, who had a knowledge (it is not known how obtained) of the plot, wearied of their indecision, attempted to gain over the officers of the fleet at Misenum. She made the first trial of an officer named Volusius Proculus, who had been one of the agents in the murder of Agrippina, and who complained of the ill return he had met with, and menaced revenge. She communicated to him the fact of there being a conspiracy, and proposed to him to join in it; but Proculus, hoping to gain a reward by this new service, went and gave information to Nero. Epicharis was seized; but as she had mentioned no names, and Proculus had no witnesses, nothing could be made of the matter. She was, however, kept in prison.

The conspirators became alarmed; and, lest they should be betrayed, they resolved to delay acting no longer, but to fall on the tyrant at the Circensian games. The plan arranged was, that Plautius Lateranus, the consul elect, a man of great courage and bodily strength, should sue to the em-

peror for relief to his family affairs, and in so doing should grasp his knees and throw him down, and that then the officers should despatch him with their swords. Meantime Piso should be waiting at the adjacent temple of Ceres; and, when Nero was no more, the præfect Fenius Rufus and others should come and convey him to the camp.

Notwithstanding the number and variety of persons engaged in the plot, the secret had been kept with wonderful fidelity. Accident, however, revealed it as it was on the very eve of execution. Among the conspirators was a senator named Flavius Scevinus, who, though dissolved in luxury, was one of the most eager. He had insisted on having the first part in the assassination, for which purpose he had provided a dagger taken from a temple. The night before the attack was to be made, he gave this dagger to one of his freedmen, named Milichus, to grind and sharpen. He at the same time sealed his will, giving freedom to some, gifts to others of his slaves. He supped more luxuriously than usual; and, though he affected great cheerfulness, it was manifest from his air that he had something of importance on his mind. He also directed his freedman to prepare bandages for wounds. The freedman, who was either already in the secret, or had his suspicions now excited, consulted with his wife, and at her impulsion set off at daylight, and revealed his suspicions to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, by whom he was conducted to the emperor. On his information, Scevinus was arrested; but he gave a plausible explanation of every thing but the bandages, which he positively denied. He might have escaped, were it not that Milichus's wife suggested that Antonius Natalis had conversed a great deal with him in secret of late, and that they were both intimate with Piso. Natalis was then sent for, and, as he and Scevinus did not agree in their accounts of the conversation which they had, they were menaced with torture. Natalis's courage gave way; he named Piso and Seneca. Scevinus, either through weakness, or thinking that all was known, named several others, among whom were Annæus Lucanus, the poet, the nephew of Seneca, Tullius Senecio, and Afranius Quinctianus. These at first denied every thing; at length, on the promise of pardon, they discovered some of their nearest friends, Lucan even naming his own mother, Atilla.

Nero now called to mind the information of Proculus, and he ordered Epicharis to be put to the torture. But no pain could overcome the constancy of the heroic woman and

next day, as, from her weak state, she was carried in a chair to undergo the torture anew, she contrived to fasten her belt to the arched back of the chair, and thus to strangle herself.

When the discovery was first made, some of the bolder spirits urged Piso to hasten to the camp or to ascend the *Rostra*, and endeavor to excite the soldiers or the people to rise against Nero. But he had not energy for such a course, and he lingered at home till his house was surrounded by the soldiers sent to take him. He then opened his veins, leaving a will filled, for the sake of his wife, a profligate woman, with the grossest adulation of Nero. *Lateranus* died like a hero, with profound silence; and though the tribune who presided at the execution was one of the conspirators, he never reproached him.

But the object of Nero's most deadly enmity was *Seneca*. All that was against this illustrious man was, that *Natalis* said that *Piso* had one time sent him to *Seneca*, who was ill, to see how he was, and to complain of his not admitting him, and that *Seneca* replied that "it was for the good of neither that they should meet frequently, but that his health depended on *Piso's* safety." The tribune *Granius Silvanus* (also one of the conspirators) was sent to *Seneca*, who was now at his villa, four miles from Rome, to examine him respecting the conversation with *Natalis*. He found him at table with his wife, *Pompeia Paulina*, and two of his friends. *Seneca's* account agreed with that of *Natalis*; his meaning, he said, had been perfectly innocent. When the tribune made his report to Nero and his privy council, *Poppæa* and *Tigellinus*, he was asked if *Seneca* meditated a voluntary death. On his reply, that he showed no signs of fear or perturbation, he was ordered to go back and bid him die. *Silvanus*, it is said, called on *Fenius* on his way, and asked him if he should obey the orders; but *Fenius*, with that want of spirit which was the ruin of them all, bade him obey. *Silvanus*, when he arrived, sent in a centurion with the fatal mandate.

Seneca calmly called for his will, but the centurion would not suffer him to have it. He then told his friends that, as he could not express his sense of their merits in the way that he wished, he would leave them the image of his life, to which if they attended, they would obtain the fame of virtue and of constancy in friendship. He checked their tears, showing that nothing had occurred but what was to have been expected. Then, embracing his wife, he began to console and fortify her; but she declared her resolution to die with him.

Not displeased at her generous devotion, and happy that one so dear to him should not remain exposed to injury and misfortune, he gave a ready consent, and the veins in the arms of both were opened. As Seneca, on account of his age, bled slowly, he caused those of his legs and thighs to be opened also; and as he suffered very much, he persuaded his wife to go into another room; and then, calling for amanuenses, he dictated a discourse which was afterwards published. Finding himself going very slowly, he asked his friend, the physician, Staius Annæus, for the hemlock-juice which he had provided, and took it; but it had no effect. He finally went into a warm bath, sprinkling, as he entered it, the servants who were about him, and saying, "I pour this liquor to Jove the Liberator." The heat caused the blood to flow freely; and his sufferings at length terminated. His body was burnt without any ceremony, according to the directions which he had given when at the height of his prosperity.

Paulina did not die at this time; for Nero, who had no enmity against her, and wished to avoid the imputation of gratuitous cruelty, sent orders to have her saved. She survived her husband a few years, her face and skin remaining of a deadly paleness, in consequence of her great loss of blood.

The military men did not remain undiscovered. Fenius Rufus died like a coward; the tribunes and centurions, like soldiers. When one of them, named Subrius Flavius, was asked by Nero what caused him to forget his military oath,— "I hated you," said he; "and there was none of the soldiers more faithful while you deserved to be loved. I began to hate you when you became the murderer of your mother and wife, a chariot-driver, a player, and an incendiary." Nothing in the whole affair cut Nero to the soul like this reply of the gallant soldier.

The consul Vestinus was not implicated by any in the conspiracy; but Nero hated him; and, as he was sitting at dinner with his friends, some soldiers entered to say that their tribune wanted him. He arose, went into a chamber, had his veins opened, entered a warm bath, and died. Lucan, when ordered to die, had his veins also opened; when he felt his extremities growing cold, he called to mind some verses of his *Pharsalia* which were applicable to his case, and died repeating them.* Senecio Quinctianus, and Scevinus; and

* They are supposed by Lipsius to be iii. 635—646, by Vertranus, x. 806—814. Lipsius is in our opinion right.

many others, died ; several were banished. Natalis, Milichus, and others, were rewarded ; offerings, thanksgivings, and so forth, were voted in abundance by the senate.

This obsequious body, however, sought to avert the disgrace of the lord of the Roman world appearing on the stage at the approaching Quinquennial games, by offering him the victory of song and the crown of eloquence. But Nero said that there needed not the power nor the influence of the senate ; that he feared not his rivals, and relied on the equity of the judges. He therefore sang on the stage, and, when the people pressed him to display all his acquirements, he came forth in the theatre, strictly conforming to all the rules of his art, not sitting down when weary, wiping his face in his robe, neither spitting nor blowing his nose, and finally, with bended knee, and moving his hand, waited in counterfeit terror for the sentence of the judges.

At the end of the games, he in a fit of anger gave Poppæa, who was pregnant, a kick in the stomach, which caused her death. Instead of burning her body, as was now the general custom, he had it embalmed with the most costly spices, and deposited in the monument of the Julian family. He himself pronounced the funeral oration, in which he praised her for her beauty,* and for being the mother of a divine infant.

The remainder of the year was marked by the deaths or exile of several illustrious persons, and by a pestilence which carried off great numbers of all ranks and ages. "Of the knights and senators," observes Tacitus, "the deaths were less to be lamented ; they anticipated, as it were, by the common fate, the cruelty of the prince."

The first deaths of the succeeding year (67) were those of P. Anteius, whose crime was his wealth and the friendship of Agrippina ; Ostorius Scapula, who had distinguished himself in Britain ; Annæus Mella, the father of Lucan ; Anicius Cerealis, Rufius Crispinus, and others. They all died in the same manner, by opening their veins. The most remarkable death was that of C. Petronius, a man whose elegance and taste in luxury had recommended him to the special favor of Nero, who, regarding him as his 'arbiter of elegance,' valued only that of which Petronius approved. The envy of Tigellinus being thus excited, he bribed one of

* Poppæa was so solicitous about her beauty, that she used to bathe every day in the milk of 500 she-asses, which she kept for the purpose Dion, lxi. 28.

Petronius's slaves to charge his master with being the friend of Scevinus. His death followed, of course; the mode of it however, was peculiar. He caused his veins to be opened, then closed, then opened again, and so on. He meantime went on conversing with his friends, not, like a Socrates or a Seneca, on the immortality of the soul or the opinions of the wise, but listening to light and wanton verses. He rewarded some of his slaves, he had others flogged, he dined, he slept; he made, in short, his compulsive death as like a natural one as possible. He did not, like others, pay court to Nero or Tigellinus, or the men in power, in his will; but he wrote an account of the vices and crimes of the prince and court, under the names of flagitious men and women, and sent it sealed up to the emperor. He broke his seal-ring, lest it might be used to the destruction of innocent persons.

"After the slaughter of so many illustrious men," says Tacitus, "Nero at length sought to destroy virtue itself, by killing Thraseas Pætus and Barea Soranus." The former, a man of primitive Roman virtue, was hated by him not merely for his worth, but because he had, on various occasions, given public proof of his disapproval of his acts. Such were his going out of the senate-house when the decrees were made on account of the murder of Agrippina, and his absence from the deification and funeral of Poppæa. Further than his virtue, we know of no cause of enmity that Nero could have against Soranus.

The accusers of Thraseas were Capito Cossutianus, whom he had made his enemy by supporting the Cilician deputies who came to accuse him of extortion, and Marcellus Epius, a profligate man of eloquence. A Roman knight named Ostorius Sabinus appeared as the accuser of Soranus. The time selected for the destruction of these eminent men was that of the arrival of the Parthian prince Tiridates, who was coming to Rome to receive the diadem of Armenia, either in hopes that the domestic crime would be shrouded by the foreign glory, or, more probably, to give the Oriental an idea of the imperial power. Thraseas received an order not to appear among those who went to meet the king; he wrote to Nero, requiring to know with what he was charged, and asserting his ability to clear himself if he got an opportunity. Nero in reply said that he would convoke the senate. Thraseas then consulted with his friends, whether he should go to the senate-house, or expect his doom at home. Opinions were, as usual, divided; he, however, did not go to the senate.

Next morning the temple in which the senate sat was surrounded with soldiery. Cossutianus and Eprius appeared as the accusers of Thraseas, his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, Paconius Agrippinus, and Curtius Montanus. The general charge against them was passive rather than active disloyalty, Thraseas being held forth as the seducer and encourager of the others. Ostorius then came forward and accused Soranus, who was present, of friendship with Rubellius Plautus, and of mal-conduct in the government of Asia. He added, that Servilia, the daughter of the accused, had given money to fortune-tellers. Servilia was summoned. She owned the truth — that she had sold her ornaments and given the money to the soothsayers, but for no impious purpose, only to learn if her father would escape. Witnesses were then called, and among them, to the indignation of every virtuous man, appeared P. Egnatius, the client and friend of Soranus, and a professor of the Stoic philosophy, who now had sold himself to destroy his benefactor by false testimony.

The accused were all condemned, of course — Thraseas, Soranus, and Servilia, to death; the others to exile. Of the circumstances of the end of Soranus and his daughter, we are not informed. Thraseas having prevented his wife, Arria, from following the example of her mother, of the same name, by entreating her not to deprive their daughter of her only remaining support, caused his veins to be opened in the usual manner; and, as the blood spouted forth, he said to the quæstor who was present, "Let us pour out to Jove the Liberator. Regard this, young man. May the gods avert the omen; but you have been born in times when it is expedient to fortify the mind by examples of constancy." He died after suffering much pain.

These sanguinary deeds were succeeded by the splendid ceremony of giving the diadem of Armenia to Tiridates. The scene was the Forum, which was filled during the night by the people arranged in order, wearing white *togas* and bearing laurel, while one part of it was occupied by the soldiers brilliantly armed. The roofs of the houses also were thronged with spectators. At daybreak, Nero, in a triumphal robe, followed by the senate and his guards, entered the Forum, and took his seat on his tribunal. Tiridates and his attendants then advanced through the lines of soldiery. An immense shout was raised when he appeared; he was filled with terror; but, when silence was restored, he went forward

and addressed the prince. Nero made a suitable reply, and, inviting him up, and making him sit at his foot, placed the diadem on his head, while the shouts of the multitude filled the air.

This Tiridates was the brother of the Parthian king Vologeses. In the first year of Nero's reign, as this prince had occupied the throne of Armenia, the conduct of the war which it was resolved to undertake against him, was committed to Domitius Corbulo, a man of great military talent and experience. The war, which was of the usual kind between Europeans and Asiatics, in which the advantage of skill and discipline is on the side of the former, that of numbers and knowledge of the country on that of the latter, had been carried on with various success, till at length an arrangement was effected by Corbulo's agreeing that Tiridates should be king of Armenia on condition of his acknowledging the supremacy of Rome, and receiving his diadem from the hands of the emperor.

Nothing of importance occurred in the time of Nero on the frontiers of the Rhine and Danube. In Britain, Suetonius Paulinus conquered the isle of Mona, the great seat of the Druidic religion; and a war headed by Boadicea, queen of the Icenians, which commenced by the massacre of two Roman colonies, was terminated with a prodigious slaughter of the Britons.

At length Nero put his long-cherished design of visiting Greece into execution. Leaving his freedman Helius with unlimited power in Rome, he crossed the Adriatic at the head of a body of men, numerous enough, as to mere numbers, it was said, to conquer the Parthians; but of whom the greater part were armed with lyres, masks, and theatric buskins. He contended at all the games of Greece; for he made them all be celebrated in the one year. When contending, he rigidly followed all the rules and practices of the citharædic art; he addressed the judges with fear and reverence; he openly abused or secretly maligned his rivals. The Greeks, adepts in flattery, bestowed on him all the prizes; and even when, at the Olympic games, he attempted to drive ten-in-hand, and was thrown from the chariot, he still was proclaimed victor. In return, he bestowed liberty on the whole province, and gave the judges the rights of citizenship and a large sum of money. This, in imitation of Flaminius, he himself proclaimed aloud from the middle of the stadium at

the Isthmian games. These amusements, however, gave no check to the cruelty and rapacity of himself and Tigellinus. Greece was plundered as by an enemy; numbers were put to death for their property; many persons were even summoned thither from Italy and other parts for the sole purpose of being executed. Among these was the gallant Corbulo, whom Nero lured thither by the most hypocritical expressions of affection, and ordered to be slain as soon as he landed. Corbulo took a sword, and plunged it into his body, crying, "I deserve it."

While in Greece, Nero celebrated another marriage. The bride, on this occasion, was a youth named Sporus, who, it is said, bore some resemblance to Poppæa. Having emasculated him, and essayed all the powers of art to convert him into a woman, he espoused him with the most solemn forms, Tigellinus acting as the bride's father on the occasion. He henceforth had him dressed as his empress, and carried about with him in a litter. Some one observed that "it had been well for the world if his father Domitius had had such a wife." He also, while in Greece, attempted to dig a canal through the Isthmus, for which purpose he assembled a great number of workmen from all parts. When, from superstitious motives, they hesitated to touch the ground which was sacred to the sea-god, he took a spade, and set them the example himself. The project, however, owing to subsequent events, came to nothing.

Helius had for some time been urging the emperor by letters to return to Rome, on account of the aspect of affairs there. Finding his letters unheeded, he came over in person; and, on his representations, Nero saw the necessity of leaving Greece. When he landed in Italy, he proceeded to Naples, the scene of his first musical glory. He entered it in a chariot drawn by white horses, and through a breach in the walls, as was the custom of victors in the public games. He did the same at Antium, Albanum, and Rome itself. He entered this last city in the triumphal car of Augustus, in a purple robe studded with silver stars, the Olympic wreath of wild olive on his head, the Pythian laurel in his hand. The crowns which he had won, and boards showing the names and forms of the places where he had gained them, preceded his chariot; the senate, knights, and soldiers, followed, shouting, "Olympic victor! Pythian victor! Augustus! Nero Hercules! Nero Apollo!" and such like. In this manner he

proceeded to the Capitol, and thence to the palace. The crowns, eighteen hundred in number, were hung round an Egyptian obelisk. Nero then resumed his former occupations as a player and charioteer.

The Roman world had thus long submitted to be the sport of a monster in human form; but the day of vengeance was at hand. We are ill-informed of the circumstances and nature of the revolt against him, (68;) we are only told that its author was C. Julius Vindex, a man of high birth in Aquitanian Gaul, whose father had been a Roman senator, and who was himself at this time proprætor of Gaul. As the people were harassed beyond endurance by exactions, he proposed to them to have recourse to arms, and deprive the unworthy wretch, under whose tyranny they groaned, of the power to oppress the Roman world any longer. Vindex was too prudent a man to set himself up as the rival of Nero: he proposed that the empire should be offered to Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the governor of Tarragonian Spain, a man of high character, of much military experience, and who was at the head of a large army. Deputies were accordingly sent to Galba, to whom Vindex also wrote, strongly urging him to become the deliverer and leader of the human race. Galba, who had discovered that Nero had resolved on his death, and whom favorable signs and omens encouraged, called his soldiers together, and, placing before his tribunal the images of a great number of persons whom Nero had put to death, deplored the condition of the times. The soldiers instantly saluted him emperor; he, however, cautiously professed himself to be merely the legate of the Roman senate and people, and forthwith commenced his levies. He formed a kind of senate of the leading persons in the country, and selected a body of youths of the equestrian order to act as his body-guard.

Meantime Verginius Rufus, who commanded in Germany, when he heard of the insurrection in Gaul, advanced and laid siege to Besançon. Vindex came to its relief, and, having encamped at a little distance, he and Verginius had a private meeting, in which it was suspected that they agreed to unite against Nero; but, shortly after, as Vindex was leading his forces toward the town, the Roman legions, attacking them without orders, as was said, slew 20,000 of them. Vindex also fell by their swords, or, as was more generally believed, by his own hand. The soldiers would fain

have saluted Verginius emperor; but that noble-minded man steadfastly refused the honor, affirming that the senate and people alone had a right to confer it.*

Nero was at Naples when intelligence reached him of the insurrection in Gaul. He made so light of it, that some thought he was rejoiced at the occasion which it was likely to offer for plundering those wealthy provinces. During eight days he took his ordinary amusements. At length, stung by the contumelious edicts of Vindex, he wrote to the senate, excusing his absence on account of the soreness of his throat, as if, observes the historian, he was to have sung for them; and when he came to Rome, he assembled the principal men of both orders, but, instead of deliberating with them on the affairs of Gaul, he spent the time in explaining some improvements which he had made in the hydraulic organ, adding that he would shortly produce it in the theatre, if Vindex would allow him.

When, however, he heard of the revolt of Galba and the Spains, his consternation was extreme. He revolved, it is said, the wildest and most nefarious projects, such as sending persons to kill all the governors of provinces, massacring the exiles and all the Gauls that were at Rome, poisoning the senate, setting fire to the city, and letting the wild beasts loose on the people. He began to levy troops; but his first care was to provide carriages to convey his theatric properties, and to dress and arm a party of his concubines as Amazons to form his guard. The urban cohorts having refused to serve, he called on all masters to furnish a certain number of their slaves, and he took care to select the most valuable, not even excepting the stewards or amanuenses. He likewise required all persons to give him a part of their property.

Intelligence of further revolts having reached him as he was at dinner, he overturned, in his terror, the table, and broke his two precious Homeric cups, as they were named, from the scenes from Homer which were carved on them. Taking then with him in a golden box some poison prepared for him by Locusta, he went to the Servilian gardens, and sent some of his most faithful freedmen to Ostia to get shipping ready. He then tried to prevail on the officers of the guards to accompany his flight; but some excused themselves, others re-

* Verginius caused the following lines to be placed on his tomb, (Plin Ep. vi. 10. :) "Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam, Imperium asseruit non sibi, sed patriæ."

fused, and one even repeated the line of Virgil, *Usque adeo ne mori miserum est?* One time he thought of flying to the Parthians, another time to Galba, then of ascending the Rostra, and asking public pardon for his transgressions, and praying for even the government of Egypt. He retired to rest; but, awaking in the middle of the night, and finding that his guards had left him, he sprang up and sent for some of his friends. When none came, he arose, and went to some of their houses; but every door was closed against him. On his return, he found his bed-chamber pillaged, and his box of poison gone. He sought in vain for some one to kill him. "Have I neither a friend nor an enemy?" cried he, and rushed to the Tiber, to throw himself into it. His courage, however, failed him; and his freedman Phaon having offered a country-house which he had four miles from the city for a retreat, he mounted a horse, and set out with Sporus and three others, concealed in a dark cloak, with his head covered and a handkerchief before his face. As he was quitting the city, the ground seemed to rock beneath him, and a broad flash of lightning struck terror to his heart; and, as he passed the prætorian camp, his ears were assailed by the shouts of the soldiers execrating him and wishing success to Galba. "There they go in pursuit of Nero," observed one of those whom they met; another inquired of them if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse starting in the road, his handkerchief fell, and he was recognized and saluted by a prætorian soldier. They had to quit their horses and scramble through a thicket to get to the rear of Phaon's villa, and then to wait till an aperture was made in the wall to admit them. Phaon urged him to conceal himself, meantime, in a sand hole; but he replied that he would not bury himself alive, and, taking some water up in his hand from a pool to quench his thirst, he said, "This is Nero's prepared water." * He then picked the thorns out of his cloak, and, when the aperture was completed, he crept through it, and lay down on a miserable pallet in a slave's cell. Though suffering from hunger, he would not eat the coarse bread that was offered him; but he drank some warm water.

Every one now urged him to lose no time in saving himself from the impending insults. He directed them to dig a

* *Decocta.* Nero is said to have introduced the practice of boiling water and then cooling it in snow to give it a greater degree of cold Plin. N. H. xxxi. 3.

grave on the spot, and to prepare the requisite water and wood for his funeral: meantime he continued weeping and saying, "What an artist is lost!" A messenger coming with letters to Phaon, he took them, and, reading that he was declared an enemy by the senate, and sentenced to be punished *more majorum*, he inquired what that meant. Being told that it was to be stripped naked, have the head placed in a fork, and be scourged to death, he took two daggers he had with him, and tried their edge, then sheathed them again, saying that the fatal hour was not yet come. One moment he desired Sporus to begin the funeral wail, then he called on some one to set him an example of dying, then he upbraided his own cowardice. At length, hearing the trampling of the horses of those sent to take him, he hurriedly repeated an appropriate line of Homer, and, placing a dagger at his throat, with the aid of his secretary Epaphroditus, drove it in. A centurion, entering before he was dead, put his cloak to the wound, pretending that he was come to his aid. "'Tis too late! Is this your fidelity?" said the bleeding tyrant, and expired.

Such was the well-merited end of the emperor Nero, in the 31st year of his age and the 14th of his reign. We have not ventured to pollute our pages with the appalling details of his lusts and vices, which historians have transmitted to us; or by so doing we should injure rather than serve the cause of moral purity and of virtue. Monster as he was, the populace and the prætorian soldiery, missing the gifts and the shows which he used to bestow on them, soon began to regret him; and for many years his tomb continued to be visited and his memory to be held in honor. No more convincing proof could be given of the utter degradation of the Roman people.

! On looking through the reigns of the four immediate successors of Augustus, one cannot fail to be struck with the singular failure of all the projects of that prince for securing the happiness of the Roman world. It can hardly be regarded as fortuitous that such monsters should have attained to unlimited power; and those should not be regarded as superstitious who see in this event a fulfilment of that great law of the moral world, the visitation on the children of the sins

and errors of the parents. The Roman nobles had, in the last century of the republic, robbed and oppressed the people of the provinces in the most nefarious manner, and by their civil contentions at home they had demoralized the people and caused the downfall of public liberty; their descendants were therefore the victims of the most capricious and merciless tyranny, against which virtue or innocence was no security. For we may observe that, with slight exceptions, it was solely against the noble and wealthy that the cruelties of the emperors were directed.

The whole of the people of Rome, nobles and plebeians alike, were debased and degraded. Though we may not place implicit faith in the exaggerated statements of the declaimers and satirists of the time, we must yet recognize the foundation of truth on which their exaggerations rest. The nobles were sunk in luxury and sensuality to a degree rarely equalled. Vice, unrestrained by that regard to appearance and public opinion which acts as so salutary a check in modern times, reigned in their splendid mansions, and boldly affronted the public view. But all were not equally debased. In the history of the time, we meet with many splendid examples of virtue; and, had we the records of private life, we should probably find much to flatter our more exalted views of human nature. They, in general, cultivated literature. The rigid precepts of the Stoic doctrine were adopted by those of more lofty aspirations, while the votaries of sensual enjoyment professed the degenerated system of Epicurus.

The common people, now degenerated into mere *lazzaroni*, living on the bounty or charity of the sovereign, and utterly destitute of even the semblance of political power, thought only of the public games,* and contended with more passion for the success of the blue or green faction of the Circus than their forefathers had shown for the elevation of a Scipio or a Marius to the highest dignities of the state. They were also completely brutalized by the constant view of the slaughter of gladiators, the combats of men with the wild beasts to which they were exposed, and the massacre of animals, many brought for the purpose from the most distant regions, in the amphitheatre. For such were the amuse-

* "Ex quo suffragia nulli
Vendimus effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses." Juv. Sat. x. 77.

ments with which the emperors, continuing in truth only the usage of the commonwealth, sought to gratify the populace of Rome.

The fine rural population of Italy, the hardy yeomanry and stout farm laborers, whose vigor and courage had won the victories which gave Rome her empire, had been greatly diminished. Tillage had ceased in a great measure; and Italy, divided into huge estates, the *latifundia* of the nobles, contained only vineyards, oliveyards, pastures, and forests, in which all the labor was performed by gangs of slaves. The corn which was to relieve the wants of the imperial city was all supplied by Africa and Egypt; the existence of the Roman people was at the mercy of the winds, and any one who could obtain the possession of Egypt could starve the capital. In every point of view, this policy was bad; it should be the object of every prudent government to maintain a sound agricultural population.

Literature had greatly declined after the time of Augustus. The only historian of any note remaining from this period is C. Velleius Paterculus, an agreeable and ingenious writer, but the abject flatterer of the tyrant Tiberius. The philosophic writings of Seneca display a pure morality, conveyed in a style affected and epigrammatic, which, attractive from its very faults, operated very injuriously on the literature of the age. Of the actions of Seneca we have had occasion to speak in the preceding pages; and it is clear that his life did not strictly correspond with the high-strained principles of the Stoic philosophy which he professed. He is accused by Dion of having caused the insurrection of the Britons, in the reign of Nero, by his avarice; and that historian hints that the charge of adultery against him was not without foundation. On the other hand, Tacitus always speaks of him with great respect. Seneca, in effect, as he himself frequently confesses, had the failings of a man: he was rich; he increased his wealth in the ordinary Roman manner, by putting his money out at interest in the provinces; he lived in a splendid manner; but he was moderate and temperate in his habits, and kind and amiable in all the relations of private life, and we should not hesitate to regard him as a good man. The unfortunate circumstances under which he was placed with respect to his imperial pupil, may plead his excuse for such of his public acts as are morally objectionable.

Of the poets of this period we possess only two, M. Annæus Lucanus, the nephew of Seneca, and A. Persius

Flaccus. Both of these poets embraced the Stoic philosophy, and both died young. Lucan, following the example of Ennius, sought the materials of a narrative poem in the history of Rome. But his subject, the war between Cæsar and Pompeius, was too recent an event, and the poet was therefore impeded in his efforts by the restrictions of truth. The *Pharsalia*, consequently, though full of vigor and spirit, is rhetorical rather than poetical; and we meet in it the severe truths of history, and the strict precepts of philosophy, instead of the beguiling illusions of fiction, the proper ornaments of poetry.

Persius has left six satires, written in a tone of pure and elevated morality, but in a harsh, rugged style. Horace was the great object of his admiration; but no contrast can be greater than that which the style and manner of their respective compositions present.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

THE JEWISH MESSIAH. — JESUS CHRIST. — HIS RELIGION. — ITS PROPAGATION. — CAUSES OF ITS SUCCESS. — CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

WHILE such was the condition of the Roman empire under the successors of Augustus, the religion which was to supersede the various systems of polytheism in Europe and a part of Asia, was secretly and noiselessly progressing, and making converts in all parts of the Roman dominions.

The inspired books of the Jews in many places spoke of a mighty prince of that nation, named the Messiah, i. e. the Anointed-one, who would rule over all mankind in justice and equity, and exalt his own peculiar people to an extraordinary degree of power and preëminence. He was to be born of the line of their ancient sovereigns of the house of David; and the interpreters of the prophetic writings had fixed the time of his advent to a period coinciding with the reign of Augustus. Interpreting their prophecies in a literal sense, they viewed the promised Deliverer as a great temporal

prince, who would wrest the supremacy of the world from Rome, and confer it on Judæa; and the whole Jewish people were looking forward with hope and exultation to the predestined triumph of their arms and their creed.

The promised Saviour came at the appointed time, but under a widely different character from what the expounders of the Law and the Prophets had announced. His mother, an humble maiden of the house of David, the wife of a carpenter in one of the towns of Galilee, brought him forth at Bethlehem, the city of David. He grew up in privacy and obscurity; at the age of thirty he entered on his destined office as a teacher of mankind; by many wonderful works, he proved his mission to be from on high, and himself to be the promised Messiah, whose triumph was to be over sin and the powers of darkness, and not over the arms of Rome. Many, struck by his miraculous powers, and won by the beauty and sublimity of his doctrines, and their accordance with the writings of the prophets of Israel, became his followers; but a mild and beneficent system of religion was distasteful to the nation in general; the heads of the Jewish religion grew alarmed for their own power and influence; they therefore resolved on his destruction; and they forced the Roman governor to condemn him to death as a spreader of sedition against the Roman authority. The death which the Son of God endured was that of the cross, (the usual mode at the time;) but, as he had foretold to his disciples, he rose from the dead on the third day, and, after an abode of forty days on the earth, he ascended, in their view, to heaven, leaving them a charge to disseminate his religion throughout the whole world.

None, we should suppose, require to be told what is the religion of Jesus Christ. All must know that its essence is the love of God and the love of man, that it inculcates every virtue, teaches to shun all evil, promises to the good eternal bliss, and menaces the wicked with eternal misery, in a future state of existence. So lovely is it, so mild, peaceful, and beneficent is its character, that, were its precepts generally, though but imperfectly, obeyed, even the present world would become a paradise. We speak of the religion which is contained in the sacred books of the New Testament, in the words of Christ himself and his apostles, and not of the corrupted system which grew up and usurped its place, the progress of which it will be our task to relate. There is perhaps no moral phenomenon so extraordinary as the

change of the purity and simplicity of the gospel into the polytheism and idolatry which afterwards assumed the name and office of Christianity; yet, as will appear, it is a phenomenon not difficult of explanation.

The religion of Christ was founded on that of Moses; but while the latter was limited to one people and one country, and burdened with a wearisome ceremonial, and many peculiarities about meats and drinks, and such like, the former, unlimited and unencumbered, was adapted to all parts of the earth, and suited to all those who had capacity to understand and follow its precepts. Its Divine Author therefore directed his disciples to preach it to all nations; and so bold and energetic were they in the performance of their commission, and so powerfully were they aided by the Divine Spirit which was promised them, that the religion was in the space of a few years diffused throughout the greater part of the Roman empire.

The first societies of the Christians (named *churches* *) were necessarily in Judæa, and the principal one at Jerusalem, where the apostles or original companions of Christ chiefly resided. Gradually, by means of missionaries, the doctrine was spread beyond the limits of Judæa, and churches were established at Damascus, Antioch, and other towns. The most powerful and effective of these missionaries was Saul, (or, as he was afterwards named, Paul,) who had been originally a persecutor of the church, but, being converted by miracle, as he was on his road to Damascus, became a most zealous preacher of the truth which he had opposed. To zeal and ardor he united the advantages of learning and eloquence; he was versed in the literature of his own nation and of the Greeks, and was thus eminently qualified for the office assigned him, of being the apostle of the Gentiles. By means chiefly of this eminent man, within the space of five-and-twenty years from the death of Christ, churches had been formed in the principal towns of Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and even in the city of Rome.

The mode in which Paul and the other missionaries proceeded was as follows: The Jews were now (for the purposes of traffic, it would appear) established in most of the great towns of the Roman empire; and wherever they were,

* The term employed in the New Testament is *ἐκκλησία*, "assembly." Church is usually derived from the phrase *ὁ τοῦ κυρίου οἶκος*, "the Lord's House," which was also employed to designate the believers in Christ.

they had their synagogues or places of worship. On arriving at any town, therefore, Paul, (to take him for an example,) as being a Jew, used to enter the synagogue on the Sabbath day, where, taking advantage of the custom which prevailed in the synagogues, of inviting any persons who seemed inclined to address the congregation,* he undertook to prove to them that Jesus was the long-promised Messiah. If the Jews were convinced and believed, they became the *nucleus* of a church; if they did not, (as was more generally the case,) the apostle "turned to the Gentiles," that is, preached the gospel to the heathen, or the followers of the worship of false gods. The church of each town was usually composed of converts from among both Jews and Gentiles, but chiefly of the latter, the Jews being in general the implacable enemies of the religion which was to supersede their own, and which disappointed all their lofty anticipations.

In the moral as in the natural world, there is no effect without a preceding cause; no change is produced without a due preparation of circumstances. We may therefore inquire, without presumption, what were the circumstances that favored the rapid progress of the Christian religion.

The able historian of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* assigns five causes for this great effect, namely, the zeal of the Christians — the doctrine of a future life — the miraculous powers ascribed to the church — the pure and austere morals of the Christians — and the union and discipline of the Christian republic. In his examination of each of these causes and its effects, he exerts all his powers of sneer and irony to throw discredit on the early Christians, to represent them as weak dupes or artful impostors, and their religion as no more divine than those of Greece and Italy. We shall endeavor to examine them in a different spirit.

The first of the causes assigned by the historian is doubtless a true one. Without zeal, no system of philosophy, far less of religion, will ever make rapid progress in the world. The second cause is also true. The doctrine of a future state, as taught by the apostles, had in it a degree of purity, determinateness, and certainty, unattainable by the polytheism of the heathen, and which formed no part of the law given to the Jews by Moses. But we must not suppose, as the his-

* "And after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying: Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." Acts xiii. 15.

torian would have us, that a future state was not believed generally at that time by the Greeks and Romans. The philosophers and men of education, doubtless, disgusted by the absurd details of the future world, furnished by poets and adopted in the popular creed, and finding no demonstrative arguments for a future existence, had reasoned themselves into skepticism on the subject, and the doctrine therefore had little or no effect on their lives and conduct; but the vulgar still clung pertinaciously to the faith transmitted to them by their forefathers, and believed the poetic creed of the future world with all its incongruities.* The religious aspect of the Roman world at that time in fact very much resembled that of Catholic Europe at the present day; the popular religion was a mass of absurdities revolting to the understanding; the men of education rejected it, and were skeptics or infidels; while the vulgar lay grovelling in idolatry and superstition.

The historian's third cause — the miraculous powers of the church — is the one liable to most dispute. The infidel totally denies their reality; the believer is convinced of their truth. On this point no *à priori* arguments should be admitted; the inquirer should, for example, give no heed to reasonings from the steadiness and regularity of the course of nature, for we know not what that course is, and whether the effects which, as being unusual, we denominate miraculous or wonderful, may not form a part of it, and have been arranged so as to coincide in point of time with the promulgation of certain moral principles. The whole is in effect a question of evidence, and those who find the proofs offered for the authenticity of the New Testament convincing, must acknowledge that the promise of divine aid made by Jesus to his disciples was fulfilled, and that the Holy Spirit enabled them to perform many wonderful works.† At the same time,

* In Lucian (*De Luctu* 2) will be found a proof of the tenacity with which the vulgar adhered to the traditional creed. The chief cause of Gibbon's error seems to have been his ignorance of the difference between the religious systems of Greece and Italy. Cæsar and Cicero might deride the poetic under-world; Juvenal might say, (ii. 149.)

“Esse aliquid Manes et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.”

But these are all Grecian, not Roman, ideas on the subject, and the vulgar at Rome might make light of them, and yet believe (as the vulgar every where do) in a future state.

† The most convincing work on the evidences of Christianity, in

there are no safe grounds for supposing that this aid was continued beyond the age of the apostles. The Deity does nothing in vain; and, when once the Christian religion was firmly rooted in the world, supernatural assistance was withdrawn. In fact, the accounts of all subsequent miracles exhibit the marks of error or imposition.

The fourth cause was, beyond all question, a most efficacious one. The virtues of the early Christians (to which we may add the purity of their system of morals) must have shone forth with preëminent lustre amid the moral darkness which then obscured the world. Not that virtue was totally extinct; for God never suffers it to become so among any people; but from the language used by the apostle Paul, and from the history of the times, and the writings which have come down to us, we may infer that morality was never at a lower ebb than at that period of the Roman empire. There certainly was then no sect nor society which showed the philanthropy and spirit of mutual love displayed by the early Christians. "Behold how these Christians love one another!" was the language of the admiring heathens.

The last cause assigned by the historian — the government of the church — could hardly have had much efficacy in the period of which we now treat. What the original form of church government was, is a question which was once agitated with a degree of violence and animosity which testified little for the acquaintance of the combatants with the true nature and spirit of the gospel. It is now, we believe, pretty generally agreed among rational and moderate divines, that neither Christ nor his apostles intended to institute any particular form; leaving it to the members of the church to regulate it according to their ideas of what would best accord with the political constitution under which they lived. And, in fact, if we are to judge by the effects, we might say that forms of ecclesiastical government are indifferent, and that "whate'er is best administered is best;" for equal degrees of piety and holiness seem to be attainable under all. True religion is seated in the heart; it depends not on outward forms: it is the pride, the ambition, the vanity of man that has introduced schism and dissension into the church of Christ.

The first churches, as we have seen, were founded by mis-

our opinion, is Paley's "*Horæ Paulinæ*," the perusal of which we strongly recommend.

sionaries, who travelled from place to place. Where they were present with any church, they necessarily exercised an authority over it; but every society requires a permanent government; and, therefore, the churches seem almost immediately to have appointed some persons to preside in their assemblies, and to execute other offices of supervision or ministration. The presidents were named Overseers or Elders;* they were chosen by the members of the church, and confirmed and appointed to their office by the founder, or one authorized by him.† There is also a class of persons spoken of who were termed Prophets, and seem to have been men endowed with a ready eloquence, able to expound the Scriptures, and to exhort and admonish the congregation.‡ A third class of officers were named Deacons, *i. e.* Ministers,§ who attended to the poor, and discharged some other duties.

Such seems to have been the external form of the churches during the lifetime of the apostles. Each congregation was independent of all others, governed by officers chosen by its members, living in harmony and friendly communication with the other churches; those which were more wealthy contributing to the comforts of those, which, like the parent one at Jerusalem, were more exposed to affliction and poverty.

It was not perhaps, in general, till after the death of the apostles, that, the congregations having become very numerous, a change was made in their form of government, and the office of Bishop or Overseer was separated from that of Elder, and restricted to one person in each society. His office was for life; he was the recognized organ and head of the church; he had the management of its funds, and the appointment to the offices of the ministry. He also administered the rite of baptism, and he pronounced the blessing over the bread and wine used at the Lord's Supper. The presbyters were his council or assistants; for he was only regarded as the first among equals.

Such, then, was the church of Christ in its early days. It was composed of converts from among the Jews and

* Ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι. That they were synonymous, is evident from the following passages: Acts xx. 18 and 28; Tit. i. 5 and 7. From the former are derived the modern Vescovo, (Ital.) Obispo, (Sp.,) Evêque, (Fr.,) Bishop, (Eng.,) from the latter, Prete, (Ital.,) Prêtre, (Fr.,) Priest, (Eng.,)

† Tit. i. 5.

‡ 1 Cor. xiv. 3—5.

§ Διάκονοι

Gentiles, chiefly of the middle and lower ranks, or it did not exclude even slaves.* It was, in general, disregarded or despised by the learned and the great, by whom it was confounded with Judaism, which, from its unsocial character, was the object of universal dislike, and was treated as a baneful superstition. That the early Christians were not perfect, is evinced by the Epistles of Paul himself, which, at the same time, prove how pure and holy were the precepts delivered to them; and, if Tacitus and Suetonius speak of the Christians as the worst of men, their friend, the younger Pliny, who, in his office of governor of a province, had occasion to become acquainted with that persecuted sect, bears testimony to the purity of their morals and the innocence of their lives.†

* It must not, however, be inferred, as is sometimes done by the enemies of our religion, that there were hardly any of the better classes among the early converts. The mention in the apostolic writings of masters and servants; the directions given to women not to adorn themselves with gold and silver, pearls and costly array; the sums raised for the relief of the poorer churches; — all testify the contrary. St. Paul's remark, that there were *not many* of the noble or the mighty in the church of Corinth, would seem to prove that there were *some*; and the injunction to beware of the philosophy of the Greeks, and the Oriental *Gnosis*, would hardly have been necessary if the Christians were all ignorant and illiterate.

† "They affirmed," says Pliny, "that the whole of their fault or error lay in this — that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as to God, and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them when called on to return it."

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

PART II.
EMPERORS CHOSEN BY THE ARMY.

CHAPTER I.*

GALBA. OTHO. VITELLIUS.

A. U. 821—823. A. D. 68—70.

GALBA. — ADOPTION OF PISO. — MURDER OF GALBA. — OTHO.
— CIVIL WAR. — BATTLE OF BEDRIACUM. — DEATH OF
OTHO. — VITELLIUS. — VESPASIAN PROCLAIMED EMPEROR.
— ADVANCE OF THE FLAVIANS. — STORMING OF CREMONA.
— BURNING OF THE CAPITOL. — CAPTURE OF ROME. —
DEATH OF VITELLIUS.

THE supreme power in the Roman world had now been held for a century by the family which, in accordance with the Roman practice of adoption, we may regard as, and term, the Julian or Cæsarian. It had also been transmitted in lineal succession, except in the case of Claudius, when the guards proved to the senate and the people that the power of giving a master to the Roman world lay with *them*. We are now to see this power claimed and exercised by the

* Authorities: Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion, and Plutarch.

legions, and the pretensions of rival candidates asserted by the arms of their supporters.*

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

A. U. 821—822. A. D. 68—69.

Servius Sulpicius Galba, a member of one of the most ancient and honorable patrician families at Rome, was now in the seventy-third year of his age. He had borne the high offices of the state, had governed both Africa and Spain, and had displayed military talents in the former province and in Germany, which had procured him the triumphal ornaments. Both as a general and as a governor, he had shown himself to be rigidly severe, and even harsh. He was infected with the usual vice of age — avarice, and he was entirely under the influence of those by whom he was surrounded.

The prætorian guards had been induced by their prefect, Nymphidius Sabinus, (the colleague of Tigellinus,) to abandon Nero, and declare for Galba, in whose name he promised them the enormous donative of 7,500 denars a man, while the soldiers of the legions he engaged should each receive 1,250 denars. The troops which Nero had collected in Italy being thus gained over, the senate followed their example, and the usual titles and power were decreed to Galba.

When Galba was certified of the death of Nero, he assumed the title of Cæsar, and set out for Rome. In that city there had been some disturbance, for Nymphidius had tried to induce the prætorian cohorts to declare for himself; but he had been overpowered and slain. On his route, Galba put to death a consular and a consul elect, without even the form of a trial; and when, as he drew near to the city, the rowers of the fleet, whom Nero had converted into soldiers, met him, and, refusing to return to their former condition, demanded an eagle and standards, he ordered his horse to charge them; and, not content with the slaughter thus made, he decimated the remainder. When the præto-

* Hence we term this the period of emperors elected by the army, though such was not strictly the case in all parts of it, as from Nerva to Commodus.

rians demanded the donative promised in his name, he replied that it was his way to levy, not to purchase his soldiers. He broke and sent home the German guards of the Cæsars, without giving them any gratuity. He offended the people, by refusing to punish, at their earnest desire, Tigellinus and some others of the ministers of Nero's cruelty. He, however, put to death Helius, Locusta, and others.

It added much to the unpopularity of Galba, that he was almost in a state of pupilage to three persons, namely, T. Vinus, his legate when in Spain, Cornelius Laco, whom he had made prefect of the prætorians, and his freedman Icelus, to whom he had given the equestrian ring, and the surname of Martianus. These persons had all their own ends in view; and, as they knew that, under any circumstances, the life of the emperor could not be long, they thought only of providing for their future interests.

The provinces and the armies in general submitted to the emperor appointed by the senate. It was not so, however, with the legions in the Germanies. Galba had most unwisely recalled the noble Verginius under the show of friendship, but in reality out of fear and jealousy, and sent A. Vitellius to command the army of Lower Germany, whose general, Fonteius Capito, had been slain by his legates Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens; while Hordeonius Flaccus, who commanded the army of Upper Germany, enfeebled by age and the gout, had lost all authority over his troops.

It was with this last army that the disturbance began. On new year's day, (69,) Galba entered on the consulate, with Vinus for his colleague; and a few days after, word came that the legions of Upper Germany insisted on having another emperor, leaving the choice to the senate and people. This intelligence made Galba hasten the execution of a design he had already formed of adopting some person, as he was himself childless; and he held consultations with his three friends on the subject. They were divided in their sentiments. M. Salvius Otho, from whom, it may be recollected, Nero had taken Poppæa, had early joined Galba, whom he hoped to succeed; there was a great intimacy between him and Vinus, whose daughter, it was believed, he was engaged to marry, and Vinus therefore now strongly urged his claim to the adoption. Laco and Icelus had no particular favorite, but they were resolved to oppose the candidate of Vinus. Galba, partly, as was thought, moved by a regard for the state, which would have been to no pur-

pose delivered from Nero if transmitted to Otho, and partly, as was supposed, influenced by Laco, fixed on Piso Licinianus, a young man of the noblest birth and the strictest morals. Having adopted him with the usual forms, he took him into the camp, and informed the soldiers of what he had done; but, influenced by his parsimony and his regard for ancient usages, he unfortunately said not a word of a donative, and the troops listened to him with silence and disgust.

Otho, who, from the state of his affairs, saw ruin impending over him, now resolved to make a desperate effort, and be emperor or perish. He had for some time been secretly tampering with the soldiery. By means of his freedman Onomastus, he gained over two soldiers, who undertook to make trial of the fidelity of their comrades; and, on the fifth day after the adoption of Piso, (Jan. 15,) as Galba was sacrificing at the temple of the Palatine Apollo, Onomastus came to Otho, who was standing by him, and said that the architect and builders were waiting for him, that being the signal agreed on. Otho, pretending that he had bought some houses which required to be examined, went away; and, at the golden mile-stone in the Forum, he was met by three-and-twenty soldiers, who saluted him emperor, and, placing him in a sedan, hurried him away to the camp, being joined by about as many more on the way.

Galba was still engaged sacrificing, when the report came, first, that some senator, and then that Otho, was carried away to the camp. It was resolved to make trial at once of the fidelity of the cohort which was on guard at the palace, and Piso went and stood on the steps and addressed them. But, though he promised a donative, they did not declare themselves. All the other troops joined the prætorians, with the exception of those whom Nero had drafted from the German army to serve in Egypt, and whom Galba had lately treated with much kindness.

The populace hastened to the palace with loud and noisy loyalty; and, while Galba was consulting with his friends, word came that Otho was slain in the camp: the senators and knights, then taking courage, vied with the populace in clamorous loyalty, and Galba was put into a chair to proceed to the camp. Just as he was setting out, a guardsman, showing his bloody sword, cried out that he had slain Otho: Galba, ever mindful of discipline, replied, "Fellow-soldier, who ordered you?" Piso, who had been sent to the camp,

met the emperor on his way with the assurance that all was lost, the soldiers having declared for Otho. While they were deliberating on what were best to be done, the soldiers, horse and foot, rushed into the Forum, and dispersed the senators and the people. At the sight of them, the standard-bearer of the cohort which was with Galba threw down his ensign. The aged emperor was flung from his chair at the place called the Lake of Curtius. He desired the soldiers to slay him, if it seemed for the good of the state; and he was instantly despatched. Vinius was the next victim. Piso fled to the temple of Vesta, where he was concealed by a public slave attached to it; but he was soon discovered, dragged out and slain, and his head brought to Otho. Laco, Icelus, and several others, were put to death. The body of Galba, after being exposed to the insults of the soldiery and rabble, was indebted for sepulture to his steward, Argius, who interred it in his own garden.

M. Salvius Otho.

A. U. 822. A. D. 69.

The soldiers now did every thing they pleased; for Otho, even if inclined, had not the power to restrain them; the senate and people rushed into servitude as usual. The tribunitian power, the name of Augustus, and all the other honors, were decreed to Otho; and, as far as Rome was concerned, his power was supreme. But he had hardly entered on his new dignity when he received intelligence that the German legions, joined by several of the Gallic states, had declared A. Vitellius emperor, and that two armies, under his legates, Fabius Valens and Alienus Cæcina, were in full march for Italy.

The legions of Britain and of Rætia had also declared for Vitellius. Those of Spain at first gave in their adhesion to Otho; but they speedily turned to his rival. The troops of the East and of Africa took the oath to Otho, when they learned his elevation by the senate. The army of Illyricum also took the engagement to him, and adhered to it. His chief reliance, however, was on the guards and the other troops which had revolted in his favor against Galba. During the time that Otho remained in the city, preparing

for the war, he displayed a degree of prudence and vigor not expected from his general character. He gained popularity by giving up to the public vengeance the infamous Tigellinus, and by bestowing pardon and his confidence on Marius Celsus, a consul elect, who had exhibited the most exemplary fidelity toward Galba, and who afterwards proved equally faithful to Otho himself.

On the eve of the Ides of March, (14th,) Otho, having commended the state to the care of the senate, set out to take the command of his army; for Valens, at the head of 40,000 men, was now approaching Italy by the Cottian Alps, while Cæcina, with 30,000, was entering it by the Pennine Alps, and a part of the troops in Cisalpine Gaul had declared for Vitellius, and seized Milan, Novarra, and some other municipal towns. The whole of Italy to the Po was thus in the hands of the Vitellians. As Otho had the entire command of the sea, he had put troops on board of the fleet from Misenum, and sent them to make a diversion on the southern coast of Gaul; and they had some success against the troops despatched by Valens to oppose them. The Pannonian legions were on their march for Italy, and they had sent their cavalry and light troops on before. Five prætorian cohorts, with the first legion, and some cavalry, and a band of two thousand gladiators, were despatched from the city, under the command of Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna, to occupy the banks of the Po; and Otho himself followed with the remainder of the prætorian cohorts, a body of veteran prætorians, and a large number of the rowers of the fleet.

Cæcina had crossed the Po, unopposed; he moved along the stream of that river, and sat down before Placentia, into which Spurinna had thrown himself. On the very first day of the siege, the splendid amphitheatre, the largest in Italy, which lay without the walls, was burnt, by accident or design. Having failed in all his attempts to storm the town, Cæcina put his troops over the river, and marched against Cremona. Gallus, who was leading the first legion to the relief of Placentia, being informed by letters from Spurinna of the route taken by Cæcina, halted at a village named Bedriacum, between Verona and Cremona. Meantime Martius Macro had suddenly crossed the Po with the gladiators, and routed a body of the Vitellian auxiliaries. The Othonians were now elate with success, and eager for battle, and they wrote to Otho, accusing their generals of treachery in restraining their ardor.

The Othonian generals wished to avoid engaging the vet

erans of Vitellius with their holiday troops, which had never seen any service, and to wait for the arrival of the Pannonian legions. On the other hand, Cæcina, maddened by the repulses which he had received at Placentia, and anxious to bring matters to a conclusion before the arrival of Valens, was impatient of delay. He therefore wished to provoke a battle; and, placing the best of his auxiliary troops in ambush, in the woods on each side of the road, at a place called The Temple of the Castors, about twelve miles from Cremona, he sent a party of horse along the road, with directions to fall on the enemy, and then retire and draw them into the ambuscade. The plan, however, was betrayed to the Othonian generals, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus, of whom the former taking the command of the foot, and the latter that of the horse, they made such dispositions as might turn the enemy's wile against himself. Accordingly, when the Vitellian horse turned and fled, Celsus kept his men in check; those in the ambush then rising before their time, Celsus gradually fell back till he drew them to where they found the road occupied by the legionaries, while cohorts were on each side, and the cavalry had now gotten into their rear. Had Paulinus given the word at once, they might have been cut to pieces; but he delayed so long, that they had time to save themselves in the adjoining vineyards, and a little wood, from which they made sallies, and killed some of the most forward of the Othonian horse. The Othonian infantry now pushed forward, and, as Cæcina sent his troops out only by single cohorts to oppose them, the resistance which they experienced was slight; and it was thought, on both sides, that, if Paulinus had not sounded a recall, Cæcina's army might have been annihilated. The reason which Paulinus assigned for doing so, was his fear lest his wearied men should be attacked by fresh troops from the camp of the Vitellians, in which case he should have no reserve to support them; his arguments, however, did not prove generally satisfactory.

This check abated very much the confidence of both Cæcina and his men; it had a similar effect on those of Valens, who had now reached Ticinum. They had lately been very mutinous, and their general had narrowly escaped death at their hands; and when they heard of the recent disaster of their comrades, they were near breaking out into mutiny again. They would brook no delay; they urged on the standard-bearers, and they speedily joined the army of Cæcina.

Otho now advised with his generals, whether it would be better to protract the war, or to bring matters to a speedy decision. Suetonius argued strongly in favor of the former course. The Vitellians, he said, were all there; they could calculate on no additions to their force; they would soon be in want of corn; the summer was coming on, and the Germans, it was well known, could not stand the heat of Italy. On the other hand, Otho had Pannonia, Mæsia, and the East, with their large armies; he had Italy and the city with him, and the name of the senate and people, which was always of importance; he had plenty of money, and his men were inured to the climate. The line of the Po, as Placentia had proved, could be easily defended; he would speedily be joined by the legions from Illyricum. All therefore conspired to recommend delay. The opinions of Celsus and Annius Gallus coincided with that of Suetonius. On the other hand, Otho himself was inclined to a speedy decision, and his brother Titianus, to whom he had given the chief command, and the prætorian prefect, Licinius Proculus, men utterly devoid of experience, flattered his wishes. The generals ceased to oppose. It was then asked, should the emperor himself appear in the field or not. Suetonius and Celsus gave no opinion, and the others decided that he should retire to Brescia, (*Brixellum*), and reserve himself for the empire. Nothing could be more pernicious than this course, for he took with him some of the best troops; and, moreover, as the soldiers distrusted their generals, and had confidence in himself alone, it diminished the moral force of the army.

Valens and Cæcina, who, by means of scouts and deserters, knew all that was going on in the enemy's camp, now began to throw a bridge of boats over the Po, as if with the intention of driving off the gladiators. While they were thus engaged, the Othonians advanced four miles from Bedriacum, and encamped, displaying so little skill in the selection of the site, that, though it was spring-time, and there was a number of streams all about them, the soldiers actually suffered for want of water. Celsus and Paulinus were generals only in name, and their opinions had never been taken. The troops were then set in motion, to march for the confluence of the Po and the Adda, sixteen miles off, in spite of the remonstrances of the generals, Titianus and Proculus, being confirmed by an express from Otho, ordering matters to be brought to a decision at once.

Cæcina was viewing the progress of the bridge, when word came that the enemy was at hand. He hurried back to the camp, where he found that Valens had got the troops under arms. The horse issued forth, and charged the Othonians, but were driven back; the legions, favored by the denseness of the trees, which concealed them from view, formed without disorder. The Othonians were advancing without any order; the baggage and the followers mingled with the soldiers, along a road with deep ditches on each side. A report being spread that his own troops had revolted from Vitellius, the Othonians, when they came in view, saluted the Vitellians as friends; but they were soon made to perceive their error. A severe conflict ensued; but the Othonians were finally routed and driven to their camp, and the Vitellians took up their position for the night within a mile of it. The prætorians alone were unbroken in spirit; they asserted that they were betrayed, not conquered, and insisted on continuing the war. Morning, however, brought cooler thoughts, and a deputation was sent to sue for peace, which was readily granted, and the two armies then united.

When the news of the defeat at Bedriacum reached Brescia, the troops there, instead of being dejected, sought to inspire their emperor to continue the war; and envoys from the Mæsiæ legions, who were now at Aquileia, assured him of their resolution to adhere to his cause. But Otho had already formed his determination to end the contest for empire by a voluntary death. He addressed those about him in manly terms, declaring that he would not be the cause of ruin to such brave and worthy men. He insisted on their providing for their own safety; and, having distributed money among them, and burnt all letters reflecting on Vitellius, he retired, in the evening, to his bed-chamber, and taking two daggers, and trying their edge, he placed one under his pillow. He passed the night in tranquillity, and at daybreak he thrust the dagger into his bosom. At the groan which he gave, his freedmen and friends came in; but they found him already dead. The funeral was hurried; for so he had earnestly desired, lest his head should be cut off and insulted. Some of the soldiers slew themselves at the pyre, and their example was followed by many at Bedriacum, Placentia, and other places.*

* Verginius, at this time, ran the risk of his life for again refusing the empire. He had afterwards a narrow escape from the soldiers of

A. Vitellius.

A. U. 822—823. A. D. 69—70.

The news of the death of Otho reached Rome during the celebration of the Cereal games. The event, joined with that of Flavius Sabinus, the city prefect, having caused the soldiers there to take the oath to Vitellius, being announced in the theatre, the spectators shouted for Vitellius, and they then carried the images of Galba, adorned with laurel and flowers, round to the temples. The usual honors and titles were, without hesitation, decreed to Vitellius by the senate, and thanks were voted to the armies of Germany.

Aulus Vitellius, who was thus suddenly raised to empire, was the son of L. Vitellius, who, as we have seen above, was one of the basest of flatterers in the times of Caius and Claudius. He himself had, in early youth, been an inmate of the Capræan sty of Tiberius; he gained the favor of Caius by his fondness for chariot races; that of Claudius by his love of dice, and that of Nero by adroit flattery of his passion for the stage. He was distinguished above all men for his gluttony, so that Galba, when sending him to Lower Germany, gave as his reason for selecting him, that none are less to be feared than those who think of nothing but eating.

Vitellius was collecting reënforcements in Gaul when he heard of the victory at Bedriacum. He was met at Lyons (*Lugdunum*) by his own generals and by those of the Othonians. Of these last, Suetonius and Proculus escaped by ascribing to treachery on their own part the accidents which had favored the Vitellians. Titianus was excused on the ground of natural affection to his brother; and Celsus was even allowed to retain the consulate, to which he had been appointed. The most zealous of the Othonian centurions, however, were put to death — an act which tended greatly to alienate the Illyrian army. On the whole, however, Vi-

Vitellius, when at that emperor's own table: "*Nec quemquam sæpius quam Verginium,*" says Tacitus, "*omnis seditio infestavit; monebat admiratio viri et fama, sed oderant ut fastiditi.*" This excellent man, however, escaped all dangers, and died, when consul for the third time, in the reign of Nerva, having reached his 83d year. His funeral oration was pronounced by Tacitus. Pliny, whose guardian he had been, speaks of him (Ep. ii. l. vi. 10) in terms of the greatest respect and affection.

tellius did not exhibit much of either avarice or cruelty; but his gluttony exceeded all conception, and the wealth of the empire seemed inadequate to the supply of his table. At the same time, all the north of Italy suffered from the license of the soldiery, who, heedless of their officers, committed every species of excess. The spirit of the Othonians, too, was unbroken, and their language was haughty and menacing. The fourteenth legion, which was the most turbulent, was, therefore, ordered to return to Britain, whence it had been recalled by Nero, and the pratorians were first separated, and then disbanded. At Ticinum, almost in the presence of Vitellius himself, a tumult took place between the legionaries and the auxiliaries of his own army. It was appeased with difficulty; and, in consequence of it, the Batavian cohorts were sent home — a measure productive of future calamity.

Vitellius thence proceeded to Cremona, where he was present at a show of gladiators given by Cæcina. He then feasted his eyes with a view of the battle-field at Bedriacum, where the slain lay still unburied. At Bologna, he visited another show of gladiators, given by Valens. He advanced by easy journeys toward Rome, exhausting the whole country on his way by requisitions for the numerous train that followed him. At length, he came in view of Rome, at the head of 60,000 men, attended by a still greater number of camp followers. Senators and knights, and crowds of the most profligate of the populace, poured forth to meet him. He was about to enter the city as a conqueror in the military habit; but, at the suggestion of his friends, he assumed the magisterial *prætoria*. The eagles of four legions were borne before him; ensigns and standards were around him; the troops — foot, horse, and allies — followed, all in their most splendid array. He thus ascended the Capitol, where he embraced his excellent mother, and saluted her by the title of Augusta.

It was remarked, as a matter of ill omen, that Vitellius took the office of chief pontiff on the 18th of July — a day rendered memorable in the annals of Rome by the disasters at the Cremera and the Allia.* He affected a civil deportment, refusing the title of Augustus, and attending the meet-

* [The former was the destruction of the Fabian family by the Veientes, A. U. C. 279; the latter was the defeat of the Roman army by Brennus and the Gauls, A. U. C. 364. — J. T. S.]

ings of the senate as a simple member of their body, and accompanying his friends and soliciting votes for them in their canvass for the consulate. These popular arts, however, did not blind men to his vices. His gluttony passed all bounds of moderation; he had three or four huge meals every day, for which he prepared himself by emetics; and the lowest cost of each was 400,000 sesterces. One banquet, given him by his brother, is said to have comprised, in its bill of fare, 2,000 of the choicest fishes, and 7,000 of the rarest birds. He was also immoderately given to the sports of the circus, theatre, and amphitheatre; and he alarmed men's minds by offering public sacrifices to the Manes of Nero, as if he proposed that prince for his example. Like his predecessors, he was governed by a freedman, named Asiaticus, who in cruelty, rapacity, and every other vice, fully equalled those of the courts of Claudius and Nero. The generals Cæcina and Valens, of whom the former was more desirous of power, the latter of money, also acted as they pleased; and, altogether, Tacitus observes, "no one in that court attempted to distinguish himself by worth or application to business, the only road to power being to satiate the insatiable appetites of Vitellius, by extravagant banquets, and expense and debauchery of every kind." The historian adds, that, in the few months that he reigned, Vitellius spent nine hundred millions of sesterces.

The soldiers, meantime, were held under little restraint; but their strength was melting away, from their riotous living, and from the insalubrity of the air and soil about Rome. The strength of the legions was also reduced, by the formation of sixteen new prætorian and four urban cohorts, into which any legionary who pleased might volunteer.

The luxurious enjoyments of Vitellius were soon disturbed by tidings that the legions of the East would not submit to have a head imposed on the empire by those of Germany. There were four legions in Syria, under the command of Licinius Mucianus, the governor of that province; and T. Flavius Vespasianus had, at the head of three other legions, been for the last three years carrying on the war against the rebellious Jews, which he had now nearly brought to a conclusion; and Ti. Alexander, the prefect of Egypt, commanded two other legions. Vespasian had sent his son Titus to Rome, with his adhesion to Galba; but, hearing on his way of the murder of that emperor, Titus had stopped, lest he

might be made a hostage by either of the rival parties. The armies of the East had taken the oath of fidelity to Otho, without making any objection; but when Vespasian would set them the example of taking it to Vitellius, they listened to him in profound silence. He then began to meditate on his own chances of empire; both Mucianus and Alexander, he had abundant reason to believe, would aid him in attaining it; the third legion, which was now in Mœsia, had been drawn thither from Syria, and he was certain of its attachment to him, and it might be able to gain over the other legions of Illyricum. On the other hand, he reflected on the strength of the German legions, with which he was well acquainted, and their superiority over those of the East, and also on the risk of his being assassinated, like Scribonianus in the time of Claudius.

The legates and other officers tried to encourage him, and Mucianus, both in private and public, urged every topic likely to prevail with him. His mind was also affected by sundry omens and prophecies which he recollected; and he at length resolved to run the risk, and win the empire, or perish in the attempt. To make the necessary preparations, he repaired to Cæsarea, while Mucianus hastened to Antioch, the capitals of their respective provinces. It was, however, at Alexandria, that he was first proclaimed emperor; where, on the first of July, Alexander made the legions take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian; and two days later, as he was coming out of his chamber, at Cæsarea, some soldiers, who were at hand, saluted him emperor; the rest then shouted out Cæsar, Augustus, and the other imperial titles, and he no longer refused them. Mucianus had, meantime, brought over the Syrian legions, chiefly by assuring them that it was the intention of Vitellius to replace them by those of Germany, and remove them to the snows and cold of the north. The neighboring kings, Sohemus, Antiochus, and Agrippa, joined in the league, and a meeting was held at Berytus to deliberate on the best mode of proceeding.

It was there resolved that every effort should be made to obtain money and supplies of all kinds; that embassies should be sent to the Parthians and Armenians, to engage them to remain at peace; that Titus should carry on the war in Judæa; and Vespasian himself secure Egypt; while Mucianus should set out, with a part of the army, against Vitellius; and letters be written to all the armies and le-

gates; and every means be employed to induce the disbanded prætorian cohorts to resume their arms in the cause of Vespasian.

Accordingly, Mucianus set forth at once with a body of light troops, a much larger force following at a slower pace. He ordered the fleet from the Pontus to meet him at Byzantium, not being yet determined whether he should march through Mœsia, or pass direct from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium or Tarentum. His course, however, was decided by the news of what had occurred in the army of Illyricum. For three legions from Mœsia, (one of which was the third,) having reached Aquileia, on their march to join Otho, there learned the death of that prince. While they halted, officers arrived, inviting them to submit to Vitellius; but they tore the banners which were sent to them bearing his name, and seized and divided among them the public money. The third then setting the example, they declared for Vespasian; and they wrote to the Pannonian army, inviting them to join them, under the penalty of being treated as enemies. This army, consisting of two legions, which had fought at Bedriacum, eager to efface the disgrace of defeat, was easily induced, chiefly by means of Antonius Primus, the commander of one of the legions, to accept the invitation; and, the two armies being united, they easily induced that of Dalmatia to join them.

The revolt of the Mœsian legions was communicated to Vitellius by Aponius Saturninus, the governor of Mœsia. He affected to make light of it, but he sent to summon aid from Germany, Spain, and Britain. At length, when the extent of the defection became known, he ordered Cæcina and Valens to make ready for war. As Valens was then unwell, Cæcina took the sole command, and the German army marched from Rome, but no longer the same, a few weeks' abode there having sufficed to relax its discipline and destroy its energy. The troops were directed to repair to Cremona and Hostilia; Cæcina himself proceeded to Ravenna, to confer with Lucilius Bassus, the commander of the fleet, and thence to Padua, to watch the course of events.

The Flavian generals, meantime, held a consultation as to the best mode of proceeding. Some were for merely securing the Pannonian Alps, and waiting for reënforcements; but Antonius Primus declared vehemently in favor of advancing into Italy at once, lest the Vitellians should have time

to recover their discipline, and be joined by troops from Gaul, Spain, and Britain. His opinion prevailed. Letters were written to Aponius, who had declared for the Flavian cause, urging him to come quickly with the Mæsiæ army. To secure the provinces from the attacks of the barbarians in the absence of the legions, the princes of the Sarmatian Jazyges, and Sido and Italicus, the kings of the Suevians, were taken into alliance. The army then descended into the plain of the Po, and the generals again debated what place should be fixed on for the seat of the war. Vespasian had sent orders for the army to halt at Aquileia, and wait for Mucianus, as, by his own occupation of Egypt, whence Italy was chiefly supplied with corn, he hoped that want of food and pay would oblige the Vitellians to submit without the hazard of a battle. Mucianus, also, fearing lest the glory of terminating the conquest should be snatched from himself, wrote several letters to the same effect. But the army had already determined on the attack of Verona, and had occupied Vicenza (*Vicetia*) on its way to that town.

Cæcina had taken a strong position near Hostilia; a Veronese village, having a river in his rear, and marshes on his flanks. Though his troops far outnumbered those of the Flavians, which as yet consisted of only two legions, and when joined within a few days by Aponius with another legion, were yet inferior, — he negotiated instead of fighting. The Flavians were soon after joined by two other legions, and they then prepared to assault Verona. But a sedition speedily broke out among them. They accused Aponius and Ampius Flavianus, the legate of Pannonia, of treachery; and these officers had to fly for their lives, and the sole command remained with Antonius, who was suspected of having excited the mutiny with this very view.

Lucilius Bassus now made an attempt to induce the fleet at Ravenna to declare for Vespasian; but he was seized by his own men, and sent a prisoner to Hadria. Cæcina, who had made a secret agreement with the Flavian party, at first succeeded in inducing his men to declare for Vespasian; but they soon, however, repented, seized him, and put him in bonds, and marched back to join the legions that were at Cremona.

Antonius, judging that Valens, who was an able officer, and faithful to Vitellius, would soon arrive to take the command, resolved to bring matters to a speedy decision. He therefore quitted Verona, and, advancing toward Cremona,

encamped at Bedriacum. While the legionaries were fortifying the camp, he sent the auxiliary cohorts to plunder the lands of Cremona, and he himself, with a body of 4,000 horse, advanced for eight miles along the road leading to that city. Toward noon the enemy was announced to be on his march. An officer named Arrius Varus dashed forward, and charged and drove back, with some slight loss, the Vitellian horse, who were in advance; but, fresh troops coming to their aid, the Flavians were repulsed in their turn. Antonius, however, checked their flight, and routed the Vitellians, who were in pursuit, and drove them back on two of their legions, which had advanced to the fourth mile-stone from Cremona; and, Vipstanus Messala coming up with the Mœsic auxiliaries, the Vitellian legions were driven back to the town.

In the evening, the whole Flavian army came up on the ground where the engagement had taken place. Seeing the heaps of slain, they looked on the war as terminated; and they were proposing to themselves the storm and plunder of Cremona, from which probably neither the arguments nor the authority of Antonius would have withheld them, had not some horsemen, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, reported that the troops from Hostilia had joined, and that the whole strength of the Vitellian army now lay at Cremona. This intelligence rendered them obedient to their general; and, though night was closing in, Antonius placed them in order of battle on the road itself and the lands on each side of it.

The Vitellians, who were now without any general officers, were so confident of their own strength, that they would not remain in the town; and they set forth with the intention of falling on and routing the Flavians, whom they supposed to be exhausted with cold and want of food. It was about nine o'clock when they suddenly fell in with them, drawn up as we have described. A desultory, irregular conflict was maintained through the night. The Vitellians had drawn their artillery all up on the road, whence it was doing great execution, especially a huge *balista* belonging to the fifteenth legion; when two gallant soldiers of the Flavians, taking up the shields of the Vitellians, that they might not be known, rushed forwards, and, though they lost their lives in the attempt, they succeeded in cutting the cords of the engines, and thus rendering them useless. At length the moon rose behind the Flavians, lengthening their shadows, and giving them a clear view of the enemy, who now fought under a

manifest disadvantage. When the sun appeared, the third (as was the usage in Syria) saluted that lord of day. A report ran through both armies, that it was the troops of Mucianus, who had just arrived, that they were thus greeting. Antonius, taking advantage of the effect of this report, made a steady charge on the loosely-formed Vitellians, who speedily broke and fled to Cremona, whither the victorious Flavians lost no time in following them. But when they approached the town, they saw a labor before them which they had not expected. In the beginning of the war, the German army, when it entered Italy, had fixed a strongly-fortified camp under the walls of Cremona; and its strength had been lately augmented very considerably. The Flavians saw that they must either attack and carry this camp, or return to Bedriacum, or adopt the hazardous course of encamping in view of a numerous army. They chose the first course, perilous as it was; the gates and ramparts were assailed: when their efforts slackened, one of their leaders (Antonius, as some said) pointed to Cremona as their reward, and their exertions were renewed. At length the tenth burst open one of the gates and rushed in; the camp was speedily carried, and the Vitellians were slaughtered in vast numbers as they made their escape to the town. Their loss in this and the preceding actions is said to have exceeded 30,000 men, while that of the Flavians amounted only to 4,500.*

The city of Cremona was defended by lofty walls, and towers, and massive gates. Its population was numerous, and, this being the time of one of its fairs, it was full of people from the rest of Italy. This last circumstance, however, acted as an incentive on the Flavians, who reckoned that the plunder would be by so much the greater. The assault was therefore commenced: at first the resistance was vigorous, but gradually it slackened, as the Vitellian officers began to reflect that, if Cremona were taken by storm, they had no further place of refuge, and that it was on *them* that the vengeance of the victors would fall. They therefore set Cæcina at liberty, and prayed him to be their mediator; they threw aside the standards of Vitellius, and displayed tokens of supplication from the walls. Antonius then ordered his men to cease, and the Vitellians marched out with the honors of war. The Flavians at first insulted them; but, when they marked their humble demeanor, and called to mind that these

* Josephus, Jewish War, iv. 11. Hegesippus, iv. 30.

were the men who had used their victory at Bedri cum with such moderation, they felt compassion. But when Cæcina appeared with the consular ensigns, they could not control their indignation, and Antonius had difficulty to save him.

Antonius either could not or would not save the town; 40,000 soldiers, and a still greater number of camp followers, the more terrible of the two on such an occasion, rushed in. The usual series of atrocities, murder, rape, robbery, torture, enacted in towns taken by storm, ensued. The town was fired in various parts; it burned for four days; at the end of which time a solitary temple without the gates alone remained to testify the former existence of Cremona.

Vitellius, meantime, was thinking only of his sensual enjoyments.* Valens, with a train of women and eunuchs, was moving leisurely onwards, when he heard of the treachery of Cæcina and Lucilius Bassus. Instead of hastening by forced marches to Cremona, or making some daring effort, he still loitered, and thought only of seducing the wives and daughters of his hosts. He fell back into Umbria, and thence into Etruria, where, hearing of the loss of the battle at Cremona, he seized some shipping and made sail for Narbonese Gaul, with the intention of exciting the Gauls and Germans to arms. But his project failed; and, being driven by a storm to some islets near Marseilles, he was there taken by the ships sent by the Flavians in pursuit of him.

The whole of Italy north and east of the Apennines was now in the hands of the Flavians. As the winter was approaching, and the Po was beginning to overflow, Antonius resolved to make no further delay; and, leaving the sick and wounded, and a part of the legionaries, at Verona, he advanced with the remainder to Fano, (*Fanum Fortunæ*.) Vitellius had sent fourteen prætorian cohorts and all his cavalry to defend the passage of the Apennines, committing the defence of the city to his brother L. Vitellius and the remaining prætorian cohorts. He occupied himself with remitting tributes, granting immunities, appointing consuls for a series of years, and such like useless or pernicious acts, never intermitting the pleasures of the table till he learned that the army insisted on his presence with it. He then set out with a great number of the senators, and joined it at Mevania; but the total ignorance of war, which he displayed, and his

* "Umbraculis hortorum abditus, (ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent torpentque,) præterita, instantia, futura pari oblivione dimiserat." Tacitus.

continual drunkenness, proved how unqualified he was for empire. Instead of crossing the Apennines and attacking the enemy, who was suffering from the weather, and from want of supplies in an exhausted country, he frittered away the strength of his army, and exposed it to be cut up in detail. Tidings of the revolt of the fleet at Misenum gave him a pretext for returning to Rome; he there learned further, that the people of Puteoli and other towns had joined in the revolt, and the officer, whom he sent to recall the soldiers to their duty, declared for Vespasian, and occupied Tarracina.

The disgraceful departure of Vitellius emboldened the people of the Sabellian race to manifest their inclination to the Flavian cause. Antonius, also, though the weather was foul and the snow deep, crossed the Apennines, which he never, perhaps, could have achieved, had Vitellius been other than he was. As he was advancing, he was met by Petillius Cerialis, an able officer, and a connection of Vespasian's, who had escaped from confinement in the garb of a peasant. Cerialis was forthwith associated in the command of the army, which encamped at Carsulæ, within ten miles of the Vitellians. Here the Flavians were joined by the troops from Verona. Desertion soon spread among the Vitellians; and, when the head of Valens, who had been put to death at Urbino, was brought and shown to them, they gave up all hopes, and consented to declare for Vespasian. Frequent messages were at this time sent by the Flavian generals to Vitellius, offering him a large income and a retreat in Campania, if he would give over the contest. Mucianus wrote to the same effect; and Vitellius was beginning to speak of the number of slaves he should require and the place he should select; for, as Tacitus says, "such a torpor had seized his mind, that, if others had not remembered that he was an emperor, he would have forgotten it himself."

The prefect of the city at this time was Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of Vespasian; for a generous or prudent policy of sparing the relatives of each other, of which Otho had set the example, prevailed among the rival candidates for empire. Vespasian's younger son, Domitianus, was also at Rome and in safety. Sabinus was strongly urged, by the principal persons in the city, to put himself at the head of the urban cohorts and the watchmen, with their own slaves, and seize the city for his brother; but he was a man of mild temper, and averse from civil bloodshed; he therefore pre-

ferred the way of negotiation · he had several private meetings with Vitellius, and they finally came to an arrangement in the temple of Apollo, it was said, in the presence of two witnesses. Vitellius's friends, when they heard of it, did all in their power to make him break the agreement, but to no purpose. On the 18th of December, when news came of the defection of the troops at Narnia, he came down from the palace, clad in black, having his young son in a litter with him, and addressed the people and soldiery in the Forum, telling them that he retired for the sake of peace and the republic; and commending to them his family. He then, in token of his resignation, handed his dagger to the consul, who declined to receive it. He moved toward the temple of Concord, to deposit his ensigns there, and then retire to the adjoining house of his brother; but the people and the German soldiers opposed his passage, and forced him to return to the palace.

The principal persons of both orders, hearing that Vitellius had abdicated, had repaired to the house of Sabinus, where the urban cohorts and the watchmen were also assembled. When they heard of the conduct of the populace and the German cohorts, feeling that they had gone too far to recede, they resolved to have recourse to arms. A skirmish speedily took place with some of the Vitellians, in which they were worsted; and Sabinus then retired to the Capitol, with his soldiers and some of the knights and senators. During the night, as the guard of the Vitellians was slack, he caused his children and nephew to be brought thither; and at the same time he sent to apprise the Flavian generals of his situation.

As soon as it was light, Sabinus sent a centurion to remonstrate with Vitellius on his breach of faith. Vitellius attempted to excuse himself, by declaring his want of power to restrain his soldiers. The centurion was obliged to retire by the rear of the house to elude them; and he had hardly returned to the Capitol when they advanced to the assault. They assailed the portico of the temple with flaming brands; Sabinus caused the statues to be all pulled down and piled up behind the doors, to serve as a barrier. They then made their attacks at all the approaches, especially that by the Asylum. The edifice at length burst into flames, whether fired by the besieged or the besiegers was uncertain; and thus was the temple of the tutelar deities of Rome destroyed for the second time, in the midst of civil commotions. Undaunted by the flames, the Vitellians rushed in: few of the

defenders made resistance; most sought to escape in various ways, and generally with success. Domitian was concealed by the keeper of the temple; and next day he got away, disguised as one of the ministers of Isis. Sabinus and the consul Atticus, were seized and dragged into the presence of Vitellius. In vain the powerless emperor wished to save the former; he was murdered before his eyes. Atticus escaped by declaring that it was he himself that had fired the temple.

The Flavians were keeping the Saturnalia, at Otriculum, when they heard of the late events at Rome. Cerialis advanced immediately, with a body of a thousand horse, to enter the city by the Salarian road, while Antonius led the remainder of the army along the Flaminian. The night was advanced, when, at a place named the Red Rocks, (*Saxa Rubra*,) he was informed of the burning of the Capitol and the death of Sabinus. Cerialis was repulsed, when he approached the city, and driven back to Fidenæ; and the populace, elated at this success of their party, took up arms for Vitellius, and demanded to be led to battle. He thanked them for their zeal, but he preferred negotiation to arms. He sent deputies to both Cerialis and Antonius, and the Vestal Virgins were the bearers of a letter to the latter. The holy maidens were treated with all due respect; but the answer returned to Vitellius was, that the murder of Sabinus and the burning of the Capitol had put an end to all hopes of peace.

Antonius having made a fruitless effort to induce his troops to halt for one day at the Mulvian bridge, they advanced to the assault, in three bodies, along the Tiber and the Salarian and Flaminian roads. The Vitellians opposed them vigorously at all points; success was various, but fortune mostly favored the Flavians. The people looked on, as if it had been the sports of the amphitheatre, cheering the victors, and requiring those who sought refuge any where to be dragged out and slain. They also plundered the dead. In some parts of the city there were the flashing of arms and the sounds of combat; while in others, the usual course of debauchery was going on, and the baths and the taverns were filled with their daily visitors. It was at the prætorian camp that the battle raged the loudest. Pride urged the old prætorians to recover their camp; their successors were determined to die rather than yield it up. Every kind of engine was employed against it; at length an entrance was forced, and all its defenders were slain.

When the city was taken, Vitellius had himself conveyed

in a sedan to the house of his wife, on the Aventine, intending to steal away, during the night, to Tarracina, which his brother had recovered. But he changed his mind, and returned to the palace. He found it deserted; and, as he roamed its empty halls, his spirit failed, and he concealed himself in the porter's lodge, hiding under the bed and bed-clothes. Here he was found and dragged out by a Flavian tribune. His hands were tied behind his back; a rope was put about his neck; his robe was torn; a sword was set under his chin to make him hold up his head; some reviled him, others pelted him with mud and dirt. He was thus led along the Sacred Way; and, at the Gemonian Stairs, he was hacked to death, and his body was then dragged away and flung into the Tiber.

CHAPTER II.*

THE FLAVIAN FAMILY.

A. U. 823—849. A. D. 70—96.

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ROME. — GERMAN WAR. — CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. — RETURN OF TITUS. — VESPASIAN. — CHARACTER OF HIS GOVERNMENT. — HIS DEATH. — CHARACTER AND REIGN OF TITUS. — PUBLIC CALAMITIES. — DEATH OF TITUS. — CHARACTER OF DOMITIAN. — CONQUEST OF BRITAIN. — DACIAN WAR. — OTHER WARS. — CRUELTY OF DOMITIAN. — HIS DEATH. — LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD.

T. Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus.

A. U. 823—832. A. D. 70—79.

THE death of Vitellius terminated the civil war, but it did not yet restore tranquillity to the empire. Rome presented the appearance of a conquered city. The victorious Flavians pursued and slaughtered the Vitellians in all quarters,

Authorities: Suetonius and Dion.

houses were broken open and robbed, and their owners, if they resisted, were murdered. Complaint and lamentation were heard on all sides. The generals were unable to restrain their men, and the evil was left to exhaust itself. The troops were soon, however, led as far as Bovillæ and Aricia, to oppose L. Vitellius, who was reported to be on his march against the city; but he and his cohorts surrendered at discretion, and he was led to Rome and put to death. The same was the fate of a few more of the friends of Vitellius; among whom may be mentioned his freedman Asiaticus. Some persons were prosecuted and punished for their acts in the time of Nero; among whom it is gratifying to mention the philosopher Egnatius Celer, the friend and prosecutor of Soranus.

The senate decreed all the usual imperial honors to Vespasian; the consulship for the ensuing year to him; to his eldest son, the prætorship; and the consular authority to Domitian. The consular ensigns were decreed to Antonius Primus; the prætorian, to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus; and the triumphal, to Mucianus, for his success against the Sarmatians. The supreme power lay nominally with Domitian; but its reality was in the hands of Antonius, from whom, however, it passed to Mucianus, who speedily arrived. Mucianus acted in all things as if he were a partner of the empire; Domitian also exercised such imperial power, that his father, it is said, wrote to him one time, saying, "I thank you, son, for allowing me to reign, and for not having deposed me."

Vespasian did not arrive at Rome till toward the end of the year. As the Roman arms were at this time occupied by two distinct enemies in different parts of the world, the Germans and the Jews, and both wars were concluded in this year, we will here briefly notice them.

The origin of the German war was as follows: The Batavians, a tribe of the Chattans, being expelled from their original seats, had settled in the north-eastern extremity of Gaul, and in the island formed by the branches of the Rhine. They were in alliance with the Romans, on the usual terms, and therefore supplied them with troops; their cavalry, from its activity and the skill and boldness with which it was known to cross the deepest and most rapid rivers, was always greatly prized in the Roman service; and the Batavian cohorts had very much distinguished themselves both in Britain and at Bedriacum. Two brothers, named Julius Paulus and

Claudius Civilis, had held of late the chief command of the Batavian troops. The former was put to death by Fonteius Capito, on a false charge of disaffection in the time of Nero, and the latter was sent in chains to Rome. He was acquitted by Galba, but he ran fresh danger from Vitellius, as the army was clamorous for his execution. He, however, escaped, and returned to his own country, where, under the pretence of acting for Vespasian, he prepared to cast off the Roman yoke. He first induced the Batavians to refuse the levy ordered by Vitellius, and then proposed to the Canninifates, a neighboring people, to join the league; he also sent to solicit the Batavian cohorts, that had been sent back from Bedriacum, and were now at Mentz, (*Magontiacum.*) The Canninifates, choosing one of their nobles, named Brinno, for their leader, and having associated with them the trans-Rhenic Frisians, attacked and took the winter camp of two cohorts on the sea-coast. Civilis at first pretended great zeal for the Romans; but, when he found that his designs were seen through, he joined Brinno openly, and their united forces, aided by the treachery of a Tungrian cohort and of the Batavian rowers in the ships, succeeded in defeating a body of Roman troops, and capturing their fleet of four-and-twenty vessels. Hordeonius ordered Lupercus, one of his legates, to march against the rebels with two legions, Ubian and Trevirian auxiliaries, and some Batavian cavalry. Lupercus therefore crossed the river; Civilis gave him battle; in the midst of the engagement, the Batavian horse went over to their countrymen; the auxiliaries fled in confusion, and the legionaries were obliged to take refuge in the Old Camp.

Meantime a messenger from Civilis had overtaken the Batavian cohorts that were on their march for Italy. They immediately began, as a pretext for defection, to demand a donative, double pay, and other advantages promised by Vitellius; and Hordeonius having tried in vain to satisfy them, they set out to join Civilis. Hordeonius then, resolving to have recourse to force, sent orders to Herennius Gallus, who commanded at Bonn, (*Bonna,*) to stop them in front while he himself should press on their rear. He soon, however, changed his mind, and sent word to Herennius to let them pass. But the latter yielded to the instances of his men, and led out his forces of 3,000 legionaries, some Belgian cohorts, and a train of camp followers, against the Batavians. The latter, inferior in number, but superior in discipline, drove them back with great slaughter to their camp, and then,

continuing their route without further molestation, joined Civilis.

The arrival of these veteran cohorts inspired Civilis with confidence; but, still aware of the power of Rome, he made all his men take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. He sent to invite the two legions in the Old Camp to do the same; but, meeting with a scornful refusal, he resolved to attack them without further delay. He had now been joined by some of the Germans, and his army was numerous. On the other hand, the Romans did not exceed 5,000 men, and they had to defend a camp made for two legions. A general assault was at first tried; and, when it did not succeed, Civilis, aware that the supply of provisions in the camp was very short, resolved to trust to the surer course of blockade. But vast numbers of Germans having now flocked to him, to gratify their ardor he tried another assault. It, however, also failed, and he then resumed the blockade. Meantime he ceased not to urge by letters the people of Gaul to insurrection; and disaffection in consequence prevailed extensively throughout that country.

Hordeonius, unable to control the mutinous spirit of his troops, gave the command of the force which he sent to raise the siege of the Old Camp to the legate Dillius Vocula. This officer advanced as far as Gelduba, and there encamped. Meantime, tidings of the battle of Cremona arrived; and, on the receipt of letters from Antonius Primus, with an edict of Cæcina as consul, Hordeonius made his men take the oath to Vespasian. An envoy was then sent to Civilis, to inform him that he had now no further pretext for war, and to require him to lay down his arms. He, however, refused, and he sent off the veteran cohorts with the Germans to attack the forces at Gelduba, while he himself remained to keep up the blockade of the Old Camp. These troops came so suddenly on Vocula, that he had not time to draw out his men; and, the cowardice or defection of some Nervian cohorts aiding the enemy, they were on the very point of obtaining a complete victory, when some Gascon cohorts came suddenly up, and fell on their rear. The Batavians, taking them for the entire Roman army, lost courage, and, being now assailed in front and rear, were put to flight with loss. Vocula then marched to the relief of the Old Camp. Civilis gave him battle in front of it; but a sally of the besieged, and a fall of Civilis himself from his horse, and a report that he was slain or wounded, damped the spirit of his men, and Vocula forced

his way into the camp, which he secured with additional works. A convoy, which he sent to fetch corn from Novasium, being attacked on its return by Civilis, and forced to take refuge in the camp at Gelduba, he drew a good part of the troops out of the Old Camp, and went with them to their relief. Civilis then renewed the siege of the Old Camp; and when Vocula went on to Novasium, the Batavian general captured Gelduba, and then came off victorious in a cavalry action near Novasium. Mutiny now prevailed to a great extent in the Roman army. Hordeonius was murdered by his own men, and Vocula had to make his escape disguised as a slave.

The success of Civilis, and the intelligence of the taking of Rome, and the death of Vitellius, excited the Gauls to think of asserting their independence. Classicus, the commander of the Trevirian cavalry, opened a correspondence with Civilis. Julius Tutor, the prefect of the bank of the Rhine, and Julius Sabinus, a leading man among the Lingonians, joined with Classicus, and measures were taken to insure the coöperation of their countrymen. Vocula had information of their plans; but he felt himself too weak to oppose them, and he affected to give credit to their protestations of fidelity. When, however, he marched to the relief of the Old Camp, Classicus and Tutor, having arranged matters with Civilis, formed their camp apart from that of the legions. Vocula, having vainly essayed to reduce them to obedience, led, as we have seen, his army back to Novasium. The Gauls encamped two miles off, and (strange and novel event!) Classicus and Tutor succeeded in inducing the Roman soldiers to declare against their own country, and abandon their general. Vocula was murdered by a deserter from the first legion; his legates were confined: Classicus entered the camp with imperial ensigns, and the soldiers took the oath to the empire of the Gauls. The troops in the Old Camp, worn out with famine, now surrendered; all the winter quarters beyond the Rhine, except those at Mentz and Windisch, (*Vindonissá*), were burnt; Cologne and other towns submitted to the conquerors; the Gallic nations, however, with the exception of the Trevirians and Lingonians, and a few others, remained faithful to Rome. Sabinus, causing himself to be proclaimed Cæsar, invaded the territory of the Sequanians; but his disorderly levies were totally routed; and he himself, flying to one of his country-seats,

burned it over his head, that it might be believed that he had perished, while he reserved himself for better times.*

Such was the state of affairs when Cerialis came from Rome to conduct the German war. He fixed his headquarters at Mentz, and the success of his first operations checked the progress of the rebellion. He thence advanced to Treves, where Civilis and Classicus, having in vain solicited him to assume the empire of the Gauls, resolved to give him battle. Early in the morning, a sudden attack was made on the Roman camp by a combined army of Gauls, Germans, and Batavians. Cerialis, who had lain out of the camp, hastened to it, unarmed as he was, and found his men giving way on all sides. By great personal exertions he restored the battle, and the enemy was at length forced to retire. Civilis then, having received fresh troops from Germany, took his position at the Old Camp. Cerialis, who had also been reënforced by two legions, followed him thither. Civilis gave him battle; the contest was long doubtful; at length, the treachery of a Batavian, who deserted, and conducted a body of Roman horse into the rear of Civilis's army, decided the fortune of the day. Civilis then retired with Classicus, Tutor, and some of the principal men of the Trevirians, into the Batavian island, whither Cerialis, for want of shipping, could not pursue them; and issuing thence again, they attacked the Romans in various places, who, in turn, passed over to the island and ravaged it. The approach of winter, during which the toil of carrying on a war amidst bogs and marshes would be intolerable, disposed Cerialis to seek an accommodation, to which Civilis, who saw that his countrymen were weary of war, was equally well inclined. The two leaders had an interview to arrange the terms. Civilis received a pardon; the confederates were released from all demands of tribute, and only required to supply troops as heretofore.

While such was the state of affairs in the west, Titus had brought the Jewish war to a fortunate conclusion.

The Jews, as we have seen, had been for some years under the government of a Roman president. Those selected for that office, such as Felix and Festus, had been usually tyrannical.

* His place of refuge was a subterraneous cavern, where he remained concealed for nine years. His wife (who bore him two children in the cavern) and two of his freedmen alone knew of his retreat. He was at length discovered, and led to Rome, where Vespasian, with a harshness unusual to him, caused both him and his wife to be executed Dion, lxxvi. 16. Plut. Amat. p. 1372.

nic and avaricious men; and they oppressed the people beyond measure. On the other hand, the Jews, in reliance on the words of their prophets, looked every day for the appearance of their conquering Messiah, who was not merely to deliver them from bondage, but to make them lords and rulers over all nations. They also believed that they were forbidden by their law to submit to the rule of a stranger. From all these causes, insurrections were frequent in Judæa, and they were punished with great severity in the usual Roman manner. Bands of robbers swarmed in the country, among whom were particularly remarkable those called Sicarians, from the dagger (*sica*) which they carried concealed in their garments, and with which they used secretly to stab their enemies even in the open day, in the streets, and chiefly at the time of the great festivals. In some points they seem to have resembled the Assassins of a far later period. False prophets were also continually appearing and leading the people into destruction.

In the eleventh year of Nero, (63,) Gessius Florus was appointed procurator of Judæa. The tyranny which he exercised passed all endurance, and in the second year of his government (64) the whole Jewish nation took up arms against the dominion of Rome. The Roman garrison of Jerusalem was massacred; on the other hand, great numbers of Jews were slaughtered at Cæsarea and Alexandria, and they, in their turn, destroyed Samaria, Askalon, and several other towns. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, seeing that matters had assumed so serious a form, entered the country at the head of a large army, and advanced as far as Jerusalem: but, being foiled in the first attempts which he made on that city, instead of persevering, when, according to the most competent authority, he could have taken the city and prevented all the future calamities, he drew off his army and retired with disgrace. The Jews forthwith began to prepare for the war, which they now saw to be inevitable. They appointed military governors for all the provinces, among whom was Josephus, the historian of the war, to whom was given the province of Galilee.

When Nero was informed by Cestius of the state of affairs in Judæa, he saw the necessity of committing the conduct of the war to a man of military talent and experience. The person on whom he fixed was Vespasian, who had already distinguished himself both in Germany and Britain. Vespasian set forth without delay, proceeding over land to Syria,

while he sent his son Titus to Egypt, to lead to him two legions from that province. At Antioch he received from Musianus, then president of Syria, one legion; and, when joined by his son, he found himself at the head of an army of about 69,000 men, including the auxiliary troops of the different Asiatic princes and states.

The Roman army rendezvoused at Ptolemais, (*Acre*,) whence it advanced into Galilee, (65.) The city of Gadara was taken at the first assault; and Vespasian then laid siege to Jotopata, the strongest place in the province, and of which Josephus himself conducted the defence. The Jews, favored by the natural strength of the place, made a most gallant resistance; but, on the forty-seventh day of the siege, a traitor revealed to Vespasian the secret of the actual weakness of the garrison, and showed how the town might be surprised. The city accordingly fell, and an indiscriminate massacre was made of all the male inhabitants. Josephus became a prisoner to the Roman general, by whom he was treated with much consideration; and he thus had the excellent opportunity, of which he availed himself, for relating the events of the war.

Few other places in Galilee offered resistance; the towns on the coast were all in the hands of the Romans; Vespasian had advanced southwards and placed garrisons in Jericho and other towns round Jerusalem, and he was preparing to lay siege to that city, when he received intelligence of the death of Nero, (68.) He then put aside all thoughts of the siege for the present, waiting to see what course events would take in Italy, and retired to Cæsarea for the winter. In the spring, (69,) he had resumed operations against the Jews, when news came of the battle of Bedriacum, and the elevation of Vitellius to the empire. We have already related what thence resulted, and the consequent suspension of the Jewish war.

Vespasian was at Alexandria when he heard of the death of Vitellius, and of himself being declared emperor by the senate. He resolved now to prosecute the Jewish war, and, Titus having left Egypt and proceeded to Cæsarea early in the spring, (70,) and being there joined by the remainder of the army destined for the siege of Jerusalem, advanced against the devoted city, at the head of an army composed of four legions, with their due number of cohorts and auxiliaries. As the festival of the Passover occurred about this time, the city was thronged with an immense number of

people from all parts of Judæa, and the Jewish nation was thus, as it were, enveloped in the net of destruction.

Of no siege, in ancient times, have the events been transmitted with the same degree of minuteness as that of Jerusalem; for Josephus, the historian of them, was a Jew of noble birth, and he was present in the Roman camp, and on a footing of friendship with Titus. Versed in both the Greek and Hebrew languages, and acquainted, personally, with the principal persons on both sides, he had the opportunity of learning the exact truth of every event; and his veracity has never been called in question. As the destruction of Jerusalem was accurately foretold by the divine Author of our religion, the narrative of the siege possesses additional importance in the eyes of all Christians. The proper place, however, for the detailed narration of it is the History of the Jews; in the limits to which the present work is necessarily restricted, we feel it impossible to give such an account as would content the reasonable curiosity of the reader, and shall therefore only aim at a general view of this ruin of the Jewish nation.

The great body of the people of Jerusalem were anxious to submit to the Romans; and Titus, on his part, would most willingly have granted them favorable terms. But all the robbers and Sicarians had repaired to the city, and, under the name of Zealots, they seized on the whole power. They were divided into three hostile parties, having but one principle in common, namely, to oppose the Romans, and to oppress and murder the unhappy people. In their madness, they early destroyed the greater part of the magazines of corn, and famine soon began to spread its ravages. The sufferings of the people were beyond description; if they remained in the city, they perished of hunger; if they were caught attempting to escape from it, they were barbarously murdered by the Zealots; if they succeeded in making their escape, they were murdered by the Syrians and Arabians in the Roman army, for the gold, which it was discovered they used to swallow.

The siege lasted for nearly seven months. The Romans had to carry each of the three walls, and all the quarters of the city, successively. Titus was anxious to save the magnificent temple of the God of Israel; but one of the Roman soldiers set fire to it, and the stately edifice became a prey to the flames. The Upper City, as it was named, was still defended, but the Romans finally carried it; and the whole

city, with the exception of three of the towers, left to show its former strength, was demolished. Josephus computes the number of those who perished in the siege and capture of the city at 1,100,000, and those who were made prisoners during the war, at 97,000 persons. Of these, those under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves; of the rest, some were sent to the provinces to fight with each other, or with wild beasts, for the amusement of the people in the theatres; the greater part were condemned to work in the quarries of Egypt.

On the occasion of the conquest of Jerusalem, Titus was saluted emperor by his army; and, when he was about to depart from the province, they insisted that he should either remain or take them with him. This, combined with the circumstance of his wearing a diadem, (though according to the established usage,) some time after, when consecrating the holy calf Apis at Memphis in Egypt, gave occasion to a suspicion that he meditated to revolt from his father and establish a kingdom for himself in the East. He therefore lost no time in repairing to Italy, whither Vespasian had proceeded long before. When he arrived unexpectedly at Rome, he addressed his father in these words: "I am come, father, I am come," to show the absurdity of the reports respecting him. Vespasian, however, knew his noble son too well to have had any suspicion of him. He celebrated with him a joint triumph for the conquest of Judæa; he made him his colleague in the censorship, the tribunate, and seven consulates, and gave him the command of the prætorian cohorts. He transferred to him most of the business of the state, authorizing him to write letters and issue edicts in his name. He, in effect, made him his colleague in the empire; and he never had occasion, for one moment, to regret his confidence.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the present ruler of the Roman world, was somewhat past his sixtieth year when called to the empire. He was born near Reate, in the Sabine country, of a family which was merely respectable. He commenced his public life as a tribune in the army in Thrace; he rose to the rank of prætor, and he served as a legate in Germany and Britain, in which last country he distinguished himself greatly as a general, and was honored with the triumphal ensigns; and he afterwards obtained the government of Africa. Finally, as we have seen, he was selected for the conduct of the Jewish war. In all the offices which he held,

Vespasian had behaved with justice, honor, and humanity and there was, perhaps, no man at the time better calculated for the important post of head of the Roman empire.

The first cares of Vespasian were directed to the restoration of discipline in the army, and of order in the finances. He discharged a great part of the Vitellian soldiers, and he treated his own with strictness, not giving them even their just rewards for some time, to make them sensible of his authority. In consequence of the wasteful extravagance of Nero, and the late civil wars, the revenues of the state were in such a condition, that Vespasian declared, on his accession, that no less a sum than 40,000,000,000 sesterces were absolutely requisite to carry on the government. He therefore reestablished all the taxes that Galba had remitted, and imposed new ones; he increased, and in some cases doubled, the tributes of the provinces; he even engaged in various branches of traffic, buying low and selling high. He was accused of selling places and pardons, and of making procurators of those known to be most rapacious, that he might condemn them when they were grown rich, "using them," as it was said, "as sponges, wetting them when dry, and squeezing them out when wet."

Granting, however, that Vespasian was rapacious of money, it was not to hoard it or to squander it on pleasures. He was liberal both to the public and to all orders of the people. He rebuilt the Capitol, and he collected copies of the brazen tablets (three thousand in number) of the senatus-consults and plebiscits, which had been melted in the conflagration. He built a temple to Peace, one to the emperor Claudius, and an amphitheatre which had been designed by Augustus. He gave large sums to various cities which had suffered from fires or earthquakes. He settled annual pensions on those men of consular rank who were in narrow circumstances. He was liberal to poets, rhetoricians, and artists of all kinds.

Early in his reign, Vespasian made a diligent examination of the senatorian and equestrian orders. He expelled the more unworthy members of both, and supplied their places with the most respectable of the Italians and the provincials. He seems in this to have been actuated by his military notions of the unity and identity which should pervade the empire; for the superiority of the Roman citizens was thus taken away, the path to all honors now lying equally open to the provincials. It was probably the same principle that caused him to de-

prive Lycia, Cilicia, Thrace, Rhodes, Samos, and other places, of the independence which they had hitherto enjoyed, and reduce them to the form of provinces.

Vespasian was never ashamed of the humbleness of his origin, and he laughed at those who attempted to deduce the Flavian family from one of the companions of Hercules. He retained no enmities; he procured a very high match for the daughter of Vitellius, and gave her a dowry and outfit. When warned to beware of Metius Pomposianus, who was said to have an imperial nativity, he made him consul. Even during the civil war, he omitted the practice of searching those who came to salute the emperor. The doors of the palace stood always open, and there was no guard at them. He constantly had the senators and other persons of respectability to dine with him, and he dined with them in return. In his mode of living he was simple and temperate.

Vespasian banished the philosophers and the astrologers from Rome. These last were extremely mischievous, meddling in all affairs of state; and they had been objects of suspicion ever since the time of Augustus. In his proceedings against the philosophers, he was actuated by Mucianus, who represented to him that the Stoics were dangerous as republicans, and the Cynics as the enemies of decency and morality. The death of Helvidius Priscus, which is esteemed a stain on the memory of Vespasian, may be ascribed to his Stoicism and republicanism. When the emperor came to Rome, Helvidius addressed him as plain Vespasian; in his edicts as prætor, he treated him with neglect and disrespect; and in the senate behaved toward him with such insolence, that he quitted the house in tears. Helvidius was relegated, and finally put to death, we know not on what account; but Vespasian is said to have sent to countermand the order when it was too late.

Toward the end of his reign, a conspiracy was formed against him by Cæcina and Marcellus, both of whom stood high in his friendship, and had received all the honors of the state. The plot being discovered, Cæcina was seized as he was coming out from dining with the emperor, and put to death by the orders of Titus, lest he should raise a disturbance in the night, as he had gained over several of the soldiers. Marcellus, being condemned by the senate, cut his own throat with a razor.

Vespasian was but once married. His wife having died long before he came to the empire, he lived with Cænis, the

freedwoman of Antonia, whom he treated as a wife, rather than a mistress. He allowed her to make traffic of the offices of the state, by which she amassed large sums of money; and the emperor was suspected of sharing in her gains.

This able prince had nearly completed the tenth year of his reign, when he was attacked by a feverish complaint, in Campania. He returned to the city, and thence hastened to his native Sabine land, about Cutiliæ and Reate, where he was in the habit of spending the summer, and tried the cold springs of the place, but without effect. He attended to public business to the last: when he felt the approach of death, "An emperor," said he, "should die standing;" and being supported in that posture, he met his fate, in the seventieth year of his age.

T. Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus II.

A. U. 832—834. A. D. 79—81.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus was born in the year of the death of the emperor Caius. He was brought up at the court of Claudius, as the companion of the young Britannicus. When he grew up, he served as a tribune in Germany and Britain, and he afterwards held a high command in the army of Judæa. In person, Titus was rather short, with a projecting stomach. He was eminently skilled in all martial exercises; he had a remarkable memory; could make verses *extempore*, in either Greek or Latin; and was well skilled in music. He could imitate any hand-writing; and, as he said himself, wanted only the will, to be the most expert of forgers.

Many people feared that Titus might prove a second Nero. He was accused of having put various persons to death in the late reign, and of having taken money from others for his interest with his father. His revels, prolonged till midnight, gave occasion to suspicions of luxury; and the crowds of eunuchs, and such like persons about him, excited suspicions of a darker hue. People also feared that he would espouse (contrary to Roman usage) the Jewish queen Berenice, who had followed him to Rome, and lived with him in the palace, acting as if she were already empress.

All these fears were, however, agreeably disappointed; and Titus, when emperor, acted in such a manner as to be justly named the Love and Delight of Mankind. He sent away the fair Jewish queen, though it cost him a severe struggle.* He reduced his train of eunuchs; he retrenched the luxury of his table; he selected his friends from among the best men of the time. In liberality no one surpassed him; while, preceding princes used to regard the gifts of their predecessors as invalid, unless they were given over again by themselves, Titus, unsolicited, confirmed by one edict all the preceding grants. He could not bear to refuse any one; and when those about him observed that he promised more than he could perform, he replied, "No one ought to retire dissatisfied from the presence of the prince." At dinner, one time, recollecting that he had done nothing for any one that day, he cried, "Friends, I have lost a day."

When he took the office of chief pontiff, he declared that he did it that he might keep his hands free from blood; and during his reign not a single person was put to death. Though his brother was constantly conspiring against him, he could not be induced to treat him with rigor. When two patricians had been convicted of a conspiracy against him, he contented himself with exhorting them to desist, for that the empire was given by fate. He even despatched couriers to assure the mother of one of them of her son's safety; and he invited them to dinner, and treated them with the utmost confidence. He constantly said that he would rather die than cause the death of any one.†

Titus would never allow any prosecutions on the charge of treason. "I," said he, "cannot be injured or insulted, for I do nothing deserving of reproach, and I care not for those who speak falsely; and as for the departed emperors, if they are in reality demigods, and have power, they will avenge themselves on those who injure them." He was very severe against the informers; he caused them to be beaten with rods and cudgels, led through the amphitheatre, and then to be sold for slaves, or confined in the most rugged islands.

The reign of this excellent prince was marked by a series of public calamities. He had reigned only two months when a tremendous volcanic eruption, the first on record,

* "Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam." Sueton.

† "Peritutum se potius quam perditutum."

from Mount Vesuvius, spread dismay through Italy. This mountain had hitherto formed the most beautiful feature in the landscape of Campania, being clad with vines and other agreeable trees and plants. Earthquakes had of late years been of frequent occurrence; but on the 24th of August the summit of the mountain sent forth a volume of flame, stones, and ashes, which spread devastation far and wide. The sky, to the extent of many leagues, was enveloped in the gloom of night; the fine dust, it was asserted, was wafted even to Egypt and Syria; and at Rome it rendered the sun invisible for many days. Men and beasts, birds and fishes, perished alike. The adjoining towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum were overwhelmed by the earthquake which attended the irruption, and their inhabitants destroyed. Among those who lost their lives on this occasion, was Pliny, the great naturalist. He commanded the fleet at Misenum, and, his curiosity leading him to proceed to Stabiae to view this convulsion of nature more closely, he was suffocated by the pestilential air.

Titus did all in his power to alleviate this great calamity. But while, on account of it, he was absent in Campania, (80,) a fire broke out at Rome, which raged for three days and nights, and destroyed the Septa, the baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the rebuilt Capitol, and a number of the other public buildings. This was succeeded by a pestilence, probably the consequence of the eruption of Vesuvius, which swept away numbers of people. The emperor undertook to restore the city at his own expense, refusing all the presents that were offered him for that purpose. He built a splendid amphitheatre in the middle of the city, and the baths which bear his name. At the dedication of these works, he gave magnificent games to the people.

In the September of the following year, (81,) the reign and life of this excellent prince came to their close. At the termination of one of the public spectacles, he was observed to burst into tears in presence of the people. Some ill omens disturbed him, and he set out for the Sabine country. On the first stage, he was attacked by a fever; and, as he was proceeding in his litter, it is said that he looked at the sky and lamented that life should be taken from him undeservedly, as there was but one act he ever did to be repented of.* He died at the country-house in which his father had so lately expired. Domitian was suspected, though apparently

* What that act was no one knew; and none of the conjectures are very probable.

without reason, of having caused his death. Titus was only in his forty-first year, and had reigned little more than two years; fortunate perhaps in this, for, as Dion observes, had he lived longer, his fame might not have been so pure.

T. Flavius Sabinus Domitianus.

A. U. 834—849. A. D. 81—96.

Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus was the younger son of Vespasian. He was born in the year 51; his youth was not reputable; and when, after the death of Vitellius, he exercised the supreme power at Rome, he gave free course to his evil propensities. Among other acts, he took Domitia Calvina, the daughter of the celebrated Corbulo, from her husband, Ælius Lamia, and made her his own wife. After the return of his father to Rome, he passed his time mostly in seclusion at his residence at the Alban mount, devoting himself to poetry, in which he made no mean progress. When his father died, he had some thoughts of offering a double donative to the soldiers, and claiming the empire; and, as long as his brother lived, he was conspiring openly or secretly against him. Ere Titus had breathed his last, Domitian caused every one to abandon him, and, mounting his horse, rode to the prætorian camp, and caused himself to be saluted emperor by the soldiers.

Like most bad emperors, Domitian commenced his reign with popular actions; and a portion of his good qualities adhered to him for some time. Such were his liberality (for no man was freer from avarice) and the strictness with which he looked after the administration of justice, both at Rome and in the provinces. His passion for building was extreme; not content with restoring the Capitol, the Pantheon, and other edifices injured or destroyed by the late conflagration, he built or repaired several others; and on all, old and new alike, he inscribed his own name, without noticing the original founder.

Domitian was of a moody, melancholy temper, and he loved to indulge in solitude. His chief occupation, when thus alone, we are told, was to catch flies, and pierce them with a sharp writing-style; hence Vibius Crispus, being asked one day if there was any one within with Cæsar, replied, "No, not so much as a fly." Among the better actions of the

early years of this prince, may be noticed the following: He strictly forbade the abominable practice of making eunuchs, for which he deserves praise; though it was said that his motive was not so much a love of justice as a desire to depreciate the memory of his brother, who had a partiality for these wretched beings. Domitian also at this time punished three Vestals who had broken their vows of chastity; but, instead of burying them alive, he allowed them to choose their mode of death.

In the hope of acquiring military glory, he undertook (83) an expedition to Germany, under the pretence of chastising the Chattans. But he merely crossed the Rhine, pillaged the friendly tribes beyond it, and then, without having even seen the face of an enemy, returned to Rome, and celebrated the triumph which the senate had decreed him, dragging as captives slaves that he had purchased and disguised as Germans. While, however, he was thus triumphing for imaginary conquests, real ones had been achieved in Britain by Cn. Julius Agricola, to whom Vespasian had committed the affairs of that island, (80.) He had conquered the country as far as the firths of Clyde and Forth, and (85) defeated the Caledonians in a great battle at the foot of the Grampians. Domitian, though inwardly grieved, affected great joy at the success of Agricola; he caused triumphal honors, a statue, and so forth, to be decreed him by the senate, and gave out that he intended appointing him to the government of Syria; but, when Agricola returned to Rome, he received him with coldness, and never employed him again.*

The country on the left bank of the lower Danube, the modern Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, was at this time inhabited by a portion of the Sarmatian or Slavonian race named the Dacians, and remarkable for their valor. The extension of the Roman frontier to the Danube, in the time of Augustus, had caused occasional collisions with this martial race;† but no war of any magnitude occurred till the present reign. The prince of the Dacians at this time, named Decebalus, was one of those energetic characters often to be found among barbarous tribes, to whom nature has given all the elements of greatness, but fortune has assigned a narrow and inglorious stage for their exhibi-

* See the Life of Agricola, by his son-in-law, Tacitus.

“Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen.” Hor. Carm. iii. 8. 18. M. Antonius asserted that Augustus had promised his daughter Julia in marriage to Cotison. Saut. Oct. 63.

tion. It was probably the desire of military glory and of plunder, rather than fear of the avarice of Domitian, the only cause assigned,* that made Decebalus at this time (86) set at nought the treaties subsisting with the Romans, and lead his martial hordes over the Danube. The troops that opposed them were routed and cut to pieces; the garrisons and castles were taken, and apprehensions were entertained for the winter quarters of the legions.† The danger seemed so imminent, that the general wish was manifested for the conduct of the war being committed to Agricola; and the imperial freedmen, some from good, others from evil motives, urged their master to compliance. But his jealousy of that illustrious man was invincible; and he resolved to superintend the war in person.

Domitian proceeded to Illyria, where he was met by Dacian deputies with proposals of peace, on condition of a capitation tax of two oboles a head being paid to Decebalus. The emperor forthwith ordered Cornelius Fuscus, the governor of Illyria, to lead his army over the Danube, and chastise the insolent barbarians. Fuscus passed the river by a bridge of boats; he gained some advantages over the enemy, but his army was finally defeated and himself slain.‡ Domitian, who had returned to Rome, hastened back to the seat of war; but, instead of heading his troops, he stopped in a town of Mœsia, where he gave himself up to his usual pleasures, leaving the conduct of the war to his generals, who, though they met with some reverses, were in general successful; and Decebalus was reduced to the necessity of suing for peace. Domitian refused to grant it; but, shortly after, having sustained a defeat from the Marcomans, whom he wished to punish for not having assisted him against the Dacians, he sent to offer peace to Decebalus. The Dacian was not in a condition to refuse it, but he would seem to have dictated the terms; and in effect an annual tribute was henceforth paid to him by the Roman emperor.§ Domitian, however, triumphed for the Dacians and Marcomans, though he paid tribute to the former, and had been defeated by the latter.||

During the Dacian war, (88,) L. Antonius, who cor-

* Jornandes De Reb. Goth. 13.

† Tac. Agric. 41.

‡ Juvenal, Sat. iv. 111, 112.

§ Dion, lxxvii. 7; lxxviii. 6.

|| There is great confusion respecting the duration of the Dacian war. Eusebius makes it end in the year 90, and places the triumph of Domitian in the following year. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empe-reurs.

manded in Upper Germany, having been grossly insulted by the emperor, formed an alliance with the Alemans, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But L. Maximus marched against him, and, the Alemans having been prevented from coming to his aid by the rising of the Rhine, he was defeated and slain. Maximus wisely and humanely burned all his papers; but that did not prevent the tyrant from putting many persons to death, as concerned in the revolt.

A war against the Sarmatians, who had cut to pieces a Roman legion, is placed by the chronologists in the year 94. Domitian conducted it in person, after his usual manner; but, instead of triumphing, he contented himself with suspending a laurel crown in the Capitol. This is the last foreign transaction of his reign.

After the first three or four years of his reign, the evil qualities of Domitian displayed themselves more and more every day. By nature a coward, his fears, increased by his belief in the follies of astrology, rendered him cruel, and the want brought on by his extravagance made him rapacious. Informers flourished anew, as in the days of Nero; and the blind Catullus,* Messalinus, Metius Carus, and Bebius Massa, and others of the like stamp, preyed continually on the lives and fortunes of all men of rank and worth. Among the victims of the incipient cruelty of Domitian were the following: Metius Pomposianus, on account of his horoscope, and because he had in his chamber a map of the world, and carried about him speeches of kings and generals out of Livy, and called his slaves Mago and Hannibal; Salvius Coccianus, for celebrating the birthday of his uncle Otho; Sallustius Lucullus, for having given his name to a new kind of lance; the sophist Maternus, for a declamation against tyrants; Ælius Lamia, (whose wife he had taken from him,) for some jokes in the time of Titus.

The tyranny of Domitian at length passed all bounds. Tacitus describes the senate-house invested by soldiery; consulars slaughtered; women of the highest rank banished; the isles filled with exiles, the racks dyed with their blood; slaves and freedmen corrupted to give false evidence against their masters; nobility, wealth, honors, above all, virtue, the sure causes of ruin; rewards lavished on informers and accusers; all the vices and all the virtues called into action.†

At this time, Helvidius, the son of Helvidius Priscus, was

* *Juvenal, Sat. iv. 113, seq*

† *Agric. 45. Hist. i. 2, 3.*

put to death for having made an interlude on the emperor's divorce, of which the characters were Paris and CEnone; and Herennius Senecio, for having written the life of Helvidius Priscus. A panegyric on Thræsea and Helvidius was also fatal to its author, Junius Rusticus, a Stoic; and Hermogenes of Tarsus, from some supposed allusions in his history, was put to death, and the booksellers that sold it were crucified. After the condemnation of Rusticus, all the philosophers were banished from Italy.

Like Nero, whom he resembled in some points, Domitian was capricious in his cruelty. When, at the shows which followed his triumph, a tempest of rain came on, he would not allow any one to quit the place and seek shelter. He himself also remained; but he had several cloaks, and changed them as they became wet. Many of the spectators died in consequence of colds and fevers. To console them, he invited them to a public supper, which lasted all through the night. He gave the senate and knights also a curious supper at the same time. The room in which he received them was made perfectly black; the seats were black; by each stood a monumental pillar with the name of the guest on it, and a sepulchral lamp; naked slaves, blackened to resemble spectres, came in and danced a horrid measure around them, and then each seated himself at the feet of a guest; the funeral meats were then brought in black vessels. All sat quaking in silence; Domitian alone spoke, and his discourse was of death. At length he dismissed them; but at the porch, instead of their own attendants, they found strange ones, with chairs and sedans to convey them to their houses. When they were at home, and began to respire freely, word came to each that one was come from the emperor; terror returned, but it was agreeably dispelled by finding that the pillar, which was silver, the supper utensils, of valuable materials, and the slave who had played the ghost, were arrived as presents from the palace.

Domitian exhibited, about this time, a specimen of political economy by no means despicable, were not the evil which he proposed to amend already beyond remedy. Wine proving very plentiful and corn very scarce in Italy, he issued an edict (92) forbidding any new vineyards to be planted in Italy, and ordering one half of those in the provinces to be cut down. This edict, it may readily be supposed, was but partially carried into effect.

The year of Domitian's triumph was also distinguished by

the death of Cornelia, the eldest of the Vestals, accused of breach of chastity. She was buried alive, in the ancient manner; and underwent her cruel fate with the greatest constancy and dignity. She does not appear to have had a fair trial, and many strongly doubted of her guilt.*

The emperor, so rigorous in punishing breach of chastity in others, was, as usual, indulgent to himself on this head. His brother Titus had wished him to put away Domitia, and marry his daughter Julia: he refused; yet, when Julia was married to another, he seduced her; and when her father and husband were dead, he cohabited openly with her, and is said to have caused her death, by giving her drugs to procure abortion.† As for Domitia, he divorced her on account of an intrigue with Paris the actor, whom he put to death; but he took her back soon after, pretending a willingness to gratify the desire of the people.

Domitian met with the usual fate of tyrants; he perished by a conspiracy. It is said ‡ that he kept under his pillow a list of those whom he intended to put to death, and that one day, as he was sleeping, a favorite little boy, who was in the room, carried it away. Domitia, meeting the child, took it from him, and, to her surprise, found her own name in it, along with those of Norbanus and Petronius, the prefects of the prætorians, Parthenius, the chamberlain, and some others. She immediately informed those concerned, and they resolved to anticipate the tyrant.

Domitian had lately put to death his cousin Clemens, one of whose freedmen, named Stephanus, who acted as steward to his wife Domitilla, being accused of malversation in his office, engaged in the conspiracy, and, being a strong man, undertook the task of killing the tyrant. It was arranged that the attack should be made on him in his chamber; and Parthenius removed the sword which was usually under his pillow. Stephanus, for some days previously, had his arm bandaged, as if hurt, in order to be able to conceal a dagger; and on the 18th of September, (96,) when Domitian, after sitting in judgment, retired to his chamber to repose, before going into the bath, Parthenius presented Stephanus to him as one who could inform him of a conspiracy. While he was reading the paper handed to him, Stephanus struck him in

* Plin. Ep. iv. 11. † Suet. Dom. 22. Juvenal, Sat. ii. 32.

‡ Dion (lxvii.) says that he had heard it. Suetonius does not seem to have known it. We shall find the same told of Commodus. The circumstance is by no means improbable.

the belly. He called out to a slave to reach him the sword that was under his pillow, but it was gone; others of the conspirators then rushed in, and the tyrant was despatched with seven wounds. He was in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign.

The reigns of the Flavian family, and of their immediate successors, may be regarded as the last period of Roman literature. It exhibits the decline of taste, though not of genius, as compared with the Augustan age. In its loftiest as in its meanest performances, we discern the influence of a corrupt and degenerate generation; the noble and virtuous writer describes the ruling vice with horror, while the mercenary flatterer portrays it for the gratification of his patrons.

Among the poets, the first place is due to P. Statius Papi-nius, who wrote a poem in twelve books on the mythic wars of Thebes, and commenced another on the life and actions of Achilles. We also possess five books of *Silvæ*, or occasional poems by this writer, which are generally (not, however, we should think, as poems) considered to be of more value than his *Thebais*. C. Valerius Flaccus also selected a mythologic subject. His *Argonautics* is imperfect; but it exhibits poetic spirit and more originality than might have been expected. C. Silius Italicus, following the example of Ennius and Lucan in writing epic history, composed a poem, in eighteen books, on the second Punic war. But nature had refused him inspiration; and polished verse, close imitation of Virgil, and rhetorical expression, occupy the place of poetry in his tedious work. The field of satire, over which Horace had passed with such light-footed gayety, and which Persius had trodden in the dignity of virtue, was now occupied by D. Junius Juvenalis, a writer of an ardent rhetorical spirit, who lashes vice with terrific energy, and displays it in the most appalling colors, his pictures being perhaps too true to nature; but his veneration for virtue is sincere, and indignation at beholding it oppressed and vice triumphant is his muse. M. Valerius Martialis, a Spaniard by birth, has left fourteen books of terse and pointed epigrams, in which, however, little of the poetic spirit is to be discerned.

It was also at this time that C. Cornelius Tacitus wrote his *Annals* and *Histories*, which place him on a line with Thucydides for deep insight into human nature and its

springs of action. C. Suetonius Tranquillus was a diligent collector of anecdotes; his work contains no original thoughts or sentiments. M. Fabius Quintilianus, a Spaniard, a teacher of rhetoric, has left a valuable work on his art. The Natural History of C. Plinius Secundus is a vast repository of nearly all that was known on that subject at the time. The Letters of his nephew, the younger Pliny, exhibit a highly-cultivated mind and a most amiable disposition.

CHAPTER III.*

NERVA. TRAJAN. HADRIAN. ANTONINUS.
AURELIUS.

A. U. 849—933. A. D. 96—180.

NERVA.—ADOPTION OF TRAJAN.—HIS ORIGIN AND CHARACTER.—DACIAN WARS.—PARTHIAN WARS.—DEATH OF TRAJAN.—OBSERVATIONS.—SUCCESSION OF HADRIAN.—HIS CHARACTER.—AFFAIRS AT ROME.—HADRIAN IN GAUL AND BRITAIN—IN ASIA AND GREECE—IN EGYPT.—ANTONINUS.—ADOPTIONS.—DEATH OF HADRIAN.—HIS CHARACTER AS AN EMPEROR.—REBELLION OF THE JEWS.—REIGN OF ANTONINUS PIUS.—M. AURELIUS.—PARTHIAN WAR.—GERMAN WARS.—REVOLT OF CASSIUS.—DEATH OF AURELIUS.—HIS CHARACTER.

M. Cocceius Nerva.

A. U. 849—851. A. D. 96—98.

THE death of Domitian filled the senate with joy; the people appeared indifferent; the soldiers were anxious to avenge him. They were, however, without leaders, and they were finally induced by their prefects to acquiesce in the choice of the senate.

The person on whom this choice fell was M. Cocceius Nerva, a senator of a consular family, and who had himself

* Authorities: Dion Cassius, the Augustan History, and the Epi-
tomators.

borne the principal offices in the state. He was now in the sixty-fourth year of his age; he was a man of the most amiable temper, yet not devoid of energy and activity, but mild and clement even to a fault. To reverse the acts of his predecessor was the first care of Nerva. The banished were recalled, and their properties restored to them; accusations of treason were quashed; severe laws were enacted against delators; slaves and freedmen, who had accused their masters, were put to death. Nerva reduced the taxes, and made so many other beneficent regulations, that men expected a golden age under his mild domination.

It was not long, however, before a conspiracy was formed to deprive the empire of this excellent prince, (97.) The head of it was a nobleman named Calpurnius Crassus, who, by lavish promises, solicited the soldiers to revolt. Nerva imitated the conduct of Titus on a similar occasion. He put the swords of the gladiators into the hands of the conspirators, as they sat with him at a public spectacle; and he contented himself with banishing Crassus to Tarentum. The prætorians, who longed to avenge Domitian, soon, however, found a leader in their commander, Ælianus Casperius; and they besieged the emperor in his palace, demanding the lives of those who had slain his predecessor. Nerva, it is said, showed outward marks of fear; but he acted with spirit, and refused to give them up, stretching out his neck for the soldiers to strike off his head, if they wished. But all availed not; he was forced to abandon them to their fate; and Petronius and Parthenius were slain, the latter with circumstances of great barbarity. Casperius even forced the emperor to thank the soldiers, in presence of the people, for having put to death the worst of men.

This insolence of the prætorians proved advantageous to the state. Nerva saw the necessity of a more vigorous hand to hold the reins of empire. More solicitous for the welfare of his country than the elevation of his family, he passed over his relations, and fixed on M. Ulpius Trajanus, the commander of the army of Lower Germany, to be his adopted son and successor. On the occasion of a victory being gained over the Alemans, in Pannonia, he ascended the Capitol, to deposit there the laurel which had been sent him according to usage, and he then, in presence of the people, declared his adoption of Trajan, to whom he shortly after gave the titles of Cæsar and Germanicus, and then that of emperor, with the tribunitian power, thus making him his colleague.

The good emperor did not long survive this disinterested act. He died in the beginning of the following year, (98,) regretted by both senate and people; and his ashes were deposited in the monument of Augustus.

M. Ulpus Trajanus Crinitus.

A. U. 851—870. A. D. 98—117.

M. Ulpus Trajanus was born at a town named Italica, near Seville, in Spain. He early devoted himself to a military life, and served as a tribune under his father, as it would appear. He was afterwards prætor and consul; after his consulate, he retired to his native country, whence he was summoned by Domitian, to take the command in Lower Germany.

Trajan had all the qualities of mind and body that form the perfect soldier. He was rigid in discipline, but affable in manner; hence he possessed both the love and the respect of his men, and the tidings of his adoption to the empire were received with joy by all the armies. He received at Cologne the account of the death of his adoptive father; but, instead of proceeding to Rome, he remained till the following year, regulating the affairs of the German frontier, and enforcing discipline in the army. During this time, he summoned to his presence Casperius and the mutinous prætorians, and punished them for their insolence to the late emperor.

At length, (99,) he set out for Rome, where he was received with unbounded joy. He made his entry on foot, and ascended the Capitol, and then proceeded to the palace. His wife, Plotina, who was with him, turned round as she was going up the steps, and said aloud to the people, "I enter here such as I wish to go out of it." She kept her word; for her influence was exerted only for good as long as she lived.

Trajan remained for nearly two years at Rome, occupied in the arts of peace. His only object seems to have been the promotion of the happiness of those over whom he ruled. The senate enjoyed the highest consideration; the prince, like Vespasian and Titus, lived on terms of the most cordial intimacy with its members; and the best men of the times were ranked as his friends. Justice was administered with impartiality; the vile brood of delators was finally crushed;

oppressive taxes were reduced or abolished; the greatest care was taken to secure a regular supply of food to the people.

But the military genius of the emperor could not long brook inactivity, and he seized an early occasion of engaging in war with the Dacians. He observed that the power of this people was on the increase; he disdained to pay the tribute conceded by Domitian; and Decebalus had, it is further said, entered into relations with the Parthians. Trajan, therefore, crossed the Danube (101) at the head of a large army; the Dacians gave him battle, but were defeated with great slaughter; the Romans also suffered so severely, that the emperor had to tear up his own garments to make bandages for the wounded. Decebalus sent his nobles in vain to solicit peace; the emperor and his generals pushed on their successes; height after height was won; the Dacian capital, named Zermizegethusa, was taken, and Decebalus was at length obliged to consent to receive peace on the terms usual in the days of the republic; namely, the surrender of arms, artillery, and deserters, the dismantling of fortresses, the abandonment of conquests, and an offensive and defensive alliance with Rome. Trajan, having left garrisons in the capital and some other strong places, returned to Italy, and triumphed, taking the title of Dacicus.

Decebalus, though he submitted for the present, was preparing for future war; he collected arms, received deserters, and repaired his fortresses. He invited his neighbors to aid him, showing that if they suffered him to be destroyed, their own subjection would inevitably follow. He thus induced many to join him; and he made war on some of those who refused. War being therefore again declared against the Dacian prince, (104,) Trajan put himself at the head of his army, and fixed his head-quarters in Mœsia. Here he occupied himself in raising one of his most magnificent works, a bridge of stone over the Danube. It consisted of twenty-one arches, each one hundred and seventy feet in span, the piers being one hundred and fifty feet in height, and sixty in breadth. A castle was built at either end, to defend it;* and, when it was completed, Trajan passed over the river, (105.) No great action seems to have ensued; but the troops of Decebalus were routed in detail, and his fortresses

* The site of this bridge, which was destroyed by Hadrian, is unknown. It is supposed to have been between Visninac and Widin.

captured one after another. Seeing all hope gone, the brave but unfortunate prince put an end to himself. Dacia was then reduced to the form of a province, and numerous Roman colonies were established in it. On his return to Rome, (106,) where he found numerous embassies, even one from India, awaiting him, Trajan celebrated his second triumph; after which he gave games that lasted one hundred and twenty-three days, in which 11,000 animals were slaughtered, and 10,000 gladiators fought.

The warlike spirit of Trajan could not remain at rest; and he soon undertook an expedition to the East. The pretext was, that the king of Armenia had received his diadem from the Parthian monarch instead of the Roman emperor; the real cause was Trajan's lust of military glory. The condition of the Parthian empire at this time was favorable to his views; it was verging fast to its decline, and was torn by intestine convulsions, the sure forerunners of national dissolution.

The Armenian king at this time was named Exedares, probably a son or grandson of Tiridates. Chosroës, the Parthian king, however, deposed him, and gave the kingdom to Parthamasiris, his own nephew, when he found that Trajan was on his way to the East, and despatched an embassy, (which met the emperor at Athens,) bearing presents, and praying that he would send the diadem to the new prince. Trajan was not, however, to be diverted from his purpose; he merely replied that friendship was to be shown by deeds rather than by words, and continued his march for Syria. He reached Antioch in the first week of January, (107;) and, having made all the necessary preparations, he led his troops into Armenia. The various princes and chieftains of the country met him with presents; resistance was nowhere offered; and, at a place named Elegeia, Parthamasiris himself entered the Roman camp, and laid his diadem at the feet of the emperor. Perceiving that he was not desired to resume it, and being terrified by the shouts of the soldiers, who saluted Trajan *Imperator*, he craved a private audience; but, finding that Trajan had no intention of acceding to his request, he sprang out of the tent, and was quitting the camp in a rage, when Trajan had him recalled, and, from the tribunal, told him that Armenia belonged to the Romans, and should have a Roman governor, but that he was at liberty to go whither he pleased. His Armenian attendants were then detained as Roman subjects, and him-

self and his Parthians were dismissed under charge of an escort of horse. Parthamasiris fell some time after in an action, and Armenia was reduced to a Roman province. The kings of the nations of the Caucasus, and around the Euxine Sea, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Trajan then led his army into Mesopotamia, all whose princes submitted to his authority. He took the city of Nisibis, and Chosroës was obliged to conclude a treaty with him, and even, it is said, to implore his aid against his rebellious subjects. On his return to Rome, Trajan assumed the title of Parthicus.

The history of the reign of this celebrated emperor has come down to us in so very imperfect a form, that it is utterly impossible to ascertain how long he remained in the East, or when he came back to Italy. All we know is, that he did return to Rome, and staid there till the year 114, when we find him again in Syria, preparing for a war with the Parthians, the cause of which is not assigned. In the spring of this year, he entered Mesopotamia. The Parthians prepared to defend the passage of the Tigris; but Trajan had caused boats to be framed in the forests about Nisibis, and conveyed on wagons with the army. A bridge of boats was speedily constructed, and the enemy retired, after having vainly attempted to impede the passage of the Romans. The whole of Adiabene submitted; and Trajan, as it would appear, returned to the Euphrates, for we are told that he visited Babylon, and inspected the sources of the bitumen used for constructing its walls. He also, it is added, set about clearing the Nahar-malca, (*Kings'-river*;) or canal, which formerly connected the Euphrates and Tigris, in order to convey boats along it for the passage of this last river. But he gave up the attempt, and, carrying the boats, as before, on wagons, he set his army over the Tigris, and captured Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital.* He forned the conquered country into the provinces of Assyria and Mesopotamia, and then, (116,) embarking on the Tigris, sailed down it, and entered the Persian Gulf. Seeing there, we are told, a vessel under sail for India, he declared that, if he was a young man, he would certainly penetrate to that remote country, and advance further than even the great Macedonian conqueror, whom he extolled and eulogized.

* Ctesiphon lay on the left bank of the Tigris, twenty miles south of the modern BaghJad. The city of Seleucia stood on the opposite side of the river, and was a suburb to it.

It is probable that Trajan returned up the Euphrates; for he was apparently at Babylon * when he learned that all the conquered countries had revolted, and driven away or slain the Roman garrisons. He sent his generals Maximus and Lusius Quietus to reduce them. The former was defeated and slain, but the latter recovered Nisibis, and took and burned Edessa: the city of Seleucia met with a similar fate from those sent against it. In order to keep the Parthians at rest, Trajan returned to Ctesiphon, and, assembling the inhabitants and his soldiers in the adjoining plain, he ascended a lofty tribunal, and, having expatiated on his own exploits, he placed the diadem on the head of Parthamaspates, one of the rival candidates for the throne, declaring him king of the Parthians.

A portion of the Arabs of Mesopotamia having submitted to him, Trajan had formed a province of Arabia. But the Arabs loved independence too much to remain long in obedience, and the emperor found it necessary (117) to besiege in person a strong town belonging to them named Atra, which lay not far from the Tigris. The desert nature of the surrounding country, the extreme heat, the swarms of mosquitoes and other insects, together with tempests of thunder, hail, and rain, which occurred, soon obliged him to raise the siege and retire; and, shortly after, he fell sick, and, leaving the command in the East with his relative Hadrian, he set out on his return to Italy. But, at Selinus in Cilicia, he had a severe attack of dysentery, which carried him off in a few days, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of twenty years all to about six months. His ashes were conveyed to Rome, and placed beneath the column raised in his Forum to commemorate his Dacian wars, and which still remains in that city.

Imperfect as are the narratives which we possess of the reign of this prince, the testimony so unanimously borne to his virtues places them beyond dispute. Nearly three centuries after his death, the acclamation of the senate to their emperors continued to be, "May you be more fortunate than Augustus, and better than Trajan!" † In the Pane-

* *Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν πλοίῳ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείσε ἦλθε κατὰ τε τὴν φήμην ἢ ἐὸν δὲν ἄξιόν εἶδεν, ὃ τί μὴ χόματα καὶ μύθους καὶ ἰρεΐνια, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὃ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκίματι ἐν ᾧ ἐτελευτήκει.)* Dion, lxxviii. 30. For πλοία, we read with Tillemont *βαζυλῶνι*, as the only word which gives sense to the passage. It was certainly there that Alexander died.

† "Felix est Augusto melior Trajano." Eutrop. viii. 5.

gyric of Pliny, the emperor is without a fault; but we learn from the less courtly epitomators that Trajan was so devoted to wine and the pleasures of the table, that he found it necessary to give directions that any orders which he issued after his prolonged meals should not be regarded; and, while the panegyrist lauds his chastity, truth accuses him of being immoderately addicted to the vice which degraded the ancient world. In his lust of conquest, Trajan evinced little political wisdom. The prudent Augustus advised his successors to be content with the limits of the empire which he had left; and the Danube and Euphrates formed natural boundaries. This sage advice was first neglected by the stupid Claudius; but the conquest of Britain was not difficult, and an island once won is easily retained; but the acquisitions of Trajan could only be held by a large military force; and the best proof of his want of judgment in making them, is the fact that his Eastern conquests were abandoned at once by Hadrian, and Dacia, in about a century and a half after his death, by one of his ablest successors.

P. Ælius Hadrianus.

A. U. 870—891. A. D. 117—138.

The successor of Trajan was his kinsman, P. Ælius Hadrianus, who was of a family of Italica, but born at Rome. Hadrian being left an orphan at the age of ten years, his guardians were Trajan, and a knight named Tatianus. He applied himself diligently to study, and became equally skilled in the Greek and Latin languages. He entered the army as a tribune in the time of Domitian. When Trajan attained the empire, Hadrian, through the influence of his secretary Sura, rose in favor with him; the empress Plotina also patronized him, and prevailed on Trajan to give him in marriage his niece Sabina. He gradually discharged the principal civil and military offices of the state, and it was generally understood that the emperor intended to adopt him.

It is not by any means certain that the adoption actually took place. Dion assures us, on what may be regarded as good authority, that the whole affair was managed by Plotina and Tatianus, who prepared the letters of adoption, concealing the death of Trajan some days for the purpose, and for-

warded them to Hadrian, who had remained at Ant'och. At all events, the succession was undisputed. Hadrian, having caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, wrote to the senate, excusing it, under the plea of its being unsafe to leave the empire without a head, praying them to confirm him in it, and not to confer any honors on him, unless he should himself request them, and making lavish promises of good government. He made Tatianus and Similis (the latter a man of the noblest and most virtuous character) prefects of the prætorians. He wisely resolved to make the Euphrates, as before, the eastern boundary of the empire, and to abandon the useless conquests of Trajan; and he therefore withdrew all the Roman garrisons from beyond that river. These affairs detained him for some time in the East, and he did not arrive in Rome till the following year, (118.)

Hadrian's character was a strange mixture of good and ill qualities, but vanity was its predominant feature. His abilities were much above mediocrity; but, not content with the knowledge adapted to his rank and situation, he would fain be a proficient in all arts and sciences. He studied medicine and mathematics; he painted, engraved, sang, and played on musical instruments. He was a poet and a critic, and he showed his caprice or his bad taste, by preferring Antimachus (the author of a Thebais) to Homer, and Ennius to Virgil. At the same time, he claimed the highest proficiency in civil and military qualities, and, as was natural in a person of this character, he was envious and jealous of all those who excelled in what he made pretensions to, and he even put many of them to death.

Hadrian remained for about two years in Italy, during which time, however, he made one expedition to the banks of the Danube, against the Sarmatians. On this occasion, he broke down the arches of Trajan's bridge, under the pretext that it only served to facilitate the irruptions of the barbarians. At Rome, he distinguished himself by his attention to the administration of justice, (the brightest spot in his character,) and by the liberality with which he remitted all the debts due to the fisc for the last sixteen years, burning publicly all the accounts and obligations.

While Hadrian was away from Rome, (119,) various persons of rank and wealth were put to death on sundry pretexts. Of these, the most distinguished were the four consulars, Cornelius Palma, Celsus, Domitius Nigrinus, and

Lusius Quietus, all favorites of the late emperor. The charge against them was the having conspired to murder Hadrian when sacrificing, or, as others said, hunting, and to give the empire to Nigrinus, whom he had designed for his successor; but their real guilt appears to have been their wealth and influence. They were all put to death in the different places where they were found, by order of the senate, against the will of Hadrian, as he pretended. He returned to Rome on occasion of this affair, when, to silence the innumerable murmurs of the people, he gave them a double congiary; and he swore to the senate that he would never punish a senator, unless when condemned by themselves.

At this period also there was a change made in the prefecture of the prætorians. The upright Similis, who had accepted the charge against his inclination, asked and obtained permission to resign;* and Tatianus, whose power was become too great to be endured by the jealous emperor, was induced by him to ask for a successor. Hadrian, who had cast on him the odium of the late executions, had at first thoughts of putting him to death; but he contented himself with making him quit his important post, and accept the rank of a senator. The new prefects were Marcus Turbo, a man of most excellent character, and an able officer, and Septimius Clarus.

In the year 120, as it would appear, Hadrian commenced visiting the various provinces of the empire — a practice in which he passed nearly the whole of his reign. Restlessness and curiosity seem to have been his principal motives; but his presence proved of essential benefit to the provinces. He saw with his own eyes their real condition; he looked into the conduct of their governors, and punished those who were guilty of fraud or oppression; he adorned their towns with public buildings, and he bestowed money liberally where any calamities had occurred.

Hadrian first visited Gaul; he thence proceeded to the Germanies, where he carefully inspected the troops, made sundry judicious regulations respecting the service, and restored the discipline, which had fallen into neglect. He thence (121) passed over to Britain, inspected the troops

* He retired to the country, where he spent the remaining seven years of his life. On his tomb he caused to be inscribed, "Here lies Similis, who existed ($\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) so many years, and lived ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$) seven." Dion, lxxi. 19.

ere, reformed abuses, and; to secure the conquered and civilized portion of the island from the incursions of the barbarous Caledonians, he erected a strong wall, eighty miles in length, running from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth. He then returned to Gaul, and he spent his winter at Tarragona, in Spain. Some troubles in Africa drew him over to that country in the following year, (122.) It is not known where he spent the winter, but we find him the next year (123) in Asia, where a war with the Parthians had been on the point of breaking out. Having averted this danger, he spent a year rambling through Syria and Asia Minor, and then (124) visited the isles of the Ægean, and finally came to Athens, where he passed the winter. He was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and he conferred many favors on the people of Athens. From Greece, he passed over to Sicily, (125,) in order to ascend Mount Ætna, and witness from its summit the rising of the sun. He then returned to Rome, where he appears to have remained till the year 129, when he again visited Africa, and conferred many benefits on the provincials. The following year, (130,) he set out for Asia, where while there, he was waited on by most of the princes from about the Euxine and Caucasus. He sent back to Cyprius his daughter, who had been made a captive by Trajan, at the taking of Ctesiphon. He visited Syria, Judæa, and Arabia, every where making regulations and punishing evil governors; and at length (132) arrived at Alexandria in Egypt, where he remained for more than a year. On his way thither, he had visited and repaired the tomb of Pompeius the Great, remarking in an contemporary Greek verse, how strange it was, that he who had so many temples should scarcely have a tomb.

The death of the celebrated Antinous occurred while Hadrian was in Egypt. This was a beautiful youth, a native of Bithynia, beloved, after the unnatural and prevalent fashion of the age, by the emperor. According to Hadrian's own account, he fell into the Nile and was drowned; others said that, like the Alcæstis of Grecian fable, he devoted himself, according to the superstition of the age, to prolong the days of the emperor; while others affirm that Hadrian, who was curious about magic arts, sacrificed him in order to pry into futurity by the inspection of his entrails. The extreme grief of the emperor at his loss gives probability to the first account, but is not inconsistent with the second. He built

a town, named after him, where he died; he set up statues of him all over the empire; the Greeks, at his desire, declared him to be a god, and temples were raised and oracles ascribed to him; in fine, a new star, observed at this time, was pronounced to be the soul of Antinoüs.

Hadrian at length (134) quitted Egypt, and, returning through Syria and Asia, came and passed another winter at Athens. He was now admitted to the Greater Mysteries; and he was, in return, lavish of benefits to the Athenians, and he adorned their city with many stately edifices. In spring, (135,) he returned to Rome, and, his health being now in a declining state, and having no offspring, he resolved to adopt a successor. His choice, after long consideration, fixed on L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, a man of noble birth and of literary taste, but sunk in indolence and voluptuousness, and delicate in health. After the adoption of Verus, Hadrian retired from the city, and fixed his abode at Tibur, where he devoted himself chiefly to the cultivation of the fine arts. His disorder still continuing, he became peevish and cruel; and he put to death, or caused to die, several men of rank, among whom was his own brother-in-law Servianus, a man of ninety years of age.

Verus, who had been sent to take the command in Pannonia, returned to Rome in the end of the year 137. He had prepared an address to make to the emperor on new year's day, but, having taken an opiate to settle his nerves, the dose proved too powerful, and he fell asleep, never to wake. Hadrian then fixed on a senator named T. Aurelius Antoninus, a man of most excellent character, as his successor, and he adopted him, naming Antoninus, who was childless, adopt his wife's name, Marcianus Verus, and L. Ælius Verus, the son of the late Commodus Verus.

The disease which appears to have been dropsy, growing more violent every day, Hadrian felt life to be a burden, of which he was anxious to be relieved. He implored the physicians about him to give him a sword or poison, that he might terminate his sufferings; and Antoninus watched over him assiduously. The irritation of his mind, it is said, made him become daily more cruel. He ordered several senators to be put to death: but Antoninus saved them by pretending that the orders had been executed. At length he retired to Baïæ, and neglected all regimen, using the common saying that "many doctors killed a king." He died on the 10th

of July, 138,* in the sixty-third year of his age, and after a reign of twenty-one years, wanting a month. The senate, on account of his late cruelties, proposed at first to abrogate all his acts, and refused him the usual honors; but they yielded to the arguments and tears of Antoninus, and Hadrian was deified, and his ashes consigned to the splendid mausoleum which he had raised on the banks of the Tiber.†

The merits of Hadrian as a monarch, however, far outnumbered his defects. He maintained peace and plenty in the interior of the state, and he kept the army in a condition of the greatest efficiency. Justice was carefully administered, and he was the author of many beneficent laws and regulations. Among these may be observed those in favor of the slaves. Hitherto the law had been, that, if a master was assassinated in his house, all the slaves in it should be put to death. Hadrian directed that none should even be put to the torture, except those who were within hearing at the time. He also took from masters the power of life and death over their slaves, and ordered that no slave should be put to death without the sentence of a magistrate. He further abolished the private workhouses all through Italy.‡

It was during the reign of this prince that Heaven poured out its last vial of vengeance on the obstinate and fanatic nation of the Jews. Toward the end of the reign of Trajan, (115,) this people had risen in rebellion in Egypt and Cyrene, and committed great massacres and other atrocities; and the following year they rose in a similar manner in the isle of Cyprus and in Mesopotamia. They were, however, reduced by Marcius Turbo and Lusius Quietus; and they remained at rest till the year 134, when, on the occasion of Hadrian's placing a Roman colony at Jerusalem, which he named from himself *Ælia Capitolina*, and building a temple to Jupiter on the site of that of Jehovah, their fanatic spirit

* A little before his death, he made the following pretty lines, addressed to his soul (The measure is dimeter iambic acatalectic.)

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula
Nec, ut soles, dabis joca?

† The Moles Hadriani, the present castle of St. Angelo.

‡ See above, p. 32. The evil which Augustus tried to remedy still continued.

took fire, and they flew to arms under a leader named Barcokebas, (*Son of the Star*), who gave himself out for the Messiah. Hadrian sent the ablest of his generals, Julius Severus, who commanded in Britain, to conduct the war, which lasted about two years. The number of the Jews slain in battle is said to have been 580,000, beside an infinite number who perished by famine and disease; and the loss on the part of the Romans was not inconsiderable. The prisoners were sold for slaves, and the Jews were forbidden henceforth, under pain of death, to come even within sight of Jerusalem.

T. Aurelius Antoninus Pius.

A. U. 891—914. A. D. 138—161.

Titus Aurelius Antoninus was of a family originally of Nismes (*Nemausia*) in Gaul, but he was born near Lanuvium in Latium. He bore the consulate and other offices of state, and he was so generally beloved, that the legacies which, in the usual Roman manner, he received from his friends, made him extremely rich. Though he took a share in public affairs, and had long been of Hadrian's council, his delight was in a country life, and his favorite abode was his villa of Lorii, about twelve miles from Rome, on the Aurelian road, the place where he had passed his boyhood.

Antoninus was in the fifty-first year of his age when he was adopted by Hadrian. The senate, on his accession, decreed him all the usual titles and honors, adding to them that which gave him most pleasure, the title of Pius or 'Dutiful,' on account of his anxiety to guard from reproach the memory of his adoptive father.

For a space of twenty-three years, the Roman world was ruled by this excellent prince, in whom men recognized all the virtues that imagination had ascribed to the mythic Numa. The aspirations of Plato for the happiness of mankind in the union of the monarch and the philosopher, at length received their accomplishment; for Antoninus, though not in speculation, was in practice a philosopher of the best and most rational school. All the virtues that adorn public or private life were united in him. As a ruler, he was just, but clement, generous, and affable; as a private man, he was kind, social, liberal, and good-tempered. He lived with his

friends on a footing of equality; he encouraged philosophy and rhetoric in all parts of the empire, by giving honors and salaries to their professors; he was attentive in the discharge of all the ceremonies and duties belonging to the religion of the state, but he would not suffer those who differed from it to be persecuted. The public events of this tranquil reign were few and unimportant. Bad men, however, are always to be found, and we need not therefore be surprised to hear that conspiracies were formed even against Antoninus; but the authors of them were punished by the senate, or died by their own hands. The only sounds of war were on the distant frontiers, where the Moors and the German and Sarmatian tribes were checked by the imperial generals. In Britain, Antoninus caused a wall to be run from the Firth of Clyde to that of Forth, farther north than that of Hadrian. Some tumults in Greece and Judæa were suppressed. The princes of the East, and those round the Euxine, obeyed the mandates of the Roman emperor, or submitted their differences to his decision.

Antoninus had attained the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, when, at his palace of Lorii, (161,) after supping rather heartily on some Alpine cheese, he was seized with a vomiting in the night, which was succeeded next day by a fever. On the third day, he commended the empire and his daughter to his adopted son, M. Aurelius, and caused the golden image of Fortune, which was usually kept in the imperial chamber, to be transferred to that prince's apartments. To the tribune of the guards, when he came for the word, he gave *Equanimity*; and then, turning round as if to sleep, quietly breathed his last. He was buried in the tomb of Hadrian, and divine honors were decreed to him by the senate.

M. Ælius Aurelius Antoninus.

A. U. 914—933. A. D. 161—180.

The first name of the adopted son, son-in-law, and successor, of Antoninus had been Catilius Severus, that of his maternal grandfather; but, on the death of his father, he was adopted by his paternal grandfather, and called after him, Annius Verus: when adopted by Antoninus, he took the name of M. Ælius Aurelius Verus; and when he became

emperor, he dropped the Verus, and took in its place Antoninus.

The character of this prince was grave, serious, and virtuous, even from his childhood; and Hadrian, who had a great affection for him, used, instead of Verus, to call him Verissimus. At the age of twelve, he assumed the philosopher's habit, and began to practise the austerity of the philosophic life. He had the best instructors of every kind; he became well skilled in all active and martial exercises, and acquired a knowledge of painting; but the study of the Stoic philosophy, to which he was devoted, chiefly occupied his attention. He was in his eighteenth year when he was adopted by Antoninus. This prince gave him in marriage his daughter Faustina, and made him in effect his colleague in the empire. Such was the filial duty of Marcus, that, from the day of his adoption to that of the death of Pius, he lay but two nights out of the palace, and those at different times.

On the death of Pius, the senate offered the empire to M. Aurelius alone; but, mindful of the wishes of Hadrian, he associated with him in his dignity his adoptive brother, L. Commodus, to whom he gave his own name of Verus, and betrothed to him his daughter Lucilla. The Roman world had thus for the first time two emperors; but in effect there was only one, for Verus, who was of an open, good-natured temper, and a lover of pleasure rather than of study and business, deferred in all things to his wiser brother, and acted only as his lieutenant.

The new emperors had soon to prepare for the defence of their dominions. The barbarians of Caledonia and of northern Germany renewed their assaults on the adjoining provinces, and Vologeses, the Parthian king, entered Armenia and cut to pieces a Roman army, led by the governor of Cappadocia to its defence. The Parthian monarch then poured a large army into Syria, and defeated the governor of that province. This war appeared of such importance, that it was deemed expedient that one of the emperors should conduct it in person. Aurelius, wishing to remove Verus from the seductions of Rome, and give him an opportunity of acquiring military fame, committed to him the Parthian war; and that prince accordingly set out for the East, (162.) But, instead of putting himself at the head of his troops, the voluptuous emperor, under the pretext of attending to the commissariat of the army, remained at Antioch, visiting Daphne.

in the summer and Laodicea in the winter, and thinking only of pleasure. The war was meantime conducted by his generals, who, especially Avidius Cassius, proved themselves to be able men. It lasted four years; success was generally on the side of the Romans, and Cassius crossed the Tigris, took Ctesiphon, and destroyed the royal palace. The war appears to have been concluded by a treaty, by which the Parthian monarch resigned all claim to the country west of the Tigris. The two emperors then celebrated a joint triumph, (166,) and assumed the title of Parthic.

While Verus was absent in the East, the government of Aurelius at Rome had emulated that of Pius, and been in all things directed to the promotion of the happiness of the people. But in the train of Verus came a pestilence, which exceeded in virulence any that had occurred for many years, spread to all parts of the empire, and carried off an immense number of people. A famine at Rome accompanied it; and, to add to the calamities of the empire, a war with the Marcomans broke out, which was to occupy Aurelius all the rest of his reign.

We always find the German race acting in confederations, and this is perhaps one of the principal reasons why the Romans never could make any permanent impression on them. The confederation was usually named from the principal people engaged in it, and of the tribes on the left bank of the Danube, the Marcomans seem now to have been the most powerful. The removal of the legions, on account of the Parthian war, held out to them an opportunity of ravaging the Roman province. It is also said that the pressure of some of the tribes farther north, who had abandoned or been driven from their own lands, and came seeking new ones, urged them to war. A union was therefore formed of all the German and Sarmatian nations contiguous to the Danube, for the invasion of the Roman provinces; but, while the Parthian war lasted, the Romans averted it by negotiation. When, however, the barbarians saw the empire desolated by the plague, they would no longer be restrained, and they passed the river in all parts, and poured over and ravaged the provinces, taking cities and towns, and dragging thousands into captivity.* The intelligence caused great consternation at Rome, and Aurelius assured the senate that

* According to Pausanias (x.) they advanced as far as Elatea in Greece.

the danger was of such magnitude, as to require the presence of both the emperors; not that he set any value on the military talents of Verus, but he did not consider it safe to leave him behind at Rome. The emperors therefore assumed the military habit; and advanced to Aquileia, (167.) They found that the tidings of their approach had caused the barbarians to repass the Danube, and deputies soon appeared suing for peace. Verus, who longed to return to the delights of Rome, was for accepting their excuses; but Marcus, who judged that they only feigned a desire of peace through fear of his large army, resolved to advance farther, and let them see his power. He therefore passed the Alps, and advanced into the northern provinces, and, having made all the requisite dispositions for the security of Illyrium and Italy, he set out on his return to Rome, permitting Verus to precede his arrival. The war, however, was speedily renewed, and, toward the close of the year 169, the emperors proceeded again to Aquileia, in order to take the field in the spring. But the plague was so violent in that town, that they could not venture to remain there, and, though it was mid-winter, they left it in order to return to Rome. On their way, as they were riding in the same carriage, near to Altino, Verus was struck with a fit of apoplexy; and, after remaining speechless for three days, he expired. His body was conveyed to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of Hadrian, and he was deified in the usual manner.

There were not wanting those who were malignant enough to charge Marcus with the guilt of having caused the death of Verus, by poison, or by excessive blood-letting; but his character alone suffices for the refutation of such calumnies. The death of Verus was, however, a great relief to him, for, excepting cruelty, this prince had all the vices of Cain and Nero, being devoted to gaming, chariot-racing, gladiators, buffoons, and every species of luxury and dissipation; and Marcus, though aware of and bitterly lamenting his defects, thought it his duty to conceal or excuse the failings of a brother.

Marcus now, unimpeded by his colleague, devoted his whole energies to the improvement and defence of the empire. As the Marcomans had defeated and slain the prætorian prefect Vindex, and were growing every day more formidable, and the legions had been dreadfully thinned by the plague, he took all kinds of men into pay. He enrolled

slaves, as had been done in the Punic war,* gladiators, the bandits of Dalmatia, and Dardania, and the Diocmitæ, or those employed in pursuit of them. He also commenced the pernicious practice of taking bodies of the Germans into Roman pay. In order to raise funds for the war without distressing the provincials, he caused an auction to be held, for the space of two months, in Trajan's Forum, at which all the splendid furniture, plate, and jewels belonging to the palace, even his own and his wife's silken and golden garments, were sold. Having thus obtained an abundant supply of money, he set out for the seat of war, (170.).

The war lasted several years, during which the emperor did not return to Italy. His residence was, for three years, at Carnuntum, in Pannonia, on the Danube. He cleared that province of the barbarians, and he gave the Marcomans a notable defeat, as they were effecting the passage of the river. In the year 174, he carried the war beyond the Danube, into the country of the Quadans. It was the middle of summer, the heat was excessive, and the enemy contrived to enclose the Roman army in a situation totally destitute of water, and, securing all the outlets, they awaited the sure effects of heat and thirst. The sufferings of the Romans were for some time extreme; but at length the clouds were seen to collect, and soon the rain began to descend in torrents. The Quadans, seeing their hopes thus frustrated, fell on the Romans while engaged in quenching their thirst, and would, it is said, have defeated them, had not a tempest of hail and lightning come on, aided by which the Romans gained a victory.

This event, which was, no doubt, a natural one, was held to be miraculous, and both pagans and Christians claimed the honor of it. The former ascribed it to an Egyptian magician named Arnesiphis, who was with Aurelius, and by his arts caused the æreal Hermes and other demons to send the rain. The latter affirmed that it was sent in answer to the prayers of one of the legions, named the Melitenensian, or the Thundering, and which was composed of Christians; and they add that the emperor, in his letter to the senate, acknowledged this to be the fact, and caused the persecution of the Christians to cease.†

* The *Volones*, (Hist. of Rome, 219;) they were now called *Voluntarii*, and the gladiators, *Obsequentes*.

† Euseb. Hist. Ec. v. 5; Tert. Ap. 5; Xiphil. lxxi. 9. Apollinaris (ap. Euseb.) says that the legion received the title of Thundering

The confederates had suffered so much by the war, that they now were anxious for peace; and most of them sent deputies to the emperor. The Quadans, the Marcomans, and the Sarmatian Jazygans, obtained peace on the terms of giving up all the deserters and prisoners, and of the two former not dwelling within less than five miles of the Danube; the Jazygans of double that distance. Other smaller nations were taken into alliance with the Romans, and lands were given them in the adjacent provinces, and even in Italy.

This accommodation with the barbarians was hastened by the intelligence of a revolt in Syria. Avidius Cassius, who had, in effect, conducted the Parthian war, and had afterwards commanded on the Danube, had received from Marcus the government of that province, in order that he might restore the discipline of the army. Cassius, who was a man of the greatest rigor, and was even barbarous in his punishments, had still the art of attaching the soldiery; and the Syrian army was soon in a most effective state of discipline, and devoted to its leader: the subjects and the neighboring princes were also inclined to Cassius, and, feeling, or affecting to feel, a contempt for the mild philosophy and the extreme lenity and clemency of Marcus, he at length (175) resolved to declare himself emperor. The whole of Asia south of Mount Taurus, and Egypt, submitted, and the troops of Bithynia were on the point of declaring for him. The emperor was informed of the revolt by Marcius Verus, the governor of Cappadocia. He concealed the matter at first; but, finding that it had come to the ears of the soldiers, he called them together, and addressed them in a speech worthy of himself. He then wrote to the same effect to the senate, and that body declared Cassius a public enemy. Marcus was preparing to march into the East to contend for his empire, when the head of his rival was brought to him; for Cassius, as he was one day walking or riding, was fallen on and slain by two of his own officers, after a dream of empire of three months. The army returned to its obedience, and put to death the eldest son of Cassius and his prætorian prefect, and no more blood was shed. Cassius's papers were burnt, either by the emperor or by Verus; his family was treated with favor; the cities and towns which had declared for him were forgiven.

(*Fulminea*) on this occasion; but Tillemont observes that an inscription proves it to have belonged to the twelfth legion in the time of Trajan.

In order to regulate the affairs of the East, Marcus proceeded thither in person. He visited Syria and Egypt, and stopping, on his return, at Athens, (176,) he was there initiated in the mysteries. On the 23d of December, he entered Rome in triumph, with his son Commodus. The triumph was for the victories over the Germans.

While Marcus was in Asia, the empress Faustina, who accompanied him, died suddenly in a little town at the foot of Mount Taurus. Her husband lamented her, even with tears; and, at his request, the senate deified her, and erected an altar to her, at which all young maidens, when they married, were to sacrifice with their bridegrooms. Yet, if history may be credited, Faustina was so abandoned to lust, that she used to select the most vigorous rowers from the fleet, and gladiators from the arena, to share her embraces; and the general opinion was, that a gladiator, and not Marcus, was the father of Commodus. Her infamy, it is said, was not unknown to her husband, who, when urged to divorce her if he would not put her to death, replied, "If I put away my wife, I must restore her dower," that is, the empire; a reply so unworthy of Marcus, that we cannot regard it as true.*

The war had been rekindled on the banks of the Danube; the Marcomans, Quadans, and their allies, were again in arms, and the presence of the emperor was required. He left Rome in the autumn of 178, taking with him his son. He is said to have gained a considerable victory the following year, and the subjugation of the barbarians was regarded as certain; but, in the spring of 180, he was attacked by a contagious malady, which carried him off on the seventh day, after a reign of nineteen years, and when he had nearly attained the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The emperor M. Aurelius has been compared to the English king Alfred. Like him, he united the active and contemplative life, led armies and cultivated literature. But Alfred had far greater difficulties to contend with, and his studies were more directed to objects suitable to a sovereign. The British monarch, too, (favored in this, perhaps, by nature or fortune,) was more happy in his family than the Roman; for, while Alfred left children worthy to occupy

* It is more probable that he did not know her infamy; for in the first book of his Meditations, written only a short time before she died, he praises her obedience, affection, and simplicity of manners.

his place, and was blessed in all his domestic relations, the vices of his wife, his son, and his adoptive brother, cast a shade over the virtues of Aurelius. His blindness to these vices, if he really was not aware of them, derogates from his judgment and wisdom; while, if we concede him penetration of character, we must condemn the weakness which could, for example, commit the happiness of the world to a Commodus. A certain imbecility of character was in effect the chief blemish of Aurelius. It would almost seem as if too early a study of speculative philosophy were detrimental to a man who is called on to take an active part in the affairs of life, and to direct the destinies of an empire.

"If a man," says Gibbon, "were called to fix a period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honor of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom."

In this passage, characterized by the author's usual prejudices, there is certainly much that is true, but mingled with exaggeration and error. The character and reign of Hadrian, for example, are surely not entitled to such lofty terms of praise. The brightest spot in the picture is the period of the dominion of Pius; but our information respecting that reign is so imperfect, that we have not the means of forming a correct judgment. As happiness is seated so entirely in the mind, and depends so much on natural character, comparisons of the amount of it enjoyed in different periods, and by different classes of persons, are quite fallacious; and we have no doubt that the guards and the populace at Rome thought themselves happier under a Nero and a Domitian than a Hadrian and an Aurelius. We still, however, agree generally in the conclusions of the historian.

CHAPTER III.*

COMMODUS. PERTINAX. JULIAN. SEVERUS.

A. U. 933—964. A. D. 180—211.

COMMODUS. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. — PERENNIS. — CLEANDER. — MATERNUS AND THE DESERTERS. — DEATH OF CLEANDER. — VICES OF COMMODUS. — HIS DEATH. — ELEVATION AND MURDER OF PERTINAX. — EMPIRE PUT TO AUCTION. — BOUGHT BY DIDIUS JULIANUS. — PESCENNIUS NIGER. — SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. — CLODIUS ALBINUS. — MARCH OF SEVERUS. — DEATH OF JULIAN. — PRÆTORIANS DISBANDED. — SEVERUS AT ROME. — WAR WITH NIGER. — WITH ALBINUS. — PARTHIAN WAR. — FAMILY OF SEVERUS. — PLAUTIANUS. — SEVERUS IN BRITAIN. — HIS DEATH. — MAXIMS OF GOVERNMENT.

L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus.

A. U. 933—945. A. D. 180—192.

L. ÆLIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS, the son and successor of M. Aurelius, was in the nineteenth year of his age when the death of his excellent father left him master of the Roman world. He was the first of the Roman emperors who was what was termed *Porphyrogenitus*, *i. e.* born to a reigning emperor. Not a murmur was raised against his succession; a liberal donative gratified the soldiers, and the war was, during the summer, prosecuted with vigor against the barbarians; but Commodus longed for the pleasures of Rome, and he willingly listened to their solicitations for peace. Treaties honorable to Rome were therefore concluded. The terms given to the Quadians and Marcomans were nearly the same as those accorded by Marcus; but they were bound not to make war on the Jazygans, the Burrans, or the Vandals. They were each to furnish a certain number of men for the Roman armies. The terms imposed on the rest were not dissimilar. The emperor then returned to Rome and triumphed, (Oct. 22.)

* Authorities: Dion, Herodian, the Augustan History, and the Epitomes.

Commodus is one among the many instances which we may find of the feebleness of education in the attempt to control the tendencies of nature.* It was in vain that Marcus had, in his own person, given his son an example of all the virtues, and had surrounded him with the ablest instructors. Their lessons were unheeded, and their pupil was distinguished only by skill in the exercises of the gladiators' school, and for the unerring aim with which he flung the javelin or shot the arrow, under the teaching of Moors and Parthians. He is also noted for being the first of the emperors who was totally devoid of taste for literature.

The foreign transactions of this reign are of little importance; the German and British frontiers merely gave their usual occupation to the legions. At Rome, for the space of about three years, all was tranquillity also; for Commodus, whose natural character, as we are assured, was weak and timid, rather than wicked, allowed himself to be directed by the able and upright men to whom his father had recommended him. His hours were devoted to luxury and indulgence, till, at length, (183,) an event occurred which revealed the latent cruelty of his nature.

After the death of L. Verus, Marcus had given his daughter Lucilla in marriage to Pompeianus, a most respectable senator, and, after the death of her mother, he allowed her all the honors of an empress, which her brother also continued to her. But, on the marriage of Commodus with a lady named Crispina, Lucilla was obliged to yield precedence to the reigning empress. Her haughty spirit deemed this an indignity, and she resolved on revenge. Fearing to intrust her design to her noble-minded husband, she first communicated it to Quadratus, a wealthy young nobleman, with whom she carried on an adulterous intercourse; she also engaged in the plot Claudius Pompeianus, another of her paramours, who was betrothed to her daughter; some senators also were aware of it. As Commodus was entering the amphitheatre, through a dusky passage, Pompeianus, who was lying in wait, drew his sword, and cried, "The senate sends thee this." But the words prevented the execution of his design, and he was seized by the guards. He, Quadratus, and some others, were executed; Lucilla was, for the present, confined in the isle of Capræ, but she was,

* "The power of instruction," observes Gibbon, "is seldom of much efficacy, except in those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous."

ere long, put to death; and a similar fate soon befell her rival, Crispina, on account of adultery. In her place, Commodus took a freedwoman, named Marcia, who had been the concubine of Quadratus, and to whom he gave all the honors of an empress, except that of having fire borne before her.

The unwise exclamation of Pompeianus sank deep in the mind of Commodus: he learned to regard the senate as his deadly enemies, and many of its most illustrious members were put to death, on various pretexts. His only reliance was now on the guards; and the prætorian prefects soon became as important as in former times. The prefects now were Tarruntius Paternus and Perennis; but the arts of the latter caused the former to be removed and put to death, and the whole power of the state fell into his hands; for the timid Commodus no longer ventured to appear in public, and all business was transacted by Perennis. The prefect removed all he dreaded, by false accusations; and he amassed wealth by the confiscation of the properties of the nobility. His son was in command of the Illyrian legions, and he now aspired to the empire. But he had offended the army of Britain, and they deputed (186) fifteen hundred of their number to accuse him to Commodus of designs on the empire. They were supported by the secret influence of the freedman Cleander, and Perennis was given up to their vengeance. Himself, his wife, his sister, and two of his children, were massacred; his eldest son was recalled, and murdered, on the way to Rome.

The character of Perennis is doubtful, but that of Cleander, who succeeded to his power, was one of pure evil. Cleander, a Phrygian by birth, had been brought to Rome as a slave, and sold in the public market. He was purchased for the palace, and placed about the person of Commodus, with whom he speedily ingratiated himself; and when the prince became emperor, he made Cleander his chamberlain. The power of the freedman, when Perennis was removed, became absolute; avarice, the passion of a vulgar mind, was his guiding principle. All the honors and all the posts of the empire were put to sale; pardons for any crime were to be had for money; and, in the short space of three years, the wealth of Cleander exceeded that of the Pallas and Narcissus of the early days of the empire. A conspiracy of an extraordinary nature occurred not long after the death of Perennis. A great number of men who

had deserted from the armies, put themselves under the command of a common soldier, named Maternus: they were joined by slaves, whom they freed from their bonds; and they ravaged for some time with impunity the provinces of Gaul and Spain. At length, (187,) when Maternus found the governors preparing to act with vigor against him, he resolved to make a desperate effort, and be emperor; or perish. He directed his followers to disperse, and repair secretly to Rome, where he proposed that they should assume the dress of the guards, and fall on the emperor during the license of the festival of the Megalesia.* All succeeded to his wishes: they rendezvoused in Rome; but some of them, out of envy, betrayed the secret, and Maternus and some others were taken and executed.

The power of Cleander was now at its height; by gifts to Commodus and his mistresses, he maintained his influence at court, and, by the erection of baths and other public edifices, he sought to ingratiate himself with the people. He had also the command of the guards, for whom he had, for some time, caused prætorian prefects to be made and unmade, at his will. He at length divided the office between himself and two others; but he did not assume the title.† As an instance of the way in which he disposed of offices, we find in one year (189) no less than five-and-twenty consuls.

What the ultimate views of Cleander may have been is unknown; for he shared the usual fate of aspiring freedmen. Rome was visited at this time by a direful pestilence, and the emperor, on account of it, resided out of the city. The pestilence was, as usual, attended by famine; and this visitation of Heaven was by the people laid to the charge of the odious favorite. As they were one day (189) viewing the horse-races in the circus, a party of children entered, headed by a fierce-looking girl, and began to exclaim against Cleander. The people joined in the cries, and then, rising, rushed to where Commodus was residing in the suburbs, demanding the death of Cleander. But the favorite instantly ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge them, and they were driven back to the city, with the loss of many lives. When, however, the cavalry entered the streets, they were assailed by mis-

* For a description of this festival, see Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 179, *seq.*

† He styled himself *à pugione*, ministers being thus named from their offices, *ex gr. à rationibus, ab epistolis*.

siles from the roofs of the houses; and the people, being joined by the urban cohorts, rallied, and drove them back to the palace, where Commodus still lay in total ignorance of all that had occurred; for fear of Cleander had kept all silent. But now Marcia, or, as others said, the emperor's sister Fadilla,* seeing the danger so imminent, rushed into his presence, and informed him of the truth. Without a moment's hesitation, he ordered Cleander and his son to be put to death. The people placed the head of Cleander on a pole, and dragged his body through the streets; and, when they had massacred some of his creatures, the tumult ceased.

The cruelty of Commodus displayed itself more and more every day, and several men of rank became its victims. At the same time, his lust was unbounded; three hundred beautiful women, and as many boys, of all ages and countries, filled his seraglio, and he abstained from no kind of infamy. He delighted also to exhibit proofs of his skill as a marksman; and he assumed the title and attributes of the hero Hercules. For some time, like Nero, he confined his displays to the interior of his residences; but, at length, the senate and people were permitted to witness his skill in the amphitheatre. A gallery ran round it for the safety and convenience of the emperor, from which he discharged his darts and arrows, with unerring aim, at the larger and fiercer animals, while he ventured into the arena to destroy the deer and other timid creatures. A hundred lions were at once let loose, and each fell by a single wound; an irritated panther had just seized a man — a dart was flung by the emperor, and the beast fell dead, while the man remained uninjured. With crescent-headed arrows he cut off the heads of ostriches, as they ran at full speed.

But his greatest delight was to combat as a gladiator. He appeared in the character of a *Secutor*: he caused to be recorded 735 victories which he had gained, and he received each time an immense stipend out of the gladiatorial fund. Instead of Hercules, he now styled himself Paulus, after a celebrated *Secutor*, and caused it to be inscribed on his statues. He also took up his abode in the residence of the gladiators.

At length, the tyrant met the fate he merited. It was his design to put to death the two consuls elect for the year 193,

* Dion says Marcia, Herodian Fadilla. Tillemont and Gibbon unite the two.

and, on new year's day, to proceed from the gladiators' school, in his gladiatorial habit, and enter on the consulate. On the preceding day, he communicated his design to Marcia, who tried in vain to dissuade him from it. Q. Ælius Lætus, the prætorian prefect, and the chamberlain, Eclectus, also reasoned with him, but to as little purpose. He testified much wrath, and uttered some menaces. Knowing that the threats of the tyrant were the sure precursors of death, they saw their only hopes of safety lay in anticipation; they took their resolution on the moment; * and when Commodus came from the bath, Marcia, as was her usual practice, handed him a bowl, (in which she had now infused a strong poison,) to quench his thirst.

He drank the liquor off, and then laid himself down to sleep. The attendants were all sent away. The conspirators were expecting the effect of the poison, when the emperor began to vomit profusely. Fearing now that the poison would not take effect, they brought in a vigorous wrestler, named Narcissus; and, induced by the promise of a large reward, he laid hold on and strangled the emperor.

P. Helvius Pertinax.

A. U. 946. A. D. 193.

The conspirators had, it is probable, already fixed on the person who should succeed to the empire; and their choice was one calculated to do them credit. It was P. Helvius Pertinax, the prefect of the city, a man now advanced in years, who had with an unblemished character, though born in an humble rank, passed through all the civil and military gradations of the state. Pertinax was the son of a freedman who was engaged in the manufacture of charcoal, at Alba Pompeia, in the Apennines. He commenced life as a man of letters; but, finding the literary profession unprofitable, he entered the army as a centurion, and his career of advancement was rapid.

It was yet night when Lætus and Eclectus proceeded with

* Herodian tells us of a list of those destined to be put to death, taken by a child, and read by Marcia, as in the case of Domitian. But he is a very inaccurate writer; and Dion, who was a senator, and in Rome at the time, could hardly have been ignorant of the circumstance, if it were true.

some soldiers to the house of Pertinax. When informed of their arrival, he ordered them to be brought to his chamber, and then, without rising, told them that he had long expected every night to be his last, and bade them execute their office; for he was certain that Commodus had sent them to put him to death. But they informed him that the tyrant himself was no more, and that they were come to offer him the empire. He hesitated to give credit to them; but, having sent one on whom he could depend, and ascertained that Commodus was dead, he consented to accept the proffered dignity. Though it was not yet day, they all repaired to the prætorian camp; and Lætus, having assembled the soldiers, told them that Commodus was suddenly dead of apoplexy, and that he had brought them his successor, a man whose merits were known to them all. Pertinax then addressed them, promising a large donative. By this time, the people (for Lætus had caused the news of Commodus's death to be spread through the city) had gathered round the camp, and, urged by their shouts and importunity, the soldiers swore fidelity to the emperor, though they feared that he was a man who would renew the strictness of discipline.

Before dawn, the senate was summoned to the temple of Concord, whither Pertinax had proceeded from the camp. He told them what had occurred, and, noticing his age and his humble extraction, pointed out divers senators as more worthy of the empire than himself. But they would not listen to his excuses, and they decreed him all the imperial titles. Then, giving a loose to their rage against the fallen tyrant, they termed him parricide, gladiator, the enemy of the gods and of his country, and decreed that his statues should be cast down, his titles be erased, and his body dragged with the hook through the streets. But Pertinax respected too much the memory of Marcus to suffer the remains of his son to be thus treated; and they were, by his order, placed in the tomb of Hadrian.

Pertinax was cheerfully acknowledged by all the armies. Like Vespasian, he was simple and modest in his dress and mode of life, and he lived on terms of intimacy with the respectable members of the senate. He resigned his private property to his wife and son, but would not suffer the senate to bestow on them any titles. He regulated the finances with the greatest care, remitting oppressive taxes, and cancelling unjust claims. He sold by auction all the late tyrant's instruments of luxury, and obliged his favorites to

disgorge a portion of their plunder. He granted the waste lands in Italy and elsewhere for a term of years rent-free to those who would undertake to improve them.

The reforming hand of the emperor was extended to all departments of the state; and men looked for a return of the age of the Antonines. But the soldiers dreaded the restoration of the ancient discipline; and Lætus, who found that he did not enjoy the power he had expected, secretly fomented their discontent. So early as the 3d of January, they had seized a senator named Triarius Maternus, intending to make him emperor; but he escaped from them, and fled to Pertinax for protection. Some time after, while the emperor was on the sea-coast attending to the supply of corn, they prepared to raise Sosius Falco, then consul, to the empire; but Pertinax came suddenly to Rome, and, having complained of Falco to the senate, they were about to proclaim him a public enemy, when the emperor cried that no senator should suffer death while he reigned; and Falco was thus suffered to escape punishment.

Some expressions which Pertinax used on this occasion irritated the soldiers; and Lætus, to exasperate them still more, put several of them to death, as if by his orders. Accordingly, on the 28th of March, a general mutiny broke out in the camp, and two or three hundred of the most desperate proceeded with drawn swords to the palace. No one opposed their entrance. Pertinax, when informed of their approach, advanced to meet them. He addressed them, reminding them of his own innocence and of the obligation of their oath. They were silent for a few moments; at length a Tungrian soldier struck him with his sword, crying, "The soldiers send thee this." They all then fell on him, and, cutting off his head, set it on a lance, and carried it to the camp. Eclectus, faithful to the last, perished with the emperor; Lætus had fled in disguise at the approach of the mutineers. The reign of the virtuous Pertinax had lasted only eighty-six days; he was in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

M. Didius Severus Julianus.

A. U. 946. A. D. 193.

The mutineers, on their return to the camp, found there Sulpicianus, the prefect of the city, the late emperor's father-

in-law, who had been sent thither to try to appease the mutiny. The bloody proof which they bore of the empire's being vacant, excited, while it should have extinguished, his ambition, and he forthwith began to treat for the dangerous prize. Immediately some of the soldiers ran, and, ascending the ramparts, cried out aloud, that the empire was for sale, and would be given to the highest bidder. The news reached the ears of Didius Julianus, a wealthy and luxurious senator, as he sat at table; and, urged by his wife and daughter, and his parasites, he rose and hastened to the camp. The military auctioneers stood on the wall, one bidder within, the other without. Sulpicianus had gone as high as 5000 denars a man, when his rival, at one bidding, rose to 6250. This spirited offer carried it; the soldiers also had a secret dread that Sulpicianus, if emperor, might avenge the death of his son-in-law. The gates were thrown open, and Julian was admitted and saluted emperor; but the soldiers had the generosity to stipulate for the safety of his rival.

From the camp, Julian, escorted by the soldiers, proceeded to the senate-house. He was there received with affected joy, and the usual titles and honors were decreed him; but the people stood aloof and in silence, and those who were more distant uttered loud curses on him. When Julian came to the palace, the first object that met his eyes was the corpse of his predecessor; he ordered it to be buried, and then, it is said, sat down and passed the greater part of the night at a luxurious banquet, and playing at dice. In the morning, the senate repaired to him with their feigned compliments; but the people still were gloomy; and, when he went down to the senate-house, and was about to offer incense to the Janus before the doors, they cried out that he was a parricide, and had stolen the empire. He promised them money, but they would have none of it; and at length he ordered the soldiers to fall on them, and several were killed and wounded. Still they ceased not to revile him and the soldiers, and to call on the other armies, especially that of Pescennius Niger, to come to their aid.

The principal armies were that of Syria, commanded by Niger; that of Pannonia, under Septimius Severus; and that of Britain, under Clodius Albinus, each composed of three legions, with its suitable number of auxiliaries.

C. Pescennius Niger was a native of Aquinum, of a simple equestrian family. He entered the army as a centurion, and rose, almost solely by merit, till he attained the lucrative

government of Syria. As an officer, Niger was a rigorous maintainer of discipline; as a governor, he was just, but mild and indulgent; and he succeeded in gaining alike the affections of the soldiers and the subjects. In his private life, he was chaste and temperate.

L. Septimius Severus was born at Leptis in Africa. He received a learned education, and devoted himself to the bar, and M. Aurelius made him advocate of the fisc. He acted as civil governor of several provinces, and had, occasionally, a military command, but had seen little or no actual service. After his consulate, Commodus, through the influence of Lætus, gave him the command of the Pannonian legions.*

D. Clodius Albinus was also an African. He was born at Adrumetum, of an honorable family, which derived its origin from the Postumii and Ceionii of Rome. He entered the army early, and rose through all the gradations of the service, being highly esteemed by M. Aurelius. He commanded in Bithynia, at the time of the revolt of Cassius, and kept his legions in their duty. Commodus gave him the command in Gaul and in Britain, and designed him for his successor. Albinus was a strict and even severe officer. He was fond of agriculture, on which subject he wrote some books. He was charged with private vices, but probably without reason.

When the intelligence of the murder of Pertinax, and the sale of the empire to Julian, reached the armies of Syria and Pannonia, their generals saw the prospect of empire open to them as the avengers of the emperor whom they had acknowledged. Each of them assembled his troops, and expatiated on the atrocity of the deed which had been perpetrated at Rome, and each was saluted Augustus by his army and the subjects. But while Niger, seeing all the provinces and allied princes of Asia unanimous in his favor, and therefore indulging in confidence, remained inactive at Antioch, Severus resolved to push on for the capital, and possess himself of that seat of empire. Having secured the adherence of the army of Gaul, he wrote a most friendly letter to Albinus, giving him the title of Cæsar, and adopting

* See his Life, in the Augustan History. "The youth of Severus," says Gibbon, "had been trained in the implicit obedience of camps, and his riper years spent in the despotism of military command." We have noticed some similar inaccurate assertions in this writer, who is in general so correct.

him as his son; by which he made sure of his neutrality, if not of his coöperation. He then advanced by rapid marches for Rome. Day and night he appeared in full armor, and surrounded by a guard of six hundred chosen men, who never laid aside their corselets. Resistance was no where offered; all hailed him as the avenger of Pertinax.

The wretched Julian was filled with dismay when he heard of the approach of the formidable Pannonian army. He made the senate declare Severus a public enemy; he distributed large sums of money to the prætorians to induce them to prepare to defend him; but these dissolute troops were vigorous only for evil, and they could not resume the discipline they had lost; the marines summoned from Misenum were still more inefficient; and an attempt at training elephants for war, in the Oriental manner, only excited derision. Julian also caused an intrenchment to be run in front of the city, and he secured the palace with strong doors and bars, as if *it* could be maintained when all else was lost. He put to death Marcia, Lætus, and all concerned in the murder of Commodus, probably with a view to the favor of the soldiery.

Severus, meantime, had reached Ravenna, and secured the fleet. Julian, having made some fruitless attempts on his life, caused the senate to declare him his associate in the empire. But Severus now disdained such divided power; he had written to the prætorians, assuring safety to all but the actual assassins of Pertinax, and they had accepted the conditions. The consul, Silius Messala, assembled the senate, and it was resolved to put Julian to death, and give the empire to Severus. When those charged with the mandate for his death came to Julian, his only words were, "What evil have I done? Whom have I slain?" He was then killed by a common soldier, after a reign of only sixty-six days.

L. *Septimius Severus.*

A. U. 946—964. A. D. 193—211.

Severus was met at Interamna (*Terni*) in Umbria, seventy miles from Rome, by deputies from the senate. He received them with favor, and still continued to advance.

As he drew nigh to Rome, he commanded the execution of the murderers of Pertinax; and he sent orders to the remaining prætorians to leave their arms in their camp, and come to meet him, dressed as they were wont when attending the emperors on solemn occasions. They obeyed; and Severus received them in the plain, before his camp, and addressed them from a tribunal, reproaching them with the murder of Pertinax, and the sale of the empire to Julian. He would spare their lives, he said, but he would leave them nothing save their tunics, and death should be the fate of any of them who ever came within a hundred miles of the capital. While he was speaking, his soldiers had imperceptibly surrounded them; resistance was vain, and they quietly yielded up their swords, and their rich habiliments, and mournfully retired. A detachment had, meantime, taken possession of their camp, to obviate the effects of their despair.

Severus entered the city at the head of his army. The senate and people met him with all the marks of joy and festivity. He ascended the Capitol and worshipped; he then visited the other temples, and at length proceeded to the palace. In the morning, he met the senate, to whom he made a speech full of the fairest promises, assuring them that Marcus should be his model, and swearing that he would put no senator to death, unless condemned by themselves — an oath which he kept but indifferently. The usual titles and powers had been already decreed him; among these was the title of Pertinax, of which prince he affected to be the avenger, and the ceremony of whose deification he performed with the greatest magnificence and solemnity. He distributed large sums of money among the soldiers and people; he regulated the supply of provisions, and he examined into the conduct of several governors of provinces, and punished those who were proved guilty of oppression or extortion.

Severus restored the prætorian guards, on a new model, and raised them to four times their original number. Augustus had admitted none but Italians into this body; the youth of Spain, Noricum, and Mæcedonia, had gradually been suffered to enlist in it; but Severus threw it open to all, selecting the ablest and most faithful soldiers from the legions; for the higher pay and more easy life of the guardsmen.

After a stay of only thirty days in Rome, Severus se:

out for the war against Niger, who was master of all Asia, and held the strong city of Byzantium in Europe. The preparations, on both sides, occupied some time; at length, Severus took the field; and, leaving part of his troops to carry on the siege of Byzantium, he sent the main body of his army, under his generals, over the Hellespont. Æmilianus, the proconsul of Asia, gave them battle (194) near Cyzicus, but was defeated. He fled to Cyzicus, and thence to another unnamed town, where he was seized and put to death. Niger, in person, afterwards engaged the Severian general, Candidus, between Nicæa and Kios. The contest was long and arduous, but victory declared for the European army; and Niger, leaving troops to guard the passes of Mount Taurus, hastened to Antioch, to raise men and money. The elements, however, favored Severus; heavy falls of rain and snow destroyed the defences constructed by Niger, and his troops were obliged to abandon the passes, and leave Cilicia open to the enemy.

Niger made his final stand at the Cilician Gates, as the pass from Cilicia into Syria, at the head of the Bay of Issus, was named, a place famous for the defeat of Darius by Alexander the Great. The troops of Niger were more numerous, but they were mostly raw levies; yet they fought with constancy; but the elements, we are told, again favored the Severians; a storm of rain and thunder came over the sea, and blew full in the faces of the Nigrians, and they fled, with the loss of 20,000 men. Niger hastened to Antioch; and thence, on the approach of the enemy, he fled to the Euphrates, in order to seek refuge with the Parthians; but he had hardly quitted the town, when he was seized, and his head was cut off and sent to Severus.

This emperor, who had been in none of the preceding actions, now appeared. He put to death all the senators who had borne arms for Niger; he banished some, and seized the property of others. He put numbers of inferior rank to death; and he treated severely Antioch and some other towns. He then (195) led his army over the Euphrates; and his generals employed this and a part of the following year in reducing the various tribes and princes of Mesopotamia. While he was thus engaged, (196,) he received the joyful intelligence of the surrender of Byzantium; which, strong by situation and fortifications, had held out for nearly three years against the valor and skill of the besieging army, and was only subdued, at last, by famine. The magistrates and

soldiers were all put to death; the property of the inhabitants was sold; the walls and the public edifices were demolished; Byzantium was deprived of its title of city, and subjected, as a village, to the jurisdiction of Perinthus.

It is said that Severus was meditating an invasion of Parthia; but his thoughts were more fixed on securing the succession to his children, by removing Albinus. Suitably to his character, he resolved to proceed by treachery, rather than by force. He wrote to Albinus, in the most affectionate terms, as to his dearest brother; but the bearers of the letter were instructed to ask a private audience, as having matters of greater importance to communicate, and then to assassinate him. The suspicions of Albinus, however, being awaked, he put them to the torture, and extracted the truth. He saw that he had no alternative, that he must be emperor or nothing; and he therefore declared himself Augustus, and passed with his army over to Gaul. Severus returned, with all possible speed, from the East, and advanced in person into Gaul against his rival. He crossed the Alps in the depth of winter; and, after some minor engagements, a decisive battle was fought on the 19th of February, 197, in the neighborhood of Lyons. The united number of the combatants was 150,000 men; the battle was long and dubious; the left wing, on each side, was routed; but Severus, who now fought for the first time, brought up the prætorians to the support of his beaten troops; and, though he received a wound, and was driven back, he rallied them once more; and, being supported by the cavalry, under his general, Lætus, he defeated and pursued the enemy to Lyons. The loss, on both sides, was considerable; Albinus slew himself, and his head was cut off, and brought to his ungenerous enemy, who meanly insulted it; his wife and children were at first spared; but they were soon after put to death, and their bodies cast into the Rhine.

The city of Lyons was pillaged and burnt; the chief supporters of Albinus, both men and women, Romans and provincials, were put to death, and their properties confiscated. Having spent some time in regulating the affairs of Gaul and Britain, Severus returned to Rome, breathing vengeance against the senate; for he knew that that body was in general more inclined to Albinus than himself, and he had found, among his rival's papers, the letters of several individual senators. The very day after his arrival, he addressed them, commending the stern policy of Sulla, Marius and Augustus,

and blaming the mildness of Pompeius and Cæsar, which proved their ruin. He spoke in terms of praise of Commodus, saying that the senate had no right to dishonor him, as many of themselves lived worse than he had done. He spoke severely of those who had written letters or sent presents to Albinus. Of these he pardoned five-and-thirty; but he put to death nine-and-twenty, among whom was Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax. These, however, were not the only victims; the whole family of Niger, and several other illustrious persons, perished. The properties of all were confiscated; for avarice, more perhaps than a thirst of blood, impelled Severus to cruelty.

After a short stay at Rome, Severus set out again for the East; for the Parthians, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis. They retired, however, when they heard of his approach; and Severus, having passed the winter in Syria, making preparations for the war, crossed the Tigris the following summer, (198,) and laid siege to Ctesiphon. The Roman soldiers suffered greatly for want of supplies, and were reduced to feed on roots and herbage, which produced dysenteries; but the emperor persevered, and the city at length was taken. All the full-grown males were massacred, and the women and children, to the number of 100,000, were sold for slaves. As want of supplies did not permit the Romans to remain beyond the Tigris, they returned to Mesopotamia; and, on his way to Syria, (199,) Severus laid siege to the redoubtable Atræ, but he was forced to retire, with a great loss both of men and machines. He renewed the attack some time after, (it is uncertain in what year,) but with as little success, being obliged to retire with loss and disgrace from before the impregnable fortress.

Severus remained in the East till the year 203. He spent a part of that time in Egypt, where he took great pleasure in examining the pyramids and the other curiosities of that country. He at length returned to Rome, to celebrate the marriage of his elder son.

The family of Severus consisted of his wife and two sons. The empress, named Julia Domna, was a native of Emesa in Syria, whom Severus, who was addicted to astrology, is said to have espoused because she had a royal nativity. She was a woman of great beauty, sense, and spirit, and a cultivator of literature and philosophy. The elder son was at first named Bassianus; but his father, at the time of the war

against Albinus, created him Cæsar, by the name of Aurelius Antoninus; * and he was subsequently nicknamed Caracalla, which, to avoid confusion, is the name employed by modern historians. In the year 193, Severus created him Augustus, and made him his associate in the empire. The name of the emperor's younger son was Geta; and he also was styled Antoninus.

The bride selected for Caracalla was Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus, the prætorian prefect. This man was a second Sejanus; and it is very remarkable that two emperors of such superior mental powers as Tiberius and Severus should have been so completely under the influence of their ministers. Plautianus, like his master, was an African by birth; he was of mean extraction, and he seems to have early attached himself to the fortune of his aspiring countryman, whose favor and confidence he won in an extraordinary degree; and when Severus attained the empire, the power of Plautianus grew to such a height that *he*, the historian observes, was, as it were, emperor, and Severus captain of the guards. Persons like Plautianus, when elevated, rarely bear their faculties meekly. He was therefore proud, cruel, and avaricious; he was the chief cause of so many persons of rank and fortune being put to death, in order that he might gain their properties. He seized whatever took his fancy, whether sacred or profane, and he thus amassed such wealth that it was commonly said he was richer than Severus and his sons. Such was his pride, that no one dared approach him without his permission; and when he appeared in public, criers preceded him, ordering that no one should stop and gaze at him, but turn aside and look down. He would not allow his wife to visit or to receive visits, not even excepting the empress. As his power was so great, he was of course the object of universal adulation. The senators and soldiers swore by his fortune, and his statues were set up in all parts of the empire. He was in effect more dreaded and more honored than the emperor himself.

Such power is, however, unstable in its very nature; and the marriage of his daughter with the son of the emperor

* Severus, not content with expressing his veneration and respect for the memory of M. Aurelius, had the folly to pretend to be his son. "What most amazed us," says Dion, (lxxv. 7.) "was his saying that he was the son of Marcus and brother of Commodus."

caused the downfall of Plautianus. The wedding was celebrated with the utmost magnificence; the dowry of the bride, we are told, would have portioned fifty princesses; and, as it was the custom of the East for ladies to be attended by eunuchs, Plautianus [reduced to this condition] not less than one hundred persons of noble birth, many of them fathers of families, in order to place them about his daughter on this occasion. . . . Plautilla was haughty, like himself; and Caracalla, who had been forced to marry her, hated father and daughter alike, and resolved on their destruction. He induced one Saturninus and two other centurions to declare that Plautianus had ordered them and seven of their comrades to murder Severus and his son. A written order to this effect was forged and shown to the emperor, who forthwith summoned Plautianus to his presence. He came, suspecting nothing; he was admitted, but his followers were excluded. Severus, however, addressed him in a mild tone, and asked him why he had meditated killing him. Plautianus was expressing his surprise, and commencing his defence, when Caracalla sprang forward, tore his sword from him, struck him with his fist, and would have slain him with his own hand, but for the interference of his father. He then made some of his attendants despatch him, and sent his head to the empress and Plautilla — a joyful sight to the one, a mournful spectacle to the other. Plautilla and her brother Plautius were sent to the isle of Lipara, where they lived in poverty and misery for the remainder of the reign of Severus; and their murder was one of the first acts of Caracalla, when emperor.

Severus now remained in Italy for a space of four years, actively engaged in the administration of justice, the regulation of the finances, and the correction of all kinds of abuses. He conferred the important post of prætorian prefect on Papinian, the most renowned of jurisconsults; and as it was now a part of this officer's duty to try civil causes, Papinian appointed, as his assessors, Paulus and Ulpian — names nearly as distinguished as his own.

In the year 208, Severus, though far advanced in years, and a martyr to the gout, set out for Britain, where the northern tribes had, for some time, been making their usual incursions into the Roman part of the island. Various motives are assigned for this resolution; the most probable is, that he wished to remove his sons from the luxury of Rome, and to restore the relaxed discipline of the legions. He en-

tered the wild country north of the Roman wall, cut down the woods, and passed the marshes, and succeeded in penetrating to the extremity of the island, though with a loss, it is said, of 50,000 men; for the barbarians, who would never venture to give him battle, hung on his flanks and rear, formed numerous ambuscades, and cut off all stragglers. In order to check their future incursions, he repaired and strengthened the mound or wall which Hadrian had constructed from the Eden to the Tyne.

Severus had associated his second son, Geta, in the empire the year he came to Britain. But the two brothers hated each other mortally, and Caracalla made little secret of his resolution to reign alone. This abandoned youth, it is said, even attempted to kill his father in the very sight of the Roman legions and the barbarian enemies; for, as the emperor was riding, one day, to receive the arms of the Caledonians, Caracalla drew his sword to stab him in the back: those who were about them cried out, and Severus, on turning round, saw the drawn sword in the hand of his son. He said nothing at the time; but, when he returned, he called Caracalla, with Papinian and the chamberlain Castor, to him in private, and, causing a sword to be laid before him, rebuked his son, and then told him, if he desired his death, to slay him with his own hand, or to order Papinian, the prefect, to do it, who of course would obey him, as he was emperor. Caracalla showed no signs of remorse; and, though Severus had often blamed M. Aurelius for postponing his public duty to his private affections, in the case of Commodus, he himself exhibited even greater and more culpable weakness.

Severus was once more about to take the field against the barbarians, who had renewed their ravages, (211,) when a severe fit of the gout carried him off, at York, (*Eboracum*), in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

Though this emperor had passed the greater part of his life in civil rather than military employments, it is remarkable that his government relied more on the arms of the soldiery than that of any of his predecessors, and that more than any he corrupted the military spirit of the nation, by excessive indulgence to the soldiers. We have seen the important changes which he made in the prætorian guards, whom he also seems to have been the first to employ on foreign service. Hitherto the legions of the frontiers had maintained something of the appearance of those of the republic; but

Severus unstrung the nerves of their discipline by allowing them to have their wives and families in their camps, and to wear gold rings, like the knights, and by increasing their pay, and accustoming them to donatives. His dying counsel to his sons, "Be united, enrich the soldiers, despise all others," revealed his principles of despotic government.

CHAPTER IV.*

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, ELAGABALUS,
ALEXANDER.

A. U. 964—988. A. D. 211—235.

CARACALLA AND GETA. — MURDER OF GETA. — CRUELTY OF CARACALLA. — GERMAN WAR. — PARTHIAN WAR. — MASSACRE AT ALEXANDRIA. — MURDER OF CARACALLA. — ELEVATION OF MACRINUS. — HIS ORIGIN AND CHARACTER. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH. — ELAGABALUS. — HIS SUPERSTITION AND CRUELTY. — ADOPTION OF ALEXANDER. — DEATH OF ELAGABALUS. — MAMEA. — ALEXANDER'S CHARACTER AND MODE OF LIFE. — MURDER OF ULPIAN. — REVOLUTION IN PERSIA. — PERSIAN WAR. — ALEXANDER IN GAUL. — HIS MURDER. — THE ROMAN ARMY.

M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla.

A. U. 964—970. A. D. 211—217.

In spite of the efforts of Caracalla to the contrary, the army proclaimed the two sons of Severus joint emperors. The Caledonian war was abandoned, and the emperors returned to Rome, to celebrate the obsequies of their father. On the way, Caracalla made various attempts on the life of his brother; but Geta was protected by the soldiery, of whom he was the favorite. The brothers adopted every precaution against each other on the road, and at Rome they divided the palace, securing all the approaches to their several por-

* Authorities: Dion, Herodian, the Augustan History, Zosimus, and the Epitomators.

tions. The court, the camp, the senate, and the people, were divided in their affections to the brothers, neither of whom was, in reality, deserving of the attachment of any man of worth; but Geta had a certain degree of mildness and humanity, of affability, and of devotion to literature, which gave him the advantage over his more ferocious brother, and gained him the affection of their mother, Julia.

As there seemed no probability of concord between the brothers, a division of the empire was proposed and arranged, by which Caracalla was to retain the European portion, while Geta was to rule in Asia and Egypt, residing at Antioch or Alexandria. This arrangement, it is said, was defeated by the tears and entreaties of Julia; and Caracalla, bent on reigning alone, then resolved on the murder of his brother. At his desire, (212,) Julia invited her two sons to a meeting in her apartments. Geta came, suspecting no danger; suddenly some centurions, whom Caracalla had placed in concealment, rushed out, and fell on him. He threw himself on his mother's bosom for protection; but her efforts to save him were vain; she herself received a wound in the arm, and was covered with the blood of her murdered son. When the deed was done, Caracalla hastened to the camp, crying all the way that a plot had been laid for his life. He flung himself down before the standards, in the camp chapel, to return thanks for his preservation; and then addressed the soldiers, assuring them that he was one of themselves, and depended on them alone. He promised to raise their pay one half, and to distribute among them all the treasures accumulated by his father. Such arguments could not fail of convincing, and he was readily proclaimed sole emperor. He thence proceeded to the camp, at the Alban Mount,* where he found more difficulty, as the soldiers there were much attached to Geta; but, by dint of promises, he gained them also to acknowledge him.

Followed by the soldiers, Caracalla then proceeded to the senate-house; he had a cuirass under his robe, and he brought some of his military followers into the house. He justified his conduct by the example of Romulus and others, but he spoke of Geta with regret, and gave him a magnificent funeral, and placed him among the gods.†

* This was a camp of the prætorians also. The troops belonging to it are called the Albanians by the historians.

† "Sit *divus* dummodo non sit *vivus*," are said to have been his words.

The unhappy empress dared not lament the death of her son; she was even obliged to wear an aspect of joy for the safety of the emperor, who, all through his reign, continued to treat her with respect, and to give her a share in the affairs of state. But on all the other friends and favorers of Geta, both civil and military, he let his vengeance fall without restraint; and the number of those who perished on this account is estimated at twenty thousand. Among these, the most regretted was the great Papinian. Caracalla, it is said, wished him to compose an apology for the murder of Geta; but he replied, with virtuous intrepidity, that it was not so easy to excuse a parricide as to commit it. A soldier cut off his head with an axe, and Caracalla rebuked him for not having used a sword. Fadilla, the surviving daughter of M. Aurelius, was put to death for having lamented Geta. Helvius Pertinax, son of the emperor, Thræsea Priscus, a descendant of the great lover of liberty, and many other persons of rank and virtue, were involved in the common ruin. To such an extent, it is said, did Caracalla carry his hatred to his brother, that the comic poets no longer ventured to employ the name of Geta in their plays.

Like Commodus, the emperor devoted most of his time to the circus and amphitheatre. In order to defray his enormous expenses, he increased the taxes and confiscated all the properties he could lay hold on. When his mother one day blamed him for bestowing such enormous sums on the soldiers, and said that he would soon have no source of revenue remaining, he laid his hand on his sword, and said, in the true spirit of despotism, "Never fear, mother; while we have this, we shall not want for money."

One of the acts of Caracalla, at this time, was to confer the rights of citizenship, of which the old republicans had been so chary; on all the subjects of the empire.

His restless temper soon urged him to seek for glory in a contest with the Germans. He marched to the Rhine, and obtained (by purchase, as it would seem) some advantages over the confederacy of the Alemans, whose name now first appears in history. He henceforth wonderfully affected the Germans, even wearing a blond periwig, to resemble them; and he placed a number of them about him as guards. It is thought that it was on the occasion of his return to Rome from Gaul, after this war, (214,) that he distributed among the people the long Gallic coats, named *Caracals*, whence he derived the appellation by which he is usually known.

After his German war, he marched to the Danube, (215,) visited the province of Dacia, and had some skirmishes with the neighboring barbarians. He then passed over to Asia with the intention of making war on the Parthians, and spent the winter at Nicomedia.

As he professed an especial regard for the memory of Achilles, he visited the remains of Ilium, offered sacrifices at the tomb of the hero, led his troops in arms round it, and erected a brazen statue on its summit. One of his freedmen happening to die, or being poisoned by him for the purpose, he acted over again the Homeric funeral of Patroclus, pouring, like Achilles, wine to the winds, to induce them to inflame the pyre, and cutting off the hair, with which nature had furnished him most scantily, to cast into the flames. In thus honoring Achilles, he sought to follow the example of Alexander the Great—a prince of whom his admiration was such that he erected statues of him every where; and he formed a phalanx of sixteen thousand Macedonians armed as in the time of that prince, whom he styled the Eastern Augustus. He even persecuted the Peripatetic philosophers, because Aristotle was accused of being concerned in the death of his royal pupil.

In the spring, (216,) Caracalla set out for Antioch. The Parthians averted a war by the surrender of two persons whom he demanded. By treachery, he made himself master of the persons of the king of Armenia and his sons, and of the prince of Edessa; but the Armenians defeated the troops which he sent against them under Theocritus, a common player, whom he had raised to the dignity of prætorian prefect. He then proceeded to Alexandria with the secret resolve of taking a bloody vengeance on the inhabitants of that city for their raileries and witticisms against him on the occasion of the murder of his brother. When he approached the city, the people came forth to meet him, with all the marks of joy and respect, and he received them graciously, and entered the town. Then, pretending a design of forming a phalanx in honor of Alexander, he directed all the youth to appear in the plain without the walls. When they had done as required, he went through them, as it were to inspect them; and then, retiring to the temple of Serapis, he gave the signal to his soldiers to fall on them and massacre them. The slaughter was dreadful both within and without the walls, for no age or rank was spared. Trenches were dug, and the dead and dying were flung into them, in order

to conceal the extent of the massacre. He deprived the city of all its privileges, and its total ruin was only averted by his death.

After this slaughter of his helpless subjects, Caracalla returned to Antioch; and, in order to have a pretext for making war on the Parthians, he sent to Artabanus, their king, demanding his daughter in marriage. The Parthian monarch having refused this strange suit, Caracalla invaded and ravaged his territories; and, having taken Arbela, where were the royal tombs, he opened them, and scattered the bones of the monarchs which were deposited within them. He then took up his winter quarters in Edessa.

In the spring, (217,) both sides were engaged in active preparation for war; when a conspiracy in his own army terminated the life and reign of the Roman emperor. Of the two prætorian prefects, the one, Adventus, was a mere soldier, the other, Macrinus, was a civilian, well versed in the laws. The rough and brutal Caracalla often ridiculed him on this account, and even menaced his life; and Macrinus, having got sure information that his destruction was designed, resolved to anticipate the tyrant. He accordingly communicated his designs to some of the officers of the guards, among whom was one Martial, whom Caracalla had mortally offended by refusing him the post of centurion, or, as others say, by putting his brother to death. Accordingly, on the 8th of April, 217, as the emperor was riding from Edessa to Carrhæ in order to worship at the temple of the Moon, and had retired and alighted for a private occasion, Martial ran up, as if called, and stabbed him in the throat. The emperor fell down dead. Martial mounted his horse and fled; but he was shot by a Scythian archer of the guard.

M. Opilius Macrinus.

A. U. 970—971. A. D. 217—218.

When the news of the murder of the emperor was divulged, Macrinus was the first to hasten to the spot, and to deplore his death. As Caracalla had left no heir, the army was uncertain whom to proclaim emperor in his stead, and the empire was for four days without a chief. Meantime the officers who were in the interests of Macrinus, used all their influence with their men, and on the fourth day he was

saluted emperor. He accepted the office with feigned reluctance; and he distributed, according to custom, large sums of money among the soldiers. Adventus was the bearer of the ashes of Caracalla to Rome, where they were deposited in the tomb of the Antonines; and Macrinus and the senate were obliged to yield to the instances of the soldiers, and place the monster among the gods. The senate received with joy the letter in which Macrinus announced his elevation to the empire, and they decreed him all the usual titles and honors.

While these changes were taking place in the Roman empire, Artabanus had passed the Tigris with a large army. Macrinus, having in vain proposed terms of accommodation, led out his legions, and some fighting took place in the neighborhood of Nisibis, in which the advantage was on the side of the Parthians; but, as they now began to feel the want of supplies, and were anxious to return home, they readily listened to the renewed proposals of the Roman emperor, and a peace was concluded. Macrinus then led his troops back to Antioch for the winter.

Macrinus, as we have already observed, was not a military man. He was a native of Cæsarea in Africa, (*Algiers*,) of humble origin, and he was indebted for his elevation to his countryman Plantianus. He was a man of an amiable disposition, and a sincere lover of justice. He therefore turned his attention chiefly to civil regulations, and he made some necessary reforms and excellent laws; but he was timid by nature, and, in his anxiety to serve and advance his friends, he did not sufficiently consider their fitness for the employments which he bestowed on them. He committed a great and irreparable fault in not setting out for Rome at once, and in keeping the army all together in Syria; and he further commenced too soon a necessary but imprudent attempt at bringing back the discipline of the legions to what it had been under Severus; for, though he applied it only to recruits, and did not interfere with the old soldiers, these last apprehended that the reform would at length reach themselves; and they became highly discontented. This feeling of the soldiers was soon taken advantage of, and a rival set up to Macrinus.

The empress Julia was at Antioch at the time of the murder of Caracalla. Macrinus wrote to her in very obliging terms; but, in the first transports of her grief at the death of her son, or the loss of her power, she had given herself sev-

eral blows on the breast, and thus irritated a cancer with which she was afflicted, and her death ensued. Her sister, named Mæsa, who had lived at court during the two last reigns, and had acquired immense wealth, retired, by order of Macrinus, to her native town of Emesa. She had two daughters, named Soæmis and Mamæa, each of whom was a widow with an only son; that of the former was named Bassianus; he was now a handsome youth of seventeen years of age, and the influence of his family had procured for him the lucrative priesthood of the Sun, who was worshipped at Emesa under the title of Elagabalus. The Roman troops who were encamped near the town, used to frequent the temple, and they greatly admired the comely young priest, whom they knew to be a cousin of their lamented Caracalla. The artful Mæsa resolved to take advantage of that feeling, and she made no scruple to sacrifice the reputation of her daughters to the hopes of empire: she therefore declared (what was perhaps true) that Caracalla used to cohabit with her daughters in the palace, and that Bassianus was in reality his son. Her assertion, backed with large sums of money, and lavish promises of more, found easy acceptance with the soldiers. On the night of the 15th of May, 218, she and her daughter and grandson, and the rest of her family, conducted by their eunuch Gannys, a man of great talent, stole out of the city, and proceeded to the camp, where they were joyfully received; and Bassianus was proclaimed emperor by the title of M. Aurelius Antoninus. The camp was immediately put into a state of defence against a siege; and numbers of the other soldiers hastened to sustain the cause of the son of Caracalla.

Macrinus sent the prætorian prefect, Ulpius Julianus, against the rebels. This officer was successful in his first attack on their camp; but, having neglected to push his advantage, he gave the enemy time for tampering with his troops, a part of whom abandoned him; and he was taken and slain. Macrinus had meantime advanced as far as Apamea; where he declared his son Diadumenianus, a boy of only ten years of age, Augustus; and took this opportunity of promising a large gratuity to the army; he also wrote against Bassianus, to the senate and governors of provinces. But instead of advancing rapidly against the rebels, he fell back to Antioch, whither they speedily followed him, and he was forced to give them battle near that town. The troops of Bassianus were ably disposed by the eunuch Gannys, who, now in arms

for the first time in his life, showed the talents of a general. But the prætorians, on the side of Macrinus, fought with such determined valor, that the rebels were on the point of flying, when Mæsa and Soæmis rushed out and stopped them; and Bassianus, sword in hand, led them on to the combat. Still the prætorians gave not way, and victory would have declared for Macrinus, had he not dastardly fled in the midst of the battle. His troops, when assured of his flight, declared for Bassianus.

Macrinus fled in disguise, and never stopped till he came to Chalcedon, where he was taken and put to death; and his innocent son shared his fate. His reign had lasted only fourteen months.

M. Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus.

A. U. 971—975. D. 218—222.

From Antioch Elagabalus,* as we shall henceforth style him, wrote to the senate a letter replete with abuse of Macrinus, and promising that he himself would take Augustus and M. Aurelius for his models. From ignorance, or from arrogance, he assumed in it the title of Augustus and others, which the senate had been hitherto in the habit of conferring. They bitterly lamented the cowardice of Macrinus, and his error in not coming to Rome; but they submitted, though with a sigh, to the rule of the pretended son of Caracalla.

Elagabalus passed the winter at Nicomedia. While there, he put to death, with his own hand, Gannys, who had been the chief means of procuring him the empire, but who now wished to make him lead a regular and decorous life. Several persons of rank, both at Rome and in the provinces, had already perished by his orders, and men had little hopes of seeing the public good promoted by the new emperor.

As soon as the season permitted, (219,) Mæsa, who was impatient to return to Rome, urged her grandson to commence his journey. He had some time before sent thither his picture, with orders to have it hung up over the statue of Victory in the senate-house. In this, which was a full-length portrait, he appeared habited in the long, loose, Asiatic

* So he is more correctly named by the Greek writers; the Latins name him Heliogabalus.

dress, with collars and necklaces, and a tiara set with gold and precious stones on his head; and in this attire the senate and people beheld him entering the capital, Mæsa having essayed in vain to make him assume the Roman habit. He gave the usual shows and distributions of money to the people. On the first day of his appearance in the senate, he caused his grandmother to be invited thither, and she took her seat by that of the consuls, and henceforth acted in all respects as one of the members. His mother held a senate of her own, composed of ladies, who regulated all matters relating to dress, precedence, and other matters of importance to the sex.

The great object of the emperor's life was the exaltation of the god of Emesa. The conical black stone which represented him was brought to Rome, and a stately temple was built on the Palatine to receive it; and the pious emperor proposed to transport thither the Palladium, the Ancilia, and all the sacred pledges of the empire, and thus to make it the centre of Roman religion. He also built for his god a temple in the suburbs, whither the sacred stone was conveyed every spring in a magnificent car drawn by six milk-white horses, whose reins the emperor himself held, walking backwards before them, with his eyes fixed on the image. The people flung flowers and garlands in the way; the knights and the army joined in the procession, and when it reached the temple, gold and silver cups, garments, and all kinds of animals, except swine, were flung to the people to scramble for. Deeming it necessary that his god should have a wife, the emperor first selected Minerva for his bride, and removed her image to the palace for the wedding; but then, considering that her rough and martial nature would make her an unsuitable mate for the soft, luxurious Syrian god, he gave the preference to the Astarte or Urania of Carthage; and her image, accompanied with much treasure by way of dowry, was brought to Rome and placed in the temple of the sun-god.

Elagabalus himself married four different wives, one of whom was a Vestal, which he assured the senate was a most fitting union, as between a priest and a priestess. We dare not sully our pages with the catalogue of his unnatural lusts and other excesses; suffice it to say, that the enormities of Tiberius and Nero were equalled, if not outdone, by this wretched, abandoned youth. The basest and most vicious

of mankind were promoted to the highest offices, and the revenues of the empire were wasted with reckless prodigality.

The sagacious Mæsa saw the inevitable consequences of this wanton course, and she resolved to provide for the continuance of her power; she therefore persuaded Elagabalus to adopt and declare as Cæsar his cousin Alexianus, a boy four years younger than himself. He yielded to her desire, and adopted him in presence of the senate, giving him the name of Alexander, under the direction, he said, of his god. He at first sought to corrupt his morals and make him like himself; but the disposition of Alexander was naturally good, and his mother, Mamæa, took care to supply him with excellent masters. He then endeavored to have him secretly destroyed, but he could find no agent, and Mæsa discovered and disconcerted all his plans.

The soldiers had long been disgusted with the vices and the effeminacy of the emperor, and all their hopes were placed on the young Alexander. The rage of Elagabalus against that youth became at length so great that he resolved to annul the adoption; and he sent orders to the senate and soldiers no longer to give him the title of Cæsar. The consequence was a mutiny in the camp, and he was obliged to proceed thither, accompanied by Alexander, and agree to dismiss all the companions and agents of his vices, and to promise a reformation of his life. He thus escaped the present danger; but his violent hatred of Alexander soon induced him to make a new effort to destroy him. To ascertain the temper of the soldiers, he caused a report to be spread of the death of that prince. A tumult instantly arose, which was only appeased by his appearing in the camp with Alexander; but finding how quickly it then subsided, he thought he might venture on punishing some of the ring-leaders. A tumult instantly broke out. Soæmis and Mamæa animated their respective partisans; but those of the latter proved victorious, and the wretched Elagabalus was dragged from a privy, in which he had concealed himself, and slain in the arms of his mother, who shared his fate. A stone was fastened to his body, which was flung into the Tiber. Almost all his minions and ministers fell victims to the popular vengeance.

M. Aurelius Alexander Severus.

A. U. 975—988. A. D. 222—235.

Both the senate and the army joyfully concurred in the elevation of Alexander to the empire; and the former body, lest any competitor should appear, hastened to confer on him all the imperial titles and powers. On account of his youth and his extremely amiable disposition, he was entirely directed by his grandmother and mother; but, Mæsa dying soon after his accession, the sole direction of her son fell to Mamæa. There is some reason to suppose that this able woman had embraced the Christian religion, now so prevalent throughout the empire; at all events, in her guidance of public affairs, she exhibited a spirit of wisdom, justice, and moderation such as had not appeared in any preceding empress. Her enemies laid to her charge the love of power and the love of money, and blamed her son for deferring too much to her; but their accusations are vague, and no act of cruelty, caused by avarice, stains the annals of this reign.

The first care of Mamæa was to form a wise and upright council for her son. Sixteen of the most respectable of the senate, with the learned Ulpian, the prætorian prefect, at their head, composed this council, and nothing was ever done without their consent and approbation. A general system of reformation was commenced and steadily pursued. All the absurd acts of the late tyrant were reversed. His god was sent back to Emesa; the statues of the other deities were restored to their temples; the ministers of his vices and pleasures were sold or banished; some of the worst were drowned; the unworthy persons whom he had placed in public situations were dismissed, and men of knowledge and probity put in their places.

Mamæa used the utmost care to keep away from her son all those persons by whom his morals might be corrupted; and, in order to have his time fully occupied, she induced him to devote the greater part of each day to the administration of justice, where none but the wise and good would be his associates. The good seed fortunately fell into a kindly soil. Alexander was naturally disposed to every virtue, and all his efforts were directed to the promotion of the welfare of the empire over which he ruled.

The first ten years of the reign of this prince were passed at Rome, and devoted to civil occupations. His daily course

of life has been thus transmitted to us. He usually rose early, and entered his private chapel, (*lararium*), in which he had caused to be placed the images of those who had been teachers and benefactors of the human race, among whom he included the divine founder of the Christian religion. Having performed his devotions, he took some kind of exercise, and then applied himself for some hours to public business with his council. He then read for some time, his favorite works being the Republics of Plato and Cicero, and the verses of Horace, and the Life of Alexander the Great, whom he greatly admired. Gymnastic exercises, in which he excelled, succeeded. He then was anointed and bathed, and took a light breakfast, usually of bread, milk, and eggs. In the afternoon, he was attended by his secretaries, and he heard his letters read, and signed the answers to them. The business of the day being concluded, his friends in general were admitted, and a frugal and simple dinner followed, at which the conversation was mostly of a serious, instructive nature, or some literary work was read out to the emperor and his guests.

The dress of Alexander was plain and simple; his manners were free from all pride and haughtiness; he lived with the senators on a footing of friendly equality, like Augustus, Vespasian, and the wiser and better emperors. He was liberal and generous to all orders of the people, and he took an especial pleasure in assisting those persons of good family, who had fallen into poverty without reproach. Among the virtues of Alexander, was the somewhat rare one, in that age, of chastity. His mother early caused him to espouse a lady of noble birth, named Memmia, whom, however, he afterwards divorced, and even banished to Africa. The accounts of this affair differ greatly. According to one, the father of the empress formed a conspiracy against his son-in-law, which being discovered, he was put to death, and his daughter divorced. Others say that, as Alexander showed great respect for his father-in-law, Mamæa's jealousy was excited, and she caused him to be slain, and his daughter to be divorced or banished. It appears that Alexander soon married again.

We have already observed, that a portion of the civil jurisdiction had fallen to the prætorian prefects. This imposed a necessity that one of them should be a civilian; and Mamæa had, therefore, caused this dignity to be conferred on Ulpian. From the love of law and order which distinguished

this prefect, he naturally sought to bring back discipline in the prætorian camp; the consequence was, that repeated attempts were made on his life, and the emperor, more than once, found it necessary to cast his purple over him, to save him from the fury of the soldiers. At length, (228,) they fell on him in the night; he escaped from them to the palace, but they pursued and slaughtered him, in the presence of the emperor and his mother.

Some slight actions on the German and Moorish frontiers were the only occupation given to the Roman arms during the early years of the reign of Alexander; but, in the year 232, so powerful an enemy menaced the Oriental provinces of the empire, that the presence of the emperor became absolutely requisite in the East.

The Parthians, whom we have had such frequent occasion to mention, are said to have been a Scythian (*i. e.* Turkish) people, of the north of Persia, who, taking advantage of the declining power of the Macedonian kings of Syria, cast off their yoke, (B. C. 250,) and then gradually made themselves masters of the whole of Persia. Their dominion had now lasted for five hundred years, and their power had, from the usual causes, such as family dissensions, contested successions, and such like, been long on the decline; and in the fourth year of Alexander Severus, (226,) a native Persian, named Artaxerxes, (*Ardshir*), who pretended to be of the ancient royal line, but who is said to have been of humble birth, and a mere soldier of fortune, raised a rebellion against the Parthian king, Artabanus. Fortune favored the rebel, and Artabanus was defeated and slain. Artaxerxes then assumed the tiara, and his line, which existed till the Mohammedan conquest, was named the Sassanian, from the name of his father.

Affecting to be the descendant of the ancient Achæmænians, Artaxerxes sought to restore Persia to its condition under those princes. The Magian or Light religion * resumed the rank from which it had fallen under the sway of the Parthians, and flourished in its pristine glory. As the dominions of the house of Cyrus had extended to the coasts of the Ægean sea, Artaxerxes ordered the Romans to quit Asia; and, when his mandate was unheeded, he led his troops

* [That is, the system by which the sun, and fire derived from it, were considered, from their brightness and purity, the only fit emblems of God; and, as such emblems, worship was paid every morning at the rising of the sun. — J. T. S.]

over the Tigris. But his ill fortune induced him to attack the invincible Atræ, and he was forced to retire with loss and disgrace. He then turned his arms against the Medes, and some other of the more northern tribes, and when he had reduced them, he again invaded Mesopotamia; (232.) Alexander now resolved to take the command of his troops in person. He left Rome, followed by the tears and prayers of the people, and proceeded through Illyricum to the East. On his march, the strictest discipline was maintained, while every attention was paid to the wants of the soldiers, and care taken, that they should be abundantly supplied with clothes and arms. The emperor himself used the same fare as the men; and he caused his tent to be thrown open when he was at his meals, that they might perceive his mode of life.

Alexander halted at Antioch, to make preparations for the war; meantime, he sent an embassy, with proposals of peace, to Artaxerxes. The Persian, in return, sent four hundred of his most stately men, splendidly clothed and armed, to order the Romans to quit Asia; and, if we can believe Herodian, (for the circumstance is almost incredible,) Alexander was so regardless of the laws of nations, as to seize and strip them, and send them prisoners to Phrygia. It is also said that, while he was at Antioch, finding that some of the soldiers frequented the Paphian grove of Daphne, he cast them into prison; and that, when a mutiny broke out in the legion to which they belonged, he ascended his tribunal, had the prisoners brought before him, and addressed their comrades, who stood around in arms, dwelling on the necessity of maintaining discipline. But, when his arguments proved of no effect, and they even menaced him with their arms, he cried out, in imitation of Cæsar, "Quirites, depart, and lay down your arms." The legion obeyed; and the men, no longer soldiers, took up their abode in the houses of the town, instead of the camp. After a month, the emperor was prevailed on to pardon them, but he punished their tribunes with death; and this legion was henceforth equally distinguished by valor and fidelity.

In imitation of Alexander the Great, the emperor formed six of his legions into a phalanx of thirty thousand men, to whom he gave higher pay. He also had, like that conqueror, bodies of men distinguished by gold-adorned and silver-adorned shields — Chrysoaspids and Argyroaspids.

The details of the war cannot be learned with any cer-

tainty. One historian says that Alexander made three divisions of his army; one of which was to enter Media through Armenia, another Persia at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, while the emperor was in person to lead the third through Mesopotamia, and all were to join in the enemy's country; but that, owing to the timidity of Alexander, who loitered on the way, the second division was cut to pieces, and the first nearly all perished while retreating through Armenia in the winter. This account labors under many difficulties; for the emperor certainly triumphed on his return to Rome: and, in his speech to the senate on that occasion, he asserted that, of 700 war elephants, which were in the enemy's array, he had killed 200, and taken 300; of 1,000 scythed chariots, he had taken 200; and of 120,000 heavy-armed horsemen, he had slain 10,000, beside taking a great number of prisoners. It further appears that, though Alexander did not remain in the East, the Persian monarch made no further attempts on Mesopotamia for some years.

The Germans had taken advantage of the absence of the emperor and the greater part of the troops in the East, to pass the Rhine and ravage Gaul. Alexander, therefore, leaving sufficient garrisons in Syria, led home the Illyrian and other legions; and, having celebrated a triumph for the Persian war at Rome, where he was received with the most abundant demonstrations of joy, he departed with a large army for the defence of Gaul. The Germans retired at his approach; he advanced to the Rhine, and took up his winter quarters in the neighborhood of Mentz, with the intention of opening the campaign beyond the river in the spring, (235.)

The narratives of the events of this reign are so very discordant, that we cannot hope often to arrive at the real truth. In no part are they more at variance than in their account of the circumstances of the emperor's death. We can only collect that, whether from his efforts to restore discipline, from the intrigues of Maximin, an ambitious officer who had the charge of disciplining the young troops, or from some other cause, a general discontent prevailed in the army, and that Alexander was assassinated in his tent, either by his own guards or by a party sent for the purpose by Maximin, and that his mother and several of his friends perished with him. The troops forthwith proclaimed Maximin emperor; and the senate and people of Rome, deeply lamenting

the fate of the virtuous Alexander, were forced to acquiesce in the choice of the army.

Alexander had reigned thirteen years. Even the historian least partial to him, acknowledges that toward his subjects his conduct was blameless, and that no bloodshed or unjust condemnations stain the annals of his reign. His fault seems to have been a certain degree of effeminacy and weakness, the consequence, probably, of his Syrian origin, which led to his extreme submission to his mother, against whom the charges of avarice and meanness are not perhaps wholly unfounded.*

Dion Cassius, whose history ends with this reign, gives the following view of the numbers and disposition of the legions at this period.† Of the twenty-five which were formed by Augustus,‡ only nineteen remained, the rest having been broken or distributed through the others; but the emperors, from Nero to Severus, inclusive, had formed thirteen new ones, and the whole now amounted to thirty-two legions. Of these, three were in Britain, one in Upper and two in Lower Germany, one in Italy, one in Spain, one in Numidia, one in Arabia, two in Palestine, one in Phœnicia, two in Syria, two in Mesopotamia, two in Cappadocia, two in Lower and one in Upper Mœsia, two in Dacia, and four in Pannonia, one in Noricum, and one in Rætia. He does not tell us where the two remaining ones were quartered, neither does he give the number of men in a legion at this time; but it is conjectured to have been five thousand.

* The Life of Alexander, by Lampridius, in the Augustan History, is, as Gibbon observes, "the mere idea of a perfect prince an awkward imitation of the *Cyropædia*."

† Dion, lv. 23.

‡ See above, p. 36.

CHAPTER V.*

MAXIMIN, PUPIENUS, BALBINUS, AND GORDIAN, PHILIP, DECIUS, GALLUS, ÆMILIAN, VALERIAN, GALLIENUS.

A. U. 988—1021. A. D. 235—263.

THE EMPIRE. — MAXIMIN. — HIS TYRANNY. — INSURRECTION IN AFRICA. — THE GORDIANS. — PUPIENUS AND BALBINUS. — DEATH OF MAXIMIN. — MURDER OF THE EMPERORS. — GORDIAN. — PERSIAN WAR. — MURDER OF GORDIAN. — PHILIP. — SECULAR GAMES. — DECIUS. — DEATH OF PHILIP. — THE GOTHIS. — GOTHIC WAR. — DEATH OF DECIUS. — GALLUS. — ÆMILIAN. — VALERIAN. — THE FRANKS. — THE ALEMANS. — GOTHIC INVASIONS. — PERSIAN WAR. — DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF VALERIAN. — GALLIENUS. — THE THIRTY TYRANTS. — DEATH OF GALLIENUS.

C. Julius Verus Maximinus.

A. U. 988—991. A. D. 235—238.

As we advance through the history of the Roman empire, we find it deteriorating at every step, the traces of civil government becoming continually more and more evanescent, and the power of the sword the only title under which obedience could be claimed. The government had, in fact, been a military despotism from the time of Augustus; but that prudent prince, and the best of his successors, had concealed the odious truth beneath the forms of law and civil regulations; and perhaps it may be considered that his own reign, and the eighty-four years from Domitian to Commodus, are among the periods of the greatest happiness which mankind have enjoyed; absolute power being wielded by wisdom and goodness. Human nature, however, does not permit such a state to endure; and the thirteen years of Alexander Severus form but a gleam of sunshine in the political gloom of the succeeding century.

Elective monarchy is an evil of the greatest magnitude.

* Authorities: Herodian, the Augustan History, Zosimus, and the Epitomators.

He who cannot transmit his dominion to his son, will be in general little solicitous about its future condition. Nothing was farther from the intention of the founder of the Roman empire than that such should be its condition; yet Providence seems to have designedly thwarted all the efforts made to form an hereditary monarchy. The Cæsarian family, and the good emperors, as they are called, were but a series of adoptions: a son sometimes succeeded his father; but from Augustus till nearly the end of the empire, the imperial power never reached the third generation. The fiction of the two Syrian youths having been sons of Caracalla, was the last faint effort made in favor of the hereditary principle: with Maximin commenced a new order; and every soldier might now aspire to empire.

Maximin was originally a Thracian peasant, of enormous size and strength; his stature, we are told, exceeded eight feet; his wife's bracelet made him a thumb-ring; he could draw a loaded wagon, break a horse's leg with a kick, and grumble sandstones in his hands; he often, it is added, ate forty pounds of meat in the day, and washed them down with seven gallons of wine. Hence he was named Hercules, Antæus, and Milo of Croton. He became known to the emperor Severus on the occasion of his celebrating the birthday of his son Geta one time in Thrace. The young barbarian approached him, and, in broken Latin, craved permission to wrestle with some of the strongest of the camp followers; he vanquished sixteen of them, and received as many prizes, and was admitted into the service. A couple of days after, Severus, seeing him exulting at his good fortune, spoke to a tribune about him; and Maximin, perceiving that he was the object of the emperor's discourse, began to run on foot by his horse; Severus, to try his speed, put his horse to the gallop; but the young soldier kept up with him till the aged emperor was tired. Severus asked him if he felt inclined to wrestle after his running; he replied in the affirmative, and overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers. He rose rapidly in the service under Severus and his son; he retired to his native village when Macrinus seized the empire; he disdained to serve Elagabalus, but the accession of Alexander induced him to return to Rome. He received the command of a legion, was made a senator, and the emperor even had thoughts of giving his sister in marriage to the son of the Thracian peasant.

The first care of Maximin, when raised to the empire, was

to dismiss from their employments all who were in the council or family of his predecessor; and several were put to death as conspirators. He speedily displayed the native ferocity of his temper; for when, having completed a bridge of boats over the Rhine, commenced by Alexander, he was preparing to pass over into Germany, a conspiracy, headed by one Magnus, a consular, was discovered, the plan of which was to loose the farther end of the bridge when Maximin had passed over, and thus to leave him in the hands of the Germans; and, meantime, Magnus was to be proclaimed emperor. On this occasion, he massacred upwards of four thousand persons, without any form of trial whatever; and he was accused of having invented the conspiracy with this design.

A revolt of the Eastern archers,* which occurred a few days after, being quelled, Maximin led his army into Germany. As no large force opposed him, he wasted and burned the country through an extent of four hundred miles. Occasional skirmishes took place in the woods and marshes, which gave Maximin opportunities of displaying his personal prowess; and he caused pictures of his victories to be painted, which he sent to Rome, to be placed at the door of the senate-house.

Maximin employed the two first years of his reign in wars against the Germans and the Sarmatians. His winter residence was Sirmium in Pannonia, and he never condescended to visit Italy. But his absence was no benefit; for Italy, and all parts of the empire, groaned alike beneath his merciless tyranny. The vile race of delators once more came into life; men of all ranks were dragged from every part of the empire to Pannonia, where some were sewed up in the skins of animals, others were exposed to wild beasts, others beaten to death with clubs, and the properties of all were confiscated. This had been the usual course of the preceding despotism, and the people in general, therefore, took little heed of it; but Maximin stretched his rapacious hands to the corporate funds of the cities of the empire, which were destined to the support or the amusement of the people; and he seized on the treasures of the temples, and stripped the public edifices of their ornaments. The spirit of disaffection, thus excited, was general, and even his soldiers were wearied of his severity and cruelty.

* It was now the practice to have bodies of archers from the East in the Roman service.

The whole empire was now, therefore, ripe for revolt; the rapacity of the procurator of Africa caused it to break out in that province, (237.) This officer, who was worthy of his master, had condemned two young men of rank to pay such sums as would have quite ruined them. In despair, they assembled the peasantry on their estates, and, having gained over part of the soldiers, they one night surprised the procurator, and slew him and those who defended him. Knowing that they had no safety but in a general revolt, they resolved to offer the empire to M. Antonius Gordianus, the governor of the province, an illustrious senator, of the venerable age of eighty years. They came to him as he was resting, after giving audience in the morning, and, flinging the purple of a standard over him, saluted him Augustus. Gordian declined the proffered dignity; but, when he reflected that Maximin would never pardon a man who had been proclaimed emperor, he deemed it the safer course to run the hazard of the contest, and he consented to accept the empire, making his son his colleague. He then proceeded to Carthage, whence he wrote to the senate and people, and his friends at Rome, notifying his elevation to the empire.

The intelligence was received with the greatest joy at Rome. The two Gordians were declared Augusti, and Maximin, and his son, whom he had associated with him in the empire, and their friends, public enemies, and rewards were promised to those who would kill them; but the decree was ordered to be kept secret till all the necessary preparations should have been made. Soon after, it was given out that Maximin was slain. The edicts of the Gordians were then published, their images and letters were carried into the prætorian camp, and forthwith the people rose in fury, cast down and broke the images of Maximin, fell on and massacred his officers and the informers; and many seized this pretext for getting rid of their creditors and their private enemies. Murder and pillage prevailed through the city. The senate, meantime, having advanced too far to recede, wrote a circular to all the governors of provinces, and appointed twenty of their body to put Italy into a state of defence.

Maximin was preparing to cross the Danube against the Sarmatians when he heard of what had taken place at Rome. His rage and fury passed all bounds. He menaced the whole of the senate with bonds or death, and promised their

properties, and those of the Africans, to his soldiers; but, finding that they did not show all the alacrity he had expected, he began to fear for his power. His spirits, however, soon rose, when tidings came that his rivals were no more: for Capellianus, governor of Mauretania, being ordered by the Gordians to quit that province, marched against Carthage at the head of a body of legionaries and Moors. The younger Gordian gave him battle, and was defeated and slain, and his father, on hearing the melancholy tidings, strangled himself. Capellianus pillaged Carthage and the other towns, and exercised all the rights of a conqueror, (237.)

When the fatal tidings reached Rome, the consternation was great; but the senate, seeing they could not now recede, chose as emperors, in the place of the Gordians, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Cælius Balbinus, the former to conduct the military, the latter the civil affairs of the state. To satisfy the people, a grandson of the elder Gordian, a boy of twelve years of age, was associated with them as a Cæsar.

The new emperors were elected about the beginning of July, and Pupienus forthwith left Rome to oppose Maximin. The remainder of the year was spent on both sides in making preparations for the war, and in the following spring (238) Maximin put his troops in motion for Italy. He passed the Alps unopposed, but found the gates of Aquileia closed against him. His offers of pardon being rejected, he laid siege to the town: it was defended with the obstinacy of despair. Ill success augmented the innate ferocity of Maximin; he put to death several of his officers; these executions irritated the soldiers, who were besides suffering all kinds of privations, and discontent became general. As Maximin was reposing one day at noon in his tent, a party of the Alban soldiers* approached it with the intention of killing him. They were joined by his guards, and, when he awoke and came forth with his son, they would not listen to him, but killed them both on the spot, and cut off their heads. Maximin's principal ministers shared his fate. His reign had lasted only three years.

* See above, p. 208.

*M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, D. Cælius Balbinus, and
M. Antonius Gordianus.*

A. U. 991—997. A. D. 238—244.

The joy at Rome was extreme when the news of the death of Maximin arrived. Pupienus, who was at Ravenna, hastened to Aquileia, and received the submission of the army. He distributed money to the legions, and then, sending them back to their usual quarters, returned to Rome with the prætorians and a part of the army of the Rhine, in which he could confide. He and his colleagues entered the city in a kind of triumph.

The administration of Pupienus and Balbinus was of the best kind; and the senate and people congratulated themselves on the choice they had made. But the prætorians were far from being contented; they felt as if robbed of their right of appointing an emperor; and they were annoyed at the German troops being retained in the city, as arguing a distrust of themselves. Unfortunately, too, there prevailed a secret jealousy between the two emperors, and it is probable that concord would not long have subsisted between them under any circumstances.

The prætorians, having to no purpose sought a pretext for getting rid of the emperors, at length took advantage of the celebration of the Capitoline games, at which almost every one was present, and the emperors remained nearly alone in the palace. They proceeded thither in fury. Pupienus, when aware of their approach, proposed to send for the Germans; but Balbinus, fearing that it was meant to employ them against himself, refused his consent. Meantime the prætorians arrived, forced the entrance, seized the two aged emperors, tore their garments, treated them with every kind of indignity, and were dragging them to their camp, till, hearing that the Germans were coming to their aid, they killed them, and left their bodies lying in the street. They carried the young Gordian with them to their camp, where they proclaimed him emperor; and the senate, the people, and the provinces, readily acquiesced in his elevation.

The youthful emperor was the object of general affection; the soldiers called him *their child*, the senate their son, the people their delight. He was of a lively and agreeable temper, and he was zealous in the acquisition of knowledge, in

order that he might not be deceived by those about him. In the first years, however, of his reign, public affairs were indifferently managed. His mother, who was not a Mamæa, allowed her eunuchs and freedmen to sell all the great offices of the state, (perhaps she shared in their gains,) and in consequence many improper appointments were made. But the marriage of the young emperor (241) brought about a thorough reformation. He espoused the daughter of Misi-theus, a man distinguished in the cultivation of letters, and he made his father-in-law his prætorian prefect, and guided himself by his counsels. Misi-theus, who was a man of virtue and talent as well as of learning, discharged the duties of his office in the ablest manner.

A Persian war soon called the emperor to the East, (242.) Sapor, (*Shahpoor*,) the son and successor of Artaxerxes, had invaded Mesopotamia, taken Nisibis, Carrhæ, and other towns, and menaced Antioch. But the able conduct of Misi-theus, when the emperor arrived in Syria, speedily assured victory to the Roman arms; the towns were all recovered, and the Persian monarch was obliged to repossess the Tigris. Unfortunately for Gordian and the empire, Misi-theus died in the following year, (243,) to the great regret of the whole army, by whom he was both beloved and feared. The office of prætorian prefect was given to M. Julius Philippus, who is accused, though apparently without reason, of having caused the death of his predecessor. Now, however, having in effect the command of the army, Philip aspired to the empire. He spoke disparagingly of the youth of Gordian; he contrived, by diverting the supplies, to cause the army to be in want, and then laid the blame on the emperor. At length, (244,) after a victory gained over the Persians on the banks of the Abora, he led the troops into a country where no provisions could be procured; a mutiny in consequence ensued, in which the emperor was slain, and Philip was proclaimed in his place. Gordian was only nineteen years of age when he met his untimely fate; he had reigned five years and eight months. The soldiers raised him a tomb on the spot, and the senate placed him among the gods

M. Julius Philippus.

A. U. 997—1002. A. D. 244—249.

The adventurer who had now attained the imperial purple was an Arab by birth, and it is even pretended a Christian in religion. He probably entered the Roman service in his youth, and gradually rose to rank in the army.

Being anxious to proceed to Rome, Philip lost no time in concluding a treaty with Sapor. He then, after a short stay at Antioch, set out for Italy. At Rome, he used every means to conciliate the senators by liberality and kindness; and he never mentioned the late emperor but in terms of respect. To gain the affections of the people, he formed a reservoir to supply with water the part of the city beyond the Tiber.

In the fifth year of his reign, (248,) Rome having then attained her one thousandth year, Philip, in conjunction with his son, now associated with him in the empire, celebrated with great magnificence the secular games. These had been already solemnized by Augustus, by Claudius, by Domitian, and Severus, and Rome now witnessed them for the last time.

Philip would appear to have acted unwisely in committing extensive commands to his own relations; for, in Syria, where his brother Priscus, and in Mœsia, where his father-in-law, Severianus, commanded, rival emperors were proclaimed. The Syrian rebel was named Jotapianus; the Mœsian was a centurion, named P. Carvilinus Marinus. Philip, it is said, in alarm, called on the senate to support him, or to accept his resignation, (249;) but while the other senators maintained silence, Decius, a man of rank and talent, reassured him, speaking slightly of the rebels, and asserting that they could not stand against him. His prediction proved correct; for they both were shortly after slain. Philip then obliged Decius, much, it is said, against his inclination, to take the command of the Mœsian and Pannonian legions. But when Decius reached the army, the soldiers insisted on investing him with the purple. He wrote to the emperor, assuring him of his fidelity; but Philip would not trust to his declarations, and, leaving his son at Rome with a part of the prætorians, he put himself at the head of his troops to chastise him. The armies met near

Verona; Philip was defeated and slain, and when the news reached Rome, the prætorians slew his son and proclaimed Decius.

C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius.

A. U. 1002—1004. A. D. 249—251.

Decius was born at Bubalia, a town near Sirmium, in Pannonia. He was either forty-eight or fifty-eight years of age, it is uncertain which, when he was proclaimed emperor; and, from the imperfect accounts which we have of his reign, he would seem to have been a man of considerable ability. His reign was, however, brief and unquiet. It had hardly commenced, when he had to go in person to quell an insurrection in Gaul, and all the rest of it was occupied in war with the Goths.

This people, whose original seats seem to have been the Scandinavian peninsula, had at an early period crossed the Baltic, and settled on its southern coast. They had gradually advanced southwards, and they now had reached the Euxine. In the time of Alexander Severus, they had made inroads into Dacia; and in that of Philip, they ravaged both that province and Mœsia. In the first year of Decius, (250,) the Gothic king Cniva passed the Danube at the head of 70,000 warriors, and laid siege to the town of Eustesium, (*Novi*;) being repelled by the Roman general Gallus, he advanced against Nicopolis, whence he was driven by the emperor or his son, (it is uncertain which,) with a loss of 30,000 men. Undismayed by his reverses, he crossed Mount Hæmus, in the hope of surprising Philippopolis; Decius followed him, but his camp at Beræa was surprised by the Goths, and his troops were cut to pieces. Philippopolis stood a siege of some duration; but it was taken, and the greater part of its inhabitants were massacred. The Goths now spread their ravages into Macedonia, the governor of which, Philip's brother Priscus, assumed the purple under their protection.

It seems most probable that it was the younger Decius who met with these reverses, for the emperor must have been at Rome, as we find that, on his leaving it, (251,) to direct the Gothic war, a person named Julius Valens was declared emperor, to the great joy of the people. He was,

however, killed shortly after. Decius, who was worthy of empire, was, meantime, amidst the cares of war, engaged in the visionary project of restoring the long-departed public virtue which had once ennobled Rome. With this view he proposed to revive the office of censor; and, the choice of the person being left to the senate, they unanimously voted it (Oct. 27) to P. Licinius Valerianus, as being the man most worthy of it. The decree was transmitted to the emperor, who was in Thrace; he read it aloud in a large assembly, and exhorted Valerian, who was present, to accept the proffered dignity. Valerian would fain excuse himself. We know not if the emperor was satisfied with his excuses, but, from the turn which public affairs took, the censorship was never exercised.

Decius was successful against the Goths, who offered to surrender their booty and prisoners if allowed to repass the Danube; but the emperor, who was resolved to strike such a blow as would daunt the barbarians, and make them henceforth respect the Roman arms, refused all terms. The Goths, therefore, gave him battle in a place where a part of their front was covered by a morass. The younger Decius was slain by an arrow in the beginning of the action; but the emperor, crying out that the loss of one soldier did not signify, led on his troops. In the attempt to cross the morass, they were pierced by the arrows of the enemy, or swallowed up in the mire, and the body of the emperor was never found.

C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus.

A. U. 1005—1006. A. D. 252—253.

The senate, it is said, but more probably the army, conferred the vacant purple on Gallus, the governor of Mæsia. He adopted Hostilianus, the remaining son of Decius, and gave him the title of Augustus; but this youth dying soon after of the plague, Gallus associated his own son Volusianus in the empire. Unable, probably, to resist the victorious Goths, Gallus agreed that they should depart with their booty and prisoners, and even consented to pay them annually a large sum of gold. He then set out for Rome, where he remained for the rest of his reign, ruling with great mildness and equity

The Goths and their allies, heedless of treaties, again (253) poured over the Danube; but Æmilianus, the governor of Mœsia, gave them a signal defeat, and his victorious troops forthwith proclaimed him emperor. Without a moment's delay, he put them in motion for Rome. Gallus advanced to engage him; the troops came in sight of each other at Interamna, (*Terni*), and those of Gallus, seeing themselves the weaker, and gained by the promises of Æmilianus, murdered the emperor and his son, and passed over to the side of the rebel.

C. Julius Æmilianus.

Æmilianus is said to have been a Moor by birth. Of his previous history nothing is known. He wrote to the senate, to say that they should have the whole civil administration, and that he would be no more than their general; and that assembly readily acquiesced in his elevation.

But Valerian had been sent by Gallus to fetch the legions of Gaul and Germany to his aid; and these troops, as soon as they heard of his death, proclaimed their general emperor. He led them into Italy; and the troops of Æmilianus, which were encamped at Spoleto, fearing the strength and number of the advancing army, murdered their emperor to obviate a conflict. The reign of Æmilianus had not lasted four months.

P. Licinius Valerianus and P. Licinius Gallienus.

A. U. 1006—1013. A. D. 253—260.

Valerian is said to have been sixty years of age when thus raised to the empire. Feeling the infirmities of age, or in imitation of the practice of so many preceding emperors, he associated with him his son Gallienus, a young man devoid neither of courage nor ability, but immoderately addicted to pleasure.

Had the Roman empire been in the condition in which it was left by Augustus, Valerian might have emulated that emperor, and have displayed his virtues and beneficence in promoting the happiness of his subjects. But a great change

had taken place in the condition of Rome; her legions no longer inspired their ancient terror; her northern and eastern provinces were exposed to the ravages of those who had formerly cowered before her eagles. Valerian could therefore only exhibit his wisdom in the selection of his generals; and it is to be observed that his choice never fell on an unworthy subject.

The enemies by whom the empire was assailed at this period, were the Franks, the Alemans, the Goths, and the Persians. As the scanty notices of these times do not enable us to arrange events chronologically, we will give a separate view of the wars, with each of these peoples, during the reigns of Valerian and his son.

We have already observed the proneness of the German tribes to form confederations. The Chaucans, Cheruskans, Chattans, and some adjoining states, had lately, it would seem, entered into one of these political unions, under the name of Franks, *i. e.* Freeman. Their strength and number now causing uneasiness for Gaul, the young emperor, Gallienus, was sent to that country; but the chief military command was conferred on Postumius, a man of considerable ability. The arms of the legions were successful in various encounters; but they were finally unable to prevent the passage of an army of the Franks through Gaul, whence, surmounting the barrier of the Pyrenees, they poured down into the now unwarlike Spain. The rich city of Tarragona was taken and sacked; the whole country was devastated, and the Franks, then seizing the vessels which they found in the ports, embarked to ravage Africa. We know not what was their ultimate fate; they were probably, however, destroyed in detail by the Roman troops and the provincials.

A portion of the great Suevian confederation had formed a new combination, under the name of Alemans, *i. e.* Allmen, on account of the variety of tribes which composed it. Like the Snevians, their forces were chiefly composed of cavalry, with active footmen mingled with them;* and they always proved a formidable foe. While Gallienus was in Gaul, a body of them entered Italy, penetrated as far as Ravenna, and their advanced troops came nearly within sight of Rome. The senate drew out the prætorian guards, and added to them a portion of the populace to oppose them; and the barbarians, finding themselves greatly outnumbered,

* The Hamippi of the Greeks. See Hist. of Greece, p. 219.

hastened to get beyond the Danube with their plunder. Gallienus, it is said, was so much alarmed at the spirit and energy shown by the senate on this occasion, that he issued an edict interdicting all military employments to the senators, and even prohibiting their access to the camps of the legions. It is added that the luxurious nobles viewed this indignity as a favor rather than an insult.

Gallienus is also said to have overcome a large army of Alemans in the vicinity of Milan.* He afterwards espoused Pipa, daughter of the king of the Marcomans, (one of the confederates,) to whom he gave a territory in Pannonia, as a means of averting the hostilities of the barbarians.

The Goths were now masters of the northern coast of the Euxine; and, finding their attacks on the northern provinces generally repelled with vigor, they resolved to direct their efforts against more unwarlike districts. Collecting a quantity of the vessels used for navigating the Euxine, they embarked (258) and crossed that sea. They made their first attempt on the frontier town of Pityus, which was long ably defended against them; but they at length succeeded in reducing it. They thence sailed to the wealthy city of Trebizond, (*Trapezus*;) and, though it was defended by a numerous garrison, they effected an entrance during the night. The cowardly garrison fled without making any resistance; the inhabitants were massacred in great numbers; the booty and captives were immense, and the victors, having ravaged the province of Pontus, embarked there on board of the ships which they found in the harbors, and returned to their settlement in the Tauric Chersonese.

The next expedition of the Goths was directed to the Bosphorus, (261.) They took and plundered Chalcedon and Nicomedia, Nicæa, Apamæa, Prusa, and other cities of Bithynia. The accidental swelling of the little river Rhyndacus saved the town of Cyzicus from pillage.

The third expedition of the Goths was on a larger scale, (262.) Their fleet consisted of five hundred vessels of all sizes. They sailed along the Bosphorus and Propontis; took and plundered Cyzicus; passed the Hellespont, and entered the Ægean. They directed their course to the Piræeus; Athens could offer no resistance; the Goths ravaged Greece with impunity, and advanced to the shores of the Adriatic. Gallienus roused himself from his pleasures, and appeared in

* Zonaras, xii. He says the Alemans were 300,000, the Romans only 10,000 strong

arms. A Herulan chief with his men was induced to enter the Roman service; the Goths, weakened by this defection, broke up; a part forced their way to the Danube over land; the rest embarked, and, pillaging and burning the temple of Diana at Ephesus on their way, returned to the Euxine.

Sapor, of Persia, had been long engaged in war with Chosroës, king of Armenia, a prince of the house of Arsaces. Unable to reduce the brave Armenian, he caused him to be assassinated; and Armenia then received the Persian yoke. Elated with his success, Sapor invaded the Roman territory, took Nisibis and Carrhæ, and spread his ravages over Mesopotamia. Valerian, alarmed for the safety of the Eastern provinces, proceeded thither in person, (259.) The events of the war which ensued have not reached us. All that we know with certainty is, that Valerian was finally defeated and made a captive, (260.) The circumstances of his capture were somewhat similar to those of the taking of Crassus. His army, by ignorance or treachery, got into a position where neither discipline nor courage could avail, being without supplies and suffering from disease. The soldiers clamored for a capitulation; Sapor detained the deputies that were sent to him, and led his troops up to the camp; and Valerian was obliged to consent to a conference, at which he was made a prisoner.

Valerian ended his days a captive in Persia. We are told that Sapor treated him with every kind of indignity; that he led him about in chains clad in his imperial purple; that, when the haughty Persian would mount his horse, the captive emperor was made to go on his hands and knees to serve as his horse-block; and that, when death at length released him from his sufferings, his skin was stripped off, tanned, and stuffed, and placed in one of the most celebrated temples of Persia. The sufferings of Valerian are, however, probably of the same kind with the tortures of Regulus and the iron cage of Bajazet — gross exaggerations of some degree of ill treatment or of necessary precaution

P. Licinius Gallienus.

A. U. 1013—1021. A. D. 260—268.

The captivity of Valerian was lamented by all but his son, who felt himself relieved by it from the restraint imposed on

him by his father's virtue. He even affected to act the philosopher on the occasion, saying, in imitation of Xenophon, "I knew that my father was mortal;" but he never made any attempt to procure his liberty, and he abandoned himself without restraint to sensual indulgence.

The reign of Gallienus is termed the Time of the Thirty Tyrants. This word seems to have recovered its ancient Grecian sense, and to have merely signified prince, or rather usurper, that is, one who claims the supreme power already held by another. The tyrants of this time were, in general, men of excellent character, who had been placed in the command of armies by Valerian, and were invested with the purple by their soldiers, often against their will. The number of these usurpers, who rose and fell in succession, did not exceed eighteen or nineteen; but some very fanciful analogy led to a comparison of them with the Thirty of Athens, and in the Augustan History an effort is made, by including women and children, to raise them to that number.

The East, Illyricum, Gaul, Greece, and Egypt, were the places in which these tyrants appeared. We will notice them in order.

After the defeat of Valerian, Sapor conferred the title of emperor on a person named Cyriades, the son of a citizen of Antioch. This vassal forthwith conducted the Persian troops to the pillage of his native city; and so rapid and so secret was their march, that they surprised the Antiochenes while engaged at the theatre. The massacre and devastation usual in the East ensued. The Persian monarch then poured his troops into Cilicia, took and plundered Tarsus and other towns; then, crossing Mount Taurus, he laid siege to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a city with 400,000 inhabitants. It was stoutly defended for some time; but treachery at length delivered it into the hands of the Persians, and massacre and pillage followed. Sapor now spread his ravages on all sides; but the Roman troops, having rallied under the command of Ser. Anicius Ballista, who had been prætorian prefect, checked his career, and, as he was retiring towards his own states, he found himself assailed by an unexpected enemy.

Soon after the defeat and capture of Valerian, a train of camels laden with presents entered the camp of Sapor. They were accompanied by a letter from Odenatus, a wealthy citizen of Palmyra, (the ancient Tadmor,) containing an assurance that he had never acted against the Persians. Sapor, enraged at such insolence, (as he deemed it),

tore the letter, flung the gifts into the river, and declared that he would exterminate the insolent writer and his family, unless he came before his throne with his hands bound behind his back. Odenatus at once resolved to join the Romans; he collected a force chiefly composed of the Bedoweens, or Arabs of the Desert, over whom he had great influence. He hovered about the Persian army, and, attacking it at the passage of the Euphrates, carried off much treasure, and some of the women of the Great King, who was forced to seek safety in a precipitate retreat. Odenatus made himself master of all Mesopotamia; and he even passed the Tigris, and made an attempt on Ctesiphon, (261.) Gallienus gave him the title of his general of the East, and Odenatus himself took soon after that of king of Palmyra.

The Roman troops in the East, meantime, being resolved not to submit to Gallienus, were deliberating on whom they would bestow the purple. Acting under the advice of Ballista, they fixed on the prætorian prefect, M. Fulvius Macrianus, a man of great military talents, and, what was perhaps of more importance in their eyes, extremely wealthy. Macrianus conferred the office of prætorian prefect on Ballista, and, leaving with him his younger son and a part of the army to defend the East, he put himself at the head of 45,000 men, and, taking with him his elder son, set out for Europe, (262.) On the borders of Illyricum he was encountered by M. Acilius Aureolus, the governor (or, as some say, the tyrant) of that province; and in the battle which ensued, himself and his son were slain, and his troops surrendered. After the death of Macrianus, Ballista assumed the purple; but he was slain by order of Odenatus, whom Gallienus, (264,) with the full consent of the senate and people of Rome, had made his associate in the empire, giving him the titles of Cæsar, Augustus, and all the other tokens of sovereignty.

Tib. Cestius Æmilianus, who commanded in Egypt, assumed the purple in that province, (262,) in consequence, it is said, of a sedition in the most turbulent city of Alexandria; but he was defeated the following year, taken prisoner, and sent to Gallienus, who caused him to be strangled.

It was in Gaul that the usurpers had most success. As soon as Gallienus left that country, (260,) the general M. Cassius Latienus Postumus was proclaimed emperor; and his authority appears to have been acknowledged in both Spain and Britain. He is described as a man of most noble and upright character; he administered justice impartially, and

he defended the frontier against the Germans with valor and success. Possessed of the affections of the people, he easily maintained himself against all the efforts of Gallienus; but he was slain at last, (267,) in a mutiny of his own soldiers, to whom he had refused the plunder of the city of Mentz, in which a rival emperor had appeared. Postumus had associated with himself in the empire Victorinus, the son of a lady named Aurelia Victoria, who was called the Mother of the Camp, and who had such influence with the troops, (we know not how acquired, but probably by her wealth,) as to be able to give the purple to whom she pleased. Victorinus being slain by a man whose wife he had violated, a simple armorer, named Marius, wore the purple for two days, at the end of which he was murdered; and Victoria then caused a senator named P. Pivesus Tetricus to be proclaimed emperor, who maintained his power for some years.

At the time when Macrianus claimed the empire, P. Valerius Valens, the governor of Greece, finding that that usurper, who was resolved on his destruction, had sent L. Calpurnius Piso against him, assumed the purple in his own defence. Piso, being forced to retire into Thessaly, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there; but few joined him, and he was slain by a party of soldiers sent against him by Valens, who was himself shortly after put to death by his own troops. Both Valens and Piso were men of high character; especially the latter, to whom the senate decreed divine honors, and respecting whom Valens himself said that "he would not be able to account to the gods below, for having ordered Piso, though his enemy, to be slain; a man whose like the Roman republic did not then possess."

C. Annius Trebellianus declared himself independent in Isauria, and T. Cornelius Celsus was proclaimed emperor in Africa; but both speedily perished, (265.) Among the calamities of this reign was an insurrection of the slaves in Sicily, similar to those in the time of the republic.

While his empire was thus torn asunder, Gallienus thought only of indulgence, and the loss of a province only gave him occasion for a joke. When Egypt revolted, "Well," said he, "cannot we do without Egyptian linen?" So, when Gaul was lost, he asked if the republic could not be secure without cloaks from Arras. He was content to retain Italy, satisfied with a nominal sovereignty over the rest of the empire; and, whenever this seat of dominion was menaced, he exhibited in its defence the vigor and personal courage which he really possessed.

Gaul and Illyricum were the quarters from which Italy had most to apprehend: Gallienus therefore headed his troops against Postumus; and, when D. Lælius Ingenuus revolted, in Pannonia, he marched against him, defeated and slew him, and made the most cruel use of his victory, to deter others, (260.) Q. Nonius Regillianus, who afterwards revolted in the same country, was slain by his own soldiers, (263;) but, when Aureolus was induced to assume the purple, (268,) the Illyrian legions advanced, and made themselves masters of Milan. Gallienus, shaking off sloth, quickly appeared at the head of his troops. The hostile armies encountered on the banks of the Adda, and Aureolus was defeated, wounded, and forced to shut himself up in Milan. During the siege, a conspiracy was formed against the emperor, by some of the principal officers of his army; and one night, as he was sitting at table, a report was spread that Aureolus had made a sally. Gallienus instantly threw himself on horseback, to hasten to the point of danger, and, in the dark, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand.

CHAPTER VI.*

CLAUDIUS, AURELIAN, TACITUS, PROBUS, CARUS, CARINUS, AND NUMERIAN.

A. U. 1021—1038. A. D. 268—285.

CLAUDIUS. — INVASIONS OF THE GOTHs. — AURELIAN. — ALEM-
MANIC WAR. — WAR AGAINST ZENOBIA. — TETRICUS. —
DEATH OF AURELIAN. — TACITUS. — HIS DEATH. — PRO-
BUS. — HIS MILITARY SUCCEsSES. — HIS DEATH. — CARUS.
— PERSIAN WAR. — HIS DEATH. — DEATH OF NUMERIAN. —
ELECTION OF DIOCLETIAN. — BATTLE OF MARGUS.

WE now enter on a series of emperors of a new order. Born nearly all in humble stations, and natives of the province of Illyricum, they rose, by merit, through the gradations of military service, attained the empire, in general, without crime, maintained its dignity, and checked or punished the inroads

* Authorities: Zosimus, the Augustan History, and Epitomators.

of the barbarians. This series commences with the death of Gallienus, and terminates with that of Licinius, embracing a period of somewhat more than half a century, and marked, as we shall find, by most important changes in the Roman empire.

M. Aurelius Claudius.

A. U. 1021—1023. A. D. 268—270.

The murmurs of the soldiers, on the death of Gallienus, were easily stilled by the promise of a donative of twenty pieces of gold a man. To justify themselves in the eyes of the world, the conspirators resolved to bestow the empire on one who should form an advantageous contrast to its late unworthy possessor; and they fixed on M. Aurelius Claudius, who commanded a division of the army at Pavia. The soldiers, the senate, and the people, alike approved their choice; and Claudius assumed the purple with universal approbation.

This excellent man, in whose praise writers of all parties are agreed, was a native of Illyricum, born, apparently, in humble circumstances. His merit raised him through the inferior gradations of the army; he attracted the notice of the emperor Decius, and the discerning Valerian made him general* of the Illyrian frontier, with an assurance of the consulate.

Aureolus was soon obliged to surrender, and he was put to death by the soldiers. An army of Alemans, coming perhaps to his aid, was then, it is said, defeated by Claudius, near Verona. After his victory, the emperor proceeded to Rome, where, during the remainder of the year, he devoted his time and thoughts to the reformation of abuses in the state. Among other just and prudent regulations, he directed that the properties confiscated by Gallienus should be restored to their original owners. A woman, it is said, came, on this occasion, to the emperor, and claimed her land, which, she said, had been given to Claudius, the commander of the cavalry. This officer was the emperor himself; and he replied, that the emperor Claudius must restore what he took when he was a private man, and less bound to obey the laws.†

The following year, (269,) the Goths and their allies em

* The term now in use for general was *dux*, whence our *duke*.

† Zonaras, p. 239.

barked, we are told, to the number of 320, 000 warriors, with their wives, children, and slaves, in two, c, as some say, six thousand vessels, and directed their course to the Bosphorus. In passing that narrow channel, the number of their vessels and the rapidity of the current caused them to suffer considerable loss. Their attempts on Byzantium and Cyzicus having failed, they proceeded along the northern coast of the Ægean, and laid siege to the cities of Cassandria and Thessalonica. While thus engaged, they learned that the emperor was on his march to oppose them: and, breaking up, they advanced into the interior, wasting and plundering the country on their way. Near the town of Naïssus, in Dardania, they encountered the Roman legions. The battle was long and bloody, and the Romans were, at one time, on the verge of defeat; but the skill of Claudius turned the beam, and the Goths were finally routed, with a loss of 50,000 men. During the remainder of the year, numerous desultory actions occurred, in which the Goths sustained great losses; and, being finally hemmed in on all sides by the Roman troops, they were forced to seek refuge in Mount Hæmus, and pass the winter amidst its snows. Famine and pestilence alike preyed on them; and when, on the return of spring, (270,) the emperor took the field against them, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. A portion of their youth were enrolled in the imperial troops; vast numbers both of men and women were reduced to slavery; on some, lands were bestowed in the provinces; few returned to their seats on the Euxine.

The pestilence which had afflicted the Goths proved also fatal to the emperor. He was attacked and carried off by it at Sirmium, in the 57th year of his age. In the presence of his principal officers, he named, it is said, Aurelian, one of his generals, as the fittest person to succeed him; but his brother Quintilius, when he heard of his death, assumed the purple at Aquileia, and was acknowledged by the senate. Hearing, however, that Aurelian was on his march against him, he gave up all hopes of success, and, opening his veins, died, after a reign of seventeen days.

L. Domitius Aurelianus.

A. U. 1023—1028. A. D. 270—275.

Aurelian, like his able predecessor, was a man of humble birth. His father is said to have been a small farmer, and

his mother a priestess of the Sun, in a village near Sirmium. He entered the army as a common soldier, and rose through the successive gradations of the service to the rank of general of a frontier. He was adopted in the presence of Valerian, (some said at his request,) by Ulpian Crinitus, a senator of the same family with the emperor Trajan, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and Valerian bestowed on him the office of consul. In the Gothic war, Claudius had committed to him the command of the cavalry.

Immediately on his election, Aurelian hastened to Rome, whence he was speedily recalled to Pannonia by the intelligence of an irruption of the Goths. A great battle was fought, which was terminated by night without any decisive advantage on either side. Next day the Goths retired over the river, and sent proposals of peace, which was cheerfully accorded; and for many years no hostilities of any account occurred between the Goths and Romans. But while Aurelian was thus occupied in Pannonia, the Alemans, with a force of 40,000 horse and 80,000 foot, had passed the Alps and spread their ravages to the Po. Instead of following them into Italy, Aurelian, learning that they were on their return home with their booty, marched along the Danube to intercept their retreat, and, attacking them unawares, he reduced them to such straits that they sent to sue for peace. The emperor received the envoys at the head of his legions, surrounded by his principal officers. After a silence of some moments, they spoke by their interpreter, saying that it was the desire of peace, and not the fear of war, that had brought them thither. They spoke of the uncertainty of war, and enlarged on the number of their forces. As a condition of peace, they required the usual presents, and the same annual payments in silver and gold that they had had before the war. Aurelian replied in a long speech, the sum of which was that nothing short of unconditional surrender would be accepted. The envoys, returning to their countrymen, reported the ill success of their embassy; and forthwith the army turned back and reëntered Italy. Aurelian followed, and came up with them at Placentia. The Alemans, who had stationed themselves in the woods, fell suddenly on the legions in the dusk of the evening; and nothing but the firmness and skill of the emperor saved the Romans from a total overthrow. A second battle was fought near Fano in Umbria, on the spot where Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal was defeated and slain, five hundred years before. The Alemans were totally

routed, and a concluding victory at Pavia delivered Italy from their ravages. Aurelian pursued the barbarians beyond the Alps, and then turned to Pannonia, which the Vandals had invaded. He engaged and defeated them, (271.) They sent to sue for peace, and he referred the matter to his soldiers, who loudly expressed their desire for an accommodation. The Vandals gave the children of their two kings and of their principal nobles for hostages, and Aurelian took two thousand of them into his service.

There had been some seditions at Rome during the time of the Alemanic war, and Aurelian, on his return to the capital, acted with great severity, and even cruelty, in punishing those engaged in them. He is accused of having put to death senators of high rank, on the slightest evidence, and for the most trifling offences. Aware, too, that neither Alps nor Apennines could now check the barbarians, he resolved to put Rome into a posture to stand a siege; and he commenced the erection of massive walls around it, which, when completed by his successors, formed a circuit of twenty-one miles, and yielded a striking proof of the declining strength of the empire.

Aurelian, victorious against the barbarians, had still two rivals to subdue before he could be regarded as perfect master of the empire. Tetricus was acknowledged in Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Zenobia, the widow of Odenatus, ruled the East. It is uncertain against which he first turned his arms; but, as the greater number of writers give the priority to the Syrian war, we will here follow their example.

Odenatus and his eldest son, Herod, were treacherously slain by his nephew Mæonius; but Zenobia, the widow of the murdered prince, speedily punished the traitor, and then held the government in the name of her remaining sons. This extraordinary woman claimed a descent from the Ptolemies of Egypt. In her person she displayed the beauty of the East, being of a clear dark complexion, with pearly white teeth and brilliant black eyes. Her voice was strong and harmonious; she spoke the Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian languages, and understood the Latin. She was fond of study, but at the same time she loved vigorous exercises; and she accompanied her husband to the chase of the lion, the panther, and the other wild beasts of the wood and desert, and by her counsels and her vigor of mind, she greatly contributed to his success in war. To these manly qualities was united a chastity rarely to be found in the East. View-

ing the union of the sexes as the appointed means of continuing the species, Zenobia would admit the embraces of her husband only in order to have offspring. She was temperate and sober, yet, when needful, she could quaff wine with her generals, and even vanquish in the combats of the table the wine-loving Persians and Armenians. As a sovereign, Zenobia was severe or clement, as the occasion required; she was frugal of her treasure beyond what was ordinary with a woman, but when her affairs called for liberality, no one dispensed them more freely.

After the death of Odenatus, Zenobia styled her three sons Augusti; but she held the government in her own hands: she bore the title of Queen of the East, wore royal robes and the diadem, caused herself to be adored in the Oriental fashion, and put the years of her reign on her coins. She defeated an army sent against her by Gallienus; she made herself mistress of Egypt, and her rule extended northwards as far as the confines of Bithynia.

Aurelian, on passing over to Asia, reduced to order the province of Bithynia. The city of Tyana in Cappadocia resisted him; but the treachery of one of its inhabitants put it into his hands. He pardoned the people, and he abandoned the traitor to the just indignation of the soldiers. On the banks of the Orontes, he encountered the troops of the Queen of the East. A cavalry action ensued, and, the Palmyrenians being greatly superior in that arm, Aurelian employed the stratagem of making his cavalry feign a flight, and then turn and attack the pursuing enemies, when wearied and exhausted with the weight of their heavy armor. The defeated Palmyrenians retired to Antioch, which they quitted in the night, and next day it opened its gates to Aurelian. He advanced then, with little opposition, to Emesa, where he found the Palmyrenian army, 70,000 strong, encamped in the plain before the city. Zenobia herself was present, but the command was intrusted to her general, Zabdas. In the engagement, the Roman horse, unable to withstand the ponderous charge of the steel-clad Palmyrenians, turned and fled. While the Palmyrenian cavalry was engaged in the pursuit, their light infantry, being left unprotected, offered little resistance to the legions, and a total rout ensued. Zenobia, seeing the battle lost, and knowing that the people of Emesa favored the Romans, abandoned that city, and retired and shut herself up in Palmyra, her capital.

The city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, as it was named by the Greeks, seems to have been, from the earliest times, a place of importance in the trade between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea, being situated in an oasis of the desert, abounding in herbage, trees, and springs, and lying within sixty miles of the Euphrates, and somewhat more than three times that distance of the coast of Syria. Solomon, king of Israel, had made himself master of this important post, and fortified it. Its advantages being the gift of nature, and not of man, it continued to flourish under all the surrounding vicissitudes of empire. In the time of Trajan, it became a Roman colony, and it was adorned with those stately public edifices whose ruins command the admiration of modern Europe.

In their march over the desert, the Roman troops were harassed by the attacks of the Bedoween Arabs. They found the city of Palmyra strongly fortified, and abundantly supplied with the means of defence. When the siege had lasted for some time, Aurelian wrote, offering advantageous terms to the queen and the people; but, fully convinced that famine would soon prey on the Roman army, and that the Persians and Arabs would hasten to her relief, Zenobia returned a haughty and insulting reply. The expected succors, however, did not arrive; convoys of provisions entered the Roman camp; and Probus, whom Aurelian had detached for the reduction of Egypt, having accomplished his commission, brought his troops to join the main army. Want began to be felt within the walls of Palmyra; and Zenobia, finding that the city must surrender, resolved to fly to the Persians, and seek by their aid to continue the war. Mounting one of her fleetest dromedaries, she left the city, and had reached the Euphrates, and even entered the boat which was to convey her across, when the party of light horse sent in pursuit, came up and seized her. When brought before the emperor, and demanded why she had dared to insult the emperors of Rome, she replied, that she regarded *him* as such, as *he* had conquered; but that she never could esteem Gallienus, Aureolus, and such persons, to be emperors. This prudent answer won her favor, and Aurelian treated her with respect. The city soon surrendered, and the emperor led his army back to Emesa, where he set up his tribunal, and had Zenobia and her ministers and friends brought to trial. The soldiers were clamorous for the death of the queen, but the emperor was resolved to

reserve her to grace his triumph; and it is added, that she belied the greatness of her character by weakly throwing all the blame on her ministers. Of these, several were executed, among whom was the celebrated Longinus, the queen's secretary. He died with the equanimity of a philosopher, comforting his companions in misfortune.

Aurelian had passed the Bosphorus on his return to Rome, when intelligence reached him that the Palmyrenians had risen on and massacred the small garrison he had left in their city. He instantly retraced his steps, arrived at Antioch before it was known that he had set out, hastened to Palmyra, took the city, and massacred men, women, and children, citizens and peasants, without distinction. As he was on his way back to Europe, news came that Egypt had revolted, and made a wealthy merchant, named Firmus, emperor, and that the export of corn to Rome had been stopped. The indefatigable Aurelian soon appeared on the banks of the Nile, defeated the usurper, and took and put him to death.

The overthrow of Tetricus (whether it preceded or followed these events) left Aurelian without a rival. Tetricus, it is said, was so wearied with the state of thralldom in which he was held by his mutinous troops, that he secretly wrote to Aurelian to come to his deliverance. When the emperor entered Gaul, Tetricus found it necessary to affect the alacrity of one determined to conquer or die; but, when the armies encountered on the plains of Chalons, he betrayed his troops, and deserted in the very commencement of the battle. His legions fought, notwithstanding, with desperation, and perished nearly to a man.

Victorious over all his rivals, and all the enemies of Rome, Aurelian celebrated a triumph with unusual magnificence. Wild beasts of various kinds, troops of gladiators, and bands of captives of many nations, opened the procession. Tetricus and his son walked, clad in the Gallic habit; Zenobia also moved on foot, covered with jewels and bound with golden chains, which were borne up by slaves. The splendid cars of Odenatus and Zenobia, and one the gift of the Persian king to the emperor, preceded the chariot drawn by four stags, once the car of a Gothic king, in which Aurelian himself rode. The senate, the people, the army, horse and foot, succeeded; and it was late in the day when the monarch reached the Capitol.

The view of a Roman senator led in triumph, in the per-

son of Tetricus, (an act of which there was no example,) cast a gloom over the minds of the senators. The insult, if intended for such, ended, however, with the procession. Aurelian made him governor of the southern part of Italy, and honored him with his friendship. He also bestowed on the Palmyrenian queen an estate at Tibur, where she lived many years, and her daughters matched into some of the noblest Roman families.

The improvement of the city by useful public works, the establishment of daily distributions of bread and pork to the people, and the burning of all accounts of moneys due to the treasury, were measures calculated to gain Aurelian the popular favor. But a reformation of the coinage became the cause or pretext of an insurrection, the quelling of which cost him the lives of seven thousand of his veteran soldiers. Enveloped as the whole affair is in obscurity, the senators must have been implicated in it; for Aurelian's vengeance fell heavily on the whole body of the nobility. Numbers of them were cast into prison, and several were executed.

Aurelian quitted Rome once more for the East, in order to carry on war against the Persians. On the road in Thrace, having detected his private secretary, Mnestheus, in some act of extortion, he menaced him with his anger. Aware that he never threatened in vain, Mnestheus saw that himself or the emperor must die: he, therefore, imitating Aurelian's writing, drew up a list containing his own name and those of the principal officers of the army as marked out for death. He showed this bloody list to those who were named in it, advising them to anticipate the emperor's cruelty. Without further inquiry, they resolved on his murder, and, falling on him between Byzantium and Heraclea, they despatched him with their swords.

M. Claudius Tacitus.

A. U. 1028—1029. A. D. 275—276.

After the death of the emperor Aurelian, a scene without example presented itself—an amicable strife between the senate and the army, each wishing the other to appoint an emperor, and the empire without a head and without a tumult for the greater part of a year. It originated in the following manner:

The assassins of Aurelian speedily discovered their error, and Mnestheus expiated his treason with his life. The soldiers, who lamented the emperor, would not raise to his place any of those concerned in his death, however innocently; and they wrote to the senate, requesting them to appoint his successor. The senate, though gratified by the deference shown to them by the army, deemed it prudent to decline the invidious honor. The legions again pressed them, and eight months passed away in the friendly contest. At length, (Sept. 28,) the consul assembled the senate, and, laying before them the perilous condition of the empire, called on Tacitus, the First of the Senate, to give his opinion. But ere he could speak, he was saluted emperor and Augustus from all parts of the house; and, after having in vain represented his unfitness for the office on account of his advanced age, he was obliged to yield to their wishes, and accept the purple. The prætorian guards willingly acquiesced in the choice of the senate; and, when Tacitus proceeded to the camp in Thrace, the soldiers, true to their engagement, submitted willingly to his authority.

Tacitus was now seventy-five years old. He was one of those men who were, perhaps, less rare at Rome than we generally imagine; who, in the possession of a splendid fortune; spent a life, dignified by the honors of the state, in the cultivation of philosophy and elegant literature. He claimed a descent from the historian of his name, whose works formed his constant study; and after his accession to the empire, he directed that ten copies of them should be annually made and placed in the public libraries.

Viewing himself only as the minister of the laws and the senate, Tacitus sought to raise that body to its former consideration, by restoring the privileges of which it had been deprived. Once more it began to appoint magistrates, to hear appeals, and to give validity to the imperial edicts. But this was merely a glimpse of sunshine irradiating the decline of its greatness. In history, there is no return; and the real power of the once mighty Roman senate had departed forever.

Aurelian had engaged a body of the Alans, a Sarmatian tribe who dwelt about Lake Mæotis, for the war against Persia. On the death of that emperor, and the suspension of the war, they ravaged the provinces south of the Euxine, to indemnify themselves for their disappointment. Tacitus, on taking the command of the army, offered to make good to

them the engagements contracted by his predecessor. A good number of them accepted the terms and retired, and he led the legions against the remainder, and speedily reduced them. As these military operations fell in the winter, the emperor's constitution, enervated by age and the relaxing climate of southern Italy, proved unequal to them. His mind was also harassed by the factions which broke out in the camp, and even reached his tent; and he sank under mental and corporeal suffering, at Tyana, on the 22d of April, 276, after a brief reign of six months and twenty days.

M. Aurelius Probus.

A. U. 1029—1025. A. D. 276—282.

On the death of Tacitus, his brother Florianus claimed the empire as if fallen to him by inheritance, and the legions yielded him their obedience; but the army of the East obliged their general, Probus, to assume the purple, and a civil war commenced. The constitution of the European troops soon, however, began to give way under the heat of the sun of Asia; sickness spread among them; desertions became numerous; and when, at Tarsus in Cilicia, the army of Probus came to give them battle, they averted the contest by proclaiming Probus, and putting their emperor to death, after a reign of less than three months.

Probus was another of those Illyrians, who, born in an humble station, attained the empire by their merit, and honored it by their virtues. He entered the army young, and speedily became distinguished for his courage and his probity. His merit did not escape the discerning eye of Valerian, who made him a tribune, though under the usual age; gave him the command of a body of auxiliary troops, and recommended him strongly to Gallienus, by whom; and by the succeeding emperors, he was greatly esteemed, and trusted with important commands. Aurelian rated him very highly, and is even thought to have destined him for his successor.

After the death of Florianus, Probus wrote to the senate, apologizing for having accepted the empire from the hands of the soldiery, but assuring them that he would submit himself to their pleasure. A decree was unanimously passed, investing him with all the imperial titles and powers. In

return, Probus continued to the senate the right of hearing appeals, appointing magistrates, and of giving force to his edicts by their decrees.

Tacitus had punished severely some of those concerned in the murder of Aureliar; Probus sought out and punished the remainder, but with less rigor. He exhibited no enmity toward those who had supported Florianus.

The Germans had taken advantage of the interregnum which succeeded the death of Aurelian, to make a formidable irruption into Gaul, where they made themselves masters of not less than seventy cities, and were in possession of nearly the whole of the country. Probus, however, as soon as his affairs permitted, (277,) entered Gaul at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. He gave the Germans several defeats, and forced them to repass the Rhine, with a loss, it is said, of 400,000 men. He pursued them over that river; and nine of their kings were obliged to come in person to sue for peace. The terms which the emperor imposed were, the restoration of all their booty, the annual delivery of a large quantity of corn and cattle, and 16,000 men to recruit the Roman armies. These Probus distributed in parties of fifty and sixty throughout the legions; for it was his wise maxim, that the aid derived from the barbarians should be felt, not seen. He also placed colonies of the Germans, and other tribes, in Britain, and some of the other provinces. He had, further, it is said, conceived the idea of making the conquered Germans renounce the use of arms, and trust for their defence to those of the Romans; but, on considering the number of troops it would require, he gave it up, contenting himself with making them retire behind the Necker and Elbe, with building forts and towns in the country, between these rivers and the Rhine, and running a wall, two hundred miles in length, from the Rhine to the Danube, as a defence to Italy and the provinces against the Alemans.

After the conquest of the Germans, the emperor led his troops into Rætia and Illyria, where the terror of his name and his arms daunted the Goths and Sarmatians, and gave security to the provinces. He then (279) passed over to Asia, subdued the brigands of Isauria, expelled them from their fastnesses in the mountains, in which he settled some of his veterans, under the condition that they should send their sons, when eighteen years of age, to the army, in order that they might not be induced, by the natural advantages of the country, to take to a life of freebooting, and prove as dangerous as their predecessors. Proceeding through Syria,

he entered Egypt, and reduced the people named Blemmyans,* who had taken the cities of Coptos and Ptolemaïs. He concluded a peace with the king of Persia, and, on his return through Thrace, he bestowed lands on a body of 200,000 Bastarnians, and on some of the Gepidans, Vandals, and other tribes. He triumphed for the Germans and Blemmyans on his return to Rome.

A prince so just and upright, and, at the same time, so warlike as Probus, might have been expected to have no competitors for empire; yet even *he* had to take the field against rival emperors. The first of these was Saturninus, whom he himself had made general of the East, a man of both talent and virtue, and for whom he had a most cordial esteem. But the light-minded and turbulent people of Alexandria, on occasion of his entry into their city, saluted him Augustus; and, though he rejected the title and retired to Palestine, he yet, not reflecting on the generous nature of Probus, deemed that he could no longer live in a private station. He therefore assumed the purple, saying, with tears, to his friends, that the republic had lost a useful man, and that his own ruin, and that of many others, was inevitable. Probus tried in vain to induce him to trust to his clemency. A part of his troops joined those sent against him by the emperor; he was besieged in the castle of Apamæa, and taken, and slain.

After the defeat of Saturninus, two officers, named Proculus and Bonosus, assumed the purple in Germany. They were both men of ability, and the emperor found it necessary to take the field against them in person. Proculus, being defeated, fled for succor to the Franks, by whom he was betrayed; and he fell in battle against the imperial troops. Bonosus held out for some time; but, having received a decisive overthrow, he hanged himself. As he had been remarkable for his drinking powers, one who saw him hanging cried, "There hangs a jar, not a man." Probus treated the families of both with great humanity.

Probus, though far less cruel, was as rigid a maintainer of discipline in the army as Aurelian had been. His mode was to keep the legions constantly employed, and thus to obviate the ill effects of idleness. When he commanded in Egypt, he employed his troops in draining marshes, improving the course of the Nile, and raising public edifices. In

* This people inhabited the mountains between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea.

Gaul and Pannonia, he occupied them in forming vineyards. His maxim was, that a soldier should not eat his food idly; and he even used to express his hopes that the time would come when the republic would have no further need of soldiers. This language naturally produced a good deal of discontent; and when, on his march against the Persians, who had broken the peace, (282,) he halted at his native town of Sirmium, and set the soldiers at work to cut a canal, to drain the marshes which incommoded it, they broke out into an open mutiny. Probus fled for safety to an iron tower, whence he was in the habit of surveying the progress of the works; but the furious soldiers forced the tower, and seized and murdered him. They then lamented him, and gave his remains an honorable sepulture.

M. Aurelius Carus.

A. U. 1035—1036. A. D. 282—283.

Notwithstanding their grief and repentance for the murder of Probus, the soldiers did not part with their power of choosing an emperor. They conferred the purple on Carus, the prætorian prefect; and the senate was, as usual, obliged to acquiesce in their decision.

Carus was about sixty years of age. The place of his birth is uncertain, but probability is in favor of Illyricum. He stood high in the estimation of the late discerning emperor, and he was undoubtedly a man of considerable ability.

The first care of the new emperor was to punish the authors of the death of his predecessor. He then raised his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, (who were both grown up,) to the dignity of Cæsars; and, as the barbarians, after the death of Probus, had passed the Rhine and the Lower Danube, he sent Carinus into Gaul, directing him, when he had repelled the invaders, to fix his residence at Rome, and govern there during his absence. He himself, taking Numerian with him, marched against the Sarmatians, (283,) whom he defeated with a loss of 16,000 slain and 20,000 prisoners; and, having thus secured the Illyrian frontier, he led his army over to Asia for the Persian war.

When Carus passed the Euphrates, the Persian monarch, Varanes (*Bahram*) II., though an able and a valiant prince, being engaged in a civil war, could not collect a force suffi-

cient to oppose to the Romans: he therefore sent to propose terms of peace. It was evening when the ambassadors arrived at the Roman camp. Carus was at the time seated on the grass eating his supper, which consisted of a bowl of cold boiled peas and some pieces of salt pork, with a purple woollen robe thrown over his shoulders. He desired them to be brought to him, and when they came he told them that, if their master did not submit, he would in a month's time make Persia as bare of trees and standing corn as his own head was of hair; and, suiting the action to the word, he pulled off the cap which he wore, and displayed his head totally devoid of hair. He invited them, if hungry, to share his meal; if not, he bade them depart. They withdrew in terror; and Carus forthwith took the field, and recovered the whole of Mesopotamia; he defeated the troops sent against him, and took the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. He was advancing into the interior of Persia, when, one day as the army was encamped near the Tigris, there came on a most furious thunder-storm; and, immediately after a most awful clap, a cry was raised that the emperor was dead. His tent was found to be in flames; but whether his death was caused by lightning or by treachery, remained uncertain.

M. Aurelius Carinus and M. Aurelius Numerianus.

A. U. 1036—1038. A. D. 283—285.

The death of Carus appears to have occurred about the end of the year 283. The authority of his sons was readily acknowledged; and Numerian, apprehensive, as it might seem, of the designs of his brother, gave up the Persian war and set out on his return to Europe.

Numerian was a prince of an amiable disposition, a lover and cultivator of literature, a poet, it is said, of no mean order, and an eloquent declaimer. He was married to the daughter of Arrius Aper, to whom Carus had given the important post of prætorian prefect; and as, on account of a weakness in his eyes, Numerian was obliged to remain shut up in his tent, or to travel in a close litter, all public business was transacted in his name by his father-in-law. The army had reached the shores of the Bosphorus when a report was spread that the emperor, whom they had not seen for some time, had ceased to exist. The soldiers broke into the im

perial tent, and there found only the corpse of Numerian. The concealment of his death and other circumstances caused suspicion to fall on Aper. He was seized and laid in chains; a general assembly of the army was held while the generals and tribunes sat in council to select a successor to Numerian. Their choice fell on Diocletian, the commander of the body-guard. The soldiers testified their approbation. Diocletian, having ascended the tribunal, made a solemn protestation of his own innocence, and then caused Aper to be led before him. "This man," said he, when he appeared, "is the murderer of Numerian;" and, without giving him a moment's time for defence, he plunged his sword into his bosom.

It may cause some surprise that the army should have proceeded to the election of an emperor while Carinus was yet living. We know not what intrigues there may have been on the part of Diocletian; but the vices of that prince are said to have been such as would fully justify his exclusion. His conduct at Rome had been so vicious, and he put such unworthy persons into office even during his father's lifetime, that Carus cried he was no son of his, and proposed to substitute for him in the empire Constantius, the governor of Dalmatia. When the death of his father had removed all restraint, he gave free course to his vicious inclinations, displaying the luxury of an Elagabalus and the cruelty of a Domitian. The news; however, of the death of his brother, and the elevation of Diocletian, roused him to energy, and he placed himself at the head of his troops. After a succession of engagements, the decisive conflict took place (May, 285) on the plain of Margus, near the Danube in Mœsia. Carinus was betrayed or deserted by his own troops, and he was slain by a tribune whose wife he had seduced.

During the long period now elapsed, the aspect of the Roman world remained nearly as we have already described it. The absence of a respectable middle class of society, abject poverty and enormous wealth standing in striking contrast in the provinces as well as in Italy, unbridled luxury, and the want of all noble and generous feeling, every where met the view. At the same time, foreign trade, of which luxury is the great promoter, was in a most flourishing state, and immense fortunes were acquired by traffic. The silks, the spices, and the precious stones and pearls of India, and

the amber of the Baltic, reached Rome in abundance, and were purchased by its luxurious nobles and their ladies at enormous prices.

The history of this period has noticed two instances which may give us some idea of the wealth of individuals in those days: the one is that of a Roman nobleman, the emperor Tacitus; the other that of an Alexandrian merchant. The landed and other property of the former produced him an income of two hundred and eighty millions of sesterces, and his ready money at the time of his accession sufficed for the pay of the army. The merchant was Firmus, who assumed the purple in the time of Aurelian. This man had a great number of merchantmen on the Red Sea for his trade with India; he carried on a commerce with the interior of Africa; he contracted with the Blemmyans for the produce of their mines, and he had also commercial relations with the Saracens or Bedoween Arabs. He possessed, moreover, extensive manufactories, and it is said that he used to boast that the paper manufactured by him would suffice to maintain an army.

The Roman army at this period was evidently on the decline in respect to discipline and moral force. The soldiers were now accustomed to luxuries and indulgences unknown to the troops of the republic or of the early days of the empire. Barbarians entered the Roman service in great numbers; and we shall ere long find officers of the very highest rank and power bearing German names.

The maintenance of good military roads had always been an object of solicitude with the Roman government. We have seen the care of Augustus on this head; and that wise emperor had also instituted a system of posts for the despatch of letters on public business, and the conveyance of persons employed by the government. This system was now greatly extended, and post-houses were established at regular distances along all the great roads, furnished with horses, mules, and carriages, for the conveyance of goods as well as persons. These beasts and carriages were provided *gratis* by the inhabitants of the district in which the post-house stood, and the supplying of them was a most onerous burthen. Any one bearing an imperial *diploma* could demand horses and carriages, and food for himself and attendants without payment. The system was in effect the same as that which prevails at the present day in Turkey, where the sultan's *firmán* corresponds exactly with the imperial *diploma*. When the emperor was on his way to any part of his do-

minions, his whole court and retinue were maintained at the charge of the inhabitants of the towns where he halted; and at each he expected to find a palace ready furnished. In like manner, the wants of the troops when on their march were to be supplied; and when we reflect how frequently they were removed from one frontier to another, and how incessant most of the emperors were in their movements, we may form some conception of the oppression endured by the subjects.

Literature partook of the general decline. After the reign of Trajan, we do not meet with a single Latin poet or historian possessing any merit. The Greek language was not, however, equally barren. Plutarch, who wrote on such a variety of subjects in so agreeable a manner, flourished under the Antonines. The witty Lucian was his contemporary. History was written by Arrian, Dion Cassius, and Herodian, with more or less success. The travels of Pausanias in Greece are of great value to the modern scholar; and the medical writings of Galen, and the works of Ptolemy on astronomy and geography, long exercised a most powerful influence over the human mind in both Europe and Asia. In poetry the Grecian muse of this period aimed at no higher flight than her Latin sister.

The branch of literature (if we may so term it) most cultivated at this time was philosophy. The Stoic system found many followers; it numbered among its professors the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who bequeathed to posterity his *Meditations*, in ten books; and Arrian, the historian and statesman, published the lessons of his master, Epictetus. But the philosophy which far eclipsed all the others, was the New Platonism of Alexandria, of which it is necessary to speak somewhat in detail.

In the writings of Plato there is much that has a mystic tone, borrowed perhaps from the Pythagoreans, or derived immediately from the East. In such parts the usual characteristics of mysticism appear; simple truths are enveloped in figurative language, and vain attempts are made at explaining things beyond the reach of human knowledge. As such we may mention the *Timæus* and similar pieces, which are certainly the least valuable portion of the philosopher's writings. But owing to their obscurity, which gives them a vague air of magnificent profundity, these were the very pieces that some most admired; and their resemblance to

the dreamy speculations of the East strongly recommended them to those whose turn of mind led them to mysticism and to the cultivation of occult philosophy. Alexandria was the chief seat of this Platonism, and its professors there obtained the name of Eclectics; for, taking their leading principles from the works of Plato, they added such of those of the Stoics, the Peripatetics, and of the Oriental philosophy, as were capable of being brought into harmony with those of their master. The writings of Philo the Jew will show how Platonism and the Law of Moses were made to accord.

Toward the close of the second century, this philosophy received a more extended form from a teacher named Ammonius Saccas, a man of great ingenuity and of a lively imagination. His object was to bring all sects of philosophy, and all forms of religion, Christianity included, into one harmonious whole. His system differed from that of the Eclectics in this, that, while *they* viewed the different systems as composed of truth and error, *he* regarded them as all flowing from the one source of truth, and therefore capable of being reduced to their original unity. He held the world to be an eternal emanation of the Deity; and he adopted and extended the Egyptian and Platonic notion of Dæmons of different ranks and degrees. The human soul, he asserted, might, by means of certain secret rites, become capable of perceiving and conversing with these intelligences. This art, which he termed *Theurgia*, was a kind of magic, the exercise of which was confined to those of highest order in the sect. With this was combined a system of rigid asceticism, enjoined on all who aimed at freeing the soul from the bonds of the body. Ammonius, who was born a Christian, represented Christ as having been an admirable Theurgist; and he labored to bring the Christian doctrine into accordance with his own peculiar views, by representing such parts of it as resisted his efforts as interpolations made by ignorant disciples. As many of the Christians studied in his school the effect of the New Platonism, as it was named, or their speculations, proved extremely injurious, and many of the subsequent errors and superstitions into which they fell, may be traced to that source. The most distinguished of the New Platonists were Porphyry, Plotinus Proclus, Simplicius, and Jamblichus. The sect flourished till the time of the final triumph of Christianity.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH. — CORRUPTION OF RELIGION. — THE EBIONITES. — Gnostic HERESIES. — MONTANUS. — THE PASCHAL QUESTION. — COUNCILS. — THE HIERARCHY. — PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, ITS EFFECTS. — RITES AND CEREMONIES. — CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

THE Christian religion, during the last two centuries, had made rapid progress, and extended itself to Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the most remote parts of the Roman empire; but it at the same time had to endure external persecution and internal corruption. It also underwent a change in its discipline and government, and thereby lost a portion of its original simplicity. Of these subjects we will now treat.

Nothing can be more erroneous than the idea given by Gibbon and other skeptical writers of the tolerant spirit of the ancient world. This boasted tolerance merely extended to allowing each people to follow its own national system of religion, and worship its own traditional deities, provided they did not attempt to make proselytes. It was in effect the toleration still to be found in Mohammedan countries; but, with respect to the worship of new or foreign deities by their own citizens, the laws both of Greece and Rome were strict and severe. One of the charges on which the excellent Socrates was condemned to death, was that of introducing new deities; and the language of the Roman law was, "Let no one have any separate worship or hold any new gods; nor let any private worship be offered to any strange gods, unless they have been publicly adopted."* We find that this law was acted on in all times of the republic, and that the magistrates had the power to prevent any foreign mode of worship, drive from the city or otherwise punish its professors and ministers, and seize and destroy their religious books.† The reason of these laws was probably political rather than religious; for all governments have a natural and a just aversion to secret societies, which are so easily and so frequent y con-

* Cicero, *Laws*, ii. 8.

† Livy, iv. 30; xxxix. 16. Val. Max. i. 3. Dion, lii. 36.

verted to political purposes, and the professors of a religion different from that of the state will always form a distinct society, and, as they increase in numbers, may prove dangerous to the political constitution.

The early Christians were unfortunate in many circumstances. The Jews, who were their most implacable enemies, were established in all parts of the empire; and they were not only exposed to their calumnies and persecutions, but, as they were regarded as merely a sect of that people, they came in for their share of the odium under which they lay. Again, proselytism was of the very essence of the new faith; and this was a point on which the Roman government was most jealous and apprehensive. Further, the Christians were taught to hold all idolatrous rites in the utmost abhorrence; and, as these were woven into the whole texture of public and private life, they found it necessary to abstain from the theatres, and from all public shows and solemnities; and they were obliged to be equally on their guard in the relations of private life, and hence they were regarded as morose and unsociable. The spiritual monotheism of the Christians was, moreover, considered as atheism* by those who had no conception of religion disjoined from temples, images, and a plurality of objects of worship. The simple rites and practices of their religion also furnished materials of calumny to their enemies. The symbolical eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, for example, was converted into Thyestian banquets, and their Agapæ or love-feasts were represented as scenes of riot and pollution. The Christians themselves, too, were not always prudent; they gave at times needless offence, and many exhibited what we may term a selfish eagerness to obtain the crown of martyrdom.

We thus see that the Christians were amenable to the ancient law of Rome for introducing a new religion and neglecting to comply with that of the state, and for their zeal in making proselytes to their opinions. They were at the same time odious to the vulgar, for their abstinence from the temples and the public shows. All kinds of calumnies were therefore spread abroad respecting them; and we need not wonder at these finding ready acceptance with the vulgar, when we recollect how they operated on the minds of such

* [Much the same as, at the present day, *deism* and *atheism* are often confounded by the ignorant and bigoted. — J. T. S.]

men as Tacitus and Suetonius. To such a pitch did the popular dislike of the Christians at length rise, that the guilt of all public calamities was laid on them. "If the Tiber," says Tertullian,* "has overflowed its banks; or the Nile has not overflowed; if Heaven has refused its rain; if the earth has been shaken; if famine or plague has spread its ravages, the cry is immediately raised, 'To the lions with the Christians!'"

When Christianity had triumphed over its foes, and was become the religion of the state, men began, like voyagers escaped from shipwreck, to look back with an eye of complacency on the perils through which it had passed, and felt a pleasure in magnifying its calamities and sufferings. The number of persecutions was gradually raised to the mystic number of ten, the number of the victims was prodigiously magnified, and imagination amused itself in varying the modes of their torture. The apostle John, for example, was [pretended to have been] thrown, at Rome, by order of Domitian, into a caldron of boiling oil, from which he came forth unscathed; and St. Babylas was, at Pergamus, put into a brazen bull, heated red-hot; though these martyrdoms were apparently unknown to the learned Eusebius, and there are little grounds for supposing that there was any persecution in the time of Domitian. The chief inventors of these pious legends were the monks, a class of men who have always exhibited a strong inclination for the supernatural and the horrible. We will here briefly sketch the sufferings of the church, as they are to be derived from authentic sources.†

The first persecution of the Christians is that by Nero, above related. That, as we have seen, was merely an effort made by a tyrant to throw the guilt with which he was himself charged on a body who were generally obnoxious: there was nothing whatever religious or political in it, and we have no reason for supposing that it was of long duration, or extended beyond the city of Rome. Eusebius mentions a tradition that St. Paul was beheaded and St. Peter crucified at this time; but little reliance is to be placed on such accounts, and it is extremely doubtful if the latter ever came to Rome.

Under the Flavian family, the Christians were unmolested.

* Apol. 40.

† In the following account of the persecutions, we have made Eusebius our principal guide. Very few of the Acts of the Saints and Martyrs of the first three centuries, as Mosheim observes, are genuine.

Domitian, indeed, is said, toward the close of his reign, to have exercised some severities against them. On this occasion, we are told, the two grandsons of Judas, the brother of our Lord, were brought before him, as being of the family of David. In answer to his inquiries, they told him that their whole property consisted of a small piece of land, which they cultivated themselves; and they showed their hands hardened with toil. The kingdom of Christ which they expected they described as a celestial one, which would not appear till the end of the world. The tyrant, apprehending little from the heirs of such a kingdom, dismissed them with contempt, and put an end to the persecution.*

In the reign of Trajan, Eusebius says, "there was a partial persecution excited throughout the cities, in consequence of a popular insurrection," *i. e.* an insurrection of the populace against the Christians, the usual source of persecution. It would appear to have been very partial indeed, for he mentions but one martyr, St. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, a kinsman of our Lord's. The celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan, however, proves that in some parts of the empire the Christians were exposed to much peril. This amiable man, being appointed governor of Pontus and Bithynia in the year 103, found numerous charges brought against persons of all ages and sexes as Christians. Unwilling to punish, and uncertain how to act, he wrote to the emperor for advice.† Trajan, in his reply, directed that the Christians should not be sought after, but that, if accused and convicted, they should be punished, and that no anonymous accusations should be attended to. Considering the Roman law on the subject, and the general state of sentiment and feeling at the time, this rescript is highly creditable to the humanity and the justice of the emperor. From Pliny's letter we learn that a chief ground of proceeding against the Christians was the emperor's aversion to clubs and societies, (*hætarías*), for which reason Pliny was very strict in prohibiting the Christians from meeting together to celebrate the Eucharist or hold their love feasts.

We further learn that the number of the Christians was very considerable, both in the towns and in the country, and that the heathen temples had been nearly deserted; but that, when the law was put in force, such numbers abandoned their

* Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. iii. 20.

† Plin. Ep. x. 97, 98

faith, that Pliny had strong hopes that the superstition, as he termed it, might be suppressed.

So far was Hadrian from being a persecutor, that, according to Justin Martyr,* Serenius Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, having written to him "that it did not appear just to put the Christians to death without a regular accusation and trial, merely to gratify the outcries of the populace," he issued a rescript, directed to Granianus's successor, Minucius Fundanus, directing him to pay no regard to mere petitions and outcries, but to judge of the accusations himself, and to punish the accused according to the quality of their offence, if it was clearly proved that they had transgressed the laws, but at the same time to punish severely any one who should bring a false and slanderous accusation. The emperor, it would seem, wrote to the same effect to some of the other governors.†

During the reign of the excellent Antoninus Pius, the Christians suffered no molestation on the part of the government; but they had much to endure from the malignity and superstition of the populace of the provincial towns of Asia. The emperor, however, interposed in their behalf, and renewed the directions of Hadrian to the authorities in the provinces.

Hitherto the sufferings of the Christians had been comparatively light; but under the reign of the philosophic M. Aurelius, a severe persecution raged against them. It is not quite clear whether any edicts were made by the emperor directing them to be punished,‡ but he certainly held them in contempt, and he was anxious to uphold the ancient religion and ceremonies of the state, and may therefore have been inclined to deal rigorously with those who rejected and opposed them. Still, on examining the accounts of the martyrdoms in this reign, it will appear that they resulted in general from the usual cause—the hatred of the populace towards the Christians.

The year 166, in which Aurelius first left Rome for the German war, is usually fixed on as the commencement of the persecution. A Christian, named Ptolemæus, and two others were put to death at Rome, solely, we are told, on account of their faith. On this occasion, Justin Martyr (by whom we

* Euseb. iv. 8, 9.

† Euseb. iv. 26.

‡ Melito (*ap.* Euseb. iv. 26) would seem to assert that there were decrees issued against the Christians by Aurelius; but Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) avers the contrary.

are informed of the fact) addressed his second Apology to the emperor and the senate. He was himself, soon after, with some others, put to death by the city prefect Rusticus. As Rusticus was a philosopher, and the Epicurean Crescens, Justin's great opponent, was then at Rome, there appears to be some reason for supposing that the philosophers had already adopted that spirit of inveterate hostility to the Christians which caused them to become their unrelenting persecutors. It was also in this year that the persecution broke out at Smyrna, in which the venerable Bishop Polycarp, and about a dozen other Christians, suffered for their faith. The church of Smyrna wrote, on this occasion, an epistle to those of Pontus, from which we learn the following particulars.

The letter commenced with an account of the other martyrs and their sufferings. "The by-standers," it says, "were struck with amazement at seeing them lacerated with scourges to their very blood and arteries, so that the flesh concealed in the very inmost parts of the body, and the bowels themselves, were exposed to view. Then they were laid upon sea-shells, and on the sharp heads of spears on the ground, and, after passing through every kind of punishment and torment, were at last thrown as food for wild beasts." The youth and beauty of one of these martyrs, named Germanicus, interested the proconsul so much, that he earnestly implored him to take compassion on himself; but the ardent youth even irritated the beast to which he was exposed, and speedily perished. The multitude then began to call for Polycarp. This venerable prelate had, on the urgency of his friends, retired from the city: but he was discovered and seized by those sent in quest of him. When brought back to Smyrna, he was conducted straight to the Stadion, (where public shows were exhibited,) and led to the tribunal of the proconsul, who urged him to deny Christ, and swear by the genius of Cæsar. "Eighty-and-six years," said the holy prelate, "have I served Christ, and he never did me wrong; and how can I now blaspheme my King that has saved me?" After several vain attempts to influence him, the proconsul caused the herald to proclaim aloud, "Polycarp confesses that he is a Christian." The multitude then, both Jews and Gentiles, cried out, "This is that teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods, he that teaches multitudes not to sacrifice, not to worship." They insisted that a lion should be loosed at him; but, being informed that that part of the

show was over, they cried out that he should be burnt alive, and they forthwith began to collect wood and straw from the shops and baths for the purpose, "the Jews, *as usual*, freely offering their services." It was the custom to secure the victim to the stake with nails; but at his own request Polycarp was merely bound to it. He uttered a most devout prayer, and fire was then set to the pile. But the flames did not approach him; "they presented," says the narrative, "an appearance like an oven, as when the sail of a vessel is filled with the wind, and thus formed a wall round the body of the martyr; and he was in the midst, not like burning flesh, but like gold and silver, purified in the furnace. We also perceived a fragrant odor, like the fumes of incense or other precious aromatic drugs." The executioner at length, by the order of the people, ran him through with his sword; and the gush of blood, it is added, was so great as to extinguish the fire. At the instigation of the Jews, the body of the martyr was burnt, lest, as they said, the Christians should begin to worship Polycarp instead of him that was crucified. The letter asserts that the martyrdom of Polycarp terminated the persecution at Smyrna; but as martyrs are mentioned at Pergamus, victims may still have continued to be given to the popular fury.

Hitherto the persecution of the Christians seems to have been nearly confined to Asia, and to have been chiefly excited by the Jews; but in the year 177, Gaul, whither the gospel had now penetrated, became the scene of persecution on a scale of magnitude as yet without example. The churches of Lyons and Vienne wrote to those of Asia a full account of their sufferings, from which it appears that the governor and the populace were equally envenomed against the Christians, and that the emperor himself, when consulted on the subject, merely directed that those who were Roman citizens should be beheaded, those who renounced their faith be dismissed, leaving the rest to be exposed to the beasts, or put to death in other barbarous modes. Among the victims were Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, a venerable prelate of ninety years of age, and Attalus of Pergamus, a man of great zeal and piety. But the constancy of a female slave, named Blandina, was the subject of admiration to both Christians and Gentiles. Every refinement of torture was exercised upon her; day after day she was tortured or exposed to the beasts, who, however, would not even touch her. At length she was put in a net, and flung before a furious bull; and

when he had tossed her till she became insensible, she was despatched by the executioner. Among the modes of torture employed was an iron chair made quite hot, in which the victims were compelled to sit till their flesh was literally roasted; hot plates of brass were also fastened to the tenderest parts of their bodies. Heathen slaves, belonging to the Christians, were seized, and by terror or persuasion were induced, says the letter, "to charge us with the feasts of Thyestes, and the incests of Œdipus, and such crimes as we may neither think nor speak of, and such indeed as we do not even believe were committed by men."

The reign of Commodus was a period of repose to the church. Severus also favored the Christians in the first years of his reign; but in 202 he issued an edict forbidding any one to become a Jew or a Christian. This gave occasion to the exercise of some severities, of which the principal scene was Alexandria. In the reigns that intervened between Severus and Decius, the Christians were either favored or unmolested, with the exception of that of Maximin, who persecuted the heads of the church, on account of their attachment to his virtuous predecessor.

Decius, as we have seen, was anxious to restore the ancient institutions of Rome. As these were connected with the religion of the state, and as the Christians, whose faith was most strongly opposed to that religion, were now become exceedingly numerous, he saw that he must suppress their doctrine before he could hope to carry his design into effect. He accordingly issued an edict, requiring all his subjects, under heavy penalties, to return to the ancient religion; and a persecution of the church, more severe than any that had yet occurred, was the immediate result. The fervid declamation of St. Cyprian, or the highly-colored fancy-piece of St. Gregory Nyssen, on this subject, cannot be relied on with implicit confidence; but from the fact that numbers (including priests and even prelates) apostatized, and from the constancy of the tradition, there can be no doubt but that the persecution was both general and severe. The bishop of Rome suffered martyrdom, those of Jerusalem and Antioch died in prison. The celebrated Origen was also among those who suffered imprisonment and torture in this calamitous period.

Valerian is said to have been at first extremely favorable to the Christians; but when he was in the East, influenced by Macrianus, he wrote to the senate, ordering the severest

measures to be adopted against them. The persecution which ensued was terminated by the captivity of the emperor in the year 260; and Gallienus wrote circulars to the bishops, authorizing them to resume the public exercise of their offices, and assuring them of his protection.

Among the martyrs in the time of Valerian, the most illustrious was St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

This able, zealous, and eloquent prelate had prudently concealed himself during the persecution of Decius. When Valerian's first edict was issued, the proconsul summoned him before him, and informed him that the emperor required all who had abandoned the religion of the state to return to it.* Cyprian replied that he was a Christian, and a bishop, a worshipper of the true and only God. A sentence of banishment was then pronounced against him, and he was sent to Curubis, a city on the sea-coast, about forty miles from Carthage. On the arrival, however, of a new proconsul, he was allowed to return to Carthage, and reside in his gardens near the city. He had not been there long when (258) the proconsul received positive orders to proceed capitally against the Christian teachers. An officer was therefore sent with some soldiers to arrest Cyprian and bring him before the tribunal. As his cause could not be heard that day, the officer took him to his own house for the night, where he treated him with much attention, and allowed his friends free access to him. The Christians kept watch all through the night, in the street before the house. In the morning, the bishop was conducted before the proconsul's tribunal. Having answered to his name, he was called on to obey the emperor's mandate, and offer sacrifice. He replied, "I do not sacrifice." The proconsul urged him, but he was firm; and that magistrate, having consulted with his council, read from a tablet his sentence in the following words: "That Thascius Cyprianus should be immediately beheaded, as the enemy of the gods of Rome, and as the chief and ringleader of a criminal association, which he had seduced into an impious resistance against the laws of the most holy emperors, Valerian and Gallienus." The bishop calmly responded, "God be praised!" the Christians, who were present in great numbers, cried out, "Let us too be beheaded with him." Cyprian was then led away to the plain before the city; the presbyters and deacons accompanied him, and aided him in his preparations for

* The prelate had been a convert.

death; he took off his upper garment, and, directing them to give the executioner five-and-twenty pieces of gold, laid his hands on his face, and bent his head, which was struck off at one blow. In the night his body was conveyed, amidst a multitude of lights, to the burial-place of the Christians, and there deposited, the government giving no opposition.*

After the reign of Valerian, the church had rest for nearly half a century, when its last and greatest persecution broke out. We will relate that event in its proper place.

On reviewing the history of the church for the first three centuries, various subjects of reflection present themselves. We may, for example, observe, as we have already done, that the sufferings of the Christians have been greatly exaggerated by the frauds and fictions of succeeding ages; that the persecutions on the part of the Roman government were political rather than religious, as they occurred in the reigns of the best emperors, who were evidently prompted by the desire of restoring the ancient institutions to which the Roman greatness was ascribed; that, finally, the greatest sufferings of the Christians were caused by the fanatic spirit of the populace, especially in the cities of Asia, and at the instigation of the Jews; and were sometimes brought on by their own imprudence. It may further be observed, that the charge made against the heathen priesthood of exciting the fanaticism of the people out of regard to their own gains, does not seem to be well founded. They did not, in fact, except in Asia Minor, form a separate caste or order; and they therefore had not the corporate spirit which would inspire them with jealousy and fears. Finally, we would observe that the popular saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," should be received with great limitations. That many were led to view Christianity with a favorable eye when they saw the constancy with which even women and children met torture and death, is not to be denied; the same effects were observed in England in the time of Queen Mary Tudor. But false religion, heresy, even atheism itself, have had their martyrs; and the progress of Christianity should be ascribed to its true causes, namely, its purity, and the other causes already enumerated.

It is a melancholy reflection, that, giving the greatest ex-

* There is a very circumstantial account of the martyrdom of Cyprian, by the deacon Pontius, who was in attendance on him; the consular acts also remain, and the two accounts harmonize.

tent consistent with truth and probability to the number of Christians immolated by the policy or the intolerance of heathen Rome, it still fell infinitely short of that of the victims sacrificed to the bigotry of Papal Rome. When we think of the crusade against the Albigenses, of the 50,000 or 100,000 Protestants destroyed in the Netherlands, the St. Bartholomew massacre in France, the 100,000 persons burnt by the Inquisition, and the other dreadful deeds of the church of Rome, the persecutions of Aurelius, of Decius, and even of Diocletian, shrink into absolute insignificance; and we are forced to acknowledge that the perversion of true religion can outgo any false religion in barbarity. At the same time we must protest against the acts of Popery being laid to the charge of genuine Christianity.

The evils of persecution were only transient; but those inflicted by heresy and false doctrine were deep and permanent, and their ill effects are felt even at the present day. The pride of the human intellect, and the desire to discover those secrets which are not to be known to man, gave origin to most of those opinions which we find recorded as monstrous heresies by the Fathers of the Church. These may be all comprehended under the term Gnosis, (*Γνωσις*, *knowledge*,) the word used to designate the false philosophy which then prevailed, and which had been derived from the sultry regions of India and Persia. To this is to be added the New Platonism of the Greeks, which, however, had borrowed largely of the Oriental philosophy, and the Judaism or corrupted religion of the people of Israel. From these various sources flowed all the corruptions of the pure and simple religion of the gospel; and so early did their operation commence, that it may be said that the stream had hardly burst from the sacred mount when it was defiled with mundane impurities.

It is not our intention to treat of all the heresies enumerated by the Fathers. We shall only touch upon the principal ones, commencing with those which originated in Judaism.*

From the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, we learn that the Jewish converts in general, from devotion to their law, whose precepts they regarded as of everlasting obligation, and from their ignorance of the true nature and spirit of Christianity, held that the observance of the cere-

* In the remainder of this chapter, our immediate authority has been the learned, candid, and judicious Mosheim. The references to Irenæus and other writers will be found in his works.

monial law was necessary for salvation. Against this erroneous notion the apostle Paul exerted himself with the utmost vigor; and he succeeded in checking its progress among the Gentile converts. It still, however, continued to prevail among the Christians of Judæa; and after the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Hadrian, those who persisted in maintaining it withdrew to Peræa, or the region beyond the Jordan, and formed there a church of their own. They soon, however, split into two sects, named Nazarenes and Ebionites;* each of which had its peculiar gospel, differing from those which have been received by the church in general. The former, who held that the Mosaic law was binding only on Jews, were not regarded as heretics; but the latter, denying the miraculous conception of Christ, and asserting that the Mosaic law, with all the additions made to it by the traditions of the Pharisees, was binding on every one, were naturally placed under that denomination. Neither attained to any importance; and after no very long time their names alone remained to testify their former existence.

On looking through the ancient religions of Europe, from the Frozen Ocean to the Mediterranean, one is struck with the absence of all purely malignant beings: in those of Asia, on the contrary, we usually encounter one or more deities whose delight is in the production of evil, or whose office is destruction. In the Mosaic religion, the evil power is justly represented as the mere servant of the supreme God; but in some of the uninspired creeds, he is exalted into the rival and enemy of the great Author of good. This system received its fullest development in the ancient religion of Persia, where, beside the original cause of all, there was a hierarchy of good spirits ruled over by a prince named Ormuzd, who were engaged in ceaseless conflict with Ahriman, the prince of darkness, and his subordinate spirits.† The Apocryphal books of the Jews show that during the Captivity they had imbibed many ideas from the religion of their conquerors; and at the time when Christianity was first promulgated, the Ori-

* That is, The Poor, as the term signifies in Hebrew. The best-founded opinion as to its origin is, that it was adopted by themselves on account of their humility or poverty.

† [It should, however, be added, that both Ormuzd and Ahriman were subordinate to the supreme first cause, according to this system, and that it was a fundamental article that, in the end, Ahriman was to be overcome by Ormuzd. — J. T. S.]

ental philosophy, or Gnosis, as this system is denominated, was widely spread over western Asia.

The doctrine of the two principles evidently arose from the wish to explain the origin of evil. Nature and reason lead man to regard the Supreme Being as purely good. That evil could not proceed from *him* was manifest; whence, then, the ills of nature and the vice and pains of man? Matter which composed the parts of the world and the bodies of man was an apparent cause; but matter, sluggish and inert, could hardly be supposed to have organized itself, and produced the beauty, order, and harmony, so conspicuous in the material world; and if that task was assigned to the Deity, he became, by necessary inference, the author of all the evil that thence resulted. There must therefore have been some intelligent being the author of evil. On the subject of the nature of this being there was much difference of opinion. Some regarded him as equal to and coëternal with the good Deity; others held him to be generated of matter; others, again, maintained that he was the offspring of the Deity, who, from pride and envy, had rebelled against the author of his being, and erected a separate state for himself. Many viewed the creator of the world as one of the spirits generated by the Deity, who was moved to his work by a sudden impulse, and acted with the approbation of the Deity, from whom pride afterwards caused him to fall off, and to seduce men to disobedience. Others thought he had a natural tendency to evil; others, that, like the world and man, his work, he was composed of both good and evil. All agreed in the belief of an eternal warfare between the good and evil principles.

The professors of this philosophy gave to the good being the appellation of Depth, (*Βυθός*), on account of his unfathomable nature; they named his abode the Fulness, (*Πλήρωμα*), a vast expanse resplendent with everlasting light. Here he abode for ages in solitude and silence, till at length, moved by some secret impulse, he begat of himself two intelligences, one of either sex. These gave being to others, who becoming progenitors in their turn, the region of light was gradually peopled with a numerous family of blessed spirits; but the farther their remove, in the order of birth, from the original parent, the less was their degree of goodness, knowledge, and power. To the higher class of these spirits was given the name of Æons, (*Ἄῶνες*), or eternal beings.

Matter lay, rude and undigested, far beyond the realms of light. It was agitated by turbulent, irregular, intestinal mo-

tions, and contained in it the seeds of moral and natural evil. In this condition it was found by the Æon, who was to give it form. This being, named the Demiurge (*Δημιουργός*) or Worker, having fashioned the world, filled it with men and other animals, giving them particles of the divine essence to animate their material bodies. He then threw off his allegiance to the author of his being, assumed the government of the world, dividing it into districts, of which he assigned the government to the inferior spirits who had assisted him in the work of creation. The Deity, however, did not abandon the world altogether. Moved with compassion for the divine portion of man which was confined in the prison of the flesh, and liable to be involved in ignorance and tainted with vice, he from time to time sent forth teachers, endowed with wisdom and filled with celestial light, to instruct mankind in truth and virtue; but the Demiurge and his associates persecuted and slew the divine messengers, and opposed the truth by superstition and sensual pleasures. Their efforts were but too successful; a small portion only of mankind continued in the worship of the true God and the practice of virtue; all the rest were sunk in idolatry and sensuality. The former, when freed from their bodies by death, were admitted at once into the realms of supernal light; the latter were forced to migrate into various bodies; but the greater part, if not all of them, will at length be purified and restored to their celestial country, and then the Deity will dissolve the material world, and reduce it to its primitive state, and vice and misery will cease forever.

The belief of the essential malignity of matter was calculated to produce two opposite effects on the moral conduct of man. Some would think it their duty to invigorate the spirit and keep the body under by meditation, by fasting, by self-denial, and mortification of every kind. Hence the Yogees of Brahmanism, the Fakeers and Dervishes of Mohammedanism, and the monks of Buddhism and corrupted Christianity. Others, maintaining that the essence of piety consisted in a knowledge of the Supreme Being, and the maintenance of an intercourse with him by contemplation and abstraction, and that the pure soul was unaffected by the acts of its impure companion, held that the practice of virtue was not enjoined by the Deity, but was only the artifice of the prince of the world to keep men in obedience. They therefore freely indulged all their sensual propensities. This explains the charges of dissoluteness made against some sects

of the Gnostics ; but these charges, which are certainly exaggerated, must not be implicitly received.

Had this false philosophy remained distinct from Christianity, it might have proved comparatively innocuous. But the Gnostic philosophers looked forward to the appearance of another of the divine messengers who were to redeem mankind from the tyranny of the Demiurge ; and many of them, struck by the miracles of Jesus Christ, and the purity, sublimity, and comprehensiveness of his doctrine, which tended to abrogate the Mosaic law, (regarded by them as the work of the Demiurge,) and overthrow the idolatry of the heathen, saw in him the long-expected envoy of heaven, and embraced his religion. Their firmly-rooted tenets, however, did not accord with its divine simplicity ; and they found it necessary to modify it considerably. For this purpose, they asserted that the religion of Christ consisted of two sets of doctrines ; the one easy, and suited to the capacity of the vulgar, which was contained in the books of the New Testament ; the other of a higher nature and deeper import, revealed by Christ in private to his apostles, for their knowledge of which they were indebted to Peter, Paul, and Andrew ; in whose names they forged various Gospels and Epistles. They also maintained that the copies of the New Testament in common use had been corrupted, and produced what they affirmed to be genuine transcripts of the real originals. They moreover appealed to certain books which bore the venerable names of Seth, Noah, Abraham, and other holy men, as their authors, as well as to those propagated in the name of Zoroaster and other Eastern sages. They thus were enabled, in conformity with their tenets, to deny that the Mosaic law was given by God, to maintain that Christ was by nature far inferior to the Father, and that he never really assumed a natural body ; and totally to reject the doctrine of the resurrection, regarding all the passages relating to it as merely figurative. It proved fortunate for Christianity that the Gnostics were not united in one consistent body, but were divided into several sects ; for, agreeing in general principles, they differed widely among themselves as to their manner of viewing and explaining particular doctrines ; and their dissensions gave their adversaries many advantages in the contest.

From sundry passages in the apostolic writings,* it may be justly inferred that the Gnosis had affected Christianity within

* Col. ii. 8. 1 Tim. i. 3, 4 ; iv. 1, *seq.* ; vi. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 9.

a very few years from the date of its first promulgation. It was not, however, till the second century, and the reign of Hadrian, that the Gnostics began to form themselves into sects, and became formidable to the church. We will now enumerate the principal founders of these sects, and state their leading tenets.

At the head of the Gnostic heretics is usually placed Simon Magus, who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; but it is extremely doubtful if he be the Gnostic teacher; and at all events he was an open enemy, and not a secret corrupter of Christianity. The same obscurity hangs over Menander and Cerinthus, who are regarded as his successors. The two former are said to have been Samaritans, the latter a Jew. All studied at Alexandria, and all held the leading Gnostic tenets. Cerinthus, however, manifested some respect for the law of Moses, declaring that such parts of it as Christ had sanctioned should be observed. He also thought more favorably than the Gnostics in general of the creator of the world, who, according to him, had acted in creation conformably to the will of the supreme Deity. He did not, therefore, regard matter as absolutely evil, or deny the resurrection. According to him, the man Jesus was born in the natural way of Joseph and Mary, and the *Æon* Christ descended on him, at his baptism, in the form of a dove; and previous to the crucifixion, the *Æon* returned to the Pleroma, leaving the man to suffer the pains of the cross. There appear to be no grounds for charging Cerinthus with immorality of either life or doctrine. His errors were those of the head rather than of the heart.

Saturninus, a native of Antioch, was a Gnostic philosopher, who embraced Christianity in the second century. He taught that Satan, the ruler of matter, was coeval with the Deity; that the world was created by seven angels, without the knowledge of the Deity, who, however, was not displeased when he saw it, and breathed into man a rational soul; that he then divided the world into seven districts, of which he committed the government to the creating angels, one of whom was over the Hebrew nation, and gave it a law through Moses. Satan, he said, enraged at the creation of the world, and the virtue of its inhabitants, formed another race of men out of matter, with malignant souls like his own; and hence arose the great moral differences to be observed among men. After a time, the founders of the world rebelled against God, who sent his Son on earth, arrayed in

an apparent body, to deliver the souls of good men from both them and Satan. The moral discipline of Saturninus was ascetic and severe; he discouraged marriage; he enjoined abstinence from wine and flesh-meat; and taught to keep under the body, as being formed from matter which was in its essence evil and corrupt.

While Saturninus was spreading his doctrines in Syria, an Alexandrian philosopher, named Basilides, who had embraced Christianity, was engaged in diffusing a somewhat similar system through Egypt. The leading principles of Gnosticism formed the basis of his system also, in which the Deity and the seven Æons formed a sacred Ogdoad. Two of these Æons, named Wisdom (*Sophia*) and Power, (*Dynamis*), generated certain princes, or angels, who, having founded a heaven for themselves, generated other inferior angels, who, in their turn, formed a heaven and generated angels, and the process went on till the number of heavens was three hundred and sixty-five, which were all under the dominion of a supreme lord, who bore the mystic name of Abraxas.* The prince of the last of these heavens, which lay on the confines of the eternal matter, conceived the idea of reducing it to form, which he effected with the aid of his angels. The origin of the vice and misery of man being explained in the usual way, but of course with some variations, Basilides affirmed that Mind, or Intelligence, (*Noûs*), the first of the seven Æons, was directed by the Deity to descend on earth, and put an end to the dominion of the presiding angels, and restore the knowledge of his father among them. He therefore took the semblance of a body, and, when the god of the Jews caused him to be condemned to death, he adopted that of Simon the Cyrenæan, who was compelled to bear his cross; and it thus was Simon, and not Jesus, who, in reality, was crucified. The souls of those who obeyed the precepts of Christ would, at death, pass to the realms of supreme bliss; those of the disobedient would migrate into the bodies of men and other animals. The body being composed of matter, which was incapable of purity, would never be raised. The moral system of Basilides was extremely rigorous. He asserted the utmost freedom of the will, declared that God would forgive no offences but those that were involuntary, and regarded the inclination to

* That is, 365; for the letters of it, taken as numerals, give that number. Of such nonsense is mysticism usually composed

any sin as identical with the actual commission of it. Some of the followers of Basilides, however, abusing the maxim that "to the pure all things are pure," and asserting that the soul is unaffected by the acts of its material companion, plunged into vice and licentiousness.

Another Alexandrian, named Carpocrates, the contemporary of Basilides, also became the founder of a sect. His theological principles appear not to have differed much from the ordinary Gnostic ones. Writers are unanimous in describing his moral system as licentious in the extreme. In their accounts there is, probably, as usual, much exaggeration; but it is certain that he held that there was no natural distinction between good and evil; and that women, and all other things, should be common. We know not, however, how these principles may have been modified, so as to make them accord with the notions of the Deity, and the necessity of virtue, common to him with all the Gnostic sects.

The reputation and influence of these heresiarchs were far eclipsed by those of Valentine, another Alexandrian, and a presbyter of the church. After spreading his system among his countrymen, he went to Rome, where he made such a number of proselytes, that the church, in alarm, excommunicated him as a heretic. He then took up his abode in the isle of Cyprus, and openly became the head of a sect which was soon very widely diffused.

The system of Valentine, as transmitted to us by the ancient Fathers, is so intricate that we cannot undertake to give an account of it. It also, in wildness and absurdity, seems to transcend all others; but, no doubt, many things have been misunderstood; and to others Valentine might have been able to give a tolerably rational appearance. He placed in the Pleroma thirty *Æons*, fifteen of either sex, which he divided into three orders. To these he added four others of a different nature. Two of these last were named Christ and Holy Ghost; and the last of the *Æons* was Jesus, the most noble of them, who was formed by the united efforts of all the others. One of the female *Æons*, named Sophia, produced a daughter, who was called Acha-moth, and who, being expelled from the Pleroma, became, by a long and intricate course, the origin of the world, the history of whose creation, and of the nature of man, is related with more complexity than in the other Gnostic systems, with which that of Valentine agrees in all the main points. The moral system founded on this theology by Valentine, was

strict, and free from impurity; but many of his followers made it sanction their sensuality and vice.

Many other sects, founded on the doctrine of the two principles, are enumerated by ancient writers; but as they never were of any importance, we need not notice them. The names of Bardesanes, Tatian, and Marcion, however, demand some attention.

Bardesanes was a Christian of Edessa, and a writer in the defence of his faith in the time of Marcus Aurelius. He adopted and modified the Oriental doctrine, and became the founder of a sect; but he afterwards returned to the church, and opposed his own doctrines. Tatian, a native of Assyria, was also a writer in the cause of his religion; and, in like manner, he embraced the doctrine of the two principles. His exact theological tenets are not known, but his moral system was ascetic in the extreme; for he enjoined his disciples to renounce wedlock, abstain from animal food, and live in solitude, on the slightest and most meagre diet; and even to use water instead of wine in the Lord's Supper. Marcion, the son of a bishop in Pontus, being excommunicated by his own father for either his immorality or his heresy, came to Rome; where, being unable to obtain readmission into the church, he joined a Syrian named Cerdo, and became the head of a sect which spread widely and continued long. His system contained the usual doctrine of the two opposite principles, and of the separate creator of the world, and of the unreal body of Christ. His rule of life was ascetic, and so severe as to make death an object of desire, rather than of apprehension.

On taking a general view of the different modifications of Gnosticism, we find them all agreeing in recognizing the eternity of matter; in regarding the founder of the world as totally distinct from the supreme Deity; in believing the bodies of men to have been formed by the former being, while their souls proceeded from the latter; and in maintaining that the body, when once dissolved by death, would never be reanimated; while the soul, if it flung off the yoke of the creator of the world, would ascend to the realms of light and happiness. The Asiatic Gnostics, holding to the ancient Oriental principle, believed in the existence of a separate prince of matter, the author of evil; but this prince was unknown to the systems of the Egyptian Gnostics, who, on the other hand, introduced into them Egyptian notions respect-

ing the heavens, the stars, the descent and ascent of souls, and similar fancies.

The asceticism which springs from the doctrine of the evil nature of matter, and the consequent necessity of delivering the soul from the influence of the body, lies at the foundation of the greater part of the errors and corruptions into which the church fell. The Mosaic law, notwithstanding its numerous ceremonial observances, was a cheerful system; and Christianity, that "perfect law of liberty," as it is most justly called, is decidedly opposed to all austerity and rigor. Yet we find, even in the second century, the germs of those opinions and practices which gradually brought in monkery and its attendant evils. At this time appeared in Phrygia a heretic named Montanus, whose opinions were embraced by Tertullian, one of the most distinguished Fathers of the church at the time, and whose system imbodyed many of the rigorous principles above alluded to, which had hitherto been little more than the peculiar notions of individual Christians. This visionary (for such he appears to have been) conceived that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete promised to the apostles, had descended on himself, for the purpose of empowering him to foretell future events, and establishing a more rigorous system of morals than that founded on the precepts of Christ and his apostles. He drew over numbers to his opinions, among whom were two wealthy women named Priscilla and Maximilla, from the former of whom the sect received one of its appellations, that of Priscillianists. His disciples, as well as himself, pretended to the gift of prophecy, and the sect spread rapidly through the empire. The bishops of Asia excommunicated Montanus and his followers, and their example was followed by the prelates in other parts; but the sect continued to exist in a separate state.

The principal features in the doctrine of Montanus were the injunction of a greater frequency, and greater rigor, in fasting, than had as yet prevailed in the church; * the forbidding of second marriages; the absolute and irrevocable excommunication of adulterers, as well as of murderers and idolaters; the requiring virgins, as well as widows and wives, (to whom the usage had hitherto been confined,) to wear veils; the forbidding Christians, in time of persecution, to seek their safety in flight, or purchase it from the heathen

* The only fast hitherto observed in the church was that of Passion-week.

magistrates. Montanus, also, as may be inferred from the writings of his follower Tertullian, prohibited all kinds of costly attire, and ornaments of the person, and discouraged the cultivation of letters and philosophy. In all these opinions, as we have said, he did little more than enforce principles which had long been held by the more rigorous members of the church; but while these had maintained them in a spirit of meekness and charity, *he* arrogantly imposed them as the dictates of the Holy Spirit, whom, consequently, those who refused to submit to these trifling and irrational precepts, would incur the guilt of resisting. This, combined with his absurd and dangerous prophecies, fully, we think, justified the church in refusing to hold communion with him.

Another source of heresy, in this period, was the nature of Christ. Praxeas, an opponent of Montanus, denied all distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and affirmed that it was the Father, the sole God, that took a human body in the person of Christ. Hence his followers were named Monarchians and Patripassians. On the other hand, Theodotus and Artemon denied the divinity of Christ, and maintained that his superior excellence was solely owing to his body being divinely begotten.

The dispute of greatest magnitude in the church, during this period, was that respecting the Paschal feast, or day of the institution of the Lord's Supper. This the Asiatic Christians kept on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month, the day of the Passover, alleging the authority of the apostles Philip and John. But as this interrupted the great fast of Passion-week observed by the church, all the other Christians deferred it till the eve of the day of the resurrection, resting on the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul. As the day of the Passover was variable, depending on the moon, (the Jewish months being lunar,) there was this further inconvenience, that the third day from it, that of the resurrection, did not always fall on the first day of the week, the day fixed by the church for its observance. Various attempts having therefore been made, to no purpose, to get rid of this anomaly, toward the close of the second century, Victor, bishop of Rome, supported by several provincial councils, wrote in very dictatorial terms to the churches of Asia, requiring them to conform to the practice of the other churches; and, when they returned a spirited refusal, he was proceeding to excommunicate them, when Irénæus, bishop

of Gaul, interposed, and a compromise was effected. The Asiatics, however, retained their peculiar usage till the time of the council of Nicæa.

We will now proceed to notice the government and doctrines of the church during the second and third centuries.

Each church, *i. e.* congregation, with its bishop and presbyters, was independent, forming a little republic, presided over by magistrates chosen by the people, and each measure of moment was decided by the popular voice. These churches were at first confined to the cities and towns; but, gradually, as the faith was spread among the country people, churches were formed in the villages, over which were set presbyters, sent by the church in the adjacent city or large town, who exercised nearly all the functions of the bishop, and were therefore named *Chorepiscopi*, *i. e.* rural bishops. These daughter-churches were, however, like all others, independent; but they testified a filial reverence for the church which had founded them, and whose authority they in some sort recognized. By degrees, it became the practice for the churches of a province to form themselves into an association, and to hold conventions for the discussion of matters of common interest, at which the churches were represented by their bishops. This practice is said to have originated in Greece; and it is easy to recognize the resemblance between these Synods, (*Σύνοδοι*), as they were called by the Greeks, or Councils, (*Councilia*), as they were styled by the Latins, and the ancient Amphictyonics, and the *Synods* of the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues.* The laws and regulations made in these assemblies were termed *Canons*, (*Κανόνες*), *i. e.* rules.

The introduction of these councils caused a great alteration in the constitution of the church. The original rights of the people became, in consequence of them, nearly evanescent, for every matter of importance was now determined by the councils. On the other hand, the dignity and authority of the prelates was proportionably enlarged. Their tone grew bolder, and they now spoke of themselves as the legitimate successors of the apostles, and empowered to impose laws by their own authority. The primitive equality among the bishops themselves also disappeared; for, as it was necessary that a council should have a president, the office was bestowed on the bishop of the chief city of the

* See History of Greece, pp. 24 and 440.

province, which city was naturally selected as the most appropriate place for holding the council. Hence arose the title and dignity of Metropolitan; and further, as councils became more extensive, and began to include the prelates of more provinces than one, it was deemed expedient to have a chief for each division of the earth included in the Roman empire; and a tacit superiority was therefore conceded to the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, with precedence to the first, on account of the greater dignity of the city in which he resided. These three ecclesiastical potentates were afterwards named Patriarchs. In this manner, from the smallest beginnings, arose the Hierarchy of the church, which, in course of time, attained to such an astounding eminence.

The high authority of the Hebrew Scriptures enabled the ministers of the church to enlarge their pretensions to authority. They conceived or represented themselves to have succeeded to all the rights of the Jewish priesthood. The bishop accordingly claimed the rights and authority of the high-priest; the presbyters those of the ordinary priests; the deacons those of the Levites. Hence followed the demand of tithes and first-fruits, which there is abundant reason to suppose was made even before the third century. It is not unlikely that it was also these Jewish notions that gave origin to the distinction of clergy and laity,* which very early prevailed in the church.

In the third century we find among the clergy a variety of inferior officers, such as Sub-deacons, Acolyths, (*attendants*,) Ostiaries, (*door-keepers*,) Readers, and Exorcists. As these performed duties which had hitherto been discharged by the deacons, we see nothing improbable in the supposition that they were indebted for their origin to the pride of these last-named ministers, who now confined themselves to the more honorable functions of their office, devolving the more menial ones on an inferior class of persons. Perhaps, however, the more simple solution will be found in the principle of the division of labor, which the great increase of the church may now have called into operation.

Such, then, was the appearance presented by the Christian church at the close of the third century. The distinction was drawn clear and broad between the clergy and the laity; the former forming an order variously subdivided,

* *Κληρικοί*, from *κλήρος*, lot or office; *λαϊκοί*, from *λαός*, people.

and claiming peculiar privileges. Were we to adopt the assertions of Cyprian, Eusebius, and other Christian writers, who find the causes of all the persecutions in the vices of the clergy, we should view them as utterly depraved; but these writers indulged too much in rhetorical exaggeration to deserve implicit credit; and though it must be conceded, that pride, ambition, avarice, luxury, and other vices, defiled the purity of the Christian priesthood, the truth is probably contained in the assertion of Origen, that, though such was undoubtedly the case, the preëminence, in point of virtue, in the Christian ministers, as compared with the heathen magistrates and other persons in office, was incontestable. They were, in fact, men, and, as such, of different degrees of moral worth; if some were eminently bad, others were as eminently good, and the great majority indifferent. Finally, to repeat an observation already made, the errors or vices of its professors cannot be laid to the charge of the Christian religion.

The first Christians, mostly selected from the humbler walks of life, had been ignorant or careless of literature and philosophy; but, in the course of time, philosophers were numbered among the converts to Christianity, and their attempts at making it harmonize with their previous notions, were a principal cause of its corruption. We have already shown this in the case of the Gnostics; and we shall now briefly exhibit the influence of the philosophy of Greece on the doctrines of the church.

The first philosopher who appears to have joined the Christian society, was Justin, named the Martyr. He was a Platonist; and such also were most of the other Christian philosophers, for the tenets of Plato were those which appeared most akin to the doctrines of the gospel. But it was the Eclectic Platonism of Alexandria that was chiefly followed by the Christians, who had a seminary in that city, named the Catechetical School, which was successively presided over by Pantænus, Athenagoras, and Clement, and in which the attempt was made to bring religion and philosophy into unison. A contest prevailed between the followers of this system and the advocates for gospel simplicity; but the victory was on the side of the former, and the formation, toward the end of the second century, of the sect of the New Platonists, by the celebrated Ammonius Saccas, assured their triumph and the corruption of the gospel. The learned among the Christians now began, like the Gnostics,

to maintain, that in the Scriptures there was, beside the literal sense, a latent and higher one; for thus only could their narratives and precepts be made to accord with the new philosophic ideas. In this they followed the example of the Jewish Platonist, Philo, who had already employed this system to some extent; and any one who peruses his writings, or those of Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and the other early Christian philosophers, will easily perceive how widely it departs from all the principles of sane interpretation. As, however, many saw the danger of making such high matters known to the simple and ignorant, the plan of the old Egyptian priesthood was adopted, and the principles of their religion were taught to the people with all plainness and simplicity; while the philosophic interpretation was reserved for the more advanced in faith, and even to them only communicated orally. Hence arose what has been termed the Secret Discipline, (*Disciplina Arcani*;) that is, in effect, mystic theology. Hence, too, followed a similar distinction in morals; there was one rule for the multitude, another for the aspirants to higher sanctity and to perfection. These last were, on the Gnostic principles already explained, to seek retirement and mortify the flesh, avoiding marriage and all indulgence of the senses; while the former were left to live like other men, to engage in the affairs of the world, and become the fathers and mothers of families. This was the origin of hermits, monks, and cœnobites, of whom we shall hereafter treat more largely.

A twofold distinction in the discipline and ceremonies of the church speedily followed. These philosophizing Christians, reflecting on the mysteries of the heathen religions, thought that it would be becoming to have something similar in the church. The laity was therefore divided into the Profane and the Initiated or Faithful; the former, who had either not been yet baptized, (such being named Catechumens or learners,*) or those who for some offence had been expelled from the communion of the Faithful, were only admitted to a portion of the divine service; while the latter enjoyed all the rights and privileges of the full Christian, voting in the assemblies, being present at all parts of the service, and partaking of the Agapæ or Love-feasts, and of the Lord's Supper. A holy silence toward the profane respecting these *mysteries* was required from them. The

* Οἱ κατηχοίμενοι, the being instructed.

terms belonging to the heathen mysteries were freely and fondly employed, and baptism and the Eucharist were regarded as of the most awful import, and far removed from their original simplicity. In the former, which was publicly administered every year, at Easter and Whitsuntide, by the bishop or presbyters, the persons to be baptized, after they had repeated the creed and confessed, and renounced their sins, were immersed in water, signed with the cross, anointed, and by prayer and imposition of hands dedicated to God. They then, in token of the new birth, received milk and honey, and the ceremony thus concluded. The Lord's Supper was administered every Sunday. A portion of the bread which formed a part of the ordinary oblations of the faithful, was separated, and was consecrated by the prayers of the bishop; and it then was divided and distributed, as also was the wine when it had been previously mixed with water.* A portion of both the elements was sent to those who were sick or absent. This rite was regarded as absolutely necessary to salvation, and there appears reason to believe that even in the second century the superstition respecting it was such as to cause it to be administered to infants.

It is manifest, that in form, in discipline, and in doctrine, the church was no longer what it had been in the days of the apostles. Some of the changes were the necessary consequence of the progress of time and the alteration of circumstances; but others, and by far the greater in number, and most pernicious in effect, had been introduced in imitation of the Jewish hierarchy, of the mysteries of the heathen religion, and its rites and ceremonies, or from the desire to make Christianity correspond with the philosophy of the East, or with that of Plato. Though the effect was injurious, the motives of the authors of the changes were, in general, pure, and they acted more from ignorance than design.

During this period, the church began to have a literature of its own. The apostolic Fathers, (as those are named who had been contemporaneous with any of the apostles,) Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, have left some writings, all, with the exception of a trifling allegory, the Shepherd of Hermas, in the epistolary form. But some are spurious, and others have suffered from

* Blood and water having flowed from the side of Jesus when he was pierced with the spear.

interpolation; and they are of little value, except as witnesses of the doctrine of the church in their time. Their immense inferiority to those of St. Paul is very striking. In the second century flourished Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Theophilus, who wrote Apologies or defences of the Christian religion, beside treatises on various subjects. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, has left a work, in five books, against heresies, whence we chiefly derive our knowledge of them. Clement of Alexandria, a man of great learning, but too eager to find the heathen philosophy in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, was the author of numerous works; three of which, namely, the Pædagogues, the Exhortation, and the Stromata, or Patchwork, have come down to our times. The only Latin writer remaining from this century is Tertullian, bishop of Carthage, a man of vigorous capacity, but feeble in judgment, and morose and melancholy in temper. His style possesses strength, but wants elegance; and his arguments are rather rhetorical, than correct and convincing.

The principal Greek writers of the third century were Julius Africanus, Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria, Gregory, bishop of New Cæsarea, (named Thaumaturgus, *i. e.* Wonder-worker, from the miracles which he was said to have wrought,) Methodius, and Hippolytus; but their works, which were not of a high order, have mostly perished. Far superior to all of this or the preceding age was Origen, a presbyter of Alexandria, a man of most extensive learning, of profound piety, and of high talent; but in whom, as in most of the Fathers, imagination largely preponderated over judgment.

The Latin writers of this century were Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and the two apologists, Arnobius and Minucius Felix. Cyprian was pious and eloquent; but his style is too rhetorical, and his temper was too haughty and overbearing.

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

PART III.
THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

CHAPTER I.*

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

A. U. 1038—1058. A. D. 285—305.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE. — CHARACTER OF DIOCLETIAN. — IMPERIAL POWER DIVIDED. — THE BAGAUDS. — CARAUSIUS. — REBELLION IN EGYPT. — PERSIAN WAR. — TRIUMPH OF THE EMPERORS. — THEIR RESIGNATION. — PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH.

THE Roman empire had now lasted for three centuries. During that period, the forms of the republic under which the policy of Augustus had concealed the despotism of the imperial rule, had been silently laid aside, and the people were become accustomed to the display of arbitrary power, upheld by the arms of the soldiery. Occasionally, a faint gleam of the ancient Roman spirit broke forth, as in the time of the emperor Tacitus; but the general aspect presented by the inhabitants of the Eternal City, as it now began to be called, was that of a sensual, enervated nobility, and a beggarly, turbulent populace. The provinces, enjoy-

* Authorities: The Epitomators, the Panegyrist, and Lactantius.

ing the rights of which Rome had once been so jealous, exhibited more of virtue and of vigor; and nearly all the emperors, for the two last centuries, had been provincials by origin. While the civil condition of the empire was thus undergoing inevitable change, its ancient systems of religion were fast receding before that of the gospel, and an experienced eye might easily discern that the final triumph of the latter was certain. We are now to witness that triumph, to behold, at the same time, the Roman emperors assuming the pomp and parade of the monarchs of the East, the irruptions of the barbarians becoming every day more formidable, and the empire of the West finally sinking beneath their attacks.

Diocletian, into whose hands the empire had now fallen, was another of those able Illyrian peasants whom their own talents and merits had raised to the height of imperial power. He is said to have been the freedman, or the son of a freedman, of a Roman senator named Anulinus. The place of his birth was a small town in Dalmatia.* He entered the army, and gradually rose to the post of commander of the body-guards, which he held when the votes of his companions in arms invested him with the purple. Good sense and prudence were the distinguishing features in the character of the new emperor. His courage was calm and collected, rather than impetuous; and he never employed force where policy could avail. In this, as in some other points, he resembled Augustus; and the personal courage of both has accordingly been called into question by malignant or superficial observers. The empire which Augustus had founded Diocletian remodelled, and his name stands at the head of a new order of things.

Diocletian used his victory over Carinus with a moderation which had never hitherto been equalled. None of the adherents of his adversary suffered in life, fortune, or honor. Though unversed in letters, and ignorant of the philosophy of the schools, he appreciated the mild philosophy of M. Aurelius, and declared his intention of making him his model in the art of government. In imitation of that emperor, or, more probably, from the suggestion of his own sound judgment, he resolved to give himself a partner in the empire. The extensive frontiers of the Roman dominion were now

* Its name is supposed to have been Doelia, from a tribe of Illyrians, and his own name was probably Docles, which he Hellenized to Diocles, and then Latinized to Diocletianus. See Gibbon, ch. xiii. The Gentile name of his patron was apparently Valerius.

so constantly and so vigorously assailed by the Persians and Germans, that no single person could attend to their defence, and experience had shown that generals intrusted with the command of large armies, might become the rivals of their sovereigns. The person whom Diocletian fixed on as his colleague was his ancient mate in arms, Maximianus, who, born a peasant in the district of Sirmium, had, like himself, risen solely by merit. A second Marius, Maximian was rude, brutal, and ferocious, a brave soldier, an able officer, but neither a general nor a statesman of any account. For the superior wisdom and knowledge of Diocletian, he had the utmost respect, and he always stood in awe of his genius. It is remarkable that Diocletian was able to exercise as much influence over the rude Maximian, as Aurelius had possessed over the luxurious Verus — a proof, perhaps, of his greater force of mind.

Diocletian first conferred on his friend the dignity of a Cæsar, and then raised him to the more elevated rank of an Augustus, (Apr. 1, 286.) On this occasion, the emperors assumed, the one the surname of Jovius, the other that of Herculius, in allusion to their different characters, and the parts they were to bear in the state. Diocletian retained for himself the administration of the provinces of the East, and fixed on Nicomedia as his place of residence; to Maximian he assigned those of the West, and Milan became his imperial abode.

In the following year, (287,) Maximian found employment for his arms in suppressing an insurrection of the peasantry of Gaul, who, under the name of Bagauds, a term of dubious origin,* were spreading devastation through the country. It is remarkable that, at all periods of her history, France has presented the spectacle of a rural population reduced to the extreme of misery by the oppression of an aristocracy, or of the government. Predial servitude to a tyrannic nobility was the condition in which the Romans found the Gallic peasantry; under their own dominion, the same system was continued, and the evil was aggravated by the weight of taxation, and the insolence of a haughty soldiery. The Franks and other German conquerors succeeded to this power, and transmitted it to the feudal lords of the middle ages, with whose descendants it continued to the close of the

* It is derived by some from the Celtic *Bagad*, a tumultuous assembly.

eighteenth century; and, in consequence of the extreme division of landed property which has since taken place, and the high direct taxes imposed on the proprietors, the government appears likely to become, ere long, the owner of the far greater part of the produce of the soil, and the cultivators to sink gradually to the condition of the serfs, their ancestors.

The *jacquerie*, or insurrection of the French peasantry, in the fourteenth century, as narrated in the graphic and animated pages of Froissart, will enable us to form a conception of the rising of the Bagauds, in the fourth century. In both cases, the insurgents were unable to make head against the fully-armed troops opposed to them; in both, the vengeance taken on them was cruel and remorseless.

The leaders of the Bagauds, named Ælianus and Amanus, had assumed the imperial ensigns; their coins may still be seen; but their ambition was short-lived. A more fortunate usurper appeared in Britain. The Franks and other German tribes of the north coast having now begun to addict themselves to piracy, a Roman fleet was stationed at Boulogne, (*Bononia*,) in order to protect the coasts of Gaul and Britain from their ravages. The command of this fleet was given to Carausius, a native of that country, (*i. e.* a Menapian,) a man of very low origin, but skilled in navigation, and of approved courage. It was soon discovered that the pirates used to pass down the channel unobserved or unmolested, but that they were apt to be intercepted on their return, and that a considerable part of the booty gained from them never found its way into the imperial treasury. Maximian, convinced of the guilt of the admiral, gave orders for his death; but the fleet was devoted to Carausius, and he passed with it over to Britain, and, having induced the legion and the auxiliaries stationed there to declare for him, he boldly assumed the purple; and the emperors, after some fruitless attempts to reduce him, were obliged (289) to acknowledge his rank and title.

It soon appeared that even two emperors would not suffice for the defence of the provinces, and Diocletian resolved to associate two other generals in the imperial power. Under the title of Cæsars, they were to rank beneath the emperors, but their power was to be absolute in the parts of the empire assigned them. The persons selected were Galerius Maximianus, a native of Dacia named Armentarius, from his

original employment of a herdsman, and Constantius,* a grand-nephew in the female line of the emperor Claudius. The former was, as might be expected, rude and martial; the latter, though a soldier from his youth, was polished in manners, and mild and amiable in temper. Perhaps it was in imitation of the policy of Augustus, that Diocletian required the Cæsars to divorce their wives and marry the daughters of himself and his colleague. He bestowed the hand of his own daughter Valeria on Galerius, and Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximian, became the wife of Constantius. For himself Diocletian reserved Thrace, Egypt, and the Asiatic provinces, while his Cæsar Galerius governed those on the Danube; Maximian held Italy and Africa; his Cæsar Constantius had charge of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

The power of Carausius, the ruler of this last-named island, was now at its height; by repressing the incursions of the Caledonians and the invasions of the Germans, he preserved internal tranquillity; his fleets rode triumphant on the ocean, and he still retained Boulogne and its district on the continent. But the loss of a rich province was galling to the pride and the dignity of the empire, and Constantius undertook the task of reducing the British ruler, (292.) By running a mole across the harbor of Boulogne, he obliged that town and a great part of the usurper's fleet to surrender. While he was preparing a fleet for the invasion of the island, he received intelligence of the death of Carausius, who was assassinated (294) by Allectus, his principal minister. The murderer assumed the vacant power and dignity, and more than two years elapsed before Constantius had assembled a fleet and army sufficient to attempt the recovery of the island. At length, (296,) he prepared to invade it in three separate places. The first division, under the prætorian præfect Asclepiodotus, put to sea on a stormy day, and by the favor of a fog having escaped the fleet of Allectus, which lay off the Isle of Wight, effected a landing in the West. As soon as his troops had debarked, the præfect set fire to his shipping. Allectus, who had taken his station with a large army at London, to await the arrival of Constantius, hastened to the West; but his troops were few and dispirited, and after a

* He is usually named Chlorus, from his pallid hue, as it would appear, though the Panegyrist (v. 19) speaks of his *rubor*. Tillemont says that it is only in the later Greek writers that his name Chlorus appears.

brief conflict he was defeated and slain.* Constantius, when he landed, met with no opposition; and this noble island was thus, after a separation of ten years, reunited to the empire.

Africa and Egypt gave at this time occupation to the two emperors. In the former, a man named Julian assumed the purple at Carthage, and five confederated Moorish tribes invaded the province. But, on the appearance of Maximian, Julian stabbed himself, and the Moors were easily defeated, and forced to abandon their mountain fastnesses. In Egypt, one Achilleus had assumed the purple at Alexandria, and the Blemmyans were ravaging the valley of the Upper Nile. Diocletian sat down with a large army before Alexandria: he cut off the aqueducts which supplied it with water, and strongly secured his camp against the sallies of the besieged; and after eight months the rebellious city was obliged to surrender at discretion. A severe vengeance was taken, and many thousands of the inhabitants were slaughtered; the cities of Busiris and Coptos were totally destroyed, and all Egypt suffered by sentences of death or exile. To oppose an effectual barrier to the incursions of the Blemmyans, the emperor induced the Nobetæ or Nubians to quit their abodes in the deserts, and settle in the country about Syene and the Cataracts, which he resigned to them on the condition of their guarding that frontier of the empire. While he remained in Egypt, Diocletian made many wise laws and regulations, calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the country.†

A war ensued with Persia, on account of Armenia. We have seen that, from the time of Augustus, the Roman emperors had claimed and exercised the right of bestowing the investiture of that kingdom. After the defeat, however, of Valerian, the Persian monarch, having caused the Armenian king Chosroes to be assassinated, had made himself master of the country. Tiridates, the infant son of the murdered monarch, was saved by his friends, and committed to the care of the Roman emperors. He grew up strong, active, dexterous in the use of arms, and undauntedly courageous; and

* Compare the invasion of England by William the Norman.

† Among others, he directed that a strict search should be made "for all the ancient books which treated of the admirable art of making gold and silver," and committed them to the flames. This is the earliest mention of the vain science of alchemy. See Gibbon, [chap. xiii.] This folly still prevails in the East. See Fraser's Travels in Koordistan, &c., for an instance at the present day.

he won the warm friendship of Licinius, the sworn mate and friend of Galerius. At the instance of this last, Diocletian declared Tiridates king of Armenia; and as soon as the new monarch appeared on the frontiers, (286,) the Armenians, weary of the insults and oppression of the Persians, received him with transports of joy. The Persian garrisons were speedily driven out of the country; and, as a civil war was raging at the time among the Sassanian princes, Tiridates was able not only to recover Armenia, but to carry his arms into Assyria. When, however, the civil conflict terminated, and Narses was acknowledged king of Persia, the whole force of the empire was turned against the revolted Armenians, and Tiridates was once more obliged to seek the protection of the Roman emperors.

As the language of Narses now became insolent and menacing, and prudence and honor alike demanded the restoration of Tiridates, Diocletian prepared for war, (296.) Fixing his own abode at Antioch, he committed the conduct of the war to Galerius, whom he had summoned for the purpose from the banks of the Danube. Galerius crossed the Euphrates, and entered on the plains of Mesopotamia. After some indecisive fighting, the clouds of Persian cavalry enveloped his army, which was far inferior in number, on the very ground which, more than three centuries before, had witnessed the defeat and death of Crassus. The Romans sustained a total overthrow; and Galerius, when he reached Antioch, had the mortification to be received with cold austerity by Diocletian, whose chariot he had to follow on foot, in his imperial purple, for the length of a mile.

A new army, however, was soon formed from the troops of Illyricum and the Gothic auxiliaries; and Galerius, at the head of 25,000 gallant soldiers, was permitted again to try his fortune, (297.) Warned by experience, he now shunned the plains, and advanced through the mountains of Armenia. In person, attended by only two horsemen, he undertook the perilous task of exploring the strength and the dispositions of the hostile force. He then made a sudden attack on the Persian camp; the rout of the enemy was instantaneous and complete. Narses, who was wounded in the action, fled to Media; the Persian camp, replete with riches, became the prey of the victors; * the monarch's own harem fell into the

* A Roman soldier, it is said, meeting with a leathern bag full of pearls, threw away the latter, of which he could not conceive the use,

hands of the Romans; and rude as was the nature of Galerius, his treatment of the royal ladies equalled that of Alexander the Great, on a similar occasion. Diocletian, when he heard of this great victory, set out from Antioch, and met the now elated Galerius at Nisibis. Here they were soon waited on by Apherban, a person high in the confidence of the Persian monarch, with proposals for a treaty of peace. After an interview with the emperors, the Persian was dismissed with an assurance that Narses should speedily be informed of the terms on which peace might be obtained. The secretary, Sicorius Probus, accordingly soon after appeared in the Persian camp, and peace was concluded on the following conditions: All the northern Mesopotamia was to be resigned to the Romans, and the River Aboras* was to form the boundary of the two empires in that country; five provinces beyond the Tigris† were also to be ceded to the Romans; Tiridates was to be restored, and his dominions augmented; the kings of Iberia to be nominated by the Roman emperors.

The empire was now externally at rest; the revolted provinces had been recovered, and the frontiers extended; Diocletian, therefore, took the occasion of the commencement of the twentieth year of his reign (303) for celebrating a triumph for the victories obtained by his arms and under his auspices. For this purpose, he repaired to Rome, which he had not yet honored with his presence, and he and Maximian triumphed jointly, (Nov. 20,) for Africa, Egypt, Britain, and other countries, but more especially for Persia. The ceremony displayed the usual pomp and magnificence; one circumstance, unknown at the time, distinguished it from all others—it was the last real triumph that Rome was to witness.

The importance of the eternal city had suffered a serious diminution by the altered circumstances of the empire, which demanded the presence of the sovereigns nearer to the frontiers. The senate lost the consideration which it had heretofore enjoyed; the once formidable prætorian guards were greatly reduced in number and influence; they ceased

and kept the bag. Am. Marc. xxii. 4. The same story is told of one of the followers of the first Khalifs; but the Arab previously tried to chew the pearls, taking them for grains of millet.

* This river rose near the Tigris, ran by Singara, and entered the Euphrates at Circesium.

† Namely, Zabdicene, Arzinene, Corduene, Moxoene, and Intiline

to be the protectors of the imperial person, their place as such being occupied by two legions of the army of Illyricum, which were named Jovians and Herculians, from the titles of the emperors.

The stay of Diocletian, in this his first and last visit to the capital of the empire, did not exceed two months. The freedom and familiarity of the populace was harsh and unpleasant to his ear, accustomed to the submissive adulation of Greeks and Orientals; motives of policy may also have concurred to give him a distaste for Rome. He quitted that capital, therefore, in the midst of the winter, and proceeded through Illyricum to the East. The fatigue of the journey and the severity of the weather brought on a lingering illness. He was obliged to travel by short stages, and mostly in a close litter, and he did not reach Nicomedia till toward the end of the summer, (304.) His illness had then become serious; and it was not till the March of the following year (305) that he was able to appear in public. During his long confinement, he had reflected on the incompatibility of the cares of empire with the attention and indulgence which his advanced age and declining health demanded; and he adopted the resolution of resigning his imperial power, and retiring into private life. He communicated his intention to Maximian; and, however adverse that restless emperor might be to parting with his power, he had been too long in the habit of submitting implicitly to the dictates of his wiser colleague to refuse compliance. On the same day, (May 1,) as had been previously arranged, both the emperors, the one at Nicomedia, the other at Milan, performed the ceremony of their abdication, and the Cæsars Galerius and Constantius became emperors in their stead.* Diocletian retired to his native province of Dalmatia, where, in the neighborhood of the city of Salona, he built a magnificent palace, and employed his hours in gardening and planting.† Maximian fixed his abode at a villa in Lucania, but we are not informed how he passed his days.

The abdication of Diocletian is the earliest instance which

* If we may credit the author of the work *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, Galerius forced Diocletian to resign.

† Diocletian survived his abdication about eight years. He died in 313. When urged by the instances of Maximian and Galerius to resume his power, he replied, "I wish you could see the potherbs planted by my own hands at Salona, and you would surely never think that power should be resumed."

history records of the voluntary relinquishment of supreme power. It is the only one to be found in the ancient world; but examples, though rare, occur in modern times. That of the emperor Charles V. will present itself to the minds of most readers; but that monarch's abdication was the result of disappointed ambition, and his leisure was less nobly occupied than that of the Roman emperor. The Turkish sultan Moorad II. twice quitted his throne for the enjoyment of private life; but he was each time recalled to it by the dangers of the state. The Spanish king Philip V. also abandoned the pomp of royalty for the practice of devotion; but the death of his son and successor obliged him to resume the sceptre. Devotion and other causes had, in earlier times, produced resignations among the princes of the states founded on the ruins of the Roman empire.

It is rather remarkable that a prince like Diocletian, born in the humbler walks of life, and trained up in arms, should have been the introducer of Oriental usages into the palace of the Roman emperors. But he seems to have been actuated by policy rather than pride or vanity; he conceived that investing the emperor with the splendor of apparel, and rendering him difficult of access, would make him more venerable in the eyes of the multitude, and induce a more absolute submission to his will. He and his colleague, therefore, assumed the diadem, which ornament distinguished them from the Cæsars; the purple robes of the emperors were of silk and gold, and their shoes were adorned with precious stones. Numerous officers attended at the palace, and the care of the interior apartments was committed to eunuchs. When any one appeared before the emperor, he was required to fall prostrate and worship him after the fashion of the East. This display of imperial pomp, and the maintenance of four separate courts, caused an enormous increase of taxation, and consequent oppression of the people. We shall presently explain the whole of the altered imperial system more at length.

Toward the end of the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, the last and greatest persecution of the Christian church commenced. Its origin was as follows:

Christianity, as has been already observed, was now most widely spread, and Christians were to be found in all the ranks and conditions of society. Diocletian, though he himself adhered to the ancient faith, was tolerant, if not

even favorable to the new religion, which his wife and daughter are said to have secretly embraced, and which was openly professed by the imperial eunuchs Lucianus, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Andreas, and by most of the principal officers of the palace. The Christian bishops were treated with respect, and new and more stately churches were rising in all the cities of the empire. But amid this seeming prosperity, a close observer might discern the distant approach of a tempest. Maximian and Galerius were both inveterately hostile to the Christian faith, while the zeal and jealousy of the polytheists were alarmed at its rapid progress. They clung more closely to the religion of their ancestors when they saw it menaced with destruction, and the new philosophy, which had based itself on the ancient superstition, inspired its professors with hatred for its enemies and opponents. The philosophers saw plainly that by reasoning and eloquence alone its sinking cause could not be maintained, and that its only resource was the employment of violent measures. We therefore find that the philosophers were the directors of the subsequent persecution, and the chief suggestors of the means for giving it efficacy.

Galerius passed the winter after the conclusion of the Persian war at Nicomedia; and during that period he had frequent conferences with Diocletian on the subject of Christianity. He represented to the emperor how utterly incompatible it was with the ancient institutions of the state, forming, as it did, an empire within the empire, all whose members were regularly organized, and ready to act at any time as one man. Diocletian confessed that he saw the danger, and agreed to exclude the Christians from offices in the army and the palace; but he expressed his disinclination to shed their blood, as not merely cruel, but impolitic. Galerius, not content, prevailed on him to summon a council of the principal civil and military officers, to take the important matter into consideration; and the council, when it met, seconded the views of the Cæsar, into whose hands the reins of power were likely soon to fall. Diocletian, we may suppose, yielded to the arguments that were employed, as a man of superior mind does when he gives way to his inferiors in intellect, foreseeing the consequences, but unable to prevent them. A system of persecution was therefore projected, and preparations were made for carrying it into effect.

From a motive probably of superstition, the day of the Terminalia, or festival of Terminus, the god of boundaries, (Feb. 23,) was fixed for that of commencing to set limits to the inroads made on the ancient faith of Rome. At dawn on that day, (303,) the prætorian prefect, accompanied by some of the higher officers of the army and the revenue, proceeded to the principal church of Nicomedia. The doors were broken open, the holy books were taken out and committed to the flames, and the sacred edifice was demolished. Next day, (24th,) an edict was published, ordering the demolition of all the churches throughout the empire, and forbidding any secret religious assemblies to be held; the bishops and presbyters were commanded to deliver up the sacred books to the magistrates, by whom they were to be burnt, and all the property of the church was declared to be confiscate. Christians were pronounced incapable of holding any office, and Christian slaves were excluded from the boon of manumission. The judges might determine any action brought against a Christian, but no legal remedy was granted to the Christian when the object of injury. The whole Christian body was thus degraded, robbed of its public property, and put without the pale of the law; but the persecution still stopped short of blood.

This edict was, in the usual manner, exposed to public view. But it had scarcely been displayed, when a zealous Christian tore it down, uttering invectives against its authors. His offence was treason; and he expiated it with his life, being burnt at a slow fire. In the course of the following fortnight, flames burst out twice in the palace; and, as it was clear that they were not accidental, they were ascribed to the vengeance of the Christians, by whose writers the guilt is transferred to Galerius, who thus, they say, sought to irritate Diocletian against them. Whatever was the truth, the effect which Galerius desired was produced on the emperor's mind. The imperial eunuchs were tortured and put to death with circumstances of the utmost barbarity. Anthemus, the bishop of Nicomedia, was beheaded, and several of his flock perished at the same time.

A series of cruel edicts succeeded. By one, the governors of provinces were ordered to cast all the Christian ecclesiastics into prison; by a second, they were enjoined to employ every kind of severity in order to make them abandon their superstition, and sacrifice to the gods; by a third,

(304,) the magistrates were commanded to force all Christians, without distinction of age or sex, to sacrifice to the gods, and to employ every kind of torture for that purpose. The issuing of this edict was one of the last public acts of Diocletian, as his resignation took place in the course of the year.

The efforts of Diocletian and Galerius were seconded by Maximian, who hated the Christians; and the persecution raged in Italy and Africa as in the East; but the mild Constantius protected the persons of his Christian subjects, though he found it necessary to consent to the demolition of their churches. The entire duration of the persecution was ten years, (303—313;) it was more or less violent in different times and places, and according to the characters and political circumstances of the princes. On the part of the persecutors, every refinement of barbarity was practised; on that of the persecuted, there was an abundant display of zeal and courage, though in many cases adulterated with fanaticism. At the same time, there were many, even bishops and presbyters, who gained the opprobrious title of *Traditors*, by delivering the sacred Scriptures into the hands of the heathen. From the vague language employed by the ecclesiastical writers, it is difficult to form any clear idea of the number of those who suffered martyrdom in the space of these ten years. Gibbon estimates it at two thousand persons; but his prejudices would lead him to put it at the lowest possible amount. Supposing it, however, to be five, or even ten times that number, it would still be far short of that of the victims in any one of the religious massacres perpetrated by the church of Rome.

CHAPTER II.*

GALERIUS, CONSTANTIUS, SEVERUS, MAX-
 ENTIUS, MAXIMIAN, LICINIUS, MAXIMIN,
 CONSTANTINE.

A. U. 1057—1090. A. D. 304—337.

THE EMPERORS AND CÆSARS. — CONSTANTINE. — MAXENTIUS.
 — FATE OF MAXIMIAN. — WAR BETWEEN CONSTANTINE AND
 MAXENTIUS. — CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS. — CONSTAN-
 TINE SOLE EMPEROR. — CONSTANTINOPLE FOUNDED. — HIE-
 RARCHY OF THE STATE. — THE ARMY. — THE GREAT OFFI-
 CERS. — CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE. — DEATHS OF CRIS-
 PUS AND FAUSTA. — THE IMPERIAL FAMILY. — WAR WITH
 THE GOTHs. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CONSTANTINE.

Galerius and Constantius.

A. U. 1058—1059. A. D. 305—306.

THE task of appointing Cæsars, in the place of himself and Constantius, was assumed by the haughty Galerius. For his own associate he selected his nephew Daza or Maximin, and an Illyrian, named Severus, was appointed to the same dignity under Constantius; the government of Egypt and Syria was committed to Maximin; that of Italy and Africa, to Severus.

Little more than a year elapsed after the retirement of Diocletian, when events occurred which proved the futility of his plan for governing the Roman world by emperors, with subordinate Cæsars. The first took place on the occasion of the death of Constantius, who expired at York, on the 25th of July, 306. According to the rule established by Diocletian, Severus should have become the Augustus, and a new Cæsar have been appointed; but the soldiers of the army of Britain insisted that the eldest son of the deceased emperor should succeed to his rank and power. This son was Constantine, afterwards so renowned. His mother,

* Authorities: Zosimus, the Epitomators and Panegyrist, Lactantius, Eusebius, and the Ecclesiastical Historians

named Helena, was the daughter of an innkeeper; and Constantius had been obliged to divorce her on the occasion of his elevation to the rank of Cæsar. Constantine, who was then about eighteen years of age, engaged in the service of Diocletian, and distinguished himself in the Egyptian and Persian wars. He rose to high rank in the army; his appearance, manners, and qualities were such as were sure to win the favor of the people and the soldiery, and Galerius, when emperor, marked him out as the object of his jealousy. Alarmed at the dangers to which he knew him to be exposed, Constantius earnestly besought of Galerius to allow his son to repair to him. After many delays, that emperor gave a reluctant consent; and Constantine, fearful of treachery, travelled with the utmost speed, and joined his father as he was embarking for Britain. There can be no doubt that the succession was not the mere spontaneous offer of the soldiery, and that Constantine had employed the usual artifices, and made the usual promises, on this occasion; for, in fact, his only safety now lay in empire. He, however, affected a decent degree of reluctance; and he wrote to Galerius, excusing himself for what had occurred. The first emotions of the emperor were those of surprise and fury; but, on calm reflection, he saw the danger of a contest with the hardy legions of the West, and he consented to allow Constantine a share of the imperial power, giving him, however, only the humbler title of Cæsar, while he conferred the vacant dignity of Augustus on Severus. Satisfied with the substance of power, Constantine was careless of titles; he devoted himself to the improvement of his dominions, and he discharged the duties of an affectionate brother to his six half-brothers and sisters, whom his father, when dying, had committed to his care.

*Galerius, Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius.**

A. U. 1059—1066. A. D. 306—313.

The next event which proved the instability of the new form of government, commenced with an insurrection at Rome. From the time of the conquest of Macedonia, a period of nearly five centuries, the people of Rome had been

* We only mention here the principal emperors.

free from all direct taxes; but now, in conformity with the new principles of government, Galerius prepared to impose a uniform property and capitation tax on the whole empire; and, as no exemptions were to be allowed, the officers of the revenue began to make a list of the property and persons of the inhabitants of the capital. At the same time, directions were given for the removal of the prætorian cohorts from the city, and for the demolition of their camp. The pride of the soldiers, the self-interest of the citizens, caused them to unite in the determination of liberating Italy, and electing a native emperor. They cast their eyes on Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and son-in-law of Galerius; a young man of neither talents nor virtue, who was then residing in a villa near the city. He readily yielded to their desires; the prefect of the city, and a few other officers, were massacred, and Maxentius was invested with the purple. Severus, who was at Milan, prepared to march against the rebels, who, on their part, invited Maximian to quit his retreat, and give them the advantage of his name and his experience; and the old emperor, who may have had a greater share in the previous transactions than is commonly supposed, lost no time in repairing to Rome. He there reassumed the purple, and his influence and authority caused numerous defections to take place in the army of Severus, when that prince appeared before the walls of the city. Severus found it, therefore, necessary to retire; and to shut himself up in Ravenna, where, as the works were strong, and his fleet commanded the sea, he might easily have maintained himself till Galerius should come to his relief. Deceived, however, by the artifices of Maximian, he laid down his dignity, and surrendered himself on the promise of his life being secured. He was at first treated with respect; but when Galerius invaded Italy, the captive emperor was put to death.

Constantine, at the head of the Gallic legions, had it evidently in his power to confirm or to overthrow the dominion of the new emperors. To win him over, Maximian undertook a journey to Gaul, and, by giving him in marriage his daughter Fausta, and conferring on him the dignity of Augustus, he secured his neutrality, if not his active coöperation. Galerius soon appeared in Italy, at the head of the troops of Illyricum and the East, and advanced to Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, whence he sent two of his principal officers to try to induce Maxentius to trust to his generosity, rather than to risk the hazard of war. His offers

were spurned at; and so large a number of his men were gained over by Maximian, that he was obliged to make a rapid retreat, and his troops, on their route, devastated the country in the most merciless manner. Some time after, (307,) Galerius conferred the dignity of Augustus on his early and constant friend Licinius; and, when the account of this elevation reached Maximian, he caused himself to be saluted emperor by his troops. Galerius found it necessary to acquiesce in his assumption, and the Roman world thus was ruled by six emperors at the same time. A preëminence was, however, tacitly conceded to Maximian and Galerius by their respective coëmpers.

Maximian and his son were too opposite in character to remain long at unity. One or other, it was found, must resign the supreme power in Italy; and, the prætorian guards having decided in favor of Maxentius, under whom they expected to enjoy more license, the aged emperor was obliged to seek a refuge with his son-in-law in Gaul. By Constantine he was received with every mark of respect; and, as the restless temper of the Franks required his own frequent presence on the Lower Rhine, in the periods of his absence, he committed the government of southern Gaul to his father-in-law. The abode of Maximian was at the palace of Arles; and, when one time (310) a report was spread of the death of Constantine, who was carrying on war beyond the Rhine, the restless old man seized the royal treasures and distributed them among the soldiers, in the hope of being saluted by them sole emperor. As soon as intelligence of his proceedings reached Constantine, he made a rapid march from the Rhine to Chalons, on the Saone, embarked his troops on that river, and thence entering the Rhone at Lyons, arrived at Arles before his departure from the Rhine was known. Maximian escaped from that city, and took refuge at Marseilles: he was pursued thither by Constantine, to whom he was delivered up by the garrison; and he was either put to death or ordered to terminate his life by his own hand*.

Galerius did not long survive Maximian. He died the following year, (311,) of the same odious disease as the great

* *Vict. Epit.* xl. 5. *Eutrop.* x. 4. According to Lactantius, (*De M. P.* 29, 30,) his life was spared on this occasion; but, having afterwards conspired against Constantine, and killed a chamberlain in his stead, he was secretly strangled. Eumenius, however, says, (*Panegy.* ix. 20,) "sibi imputat quisquis uti noluit beneficio tuo [Constantine] nec se dignum vita judicavit cum per te liceat ut viveret."

dictator Sulla. Licinius and Maximin immediately prepared to decide by arms the possession of his dominions; but they were finally induced to accommodate their dispute by treaty, and divide the disputed territories, and the Hellespont and Bosphorus became the boundary of their respective dominions. A sense of common interest soon united Licinius and Constantine, and a secret alliance was formed between Maximin and Maxentius.

The contrast between the administration of Constantine and that of Maxentius was of the most striking character. In Gaul and Britain justice was carefully administered, oppressive taxes were abolished or lightened, the inroads of the barbarians were checked. In Italy and Africa the wealthy were plundered or put to death, the virtue of their wives and daughters was exposed to the lust of a brutal tyrant, the soldiers were indulged in every species of license. During six years Rome groaned beneath the tyranny of its emperor, when at length (312) his own folly gave occasion to its deliverance.

Though Maximian had been driven from Italy by his unworthy son, his death was made the occasion of a display of filial piety, and the statues of Constantine in Italy and Africa were cast down by the orders of Maxentius. Constantine, who was adverse to war, tried the effect of negotiation; but finding that Maxentius, who openly claimed the empire of the West, had assembled a large army for the invasion of Gaul, he resolved to anticipate him and enter Italy, whither he was secretly invited by the senate and people of Rome. At the head of about 40,000 veteran troops, he crossed the Alps* and descended into the plain of Piedmont, (312.) The troops of Maxentius numbered 170,000 foot and 18,000 horse; but they were chiefly raw levies, made in Africa, Italy, and Sicily, and Maxentius himself was utterly destitute of military talent or experience. The town of Susa, (*Segusium*,) at the foot of the Alps, closed its gates against Constantine; but it was taken by assault, and the greater part of the garrison slaughtered. On the plain of Turin a strong division of the army of Maxentius opposed the invaders. Its strength consisted in a large body of cavalry arrayed in full armor, after the manner of the Persians.† But the force of this

* The Cottian Alps, or Mount Cenis.

† Called by the Greeks Cataphracts, by the Latins Clibanarius, from the Persian word. They resembled the heavy cavalry of the middle ages, both horse and man being covered with armor.

formidable mass was rendered of no avail by the skill of Constantine, who made his troops break their line and allow it to pass through when it charged, and then close and attack it when broken and divided. The troops of Maxentius soon turned and fled; and as the gates of Turin were closed against them, few of them escaped the sword of the victors. Constantine proceeded without delay to Milan; and nearly all Italy north of the Po declared for his cause.

A brave and skilful officer, named Ruricius Pompeianus, commanded at Verona for Maxentius. As Constantine was advancing against that city, he was encountered, near Brescia, by a large body of cavalry, detached from the army at Verona; but he drove it back with loss, and then sat down before the city. Ruricius, having made all the dispositions necessary for defence, secretly quitted the town, and, having with great rapidity collected a sufficient force, advanced to its relief. Constantine drew out his army to give him battle. The engagement commenced in the evening, and was continued through the night. Victory finally declared for the Gallic legions; Ruricius was among the slain, and Verona surrendered at discretion. After a short stay at that city, Constantine directed his march for Rome. At a place named Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from the city, close by the memorable Cremera, he found (Oct. 28) the army of Maxentius prepared to give him battle. In person, at the head of his Gallic horse, he charged the cavalry of the enemy and routed it; the greater part of the infantry then turned and fled, but the brave prætorian cohorts fought and fell where they stood. In the flight, Maxentius fell from the Mulvian bridge into the Tiber, and was drowned. His body was found next day, and his head preceded the entrance of Constantine into the city.

Constantine used his victory with sufficient moderation. The children of Maxentius and his most distinguished adherents were put to death; but the demand of the people for a greater number of victims was steadily rejected. Informers were punished; the exiles were recalled and restored to their estates; a general amnesty was passed; the senate was treated with respect, and consideration. At the same time, Constantine carried into effect the very measures, the apprehension of which had raised Maxentius to empire. The prætorian guards were broken and dispersed among the legions on the frontiers; and their fortified camp was demolished. The property tax, which Galerius had projected, and

which Maxentius had levied, under the odious name of a free-gift, was made perpetual on the senatorian order, whose number, apparently for this very purpose, was considerably augmented.

Constantine and Licinius.

A. U. 1066—1076. A. D. 313—323.

Constantine remained only two months at Rome, being obliged to set out on his return for Gaul, where the Franks had renewed their incursions. On his way, he celebrated at Milan (313) the nuptials of his sister Constantia with Licinius, to whom he had betrothed her previous to the war with Maxentius. Immediately after the nuptial festival, the two emperors had to put themselves at the head of their troops; the one to chastise the Germans, and the other to oppose Maximin, who had crossed the Bosphorus, and taken the cities of Byzantium and Heraclea. When Licinius arrived, with 30,000 Illyrian veterans, within eighteen miles of this last town, he found his rival supported by 70,000 men of the disciplined troops of the East. Each having vainly tried to seduce the soldiers of the other, they led their forces out to battle, (April 30.) The advantage was at first on the side of numbers; but the European troops, directed by the military skill of their leader, soon asserted their wonted superiority, and a decisive victory crowned their efforts. Maximin fled with the utmost rapidity, never halting till he reached Nicomedia, distant a hundred and sixty miles from the field of battle. He was on his way to Egypt about three months after; when at Tarsus, he despaired of his affairs, and took poison, of which he died after much suffering. Licinius used his victory with barbarity. Resolved to remove all possibility of rival claims to the empire of the East, he not only put to death the son and daughter of Maximin, the former of whom was only eight, the latter only seven years of age, but he involved in their fate Severianus, the son of the late emperor Severus, and Candidianus, the natural son of his friend and benefactor Galerius.

But his treatment of the wife and daughter of Diocletian was still more conclusive of the innate inhumanity of his character. After the death of Galerius, Maximin had sought the hand of Valeria. Meeting with a firm refusal, the tyrant

gave a loose to his rage; he confiscated her property; he put to the torture her eunuchs and servants; he executed some of her female friends, on false charges of adultery; and he condemned herself and her mother, Prisca, to exile in a Syrian village. Diocletian sought for permission for them to join him at Salona; but he was now powerless, and his application met with contemptuous neglect. On the death of Maximin, the two royal ladies proceeded in disguise to the court of Licinius. They were at first treated with kindness; but the execution of her adopted son, Cándidianus, who had accompanied her thither, soon convinced Valeria that the tyrant only was changed, and she and her mother fled in a plebeian habit. After wandering about for fifteen months, they were discovered at Thessalonica, and were instantly beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the sea.

The number of the emperors was now reduced to two, and it might be supposed that, connected as they had been, both publicly and privately, they would remain at unity. Yet the very year after their becoming brothers-in-law, (314,) we find them drawing the sword against each other. The occasion was as follows: Constantine gave one of his sisters in marriage to a man of rank named Bassianus, whom he raised, with Licinius's consent, to the dignity of a Cæsar. Italy appears to have been destined for the new Cæsar; but, some delay occurring in the appointment, Licinius secretly induced him to believe that Constantine was merely making a tool of him, and encouraged him to engage in a conspiracy against his benefactor. The plot was, however, speedily discovered; Bassianus was put to death; and as Licinius refused to give up one of the principal conspirators, who had fled to him, and as the statues of Constantine, in the town of Æmونا, on the frontiers of Italy, had been thrown down, the emperor of the West entered Illyrium at the head of 20,000 men. Licinius, with 35,000 men, advanced to oppose him. The armies encountered (Oct. 8) near Cibalis on the Save, about fifty miles from Sirmium. The engagement lasted from morning till night, when Licinius retired with a loss of 20,000 men. He hastened to Sirmium to secure his family and treasures, and then, breaking down the bridge over the Save at that town, he proceeded to Thrace to collect a new army; and he conferred the title of Cæsar on Valens, the general of the Illyrian frontier. Constantine made no delay in following him, and the emperors again measured their strength on the plain of Mardia in Thrace. The battle

lasted all through the day, and was terminated by the night. The victory remained with Constantine, but with so much loss as inclined him to listen to proposals for peace. He made the deposition of Valens an absolute condition; and, that luckless prince being deprived of his purple and his life, a treaty was concluded which gave Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, to the Western empire. It was also agreed that two of the sons of the Western emperor, and the one son of the Eastern monarch, should be raised to the rank of Cæsars.

Peace now continued for above eight years. During that time, Constantine was engaged either in beneficial legislation or in defending the frontiers of his empire. His principal war, which he conducted in person, was against the Goths, who (321) invaded the countries south of the Danube. He forced them to purchase a retreat by the surrender of their booty and prisoners; and then, repairing the bridge of Trajan, he crossed the river, and carried the war into their own country. No longer satisfied with the possession of the larger portion of the Roman empire, he now aimed at wresting the remainder from Licinius. His preparations for war did not escape the observation of that emperor, who forthwith (323) assembled troops and shipping from all parts of his dominions. An army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse covered the plains of Hadrianople, and a fleet of three hundred and fifty triremes occupied the Hellespont. The troops of Constantine (120,000 horse and foot) rendezvoused at Thessalonica; his fleet, which numbered only two hundred small vessels, was assembled in the port of the Piræus. Licinius, who occupied a strong camp on a hill over Hadrianople, did not oppose the passage of the Hebrus by the enemy. The accounts of the engagement which ensued (July 3) are scanty and confused; but it would appear that the veteran troops of the West, evincing their wonted superiority, won their way up the hill, and routed the forces of the East, slaying 34,000 men, and taking their fortified camp. Constantine, who displayed the valor of a soldier and the conduct of a general, received a wound in the thigh: Licinius fled, and shut himself up in Byzantium, whither he was speedily followed by his victorious rival.

Constantine directed that his fleet, which was commanded by his eldest son, the Cæsar Crispus, should advance and force the passage of the Hellespont. His admirals selected eighty of their best ships for the purpose: the opposite

admiral, Amandus, opposed them with two hundred. As the narrow sea did not afford sufficient space for the evolutions of so large a number, the advantage, when night terminated the conflict, was on the side of Constantine. Next day, Amandus sailed over from the coast of Asia, the wind blowing strongly from the north; but, finding the enemy, who lay at Elæûs, reënforced by thirty ships, he hesitated to attack. About noon, the wind changed, and blew so violently from the south that it drove on the rocks or the shore a hundred and thirty ships of the fleet of Licinius, and caused a loss of 5,000 men. Amandus fled with only four ships; and, the Hellespont being now open, provisions and supplies of all kinds flowed into the camp of Constantine before Byzantium, and Licinius, deeming that city no longer tenable, passed over with his friends and his treasures to Chalcedon. He there conferred the fatal dignity of Cæsar on Martianus, the principal officer of his palace, and sent him to Lampsacus, to guard the passage of the Hellespont. He himself speedily assembled another army, to oppose the landing of Constantine. That able prince, however, conveyed over a sufficient force in boats, and landed about two hundred stades (twenty-five miles) above Chalcedon. Licinius recalled Martianus with his troops, and an engagement was fought (Sept. 18) on the heights of Chrysopolis, (*Scutari*,) which ended in the total defeat of Licinius, with a loss of 25,000 men. He fled to Nicomedia; negotiations were entered into; and Constantine, having given the assurance of his solemn oath to his sister for the security of her husband's life, Licinius laid his purple down at his feet, styling him his king and master. He was admitted to the royal table, and was then sent to Thessalonica, which was fixed on as the place of his residence; Martianus was put to death, and two years after, on the charge of a conspiracy, Licinius was strangled, in violation of the emperor's most solemn engagement.

Constantine.

A. U. 1076—1090. A. D. 323—337.

The Roman empire was thus, after thirty-four years of divided dominion, reunited under one head. Two most important changes immediately succeeded, namely, the founda-

tion of a new capital, and the public establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state; the form of government commenced by Diocletian was also completed. Of these we shall now proceed to treat.

Rome, as we have seen, had long ceased to be an imperial residence. It lay too remote from the banks of the Danube and Euphrates, where the presence of the emperor was most frequently required: Diocletian had therefore fixed his abode in Nicomedia; but the ambition of being the founder of a capital which should bear his own name, and the superior advantages of the site of Byzantium, determined Constantine to raise an imperial city on the peninsula occupied by that town; and in the year following that of the overthrow of Licinius, (324,) he laid the foundation of Constantinople, as he named it from himself—a city which still exists, and in magnitude and population yields to few in Europe, while in beauty and advantage of situation it is rivalled by none.

It is not necessary that we should describe the situation of this celebrated city, which, like Rome, built on seven hills, grew up from the condition of a colony, and became the capital of empire. In the space of ten years, the numerous workmen employed, by the wealth of the imperial treasury, covered the ground marked out by the founder with all the edifices, sacred, profane, and military, required by a magnificent capital; and the new city was speedily filled with a numerous population. In imitation of Rome, it was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and the corn of Egypt was distributed among its poorer citizens; its Hippodrome emulated the Circus, and statues of marble and bronze were brought from all parts to adorn it. The superior rank of the ancient capital, however, was still acknowledged, and the new city was styled its colony.

The civil and military administration of the empire had, as may have been observed, been gradually undergoing a change, and approximating to that of the East. That change was further accelerated by the removal of the seat of government to the new capital, and by the establishment of the prevalent corrupted form of Christianity as the religion of the state. The aspect of the empire under Constantine and his successors may be sketched as follows: *

* We here shall follow Gibbon, who derived his materials from the Theodosian Code and the *Notitia Imperii*.

The court and palace were filled with officers, among whom the eunuchs were conspicuous; they were arranged in orders, the whole forming a sacred *hierarchy*, as it was often styled. All the various ranks were regulated with the most accurate minuteness, and the numerous titles and modes of address which have been the models of those of modern Europe, were then devised: such were, *Your Eminence*, *Your Excellency*, *Your illustrious and magnificent Highness*. The great officers had various badges and emblems of their dignities, and were known by their peculiar habits. The whole body of the higher officers and magistrates were divided into three classes; the first, which contained the very highest, being named the Illustrious, the second the Notable, (*Spectabiles*.) and the third the Most Distinguished, (*Clarissimi*.)*

The title of *Patrician*, which had long been out of use, was revived by Constantine, but merely as a mark of personal distinction. The dignity was not hereditary, and these new nobles bore no more resemblance to the patricians of ancient Rome than the actual peers of France do to the old *noblesse*. The patricians yielded in dignity to the consuls alone; they were superior to all the great officers of state, and had constant access to the person of the sovereign, whose favorites or ministers they had in general been originally.

The consulate, now an empty dignity, was conferred by the emperor. On new year's day, the appointed consuls assumed the ensigns of their dignity at the place which was then the imperial residence. They moved in procession, attended by the principal officers of the state and army, from the palace to the Forum, or market-place: they there took their seat on the curule chairs, and manumitted a slave, according to ancient usage. Games were celebrated by them, or in their name, in the principal cities of the empire; their names were inscribed in the Fasti, and their names and portraits were engraved on tablets of ivory, adorned with gold, and sent as presents to magistrates and persons of rank. They then retired into private life, for they had no public duties to discharge. Yet the vain and empty honor still continued to be the object of highest ambition.

* An Italian, at the present day, will commence a letter with *Chiarissimo Signore*.

The office of prætorian prefect had, as we have seen, gradually risen in importance. The prefect, uniting civil and military power, had been, in fact, what the mayor of the palace afterwards became in France. The suppression of the guards having left him without military command, his office now became purely civil. As, by the regulation of Diocletian, each prince had his prefect, the number of these officers was four, which number was retained by Constantine. The prefects were named of the East, of Illyricum, of Gaul, and of Italy, each of which districts comprised the provinces contained under its title when ruled by the Augusti and the Cæsars. They were at the head of the administration of justice and the finances; they had authority over the provincial governors; there lay an appeal from all inferior tribunals to that of the prætorian prefect; but *his* decision was final. The city of Rome, and afterwards that of Constantinople, had its prefect, who was independent of the prætorian prefect. This officer, who was first appointed by Augustus, had gradually enlarged his power, and he now exercised the ordinary authority and functions of the consuls and prætors in the city, and a circuit of one hundred miles, and all-municipal authority was derived from him.

Beside these great prefectures, the empire, with respect to its civil government, was divided into thirteen great dioceses,* of which the first was administered by the Count (*Comes*) of the East; the governor of that of Egypt was still called the Augustal Prefect; those of the remaining eleven were styled Vicars, or Vice-prefects. The rulers of the inferior provinces were in some Proconsuls, in others Consulars or Correctors, or Presidents. Like their superiors, they possessed the administration of justice and of the finances.

The first separation of the civil and military authority of which we read, was that made by Augustus in the proconsular provinces. The history of the last two centuries had shown the ill effects of their union in the rebellion of so many governors against the imperial authority, and Constantine was resolved to obviate these evils. For this purpose, the command of the troops was permanently separated from the government of the provinces. Two Masters-general (*Magistri militum*) were instituted; one for the cavalry, the other for the infantry of the imperial army. Subordinate

Δ. κζ'οεις. The word is now only used in an ecclesiastical sense.

commanders, styled Counts (*Comites*) and Dukes, (*Duces*,*) were placed at the head of the troops in the different provinces. A gold belt was the mark of their dignity borne by these officers. The natural consequence of this division of the civil and military power was, that, while mutual jealousy prevented the general and the governor from uniting in rebellion, it operated to leave the province exposed to the ravages of the barbarians; so that, while it secured the emperor, it injured the empire.

The advantages which had been originally accorded to the prætorian guards, were very unwisely extended by Constantine to a large portion of the army. The troops were now distinguished into Palatines and Borderers, (*Limitanei*;) the former had higher pay and peculiar privileges, and were quartered in the cities and towns of the interior, being only required to take the field on occasions of emergency; while the latter, with inferior pay, had the task of guarding the frontiers. The legions were increased in number, but contracted in their dimensions; and they now bore more resemblance to modern regiments than to the legions of ancient Rome.† The difficulty of procuring recruits in the provinces was nearly insuperable; though a severe conscription, as it may perhaps be termed, was established. Barbarians were therefore constantly taken into the service, and even enrolled among the Palatines; and they speedily attained the highest military and civil dignities of the empire.

In the palace, there were seven principal officers, to whom the rank of Illustrious was conceded. 1. The Chamberlain, (*Præpositus cubiculi*;) this was always a favorite eunuch, who, beside his care of the imperial apartments, attended the emperor on all occasions of state. His influence, it may readily be supposed, was considerable. The Counts of the wardrobe and of the table were under the jurisdiction of this officer. 2. The Master of the Offices was the supreme magistrate of the palace. All its officers, civil and military, in all parts of the empire, were subject to his jurisdiction, and to it alone. He had four *Scriniæ* or secretaries' offices, each with its master or chief, and a number of subordinate clerks for carrying on the correspondence of the state. Like our master-general of the ordnance, he had the charge of all

* The Comes or companion of the emperor was the higher in rank; the Dux or Duke was merely a military commander.

† Gibbon, following Pancirolus, estimates the legion at from 1000 to 1500 men.

the arsenals, and control over the workmen employed in the manufacture of arms. 3. The Quæstor had the task of composing orations in the name of the emperor, which having the force of edicts, he gradually came to be regarded as the original source of jurisprudence. He answered in some sort to the modern chancellor. 4. The Count of the Largesses (*Largitionum*) was at the head of the revenue department, with, of course, a numerous corps of various officers under him. 5. The Count of the Private Estate (*rei private*) had the management of the crown-lands, and the other sources of private income to the emperors. 6. 7. The two Counts of the Domestics, *i. e.* household troops, commanded the cavalry and infantry of the body-guards, which consisted of three thousand five hundred men, divided into seven *schools* or companies of five hundred men each. Two of these, the one of horse, the other of foot, were named Protectors. They mounted guard in the inner apartments, and they were employed to bear the imperial mandates to the provinces.

While the civil and military departments of the state were thus modelled and regulated, a still more important change was effected by making the Christian religion that of the court and empire. We shall, however, defer our account of the condition and organization of the church under Constantine and his successors, and only at present notice the conversion of that emperor, and the motives in which it originated.

Constantius, without being a Christian, had, from motives of justice and humanity, treated his subjects of that faith with indulgence. His example was followed by his son; and the Christians, comparing his moderation with the persecuting spirit of Galerius and his colleagues, were naturally disposed to favor him. Constantine, however, was still a polytheist; and his principal object of worship was the sun-god, Apollo. At the same time with the compliant spirit of polytheism, he held the God of the Christians and the author of their faith in respect and reverence. After the defeat and death of Maxentius, (313,) Constantine and Licinius issued at Milan an edict of general toleration; restoring, at the same time, to the Christians the lands and churches of which they had been deprived. To the terms of this edict Constantine firmly adhered; and he was probably becoming daily more convinced of the superiority of the Christian religion, and of the advantage that might result from his

embracing it; while Licinius speedily violated it, and partially renewed the persecution. In the second war between these emperors, (324,) the cross appeared on the banner of Constantine; and his victory was followed by the issue of circular letters announcing his own conversion, and inviting his subjects to follow his example. The call of a powerful monarch was not likely to be unheeded; the Christian faith rapidly spread; offices of trust, profit, and honor, were bestowed almost exclusively on Christians; bishops thronged the court; paganism was in every way discouraged, and Christianity finally triumphed over its ancient enemy.

The conversion of Constantine may have been, and probably was, sincere. But in all such cases, motives of policy are apt to concur with higher ones, and often to exercise a superior influence. Constantine must have seen that the Christians, if not the most numerous, were the best united and organized, and consequently the most powerful body in the empire. He could not be blind to the great superiority of the Christian morality over that of heathenism, and, as a wise sovereign, he must have seen that it was his interest to promote its diffusion. The doctrine of passive obedience, held by the Christians of that time, must have proved most grateful to the ears of a monarch; and the zeal in his cause and the loyalty shown by the Christians cannot have been wholly without effect on his mind. These various motives may, then, have given force to the reasonings of the Christian divines; but we are assured that the efficient cause of the conversion of the emperor was a miracle.

According to the biographer of this emperor, the learned Bishop Eusebius, as Constantine was on his march against Maxentius, there appeared one day, in the sight of himself and his whole army, a luminous cross above the sun in the noon-day sky, bearing inscribed on it the words, "By this conquer," (*Hac vince*;) and, in the following night, Christ himself stood in a dream before the emperor, bearing a similar cross, and directed him to frame a standard of that form, which would assure him of victory against Maxentius. The standard was accordingly framed, and, under the name of Labarum, a word of unknown origin, it became the future banner of the empire. Its form was that of a long pike, with a transverse bar, from which hung a piece of silk adorned with the images of the monarch and his children. On the top of the pike was a wreath of gold, enclosing the monogram of the name of Christ, and the sign of the cross. The

care of the Labarum was always committed to fifty soldiers of approved valor and fidelity.

This legend is related by Eusebius, on the authority of Constantine himself; but his narrative did not appear till after the death of the emperor; and, in his earlier work, the Ecclesiastical History, he is silent respecting it. Another contemporary mentions only a dream, in which Constantine was directed, on the night before the battle with Maxentius, to inscribe the sacred monogram on the shields of his soldiers; and adds, that his obedience was rewarded with victory.* We take not on us to decide how much of fiction or of error there may be in the legend; but that no actual miracle was wrought, we venture to affirm without hesitation, in accordance with our fixed opinions on the subject.

We now return to the course of our historic narrative. A dark transaction, which has fixed an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, is the first that meets our view. We have already seen that, before his marriage with the daughter of Maximian, he had had a son by his first wife. This youth, named Crispus, was reared under the charge of the pious, learned, and eloquent Lactantius. Christian writers and historians are unanimous in the testimony which they bear to the virtues of the heir-apparent to the empire. It is possible that, as is asserted, Crispus may have been jealous of the partiality shown by the emperor to the children of his second marriage, one of whom, Constantius, had been sent, with the title of Cæsar, to administer the government of Gaul, while he himself was detained in inactivity at court. He may also, as is said, have given vent to his feelings in imprudent language; and any one at all acquainted with the texture of courts in general, can easily suppose that, in the palace of a despotic prince, there was no lack of wretches who would seek to advance their own interest by exciting enmity between the father and the son. An edict of Constantine's, issued toward the end of the year 325, shows that he believed or feigned that a secret conspiracy had been formed against him, and in favor of Crispus. Whatever his suspicions of his son, or his designs against him, may have been, they were closely concealed; and Crispus, in the following year, (326,) accompanied his father to Rome, when he proceeded thither to celebrate the twentieth year of his reign. In the midst of the festival, the prince was arrested; after a short private examination, or possibly no examination at all,

* The author of the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

he was sent, under a strong guard, to Pola in Istria, where, shortly after, he was put to death by poison, or by the hand of the executioner. His fate was shared by the son of the late emperor Licinius.

When a biographer passes in silence over any important action of his hero, we may be certain that a minute and exact inquiry, and a sifting of all the circumstances, has convinced him that it is incapable of bearing exposure to the light, and that no ingenuity can avail to extenuate, much less excuse it. On this principle, we hold the profound silence of Eusebius on this mysterious transaction to be conclusive of the guilt of Constantine and the innocence of Crispus; and, at the same time, destructive of that prelate's claim to truth and integrity as an historian.

The later Greeks, however, have fabled that Constantine discovered his error, mourned and repented it, and erected a golden statue bearing the inscription, *To my son, whom I unjustly condemned.* A more ancient account said, that the story of Phædra and Hippolytus was renewed in the imperial palace, and that the death of Crispus was caused by the disappointed lust of Fausta. It is added, that the emperor's mother, Helena, enraged at the fate of her innocent grandson, caused Fausta to be closely watched; and, it being discovered that she carried on an adulterous intercourse with a slave belonging to the stables, she was suffocated, by order of her husband, in a bath, made more than usually hot for the purpose.* The deaths of Crispus, Licinius, and Fausta, were followed by those of many of the emperor's friends, on various charges.

By Fausta the emperor had had three sons, named Constantine, Constantius, and Constans; his elder brother, Julius Constantius, had, beside other children, two sons, named Gallus and Julian; and Dalmatius, another brother, was the father of two princes, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. From some motive which has not been assigned, Constantine resolved to associate the two last-named nephews with his own sons in the empire, placing the former, as a Cæsar, on an equality with them, and giving the latter the new title of Nobilissimus, and even, as it would appear, that of King, which we find used of him alone.

A war between the Goths and Sarmatians drew the atten-

* Zosimus, Philostorgius, and others, assert that Fausta was put to death. Yet, as Gibbon observes, in a Monody on her son, the younger Constantine, she is said to have lived to deplore his fate.

tion of Constantine, in the latter years of his reign. Policy causing him to take the part of the latter, the former crossed the Danube, and laid Mœsia waste, (331.) The emperor took the field in person; but his troops fled from before them, and he was obliged to retire. In the following year, (332,) however, the imperial troops, led by the Cæsar Constantius, retrieved their fame. The Goths were forced to recross the Danube, and to sue for peace. The Sarmatians having shown the usual levity and ingratitude of barbarians, Constantine left them to their fate. Vanquished in battle by the Goths, they armed their slaves, and, by their aid, expelled the invaders from their territory; but the slaves turned their arms against their masters, drove them out of the country, and held it under the name of Limigantes.

Nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the empire during the remaining years of the reign of Constantine. He breathed his last on the 22d of May, 337, in the palace of Aquirion, at Nicomedia, in the 65th year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirty years and ten months. His corpse was removed to Constantinople, where it was placed on a golden bed, in an illuminated apartment of the palace; and each day, the principal officers of state approached it and offered their homage, as if to the living emperor. It was at length committed to the tomb, with all fitting ceremony and magnificence.

The merits and virtues of the emperor Constantine were so numerous and conspicuous, that, were it not for the deaths of his son, and nephew, and friends, his name would be without any considerable blemish. It is, however, objected to him, that, in his latter years, he adopted a style of dress and manners which exhibited more of Asiatic effeminacy than of Roman dignity. He is also charged with lavishing on needless and expensive buildings the money wrung from his subjects by oppressive taxation, and of overlooking, if not encouraging, the rapacity of his friends and favorites. Like so many of those who have attained to empire by their own merits and talents, Constantine is more to be esteemed in the early than in the later years of his reign.

It is remarkable, that Constantine (though he openly professed the Christian religion, convened and presided at a general council of the church, and enjoyed nearly all the privileges of the initiated order of the faithful) remained all through his reign in the humble rank of a catechumen, and deferred receiving the sacrament of baptism till he discerned

the certain symptoms of the approach of his dissolution. The superstition in which this practice originated, has already been explained; and it derogates from the wisdom or knowledge of the Nicene Fathers, to know that they tacitly, at least, sanctioned a usage so detrimental to true religion.

CHAPTER III.*

CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS

A. U. 1090—1114. A. D. 337—361.

SLAUGHTER OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY. — PERSIAN WAR. — DEATHS OF CONSTANTINE AND CONSTANS. — MAGNENTIUS. — GALLUS. — JULIAN. — SILVANUS. — COURT OF CONSTANTIUS. — WAR WITH THE LIMIGANTES. — PERSIAN WAR. — JULIAN IN GAUL. — BATTLE OF STRASBURG. — JULIAN PROCLAIMED EMPEROR. — HIS MARCH FROM GAUL. — DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS.

Constantine II., Constantius, Constans.

A. U. 1090—1103. A. D. 337—350.

THE tomb had not received the mortal remains of the great Constantine, when a plot was laid to destroy some of the objects of his regard. The troops were induced — we are not informed by whom or by what means — to declare that none but the sons of the late monarch should rule over his empire; and Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were seized and placed under custody, till Constantius, to whom the charge of the funeral had been committed, should arrive in the capital. When this prince came, he pledged his oath to his kinsmen for their safety; but ere long a false charge was made against them, and the soldiers became clamorous for their death. A general massacre of the imperial family ensued, in which two uncles and seven cousins of Constantius, and with them Optatus, the husband of his aunt, perished.

* Authorities: Zosimus, Ammianus, Marcellinus, the Epitomators, and the Ecclesiastical Historians.

Their fate was shared by the prefect Ablavius, the minister and favorite of the late emperor. Of the whole imperial family, there only remained Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius.

In the following month of September, the three brothers had a personal interview, in which a new arrangement of the empire was concluded; by which Constantine, as the eldest, was conceded a superiority in rank, and the possession of the eastern capital.

The eastern frontier gave Constantius occupation for some years. Sapor II., king of Persia, a prince of great energy and enterprise, burned to recover the provinces which had been ceded to Galerius; but dread of the power and genius of Constantine had held him in check. As soon, however, as the empire fell into the hands of inexperienced young princes, he poured his troops into Mesopotamia, and for some years the Roman annals had only to tell of armies defeated, and towns besieged or taken by the Persian monarch. In the battle of Singara, (348,) the Roman legions routed the troops of Persia, and drove them to their camp; as the night was at hand, Constantius, who commanded in person, sought to restrain his men, and defer the attack till the light of morn. But, heedless of the commands of their prince, the soldiers, eager for prey, pressed on, and, forcing the camp, spread themselves all over it in search of plunder. In the dead of the night, Sapor, who had posted his troops on the adjacent hills, led them to the attack of the scattered and unprepared enemies; and the Romans were routed with immense slaughter. The survivors escaped with the utmost difficulty, and endured intolerable hardships in their retreat. This is said to have been the ninth victory over the troops of Rome achieved by the arms of Sapor. But, though thus successful in the field, he was unable to carry the important city of Nisibis. Thrice did he lead his forces under its walls, and thrice did he employ in vain the valor of his soldiers and the arts of his engineers; the gallant city still remained unsubdued.

While Constantius was thus occupied in the East, Constans had become sole ruler in the West; for Constantine, having required that Constans should resign Africa to him, and being irritated by the insincerity displayed by that prince in the negotiation, made a sudden irruption into his dominions, (340.) But in the neighborhood of Aquileia he came to an engagement with the generals of Constans, and, being

drawn into an ambush, himself and all those about him were slain. Constans then took possession of the whole of his dominions, refusing to give any share to his remaining brother, who does not, however, appear to have claimed it.

For about ten years Constans exercised every kind of oppression over his subjects. His hours were devoted to the chase, and to other pleasures of a less innocent nature. At length (350) a conspiracy was formed against him by Magnentius, a Frank, but born in Gaul, who commanded the Jovian and Herculan guards. Marcellinus, the treasurer, shared in the conspiracy; and when the court was at Autun, and the emperor was taking the pleasures of the chase in the adjoining forest, Magnentius gave, under the pretext of celebrating his son's birthday, a magnificent entertainment, to which were invited the principal officers of the army. The festival was prolonged till after midnight, when Magnentius withdrew for a little time, and then reappeared clad in the imperial habit. Those in the secret instantly saluted him emperor, and the remainder, taken by surprise, were induced to join in the acclamation. Promises and money were liberally scattered, and both the soldiery and the people declared for Magnentius. It was hoped that they might be able to surprise Constans on his return from the chase; but he got timely information, and fled for Spain. He was, however, overtaken by those despatched in pursuit of him, at a town named Helena, (*Elnæ*,) at the foot of the Pyrenees, dragged from a church to which he had fled for refuge, and put to death.

Constantius.

A. U. 1103—1114. A. D. 350—361.

The whole of the West, with the exception of Illyricum, yielded obedience to Magnentius. The troops of that country were commanded by Vetranio, an aged general of simple and upright manners, but so illiterate as to be ignorant of even reading and writing. At first he professed allegiance to the remaining son of Constantine; but at length he yielded to the desires of his legions and those of the princess Constantina, the daughter of Constantine, and widow of Hannibalianus, who thus, perhaps, sought to obtain vengeance for her husband, and to recover her own power. He consented

to accept of empire; and Constantina with her own hand placed the diadem on his head. Vetrano soon found it expedient to accept of the proffered alliance of Magnentius.

An opportune incursion of the Massagetans into the northern part of his dominions having just at this time called Sapor away from the third siege of Nisibis, Constantius found himself at leisure to attend to the affairs of the West. Leaving a sufficient force with his generals, he set out, for Europe, to avenge the murder of his brother. At Heraclea in Thrace, he was met by an embassy from the two emperors of the West, headed by Marcellinus. It was proposed that he should acknowledge them, marry the daughter of Magnentius, and give Constantina in marriage to that prince. Next day he gave his reply: the shade of the great Constantine, embracing the corpse of his murdered brother, had, he said, appeared to him in the night, bidden him not to despair of the republic, and assured him of victory. He dismissed one of the ambassadors, put the others in irons as traitors, and then pursued his march.

His conduct toward Vetrano was artful and politic. While he menaced Magnentius with vengeance as a traitor, he acknowledged the Illyrian Augustus as a colleague, and finally induced him to unite with him against the usurper. It was agreed that the two emperors and their armies should meet at the town of Sardica. The troops of Vetrano were far superior both in number and strength to those of the emperor of the East; but the reliance of Constantius was on the promises that he had lavished on them, by which most of both officers and men had been secretly gained to his side. The united armies were assembled (Dec. 25) in a large plain near the city, and the two emperors ascended the tribunal to address them. Constantius spoke the first. He inveighed against Magnentius; he spoke of the glories of Constantine, and of their oaths of fidelity to him. Those who were prepared for the purpose, and stood about the tribunal, then cried out that they would have no spurious emperors, and would only serve under the son of Constantine; and the cry was repeated through all the ranks. Vetrano, thus abandoned by his own troops, took off his diadem, and fell at the feet of his imperial colleague. Constantius raised him, and promised him safety. The city of Prusa in Bithynia, with an ample revenue, was assigned for the place of his abode; and he there passed the remaining six years of his life in ease and tranquillity.

Early in the spring, (351,) Magnentius took the field with a large army. The advantages were on his side throughout the summer, and Constantius, who shunned to meet him in the field, found it necessary to offer him terms of peace. But the haughtiness of the usurper, who required him to resign his purple, promising him life on that humiliating condition, put an end to all hopes of accommodation; and Constantius resolved to trust to Heaven, and conquer or fall with honor. Magnentius then advanced, and made an attempt on the town of Mursa, (*Essek*,) situated on the River Drave. Constantius led his troops to its defence, and the two armies encountered (Sept. 28) on the plain in which the city stands. Leaving the command with his generals, Constantius retired to an adjoining church, where he passed the day in prayer. The engagement lasted till night, and the victory of the imperial troops, chiefly owing to the heavy cataphract cavalry, was complete. The number of men slain in the battle is said to have been 54,000, of whom more than one half fell on the side of the victors. Magnentius escaped with difficulty from the emperor's light horse, who chased him to the foot of the Julian Alps.

The winter passed away in inaction, and when spring came (352) Magnentius fixed his abode at Aquileia, in order to oppose the farther advance of the imperial troops; but he soon found it necessary, in consequence of the defection of the troops and people of Italy, to abandon that position, and retire into Gaul. The cause of this defection was the cruelty used by his ministers, on the occasion of the suppression of an insurrection at Rome, where a youth named Nepotianus, the son of Eutropia, the sister of Constantine, had armed a band of slaves and gladiators, and assumed the purple. Himself, his mother, and all connected with the family of Constantine, were put to death; all parts of the city were filled with blood, and terror every where prevailed. Communications were, therefore, opened with Constantius after the battle of Mursa, and all Italy finally declared in his favor. It was now, therefore, the turn of Magnentius to sue. He sent some bishops to Constantius, offering to resign the purple, and to serve him faithfully; but the emperor would listen to no proposals on the part of the assassin, though he offered pardon to all who would abandon him. The imperial fleet had, meantime, acquired the possession of Africa and Spain and landed an army in the latter country, which entered Gaul and advanced toward Lyons, where Magnentius was residing

The oppressions exercised by this tyrant in order to obtain money and supplies from the cities of Gaul, at length drove the people to desperation; and a revolt commenced at Treves, where the gates were shut against his brother Decentius, whom he had made an Augustus. The Germans, with whom Constantius had formed an alliance, passed the Rhine, and besieged Decentius in Sens. The imperial troops at length forced the passage of the Cottian Alps, and a battle was fought at a place named Mount Seleucus, in which the usurper was totally defeated. He fled to Lyons, where, finding that his soldiers were preparing to seize and surrender him, he anticipated their design by falling on his sword. Decentius strangled himself when he heard of his brother's death, and Constantius now remained sole master of the Roman world.

Of the male line of Constantine there were now only the emperor himself and his cousins, Gallus and Julian, remaining. These youths, after the massacre of their family, had been placed in different cities of Asia, where they were surrounded and guarded by persons devoted to the emperor; but they were treated with care and respect, and their education was diligently attended to. At length, (351,) when the emperor was preparing to avenge the murder of his last remaining brother, he conferred on Gallus, then in his twenty-fifth year, the dignity of Cæsar, committed to him the government of the East, and gave him in marriage the princess Constantina. The new Cæsar fixed his abode at Antioch.

Gallus was in every way unfit to rule. He had no experience of the world, and his natural temper was violent and tyrannic. Had he been united to a woman of mild and amiable manners, his innate ferocity might perhaps have been mitigated; but Constantina was one who actually delighted in blood; and, instead of restraining, she stimulated her husband to deeds of cruelty. The apartments of the palace were filled with the implements of death and torture; all places, both public and private, were beset with informers; no man's life was secure; and a general gloom pervaded the city.

While Constantius was engaged in the contest for his empire, he had not leisure to attend to the proceedings of his Cæsar: at length, however, (354,) he came to the resolution of depriving him of his rank, or of removing him to Gaul; and, on the occasion of the massacre of a nobleman named Theophilus, by the populace of Antioch, in a time of scarcity, with the connivance of Gallus, he sent the prefect Domi-

tian, with directions to prevail, by gentle means, if possible, on Gallus to proceed to Italy; for he feared to attack him openly, lest he should assert his independence. But Domitian, on arriving at Antioch instead of waiting on Gallus, as he should have done, passed by the palace gate, and, on the pretext of illness, remained at his own house for some days. When, at last, he condescended to visit the Cæsar, he roughly ordered him to set out for Italy at once, threatening, in case of his refusal, to stop the supply of provisions to the palace. He then rose and went away, and would not appear any more before the Cæsar, though often summoned. This conduct would have provoked a much meeker temper than that of Gallus, who immediately set a guard on the house of the prefect. The quæstor, Montius, then called together the principal officers of the guards, and, dilating on what had occurred, hinted that Gallus was about to rebel. When this reached the ears of the Cæsar, he assembled the soldiers, and called on them to protect him. They instantly seized Montius, who was an infirm old man, and, tying his legs with ropes, dragged him to the abode of Domitian, whom they likewise bound, and then dragged them both through the streets till they were dead, and, after insulting their bodies in a barbarous manner, flung them into the river. The cruelty of Gallus now redoubled, and guilty and innocent suffered alike.

Constantius and his council were perplexed how to act; but they finally resolved to proceed with artifice, and draw the Cæsar into their toils gently. The emperor wrote to him in most affectionate terms, entreating him to come and assist him in managing the arduous affairs of the West: in like manner, he wrote to his sister, expressing a most anxious desire to see her. Constantina accordingly set out for Europe; but on the way she fell sick, and died at a town in Bithynia. As it was chiefly on her influence with her brother that Gallus relied for his safety, her death threw him into the utmost perplexity. While he was hesitating, Scudilo, a tribune of the guards, arrived, a man who under the guise of martial roughness and frankness concealed a most artful and insinuating character; and by his representations he was induced to set out for Europe. At Constantinople he imprudently took on him to bestow a crown on the victor in a chariot race, which assumption of imperial power, as it was deemed, greatly contributed to exasperate the emperor against him. The soldiers were removed from all the towns through which he was to

pass, lest they should declare for him—a needful precaution, as it would appear; for, when he reached Hadrianople, the Thebæan legions which lay in that neighborhood sent to offer him their services; but their deputies were unable to obtain access to him, for he was surrounded by persons devoted to the court, who had been sent to occupy all the places in his establishment. Letters now reached him requiring his immediate presence at court; and he was obliged to set out with only a few attendants, and to travel post with the utmost speed. On reaching the town of Petobio (*Pettau*) on the Drave, he was lodged in a palace without the walls; and toward evening it was surrounded with soldiers, and their commander, Barbatio, entered and stripped the Cæsar of his royal dress, putting common raiment upon him, and then, with oaths assuring him of safety, made him arise and enter a common carriage, in which he was conveyed to a place near Pola in Istria, which had been the scene of the last sufferings of the unhappy Crispus. After being kept a short time in suspense, and having undergone an examination respecting his conduct in the East, in which he confessed his criminal acts, but cast the entire blame of them on his wife, he was secretly beheaded in prison.

The imperial family was thus reduced to the emperor himself and his cousin Julian. The eunuchs, who were all-powerful in the palace, labored hard for the destruction of this prince, who had been brought to the court of Milan, and charges of treason were devised against him; but though he easily refuted all that his enemies could allege, his innocence would probably have availed him little against the arts and the influence of those who dreaded him as his brother's avenger, had he not found a powerful protectress in the empress Eusebia, a woman of considerable beauty and merit, who exercised great power over the mind of her husband. Julian was at length (355) permitted to retire to Athens, to pursue the literary studies in which he delighted. His abode in that seat of learning was, however, but of brief duration; for Constantius, finding himself totally unequal to the sole direction of the multitudinous affairs of the empire, menaced on all its frontiers by restless and powerful enemies, yielded to the arguments and entreaties of the empress, who represented to him that Gallus and Julian had differed in character as much as the sons of Vespasian, and that from the mild, gentle temper of the latter he might expect to meet with nothing but gratitude and obedience. She thus induced him to consent

to associate Julian in the empire; and an order was despatched for that prince to return immediately to court. Julian quitted Athens with deep and unfeigned regret. He was kindly received at Milan; the only condition exacted from him was a marriage with the emperor's sister Helena, a princess some years his senior; and on the day in which he entered his twenty-fifth year, (Nov. 6,) Constantius, in the presence and amid the acclamations of the army, bestowed on him the dignity of Cæsar. He was immediately after sent to take the command in Gaul.

This country had lately been the scene of rebellion, and this circumstance had probably contributed to the elevation of Julian. Silvanus, one of those German officers who were now so numerous in the Roman service, had, by his opportune desertion just before the battle of Mursa, contributed not a little to the victory of Constantius. The command of the imperial infantry was his reward, and he enjoyed the favor of his sovereign, which, however, only exposed him the more to the hostility of the favorites, one of whom, Arbëtio, as the surest means of destroying him, induced the emperor to give him the charge of delivering Gaul from the depredations of the Germans. Silvanus was not long in that province, when an agent, selected for the purpose, applied to him for letters of recommendation to his friends at court. These he unsuspectingly gave, and they were conveyed to his enemies, who, erasing all but the signature, filled them with language calling on his friends to aid his designs on the empire. The matter was then laid before the emperor in council, and orders were given to arrest the persons to whom the letters were addressed. Malaric, however, the commander of the foreign guards, and Silvanus's countryman, aided by his brother officers, warmly asserted the innocence of the absent general; and at his instance a new inquiry was instituted, in which the forgery was detected. The discovery however, came too late; Silvanus, indignant at the treatment he had received, and seeing no other prospect of security, had assumed the purple at Cologne. Treachery was then employed against him, and Ursinus, a general who had lately distinguished himself so much in the defence of the East, that fear of his doing what Silvanus had now done had caused his recal., sullied his fame by becoming the instrument. He set out for Gaul, with a few of his friends, under the pretence of avenging the injuries which he had received at court, and joined the usurper. He was received with kindness and confidence, which he repaid by seducing some of

the foreign troops, and causing Silvanus to be murdered after a brief reign of twenty-eight days. The troops then returned to their allegiance.

The court of Constantius was one in which all the vices which distinguished those of the East flourished in luxuriance. There was in it no place for virtue and integrity; the vile race of eunuchs (for such the history of all ages proves them to be) were so powerful, that, as the historian sarcastically observes, Constantius had a good deal of influence with the chief of them, the chamberlain Eusebius. Their rapacity knew no bounds; justice and the honors of the state were set up to sale, the complaints of the injured were intercepted, the honorable and the independent were secretly undermined or openly assailed. But the eunuchs were not the sole authors of evil; we find among the pests of the court the general Barbatio, and Paulus the notary, a crafty Spaniard surnamed Catena, from his skill in entangling destined victims in the meshes of dangerous subtleties. There were many others whose names it boots not to record. The character of the emperor, jealous of his dignity, and barbarously cruel to all who were even suspected of encroaching on it, gave effect to the arts of these men, and few were safe from their machinations.

While Constantius remained in Italy, he paid a visit to the ancient capital, (Apr. 23, 357.) He entered it in a triumphal procession, visited and admired all its venerable monuments, and gave orders for the transportation thither of an obelisk from Egypt, to commemorate his abode at Rome. After a stay of only thirty days, he quitted it, never again to return.

The cause of his so speedy departure was the invasion of the Illyrian provinces by their ancient devastators, the Quadians and their allies. He took the field in person against them, cut their armies to pieces, ravaged their country far and wide, and compelled them to sue for peace. At this time also he listened to the entreaties of the Sarmatians, and consented to turn his arms against their rebellious slaves. On his approach, the Limigantes offered to pay an annual tribute, and to furnish recruits for the army; but they expressed their determination not to quit their country. When, however, they found themselves attacked on different sides by the Roman legions, their former masters, and the Gothic Taifalans, their dwellings fired, and their country ravaged in all directions, their spirit abated, and they came, with their wives and children, to the Roman camp, and consented to re-

move whithersoever it should please the emperor to appoint their abode. Lands were accordingly assigned them at some distance from the river; and, the war being thus to all appearance terminated, Constantius retired to Sirmium for the winter. Early, however, in the following year, (359,) intelligence that the Limigantes had returned, and were about to cross the Danube and ravage the provinces, obliged him again to take the field. When he reached the banks of the river, the Limigantes were quite submissive, craved permission to be allowed to pass over and state their grievances, and to have lands assigned them within the Roman frontiers, where they might dwell as peaceful subjects. Constantius gave a cheerful consent; his tribunal was erected on a mound near the river; the Limigantes surrounded it; he stood up, and was preparing to address them, when one of them flung his shoe at the tribunal, and raised their war-cry, *Marha marha*. Instantly a rush to the tribunal was made by the multitude; the emperor had only time to mount a fleet horse, and fly to the camp; his guards were cut to pieces, and the tribunal was destroyed. But when the Roman troops learned the danger to which their emperor had been exposed, they hastened to take vengeance on the traitors; and they speedily massacred the entire multitude of the Limigantes. For his successes against this people, Constantius took the title of Sarmaticus.

The war on the Illyrian frontier being thus terminated, the emperor found it necessary to proceed to the East, where Sapor had once more crossed the Tigris, and poured his troops over the plains of Mesopotamia. The director of the campaign was a Roman subject named Antoninus, who had been forced to seek at the court of Persia a refuge from oppression. His plan was to neglect the fortresses, push on for the Euphrates, and think only of the conquest and plunder of Antioch; but the country was destroyed by the Romans, and the river, happening to swell at this time, could not be passed at the usual places. The march of the Persian army was therefore directed toward the head of the stream; but, as it was passing under the walls of the strong city of Amida, Sapor halted and summoned it to surrender. A dart flung from the walls chanced to graze his tiara; and the haughty despot, heedless of the remonstrances of his ministers, resolved to avenge the insult by the destruction of the city. His army, which counted one hundred thousand men, invested it after a general assault had been tried and failed.

The works of the besiegers were carried on under the direction of the Roman deserters, and, after a gallant defence of seventy-three days, the city was taken by storm, and all but those who had contrived to escape by the gate most remote from the point of attack were ruthlessly massacred. But the Persians purchased their conquest with the loss of nearly the third part of their host.

The capture of Amida terminated the campaign. In the following spring, (360,) Sapor again crossed the Tigris. He besieged and took the cities of Singara and Bezabde; the former of which he dismantled, as it lay in a sandy plain; but in the latter, which occupied a peninsula on the Tigris, he placed a strong garrison. Having failed in an attempt on Virtha, a strong fortress of the independent Arabs, he led his troops back to Persia. In the autumn, Constantius, who had at length arrived in the East, passed the Euphrates, and, having assembled his troops at Edessa, and wept over the ruins of Amida, advanced to attempt the recovery of Bezabde; but all his efforts to take it having failed, and the weather becoming tempestuous, he abandoned the siege, and returned to Antioch for the winter.

It is now time that we should direct our attention to the conduct of the Cæsar Julian in his administration of the Gallic provinces. The Franks and Alemans had been of late almost the undisputed masters of the country to an extent far westward of the Rhine; forty-five cities, among which were those bearing the modern names of Tongres, Treves, Worms, Spire, and Strasburg, beside numerous towns and villages, had been pillaged or burnt by them; and the Cæsar received at Turin, on his road, the intelligence of the capture of the flourishing colony of Cologne. He passed the winter at Vienne, and early in the summer (356) he proceeded to Autun, which had lately gallantly repelled an attack of the barbarians. He thence made his way through a country occupied by the enemy to Rheims, where he had ordered his troops to assemble. After two encounters with the Alemans, in one of which he was successful, he penetrated to the Rhine, and, having surveyed the ruins of Cologne, and formed a just conception of the difficulties he would have to encounter, he led his troops back to their winter quarters in Gaul. He fixed his own abode in the city of Sens, where for thirty days he was besieged by the Alemans; but he defended the town with skill and courage, and the barbarians were forced to retire.

Julian himself, in his extant writings, speaks slightly of

his first campaign. It was the initiation of a retired student in the affairs of actual life; and the love of honest fame, and the lessons of solid wisdom which he had derived from the works of those men of mighty intellect who had flourished in ancient Greece, combined with his natural talent, soon enabled him to acquire the character of an able general. His next campaign therefore proved a glorious one. A principal cause of his success was the removal of the impediments which the eunuchs had prepared for him in his own army, where they had caused the command of the cavalry to be given to Marcellus, a man who seemed to think his only duty to be that of thwarting the Cæsar. As, however, though near at hand, he had not come to his aid when he ran such risk at Sens, he was, on Julian's complaint, supported probably by the empress, removed from his command, and an officer named Severus, of a very different character, sent in his stead. Marcellus proceeded to the court, and was commencing a course of insinuations against the loyalty of Julian, when the prince's chamberlain Eutherius, who had been despatched for the purpose, arrived. This noble-minded eunuch* demanded an audience of the emperor, and, when admitted, he boldly asserted the innocence of his master, and proved the culpable conduct of Marcellus, who was obliged to retire in disgrace to his native country, Pannonia.

Julian, now master of his actions, prepared to commence operations, (357.) The plan of the campaign was, that, while he should advance from Rheims on the one side with the troops of Gaul, Barbatio, the general of the imperial infantry, should lead an army of thirty thousand men from Italy, and cross the Rhine near Basil, (*Rauraci*), so that the Alemans, attacked on both sides, should be forced to abandon the left bank of the river. Julian's first care was to restore the fortifications of the city of Saverne, in the heart of the country occupied by the enemy; but, while he was thus engaged, a large body of the Alemans passed unobserved between the two Roman armies, and made an attempt on the city of Lyons, which having failed, they fell to plundering the surrounding country. Julian immediately sent bodies

* Ammianus (xvi. 7) is justly lavish in his praise of this excellent man. He commences by observing, that what he said would hardly be credited, "ea re quod si Numa Pompilius vel Socrates bona quædam dicerent de spadone, dictisque religionum adderent fidem, a veritate descivisse arguerentur. Sed inter vepres rosæ nascuntur, et inter feras nonnullæ mitescunt."

of horse to occupy the roads by which they must return, and the booty was thus recovered, and all the plunderers cut to pieces, except those who were permitted to pass unmolested under the very ramparts of Barbatio's camp. When Julian, soon after, being anxious to drive the barbarians out of the islands which they occupied in the Rhine, applied to Barbatio for seven of the boats which he had collected to form a bridge over the Rhine, the latter forthwith burned the whole of them, sooner than aid his operations. Julian, however, by means of the shallows in the river, caused by the summer heat, passed over a body of troops, and destroyed or expelled the barbarians. He then set his troops to restore the fortifications of the town of Zabern, (*Tabernæ*;) and while they were thus engaged, Barbatio, as a further means of injuring Julian, seized the corn provided for them, consumed a part of it, and burned the remainder. Shortly after, he was suddenly fallen on by the barbarians, defeated, and driven to Basil. Then, as if he had gained a victory, he put his troops into winter quarters, and returned to court, to follow his usual course of maligning the Cæsar.

Chnodomar, the Alemannic king, supported by six other kings and ten princes of royal lineage, now prepared to attack the Cæsar, whose forces, as he learned from a deserter, were, by the departure of Barbatio, reduced to thirteen thousand men. The Germans occupied three days and nights in passing the Rhine; and an army of thirty-five thousand of their warriors was thus assembled at Strasburg, (*Argentoratum*.) Julian, who was encamped at a distance of twenty-one miles from that place, advanced to attack them; his troops being arranged in two divisions, the one of horse, the other of foot. It was so late in the day when they came in view of the enemy, that he wished to defer the attack till the morning; but the impatience of his troops was not to be restrained. Placing himself, therefore, at the head of his guards, he went round encouraging the men to fight valiantly. The battle then began; the Roman cavalry which was on the right fought at first in a manner worthy of its fame; but, as the Germans had mingled footmen through their cavalry, the heavy cuirassiers were thrown into confusion, and retreated. Julian immediately rode up and rallied them, and the combat of cavalry was renewed. The Roman infantry, led by Severus, though vigorously opposed, was at length completely successful; and the barbarians quitted the field with a loss of six thousand men, and many more were

drowned in the Rhine, or slain by the darts of their pursuers as they were swimming across. Chnodomar himself was taken while attempting to escape, and conducted to the Cæsar, by whom he was treated with kindness. He was afterwards sent to the emperor, who assigned him a residence at Rome, where he ended his days. In this glorious and important victory, the loss of the Romans had been only four tribunes and two hundred and forty-three men.

Julian resolved to follow up his success, passed the Rhine near Mentz, and advanced for a space of ten miles into the hostile territory, wasting the lands and burning the houses. The impediment of a deep, dark forest, occupied by the concealed bands of the Germans, and the appearance of the snow, which now began to cover the ground, it being past the time of the autumnal equinox, warning him of the imprudence of any farther advance, he decided to repass the river. Before, however, he quitted the soil of Germany, he repaired and garrisoned a fortress which Trajan had erected; and, having granted the Alemans a truce for ten months, he departed.

The following summer, (358,) Julian turned his arms against the Franks. By the celerity of his movements, he anticipated all resistance, and their tribes submitted to such terms as he thought fit to dictate. Then, as the truce with the Alemans had expired, he crossed the Rhine for the second time. Suomar, one of the most potent of the Alemanic princes, submitted at his approach. The territories of another, named Hortorius, were wasted with fire and sword, and he was forced to sue for mercy. Both princes were obliged to restore all the captives in their hands, and to supply materials for the restoration of the towns which they had destroyed.

As the princes who dwelt beyond the territories of Suomar and Hortorius had likewise shared in the war, Julian prepared to cross the Rhine a third time, in order to chastise them, (359.) As he was about to construct a bridge at Mentz, the German princes marched with all their forces, and occupied the farther bank of the river. Their vigilance was such that there seemed but little prospect of the Romans being able to construct a bridge: but Julian caused three hundred men to drop down the stream one night in small boats, who very nearly succeeded in capturing the German princes, as they were returning late from a banquet given by Hortorius, and their troops immediately dispersed to secure

their families and property. The Romans then crossed the river unopposed, and wasted the lands in the usual manner; and the Alemannic kings, six in number, were glad to obtain peace on the conqueror's own terms. The number of Roman subjects delivered from captivity by this and the preceding treaties was not less than twenty thousand.

Julian's civil administration rivalled his military exploits. The ruined cities were restored, and, as the agriculture of Gaul had suffered severely from the events of late years, a fleet of six hundred large vessels was built for the regular importation of corn from the better cultivated isle of Britain, in order to supply the towns and fortresses along the Rhine, the free navigation of which stream to the sea Julian had forced the Franks to concede. Julian also attended strictly to the administration of justice; and he alleviated, as far as was in his power, the burden of excessive taxation under which the people groaned. The usual residence of the Cæsar during the winter was Lutetia or Paris, (*Parisii*), a town built on an island in the Seine, and approached by two wooden bridges; while a suburb, in which stood the imperial palace, spread over the left bank of the river. For this city Julian had an extreme partiality; and we find him amid the luxury and profligacy of Antioch dwelling on its memory with tender affection.*

At the court of Constantius, Julian and his exploits were at first merely subjects of merriment to the eunuchs and the other favorites. His personal appearance and his manners were ridiculed in the presence of the emperor. He was called a she-goat, and no man, (in allusion to the philosophic beard which he cherished,) a chattering mole, an ape in purple, and so forth; nay, so far did courtly adulation and imperial folly proceed, that, in the laurelled letters sent to the provinces to announce the victory at Strasburg, Constantius was actually declared to have gained it in person! But the fame of Julian was not to be obscured by petty arts like these; and the plan was adopted of alarming the jealousy of the emperor by dwelling on the talents and virtues of the Cæsar, and hinting at the probability of his casting off his allegiance. As this was the subject on which Constantius was most susceptible of alarm, their stratagem easily succeeded; and a scheme for depriving him of the power to rebel was devised. In the spring of 360, a tribune and a

notary arrived at Paris with orders for four entire divisions of the auxiliaries, and drafts of three hundred men each from the other corps, to proceed without delay to join the imperial standard in the East. Julian represented in vain that the Germans had entered the Roman service on the express condition of not being sent beyond the Alps, and that a breach of faith like this might put a total end to further enlistments; he also urged the unprotected condition in which Gaul would be left by the withdrawal of so large a portion of the troops belonging to it; the imperial envoys would hear of nothing but obedience, and Julian was obliged to issue his orders for the march of the troops. His judicious advice that they should not march through Paris was also despised, and ere long they approached that city. Julian went forth to meet them; he addressed them, extolling their former exploits, and urging them to yield a cheerful obedience to the imperial commands. He then invited the principal officers to an entertainment, from which they departed sad and dejected at the idea of quitting their lenient prince, and their natal soil. At the approach of night, the discontent of the troops broke out into action; they seized their arms, and, surrounding the palace, with loud shouts proclaimed Julian Augustus. During the night, the entrances of the palace were secured against them; but at dawn Julian was obliged to come forth. His resistance, his menaces, his entreaties, his arguments, were of no avail: he was forced to yield to their violence, and accept the proffered dignity. They raised him triumphantly on a shield, they proclaimed him Augustus, and then desired him to produce a diadem. On his saying that he did not possess one, they called for his wife's collar or bracelet; but Julian deemed a female ornament inauspicious, and refused to use it; for a similar reason he rejected a horse-trapping. At length, a standard-bearer took a collar from his own neck, and placed it on the head of the Cæsar, who, having promised a donative of five gold pieces and a pound of silver to each man, was at length permitted to retire into the palace.

In the manifesto which Julian some time after addressed to the Athenians, he declared in the most solemn manner that he was totally ignorant of the designs of the army; and he was a man of so much probity, and had such a veneration for truth, that it is difficult to refuse him our belief. That judicious and honest historian Ammianus, who was a contemporary hints not a suspicion on the subject; yet, when we consid-

the ordinary conduct of men in such circumstances, and recollect that Julian must have been aware that the assumption of empire was almost the only security against his sharing the fate of his brother, we find it impossible not to feel somewhat incredulous. The question is, therefore, one of the many which must remain forever uncertain. That Julian was determined to retain the empire which he had accepted is beyond doubt; but he was most anxious to shun the guilt of the effusion of blood in civil war. On the day following that of his elevation, he assembled the troops, and, addressing them with his usual eloquence, obtained from them an assurance, that, if the emperor of the East would acknowledge him, they would remain quietly in Gaul: he at the same time pledged himself, that promotion, both civil and military, should henceforth go by merit, and not by favor. Those officers who were known to be attached to Constantius were deposed and secured, but no blood was shed. Julian wrote to that emperor, excusing what had occurred, and requiring the confirmation of his dignity, but offering to acknowledge the supremacy of the elder emperor, and to supply him annually with Spanish horses and with barbarian recruits.

While Julian was waiting the return of his ambassadors from the East, he increased his army by proclaiming a general pardon to the bands of outlaws which had arisen in consequence of the persecution of the adherents of Magnentius, and they cheerfully accepted it, and crowded to his standard. He then crossed the Rhine for the fourth time, to chastise the perfidy of the Attuarians, a Frankish tribe; and, this object being effected, he marched southwards, and took up his winter quarters at Vienne. As this city was full of Christians, and a great part of his army followed the Christian creed, Julian, who, as we shall presently show, had long since adopted a different faith, condescended to play the hypocrite for probably the last time, and went publicly to the church on Christmas day.

Early in the spring, (361,) Julian learned that Vadomar, an Alemannic prince, had committed ravages to the south of the Danube; and there appeared reason for believing that the German was acting in obedience to secret instructions from Constantius, who wished to find occupation for his rival in Gaul. Julian resolved to employ artifice; and he sent the notary Philagrius, furnished with secret instructions to entrap the German prince. When Philagrius came to the Rhine Vadomar, thinking his proceedings unknown, passed over to

visit him, and readily accepted an invitation to a dinner. When he came, Philagrius retired to read his instructions, and, in obedience to them, he seized Vadomar, and forwarded him to the camp of Julian, where, being convicted by his own letter to Constantius, which had been intercepted, he was sent a prisoner into Spain. Julian, then putting himself at the head of some light troops, crossed the Rhine in the dead of the night, and so terrified the Germans, that they sought most humbly for pardon and peace.

The ambassadors of Julian had met with so many obstacles and delays, that they did not overtake Constantius till he had reached Cæsarea in Cappadocia, on his way for the Persian war. The empress Eusebia and the princess Helena, whose influence might have prevented a rupture, were both dead; and Constantius, left to his own passions and the suggestions of his flatterers, returned a haughty answer, requiring Julian to renounce his usurped title, and accept a pardon on certain conditions. Julian caused the letter to be read out in presence of the army, with whose consent he declared himself ready to resign his dignity; but the loud shouts of Julian Augustus, which rose on all sides, inspired him with resolution, and he dismissed the imperial envoy with a letter of defiance. These transactions, it may be observed, had taken place at Paris in the preceding year, just before Julian's expedition against the Attuarians.

Aware of the importance of bold and decisive measures in civil contests, and fearful of the arts of Constantius among the Germans, Julian resolved to advance at once into Illyricum. His soldiers readily agreed to follow him; and at Basil he divided his army into three divisions, of which one, under two officers named Jovius and Jovinus, was to go through the Alps and northern Italy; another, under Nevitta, the commander of the cavalry, was to proceed through Noricum; while, at the head of the third, Julian himself, entering the Black Forest, should make for the Danube, and go down that river in boats. This daring and judicious plan proved perfectly successful. Julian landed unexpectedly at Bononia, within nineteen miles of Sirmium, and seized Lucilian, the general of the cavalry, who was preparing to oppose him. At Sirmium he was joyfully received, and, being immediately joined by his remaining divisions, he advanced and secured the pass of Succus in Mount Hæmus. When Constantius heard of the advance of Julian, he gave up all thoughts of the Persian war for the present, and prepared to return and combat for his empire. But



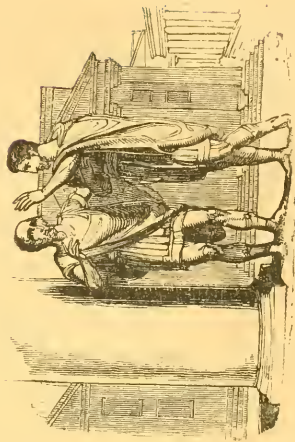
FULVIA REVEALING CATALINA'S CONSPIRACY. 377.



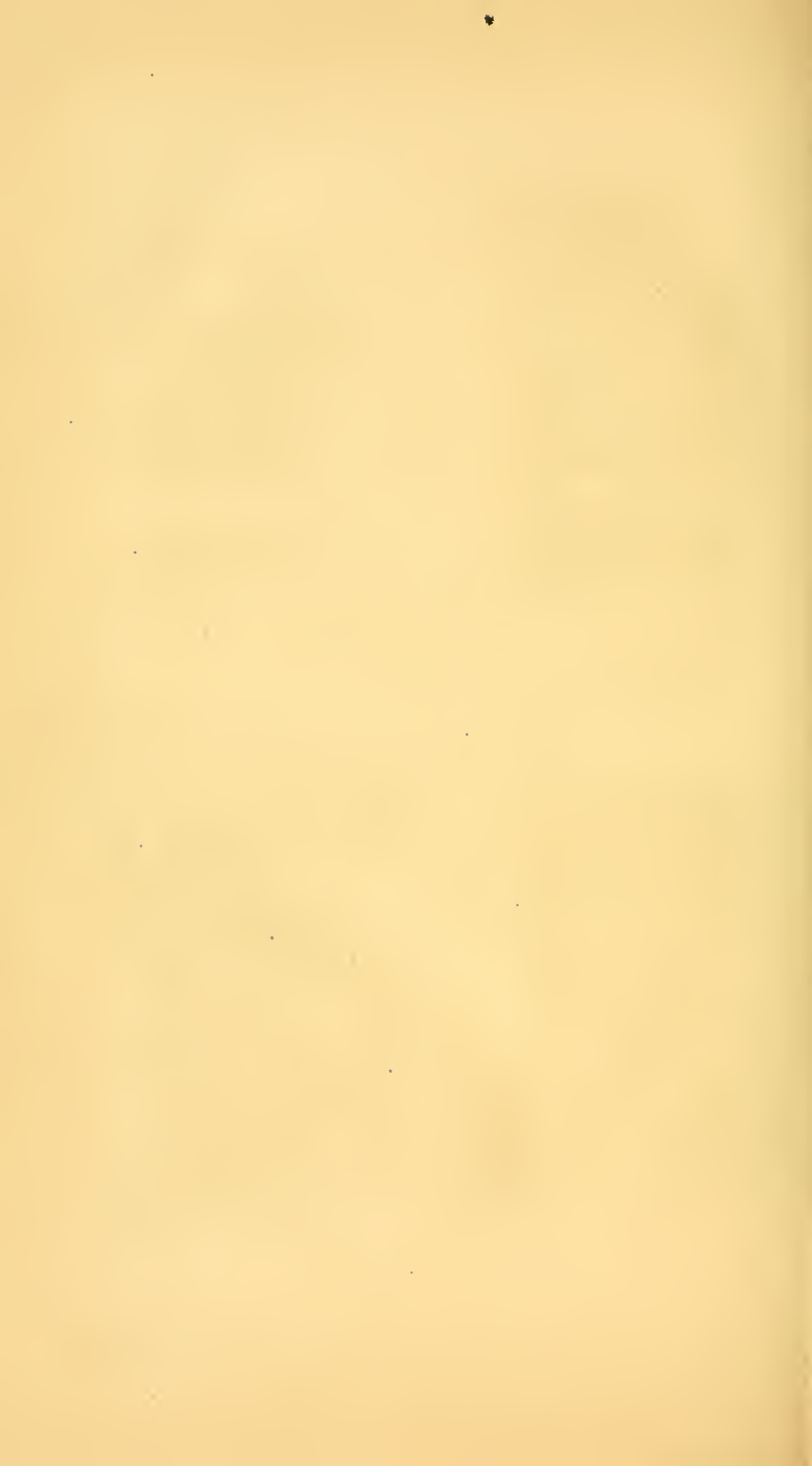
MARIUS AMONG THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE. 336.



ANTONIUS WITH CLEOPATRA IN EGYPT. 462.



BRUTUS AND CASSIUS CONSPIRING. 443.



on his way he was attacked by a fever, caused, probably, by the agitation of his spirits, and he breathed his last at a little town near Tarsus, named Mopsucrenæ, in the forty-fifth year of his age, naming, it is said, Julian for his successor.

CHAPTER IV.*

JULIAN, JOVIAN.

A. U. 1114—1117. A. D. 361—364.

REFORMATIONS OF JULIAN. — HIS RELIGION. — HIS TOLERANCE. — JULIAN AT ANTIOCH. — ATTEMPT TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM. — THE PERSIAN WAR. — DEATH OF JULIAN. — ELECTION OF JOVIAN. — SURRENDER OF TERRITORY TO THE PERSIANS. — RETREAT OF THE ROMAN ARMY. — DEATH OF JOVIAN.

Julian.

A. U. 1114—1116. A. D. 361—363.

JULIAN was at Naïssus when two officers of rank arrived, sent to inform him of the death of Constantius, and of his nomination to the empire. He therefore passed Mount Hæmus without delay, marched by Philippopolis to Perinthus, and, on the 11th of December, he entered the capital amid the loud and joyful acclamations of the people.

The imperial palace, like the abode of an Eastern monarch, swarmed with eunuchs and other ministers of luxury. The emoluments of these men were enormous, and their salaries and allowances formed an article of no trifling magnitude in the accounts of the treasury. We are told that, one day when Julian called for a barber to trim his hair, he saw a man most splendidly dressed enter the apartment. The emperor, in affected amazement, exclaimed, "It was a barber, and not a receiver-general of the finances, that I sent for." He then inquired of him respecting his salary and perquisites, and

* Authorities: Zosimus, Ammianus, Julian, Libanius, the Epitomatists, and the Ecclesiastical Historians.

found that, independently of a large salary and considerable perquisites, he had an allowance of twenty loaves a day, and fodder for an equal number of horses. Julian, regardless of justice, and of the claims of long, and, in some cases, faithful service, resolved on making a general clearance of the palace; and barbers, cooks, cupbearers, and others, to the number of some thousands, got leave to go whither they would, many probably to starve. The emperor was also resolved that those who had been the instigators or instruments of the cruelties and oppressions exercised under the late reign, should not escape with impunity. A commission composed of two civilians, Sallust, the upright prefect of the East, and Mamertinus, the consul elect, and of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio, was appointed to sit at Chalcedon, to hear charges and pass sentences. As the number of the military men, some of whom were barbarians by birth, predominated in the tribunal, the decisions were as often the result of prejudice and faction as of justice. No one can condemn the execution of the chamberlain Eusebius, or of Apodemius, one of the chief agents in the destruction of Silvanus and Gallus, or of Paulus Cataca, which last was burnt alive; but Justice herself seemed to Ammianus to have bewept the death of Ursulus, the treasurer, and to have convicted the emperor of ingratitude; for, when he was sent into Gaul, in want of almost every thing, Ursulus had directed the treasurer there to supply him with all that he should require. Julian made a futile effort to get rid of the charge, by averring that Ursulus was put to death without his knowledge. As little can the banishment of Taurus, the ex-prætorian prefect, be justified, whose only offence was loyalty to the prince whom he served. On the whole, however, the number of those who suffered death or banishment was not considerable, and most of them deserved their fate.

The love of justice, and the correct sense of the duties of a ruler, which Julian had displayed when a Cæsar in Gaul, did not desert him on the imperial throne in Constantinople; and, had it not been for one fatal circumstance, he might have been the object of general applause and admiration. But Julian had renounced the religion of the empire, and adopted that of ancient Greece, which he entertained the chimerical idea of restoring to its primitive importance; and, in the pursuit of this object, he did not attend sufficiently to the principles of justice and equity. From his

change of faith he has been styled the Apostate, unjustly, as appears to us, for of his sincerity there can be no doubt; and, however we may lament for, pity, or even despise those who change from conviction, we are not justified in condemning or reviling them.

Gallus and Julian, after the massacre of their relatives, had been committed to the charge of Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia. They were instructed in the articles of faith and practice then prevalent, with all of which they complied without any hesitation; and Julian, it was remembered, had publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of that city. But, while the rude, sullen Gallus became a steady and bigoted believer, the milder and more philosophic and studious Julian took a distaste to the religion in which he was instructed. He had been made familiar with the great writers of ancient Hellas by his tutor, the eunuch Mardonius; and the admiration he felt for the works of Homer and other eminent poets, the veneration for antiquity, and the brilliant colors with which the ancient poetic Olympus stood invested, as contrasted with the grovelling superstition with which he was surrounded; and the noble spirit and glorious deeds of the believers in the ancient creed, compared with the base arts and paltry actions of the men of his own time,—all combined to operate on the mind of the young prince, and he became a believer in the theology of Homer and Hesiod. But it was not the charming poetic creed of the early and best days of Hellas that Julian adopted; it was the absurd, contemptible mysticism of the New Platonists; and as, in his Christianity, he neglected the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, confounding it with the intricate metaphysics and abject superstition which then prevailed in the church, so, in his paganism, he lost the poetic creed of the old times in the tasteless, unsubstantial vagaries and allegories of the school of Alexandria. In fact, he had not that original vigor of intellect which would have emancipated him from the spirit of the age. Superstition was the prevailing sentiment, and the philosophic emperor was in his way as deeply immersed in it as the most grovelling ascetic.

According to the emperor's own account, he was a Christian till he reached his twentieth year. He then, after being instructed by various sophists, was, by the archimage Maximus, secretly initiated at Ephesus with all those ceremonies which imposture and superstition had imported from Asia, and incorporated with the mythic faith of Hellas. During

his short abode, some years after, at Athens, Julian was solemnly initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis. Still he was to outward appearance a Christian, and the empress Eusebia had not probably a shade of doubt respecting the faith of her distinguished *protégé*. In Gaul he appears to have still dissembled, and to have openly assisted at the Christian worship, while in his closet he offered his homage to the Sun and Hermes. When he assumed the imperial dignity, he disdained all further concealment of his sentiments, and boldly proclaimed himself a votary of the ancient gods.

It may be, perhaps, laid down as an axiom in history, that when once a religious or political system has gone out of use among any people, its permanent restoration is an impossibility. The power of a monarch or of a political party may reestablish it for a time, but when the hand that sustained it is gone, it sinks back into its previous state of neglect and impotence. The efforts of Julian to restore paganism, must, therefore, even had his life been prolonged, have proved utterly abortive. The system had long been crumbling to pieces from internal feebleness and decay; the theism on which it was founded, and of whose various forms its beautiful mythes were merely the expositions,* had long been unknown; and the mystic views of the New Platonists, which Julian had adopted, were totally opposite to its spirit. To this should be added, that Christianity, corrupt as it then was, had, by its noble spirit of benevolence and charity, by the sublimity of its original principles, and by the organization of its hierarchy, a moral power such as the old religion had not possessed at any period of its prevalence. When we view the attempt of Julian in this light, we may feel disposed to pity, while we deride the folly of the imperial fanatic.

Julian was by nature just and humane; he was also a philosopher and statesman enough to know that persecution, if it does not go the full length of extermination, adds strength, and numbers, and energy, to the persecuted and irritated party. He, therefore, instead of imitating Diocletian, proclaimed a general toleration. The pagans were directed to open their temples, and offer victims as heretofore; the contending sects of Christians were commanded to abstain from harassing and tormenting each other. The catholic prelates and clergy, whom the Arian Constantius

* See the author's Mythology of ancient Greece and Italy.

had banished, were accordingly restored to their sees and churches.* The real object of all this moderation, we are assured by Ammianus, was to increase the mutual animosity of the Christian sects, by giving free course to their controversial spirit while depriving them of the power of exterminating each other, and thus to prevent their uniting in opposition to his ulterior projects.

We can hardly blame Julian for giving a preference to his fellow-believers in civil and military employments. This mild form of persecution is the fate of religious and political parties in all ages. But even his most partial admirers cannot (Ammianus does not) justify the edict which prohibited the Galilæans, as he affected to style the Christians, from teaching the arts of grammar or rhetoric, *i. e.* from being schoolmasters. By means of this, he expected that the Christian youth would either frequent the schools of the pagan teachers, and thus probably be converted, or they would abstain from them, and thus grow up in ignorance, and the church, losing the advantages of learning and cultivation, sink into contempt. A far more legitimate and laudable mode of warfare was his effort to reform paganism on the model of Christianity, by introducing into it those rules and practices to which the latter seemed to him indebted for its success. He thus desired that the priesthood in every city should be composed of persons, without distinction of birth or wealth, eminent for the love of gods and men; that the priest should be undefiled in mind and body, his reading be solely of a serious and instructive nature, and the theatre and the tavern be alike unvisited by him. He required that hospitals should be erected in each town; "for it is shameful to us," said he, "that no beggar should be found among the Jews, and that the impious Galilæans should support not only their own poor, but ours also, while these last appear destitute of all assistance from ourselves." These were his advice and exhortations to the sacerdotal bodies of the temples of Asia Minor; in which country alone such were to be found. It can be only these, we may observe, that are meant, when the hostility of the priests of the heathen to the Christian religion is noticed.

While Julian abode at Constantinople, ambassadors arrived from distant countries, even from India and the isle of Serendib or Ceylon, with which the subjects of the empire

* See below, Chapter VI.

had now commercial relations. All was tranquil on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, and the Persian monarch had made proposals of peace. It might therefore have been expected that a philosopher in principle and a devotee in religion, such as the emperor was, would have been satisfied to apply his whole time and thoughts to the promotion of the welfare of his subjects and the extension of his religious creed. But Julian, when in Gaul, had been smitten with the passion for military glory; and the example of Alexander the Great, which had fascinated even Julius Cæsar, urged him to aspire to the conquest of the East. He therefore returned a haughty reply to the envoys of Sapor, and, in the end of the spring, (362,) he passed over to Asia at the head of a formidable army. He made little delay on the road; his piety, however, induced him to turn aside and offer his devotions to the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, the ancient seat of her worship. He arrived, toward the end of the month of June, at Antioch, where he resolved to remain till the following spring, when he should be prepared to open the campaign with vigor in Mesopotamia.

The people of Antioch received the emperor with loud demonstrations of joy. Julian now divided his thoughts between preparations for war, the administration of justice, and what he regarded as his religious duties. Each day numerous victims were sacrificed to the gods, for which purpose birds of white plumage were brought even from considerable distances; for, in the creed of Julian, the gods derived pleasure, if not nourishment, from the holy steam which ascended from the altars on which the flesh of victims was consumed. He himself frequently slaughtered the sacred beasts with his own hands, and he sought, in their reeking entrails, to discover future events. Faithful in the discharge of all his religious duties, the pious emperor might be seen gravely moving along in religious procession amid a crowd of those persons of both sexes who led lives of infamy in the service of the licentious religions of the East.

The grove of Daphne, about five miles from Antioch, in which stood a stately temple of Apollo, raised by the kings of Syria, had long been celebrated as the scene of acts of licentiousness most alien from the character of Phœbus Apollo, the purest object of Grecian worship, and *Daphnic manners* had long been proverbial. But since the triumph of Christianity, the sanctity of the temple of Daphne had

greatly declined; and on the day of the festival of the god, Julian, who seemed to estimate piety by the number of victims, was mortified to find that the only animal that bled on the altar of the lord of light was a solitary goose, provided at the cost of the sole remaining priest, whose means probably did not reach to the purchase of a swan. The glory of Daphne had indeed departed; the emperor's own brother, Gallus, had caused the bones of the bishop Babylas, who had died in prison in the time of Decius, to be transported into the sacred precincts, and a stately church to be erected over them; and the grove of Daphne thus, in accordance with the superstition then prevalent, became a favorite burial-place for the Christian inhabitants of Antioch. But Julian resolved to remove the profanation, and restore the temple to its pristine sanctity and magnificence. The church of St. Babylas was demolished, and the Christian bodies were removed. On this occasion, the body of the saint was conveyed to Antioch in a lofty car, amid the loud singing of psalms by an immense multitude; and that very night the temple of Daphne was consumed by lightning sent from Heaven at the prayer of the offended saint, according to the Christians of Antioch; by fire applied to it by themselves in the opinion of the emperor, who in return shut up their principal church, and seized its wealth. Several of the Christians were tortured, and a presbyter, named Theodoret, was beheaded; but no persecution, properly speaking, took place. It was different, however, elsewhere; and in Gaza, Cæsarea, and other towns, the now triumphant pagans exercised the most atrocious cruelties on the devoted Christians; and the emperor only gently condemned their excesses.

The great majority of the people of Antioch were Christians in rites and doctrines; but in practice they were very remote from the standard of gospel perfection, and Antioch had long been noted as the most luxurious and dissipated city of the East. The strict and austere morals of the emperor were therefore fully as distasteful to the Antiochians as his pagan superstition; and, as they were a witty and ingenious people, they assailed him with the darts of ridicule. They mocked at his sacerdotal exercises; they derided his short stature and his efforts to make his shoulders appear broad, and his long strides in walking. But the grand butt of their shafts was his bushy, *populous* beard, which, in his character of philosopher, he sedulously nourished. He took his revenge by writing a satire on the Antiochians, which

he named the Beardhater, (*Misopogon*;) but he never forgave them, and he publicly declared his intention not to revisit their city.

At the same time, in order to win the favor of the common people, Julian adopted a very questionable policy. The harvest having been deficient, the natural consequences had followed; corn was at a monopoly-price, and capitalists made it a matter of speculation. To remedy this evil, the emperor, by an edict, fixed a *maximum*, or highest price, at which corn might be sold; and he poured into the market 422,000 measures of corn drawn from the granaries of other towns, and even from Egypt. This corn, as might easily have been foreseen, was all bought up by the capitalists; the supply was kept back as before, and the small quantities that were brought into the market were sold underhand at a price beyond the *maximum*. Julian was perplexed; he would not or could not be made to see the policy of leaving trade to regulate itself; he was persuaded that the scarcity was entirely artificial, and produced by the conduct of the wealthy land-owners; and on one occasion he arrested and sent to prison the whole senate of Antioch, consisting of two hundred members. They were, however, released in the evening, but cordiality was never restored between them and the emperor; and, as we have seen, they lampooned and ridiculed him, and he satirized them in return.

Julian, while at Antioch, as a means of mortifying the Christians, whom he hated, resolved on restoring the Jews to their country, and rebuilding the temple of Jehovah, whom he regarded with respect as a national god. He committed the task to Alypius, an able and learned Antiochian, who had been governor of Britain; and this officer, being seconded by the governor of the province, set at once about clearing away the ruins on Mount Moriah; but a tempest and earthquake, and flames which burst from the ground and scorched and burned the workmen, prevented the progress of the work, and the death of the emperor put an end to all thoughts of resuming it.

The Christians of the time viewed in this event the direct interference of Heaven; and many modern, even Protestant, writers take the same view. By so doing, no concession certainly is made to the false miracles of the church of Rome, and we are very far from holding, that Providence might not see fit to interpose in a case of extraordinary importance. But we deny such to have been the case in the present in-

stance; the futility of Julian's efforts against Christianity, and the fate which so soon awaited him, could not be unknown to Omniscience, and a miracle seems therefore to have been superfluous. The present one is, moreover, explicable perhaps by natural causes. We know how prone the ecclesiastical writers were to convert, partly from ignorance, partly from design, natural events into miracles, and also how a tale gains in its progress. Rejecting therefore the storm and earthquake,* and confining ourselves to the fiery explosions to which we have the testimony of Ammianus, it has been supposed, with some degree of probability, that the phenomenon may come under the head of choke-damp, with the cause and effects of which we are now so familiar, and that the workmen may have been injured by the air, which had now been confined for three centuries in the vaults and cavities beneath the site of the temple. Still this explanation is not without its difficulties; and, though we ourselves cannot regard the event as supernatural, we leave the reader to form his own judgment, and return to the plain path of history.

In the spring of the year 363, Julian departed from Antioch, and proceeded to Beroëa, (*Aleppo*), and thence marched to Hierapolis, not far from the banks of the Euphrates, at which town the troops had been ordered to rendezvous. The river was passed without delay; and, as it seems to have been the emperor's design to enter the enemy's country by Nisibis and Armenia, the army advanced to Carrhæ. But, circumstances having caused him to alter his views, he detached his relative, Procopius, with Sebastian, ex-duke of Egypt, and thirty thousand select troops, directing them to join Arsaces, king of Armenia, and, having ravaged the adjacent parts of Media, to be prepared to coöperate with him on the Tigris when he should have reached that river. He himself, having directed his march, as it were, for that river, suddenly turned to the right, and reached Callinicum on the Euphrates, along which he proceeded till he came to Circesium, the southern limit of the Roman dominion beyond the river, built at the confluence of the Aboras and the Euphrates.

The imperial army, the largest ever led by a Roman emperor against Persia, counted sixty-five thousand men.

* Yet, according to Ammianus, (xxiii. 1.) a shock of an earthquake was felt at Constantinople at this very time.

It was composed of the veteran troops of the East and the West, of Scythian (*i. e.* Sarmatian) auxiliaries, and of bodies of the Saracens or Bedoween light horse, who had joined the emperor since his passage of the Euphrates. Parallel to the march of the army, a fleet moved along the river, composed of fifty war-galleys, an equal number adapted for the formation of bridges, and one thousand vessels of various kinds, carrying provisions, arms, and warlike machines. On leaving Circesium, the army entered the hostile territory, and moved southwards along the Euphrates. It marched in three parallel columns: the infantry, which formed the strength of the army, led by the emperor in person, occupied the centre; Nevitta, at the head of some legions, moved along the bank of the river on the right; while the cavalry, under an officer of high rank in the East, named Arinthæus, and the Persian prince Hormisdas, (*Hoormuz*)* was placed on the left, where the assaults of the enemy were most to be apprehended; and the charge of the rear-guard was committed to Dagalaiphus, Victor, and Secundinus, duke of Osrhoene. The whole line of march extended nearly ten miles in breadth. The country over which the army passed was a level, sandy plain, in which were only to be seen the wild ass and antelope, the ostrich and the bustard. It was destitute of trees, and its only plants were wormwood and aromatic reeds and shrubs. On the evening of the sixth day, the army reached Anatha, (*Annah*), a town situated on an island of the Euphrates, the people of which at first prepared to resist; but they yielded to the instances of Prince Hormisdas, and opened their gates. The next town to which the army came stood also in an island: it was named Thilutha, and was so strong that the emperor judged it prudent to be content with the promise of the inhabitants to surrender when he should have conquered the interior country. The people of the next town made a similar promise; the remaining towns on the route were found deserted, and were pillaged and burnt; and at length the army, in about fifteen days after its departure from Circesium, arrived at Macepracta, the frontier town of the ancient Assyria. During the latter days of the march, the Persian Surena, and Rho-

* Hormisdas was a member of the royal family of Persia, who made his escape from prison in the troubles which occurred during the minority of Sapor. He sought refuge at the court of Constantius, and rose to high rank in the Roman army. He was a Christian.

dosaces, the emir of the tribe of Gassan, (*Assanitæum*,) had been hovering about the army with their light cavalry; and on one occasion Hormisdas narrowly escaped becoming their captive.

The army now entered Assyria, and, having surmounted the impediments caused by the numerous canals with which that province was intersected, arrived at a strong city named Perisabor, (*Anbar*,) situated close to the Euphrates. The garrison having despised the summons to surrender, the town was invested. A breach was soon effected in a tower at one of the angles of the wall, and the garrison, abandoning the town, retired into the citadel which overhung the river. The Romans entered and burned the town, and then erected their machines against the citadel. The garrison made a gallant defence till they saw a *Helepolis*, or moving tower, advancing against the walls. They then demanded a conference with Hormisdas, and, the governor being let down from the walls for the purpose, the terms of surrender were arranged. The inhabitants, two thousand five hundred in number, (for the greater part had made their escape over the river,) were allowed to retire, and the fort was then reduced to ashes.

Quitting the banks of the Euphrates, the emperor now directed his course toward those of the Tigris. When the army had marched about fourteen miles, they found the land covered with water, the natives having opened the sluices by which they were used to turn the waters over their fields. The canals were also full, and it was found necessary to halt a day in order to construct bridges of skin-bags, and leathern boats, and of the palm-trees which grew so abundantly in that region. The difficulties of the route being thus surmounted, the army reached a large town named Maogamalca, distant only eleven miles from the suburbs of Ctesiphon. As this strong fortress could not be safely left in their rear, an immediate siege was resolved on. The emperor himself advanced on foot with a few of his guards to reconnoitre the site of the town, when suddenly they were fallen on by ten Persians who had stolen out by a postern gate, and had crept round through the adjacent hillocks. Two of them singled out the emperor, and attacked him sword in hand; but he received their strokes on his shield, and ran one of them through, and the other was slain by the guards who came to his relief. The next day, the canal which lay between the army and the town was passed by means of bridges, and a

camp was formed, secured by a double rampart, against the attacks of the Surenā, and his numerous cavalry. At the same time, the Roman horse, under the command of Victor, was directed to scour the country as far as the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The siege was then commenced in form. The garrison defended themselves gallantly, but they were not aware of their walls, while openly assailed by rams and other engines, being secretly undermined; and, while they were exerting all their power against the enemy, whom they saw, fifteen hundred Roman soldiers emerged from the floor of one of the temples, and, slaughtering all whom they met, opened the gates to their companions. A general massacre ensued; rage and lust burst all restraints; neither age nor sex was spared, and the governor* and eighty of his guards, and some of the women, seem alone to have been spared. The town was razed, and, it being ascertained that a party of the enemy had concealed themselves in the artificial caverns, which were numerous in those parts, with the intention of falling on the rear of the army as it was departing, fires of straw and wood were made at the mouths of the caverns, and they were thus either smothered, or forced to come out and be slain.

The march being resumed, the army came to a *parādise*, or royal park walled in, and abundantly stocked with lions, bears, and other kinds of Oriental game. The walls were instantly broken down, and the soldiers amused themselves with slaughtering the savage denizens.

At length the Roman army beheld the walls and towers of Ctesiphon crowning the opposite bank of the Tigris, while its suburb of Coche † lay not far from their camp. To form the siege of the latter while it could be so easily succored from the city on the opposite side of the river, seemed a needless and a tedious task; and to pass the army over for the attack on the capital, the fleet from the Euphrates would be requisite. The Nahar-malca, or royal canal, which poured the waters of that river into the Tigris, was at hand, but it discharged itself below Coche, while the army was encamped above that city. Julian, however, was aware that Trajan and Severus had opened a new course for that canal, which had been afterwards dammed up, and effaced by the Persians; and among the prisoners there chanced to be an old man

* His name was Nabdates; he was burnt alive a few days after for having used insulting language to Prince Hormisdas.

† Formerly called Seleucia.

who recollected and pointed out its situation. The army was immediately set to work, and the Roman fleet speedily rode on the Tigris. The broad Nahar-malca was passed by a bridge of boats, and the army, approaching Coche, encamped at a stately palace adorned with paintings of the royal hunts, and surrounded with rich and well-planted fields.

It was at this spot that Julian resolved to attempt the passage of the Tigris. The difficulties he knew to be great; the stream is rapid, the banks are high; they were occupied by a strong force of cavalry, infantry, and elephants, and the city of Ctesiphon, with its numerous population and garrison, was at hand. But Julian relied on fortune, who so long had stood his friend; and, having previously caused some of the strongest of the vessels that carried the provisions and machines to be unladen, and eighty soldiers to embark in each of them, he summoned his generals to council, and informed them of his intention of attempting the passage that very night. They all remonstrated against it, but in vain; and Victor, to whom the task was committed, prepared to obey. As soon as the word was given, five of the vessels started, and, running down with the current, made for the opposite shore. When they reached it, the enemy attacked them, and set them on fire. Julian, on beholding the flame, though aware of the truth, cried out that it was the appointed signal, and that the landing had been effected. Instantly every vessel pushed off and swept down the stream with such speed, that they arrived in time to save both the men and the vessels. Many soldiers, in their ardor, trusted themselves on their broad shield to the current; the banks were speedily won, and the troops formed. They were joined by the emperor, and, after a contest of about twelve hours' duration, the Persians fled to Ctesiphon, which the Romans might have entered pell-mell with them but for the caution of Victor, who feared that they might be overwhelmed by the multitude of the people. The loss of the Persians was said to be two thousand five hundred, that of the Romans, only seventy men. The emperor distributed civic, naval, and castrensic crowns to those who had most distinguished themselves; and he prepared to offer numerous victims to Mars the Avenger.* But of ten oxen of eminent beauty selected for this purpose, nine fell to the ground in melancholy mood

* Perhaps because Augustus had built a temple to this god after the recovery of the standards from the Parthians. See above, p. 10.

before they approached the altars, and the tenth burst his bonds and escaped; and when he was caught and slain, the signs in his entrails were of ill omen. At the sight, Julian, in indignation, took Jove to witness that he would never again sacrifice to Mars.*

It might have been expected that the siege of Ctesiphon, a city which had thrice surrendered to the Roman arms, would now be commenced without delay. But in the council which was held in the presence of the emperor, to deliberate on the question, it was unanimously agreed that it would be highly imprudent to undertake it; and Julian himself fully concurred in the opinion of the council. Intelligence also arrived, that, on account of the treacherous conduct of the king of Armenia, and the dissension of the Roman generals, there was now no chance of his being joined by the troops sent from Carrhæ. To retreat might be disgraceful; but prudence counselled that a minister, whom Sapor had secretly sent to Prince Hormisdas, to propose terms of peace, should be admitted to an audience. Unhappily, Julian recollected that his Macedonian model had always rejected the propositions of Darius; and Hormisdas was ordered to dismiss the envoy before the soldiers should know of his arrival. Julian also resolved, like Alexander, to advance and pursue his rival; and he was encouraged in this design by the arrival of a Persian nobleman, who, with a train of his followers, came, pretending to seek refuge and protection from the cruelty of Sapor; and describing the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the government, offered to be the guide of the Romans. As it would be necessary to quit the banks of the Tigris, and the ships and stores, if left behind, must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy, Julian issued orders for the whole to be burnt, except twelve of the smaller ones, which should be conveyed with the army, for the construction of bridges. The discontent and fears of the troops, however, caused an attempt to be made, when too late, to extinguish the flames; and men, judging by the event, have condemned the conduct of the emperor, whose real error was of a very different kind.

Quitting, therefore, the banks of the Tigris, the Roman army entered on the fertile country to the east of that river. At first, supplies were had in plenty; but, as they advanced, they found the villages deserted, and the grass and standing

* Probably in imitation of Augustus. See History of Rome, p. 467

corn in flames. They were frequently obliged to encamp till the flames had subsided on the ground over which they were to march: the Persian cavalry now began to show itself more boldly; and the treacherous guide, having obtained his object, disappeared. Any farther advance was now hopeless; the only question was, what line of retreat should be adopted. The soldiers were clamorous for returning by the route by which they had come; but the emperor and their officers proved to them that the wasted state of the country, the inundation of the river, (now swollen by the melting of the snows in the mountains,) and the quantity of mosquitoes and other insects, from which they had already suffered most severely, would render a retreat by that route nearly impracticable. It was therefore resolved to turn northwards, and endeavor to gain the trans-Tigrian Roman province of Corduene. As soon as the retreat commenced, the Persians, who had hitherto only shown themselves in small parties, appeared in greater force, and the Romans had to win their way by force of hand. The country still was burnt, and the towns were every where deserted. In the district named Maranga, a general attack was made by the Persian army; but they were finally repelled with loss, after the action had lasted from daybreak to sunset. A truce was then made for three days, in order that the wounded on both sides might be tended; but on the part of the Romans there was hardly any food for man or beast, and the superior officers had to share their own private stores with the common men. On this, as on all occasions, the emperor set a noble example. He used only such food as a common soldier would have actually disdained, and he caused the provisions of his household to be distributed among the troops. The uneasiness of his mind caused his sleep to be broken, and he used to read and write in his tent when thus awaked. As he was thus engaged one night, he beheld the Genius of the State, who had appeared to him in Gaul, the night before he was declared emperor, retreating from the tent with a dejected air, his head and cornucopiæ shrouded in a veil. He rose from his humble couch, and made deprecatory offerings to the gods, committing all to their will: as he looked out, he beheld a meteor flaming across the sky, and he shuddered when he thought it might be the menacing star of Mars. Before daylight, he summoned the Tuscan haruspices to his tent, to explain the meaning of the sign. They counselled

him not to give battle that day, or, at all events, not to move from where he was for at least some hours; but he took no heed of their warnings, and at daybreak (June 26) the army set forward.

The Persians hovered around, as usual. Julian was riding unarmed out before his troops to reconnoitre, when he heard that the rear was attacked. Snatching up a shield, he was hastening to its support; but he was recalled by intelligence that the troops in advance, whom he had just quitted, were also attacked: he was riding back, when a furious charge was made by the Persians on the centre of the left, which was yielding to the pressure of their heavy-armed cavalry and elephants. He flew to their aid; at that very moment, the Roman light troops drove off the enemy; and, stretching out his hands, he was urging on his men to follow up their success, and was giving them an example himself, when a spear grazed his arm, and, entering his side, pierced the lower part of his liver. He attempted to pull it out; but the sharp steel cut his fingers deeply, and he fell from his horse. He was taken up by those about him, and conveyed away, and committed to the care of the surgeons. When the pain was a little assuaged, he called for his horse and arms, that he might return to the aid of his troops; but he soon perceived that his strength did not correspond with his will. Meantime, the action was maintained vigorously on both sides; and the Persians were finally repulsed, with a loss of fifty men of rank, and a great number of the common soldiers. The Romans had to lament the death of Anatolius, the master of the offices; and the aged prefect Sallust narrowly escaped the same fate.

Julian, aware that he was dying, addressed those who were mourning around him. He expressed his satisfaction that it had pleased the gods, who had often given an early death as their best boon, to withdraw him from the danger of corruption; he reflected with pleasure on the innocence of his past life, and declared that he had always endeavored to promote the welfare of the people, which he regarded as the true end of government. He had, therefore, sought to maintain peace, and repress license; and, though it was foretold to him that he would perish by steel, he did not shrink from exposing himself to danger. He was grateful, he said, to the Supreme Being that he had not fallen by a conspiracy, or been taken off by a lingering disease, but was thus removed in the midst

of his glorious career. He would say nothing on the choice of his successor, lest he might chance to pass over a worthy person, or, by naming some one of whom the army might not approve, expose him to danger. When he had concluded, he distributed his private property among his friends. He rebuked those present for their tears, saying it was a mean thing to mourn for a prince who was about to be united to the stars. When they had ceased, he conversed with the philosophers, Maximus and Priscus, on the nature of the soul, till his wound beginning to bleed afresh, he called for a draught of cold water; and, when he had drunk it, he breathed his last, about midnight, in the thirty-second year of his age.

We have devoted so much space to the actions of this emperor, that any remarks on his character may appear superfluous. Yet there is in it so much to interest, that we cannot refrain from keeping it in view a little longer, and pointing out his virtues as well as his faults, — vices he had none, — more especially as he has been so hardly treated by those injudicious writers, who think themselves bound to portray the enemy of their faith as a perfect monster. The time, however, is arrived in which a better knowledge of the gospel has removed such narrow prejudice; and the virtues of Julian and the crimes of Constantine may be recognized without Christianity being supposed to sustain an injury.

In person, Julian was of middle height, broad-shouldered, and well-built. His nose was straight, his eyes bright; his shaggy beard was peaked, his hair was soft and fine. He was able to endure great bodily fatigue, and he never shrank from toil or danger. He practised, without effort, the four cardinal virtues, and their attendant moral qualities. His chastity was conspicuous; he had never known a woman when he married, and after the death of his wife he thought no more of the sex. In his German and his Persian wars, he displayed the talents of an able general, and he was both loved and feared by his soldiers. Julian was learned, and at the same time himself an elegant writer. His principal faults were vanity and superstition. He was too fond of talking, and took too much pleasure in light conversation and buffoonery; he was negligent of his person and dress to a degree that indicated an originally feeble mind. It is melancholy to read of his superstitious regard to portents: his fancied intercourse with the fabled gods of Greece, and his extreme love for pouring forth the blood of victims in their

hon r.* His enmity to the Christians was unjust and little merited, but their revenge has been ample. Julian was not a great man, but he was better qualified to rule than most princes; and, though we may not admire, we must esteem his character.

Jovian.

A. U. 1116—1117. A. D. 363—364.

The morning after the death of Julian, a general assembly of the officers of the army was held for the purpose of choosing an emperor; for, as the house of Constantine was now extinct, no one could justly put forth any other claim than that of merit. They were split into two parties; Arinthæus, Victor, and the remaining courtiers of Constantius, looked out for one of their own party whom they might propose; while Nevitta, Dagalaiphus, and the Gallic officers, sought a candidate of their own side. Both, however, agreed in the person of the prefect Sallust; but he declined the honor, pleading his age and his infirmities. An officer of rank then proposed that they should, for the present, only think of extricating the army from the instant perils, and that, when they reached Mesopotamia, they might choose an emperor at their leisure. But, while they were deliberating, some persons saluted as emperor Jovianus, the commander of the Domestics, or body-guard. He was immediately invested with the royal robes, and he rode through the troops, who readily acknowledged his authority.

Jovianus, whom the caprice of fortune thus elevated to the purple, was distinguished more by his father's merit than his own. He was the son of Count Varronianus, who, after having long served with reputation, was now living in dignified retirement. Jovian was tall and comely in person, of a gay and cheerful temper, a lover of wine and women, fond of literature, at the same time a good soldier, and even a zealous Christian.

As soon as Jovian was proclaimed, victims were slain, and

* "Superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut æstimaretur si revertisset de Parthis boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Cæsaris in quem id accepimus dictum οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἄν σὺ νικῆσθης, ἡμεῖς ἀπολώμεθα." Ammianus, xxv. 4.

their entrails inspected. The augurs having pronounced that it would be the utter ruin of the army to remain where it was, the march was instantly resumed. The Persians, emboldened by the intelligence of the death of Julian, conveyed to them by deserters, pressed on with redoubled vigor; but, in spite of their incessant attacks, the Romans succeeded in reaching Sumere, (*Samara*,) on the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon. Marching up the stream, they encamped next night in a valley, at a place named Carche, and on the first of July, they arrived at the town of Dura, where they were detained for four days, by the persevering energy of the enemy. The impatient soldiers insisted on passing the river at that place; and, Jovian and his officers having remonstrated with them to no purpose, a body of five hundred Gauls and Sarmatians were directed to try if they could swim across the stream. They made the attempt at night, and easily succeeded, and the impatience of the soldiers could only be restrained by the promise of the engineers that they would construct bridges of inflated skins.

Should the Romans succeed in passing the river, or in reaching the frontiers of Corduene, which were only a hundred miles distant, they would be out of danger, and might continue the war with advantage. Sapor, therefore, resolved not to let slip the occasion of concluding a treaty, while they were in his power. He accordingly despatched the Surena and another nobleman to the Roman camp, to signify that, on certain conditions, their sovereign, out of his clemency, would permit the emperor and the remnant of his army to depart in safety. Sallust and Arinthæus were sent to the Persian monarch, by whom they were artfully detained for four entire days, during which the army suffered severely from the want of food. The terms which Sapor insisted on, were the absolute cession of the five provinces beyond the Tigris, and the surrender of the cities of Nisibis, Singara, and the Moors' Camp, (*Castra Maurorum*.) He also required that no aid should be given to the king of Armenia, at any future time, against the Persians. To these severe and humiliating conditions Jovian acceded, only stipulating that the inhabitants of Nisibis and Singara should be permitted to depart with their movable property. A peace was then concluded for thirty years, and hostages of rank were exchanged on both sides.

This was the most inglorious treaty ever concluded by Rome, for it was the first by which she had abandoned terri-

tory. The conquests of Trajan had, it is true, been abandoned by Hadrian and Aurelian, but these were voluntary cessions, dictated by political wisdom; the treaty of Dura was a plain confession of inferiority, a barter of territory for life and liberty. Ammianus, who was present, speaks of it with the grief and indignation of a gallant soldier; and he maintains that, in the four days that were spent in negotiation, the army might have reached Corduene, though it was a hundred miles distant. But he seems to have forgotten that the incessant attacks of the Persians had already forced the army to halt at Dura; and he does not explain how an army of 60,000 men could have marched one hundred miles in four days, without provisions, and continually assailed by an active and persevering foe. Eutropius, who was also present, is, perhaps, more correct in saying that the peace, though inglorious, was necessary. But the original error may be charged on Julian, who should have repassed the Tigris when he found himself unable to undertake the siege of Ctesiphon; and perhaps it was death alone that saved him from the disgrace of concluding the treaty of Dura.

The Roman soldiers hastened to pass to the farther bank of the river. Some crossed on inflated skins, leading their horses by the bridle: others got over in the boats which had been brought with the army. Some of the more impatient, who had not waited for the signal for the passage, were drowned, in their attempts to swim across; or, if they reached the other side, were slain or carried away for slaves, by the Saracens. When the whole army had effected its passage, the march was directed for the Roman territory. The ruins of the once impregnable Atra were passed, and, after a march of seventy miles, which occupied six days, over an arid plain, which only produced bitter plants and brackish water, the army reached the castle of Ur, where it was met by a small convoy of provisions, sent from the army of Procopius and Sebastian. The troops made a halt there for a few days, of which the emperor took the advantage for sending appointments to offices of trust and importance to those whom he thought best calculated to support his interests in the West. When the supply of provisions was exhausted, the army renewed its march; and the famine which it experienced was so great, that a *modius* (20lbs.) of meal, whenever it chanced to be found, was sold for ten pieces of gold. At the town of Thilsaphata, the emperor was met by Sebastian and Procopius, and their principal officers; and the

army finally encamped under the walls of Nisibis, which city shame prevented Jovian from entering, though earnestly entreated by the people.

The following day, Bineses, a Persian nobleman, who was one of the hostages sent with the army, called on the emperor to fulfil his promise, and surrender the town. Jovian having acceded to his demand, he entered, and displayed the banner of Persia from the citadel. Nothing could exceed the grief and indignation of the Nisibenes. They implored the emperor not to force them to migrate, affirming that, even unaided, they were able to maintain their town against all the power of Persia. But Jovian, alleging a regard for his oath, was deaf to their entreaties; and at length, exasperated at an advocate named Silvanus, who cried out, when he saw a crown presented to him by the citizens, "May you be thus crowned, O emperor, by the remaining cities!" he issued orders for those to depart within three days who were not willing to be subjects of the king of Persia. The grief and lamentation were naturally great, and the loss of property was considerable, owing to the want of beasts of burden to convey it away. A new quarter was built at Amida for the reception of the exiles, which city, in consequence, resumed its former importance. Singara and the Moors' Camp were surrendered in like manner, and Jovian then led his troops to Antioch. The remains of the late emperor were committed to the charge of Procopius, to be conveyed to Tarsus.

The attachment of Jovian to the Christian faith was well known. On the march to Antioch, the Labarum was again displayed. By a circular epistle, addressed to the governors of the provinces, he declared the Christian faith to be the religion of the empire; all the edicts of Julian against it were abolished, and the church was restored to its possessions and immunities. The prelates thronged to the court of the Christian emperor; and the venerable Athanasius, although seventy years of age, undertook, at that advanced season of the year, a journey from Alexandria to Antioch, in order to confirm him in the path of orthodoxy. By a wise and humane edict, Jovian calmed the fears of his pagan subjects, proclaiming universal toleration, except for the practisers of magic arts.

Impatient to reach the capital, Jovian remained only six weeks at Antioch. He first marched to Tarsus, where he made a brief halt, and gave directions relating to the tomb of Julian. At Tyana in Cappadocia, he was met by

deputies, sent to assure him of the obedience of the armies and people of the West. On the 1st of January, 364, he assumed the consulate at Ancyra, with his infant son for his colleague, whose crying, and reluctance to be carried in the curule chair, were regarded as ominous. He thence proceeded toward the capital; but, having supped heartily one night, (Feb. 17,) when he halted at Dadastana, a little town on the frontiers of Bithynia, he was found dead in his bed the following morning. Various causes were assigned for his death; but the most probable one was his having lain in a recently plastered room, in which there was a large fire of charcoal. He was in the 33d year of his age, and he had not reigned quite eight months.

CHAPTER V.*

VALENTINIAN, VALENS, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II., AND THEODOSIUS.

A. U. 1117—1148. A. D. 364—395.

ELEVATION OF VALENTINIAN AND OF VALENS. — PROCOPIUS. — GERMAN WARS. — RECOVERY OF BRITAIN. — REBELLION IN AFRICA. — QUADAN WAR. — DEATH OF VALENTINIAN. — HIS CHARACTER. — GRATIAN. — THE GOTHS. — THE HUNS. — THE GOTHIC WAR. — BATTLE OF HADRIANOPLE, AND DEATH OF VALENS. — RAVAGES OF THE GOTHS. — THEODOSIUS. — SETTLEMENTS OF THE GOTHS. — MAXIMUS. — DEATH OF GRATIAN. — DEFEAT OF MAXIMUS. — MASSACRE AT THESSALONICA. — CLEMENCY OF THEODOSIUS. — DEATH OF VALENTINIAN II. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF EUGENIUS. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THEODOSIUS. — STATE OF THE EMPIRE.

Valentinian and Valens.

A. U. 1117—1128. A. D. 364—375.

THE death of the emperor Jovian did not prevent the advance of the army; and while it was on its march for Nicæa, the generals and civil officers met in frequent delib-

* Authorities: Ammianus, Zosimus, the Epitomators, and Ecclesiastical Historians.

eration on the choice of an emperor. All the suffrages were united in favor of the prefect Sallust; but he again refused the imperial dignity, both for himself or for his son, alleging the age of the one and the inexperience of the other. Various persons were named and rejected: at length all united in approbation of Valentinian, who was then at Ancyra, in command of the second school of the Scutarians; and an invitation was sent to him to repair to Nicæa, where the solemn election was to be held.

Valentinian was a Pannonian by birth, son of Count Gratian, a distinguished officer. He had himself served with great credit, and was now in the forty-third year of his age. In person he was tall and handsome. He was chaste and temperate in his habits; his mind had been little cultivated, and he was unacquainted with the Greek language, and with literature in general. He was a Christian in religion, and he had offended the emperor Julian by the public expression of his contempt for the rites of paganism.

Every prudent measure was adopted by the friends of Valentinian to prevent the appearance of a competitor for the empire. No time, it might therefore be supposed, would have been lost in causing him to be acknowledged; yet it was not till the second day after his arrival at Nicæa that he let himself be seen; the first happening to be the Bissextile, a day noted as unlucky in the annals of Rome. On the evening of that day, at the suggestion of Sallust, it was forbidden, on pain of death, for any man of high rank to appear the next morning in public. At daybreak, the impatient troops all assembled without the city; Valentinian advanced, and, having ascended a lofty tribunal, was unanimously saluted emperor. He was then arrayed in the imperial habit, and was proceeding to address the assembled troops, when a general cry arose for him to name a colleague; for late events had made even the meanest perceive the danger of an unsettled succession. The tumult increased, and menaced to become serious, when the emperor, by his authority, stilled the clamor, and, addressing them, declared that he felt as well as they the necessity of an associate in the toils of government, but that the choice required time and deliberation. He assured them that he would make the choice with all convenient speed, and in conclusion promised them the usual donative. Their clamors were converted into acclamations, and the emperor was conducted to the palace, surrounded by eagles and banners, and guarded by all the troops.

The word was given to march for Nicomedia. Meantime Valentinian called a council of his principal officers to deliberate on the choice of a colleague, though he had probably already, in his own mind, fixed on the person. All were silent but the free-spoken Dagalaiphus, who said, "If you love your own family, most excellent emperor, you have a brother; if the state, seek whom you may invest with the purple." Valentinian was offended, but he concealed his feelings. The army marched for the Bosphorus, and, soon after their arrival at Constantinople, (Mar. 28,) the emperor assembled them in a plain near the city, and presented to them his brother Valens, as his colleague in the empire. In this choice, he proved that natural affection was stronger in his breast than regard for the public happiness; for Valens, though in his thirty-sixth year, had never borne any employment, or showed any distinguished talent. As none, however, ventured to dissent, the choice seemed to be made with the general approbation.

A general reformation of the administration of the empire was effected in the course of the year. Most of the officers of the palace and governors of provinces appointed by Julian, were dismissed; but the whole proceeding was regulated by equity. In the spring of the following year, (365,) the two emperors quitted the capital of the East, and at the palace of Mediana, three miles from Naissus, they made a formal division of the empire, and parted—never again to meet. Valentinian, reserving to himself the West, committed the East, including Greece and the country south of the Lower Danube, to the rule of his brother. The able generals and great officers were also divided between them; to the inexperienced Valens were assigned the services of Sallust, Victor, Arinthæus, and Lupicinus; among those whom Valentinian retained for himself, was the intrepid Dagalaiphus.

Valens had soon to contend for his empire. Procopius, after the funeral of the emperor Julian, had retired to his estates in Cappadocia, where he lived in peace, till an officer and soldiers appeared, sent by the new emperors to arrest him. He made his escape to the sea-coast, and sought refuge among the barbarians of the country of Bosphorus; but, after some time, weary of the hardships and privations he endured, he came secretly to Bithynia, and sheltered himself there in various retreats. He at length ventured into the capital, where two of his friends, a senator and a eunuch, afforded him concealment. He there observed the discontent of the

people, who despised Valens, and detested his father-in-law, Petronius, a cruel, hardhearted man, who seemed to have no other desire than that of stripping every man of his property, claiming with this view the payment of debts due to the state, even so far back as the reign of Aurelian. Imboldened by this aspect of affairs, Procopius resolved to acquire the empire, or perish in the attempt. The conjuncture was favorable; for, Sapor having resumed hostilities, Valens had passed over to Asia to take the field against him. While he was in Bithynia, he learned that the Goths were preparing to invade Thrace, which was now unguarded. He therefore sent back some of his troops; and, as they had to pass through Constantinople, Procopius seized the occasion of attempting to gain over two Gallic cohorts, which had halted in that city. His promises and the memory of Julian prevailed with them. At the dawn of day, Procopius appeared in their quarters, like one risen from the dead, and, having renewed his promises, was saluted emperor. They escorted him thence to the tribunal. The people at first were silent and indifferent; but, a few hired voices having set the example, they joined in the acclamation of emperor. Procopius then took possession of the palace; he displaced the officers of Valens, and secured the gates of the city and the entrance of the port. Numbers flocked to his standard; the troops, as they arrived from Asia, were seduced; those on the northern frontier were induced to declare for him, and the Gothic princes to promise a large body of auxiliaries. Faustina, the widow of Constantius, joined his party, and he carried about with him her daughter Constantia, a child only five years old. He thus endeavored to make his cause appear to be that of the house of Constantine against the upstart Pannonians.

When Valens heard of the events at Constantinople, he gave way to the most abject despair, and even meditated resigning the purple, till he was brought back to nobler thoughts by the remonstrances of his officers. He then sent the Jovian and Herculian legions against the usurper, who was now at Nicæa. Procopius met them on the banks of the Sangarius; and, when the troops were on the point of engaging, he advanced alone into the midst, and, addressing the opposite legions, induced them to declare for him. Valens, nevertheless, advanced to Nicomedia, having sent one of his generals to invest Nicæa; and he himself soon after laid siege to Chalcedon. But the besiegers were beaten off at Nicæa, and Valens, whose army was in want of provisions, and who

feared to be attacked in the rear by the garrison of Nicæa, retired with all speed to Ancyra, leaving Procopius master of Bithynia. At Ancyra, he was joined by Lupicinus, with a strong body of troops from Syria. He then gave the command to Arinthæus, who advanced against the rebels that were at Dadastana, under the command of one Hyperectrises, a man of low rank, whom Procopius had raised out of friendship. Arinthæus, when he beheld him, called out to the soldiers to bind their commander and deliver him up; and such was his ascendancy over their minds that they obeyed his mandate. Procopius, however, made himself master of Cyzicus on the Hellespont. He then unwisely suffered his soldiers to plunder the house of Arbetio,* who was living in retirement; and, instead of advancing at once into Asia, where the people would probably have declared for him, he thought only of collecting money for carrying on the war.

In the spring, (366,) Valens advanced into Galatia, and, as Procopius carried the infant daughter of Constantius with him to the field, he invited the offended Arbetio to repair to his camp; and this aged general of Constantine's, taking off his helmet, and displaying his hoary locks, advanced toward the troops of Procopius, and, addressing the soldiers as his children and the sharers of his former toils, implored them to follow himself, who was, as it were, their parent, rather than that profligate adventurer and common robber. Many were thus induced to desert; and, when Procopius gave battle to the imperial troops at Nacolia in Phrygia, Agilo, an officer of rank, and several of his men, went over to the emperor in the heat of the action. Procopius, seeing all lost, fled on foot to the mountains, with two companions, by whom he was treacherously seized next day, and delivered bound to the emperor. His head was instantly struck off; the two traitors shared his fate. Judicial inquiries ensued; the rack was in constant use; the executioner was incessantly employed: neither age, sex, nor rank, was spared, and the results of the victory of Nacolia were more direful than the most terrible civil war.

As nothing of very great importance, in a political sense, occurred for some years in the East, we will devote our pages henceforth to the actions of Valentinian.

The absence of the Roman armies and the intelligence of the death of Julian having inspired the Alemans, they

* See above, p. 326.

passed the Rhine in the beginning of January, 366, and proceeded to ravage Gaul in their usual manner. The Counts Charietto and Severian were defeated and slain by them. But Jovinus, the master of the cavalry, having taken the command of the army destined to act against them, surprised and cut to pieces two of their divisions, and, engaging the third in the vicinity of Châlons, (*Catalauni*), defeated them after a well-contested action, with a loss of 6,000 slain and 4,000 wounded, that of the Romans being only twelve hundred men. For this victory, Jovinus was, on his return to Paris, justly honored with the consulate.

Some time after, (368,) an Alemannic chief, named Rando, surprised the city of Mentz, (*Moguntiacum*), on the day of one of the Christian festivals, and carried away a great number of the inhabitants. Valentinian, resolved to take vengeance on the whole nation, ordered Count Sebastian to invade their country from the south, with the armies of Italy and Illyricum, while he himself and his son Gratianus should cross the Rhine at the head of the troops of Gaul. They passed the river without opposition; as they advanced, no enemy appeared; the deserted villages were burnt, and the cultivated lands laid waste. At length they learned that the enemy had occupied a lofty mountain, the north side of which alone was of easy ascent. Valentinian, having posted Count Sebastian at that side to intercept the fugitives, gave the signal to advance; and the Roman soldiers, in spite of all impediments, won their way up the steep sides of the mountain. When they had attained the summit, they charged the enemies vigorously, and drove them down the northern side, where they were intercepted and slaughtered by Count Sebastian. Valentinian and his son then returned to Treves for the winter, and celebrated their victory by magnificent triumphal games. Instead of again invading Germany, the prudent emperor resolved to provide for the defence of Gaul; and he caused a chain of forts and castles to be constructed, chiefly along the left bank of the Rhine, from its source to the ocean. The Germans made various attempts to interrupt the works, especially those on the right bank of the river, and sometimes with success; but the emperor completed his design, and secured the tranquillity of Gaul for the remainder of his reign.

The coasts of Gaul and Britain were now infested by the invasions of the pirates of the North, who, united under the name of Saxons, (that of the people of the neck of the Cim-

bric peninsula,) had long since commenced that series of plundering excursions which afterwards led to such important consequences. A large body of these freebooters having penetrated into Gaul, (371,) Severus, the master of the infantry, was sent with a considerable force to oppose them. The Saxons, when they beheld the number and the arms of the Romans, declined the combat, and offered to supply a select number of their youth for the Roman service, as the condition of a safe retreat. The treaty was concluded, the condition fulfilled, and the Saxons set out for the coast. But, in a wooded valley on the way, a chosen body of Roman infantry was posted in ambush to attack them as they passed. Some, however, of the soldiers rising before their time, the freebooters became aware of the treachery that was meditated, and stood on their defence.* The Romans were on the point of destruction, when a body of cuirassiers, who had been posted with the same design on another part of the road, hearing the din of combat, hastened to the spot, and the unfortunate Saxons, assailed in front and rear, were cut to pieces; all who escaped the sword were reserved for the sports of the amphitheatre. It is not necessary to express our disgust at this piece of treachery; but even in her best days Rome did not shrink from breach of faith and contempt of engagements.

The coasts of Britain suffered equally with those of Gaul from the inroads of the northern pirates, and this now wealthy and civilized island was, in addition, subject to the ravages of a domestic enemy; for, the avarice of the military commanders causing them to defraud their soldiers of their pay, and to sell discharges or exemptions from service, the discipline of the troops was at an end, and the highways were filled with robbers. The Picts and Scots, as the unsubdued natives of the northern part of the island were called, poured their savage hordes down into the now defenceless province, and ravaged it far and wide. The emperor, when intelligence of their devastations reached him, selected first Severus, and then Jovinus, for the command in Britain; but he finally committed it to Count Theodosius, a Spaniard by birth, and an officer of approved merit and capacity.

Theodosius landed at Sandwich, (*Rutupiæ*,) whence he

* "Ac licet," says Ammianus, "justus quidam arbiter rerum factum incensabit perfidum et deformem, pensato tamen negotio non fecit indignum: cum latronum exitialem tandem, copia data, captam."

advanced to London: he then led his troops against the barbarians, and attacked and routed their scattered bands, recovering a large quantity of booty and captives. By publishing an amnesty, he induced the soldiers who had deserted to return to their standards, and he speedily cleared the Roman part of the island of its northern invaders. He restored all the cities and fortresses that had suffered injury or decay. The province which he recovered from the enemy he named *Valentia*, from the emperor.* On his return to court, (369,) Theodosius was promoted to the dignity of master of the horse, and given the command on the Upper Danube, where he acted with his usual success against the Alemans. He was then chosen to suppress a revolt in Africa.

The military commandant in that province, Count Romanus, was one of those officers, so common under all despotic governments, who, heedless of justice and of the welfare of the people, think only of gratifying their pride and avarice. Relying on the influence of his kinsman Remigius, the master of the offices, he set at nought the prayers and complaints of the provincials, and he suffered them to become the prey of the barbarians if they did not come up to his demands. The people of Tripolis, who had thus been abandoned to the Gætulians, ventured to send deputies with their complaints to the emperor; and the charge of examining into the state of the province was committed to the notary Palladius. But this man had been selected by the influence of Remigius, and consequently his report asserted the innocence of Romanus, and the falsehood of the charges made by the Tripolitans. The deaths and mutilations of some of their most distinguished citizens, under a barbarous decree of the deceived emperor, ensued; and Romanus continued his career of tyranny and extortion till his excesses forced the people to declare for a Moorish prince, who had been driven into insurrection.

The name of this prince was Firmus, the son of Nabal. In a domestic quarrel, after the death of his father, he happened to kill one of his brothers; and Romanus, prompted

* "Recuperatamque provinciam, quæ in ditionem concesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut eodem referente et rectorem haberet legitimum, et *Valentia* deinde vocaretur arbitrio Principis velut ovantis." *Ann. Mar.* xxviii. 3. This does not justify the language of Gibbon, that Theodosius "with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of *Valentinian*."

by hatred or avarice, or it may be by a regard for justice, showed such a determination to punish him, that Firmus saw that he must submit to be executed or appeal to his sword. He chose the latter alternative; thousands flocked to his standard: Romanus proved unable to resist him, and the charge of reducing him was committed to the able Theodosius, (373.) The contest between this officer and Firmus resembled that between Metellus and Jugurtha, in the same country. The arts of the African were encountered with corresponding dissimulation; the Roman general, at the head of an expedite force of less than 4,000 men, traversed the country in all directions, and a Moorish prince, with whom Firmus had sought refuge, resolved to imitate the conduct of Bocchus, and obtain the favor of the victor by the surrender of the fugitive. Firmus, however, anticipated his treachery by a voluntary death.

The fate of Theodosius himself may here be told. He had committed Romanus to safe custody on his landing in Africa, and abundant evidence of that officer's guilt had been procured. But court favor availed to procure delay; bribery brought forward friendly witnesses, and forgery produced favorable documents; and the final result was, that the guilty Romanus escaped with impunity, while the innocent Theodosius, after death had removed Valentinian, who knew his worth, was, through court intrigue, seized and beheaded at Carthage, on a vague suspicion that he was grown too powerful for a subject! (376.)

While Theodosius was engaged in the reduction of Africa, a war with the once formidable Quadans engaged the arms of Valentinian in person. In pursuance of his plan of securing the banks of the frontier rivers by fortresses, the ground for one of them was marked out on what the Quadans claimed as their territory. On their complaint, Equitius, who commanded in Illyricum, suspended the works till he should have received further instructions from the emperor. His enemy Maximin, the tyrannic prefect of Gaul, seized this occasion for injuring him in the mind of Valentinian, and of procuring the command of the province of Valeria (the scene of the dispute) for his own son Marcellinus. The passionate and credulous emperor was easily induced to comply with his desire, and that important command was intrusted to an inexperienced and insolent youth. On his arrival in the province, Marcellinus caused the works which Equitius had suspended to be resumed; and when Gabinius, the Qua

dan king, modestly remonstrated, he invited him to a banquet, affecting a willingness to comply with his wishes, and caused him, as he was departing from it, to be assassinated. The murder of their king exasperated the Quadans; and, having procured the aid of a body of horse from their usual allies, the Sarmatians, they crossed the Danube, and invaded Pannonia. It was now the harvest-time, and the population were all engaged in their rural toils. The slaughter of the defenceless peasantry was therefore immense, and huge quantities of booty were carried over the Danube. The ravages of the invaders extended to the very walls of Sirmium. The two only legions which Equitius could bring into the field were cut to pieces. The Sarmatians, following the example of their allies, invaded Mœsia; but the young Theodosius, who, though only a youth, held the post of duke of that frontier, routed them in several encounters, and forced them to retire, and sue for peace.

In the following spring, (375,) the emperor Valentinian quitted Treves, his ordinary residence, and, at the head of the greater part of the troops of Gaul, appeared on the banks of the Danube. He crossed that river, and, having devastated the Quadan country far and wide, repassed it without having lost a single man of his army. As he intended to return and complete the destruction of the Quadans in the following year, he fixed his winter quarters at a place named Bregilio, on the banks of the Danube, near the site of the modern city of Presburg. While he abode there, he was waited on by ambassadors from that people, suing for peace in the humblest terms. In his reply, he gave a loose to his violent passions, reproaching the envoys and those who sent them, in the most opprobrious terms. The violence of his exertions caused him to burst a blood-vessel, and he fell back speechless into the arms of his attendants. He expired within a few hours, (Nov. 17,) in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and after a reign of twelve years wanting one hundred days.

Valentinian is praised as a brave soldier, a lover of justice, a man frugal, temperate, and chaste, in private life. He alleviated, when he could, the burdens of his subjects; he was a rigid maintainer of discipline in the army. Above all, he was tolerant in religion, and did not seek to impose his own faith on his subjects by force or by disqualifications. On the other hand, he was choleric and cruel; the slightest offences were punished by a cruel death, and the sentence at times

was passed in a tone of barbarous jocularity. He had two she-bears, which he named Gold-grain (*Mica aurea*) and Innocence. These animals, who were accustomed to tear human victims, were such favorites with him that he caused their dens to be constructed near his own bed-chamber, and assigned them keepers, whose task was to foster their natural ferocity. We are not informed of the fate of Gold-grain, but Innocence, after a long course of service, was let loose in the woods.

Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II.

A. U. 1128—1131. A. D. 375—378.

The late emperor had, in the fifth year of his reign, associated in the empire with himself and his brother, his son Gratian, then a boy in his ninth year. This prince, who was now in his seventeenth year, was residing at Treves when the death of his father occurred. His absence imboldened two officers of rank, Merobaudes and Equitius, to make an attempt to advance their own interest by adding to the number of the emperors; and, having contrived to remove the Gallic troops, from whom they apprehended opposition, they brought to the camp Valentinian, the half-brother of Gratian, a child only four years old, who was residing with his mother, the empress Justina, at a country-seat one hundred miles distant from Bregilio, and invested him with the purple. Gratian, a prudent and moderate prince, did not show any resentment at this act of assumption. He accepted his infant colleague, to whom he acted as a kind and attentive guardian. The portion of the empire assigned to the young emperor was Illyricum, Italy, and Africa; and he and his mother fixed their residence at Milan.

Since the fall of Procopius, the emperor Valens had reigned in security. The settlement of the thrones of Iberia and Armenia had caused some hostile demonstrations between him and the great Sapor; but the Roman was timid, and age had softened the energy of the Persian, and their differences were settled by negotiation. After the death of his brother, Valens found himself obliged to take the field in person against a formidable enemy; and the fall of the Roman empire is, with some appearance of reason, dated from this inauspicious period.

The great Gothic nation, whose steps we have traced from the North to the Euxine, consisted of two main stems, the Ostrogoths, or East-goths, and the Visigoths, or West-goths. The monarch of the former, named Hermanric, had, according to the chroniclers of his nation, at the advanced age of eighty years, the period when most men have ceased from their labors, commenced a career of conquest which extended his dominion back to the shores of the Baltic. The kings of the Visigoths were obliged to renounce the royal title, and be content with the humbler rank of Judges; and Hermanric was the acknowledged monarch of Scythia. The aid given to Procopius having caused hostilities between him and the emperor Valens, the Gothic sovereign committed the conduct of the war to Athanaric, one of the Judges of the Visigoths; it was terminated by a treaty in the year 369, and the Goths remained tranquil till the year of the death of Valentinian, when the appearance of an enemy from the remote regions of the East precipitated them on the Roman empire.

The extensive plains of northern Asia, from the confines of Europe, or rather from those of the territory of the great Slavonian portion of the human family, to the shores of the eastern ocean, have from time immemorial been the abode of two races of men. The one, known to the ancients by the name of Scythians, to the moderns by that of Turks, has always occupied the western portion of these plains; and it is of this people that historians speak when they narrate the wars and conquests of the Scythians. They are tall, well-formed, and fair, and belong to what is termed the Caucasian or Indo-German portion of mankind. The other race, long unknown to the ancients, are termed Mongols or Tatars; their original seats are to the east of those of the Turks; and their physical qualities, such as their extreme ugliness, their thin beards, the great breadth between their eyes, and other marks, indicate them to belong to a different portion of the human race.

To the south of the seats of the Mongols lies the extensive empire of China, the inhabitants of which appear to belong to the Mongol family. The annals of this people tell of numerous wars between them and their barbarous kinsmen of the north. Some time before the period of which we write, the arms of China had prevailed; the power of the Mongols had been broken, and a large portion of

their warriors had, with their flocks and herds, moved westward in quest of new settlements. The Huns, as that portion of the Mongols of whom we treat were named, advanced till they encountered the Alans, who dwelt between the Volga and the Don, or Tanais, on the banks of which latter stream the forces of the two nations engaged. The king of the Alans was slain, and victory crowned the arms of the Huns. A portion of the vanquished people migrated; the rest submitted, and were incorporated with the conquerors, who then entered the territories of the Gothic monarch, (375,) whose tyranny had made him odious to the greater part of his subjects, and caused them to view the progress of the Huns with indifference. Some time before, on the occasion of the desertion of a chief of the Roxolans, Hermanric had caused his innocent wife to be torn to pieces by wild horses, and her brothers now seized the occasion for vengeance. Hermanric perished by their daggers, and his son and successor, Withimer, fell in battle against the Huns. The greater part of the nation of the Ostrogoths forthwith submitted; but the more generous portion, with their infant sovereign Witheric, and led by two brave chiefs named Saphrax and Aletheus, penetrated to the banks of the Nies-ter, which Athanaric occupied at the head of the warriors of the Visigoths. The Hunnish hordes soon appeared, and by causing a large body of their cavalry to ford the river by moonlight and surround the Goths, they forced them to retire and seek the shelter of the hills. Athanaric had arranged a new plan of defence; but his people had lost courage, and, under the guidance of their two other Judges, Fritigern and Alavivus, they approached the banks of the Danube, seeking the protection of the Roman emperor, (376.)

The Gothic envoys proceeded to Antioch, where Valens was then residing. Their request was taken into consideration by the emperor and his council; and it was decided to give them a settlement within the bounds of the empire, on the condition of their delivering up their arms before they passed the river, and suffering their children to be separated from them, and dispersed through the cities of Asia, to serve as hostages, and be brought up in Roman manners. Under the pressure of necessity, the Goths consented to these terms; and orders for their transportation were then issued to the imperial officers. As the stream of the Danube was rapid, swollen, and a mile in breadth, many perished in the passage; but we are assured that at the least two hundred thou-

sand Gothic warriors, with their wives, children, and slaves, were safely landed on the southern bank of the river. The hostages were delivered according to agreement; but to retain their arms they consented to prostitute their wives and children, and to sacrifice their most precious possessions; and the lust and avarice of the imperial officers caused them to endanger the peace of the empire for their gratification. A powerful Gothic army thus occupied the hills and plains of Lower Mœsia. Soon after, Saphrax and Aletheus, with their Ostrogoths, appeared on the banks of the Danube imploring a passage; but Valens, now become alarmed, dismissed their envoys with a refusal.

Prudence and policy equally counselled that so formidable a host as that of the Visigoths should have been managed delicately, and the utmost care been taken to avoid giving them any cause of irritation. But Lupicinus and Maximus, the governors of the province, thought only of indulging their avarice. The vilest food, such as the flesh of dogs, was supplied to them; to obtain a pound of bread they had to give a slave, and to pay ten pounds of silver for a small quantity of flesh meat; and when all their property had thus been expended, want impelled them to the sale of their sons and daughters. Their patience was at length exhausted, and their menaces alarmed Lupicinus and Maximus, who therefore resolved to disperse them along the frontiers without delay. With this view they drew around them all the troops they could assemble; and, as they in consequence removed those that were watching the Ostrogoths, that people seized the opportunity of crossing the river on rafts and in boats, and encamped, unshackled by conditions, on the Roman territory. The Visigoths, conducted by Fritigern, in compliance with the orders of the Roman general, advanced to Marcianopolis, seventy miles inland from the Danube. Here, however, they were refused a market; and a quarrel in consequence arose between them and the Roman soldiers, in which some blood was spilt. Lupicinus, who was at the time entertaining the Gothic chiefs, when informed of this event, gave orders for their guards to be slain. Fritigern, hearing the noise, drew his sword, and, calling on his companions to follow him, forced his way through the crowd, and rejoined his countrymen without the walls. Their banners were instantly raised, and their horns sounded, according to their custom, for war. Lupicinus, at the head of what troops he could collect, marched out against them.

The engagement took place about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and it terminated in the total defeat of the Romans. The unprotected country soon felt the effects of the Gothic victory; the husbandmen were massacred or enslaved, the villages were plundered and burnt. A body of Goths in the Roman service, who were quartered at Hadrianople, were driven into insurrection by the imprudent violence of the governor of that town. They joined their victorious countrymen, and their united forces laid siege to the city. But the Goths knew nothing of sieges, and Fritigern drew them off, declaring that "he was at peace with stone walls." The slaves who wrought in the gold-mines of Thrace fled to the invaders, and revealed to them all the recesses in the mountains in which the inhabitants had concealed themselves with their cattle and property. Enormities of every kind were perpetrated on the unhappy people of the country, (377.)

To check the excesses of the barbarians, Valens sent the troops of the East, under his generals Trajan and Profuturus, with whom Richomer, count of the domestics in the Western empire, united his forces, and it was resolved to seek out and attack the enemy. The Goths, who had repassed Mount Hæmus, were now encamped in the plain adjacent to the most southern of the mouths of the Danube. When the approach of the Roman army was discerned, Fritigern summoned all the scattered warriors to his standard, and an action was fought, which, after lasting from dawn till dusk, terminated in the decisive advantage of neither party. For the seven following days, the Goths remained within their camp, which was secured, according to the custom of their race, by a strong circuit of wagons. The plan of the Roman generals was to confine them to the angle which they occupied, till famine, by its sure operation, should have reduced them. But while, with this view, they were fortifying their lines, they learned that Fritigern had formed a league with the Ostrogoths, and had even induced a large number of the Huns and Alans to join his standard. The Romans, fearful of being surrounded, abandoned the siege of the Gothic camp, and retired; and the liberated Goths rapidly spread their devastations as far as the Hellespont, (378.)

Valens had early sought the aid of his nephew and colleague Gratian; and that gallant young emperor was preparing to lead the forces of the West to the deliverance of the East, when the Alemaus, learning his design, and perhaps



TIGRANES LAYING ASIDE THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY. 371.

acting in concert with the Goths, passed the Rhine to the number of forty thousand. The troops which had been sent on to Pannonia were recalled, and Gratian, guided by the military experience and wisdom of his general Nanienus, and of Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, and count of the domestics, gave the barbarians battle at Colmar (*Argentaria*) in Alsace. The victory of the Romans was decisive; the king of the Alemans was slain; and of their entire host not more than five thousand men escaped from the field of battle. Gratian then invaded their country, and forced them to sue for peace.

While Gratian was thus inspiring his subjects with admiration and respect for their youthful emperor, Valens had reached Constantinople, where, urged by the clamors of the populace, and inspirited by the recent successes of some of his generals, he resolved to assume in person the conduct of the war against the barbarians; and he set out at the head of a large army. The Goths had proposed to occupy the defiles on the road from that city to Hadrianople; but the march of the imperial troops was conducted with so much skill and celerity, that they reached the latter place unimpeded, and secured themselves in a strong camp beneath its walls. A council was held to decide on future operations. Count Richomer, whom Gratian had despatched with intelligence of his victories, and with assurances of his speedy approach, urged strongly the prudence of waiting for the arrival of the Gallic legions; his advice was seconded by Victor, the master of the horse, a Sarmatian by birth, but a cautious and prudent man. On the other hand, Count Sebastian and the court flatterers advised against sharing with a colleague the glory of a certain victory. Their counsels, aided by the jealousy of Valens, prevailed. While preparations were being made for battle, a Christian presbyter arrived as the envoy of Fritigern. The public letters of which he was the bearer, craved that Thrace, with all its cattle and corn, should be given to his people as the condition of a perpetual peace; but he was also commissioned to deliver a private letter, in which Fritigern, writing as a friend, said that he should never be able to bring his countrymen to agree to any terms unless the imperial army were close at hand to daunt them by its presence. The object of the wily Goth was to bring on a speedy engagement.

At dawn the following day, (Aug. 9,) the legions of the East were in motion, the imperial treasure and insignia being left

within the walls of Hadrianople. Toward noon the wagon-fence of the enemy, twelve miles from the city, was discerned. The Romans began to form their line of battle; the Goths, as the troops of Aletheus and Saphrax were not yet come up, sent again illusive proposals of peace, and, while time was thus gained, the effects of the heat of the burning sun were augmented by the Goths setting fire to the grass and wood of the surrounding country. The Romans also suffered from want of food; and at length the arrival of Saphrax and Aletheus put an end to all negotiation, and the battle commenced. The horse of the Roman left wing penetrated to the enemy's line of wagons, but, being unsupported, was overthrown and scattered; and the foot, being thus left without protection, and crowded into too narrow a space to be able to use their arms to advantage, were crushed by the masses of the enemy. After a long but fruitless resistance, they fled in all directions. The emperor sought refuge among the troops named Lancearians and Mattiarans, from their weapons, who still stood their ground. Count Trajan crying out that all was lost if the emperor were not saved, Count Victor hastened to the spot with the reserve of Batavians; but the emperor was nowhere to be found, and the furious onset of the Goths soon forced all to provide for their own safety. A moonless night terminated the rout, and aided the escape of the vanquished Romans. Since the day of Cannæ, no such calamity had befallen the Roman arms. Scarcely a third part of the army quitted the field. Among the slain were the Counts Trajan, Sebastian, Valerian, and Equitius, and six-and-thirty other officers of rank.

The fate of Valens himself was never exactly known. Some said that at nightfall he fell mortally wounded by an arrow, and that his body, confounded among those of the common soldiers, could never be recognized. Others asserted that, when he was wounded, some of his guards and eunuchs conveyed him to a neighboring cottage, and, while they were engaged in trying to dress his wound, the enemy surrounded the house, and, being unable to force the doors, heaped straw and wood against them, and, setting fire to these materials, burned the house and all within it. One of the guards, who escaped out of a window, survived to tell the story.

Such was the fate of the emperor Valens, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. He is said to have been a firm friend, a rigid maintainer of both civil

and military order, a mild ruler of the provinces. He was also moderately liberal. On the other hand, he is charged with avarice, indolence, severity bordering on cruelty; and it is added, that, though affecting a great regard to justice, he would never allow the judges to give any sentence but such as he wished. In religion, he was an Arian; and the Catholics underwent some persecution during his reign.

On the morning after the battle, the Goths, eager to possess the wealth of which they knew it to be the *dépôt*, surrounded the walls of Hadrianople. The soldiers and camp followers, who had been shut out of the town, fought with desperate resolution, and kept them at bay for the space of five hours; and the imprudent slaughter of three hundred men who went over to them, showed that safety only lay in valor and constancy. A violent tempest at last forced the Goths to return to their wagon-camp. They again had recourse to negotiation, and then tried the way of treachery. Some of the guards had deserted to them, and they induced these men to return to the city as if they had made their escape, and, if admitted, they were to set fire to a part of the town, in order that, while the besieged were engaged in quenching the flames, the Goths might seize the opportunity of breaking in at some unguarded place. The traitors were admitted; but the discrepancy in their account of the designs of the enemy caused them to be put to the torture, and the truth was thus discovered. The Goths, in the morning, renewed the assault; but the defence was resolute as ever, and they retired in the evening, accusing one another of madness in not attending to the counsel of Fritigern, and avoiding all dealings with stone walls. They departed the next day, and directed their course for the capital. They plundered and wasted all the circumjacent country; but they feared the strength of the walls and the magnitude of the population of the city. While they were insulting its strength, a squadron of Saracenic light horse, which had lately arrived, issued from one of the gates and attacked them. The conflict was well maintained and dubious; but when the Goths beheld an Arab warrior, half naked, with his long hair hanging about him, raise a hoarse and dismal chant, and, drawing his dagger, rush into the midst of their ranks, and, putting his mouth to the throat of one whom he had slain, suck his blood, they were filled with horror and disgust. They shortly after withdrew with their booty to the northern provinces, and spread their ravages as far as the Adriatic.

Meantime, an act of barbarous, and therefore questionable, policy was put in practice by Julius, who commanded beyond Mount Taurus. Apprehending danger from the Gothic youth who were dispersed in the various towns and cities, he, with the consent of the senate of Constantinople, issued orders to their commanders, who happened to be all Romans, (a thing, as Ammianus observes, very rare in those days,) to assemble them all on a certain day, as if to receive their promised pay, and then to slaughter them. The orders were executed; the Goths were collected, unarmed, in the squares of the towns, the avenues were guarded, and, from the tops of the adjacent buildings, the soldiers overwhelmed them with their weapons.*

Gratian, Valentinian II., and Theodosius.

A. U. 1131—1136. A. D. 378—383.

Gratian had been on his march to aid his uncle, when he heard of the defeat and death of that ill-fated prince. He forthwith halted, and, taking into serious consideration the state of the empire, and knowing that the West would demand his own undivided attention, he saw clearly the necessity of selecting some one, in whose character the general and the statesman should be united, to take the charge of the East. Acting on the wisdom which experience had taught, he resolved that the person selected should be his colleague in the empire, and not a subordinate officer; and the choice which he made was alike honorable to himself and its object.

The person selected by Gratian for the high dignity of emperor of the East was the son of that Theodosius, who, only three years before, had been put to death by his own authority. The younger Theodosius had, on that occasion, craved leave to resign his command; and, having obtained it, he had retired to his native country, Spain, and fixed his residence on his paternal estate at Coco, between Valladolid and Segovia. He there divided his time between the town and the country; and the care and the improvement of his property formed his chief occupation. While thus

* Zosimus (who is followed by Gibbon) says that they were the Gothic youths who had been delivered up to Valens. Ammianus seems to speak of them as Goths in the Roman service. This writer's valuable history ends at this point.

engaged, he was summoned to receive the purple, with which he was invested by Gratian in the city of Sirmium, (Jan. 19, 379,) amid the favoring acclamations of the soldiers and the people. Theodosius was now in the thirty-third year of his age; his person and countenance displayed manly vigor and dignity; and time proved that the qualities of his heart corresponded to those outward charms which captivated the vulgar. No man ever attained to empire in a more honorable manner; the slightest vestige of intrigue or manœuvre is not to be discerned; his country was in danger, and a noble-minded prince summoned to its aid the man deemed most capable of delivering it from its enemies; for we must not refuse the meed of praise to Gratian, who could intrust such power to a man whose father had been murdered in his name.

Theodosius did not venture to lead the dispirited troops of the East into the field against the Goths. He fixed his own residence at Thessalonica, and caused the fortifications of the other towns to be strengthened. By frequent sallies, the soldiers were taught to encounter the barbarians; gradually, small armies were formed, and, by well-concerted operations, victories were gained. This Fabian policy was aided by the dissensions which naturally broke out among the various bodies of the barbarians when the able Fritigern was removed by death. A Gothic chief, of royal blood, named Modar, entered the service of Theodosius, who gave him a high military command; and he surprised and cut to pieces a large body of his countrymen. Athanaric, who had emerged from his retirement after the death of Fritigern, and prevailed on the greater part of the Visigoths to submit to his rule, was now advanced in years, and disposed to peace. He therefore listened to the proposals of Theodosius, and concluded a treaty. The emperor advanced to meet him at some distance from Constantinople, and Athanaric accompanied him to that city. The Gothic prince was amazed at its strength and magnificence; but the change in his mode of life probably proved fatal to him, for he died not long after his arrival. He was interred by the emperor with the utmost magnificence, and a stately monument was raised to his memory. His whole army entered the imperial service; the other chiefs gradually agreed to treaties with the emperor; and thus, within a space of little more than four years after the death of Valens, (382,) the victors of Hadrianople had become the subjects of the empire. The settlements assigned them were in the provinces of Mœsia

and the cis-Danubic Dacia, which had been laid desolate by their ravages.

During all this time, the Ostrogoths were far away in the north, among the tribes of Germany. They at length (386) appeared once more on the banks of the Lower Danube, their numbers augmented by German and Sarmatian, or perhaps Hunnish auxiliaries, and proposed to renew their devastation of the Roman provinces. Promotus, the general of the opposite frontier, had recourse to stratagem against them. He sent over spies, who stipulated to betray the Roman army, assuring the barbarians that, if they crossed the river in the dead of the night, they might surprise it when buried in sleep. Accordingly, on a moonless night, the Goths embarked their warriors in three thousand *monoxyls*, or canoes, and pushed for the opposite shore; but, when they approached it, they found it guarded, for the length of two miles and a half, by a triple line of vessels; and, while they were struggling to force their way through them, a fleet of galleys came, with stream and oars, down the river, and assailed them. The resistance which they were able to offer was slight; their king or general Odothæus, and numbers of their warriors, were slain or drowned, and they were finally obliged to solicit the clemency of the victors.* Theodosius, who was at hand, concluded a treaty with them, by which they engaged to become his subjects. Seats were assigned them in Lydia and Phrygia, where they were governed by their own hereditary chiefs, under the supreme authority of the emperor. A body of 40,000 Goths, named *Fœderati*, or allies, henceforth formed a part of the army of the East, distinguished by gold collars, higher pay, and various privileges.

We will now turn to the West and the emperor Gratian.

This prince, whose character was by nature feeble and gentle, had been fostered, as it were, into greatness by the wisdom and the counsels of the able preceptors with whom

* There is some confusion in this account. Zosimus (iv. 35, and 38, 39) makes the Goths to be twice defeated, (A. D. 383 and 386,) on the same river, and by the same person, and in the same manner, as it would appear. The Gothic general in the former he calls *Œdotheus*; the same with the Odothæus of Claudian (*De iv. Cons. Hon.* 626) in the second. We cannot, by the way, agree with Gibbon that this was *Aletheus*.

One of the most improbable circumstances in the narrative is, that the Goths should not have discerned the Roman shipping; for the Danube is nowhere too wide to be seen across.

his father had surrounded him.* In the acts of the early years of his reign, though *he* was the ostensible agent, *they* were the secret directors; and the youth, whose chief virtue was ductility to good, obtained the fame due to higher qualities. But when death or other causes had removed these able and virtuous advisers, the amiable but indolent prince fell under the guidance of men of a different character, to whom he intrusted the affairs of the state, while he devoted himself to the delights of the chase, in which he bent the bow and flung the dart with the skill of a Commodus. The offices and advantages of the court and the provinces were set to sale, and the minds of the subjects were thus alienated; but this would have signified little had Gratian been careful to retain the attachment of the soldiers, which his conduct, when directed by worthy advisers, had won. This, however, he lost by his own imprudence. He had placed a body of Alans among his guards, and, charmed with their dexterity in the use of his favorite weapons, he committed to them exclusively the defence of his person. He used even to appear in public in their peculiar national dress, to the grief and indignation of the legionary soldiers, even the Germans viewing with horror the Scythian costume.

While such was the temper of the troops, a revolt broke out in the army of Britain, (383,) and a person named Maximus was there proclaimed emperor. This man, who was a native of Spain, and the fellow-soldier of Theodosius, was residing in Britain, but without civil or military rank of any importance. His abilities and his virtues are recognized, but whence his influence arose we are uninformed; and if we may credit his own positive assertion, his dignity was forced on him. He plainly saw that he could not recede; and, as the British youth crowded to his standard, he passed over to Gaul at the head of a large army.† The troops of Gaul all declared for him, and Gratian fled from Paris to Lyons with only three hundred horse. The gates of all the towns on his way were closed against him, and the treacher-

* Ausonius, the poet (more properly versifier) of Bordeaux, was one of his tutors. Gratian honored him with the consulate in 379. We cannot see why Gibbon should call Ausonius "a professed pagan."

† A large emigration of Britons to Armorica is placed in this time, to which belongs the legend of St. Ursula and her virgins. These are said to have been 11,000 noble and 60,000 plebeian maidens, the destined brides of the emigrants, who, mistaking their way, went up the Rhine, and were massacred at Cologne by the Huns-- who were not there.

ous governor of Lyons amused him with promises till those sent in pursuit of him arrived, and he was slain as he rose from supper, (Aug. 25.) His brother Valentinian applied, but in vain, for his body. Mellobaudes, the Frank king and Roman general, shared the fate of his master; but Maximus, who was now acknowledged by the whole West, could boast that no other blood was shed except in the field.

Theodosius, Valentinian II., and Maximus.

A. U. 1136—1141. A. D. 383—388.

The late revolution had been so sudden that Theodosius had been, perhaps, uninformed of it until it was accomplished; and, ere he could determine how to act, he was waited on by an embassy from the usurper, headed by his chamberlain, a man advanced in years, and, as the historian observes, to the praise of Maximus, not a eunuch. The envoy justified the conduct of his master, asserting his ignorance of the murder of Gratian: he then proceeded to give Theodosius the option of peace or war. Gratitude and honor urged the emperor to avenge the fate of his benefactor; but prudence suggested that the issue of a contest with the troops of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was doubtful, and that the barbarians, who hovered on the frontiers, would be ready to pour into the empire when its forces should have been wasted in civil conflict. He, therefore, lent a favorable ear to the proposals of Maximus, and acknowledged him as a colleague, carefully, however, stipulating for the security of Valentinian in his share of the empire. The images of the three imperial colleagues were, according to usage, exhibited to the people.

The empire now remained at rest for a space of four years; but at length (387) its repose was disturbed by the ambition of Maximus; for, not content with his own ample portion, this fortunate rebel cast an eye of cupidity on the dominions of Valentinian, where many were disaffected on account of religion. Having extorted large sums of money from his subjects, he took a great number of barbarians into pay; and, when an ambassador from Valentinian came to his court, he persuaded him to accept the services of a part of his troops for an imminent Pannonian war. The envoy himself was their guide through the passes of the Alps; Maximus

secretly followed at the head of a larger body, and a precipitate flight from Milan to Aquileia alone assured the safety of Valentinian and his mother. Not deeming themselves secure even in that strong city, they embarked in a vessel, and, sailing round the Grecian peninsula, landed at Thessalonica,* whither Theodosius hastened to visit them. He deliberated with his council as to what were best to be done; the same reasons as before urged him to pause before he should engage in a civil war; and the injuries of Valentinian might possibly have gone unrevenged, had they not found an advocate in the beauty of his sister Galla. By the directions of her mother, this princess cast herself at the feet of Theodosius, and with tears implored his aid. Few hearts are proof against the tears of beauty — that of Theodosius, at least, was not; his empress was dead, and his aid was assured if the lovely supplicant would consent to share the throne of the East. The condition was accepted, the nuptials were celebrated, and the royal bridegroom then prepared to take the field. Large bodies of Huns and Alans crowded to the standard of Theodosius, who found Maximus encamped near Siscia, on the banks of the Save. The light cavalry of the barbarians flung themselves into that deep and rapid river the moment they reached it, and routed the troops which guarded the opposite bank. Next morning, a general action ensued, which terminated in the submission of the surviving troops of Maximus, who fled to Aquileia, whither he was rapidly followed by Theodosius. The gates were burst open; the unfortunate Maximus was dragged into the presence of the victor, who, having reproached him with his misdeeds, delivered him to the vengeance of the soldiers, by whom his head was struck off. His son Victor, whom he had given the rank of Cæsar, and left behind him in Gaul, was put to death by Count Arbogast, one of Theodosius's generals, by the order of that emperor; and the whole of the West was thus subjected to the rule of Valentinian. The generous Theodosius compensated those who had suffered by the oppression of Maximus, and he assigned an income to the mother of that ill-fated prince, and provided for the education of his daughters.

* G'bon's account of their voyage is more suited to epic poetry than t history.

Theodosius and Valentinian II.

A. U. 1141—1145. A. D. 388—392.

Theodosius, after his victory, remained three years in Italy to regulate the affairs of the West for his juvenile colleague. In the spring of the year 389, he made a triumphal entrance into the ancient capital of the empire; but his usual abode was the palace of Milan.

While Theodosius was residing in Italy, (390,) an unhappy event occurred, which casts almost the only shade over his fair fame. In the city of Thessalonica, an eminent charioteer of the circus conceived an impure affection for a beautiful boy, one of the slaves of Botheric, the commander of the garrison: to punish his insolence, Botheric cast him into prison. On the day of the games, the people, with whom he was a great favorite, enraged at his absence, rose in insurrection, and, as the garrison was then very small, they massacred Botheric and his principal officers, and dragged their bodies about the streets. Theodosius, who was of a choleric temper, was filled with fury when he heard of this atrocious deed. His first resolution was to take a bloody revenge; the efforts of the bishops then led him to thoughts of clemency; but the arguments of his minister Rufinus induced him, finally, to expedite an order for military execution. He then attempted to recall the order, but it was too late. The people of Thessalonica were, in the name of the emperor, invited to the games of the circus. Their love of amusement overcoming their fear of punishment, they hastened to it in crowds; when the place was full, the soldiers, who were posted for the purpose, received the signal, and an indiscriminate massacre ensued. The lowest computation gives the number of those slain as seven thousand.

The archbishop of Milan at this time was the intrepid Ambrose. When he heard of the bloody deed, he retired to the country, whence he wrote to the emperor to say that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation in his name or presence, and advising him not to think of receiving the Eucharist with his blood-stained hands. Theodosius acknowledged and bewailed his offence, and after some time proceeded to the cathedral to perform his devotions; but Ambrose met him at the porch, opposed his entrance, and insisted on the necessity of a public penance. Theodosius

submitted; and the lord of the Roman world, laying aside his imperial habit, appeared in the posture of a suppliant in the midst of the church of Milan, with tears soliciting the pardon of his sin. After a penance of eight months, he was restored to the communion of the faithful.

To the cruelty of Theodosius on this occasion may be opposed his clemency, some time before, to the people of Antioch. This lively, licentious people, being galled by an increase of taxation, (387,) flung down, dragged through the streets, and broke, the images of Theodosius and his family. The governor of the province sent to court information of this act of treason; the Antiochenes despatched envoys to testify their repentance. After a space of twenty-four days, two officers of high rank arrived to declare the will of the emperor. Antioch was to be degraded from its rank, and made a village, under the jurisdiction of Laodicea; all its places of amusement were to be shut up, the distribution of corn to be stopped, and the guilty to be inquired after and punished. A tribunal was erected in the market-place, the most wealthy citizens were laid in chains, and their houses exposed to sale, when monks and hermits descended in crowds from the mountains, and, at their intercession, one of the officers agreed to return to court, and learn the present disposition of the emperor. The anger of the generous Theodosius had subsided ere he arrived, and a full and free pardon was readily accorded to the repentant city.

Valentinian, after the death of his mother and the departure of Theodosius, fixed his abode in Gaul. His troops were commanded by Count Arbogast, a Frank by birth, who had held a high rank in the service of Gratian, after whose death he had passed to that of Theodosius. Aware of the weakness of his young sovereign, the ambitious barbarian raised his thoughts to empire. He corrupted the troops, he gave the chief commands to his countrymen, he surrounded the prince with his creatures, and Valentinian found himself little better than a prisoner in the palace of Vienne. He sent to inform Theodosius of his situation; but, impatient of delay, he summoned Arbogast to his presence, and delivered him a paper containing his dismissal from his posts. "You have not given me my authority, and you cannot take it away," was the reply of the general; and he tore the paper, and cast it on the ground. Valentinian snatched a sword from one of the guards, but he was prevented from using it

A few days after, he was privately strangled, and a report was spread that he had died by his own hand, (May 15, 392.)

Theodosius.

A. U. 1145—1148. A. D. 392—395.

Arbogast, deeming it more prudent to reign under the name of another than to assume the purple himself, selected for his imperial puppet a rhetorician named Eugenius, who had been his secretary, and whom he had raised to the rank of master of the offices. An embassy was despatched to Theodosius to lament the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian, and to pray him to acquiesce in the choice of the armies and people of the West. Theodosius acted with his usual caution; he dismissed the ambassadors with presents, and with an ambiguous answer; but he was secretly swayed by the tears of his wife, and resolved to avenge the death of her brother. After devoting two years to his preparations for this hazardous war, he at length (394) put himself at the head of his troops, and directed his march for Italy. Arbogast, taking warning by the errors of Maximus, contracted his line of defence, and, abandoning the northern provinces, and leaving unguarded the passes of the Julian Alps, encamped his troops under the walls of Aquileia. Theodosius, on emerging from the mountains, made a furious assault on the fortified camp of the enemy, in which ten thousand of his Gothic troops perished. At nightfall he retired, baffled, to the adjacent hills, where he passed a sleepless night, while the camp of the enemy rang with rejoicings. Arbogast, having secretly sent a large body of troops to get in the rear of the emperor, prepared to assail him in the morning, (Sept. 6.) But the leaders of these troops assured Theodosius of their allegiance; and in the engagement a sudden tempest from the Alps blew full in the faces of the troops of the enemy; and, their superstition leading them to view in it the hand of Heaven, they flung down their arms and submitted. Eugenius was taken and put to death; Arbogast, after wandering some days through the mountains, perished by his own hand.

Theodosius survived his victory only five months. Though he was not more than fifty years of age, indulgence had un-

dermined his constitution, and he died of dropsy at Milan, (Jan. 17, 395,) leaving his dominions to his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius.

The character of the great Theodosius is one which it is gratifying to contemplate. Called from a private station to empire, he was still the same in principle and conduct; and, the surest evidence of native greatness of soul, he remained unchanged by prosperity. He was an affectionate and faithful husband to both his wives, a fond parent, a generous and kind relation, an affable and agreeable companion, and a steady friend. As a sovereign, he was a lover of justice, a wise and benevolent legislator, an able and successful general. His defects were too slavish a submission to some intolerant ecclesiastics, which led to the enactment of persecuting laws against heretics and pagans; a violence of temper, which we have seen exemplified in the massacre at Thessalonica; a love of indolence, and an over-fondness for the pleasures of the table, which brought him to a premature death, to the great calamity of the empire.

The reign of Theodosius forms an epoch in the history of the Roman empire. He was the last who ruled over the whole empire; and it was in his time that the ancient system of religion, under which Rome had risen, flourished, and commenced, at least, her decline, was finally and permanently suppressed. His reign was also the last in which Rome appeared with any remnant of her original dignity on the scene of the world. It will surely not be accounted impiety or superstition, if we say that the eloquent appeals and lamentations of the advocates for the old religion were not without foundation; and that, in the order of Providence, Rome's greatness was indissolubly united with her pontifices, augurs, and vestals. Such seems undeniably to have been the fact; the cause is probably inscrutable.*

* [The author has said, only ten lines before, that the *decline* of Rome began under the ancient system of religion. If so, there was, of course, no connection between the maintenance of that system and the greatness of Rome. Every reader of Roman history must surely perceive that *her own* moral degradation, and the *advance* of other nations, were the causes of her decline. Our author loses, in this instance, his usual acuteness, or he would see that his remark implies a tendency in Christianity to weaken morality—a tendency he would be the last to allow. See his own words on the last page of this work.—J. T. S.]

If we credit the complaints of contemporary writers, luxury was continually on the increase, and manners became more depraved every day. These statements are, however, to be received with caution; and how either luxury or depravity could exceed that under the successors of Augustus, it is not easy to discern. Property had, of late years, been somewhat more secure from the rapacity of the court, and the terrors of the barbarians were as yet too remote to produce that recklessness which consumes to-day what it is not certain of possessing to-morrow. The censurers, in fact, are either splenetic pagans, eager to cast a slur on the new faith, or Christian ascetics, who viewed all indulgence with a jaundiced eye. We are very far from saying that the morals of this period were pure, or at all comparable with those of modern Europe; we only doubt if they were worse than those of the times of Tiberius and Nero.

A striking proof, however, was given at this time, that the thew and sinew of the Roman soldier were no longer what they had been in the days of the republic. The infantry craved and obtained permission to lay aside their helmets and corselets, as oppressing them with their extreme weight. Even future misfortunes could not induce them to resume these arms; and this, among other causes, contributed to the speedy downfall of the empire.

Literature continued to share in the general decline. Poetry might be regarded as extinct; history has only to present the name of Ammianus Marcellinus, who, however, among the historians of the empire, stands next in rank to Tacitus, though at a very long interval. The Sophists, that is, those to whom the manner was every thing, the matter of comparatively little importance, were the class of literary men held in most esteem. Orations, panegyrics, public or private epistles, in which the absence of fruit is sought to be concealed by the abundance of foliage and flowers, form the store of these men's compositions. The most distinguished among them was Libanius of Antioch, the friend of both Julian and Theodosius, a large portion of whose writings still exist. Julian himself occupies no mean place among the Sophists. His letters, from his station in society, are far more important and interesting than those of Libanius.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

SUPPRESSION OF PAGANISM. — RELIGION OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. — STATE OF MORALS. — THE DONATISTS. — THE ARIANS. — OTHER HERETICS. — ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION. — FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. — THE MANICHEANS.

As the reign of Theodosius was the period of the complete fall of paganism, and final triumph of the Christian faith, we will here interrupt our narrative of political events, and briefly relate the victories of the church over heathenism and heresy, and portray its external and internal condition.

When Constantine embraced the Christian religion, he left the ancient system of the Roman state undisturbed: toward the end of his reign, however, he issued edicts for the demolition of heathen temples, and prohibited sacrifices. Constantius was more hostile to heathenism than his father had been; and he executed the laws against it with great severity, even punishing capitally those guilty of the crime of offering sacrifice to idols. The absurd and fruitless efforts of Julian in its favor have been related, and the humane and enlightened toleration of Jovian and Valentinian has been praised. But Theodosius (much less Gratian) had not strength or enlargement of mind to resist or refute the arguments of the advocates of intolerance, and in their time the veneration of the tutelar deities of ancient Rome was treated as a crime.

The preservation of a pure monotheism being the main object of the law of Moses, its prohibitions against idolatry are numerous and severe; but the Christian religion, relying on its internal worth and its utter incompatibility with idolatry, is less emphatic on that subject. The habit, however, of confounding it with the Mosaic law had become so strong, and the opinion of the gods of the heathen being evil spirits, and not mere creatures of imagination, so prevalent,* that the worship of them was held to be the highest insult to the

* [This idea was not confined to those times. Modern theologians have held it. Thus does Prædeaux, in his valuable "Connection of Old and New Testaments." — J. T. S.]

majesty of the Creator ; and the sovereign who suffe ed impious rites to be performed, was regarded as participating in the guilt. Yielding to these considerations, Gratian, on his accession, refused to receive the insignia of a Pontifex Maximus, which even the most zealous of his predecessors had not rejected ; and he seized on the sacerdotal revenues for the uses of the church or state, and abolished all the honors and immunities of the heathen priesthoods. The image and altar of Victory, which were placed in the senate-house, had been removed by Constantine and restored by Julian. As the majority of the senate still adhered to the old religion of the state, the tolerant Valentinian had suffered it to remain undisturbed ; but his more zealous son ordered it to be again removed. A deputation of the senate, sent on this occasion, was refused an audience by the emperor. The year after his death, another deputation waited on his brother Valentinian : it was headed by Symmachus, the prefect of the city, a pontiff and augur, a man of noble birth, and of distinguished eloquence and unstained virtue. He was opposed by Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, and the prayer of the Roman senate was rejected. When Theodosius was at Rome,* he called on the senate to choose between the two religions ; and the majority of that body, warned by the fate of Symmachus, who had recently been sent into exile, voted in accordance with the wishes of the emperor. Pretended conversions became numerous, the temples were deserted and the churches filled with worshippers, and the religion under which Rome had flourished for twelve centuries ceased forever. Respect probably for the dignity of the city caused the temples to be spared and left to the operation of natural decay ; but in the provinces no such delicacy was observed, and many Christian prelates, such as Martin of Tours, Marcellus of Apamea, and Theophilus of Alexandria, headed holy crusades for the destruction of the abodes of the idols ; and many a stately edifice, the pride of architecture, was thus consigned to untimely ruin. A few escaped destruction by being converted into Christian churches. In effect, the fate of the temples seems in general to have depended on the good sense or fanaticism of the bishop of the diocese in which they stood.

The edicts which Theodosius put forth against sacrifices and other heathen rites having been frequently eluded, he at

* Most probably after his victory over Maximus, though both Zosimus and Prudentius place it after that over Eugenius.

length (392) published one which breathes the very spirit of intolerance.* By this he forbids all persons, no matter what their rank, to offer any sacrifice whatever, or even to suspend garlands, burn incense or place lights before the domestic deities of Roman religion, the Genius, the Lar, and the Penates. The penalty was the forfeiture of the house or estate in which the rites had been performed, or, if these were the property of another person, a fine of twenty-five pounds weight of gold. Prohibited thus in either its public or private exercise, heathenism gradually died away. Its last lingering footprints appeared in remote villages;† and in the reign of the grandson of Theodosius, it even was doubted (but without reason) if there were any longer any pagans in existence.

Thus have we witnessed the final triumph of the church over its open and declared enemy. Before we enter on the history of its civil wars, we will take a view of its own nature and character.

The Christianity of the days of Constantine and his successors is most certainly not that of the gospel. In effect, with the exception of transubstantiation and image worship, (from neither of which it was far distant,) and a few other points of minor importance, it differed little from the system which our ancestors flung off at the time of the Reformation. The church of Rome is, in fact, very unjustly treated, when she is charged with being the author of the tenets and practices which were transmitted to her from the fourth century. Her guilt or error was that of retention, not of invention.

The learned author whom we have taken for our principal guide in this part of our work, presents the following brief view of the state of religion at this time.‡

“The fundamental principles of the Christian doctrine were preserved hitherto incorrupt and entire in most churches, though it must be confessed that they were often explained and defended in a manner that discovered the greatest ignorance, and an utter confusion of ideas. The disputes carried on in the council of Nice concerning the three persons in the Godhead, afford a remarkable instance of this, particu-

* Yet Theodosius was not of an intolerant temper. He bestowed the consulate on Symmachus, and he was on terms of personal friendship with the Sophist Libanius.

† Hence the heathens were called Pagans, (*Pagani*), or villagers, à page.

‡ Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, Cent. iv. Part ii. chap. 3

larly in the language and explanations of those who approved the decisions of that council. So little light, precision, and order, reigned in their discourses, that they appeared to substitute three gods in the place of one.

“Nor did the evil end here; for those vain fictions, which an attachment to the Platonic philosophy and to popular opinions had engaged the greatest part of the Christian doctors to adopt before the time of Constantine, were now confirmed, enlarged, and embellished in various ways. Hence arose that extravagant veneration for departed saints, and those absurd notions of a certain *fire* destined to purify separate souls, that now prevailed, and of which the public marks were every where to be seen. Hence, also, the celibacy of priests, the worship of images and relics, which, in process of time, almost utterly destroyed the Christian religion, or at least eclipsed its lustre, and corrupted its essence in the most deplorable manner.

“An enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted in the place of genuine religion and true piety. This odious revolution proceeded from a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating the pagan rites, and of blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have toward a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of Christianity. Accordingly, frequent pilgrimages were undertaken to Palestine, and to the tombs of the martyrs, as if there alone the sacred principles of virtue, and the certain hope of salvation, were to be acquired. The reins being once let loose to superstition, which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day. Quantities of dust and earth, brought from Palestine and other places remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits, and were sold and bought every where at enormous prices. The public processions and supplications, by which the pagans endeavored to appease their gods, were now adopted into the Christian worship, and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in several places. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to the images of holy men; and

the same privileges that the former enjoyed under the darkness of paganism, were conferred upon the latter under the light of the gospel, or rather under that cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory. It is true that as yet images were not very common, nor were there any statues at all; but it is at the same time as undoubtedly certain, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the martyrs was modelled according to the religious services that were paid to the gods before the coming of Christ."

Thus doth this learned and candid historian express himself; and we must remind the reader that it is not of the tenth or twelfth century, as might perhaps be supposed, that he is writing, but of the fourth, the period of the Nicene council, the age of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, who are regarded as the great Fathers of the Church. All these superstitions are to be found in their writings, and mostly mentioned in terms of approbation.

The great parent of the external corruption of the pure and simple faith of the gospel seems, as we have already observed, to have been the law of Moses; for this law, which was at the same time a system of religious and of civil polity, was, in accordance with the designs of Providence and the state of the world at the time, so framed as to bear a certain degree of resemblance to the civil and religious institutions of the neighboring nations. Hence it had its priesthood, its sacrifices, its splendid ceremonies and ritual observances. When, therefore, the Christians, from the natural love of parade and magnificence, or with the specious view of gaining over the heathen, wished to introduce rites and ceremonies into the church, they found them ready to their hand in the law of the Israelites; and, when once the practice had begun, the step was easy to the introduction of various tenets and practices of heathenism, for which the Mosaic law furnished no precedent.

The Mosaic religion, for example, had no mysteries, and no mythology and worship of heroes; yet the Christianity of the fourth century had both. We have already shown how the simple rites of baptism and the Eucharist were converted into mysteries. The notion of their importance became every day more and more deep and solemn; they were termed *woful* and *tremendous* mysteries, by the greatest of the Fathers; and such were the miraculous powers ascribed to the elements of the Eucharist, that St. Ambrose, in a pub-

lic discourse, affirmed that his own brother, happening to have them about his person, was by their efficacy saved in a shipwreck.

Christianity obtained its heroes and mythology in the following manner: The memory of the Martyrs, (i. e. witnesses,) or those who had testified their faith in Christ by sealing it with their blood, and, in a less degree, that of the Confessors, who had shown their willingness to do the same, was naturally held in reverence and respect by the members of the church. The principle of human nature from which pilgrimage arises caused the pious to resort to the places where their remains were deposited; these places were soon regarded as being possessed of superior sanctity, which could only arise from the mortal relics of the holy men which lay there; and the sanctity, being inherent in these remains, would of course accompany them, if transferred. Hence arose the translation of the bodies of the apostles, and other holy men, from the humble tombs in which they had hitherto reposed, to capital cities and other places, to give holiness to stately churches which were to be erected in their honor. Every, even the smallest, fragment of the body of a saint, every thing, in short, that had touched that hallowed frame when animated, was held to possess virtue; and wonderful tales were told each day of the miracles performed by them. As it might seem absurd that the earthly portions of the holy men should possess such power, and their spiritual have no influence in the lower world, a kind of ubiquity was ascribed to their glorified spirits, and it was believed that they could hear prayer and give aid to the supplicant. False miracles, false relics, even false saints, were rapidly manufactured,* and the church had soon a mythology which far exceeded in copiousness that of ancient Greece.† A maxim of the most pernicious nature now greatly prevailed in the church, namely, "That it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie,

* "Certain tombs were falsely given out for the sepulchres of saints and confessors; the list of the saints was augmented with fictitious names, and robbers were converted into martyrs. Some buried the bones of dead men in certain retired places, and then affirmed that they were divinely admonished by a dream, that the body of some friend of God lay there," &c. &c. Mosheim, *ut supra*.

† "The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians," says Gibbon, "was gradually corrupted; and the monarchy of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtilties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology which tended to restore the reign of polytheism."

when by such means the interests of the church might be promoted." This had, no doubt, been of long standing, for pious fraud and pious fiction early began, but it was now at its *acmè*; and even the greatest of the Fathers are charged with acting on this maxim,* and thus transforming Christianity into polytheism and idolatry.

"If, in the beginning of the fifth century," says Gibbon, whom we may here safely quote, "Tertullian or Lactantius had been suddenly raised from the dead to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused at noon-day a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting for the most part of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigils of the feast, and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and perhaps of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice, and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed by a linen or silken veil from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs in the hope of obtaining from their powerful intercession every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal blessings. They implored the preservation of their health or the cure of their infirmities, the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs to celebrate with grateful thanksgivings their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favors which they had received; eyes and hands, and feet of gold and silver; and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuses of indis-

* Mosheim, *ut supra*. Paragraph xvi.

creet or idolatrous devotion, representing the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity and of affecting the senses of mankind; but it must ingenuously be confessed that the ministers of the Catholic church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman empire, but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals."

Nothing is more characteristic of the corruption which Christianity had undergone than the high honor in which the various classes of ascetics were held. These useless or pernicious beings now actually swarmed throughout the Eastern empire, and were gradually spreading themselves into the West. We have shown how asceticism has been derived from the sultry regions of Asia, and how it originates in the Gnostic principles. It had long been insinuating itself into the church; but, after the establishment of Christianity, it burst forth like a torrent, spreading from Egypt over Syria, Mesopotamia, and the other provinces, at such a rate, that, "in a short time," observes Mosheim, "the East was filled with a lazy set of mortals, who, abandoning all human connections, advantages, pleasures, and concerns, wore out a languishing and miserable life amidst the hardships of want and various kinds of suffering, in order to arrive at a more close and rapturous communion with God and angels."

Of these fanatics there were two classes, the Cœnobites and the Eremites, a branch of which last were the Anachorites.* The former, as their name denotes, lived together in a fixed habitation under an *abbot*, a word signifying *father*. The founder of this order was a man named Antony, who drew together a number of the Eremites of Egypt, and gave them fixed rules of conduct. There is a life of this hero of the monastic orders, which has been written by the

* Κοινοβιακοί, *livers-in-common*; Ἐρημίται, *dwellers-of-the-desert*, (ἔρημος,) whence our word *Hermit*; Ἀναχωρηταί, *retirers*. The general term was Μοναχοί, *solitaries*, whence our *Monk*.

great Athanasius.* The Eremites, on the contrary, dwelt solitary in caves or in wretched cottages of the desert; while the Anachorites, rejecting even this faint semblance of humanity, lived like the beasts of the field, wandering without certain abode, lying down wherever night overtook them, and feeding on the spontaneous produce of the earth, shunning the sight and the society of all human beings. The most distinguished of the Eremites was Paul, a recluse of the Thebaïs, a kind of semi-savage, whose life and acts St. Jerome did not think it beneath him to record as an ensample of true Christian holiness and perfection. Beside the above-mentioned classes of ascetics, we read of an order named in Egypt Sarabaïtes, who travelled about from place to place, working fictitious miracles, selling false relics, and performing various other frauds to deceive the credulous multitude. These, like the corresponding Mohammedan dervishes, were mostly notorious profligates: heavy complaints are made also of the Cænobites; but the hermits were in general mere fanatics or spiritual madmen.

The hope of acquiring heaven by virginity and mortification was not confined to the male sex; woman, with the enthusiasm and the devotional tendency peculiar to her, rushed eagerly toward the crown of glory. Nunneries became numerous, and were thronged with inmates. Nature, however, not unfrequently asserted her rights, and the complaints* and admonitions of the most celebrated Fathers assure us that the unnatural state of vowed celibacy was productive of the same evils and scandals in ancient as in modern times.

The state of morals among Christians in general was, according to the testimony of the contemporary Fathers and other writers, extremely low. "When," says the writer already quoted, "we cast an eye toward the lives and morals of Christians at this time, we find, as formerly, a mixture of good and evil, some eminent for their piety, others infamous for their crimes. The number, however, of immoral and unworthy Christians began so to increase, that the examples of real piety and virtue became extremely rare. When the terrors of persecution were totally dispelled; when the church, secured from the efforts of its enemies, enjoyed the sweets of prosperity and peace; when the major part of bishops exhibited to their flock the contagious examples of arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, animosity, and strife, with other

* The next place in fame to St. Antony is occupied by St. Pachomius.

vices too numerous to mention; when the inferior rulers and doctors of the church fell into a slothful and opprobrious negligence of the duties of their respective stations, and employed in vain wranglings and idle disputes that zeal and attention which were due to the culture of piety and to the instruction of their people; and when (to complete the enormity of this horrid detail) multitudes were drawn into the profession of Christianity, not by the power of conviction and argument, but by the prospect of gain or by the fear of punishment, — then it was indeed no wonder that the church was contaminated with shoals of profligate Christians, and that the virtuous few were, in a manner, oppressed and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the wicked and licentious. It is true that the same rigorous penance which had taken place before Constantine the Great, continued now in full force against flagrant transgressors; but when the reign of corruption becomes universal, the vigor of the law yields to its sway, and a weak execution defeats the purposes of the most salutary discipline. Such was now unhappily the case: the age was sinking daily from one period of corruption to another, the great and the powerful sinned with impunity, and the obscure and indigent alone felt the severity of the laws.”

When such was the state of morals, it is natural to be supposed that heresy and schism should prevail, and the unity of the church be torn by feud and faction. We shall therefore proceed to enumerate the principal sects and heresies of the fourth century.

The first of these was the Donatists, so named from Donatus, one of their most active partisans. It was a sect, not a heresy, for the orthodoxy of its members never was questioned. It originated in the following circumstance: On the death of the bishop of Carthage in 311, the clergy and people of that city chose the archdeacon Cæcilianus for his successor, and he was consecrated by the bishops of Africa Minor, without waiting for those of Numidia. These last, highly offended, summoned Cæcilianus before them; his disappointed competitors were active in their hostility, and a wealthy lady, named Lucilla, whom he had reprimanded for her superstitious practices, with all a woman's appetite for vengeance, lavished her money on the Numidians, to keep up their zeal. Cæcilianus having refused to submit to their jurisdiction, they declared him unworthy of his dignity, and appointed in his stead his deacon Majorinus; and the

church of Carthage had thus two rival bishops. The reasons given for the sentence against Cæcilianus were, that Felix of Aptungus, by whom he was consecrated, was a Traditor, and that he himself, when a deacon, had shown, in the time of the late persecution, great cruelty toward the martyrs and confessors, actually leaving them to perish for want of food in their prisons.

The Donatists having appealed to Constantine, that emperor (313) directed the bishop of Rome, aided by three Gallic prelates, to examine the cause. The decision was in favor of Cæcilianus, who was acquitted of the charges brought against him, as also was Felix of Aptungus, whose cause was examined by the proconsul of Africa. The Donatists were dissatisfied; and the emperor ordered (314) a greater number of prelates to meet at Arles, and examine the cause anew. The result of this inquiry also was adverse to them; they then appealed to the emperor in person, who examined the cause at Milan, (316,) and confirmed the preceding sentences. They acted after this with so much insolence, that Constantine lost patience, and deprived them of their churches, banished their bishops, and even put some of their more refractory prelates to death.

As the Donatists were numerous and powerful, tumults ensued, which Constantine sought in vain to allay. The savage and ferocious populace, which sided with them, under the name of Circumcellions, massacred, ravaged, and plundered their opponents all through the province; and matters were approaching to a civil war, when Constantine abrogated the laws made against the Donatists. The emperor Constans endeavored to heal the schism; but the Donatists would listen to no terms, and the Circumcellions even ventured to give battle to the imperial troops. They were, however, defeated; and a persecution ensued, which lasted till the accession of Julian, when the Donatists again raised their heads. Their numbers were so great that they counted no less than four hundred bishops of their party; but they split into two factions. The eloquent Augustine, bishop of Hippo, wrote, preached, and spoke against them; and this sect, the offspring of episcopal arrogance, gradually died away.

The era of the establishment of Christianity [as the state religion] witnessed another schism in the church, of far greater and more lasting importance than that caused by the

Donatists. This was the celebrated Arian controversy, of which we will now briefly trace the history.

The language of the New Testament, respecting the dignity of Christ, is lofty, but, at the same time involved in a certain degree of obscurity, if we may venture so to express ourselves, which, acting on the natural diversity of human minds, has, in all ages, caused a difference of opinion to exist on this mysterious subject.* It would probably have been better if the church had been content on this, as on other high matters, to confine itself strictly to Scripture language, and not to have attempted to be "wise beyond what is written." On this, however, as lying without our province, we venture not to speak decidedly; our task is simply to state facts and opinions.

That the Christians of the first century worshipped Christ, is a fact not to be disputed; the testimony of Pliny is conclusive on the subject. They believed firmly in his divinity, but they did not anxiously seek to fathom the mystery which enveloped it. Yet there were those, as we have seen, when treating of the Gnostic sects, who speculated on this lofty subject; and in the church itself, Praxeas and others advanced some very hazardous conjectures. As the fondness for Platonism advanced, that portion of the Christian doctrine which seemed most akin to the airy speculations of the Athenian sage, drew more and more the attention of learned Christians; and, about the middle of the third century, Sabellius, a bishop or presbyter of Cyrene in Africa, advanced a theory which drew to him a considerable number of followers. He maintained that a certain *energy* proceeded from the Father, and united itself to the Son, the man Jesus, and he regarded the Holy Spirit as in the same way a portion of the Father. Hence the Sabellians are called Patripassians. The opinions of Sabellius were, however, refuted by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.

Beryllus, bishop of Bozrah in Arabia, taught that Christ did not exist before Mary, but that, at the time of his birth, a *spirit*, issuing from God himself, and therefore a portion of

* No one, surely, will deny the sense, the learning, or the honesty, of those who have held opinions different from the one generally received on this subject. If any one text more than another would seem to make in favor of Arianism, it is Phil. ii. 6—9; yet Dr. Lardner, in his Letter on the Logos, declares that it was this very text that made him a Socinian:!

the Divine Being, was united to him. Beryllus was refuted by Origen, and he acknowledged and recanted his error.

Paul, the celebrated bishop of Samosata, a man whom looseness of morals, and pride and arrogance, fostered by wealth, had rendered generally odious, was degraded from his episcopal dignity by a council in the year 269, on account of his heretical opinions on this subject. He appears to have held that the Son and Holy Ghost exist in God as *reason* and *activity* exist in man; that Christ was born a mere man, but that the *reason* or *wisdom* of the Father descended on him, and abode with him while on earth, and that hence he might, though improperly, be called God.

It will be observed that the substance of these heresies of the second and third centuries, was the confounding of the Son and Holy Ghost with the Father. The church, on the other hand, had frequently decided that there was a real difference, and that three distinct persons existed in the Deity, but without making any exact definition of the nature of their relation; and the utmost liberty of sentiment and expression was allowed respecting it. Yet the most prevalent opinion in Egypt and the adjacent countries, was that of Origen, who held that the Son was *in* God, as reason is in man, and that the Holy Ghost was simply the *divine energy* — a notion not very far removed from Sabellianism.

In the year 319, in an assembly of the clergy of Alexandria, the bishop Alexander took occasion to communicate to them his sentiments on this head; and he asserted that the Son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but of the same *essence* with the Father. One of the presbyters, named Arius, treated this opinion as false, and as little removed from Sabellianism. He was then led to state his own opinions, which tended to the opposite extreme; for he held that the Son had been created by the Father before all things, but that time had elapsed before his creation; that he was created out of nothing; that he was the instrument by whom the Father gave existence to the universe; he was superior, therefore, to all other beings, but inferior, both in nature and dignity, to the Father. These opinions, when promulgated, found numerous favorers in Egypt and elsewhere; but Alexander caused them to be condemned in two councils which he summoned, and their author to be excommunicated. Arius withdrew to Palestine, whence he wrote numerous letters to eminent men, and drew many of them over to his sentiments. The controversy was maintained

with great heat; and the emperor Constantine, who at first treated it as trifling and unimportant, and wrote to the parties enjoining peace, was at length induced to summon a general council for its decision.

This council, the first of those named Œcumenical or General, met at Nicæa in Bithynia, in the year 325. Three hundred and eighteen bishops, it is said, appeared in it, and the emperor in person was present at their deliberations. They commenced with personal altercation, and presented the emperor with libels or written accusations against each other, which Constantine, however, burned, exhorting them to peace and unity. Of the proceedings of this council we have only very imperfect accounts; but its decision was against the Arians. It was determined that the Son was consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Father, as it is expressed in the Nicene creed. The council further terminated the dispute about the time of keeping Easter, regulated some points of discipline, and then separated. It had been very near coming to a resolution of imposing on the clergy the yoke of celibacy, such progress had that unnatural tenet of the Gnostics made in the church.

Persecution was of course employed against the defeated party, and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and others, were banished; but an Arian, who had been commended to the emperor by his sister when on her death bed, found means to convince him that the decision of the council was unjust, and Arius, Eusebius, and others, were recalled from exile. Athanasius, the successor of Alexander, however, refused to restore Arius to his rank and office in the church, for which he was himself deposed, by a council holden at Tyre in 335, and banished to Gaul. But the people of Alexandria refused to admit Arius; and he died the following year at Constantinople, of a bowel complaint, as it would appear, which some suspect was brought on by poison administered by his enemies, who affected to view in it a judgment of Heaven. The moral character of Arius, it may be here observed, was without stain; and of his religious sincerity there seems to be little ground of doubt.

Of the sons of Constantine, two were orthodox; but Constantius, into whose hands the entire empire finally fell, was strongly attached to the Arian system. Persecution and seduction were employed against the Homoousians; frequent synods were convened; so that, as Ammianus observes, "by the troops of bishops who were hurrying backwards and

forwards on the beasts devoted to the public service, to the synods, as they call them, in order to draw the whole sect to their own opinions, the entire posting establishment was well nigh ruined;" and Athanasius expressed his fears that the clergy would thereby draw on them the derision and contempt of unbelievers. At length, a general council of the East was held at Seleucia in Isauria, (359,) and one of the West, at Rimini (*Ariminum*) in Italy, (360.) The former separated without coming to any decided conclusion; the latter, which sat seven months, was, by proper management, brought to sanction a creed sufficiently Arian for the emperor's purpose, and "the whole world groaned," says Jerome, "and wondered to find itself Arian." Julian was indifferent, Jovian and Valentinian were orthodox but tolerant, Valens was an Arian and a persecutor. Theodosius was rigidly orthodox; and the second general council which he assembled at Constantinople (381) condemned the Arians anew. Intolerant edicts were forthwith issued against them; they were deprived of their churches, banished, and otherwise persecuted. Their sect gradually declined in the East; it had never flourished in the West; but the Goths and other barbarians, who had been converted by Arians, carried their religious system with them when they became conquerors; and it was not till the close of the sixth century that Arianism became extinct in Spain.

The Arians shared the general fate of all who, on points beyond human comprehension, venture to exercise the powers of their mind; they at length came to hold different shades of opinion, and thus became subdivided into sects. Their varieties may, however, be reduced to three: — 1. The primitive and proper Arians, who held simply that the Son was created out of nothing. 2. The Semi-Arians, who asserted that the Son was of *similar* essence (*ὁμοιοῦσιος*) with the Father, but by a peculiar privilege, not by nature. This was the doctrine favored by Constantius, and it was the prevalent sentiment in the council of Seleucia. 3. The Aëtians, or Eunomians, so named from their chiefs, Aëtius and Eunomius, who may be regarded as pure Arians, for they held that the Son was *unlike* (*ἀρβουσιος*) the Father, and of *another* essence, (*ἑτεροῦσιος*.) Of the Acacians, Eusebians, and other minor divisions, we will not speak.

The Arian controversy gave rise to other heresies. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, in his zeal for the divinity of Christ, went near to denying his humanity. He held that

the body of Christ had only had a *sensitive* soul, and that the divine nature assumed in him the office of the *rational* soul, whence it seemed to follow that his divine as well as his human nature suffered on the cross. This opinion, we may perceive, was indebted for its origin to the author's Platonism.

Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, regarded the Son and Holy Ghost as emanations of the divine nature, which, after performing the functions appointed to them, were to return into the substance of the Father. Hence it plainly followed that there could not be three distinct persons in the Godhead.

Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, the disciple of Marcellus, taught that Jesus was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; that the Word, i. e. a divine emanation or ray, descended on him, and that hence he was called the Son of God, and even God; that the Holy Ghost was only a virtue proceeding from the Deity. These opinions were condemned by both orthodox and Arians, and Photinus was degraded from his dignity.

Macedonius, a Semi-Arian, being deposed from the see of Constantinople in 360, by the influence of the Eunomians, taught openly an opinion which he had hitherto held in secret; namely, that the Holy Ghost is a divine energy diffused through the universe, and not a person distinct from the Father and Son. The second general council was assembled at Constantinople in 381, chiefly on account of this heresy. It completed what that of Nicæa had left imperfect, establishing the doctrine of three persons in one God, which is still generally received. It also condemned and anathematized all heresies hitherto known, and it assigned the first rank after the bishop of Rome to the bishop of Constantinople.

Such were the principal heresies which divided the church in the fourth century. They all arose from the vain attempt of rendering clear and definite that which had been left obscure and mysterious; and they were combated too often by force and cruelty, rather than by reason and charity. The fourth was, in fact, a century of persecution: as soon as the church obtained temporal power, it abused it; for churchmen are nothing more than men. He who has power will take delight in its exercise; and when he can silence an opponent by force, he will be willing to avoid the more tedious course of reasoning, or the nobler one of tolerance. In this condemnation the orthodox and the Arians are alike included.

In consequence of its establishment as the religion of the state, the church underwent a change in its constitution. The emperor assumed the entire control of its external administration. He alone had the power of convening a General Council; he appointed judges to decide religious controversies; he took cognizance of all civil causes between members of the hierarchy, regulated disputes between the bishops and people, and exercised a general superintendence over the church. The bishops, on their part, had made a monopoly of the internal administration; people and presbyters alike were excluded from their original share, and of the ancient government of the church there now remained nothing more than the shadow.

The government of the church was modelled after that of the state. The prelates of the four principal cities of the empire answered to the four prætorian prefects, and seem, even in this century, to have been termed Patriarchs. The Exarchs, corresponding with civil officers of the same title, had the inspection of several provinces. The Metropolitans had the government of one province; the Archbishops were over certain districts; the Bishops were next in rank; the inferior clergy, headed by Arch-presbyters and Arch-deacons, completed the sacred edifice.

The bishop of Rome, chiefly in consequence of his superior wealth and magnificence, and the civil dignity of his see, enjoyed a certain preëminence in rank, but nothing more. He had no power of making laws for the church, or of appointing bishops to their sees; and the other prelates strenuously maintained their equality with him, as deriving their authority from the same divine source.

The fourth century and the early part of the fifth were the golden age of the literature of the early church. The most distinguished of the Fathers then flourished, and a large proportion of their works have come down to modern times. We will here enumerate some of the principal.

Athanasius, the secretary and the successor of Alexander in the see of Alexandria, was, throughout the whole of his life, the invincible opponent of Arianism. In his opposition to that heresy, he braved the resentment of emperors; and he was five times expelled from his episcopal throne, and passed twenty years of his life in exile. His energy was indomitable; his sincerity was beyond question; his talents qualified him to rule an empire. As a writer and a speaker, he was clear, forcible, and persuasive; but his style was un-

polished, and his learning was inferior to that of some of his contemporaries.*

Gregory, named Nazianzen from the town of Nazianzes in Cappadocia, of which his father was bishop, was a man of great piety, and considerable learning and eloquence. He also was an inveterate foe of Arianism; and Theodosius, when, in his zeal for orthodoxy, he obliged the Arian prelate of Constantinople to resign his dignity, seated Gregory by force of arms on the archiepiscopal throne. But the pious prelate finally experienced the ingratitude of courts and bishops, and he resigned his see, and retired to a solitude in his native province, where he passed the remaining years of his life in the cultivation of poetry and the exercise of devotion; for his heart was naturally tender, and his genius elegant.

The rival of Gregory in genius and in eloquence, was his early friend, companion, and countryman, Basil, surnamed the Great, archbishop of Cæsarea. But Basil had a pride of character from which Gregory was free; and the real Christian knowledge of the great promoter of Oriental monasticism may not unreasonably be called in question. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen may be termed the great Christian sophists. In their works, as in those of Libanius, the anxiety as to form and manner, in preference to matter and import, may be discerned; the dignity of simplicity was unknown to or despised by them, and the glitter of false eloquence assumes its place in their writings.

Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, the brother of St. Basil, was also a writer of some eminence. His oration on the life of Gregory the Wonder-worker, proves him, however, to have been a man of great credulity.

Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, was the author of various works. It is to his Ecclesiastical History that we are chiefly indebted for our acquaintance with the early fortunes of the church; and his Life of Constantine is a principal source of our knowledge of the events of that emperor's reign. But the credit of this prelate as an historian is greatly diminished by the rule which he declares he had laid down for his guidance, namely, to relate nothing to the disadvantage of those whom he celebrates, of which proceeding we have noticed

* The account of Athanasius given by Gibbon (chap. xxi.) is in the historian's best manner, and does him credit. It shows that "even in a bishop he could spy desert."

an instance in his suppression of the murder of Crispus. He justifies this conduct by the specious, but untrue, pretext that this course is the more edifying one; it being more edifying and profitable, for example, to blazon forth the virtues of the early Christians, than to narrate their dissensions and portray their wickedness and apostasies. History would thus become mere panegyric, and be of little more use than romance. Happily the prelate did not always adhere to his own rule; and he occasionally lets us see that all was not purity and perfection in the church.

These were the principal fathers of this century who used the Greek language. The following wrote in Latin:

Lactantius, named the Christian Cicero from the elegance of his rich and copious style, is supposed to have been an African. His principal work, the *Divine Institutes*, is a refutation of paganism. His own notions of Christianity seem to have been of a more philosophic cast than those of most of his contemporaries. Like the apologists in general, his arguments often are weak, and his conclusions not justified by his premises.

Ambrose, a native of Gaul, the Becket of antiquity, was the civil governor of Liguria. When, on the occasion of a dispute between the orthodox and the Arians for the vacant see of Milan, (374,) he addressed the people in the cathedral in order to appease the commotion, he was greeted with the unanimous cry, "We will have Ambrose for our bishop." Ambrose, who was thirty-four years old, had not yet been baptized; his religious instruction had necessarily been extremely slight, and, in his desire to escape the elevation, for which he deemed himself unfit, he publicly committed some acts of gross injustice and immorality. But the people cried, "Thy offence be upon our heads;" they drew him from a concealment which he had sought, and conducted him in triumph to Milan. He was thus forced to yield, and on the eighth day after his baptism, he was consecrated. He immediately made over the whole of his property to the church or the poor; and spiritual ambition took entire possession of his soul. In the cause of orthodoxy, he resisted Justin, the Arian mother of Valentinian II.; in the cause of the authority of the church, he humbled even the great Theodosius. As a writer, Ambrose is entitled to but moderate praise. His works discover a fondness for the prevalent superstitions of the age, and he lays claim to the power of performing miracles. He was an able statesman, a bold, ambitious prelate, but a man of unblemished private life.

Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa, was a man of considerable mental power. He was engaged in continual controversy with the Donatists and other heretics. His writings are numerous; his most remarkable work is his Confessions, the earliest piece of autobiography that we possess. Augustine entered more deeply into the abstruse questions of grace, free will, and original sin, than the Fathers in general. He is regarded as the chief author of the opinions known by the name of Calvinism.

Jerome, a native of Illyricum, had conceived such a passion for a monastic life, that he left his own country and shut himself up in a convent at Bethlehem, where he devoted all his days to devotion, study, and composition. He applied himself to the Hebrew language, and translated the Old Testament into Latin; and as a translator and critic he ranks far above his contemporaries. He also engaged warmly in controversy, and earned the fame of being the most foul-mouthed of all the Fathers. On heretics and reformers alike the vials of his wrath were poured forth; the opposers of mortification, celibacy, pilgrimage, saint-worship, and other superstitions which he chose to admire and recommend, however exemplary their lives, received no better treatment than the obstinate heretic or sinner, from this most choleric of saints. Even age brought no cooling to his fervent spirit; and his very latest writings are as fierce and fiery as those composed in his prime of life.

Such were the principal Fathers of the fourth century; and, viewing their writings, and those of their predecessors and successors, we think that any person of candor will agree with us in saying, that neither in critical skill, in learning, in judgment, or in correct morality, can they stand a comparison with the Protestant divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or even with the Gallican divines of the same period. In gaudy, glittering, theatric eloquence, a Basil, a Gregory, a Chrysostom, may claim the precedence; but what work can the ancient church produce to be placed alongside of the Ecclesiastical Polity of Hooker? or where can we find in it reasoning equal to that of Chillingworth and Barrow? The Fathers may be read with profit, but cannot be safely taken as guides, unless we are willing to end in submission to the church of Rome. The Christian religion is contained in the New Testament alone, and is thence to be derived, by the application of the principles of sound criticism; in a spirit actuated by the sincere love of truth.

We will conclude this chapter by an account of the Manichæan heresy.

This heresy, which arose in the middle of the third century, may be regarded as the last and most permanent form of Gnosticism. Its founder, from whom it derived its name, was Manes, a Persian by birth, and one of the sacerdotal caste of the Magians, who embraced Christianity, and endeavored to amalgamate it with his original faith. Of the history of his life little is known with certainty. He is said to have been put to death by the Persian king Varanes I.

As the foundation of his system, Manes laid down the two principles of Light and Darkness, with their respective chiefs (the Ormuzd and Ahriman of Persian theology) and their countless myriads of subordinate spirits. The prince of Darkness was long ignorant of the existence of the realm of light; but when he accidentally discovered it, he invaded it. The armies of Light, headed by the First Man, opposed him, but could not prevent his seizing a large portion of it, and mingling it with matter. The Living Spirit, the second leader of the troops of Light, had more success; yet still much of the pure element remained immersed in matter. From the mixture the prince of Darkness formed the parents of the human race, who had therefore a material body, in which were two souls, one sensitive and lustful, the other rational and immortal, as being produced of Light. The Living Spirit then created the earth out of matter, as a habitation for the human race, in order to their gradual purification from the influence of corrupt matter; and to aid them in their efforts, God produced, from his own substance, two beings, named Christ and Holy Ghost, the former of whom, (the Persian Mithras,) a splendid substance, subsisting in and by himself, filled with life and infinite in wisdom, resided in the sun; while the latter, also luminous and animated, pervaded the atmosphere of the earth, illumining the minds of men, giving fertility to the soil, and drawing out from it the particles of celestial heat, and restoring them to their native region.

The Supreme Deity sent a succession of angels and holy men to admonish and exhort the souls imprisoned in matter. At length, he directed Christ to quit his abode in the sun, and, taking on him the semblance of a body, to appear on earth. Christ obeyed the mandate, performed miracles, and gave precepts to man; but the prince of Darkness stirred up the Jews against him, and, in appearance, he suffered death

on the cross. He reascended to the sun, having appointed apostles to propagate his religion, and promised a Paraclete or Comforter, who would add what was needful to his doctrine, and dispel all error from the minds of his servants. This great Paraclete was Manes; and those who obeyed the laws of Christ as enlarged by him, would gradually be freed from the influence of matter, but not wholly in this life; for, after death, they must first proceed to the moon, which is composed of purifying *water*, after an abode in which of fifteen days, they were to ascend to the sun, whose *fire* would remove all remaining stains. The souls of the wicked were, after death, to migrate into the bodies of animals and other natures, till they should have expiated their guilt. The world was finally to be consumed with fire, and the prince and powers of Darkness be compelled to return to and abide forever in their original gloom and misery.

The moral system of Manes was severe and rigorous in the extreme; but, aware that celibacy, long fasting, and mortification, were not suited to mankind in general, he made a distinction similar to one already noticed,* dividing his followers into the Elect and the Hearers, from the former of whom alone obedience was exacted to his ascetic system.

Manes rejected all the books of both the Old and the New Testament, except St. Paul's Epistles, which, however, he regarded as greatly interpolated and corrupted. He gave his disciples a gospel of his own, named Ertang, dictated to him, as he said, by God himself. The Manichæan assemblies had always a president, who represented Jesus Christ, twelve rulers or masters, and seventy-two bishops, to correspond with the apostles and disciples; under the bishops were presbyters and deacons, all selected from the body of the Elect; and the hierarchy was thus completed.

The Manichæan system long continued to flourish. It spread itself over both the empires. We believe there is little doubt, that those who, under the names of Albigenses, Paulicians, Cathari, and other denominations, were so cruelly persecuted by the church of Rome in the middle ages, were the descendants of the Manichæans. There is reason to suppose that the mistresses and the loves of the troubadours of the South of France were not earthly; that the conventional language, retained by the Soofees in Persia, had been carried by the Manichæans to Spain and France:

* See above, p. 233.

that in Italy, this language, which had hitherto been confined to religion, was, by Frederick II. and his friends, extended to politics, and made the bond of union of the Ghibellines; and that it is only by a knowledge of it, that the writings of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and the other writers of that age, can be understood.* In fine, it might appear that Manichæism eventually led to the Reformation.

CHAPTER VII.†

HONORIUS, VALENTINIAN III., ETC.

A. U. 1148—1229. A. D. 395—476.

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE. — RUFINUS. — THE GOTHS IN GREECE. — GILDO. — INVASION OF ITALY BY ALARIC. — BY RADAGAISUS. — MURDER OF STILICHO. — CLAUDIAN. — ALARIC'S SECOND INVASION. — SACK OF ROME. — DEATH OF ALARIC. — BARBARIANS IN THE EMPIRE. — VALENTINIAN III. — BONIFACE AND ÆTIUS. — GENSERIC. — HIS CONQUEST OF AFRICA. — ATTLA. — THEODORIC. — BATTLE OF CHALONS. — ATTLA'S INVASION OF ITALY. — MURDER OF ÆTIUS — AND OF VALENTINIAN. — MAXIMUS. — SACK OF ROME BY GENSERIC. — AVITUS. — MAJORIAN. — SEVERUS. — ANTHEMIUS. — NEPOS AND GLYCERIOUS. — ROMULUS AUGUSTUS. — END OF THE EMPIRE. — CONCLUSION.

Honorius.

A. U. 1148—1176. A. D. 395—423.

WITH Theodosius the unity of the Roman empire terminated; it never again obeyed a single ruler, and henceforth the empires of the East and the West are as distinct as any independent kingdoms of ancient or modern times. As the history of that of the East, during the remaining period of our narrative, presents no events of much political impor-

* The proofs will be found in the various works of Signor Rossetti, the learned and sagacious expounder of Dante.

† Authorities: Zosimus, Claudian, Jornandes, the Ecclesiastical Historians, and the Chroniclers.

tance, we will confine ourselves to that of the West, and rapidly relate its fall.

Theodosius had two sons: to the elder, named Arcadius, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had been left behind in Constantinople, was assigned the empire of the East, to the younger, Honorius, a boy of eleven years, that of the West.* The care of both the emperors and their dominions was committed by Theodosius, on his death bed, to Stilicho, a man of great talent, civil and military, and of incorrupt integrity, to whom he had given his niece and adopted daughter Serena in marriage, and had raised him to the high rank of master of both the cavalry and infantry of the empire.

After the decease of Theodosius, Stilicho remained in Italy with the young Honorius. The chief minister of Arcadius was Rufinus, the prefect of the East, a native of Gaul, who, having devoted himself to the practice of the law at Constantinople, by his talents and by his profound hypocrisy gained the favor of the late emperor, who had gradually raised him to his present dignity. As soon as death had relieved him from the restraint which his knowledge of the latent vigor of Theodosius's character imposed, Rufinus flung off the mask, and gave free course to his cruelty and his avarice. In the gratification of this last ignoble passion, he passed all bounds. Justice was sold, offices were sold, oppressive taxes were imposed, testaments were extorted or forged, ruinous fines were exacted, properties were confiscated on the slightest prettexts. The wealth thus acquired was retained by the most rigid parsimony, and Rufinus was consequently the object of hatred to many, and of sincere attachment to no one.

The ambitious prefect hoped to unite his only daughter to his youthful sovereign; but he seems not to have reflected on the secret machinations of a despotic court; and while he was absent on a journey of vengeance to Antioch, where, without even a shadow of proof, he judicially murdered the count of the East, a secret conspiracy in the palace, headed by the chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power. Discovering that their young monarch had no affection for his destined bride, the confederates planned to substitute for her the fair Eudoxia, the orphan daughter of Bauto, a Frank general in the imperial service. They inflamed the imagina-

* The province of Illyricum was divided between the two empires.

tion of the emperor by their commendations of her charms, the view of her picture confirmed the impression, and when, on the day fixed for the royal nuptials, after the return of Rufinus, (April 27,) the bearers of the diadem, robes, and ornaments, of the future empress, issued from the palace, they entered not the mansion of the prefect, but the house in which Eudoxia was dwelling, and conducted the daughter of Bauto to the imperial residence. The sense and spirit exhibited by the new empress soon filled Rufinus with alarm; and it is not unlikely that, in the rage of disappointed ambition, and the dread of a hostile faction, he may, as he is charged, have resolved to aim at the empire, and with this view have secretly encouraged the Goths and Huns to renew their ravages.

But Rufinus had a foe to encounter more formidable than the eunuchs of the palace. He had long since drawn on himself the enmity of Stilicho; and that general, who had already divided between the royal brothers the jewels and other private property of their deceased father, now prepared to apportion between the two empires the troops which had been assembled under the imperial standard for the late war. Under the pretext of the ravages of the Goths, he marched in person at the head of the troops that were to return to the East; and he had reached Thessalonica when he received an order from Arcadius, dictated by the fears of Rufinus, to send on the troops, but to advance no farther himself. He obeyed, committing to the soldiers the execution of the designs which he had formed against Rufinus. The army, led by Gainas, a Goth, marched for the capital; not a soldier divulged the secret of Stilicho; Rufinus was led to hope that they would aid his ambition, and he freely distributed to them a portion of his hoarded treasures. When they were within a mile of the city, (Nov. 27,) he and the emperor advanced to salute them. As he was passing along the ranks, the wings gradually closed and surrounded him: Gainas then gave the signal; a soldier plunged his sword into his breast, and he fell dead at the feet of the emperor. His lifeless body was abandoned to the rage of the populace, who treated it with every species of horrid indignity. His wife and daughter found sanctuary in a church, and they ended their days in a convent at Jerusalem.*

* The power now fell into the hands of the eunuch Eutropius, whom Claudian, the panegyrist of Stilicho, lashes in so fearful a manner. Of the poet's satiric powers, the following is a specimen:—

The Goths, under the guidance of an intrepid young prince named Alaric, after ravaging the northern provinces, had advanced into Greece, (396.) They no where encountered opposition; from Mount Olympus to the extremities of Tænaron and Malea, they ravaged the country and pillaged the towns. At length (397) Stilicho debarked an army on the isthmus of Corinth, and advanced into Arcadia, to engage the invaders. By skilful movements he forced them to retire to Mount Pholoe, and, having diverted the course of the only stream that supplied them, and drawn a line of posts round them, he withdrew to share in the pleasures of the stage and dance in the cities of Greece. The soldiers, not being controlled by the presence of their general, quitted the works, and spread themselves over the country. Alaric, watching his opportunity, marched out with his booty and captives, crossed the Corinthian Gulf, and was master of Epirus before Stilicho knew of his escape. The Gothic prince had meantime been secretly negotiating a treaty with the ministers of Arcadius; and just at this conjuncture he was appointed to the military command of eastern Illyricum, and Stilicho received orders to depart from the dominions of the emperor of the East.

The attention of Stilicho was next directed to Africa, where Gildo, the brother of the unfortunate Firmus, ruled in nearly total independence; for, after the suppression of that rebel, the government of Africa had been conferred on Gildo, who had risen to the rank of count in the service of Rome. At a distance from the seat of empire, and therefore secure from punishment, he indulged all his passions without restraint, and the unhappy country groaned beneath his tyranny. Persons of wealth were poisoned in order to obtain their properties; the fairest matrons and maidens, after being forced to submit to the embraces of the tyrant, were abandoned to his swarthy Moorish and Gætulian guards.

Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum;
 Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet; desævit in omnes,
 Ut se posse putent; nec bellua tetrrior ulla
 Quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis.
 Agnoscit gemitus, et pœnæ parcere nescit
 Quam subit, dominique memor quem verberat odit.
 Adde quod eunuchus nulla pietate movetur,
 Nec generi natisve cavet. Clementia cunctis
 In similes, animosque ligant consortia damni.
 Iste nec eunuchis placidus, sed pejus in aurum
 Æstuat; hoc uno fruitur succisa libido.

In Eutrop. I. 181, seq.

His excesses were unnoticed by Theodosius, who resided at a distance; but he saw that from Stilicho he had no favor to expect, and he therefore craftily tendered his allegiance to the throne of Arcadius. The ministers of that prince, regardless of faith or honor, grasped at the delusive offer, and signified to Stilicho their right to Africa. Their claim was met by a decided negative. Stilicho instantly accused the African as a rebel to the senate, and that body declared him the enemy of the republic. The prudent Symmachus suggested the danger of the corn-ships being kept back, and the city being thus exposed to famine; but Stilicho had already provided for this case, and abundant supplies of corn from Gaul were poured into the granaries of Rome.

The command of the force destined for the reduction of the Moorish tyrant was committed to his own brother Mascezel, whom he had forced to fly for his life, and whose innocent children he had murdered. The army of Mascezel consisted of only five thousand Gallic veterans; but these were deemed sufficient to overcome the naked and disorderly barbarians, who, to the number, it is said, of seventy thousand, marched under the banners of Gildo. Shortly after his landing, (398,) Mascezel gave the signal for engagement. He himself advanced before his troops with offers of pardon; one of the enemy's standard-bearers met him, and Mascezel, on his refusal to yield, struck off his arm with his sword. The standard fell to the ground; the supposed voluntary act was imitated by all the other standard-bearers: the cohorts proclaimed the name of Honorius; the barbarians dispersed and returned to their homes; and the victory was thus gained without the slightest effusion of blood. Gildo fled to the sea-shore, and, throwing himself into a small vessel, made sail for the East; but the wind drove him into the port of Tabraca, where he was seized by the inhabitants and cast into prison, and he terminated his existence by his own hand. Mascezel, on his return, was received at court with great favor; but, shortly after, as he was riding with Stilicho over a bridge, his horse threw him into the river; and the attendants, observing that Stilicho smiled, gave him no aid, and he was drowned.* The guilt of his death was accordingly charged on the envy of Stilicho.

* So Gibbon "softens," as he terms it, the narrative of Zosimus, "which, in its crude simplicity," he says, "is almost incredible." Zosimus simply says (v. ii.) that the guards, on a given signal, pushed him into the river, and that Stilicho laughed.

The young emperor, now in his fourteenth year, was united in marriage at this time with his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho; but the consummation was deferred; and ten years after Maria died a virgin. Honorius, who was utterly devoid of talent or energy, passed his days in feeding poultry; and Stilicho, while he lived, was in reality the monarch of the West.

This able man had soon again to measure arms with the ambitious Alaric. The Gothic prince, in addition to his rank of master of Illyricum, was now, by the unanimous suffrages of his countrymen, king of the Visigoths. For some years he acted a dubious part between the emperors of the East and the West; but he finally (400) resolved on the invasion and plunder of Italy. By arts or by arms he was for three years withheld from treading its plains; but at length (402) the court of Milan was alarmed by intelligence of the approach of the Goths. The council of the young emperor proposed an instant flight to Gaul. Stilicho, alone undismayed, pledged himself, if the court would only remain tranquil during his absence, to return, within a limited time, at the head of a powerful army. He accordingly crossed the Alps in the depth of winter, collected the troops of Gaul and Britain, and took into pay a large body of Alemannic cavalry. But, while he was thus engaged, the Goths had advanced to Milan; and Honorius had fled and shut himself up in the town of Asta (*Asti*) in Liguria, where he was closely besieged by the Gothic monarch. Stilicho hastened to his relief; by skilful manœuvres he cut off the supplies of the barbarians, and he gradually drew round them a line of fortifications.

During these operations, the festival of Easter arrived, (403.) While the Goths were devoutly celebrating it, their camp at Pollentia (twenty-five miles south-east of Turin) was assailed by the imperial cavalry. Alaric speedily drew out and formed his men; the battle was maintained throughout the day with mutual valor; but in the evening the Goths retired. Their camp was forced; the booty and captives were all recovered; and the wife of Alaric remained a prisoner in the hands of the victors. Alaric was, however, preparing, at the head of his remaining troops, to cross the Apennines and push on for Rome; but his council of warriors forced him to listen to the offers of Stilicho, and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Italy. He repassed the Po, with the secret design of seizing the city of Verona

advancing rapidly into Germany, passing the Rhine, and invading the defenceless provinces of Gaul. But Stilicho, who had a secret intelligence with some of the Gothic chiefs, learned his design, and, at a short distance from Verona, the Goths were assailed on all sides by the imperial troops. Their loss was considerable; Alaric himself owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse. He then assembled his remaining forces amid the adjacent rocks, where he prepared to stand a siege; but hunger and desertion soon forced him to accept another treaty; and Italy was at length delivered from the Goths, though but for a time.

In the following year, (404,) Honorius visited the ancient capital of the empire. He entered it in triumphal pomp, Stilicho seated in his chariot by his side. His abode in the capital is distinguished by an edict abolishing the combats of gladiators; for, as these inhuman contests were going on one day in the amphitheatre, an Asiatic monk, named Telemachus, urged by a generous impulse, sprang into the arena to separate the combatants. The enraged spectators overwhelmed him with a shower of stones; and he perished a martyr in the sacred cause of humanity. When the rage of the people subsided, they were filled with penitence; a ready obedience was yielded to the edict issued on the occasion by the emperor, and the barbarous and inhuman gladiatorial combats ceased forever.

As invasions of the barbarians were now matter of constant apprehension, and neither Rome nor Milan was considered to be sufficiently secure for the imperial residence, Honorius fixed his abode at Ravenna. This city, situated on the Adriatic, was strongly fortified; and its only approach on the land side was by a causeway leading through a deep morass.* Strong thus by nature and art, Ravenna henceforth continued, for more than three centuries, to be the seat of government in Italy.

The apprehensions of the emperor and his court were not unfounded; for, within two years after the departure of Alaric, a numerous host of Germans poured into Italy, (406.) This host, which is stated at 200,000 fighting men, accompanied by their wives, children, and slaves, was composed of adventurers from most of the German and Sarmatian tribes. The leader-in-chief was named Radagaisus. The task of

* Owing to the recession of the waters of the Mediterranean, Ravenna is now four miles from the sea.

defending Italy fell, as before, to Stilicho; he caused the feeble emperor to shut himself up in Ravenna; while he himself, with an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, the utmost force he was able to collect, took his post at Pavia, (*Ticinum*.) The barbarians advanced unopposed, pillaging the towns and cities on their way; they crossed the Po and the Apennines, and laid siege to the city of Florence in Tuscany. Stilicho, who had, at length, been joined by the troops which he had summoned from the provinces, and by barbarian auxiliaries, now advanced to its relief. Adopting his former policy, he avoided a general action, and gradually drew a strong line of fortifications around the position occupied by the host of Radagaisus. Famine soon spread its ravages among the men and horses; their furious assaults on the lines of circumvallation were repelled; and they were at length obliged to surrender at discretion. Radagaisus was beheaded by order of Stilicho; the common barbarians were sold for slaves.

The principal nations composing the host of Radagaisus were the Suevians, Burgundians, Vandals, and Alans; and only a portion of their immense force had entered Italy. In the following winter, those who had remained in Germany crossed the Rhine never to retreat; and, in less than two years, after devastating the Gallic provinces, they had reached the Pyrenees. At this time, the trans-Alpine provinces had ceased to obey the emperor Honorius. The army of Britain had invested with the purple a private soldier of the name of Constantine, (407;) and, on his passing over to Gaul, all the cities which had escaped the barbarians yielded him submission. The troops of Honorius besieged him in Vienne, but they were forced to make a precipitate retreat over the Alps; and, in the following year, (408,) Constantine, with little difficulty, made himself master of Spain.

After the retreat of Alaric from Italy, relations of friendship were formed between that prince and Stilicho; and the Goth, quitting the service of the emperor of the East, was appointed commander of the Roman forces in all Illyricum; the eastern portion of which region Stilicho reclaimed from the court of Byzantium. A semblance of war ensued between the two empires; and Alaric carried on some feeble operations in Epirus and Thessaly, for which he furnished a long account of expenses to the court of Ravenna, intimating, though in respectful terms, that a refusal to comply



CÆSAR CROSSING THE RUBICON. 417.

with his demands might prove hazardous Stilicho deeming it the wiser course to yield, his authority silenced all opposition; and the sum of 4000 pounds of gold, under the name of a subsidy, was promised to Alaric.

While the empire was thus distracted and menaced on all sides, court intrigue deprived it of the only man capable of saving it. Olympius, a man whom the influence of Stilicho had advanced to a high office at court, and who concealed his vices under the mask of extreme piety, was secretly undermining his benefactor in the mind of the feeble emperor. He made Honorius believe that Stilicho had formed designs on his life and throne. As the troops, which, on account of the menaces of Alaric, were lying north of the Po, were composed of different elements — some devoted, others hostile to Stilicho — Honorius, at the instigation of Olympius, announced his intention of reviewing them in their different quarters. He visited Stilicho at Bologna, where the barbarian troops (those most devoted to the general) lay, and thence proceeded to Pavia, to the camp of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho and the barbarians. By the arts of Olympius, these troops had been prepared to enact the part required of them, and, after listening to an address from the emperor, they rose and massacred all the friends of Stilicho, including the highest officers of the empire. Honorius, who was ignorant of the projected massacre, was filled with terror; but he was finally persuaded to approve of what had been done, and commend the actors. Stilicho, on hearing of the massacre at Pavia, held a council of the leaders of the auxiliaries; they were unanimous in urging him to vengeance, but he hesitated to involve the empire in a civil war. His confederates retired in disgust at his irresolution, and in the night his camp was assailed by the troops of a Gothic leader named Sarus, who was one of the band of his enemies. His faithful Hunnish guards were cut to pieces, and he himself escaped with difficulty. He retired to Ravenna, and took sanctuary in a church; by artifice and perjury the bishop was induced to yield him up, and he was beheaded as soon as he had passed the sacred threshold, (Aug. 23.) His son was shortly after put to death; his daughter Thermantia, who, like her sister, was the emperor's virgin wife, was divorced; his memory was defamed; his friends were tortured and murdered.

Among those involved in the fate of the great Stilicho was the poet Claudian, the last ancient poet in whose verses the

Latin language appears with any lustre. Claudian was born at Alexandria in Egypt. The Latin, therefore, was not his mother tongue; yet he made it the graceful and elegant vehicle of such poetry as had not been equalled, except by Statius, since the Augustan age. Panegyric and satire were the principal themes of his muse. He may be called the poet laureate of Stilicho, whose victories he celebrates, and whose enemies he overwhelms with invective. His diction is harmonious, though not perfectly pure; his descriptions are rich and luxuriant; he possessed the rare talent of elevating the mean and diversifying the similar without offending the good sense or taste of the reader. In a word, Claudian closes with dignity the band of Latin poets.*

While, by the base arts of courtiers, Italy was thus deprived of her only stay, Alaric lay encamped on her confines. As if to aid him in his projects, the fanatic Olympius caused an edict to be issued excluding all those who did not hold the orthodox creed from civil and military employment; and on one day the wives and children of the barbarians in the Roman service (a body of 30,000 men) were massacred in the towns of Italy, in which they were dwelling as hostages. These troops vowed a heavy revenge; and Alaric, certain of their coöperation, hesitated not to enter Italy as the avenger of the death of Stilicho, and of his own wrongs. Stilicho had perished in the month of August, and in the following October, Alaric passed the Alps, the Po, the Apennines; and Rome, for the first time since the days of Hannibal, saw a foreign enemy before her gates. The Gothic forces closely blockaded all the approaches, and stopped the navigation of the Tiber. Famine and pestilence soon began to spread their ravages through the crowded population. At length, two senators were sent as envoys to the Gothic camp. When led before Alaric, they spoke of the dignity and number of the Roman people, and bade him to prepare for battle if he would not grant reasonable terms. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," replied the Goth, with a laugh. He then demanded, as a ransom, all the gold, silver, and precious movables in the city, and all the barbarian slaves. He final-

* Gibbon (chap. xxx.) draws the character of this poet with tolerable accuracy. He evidently admired him. We cannot, however, concede, that in Claudian "it would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse that melts the heart or enlarges the imagination." Of the last, at least, there are many

ly consented to take 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, 3,000 of pepper, 4,000 robes of silk, and 3,000 pieces of scarlet cloth; and, on the delivery of these articles, Alaric led his troops into Tuscany for the winter. His army, augmented by the barbarians who had been in the Roman service, and by 40,000 slaves, counted, at the least, 100,000 fighting men, (409.)

The early part of the year was spent in fruitless negotiations for peace. Olympius was in his turn undermined by the intrigues of the palace, and forced to seek his safety in flight. A brave barbarian officer, named Gennerid, was placed at the head of the army, and 10,000 Huns were taken into pay. But the intrigues of the palace still prevailed, and an oath was extorted from the principal officers of the state and army, never, under any circumstances, to consent to a peace with the insolent invader of Italy. All hopes of accommodation being thus cut off, Alaric led his troops once more toward Rome. By making himself master of the port of Ostia,* where the corn for the supply of the city was warehoused, he speedily put an end to all thoughts of resistance; and the senate, at his dictation, invested with the purple Attalus, the prefect of the city. The new emperor bestowed on his benefactor the rank of commander-in-chief of the armies of the West, which he had sought in vain from the ministers of Honorius, and made Adolphus, (*Athaulf*), the Gothic monarch's brother-in-law, count of the domestics, with the custody of the royal person. Milan cheerfully acknowledged the new emperor, whom Alaric conducted in triumph almost to the gates of Ravenna, where an embassy from Honorius, offering to divide the empire with him, entered the camp. Attalus insisted on his resignation; and so desperate in reality did the affairs of Honorius now seem, that Jovius, his principal minister, and Valens, his general, two of the envoys, went over to the side of his rival.

Honorius was in despair, preparing to fly to the Eastern court, when a body of four thousand veterans landed in Ravenna. As these sufficed for its defence, he now felt somewhat reassured, and he was soon further cheered by the arrival of a large sum of money, sent by Count Heraclian, who had defeated the troops sent to Africa by Attalus, and distressed the Romans by preventing the exportation of corn and oil. Alaric, wearied with the insolence and imprudence

* See above, p. 80.

of the emperor of his own creation, and acted on by the arts of the treacherous Jovius, at length publicly stripped him of his diadem and purple, which he sent to Honorius as a pledge of amity. He then advanced to within three miles of Ravenna, in the full expectation that a peace would now be concluded; but Sarus the Goth, at the head of three hundred men, sallied from one of the gates, and cut to pieces a division of his troops; and a herald soon after appeared to declare that the emperor would never enter into friendship with the invader of Italy.

The Gothic monarch, bent on vengeance, led his troops once more to Rome. The senate prepared to make a desperate resistance; but treachery rendered their plans unavailing. At midnight, (Aug. 24, 410,) the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the Goths were admitted; and Rome, for the first time since the days of Camillus, (a space of eight centuries,) became the prey of a foreign enemy. All the horrors and atrocities consequent on the capture of a large town by storm, were felt by the unhappy city; but the evils were mitigated, in many instances, by the Christian feeling of the Arian Goths; and it is acknowledged that Rome suffered far less at their hands, than it did afterwards, in the 16th century, from the Catholic troops of the orthodox emperor Charles V. Numbers were, of course, reduced from affluence or comfort to slavery or poverty, and the provinces of Africa and the East were filled with fugitives from the ancient capital of the empire.

Alaric remained only six days in Rome; he then led his troops southwards, captured Nola and other towns, and, on coming to the Straits of Rhegium, prepared to pass over and make the conquest of Sicily prelude to that of Africa. But a storm shattered his transports, and a premature death terminated his visions of dominion. To form a grave for the mighty Alaric, the course of the Busentinus, a small river which washes the walls of Consentia, was diverted, and his corpse, royally arrayed, was deposited in its bed. The stream was then restored to its original channel; and, that the secret of the resting-place of Alaric might never be known, a massacre was made of all the prisoners who had been engaged in the work.

The royal dignity, after the death of Alaric, was conferred on Adolphus. This prince, who was of a prudent and moderate temper, effected a treaty with the court of Ravenna, and the Visigoths at length (412) evacuated Italy, after a

possession of four years. But they never again returned to their former seats; Adolphus, in the character of a Roman general, led his troops against the invaders and the usurpers of southern Gaul; and his authority was speedily acknowledged from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. A marriage into the royal house of Theodosius also contributed to give him consequence. Placidia, the daughter of that monarch by Galla, had been detained in the Gothic camp since the period of the first siege of Rome by Alaric; and, though the court of Honorius rejected with disdain Adolphus's proposals of marriage, and insisted on her restitution, the princess herself was less haughty, and she readily gave her hand to the brave and handsome monarch of the Goths.

Count Heraclian, who had been loyal to Honorius when his cause seemed nearly hopeless, became a rebel when Italy was delivered of the Goths. He assumed the purple, (413,) and, embarking a numerous army in a large fleet, sailed from Africa, and entered the Tiber. But, as he was on the road to Rome, he was met and defeated by one of the imperial generals, and he fled back to Africa in a single ship. He sought refuge in the temple of Memory, at Carthage, whence he was taken and beheaded.

It would be tedious were we to relate the actions and deaths of Constantine, of Maximus, Jovinus, Sebastian, and others, who at this period aimed at empire in Gaul and Spain, and perished in the attempt. We therefore pass them over in silence, and proceed to relate the conquest of Spain by the Goths.

The fruitful and wealthy provinces of Spain had, in consequence of its position, been strangers to war for the last four centuries, with the exception of the irruption of the Germans in the time of Gallienus; it was now to suffer in common with the rest of the empire. The barbarians who had passed the Rhine in 406, had reached the foot of the Pyrenees, and the barbarian mercenaries, called Honorians, to whom the usurper Constantine had committed the passes of those mountains, turning traitors to their trust, admitted the confederate Germans and Alans into the heart of Spain, (409.) Rapine and devastation traversed the land from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gades; and when Spain had thus been exhausted of its strength and wealth, the conquerors set down, resolved to occupy it permanently. The Suevians and Vandals settled in the north; the Alans spread over the central region from sea to sea; a branch of the Vandals took posses-

sion of Bætica. They were not, however, suffered to remain long undisturbed. Adolphus, covetous of military fame, readily accepted the task of recovering Spain for the empire. He led his Goths through the Pyrenees, (414,) and surprised the city of Barcelona. His career of victory, however, was cut short ere long (Aug. 415) by the dagger of an assassin; and Singaric, a brother of Sarus, was placed on the vacant throne. The six children of Adolphus by a former marriage were put to death, and Placidia was treated as a slave by this tyrant. But *he* also perished by assassination on the seventh day of his reign, and the choice of the nation gave the throne to a chief named Wallia. Within the space of four years, this valiant warrior restored Spain to the empire; and he then (419) repassed the Pyrenees, and fixed his royal residence at Toulouse, ruling the country from the Loire to the confines of Spain.

When the Goths were thus established in the south and west of France, the Burgundians obtained permanent possession of the Upper Germany, and their name remains in its modern appellation. The Lower Germany was at the same time occupied by the Franks. Armorica, or the north-west portion of Gaul, and the island of Britain, being left to their own resources, assumed an attitude of independence.

In this condition of his empire, that most feeble and contemptible of princes, Honorius, emperor of the West, died (423) of dropsy, after an inglorious reign of twenty-eight years.

Valentinian III.

A. U. 117—61208. A. D. 423—455.

Honorius died childless; but the western branch of the line of Theodosius did not expire with him. Placidia, whom we have seen treated with such indignity after the death of her husband, had been redeemed for 600,000 measures of wheat; and her brother had obliged her to give her hand to a brave and faithful general, named Constantius, by whom she had two children, a daughter named Honoria, and a son Valentinian. At her impulsion, Constantius claimed and obtained the title of Augustus, and a share in the empire; but he died shortly after, and, by the intrigues of a steward and a nurse, enmity was excited between the emperor and his sister, to whom he had been hitherto most fondly attached. As the

Gothic soldiers took the part of their queen, and the city of Ravenna was filled with tumult, Placidia was induced to retire from the scene. She went to the court of Byzantium, where she was most kindly received by the reigning emperor, Theodosius II.; and when, a few months after, intelligence arrived of the death of Honorius, the Eastern monarch prepared to assert by arms the claim of her son to the vacant throne, which had been occupied by John, the Primicerius, or principal secretary of the late emperor.

It was some time before the troops of the East were in readiness to attempt the conquest of Italy. At length (425) they set forth; Aquileia was surprised, and one of the Eastern commanders, who had been made a prisoner and carried into Ravenna, having contrived to gain over the garrison, the usurper was seized and beheaded. Though Theodosius might have asserted his claim to the whole empire, he contented himself with the addition of western Illyricum to his dominions, and he caused his young cousin, Valentinian, to be invested with the monarchy of the West. A marriage, which afterwards took place, was agreed on, Valentinian being to espouse, when of suitable age, Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius. As the young monarch was now only six years old, the government of himself and his empire naturally fell into the hands of his mother, and she retained her power for a space of five-and-twenty years.

The armies of the West were commanded by two able men, Boniface and Ætius. The former, who held the government of Africa, had been at all times attached to the cause of Placidia; the latter, who was of barbaric origin, had joined the late usurper, and had even brought a force of 60,000 Huns as far as the confines of Italy, to his aid, when he heard of his fate. Having negotiated a treaty for the retreat of the barbarians, he entered the service of Valentinian; and he soon gained great influence over the mind of Placidia. This influence he employed for the destruction of his rival. He secretly persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface from his government, and he at the same time advised Boniface to refuse obedience, assuring him that his death was intended. Boniface fell into the trap laid for him. He armed in his defence, and repelled the first attacks made on him; but feeling that he could not long resist single-handed, he sent to propose an alliance to the king of the Vandals, (428.)

When the Goths recovered Spain for Honorius, the Suevians and Vandals still remained unsubdued in Galicia.

Dissension soon broke out between them; the Vandals prevailed; but, on the approach of an imperial army, they broke up, and marched for Bætica, and, having there defeated a superior force of Romans and Goths, they became masters of the entire province, which has derived from them its name of Andalusia.

The king of the Vandals at this time was named Genseric. He is described as of middle stature, slow of speech, a contemner of luxury, prone to anger, covetous of gain, skilled in gaining nations and in sowing dissensions among his enemies. In the May of 429, he embarked his troops in vessels furnished by Boniface and the Spaniards, and crossed the Straits of Gades. His whole force, composed of Vandals, Alans, Goths, and others, did not exceed 50,000 men; but he easily induced the Moors to unite with him, and the persecuted Donatists regarded as a deliverer the Christian, though not orthodox, Genseric. Boniface, when too late, saw the error he had committed; the letters of Ætius being shown and compared, in an interview between him and an envoy sent from court, he discovered the fraud of which he had been the victim, and he resolved to return to his allegiance; and when Genseric refused to evacuate the country, he led out his troops and gave him battle. But he met with a total defeat, (430;) the whole country, far and wide, was now exposed to the ravages of the Vandals, and the cities of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, alone remained to the empire. In this last, the modern Bona, Count Boniface shut himself up, and held it for fourteen months against the Vandals. At length, (431,) being reënfined by troops from the East, he marched out and gave them battle, but again met with a total defeat. Giving now all up for lost, he got on shipboard, and sailed for Italy. Placidia received him with favor, and raised him to high rank; but Ætius, who was in Gaul, soon appeared with a body of barbarians. The quarrel between the rivals was decided by arms, (432;) victory declared for Boniface, but he received a mortal wound in the conflict. Ætius was proclaimed a rebel; he sought refuge with the Huns, and the empire thus remained without a general. Nevertheless, the progress of Genseric, retarded by other means, was slow. Cirta and Carthage still held out; and it was not till the tenth year after his landing in Africa, (439,) that the latter was taken, and that by surprise, not force.

Ætius did not long remain in exile. Supported by the

arms of 60,000 Huns, he was soon able to dictate his own terms to the empress Placidia, and, with the title of Patrician and the command of the entire army, he in effect governed the empire, which he alone was able to preserve from ruin. He still kept up an intercourse with the Huns; he was on terms of friendship with their king, in whose camp his son was educated; he employed Huns in the defence of Gaul, and he placed colonies of Alans in the territories of Valens and Orleans.

The monarch of the Huns at this time was the mighty Attila. His power was obeyed from the banks of the Rhine to far beyond the Volga; the Scandinavian peninsula is said to have yielded him tribute; his possessions extended southwards fifteen days' journey below the Danube; the empire of the East, which he had ravaged to the very gates of Constantinople, paid him an annual subsidy; and all the influence of Ætius had been unable to preserve that of the West from a similar degradation.

Genseric, menaced by both empires, had sought the alliance of the potent monarch of the Huns; and it was at his instigation that Attila had invaded the Eastern empire, and thus obliged an expedition destined for Africa to be recalled. The same artful prince was the cause of the Hunnish hordes being poured into the Western empire. The occasion was as follows:

The successor of Wallia on the throne of the Visigoths was Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric, a prince of considerable ability and vigor. Ambitious to extend his dominions, he laid siege to the city of Arles; but Ætius hastened to its defence, and the Goths were forced to retire with loss. Shortly after, Count Litorius, a Roman general, advanced at the head of an army of Huns to the very gates of Toulouse; but his rashness brought on him a total defeat and personal captivity. Ætius soon appeared with a powerful force; an instant engagement was expected, but the generals on both sides were prudent, and a treaty of amity was concluded, (439.) Theodoric thenceforth devoted himself to the promotion of the welfare of his subjects, and he became universally loved and respected. He had six sons and two daughters; the two latter were married, the one to the son of the king of the Suevians in Spain, the other to Hunneric, the eldest son of Genseric. But, high as she stood in birth and alliance, the Goth c princess was doomed to be the victim of tyranny.

Genseric, suspecting that she had conspired to poison him, cut off her nose and ears, and sent her back thus mutilated to her father. Theodoric resolved to avenge her injuries; the Romans agreed to supply him with ships, arms, and money, and he was preparing for the invasion of Africa, when Genseric once more called on Attila for aid, and the storm was again diverted.

It is also said that Attila was incited to arms by a Roman lady of royal descent. Honoria, the sister of Valentinian, had had an intrigue with her chamberlain Eugenius. When the consequences of her frailty became apparent, her mother sent her away to Constantinople, and caused her to be immured in a nunnery. Hating a life of celibacy and restraint, Honoria despatched a trusty eunuch to Attila, with a ring as the pledge of her affection. Attila accepted the gift, and he sent to demand the princess and a share of the empire. His demand was of course refused; and Honoria was sent back to Italy, where the ceremony of her marriage with some obscure person having been performed, she was shut up in prison for the rest of her days.

Urged by the various claimants for his aid, Attila moved from his royal village in the plains of Hungary, (451.) Divisions of all his subject nations marched beneath his banner. He crossed the Rhine at its confluence with the Neckar, and poured his hordes over the plains of Belgium and France. The celestial aid of saints or the strength of fortifications preserved Troyes and Paris, but other towns and cities were taken and plundered without mercy, and the Hunnish monarch at length pitched his tents beneath the walls of Orleans, which Sangiban, king of the Alans, had engaged to betray. But the plot was discovered, the attacks of the Huns were repelled, and at the sight of the banners of Ætius and Theodoric, who were marching to its relief, the prudent Hun drew off his troops, and retired to the plains of Champagne, which were better adapted for the operations of cavalry.

Ætius, aided by the eloquence of the senator Avitus, had succeeded in inducing Theodoric, whose first plan had been to await the invaders within his own territories, to share in the common defence of Gaul. The Burgundians, the Salian Franks, the Saxons, Alans, Armoricans, and others, had also been prevailed on to aid the common cause; and at the head of a host composed of such various materials, Ætius and Theodoric prepared to engage the host of Attila.

The armies encountered on the plains of Châlons. Attila, with his Huns, occupied the centre of his line; the Rugians, Herulans, Franks, Burgundians, and others, were ranged on each side of them; the right wing was formed by the Gepidians, the left by the Ostrogoths. On the side of the allies, Sangiban and his Alans were placed in the centre, where they might be watched. Ætius commanded on the left, Theodoric on the right. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. The Huns easily pierced through the yielding centre, and then directed their whole force against the Visigoths; and Theodoric, as he was cheering his men, fell by the javelin of an Ostrogothic chief. But his son Torrismond, who was stationed on an adjacent eminence, when he saw the Visigoths yielding, hastened to restore the battle, and Attila was forced to retreat. The approach of night saved his troops from a total defeat; they secured themselves within their wagon-fence, and Attila caused a pile to be made of saddles and horse-furniture, determined to fire it, and rush into the flames if his camp should be forced. But the dread of the valor inspired by despair withheld the allies from the attack; and Ætius also feared the power of the Goths, if the Huns should be destroyed. He therefore prevailed on Torrismond to be content with the vengeance already exacted for the fate of his father, and return to Toulouse to secure his throne. The allies broke up and retired, and Attila was allowed to repass the Rhine unmolested.

The policy of Ætius, in thus dismissing the Huns, was fatal to the empire. In the following spring, (452,) Attila again claimed the princess Honoria and her treasures, and, meeting again with a refusal, he advanced and laid siege to Aquileia. After a siege of three months, this important city was carried by assault. All the cities north of the Po surrendered or were taken. Ætius in vain sought to retard the myriads of the barbarians; the timid Valentinian fled to Rome, and an embassy composed of Leo, the bishop of that city, and two eminent senators, was sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila, who now lay encamped on the shores of the Lake Benacus. Attila was superstitious; when he was reminded that Alaric had not long survived the taking of Rome, he secretly shuddered at the omen; and he consented, on receiving an immense sum under the name of the dowry of the princess Honoria, to evacuate Italy. He retired threatening dreadful vengeance if the princess were not

delivered to his ambassador ; but in the following year, (453,) having drunk too freely on the night of his adding another maiden to his harem, he burst a vessel in his lungs, and was suffocated in his own blood. His funeral was celebrated with magnificence, after the usage of his nation. His mighty empire fell to pieces, and the Huns ceased to be formidable.

Valentinian, worthless and dissolute, instead of viewing in Ætius the saviour of his empire, feared and hated him with all the rancor of a petty mind. The son of Ætius was betrothed to the emperor's daughter ; and when, one day, (454,) in the palace his father was urging the immediate marriage, Valentinian drew his sword for the first time in his life, and plunged it into the general's bosom ; the eunuchs and others hastened to follow his example, and Ætius expired pierced by a hundred wounds. His principal friends were summoned separately to the palace before the event could be known, and all were murdered. The loss of Ætius was universally deplored, and the contempt in which the emperor had been held was converted into abhorrence. "I know not your motives and provocations," said a Roman whom he asked to approve the deed ; "I only know that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left."

The feeble emperor did not long survive his able general. Among his other vices, Valentinian was addicted to gaming. He won, one day, a large sum of money from a wealthy senator named Petronius Maximus, on whose chaste and beautiful wife he had long cast an eye of lust. As Maximus had not the money about him, the emperor exacted his ring from him by way of security ; and he forthwith sent it to his wife, with an order, in her husband's name, to wait on the empress Eudoxia. The lady, on arriving at the palace, was led into a private apartment ; Valentinian soon entered, and extorted by force the favors which she would not yield to solicitation. Her tears and her reproaches when she reached home excited Maximus to vengeance. Two of the guards who had been attached to Ætius readily consented to be his instruments, and, as Valentinian was viewing some military sports in the Field of Mars, they rushed on him, and stabbed him, none of those present offering to resist them, (March 16, 455.)

Maximus, Aвитus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus.

A. U. 1208—1229. A. D. 455—476.

The revenge of Maximus may have been stimulated by ambition, for he became the successor of the destroyer of his honor; but the happiness, of which he had enjoyed a large portion when in a private station, departed the moment he mounted a throne, and he was heard to exclaim, in reference to a well-known story, "O fortunate Damocles! thy reign began and ended with the same dinner."*

Maximus married his son to the daughter of the late emperor, and, as his wife died opportunely, he forced the reluctant empress Eudoxia to give her hand to himself. In an unguarded hour he revealed to her the secret of his share in the death of her former husband; and Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian, worthless and faithless as he was, resolved to avenge him. She sent a secret invitation to Genseric, and ere long a fleet bearing a numerous army of Vandals and Moors entered the Tiber. Maximus hastened to fly from the city; but the moment he appeared in the streets, he was assailed by a shower of stones; a soldier gave him his first wound, and his mangled body was flung into the Tiber, (June 12.) His reign had not lasted quite two months.

As Genseric was approaching the city, he was met by a procession of the clergy headed by the bishop Leo. The bold and eloquent prelate, who had turned away the wrath of Attila, was able also to mitigate the ferocity of Genseric, who promised to spare the people and the buildings of Rome. But this promise was little more than illusory. Rome was delivered to pillage for a space of fourteen days: churches, temples, and private houses, were plundered alike, and thousands of captives, among whom were the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, were embarked for Africa. This calamity gave occasion to a noble display of genuine Christian feeling in Deogratias, bishop of Carthage. He con-

* [Damocles, having declared Dionysius of Sicily the happiest man on earth, was, by him, induced to try the happiness of royalty. No sooner had he mounted the throne, than he saw a sword hanging by a single hair just over his head: he was glad to yield his place immediately. — J. T. S.]

verted two large churches into hospitals, and himself attended most assiduously to the sick among the unhappy captives.

Maximus had committed the command of the troops in Gaul to the senator Avitus, a native of Auvergne, who, after passing thirty years of his life in the public service, had retired to the enjoyment of private life. Avitus was at Toulouse negotiating a treaty with Theodoric, who by the murder of his brother Torrismond had occupied the Gothic throne, when he received intelligence of the death of Maximus. The prospect of empire attracted him; the Goths gave him their suffrage; an assemblage of the provinces of Gaul at Arles elected him, (Aug. 15;) the people of Italy submitted to him, and the emperor of the East acknowledged him.

While the new emperor proceeded to Rome, Theodoric, as his general, crossed the Pyrenees to recover Spain, which had nearly all fallen under the power of the Suevians. His success was complete; he effectually broke the Suevian might, and he captured and put to death his brother-in-law, their king. But meantime Avitus had ceased to reign. The Romans disliked him as a foreigner, and Count Ricimer, a Goth, one of the commanders of the barbarian troops, having acquired fame by a victory over a Vandal fleet off Corsica, took advantage of it, and ordered Avitus to resign his dignity. He obeyed, (Oct. 16, 456,) and was made bishop of Placentia. But the senate voted his death; and he died or was murdered as he was on his way to secure himself in his native province.

Ricimer, who, as being a barbarian by birth, could not himself mount the throne, governed Italy for some months under the title of Patrician. He then (457) bestowed the purple on his intimate friend Majorian, a man of primitive Roman virtue, who, in the words of the historian Procopius,* "excelled in every virtue all who had ever reigned over the Romans." To restore the state to its former strength by the abolition of abuses, was the great object of this excellent man, and he made, with this view, many wise and salutary regulations. But the course of decline is not to be stopped; and the reformer Majorian became an object of aversion to the degenerate Romans.

Majorian, who was a warrior as well as a statesman, resolved to achieve the conquest of Africa, and destroy the do-

* De Bell. Vandal. i. 7.

minion of the Vandals. As it was only among the barbarians that soldiers were now to be found, he enlisted troops from among the nations north of the Alps. He defeated Theodoric in battle, and, having reunited the greater part of Gaul and Spain to the empire, he assembled, in the port of Carthage, a fleet of three hundred ships, with a large number of transports, for the invasion of Africa. It is said that he even ventured to appear as his own ambassador at Carthage, having changed the color of his hair.* But treachery rendered all his preparations unavailing. Guided by secret intelligence, Genseric succeeded in destroying the imperial fleet in the harbor, and Majorian was forced to consent to a treaty. He returned to Italy to carry on his plans of reformation, and to prepare for future war; but a sedition, fomented by Ricimer, broke out in the camp near Tortona, at the foot of the Alps, and Majorian was forced to abdicate. Five days after, (Aug. 7, 461,) he died, as was said, of a dysentery.

Ricimer, whose object was to reign under the name of another, resolved not to commit again the error of selecting a man of virtue and energy: his choice therefore fell on Severus, a man so obscure, that even his origin is hardly known; and for a space of more than five years he governed Italy (almost all that remained of the empire) under the name of his puppet. But Marcellinus, who commanded in Dalmatia, disdaining to submit to him, held that province in independence; and Egidius, a general of much ability, maintained his dominion over nearly the whole of Gaul. Meantime the piratic squadrons of Genseric ravaged the coasts of Italy, and Ricimer was forced to seek, as a suppliant, aid from the court of Byzantium.

Arcadius, who died in the year 408, had been succeeded by his son Theodosius II., a child of seven years of age; but during the reign of this prince, who was more conspicuous for piety than for the regal virtues, the empire was in reality governed by his sister Pulcheria, the only one of the descendants of the great Theodosius who inherited any portion of his talents. On his death, (450,) Pulcheria was proclaimed empress. She had, after the fashionable superstition of that age, made a vow of perpetual virginity; but, aware of the prejudices to which her sex was exposed, she selected as her

* Procopius, *ut supra*.

nominal husband a respectable senator named Marcian, a man now sixty years old, and made him her colleague in the empire. Marcian survived his wife; and on his death, (457,) the patrician Asper, who was in the East what Ricimer was in the West, conferred the vacant dignity on Leo, the steward of his household, who proved himself to be a monarch of ability and energy, and scorned to be the mere puppet of the patrician.

It was to this emperor that Ricimer made application for aid against the Vandals. Assistance was promised on condition of the West receiving an emperor chosen by the court of Byzantium. Ricimer accepted the terms, and the person selected (467) was Anthemius, the son-in-law of the late emperor Marcian. On his arrival at Rome, (Apr. 12,) Anthemius gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer. Marcellinus readily acknowledged the new emperor, and accepted a command in the expedition prepared against the Vandals. Vigorous exertions were made by both empires; and in the following year, (468,) while the troops of the West under Marcellinus were recovering the isles of the Mediterranean, an army from Egypt moved westwards, and a fleet of 1100 ships, carrying upwards of 100,000 men, sailed from the Hellespont, and entered the Bay of Carthage. Its commander, Basiliscus, the brother of Leo's empress, was, however, utterly devoid of talent or experience. Instead of marching at once against the capital, he listened to the insidious proposals of Genseric, till the crafty Vandal, taking advantage of a change in the wind, sent, in the night, fire-ships among the imperial vessels. Basiliscus fled to Constantinople, after the loss of one half of his fleet and troops. Marcellinus was assassinated in Sicily; and that island fell into the hands of Genseric, whose fleets now met nowhere with resistance.

Unity did not long continue between Anthemius and his haughty son-in-law. Ricimer quitted Rome, (471,) and fixed his abode at Milan. Italy was on the point of being the scene of a civil war, when the mediation of the bishop of Pavia succeeded in averting it. But the delay was brief, for the next year (472) Ricimer encamped with his army on the banks of the Anio, where he was joined by the man whom he had selected for the purple, Olybrius, a noble Roman, the husband of Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian III. Rome, after standing a siege of three months, was taken by storm and pillaged. Anthemius was put to death by order of his

ruthless son-in-law, who followed him to the tomb within forty days, (Aug. 20,) being cut off in the midst of his triumph by a painful disorder. Olybrius himself was carried off by death only two months later, (Oct. 23.)

The court of Byzantium, after some delay, bestowed the sceptre of the West on Julius Nepos, the nephew of Marcelinus. But meantime, Gundobald, a Burgundian, who had succeeded his uncle Ricimer in the command of his army, had invested a soldier named Glycerius with the imperial purple. Gundobald, however, having departed to assert his claim to the kingdom of Burgundy, Glycerius did not feel himself strong enough to maintain a contest for the empire, and he retired and became bishop of Salona. Nepos, after a brief reign of less than three years, (475,) on the occasion of a revolt of the barbarian troops, abandoned the empire, and fled to his principality in Dalmatia.

These barbarians in the Roman pay were termed Confederates; they were drawn from various nations, of which the principal were the Herulans, Alans, Turcilingans, and Rugians. Their commander was Orestes, a Pannonian by birth, who had been secretary to Attila. On the death of that monarch, he had entered the Roman service; and Nepos had raised him to the dignity of Patrician, and given him the command of the army. By his artful conduct, Orestes gained the troops over to his interest, and at his impulsion they rose against Nepos. From some unknown motive, Orestes, though not a barbarian, did not himself assume the purple. He conferred it (476) on his son, named Romulus Augustus, or, as he is usually called, Augustulus, under whose name he preferred to reign. But his power was of brief duration; his barbarian soldiers, excited by the example of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, where they had acquired permanent landed possessions, insisted on a third part of the lands of Italy being divided among them. Orestes gave a prompt refusal. One of the commanders, named Odoacer, then proposed to his comrades to unite under him, and they would soon, he assured them, make the patrician yield to their demands. Forthwith they flocked from all parts to the standard of Odoacer. Orestes shut himself up in Pavia; but the town was taken by storm, and he was put to death by the victors. His son, on laying down his purple, was allowed to retire to the villa of Lucullus in Campania, with an annual pension of 6,000 pieces of gold. Odoacer took the title of king of Italy, under

which he reigned for a space of eighteen years, when his dominion was overthrown by the Ostrogoths.

The empire of the West was now at an end. The parts of which it had been composed were never again united; they each formed a separate and independent state. In all, the government and the lands were held by the German conquerors. We will briefly notice these new states.

After the defeat and death of Odoacer, the Ostrogoths retained possession of Italy for a term of seventy-five years, when (568) their power was overthrown by the Langobards, or Lombards, whose dominion lasted for two centuries.

The Vandals retained possession of Africa till about the middle of the sixth century, when they were conquered by the great Belisarius, the general of Justinian, emperor of the East. Africa remained part of the Eastern empire till it was conquered by the Arabs in the following century.

The Visigoths obtained possession of the entire Spanish peninsula, which they retained till the period of the invasion of the Arabs. Their dominions in the south of France were all, excepting a small portion, reduced by Clovis, the first king of the Franks.

The Burgundians and Alemans had founded states in Switzerland, the east of France, and along the Rhine; but, like the Goths, they were successively reduced, and obliged to acknowledge the dominion of Clovis the Frank. Nearly the whole of France obeyed this able prince; but at his death (511) his dominions were divided among his four sons.

In the reign of Valentinian III. the Roman troops had been withdrawn from Britain. The unwarlike inhabitants, unable to defend themselves against the savage Caledonians, called to their aid (449) the Saxon chiefs Hengist and Horsa. Their allies became their enemies, and in a short time the greater part of the island was conquered by the Saxons and their kindred tribes.

We thus have witnessed the rise and progress, the decline and fall, of that mighty empire, which, commencing in a village on the banks of the Tiber, finally made the Ocean and the Euphrates its boundaries. Its fall was in the order of Nature, which has set limits to all things human; but it is not unworthy of remark that, at the time when the Roman repub-

lic was at the very height of its power, the Tuscan augurs ventured to foretell the period of Roman dominion. According to the rules of their art, they inferred that the twelve vultures seen by Romulus, denoted the twelve centuries of rule assigned to his city by the decrees of Heaven. The accomplishment of that prophecy is a curious fact; but history contains many such coincidences. The rise of Rome is one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the annals of the world; its fall was an ordinary event, and contains nothing to excite surprise. The Roman empire, as left by Augustus, embraced the whole civilization of the West, while on all its confines dwelt poor but brave and energetic nations, eager, when an occasion should offer, to rush in and seize its wealth. It was only therefore by the conservation of the military spirit, by which it had been acquired, that it could be retained; but we have seen how early and how totally this spirit became extinct. When the nobles and men of property were immersed in luxury and sensual indulgence; when the country was depopulated or filled only with slaves, the cities thronged with an idle, beggarly, turbulent population, vigorous only for evil; when the provincials were so beaten to the earth by excessive taxation, that the rule of barbarian conquerors was looked to as an alleviation; when the noble, elevating, soul-expanding religion of the gospel had been degraded by Oriental asceticism into a slavish, enervating superstition; when, finally, the defence of the empire against the barbarians was intrusted to the barbarians themselves, — its fall was assured. A new order of things was to arise out of the union of German energy with Roman civilization, from which, after a series of many centuries, were to result the social institutions of modern Europe, the colonization of the most distant regions of the earth, and the mighty political events which yet lie hidden in the womb of Time.

APPENDIX.

A. Page 1. — AUTHORITIES.

Dion Cassius wrote the history of Rome, from the foundation of the city to his own consulate, in the reign of Alexander Severus. Of this work the first books exist only in fragments, and the portion from the reign of Claudius to the end only in the Epitome of the modern Greek Xiphilius. For the period from the death of M. Aurelius to the end, Dion is a contemporary authority.

Velleius Paterculus was the contemporary of Augustus and Tiberius, (see above, p. 115;) the second book of his history extends from the Viriathian war, B. C. 148, to the death of Livia Augusta, A. D. 29.

Tacitus lived in the period from Nero to Trajan, both inclusive. His Annals, in sixteen books, extended from the death of Augustus to that of Nero. Of these, the part of the fifth book containing the fall of Sejanus, the seventh to the tenth, and part of the eleventh, to A. D. 47, and the end of the sixteenth, are lost. The greater portion of his Histories, which extended from the death of Nero to that of Domitian, has also perished. They end with the conference between Cerialis and Civilis, (above, p. 150.)

Suetonius Tranquillus, the contemporary of Tacitus, (above, p. 167,) has left minute biographies of the Cæsars from C. Julius Cæsar to Domitian, inclusive.

Herodian was the contemporary of Dion Cassius, to whom, as an historian, he is much inferior. His work extends from the death of M. Aurelius to the reign of Gordian. Gibbon calls him "an elegant" historian, and, to a certain extent, he is such; but he is feeble, negligent, devoid of political wisdom, and utterly careless of chronology. He reminds us more of Dionysius Halicarnassensis than of Thucydides.

The Augustan History consists of a series of lives of all the emperors and tyrants or aspirants to empire, from Hadrian to Carus and his sons. The authors are Ælius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. As writers, none of them possess any merit; but they may claim some praise on account of the letters and other original documents which they have preserved.

Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek by birth, wrote in Latin. His object seems to have been to be the continuator of Tacitus; for his work, which extended from the accession of Nerva to the death of Valens, commenced where Tacitus had ended. Of the thirty-one books of which his work originally consisted, the first thirteen are lost; the fourteenth commences with the account of the conduct of the Cæsar

Gallus, in the reign of Constantius. Ammianus is a judicious, honest and impartial historian, but his style is inflated and disagreeable.

Zosimus wrote in Greek about the time of the fall of the Western empire. His work, of which only six books remain, after a sketch of the history of the emperors from Augustus to Diocletian, relates public events in detail thence to the attack on the Goths by Sarus, (above, p. 420.) The remainder of the work is lost, as also are the end of the first and commencement of the second books, which contained the reign of Diocletian. Zosimus was a pagan, and he is inveterately hostile to Constantine and the Christian emperors.

The Epitomators are, in Greek, Zonaras; in Latin, Eutropius, Festus Rufus, Aurelius Victor, and Orosius. The first of these was a modern Greek monk, who wrote a Chronicle in 18 books, which extends from the Creation to the death of the Byzantine emperor John Alexius. Eutropius, who had been secretary to Constantine, and had shared in Julian's expedition to Persia, wrote, for the use of the emperor Valens, an epitome of the Roman history, from Romulus to the death of Jovian. His work was continued by the Lombard historian, Paulus Diaconus. A similar epitome, embracing the same period, was addressed to Valentinian by Festus Rufus. Under the name of Aurelius Victor, the contemporary of Ammianus, we possess two short pieces; the one, *De Cesaribus*, containing brief notices of the emperors, from Augustus to Julian; the other, the *Epitome*, similar notices of all, from Augustus to Theodosius. The History of Orosius, a Christian presbyter, extends from the Creation to Wallia, the Visigoth king, (above p. 422.)

The Panegyricists, Mamertinus, Eumenius, Nazarius, pronounced laudatory discourses before the emperors Maximian, Constantine, and Constantius. Mamertinus the younger delivered the eulogium of Julian Ausonius, that of Gratian and Pacatus, and that of Theodosius. These laudatory effusions contain many facts of which we find no account elsewhere. It is to be observed that their authors were all born and brought up in Gaul. The modern French have retained the custom of pronouncing *éloges*.

The Ecclesiastical historians also furnish many events to civil history. Eusebius wrote a life of Constantine. The history of Socrates extends from the conversion of that emperor to the 17th consulate of Theodosius II.; that of Sozomen, from the same event to the death of Honorius; that of Theodoret, from the rise of Arianism to Theodosius II., with whose reign the history of Evagrius commences, and extends into the sixth century. The history of the Arian Philostorgius, of which only fragments remain, extended from the rise of Arianism to the reign of Valentinian III.

The Chronologists, Eusebius Cassiodorus, Jerome, Idatius, and others, supply occasional historic facts; so also do the writings of the contemporary Fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, etc. In like manner, the poets Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Prudentius, and the sophists, such as Libanius, are at times historic authorities.

For the affairs of the Goths, their national historian Jornandes is often our best guide.

On looking over this list of authorities, it will be seen that the important reigns of Trajan and Diocletian are those for which we have the least materials: for the former, we have only the Panegyric of Pliny, Xiphilin's epitome of Dion, and the Epitomators; for the latter, only these last.

C. Page 14. — THE GERMAN TRIBES.

The following trans-Rhine German tribes and nations are mentioned in the preceding History. The seats assigned them are either those where they were first found, or where they subsequently settled.

Frisians. In West Friesland, Gröningen, and north part of Over-Yssel.

Chaucans. Along the coast, from the Ems to the Elbe in East Friesland, Oldenburg, and Bremen.

Langobards, (i. e. Longbeards.) West of the Elbe in Luneburg and Alt-Mark.

Rugians. On the Oder, in Pomerania.

Burgundians. Original seats between the Oder and the Vistula, in the Netz district.

Vandals. North side of the Riesengebürg and Lausitz.

Herulans. Upper Hungary.

Bructerans. To the south of the Frisians, between the Saal and the Ems.

Sicambrians. Along the Rhine, from Emmerich to the Sieg; eastwards to the Bructerans; part of Cleves and adjoining states.

Angrivarians. South of the Chaucans, along the Ems.

Chamarans. From the south of the Angrivarians to the Lippe.

Usipetans. South of the Lippe.

Tencterans. South of the Usipetans; on the Rhine, about Cologne and Bonn.

Cherusans. In and on both sides of the Hartz forest.

Chattans. South of the Cherusans, in Hesse, Fulda, Nassau, and parts of Franconia and Westphalia.

Alemans, (i. e. All-men.) Along the Rhine, from the Main to the Neckar.

Suevians. Under this general name are included the Quadans, Marcomans, and other nations. The proper Suevians seem to have inhabited the modern Suabia.

Marcomans, (i. e. March-men, or Borderers.) In Bohemia, and southwards.

Quadans. Along the Danube, from the Gran into Austria and Mo-

RAVIA.



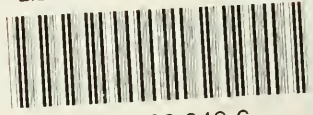
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