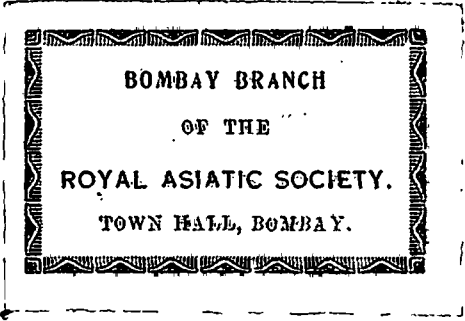


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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM

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AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

BY JOHN BAPTIST LEWIS CREVIER,
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC, IN THE COLLEGE OF BEAUVAIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY JOHN MILL, ESQ.



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*List of the Consuls Names, and of the Years comprehended
in this Volume.*

Sex. Pompeius.	A. R. 765.	Cn. Len. Getulicus.	A. R. 777.
Sex. Apuleius.	aft. C. 14.	C. Calvisius.	aft. C. 26.
Drusus Cesar.	A. R. 766.	M. Licin. Crassus.	A. R. 778.
C. Norb. Flaccus.	aft. C. 15.	L. Calpurnius Piso.	aft. C. 27.
T. Statilius Sisenna	A. R. 767.	Ap. Junius Silanus.	A. R. 779.
Taurus.	aft. C. 16.	P. Silius Nerva.	aft. C. 28.
L. Scribonius Libo.		C. Rub. Geminus.	A. R. 780.
C. Coelius Rufus.	A. R. 768.	C. Rufius Geminus.	aft. C. 29.
L. Pomponius Flac-	aft. C. 17.	M. Vinicius.	A. R. 781.
cus.		L. Cas. Longinus.	aft. C. 30.
Ti. Cæsar Augus-	A. R. 769.	Tiberius Cæsar Au-	
tus, III.	aft. C. 18.	gustus, V.	A. R. 782.
German. Cæsar, II.		L. Ælius Sejanus.	aft. C. 31.
M. Junius Silanus.		Cn. Domitius Abe-	
L. Norbanus Balbus	A. R. 770.	nobarbus.	A. R. 783.
Flaccus.	aft. C. 19.	M. Furius Camillus	aft. C. 32.
M. Val. Messala.	A. R. 771.	Scribonianus.	
M. Aurelius Cotta.	aft. C. 20.	Ser. Sulp. Galba.	A. R. 784.
Tiberius Cæsar Au-	A. R. 772.	L. Cornelius Sylla.	aft. C. 33.
gustus, IV.	aft. C. 21.	P. Fabius Persicus.	A. R. 785.
Drusus Cæsar, II.		L. Vitellius.	aft. C. 34.
C. Sulp. Galba.	A. R. 773.	C. Cestius Gallus.	A. R. 786.
D. Hat. Agrippa.	aft. C. 22.	M. Servilius Rufus.	aft. C. 35.
C. Asinius.	A. R. 774.	Q. Plautius.	A. R. 787.
C. Antistius.	aft. C. 23.	Sex. Papinius.	aft. C. 36.
Ser. Cornelius Ce-	A. R. 775.	Cn. Acer. Proculus.	A. R. 788.
thegus.	aft. C. 24.	C. Pont. Nigrinus.	aft. C. 37.
L. Visellius Varro.			
Coss. Cor. Lentulus.	A. R. 776.		
M. Asinius Agrippa.	aft. C. 25.		

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

T I B E R I U S,

BOOK IV.

SECT. I.

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vent him by a bloody execution of the most criminal. Short and happy expedition against the Germans. Tiberius's joy tempered with disquiet.

TIBERIUS is perhaps the strongest evidence there ever was of the truth of that important maxim, that every good quality and talent is useless, nay even pernicious and fatal, when joined to a bad heart. He came to the sovereign power with a genius for business, a vast penetration; a perfect knowledge of the true maxims of government, a consummate experience, and great military skill and valour. What was there wanting to constitute a good and great prince? nothing but a good heart to second his abilities. This sole want made him a tyrant, and the detestation of his cotemporaries and all posterity.

Nor ever did man merit more this notorious, universal hatred. For he was a bad son, a bad brother, an indifferent insensible father, and the executioner of great part of his family; so that it was a signal misfortune to have connections with, or to be too nearly related to him. Rome suffered more by him than Italy or the provinces; and in Rome the senators, whose dignity brought them near him, and the grandees, of whom many were his relations, were the principal victims of his barbarity.

This is, if I am not mistaken, the justest idea we can form of Tiberius. That dissimulation, which is commonly esteemed his characteristic, was the product of that union of a good head with a bad heart which I have observed to be in him. By the one knowing what was good, and by the other inclined to what was bad, he could

neither have the candour of an honest heart, which by shewing itself conciliates esteem and affection, nor the brutal transports of a madman whose every faculty is absorbed in vice. He was therefore constrained to make use of a continual disguise, in order to hide from the world that baseness and unworthiness, which, though he could not, he would fain have concealed from himself. But truth and nature overcame sooner or later all obstacles.

He appeared at last what he really was. Tiberius well knowing the power of modesty, lenity, and benevolence, in gaining hearts, affected at first the exterior of all these virtues. Yet this he did with so ill grace, that it was easily perceived they were not natural to him. As his power established itself, his boldness augmented, and the disguise diminished; until at last, finding no longer occasion of restraint, he gave a loose to his passions, and appeared what he was, a monster of cruelty and infamy. To unravel well so intricate a character, and to depict faithfully its opposite and often contradictory lineaments, a master-hand was necessary. And such a one has in fact undertaken it. Tiberius's history has been wrote by the best biographer of antiquity; and I shall be enabled to draw a lively picture of the government and life of this emperor by following Tacitus step by step: only I shall not always wholly espouse his sentiments, as they sometimes make the worst of men yet worse than they really were.

SEX. POMPEIUS.

A. R. 765.
A. C. 14.

SEX. APULEIUS.

I said in the preceding book, that it is uncertain whether Tiberius, who was recalled from Illy-

Illyricum to Nola by his mother's letters, found Augustus alive. What is very certain is, that when the death of the old emperor was declared, all measures had been taken to secure the reign power to his successor; and the public were at once informed of Augustus's death and Tiberius's reign. He immediately took possession of all the rights and all the state of the imperial dignity. He wrote to the armies as generalissimo and emperor; he gave the word to the pretorian cohorts; his person was environed by soldiers, and his house by centinels and corps-de-gardes; he had the same court as his predecessor, every thing shewed Tiberius was the prince and head of the empire. Having thus secured to himself the solid power, he reserved a false modesty to impose on the senate.

He issued an ordinance for the meeting of that body; but he took care to observe therein, that he acted by virtue of the tribunitial power, with which he had been invested under Augustus. The style of this ordinance was simple and cautious. He there said, that he should consult the senate about the honours to be bestowed on the memory of his father; that he kept with the corpse, and that this was the only public function he laid claim to.

But while he was talking this modest language, he gave orders for the slaughter of the unfortunate Posthumus Agrippa, who was (as I have said) in exile in the island Planasia. The centurion, charged with this bloody commission executed it not without difficulty, though Agrippa was unarmed; as the young prince, who was extremely robust, made a vigorous resistance. When this officer came, according

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

A. R. 765. to military discipline, to acquaint the emperor
aft. C. 14. that he had executed his orders, Tiberius told
him in a severe tone, that he had given him
no orders, and that he would make him give
an account of what he had done to the senate.
These were mere words. However Sallust, the
grand-nephew of the historian, who was the
minister that prepared and sent the order, was
alarmed; and being aware that, if he should be
examined before the senate, it would be equal-
ly dangerous to declare the truth or conceal it,
to accuse the emperor or take on himself so odi-
ous an action, he had recourse to * Livia, to
whom he represented, that the emperor forgot
the extent of the rights of sovereignty; that all
business was not to be brought before the senate;
that it was dangerous to submit to public ex-
amination the counsel of ministers and the obe-
dience of soldiers; and that in affairs of state
there could be no security for those the prince
employed, if they were accountable to any but
him. It was not difficult to make Tiberius re-
lish such maxims, who was but too full of them:
and the affair rested here. Tiberius even alter-
ed his language, and to avoid entering into any
discussion of the fact, alledged pretended orders
of Augustus against Agrippa. But the suppo-
sition was too gross; and only added to his first
crime a calumny against the memory of his be-
nefactor. For Augustus, whatever discontent
his relations gave him, had never the cruel re-
solution

* Monuit Liviam, ne arcana domus, ne consilia amico-
rum, ministeria militum, vulgarentur; neve Tiberius vim
principatus resolveret cuncta ad Senatum vocando. Fam
conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio, constet,
quam si uni reddatur. *Tac. Ann.* i. 6.

solution to put any of them to death : and it is altogether unlikely that, to secure the empire to his son-in-law, he should order the death of the only grandson he had left. A. R. 765.
aft. C. 14.

* At Rome all the world rushed headlong into bondage. The most illustrious men screened themselves by the greatest apparent zeal for the new government. With composed countenances, neither expressive of joy for Augustus's death, nor sorrow for Tiberius's succession, they mingled their condolences and congratulations. The consuls first swore fidelity and obedience to Tiberius Cæsar : then Seius Strabo prefect of the pretorian cohorts, and C. Turrianus superintendent of the public stores took the same oath before them ; and afterwards the senate, the troops that were in the city, and the people. Fidelity
and obedi-
ence sworn
to Tiberi-
us at
Rome.

All this was done while Tiberius was at Nola, or on his return to Rome. For he accompanied Augustus's corpse, which was brought from Nola to Bovillæ by the senators of the towns on the road. At Bovillæ, which was near the Alban mount and about ten miles from Rome, the order of knights took the body, and carried it in pomp into the city to the porch of the imperial palace, where it was deposited. Augustus's
corpse is
brought to
Rome.

The next day the senate assembled with all the extriors of grief and mourning. The senators wore not their proper habit, but that of the knights ; the magistrates were dressed as simple senators ; the consuls did not sit in their usual places, but one on the pretors bench, and the other on that of the tribunes ; and Tiberius Tiberius e-
pens the
assembly
of the se-
nate by a
speech.

* At Romæ rure in servitium Patres, Consules, Equites. Quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, ne lati excessu Principis, neu tristiores primordio, lacrymas, gaudium, questus, adulationes, miscebant. *Tac. Ann.* 1. 7

A.R. 765. us with his son Drusus were in black robes, and
 an. C. 1st without any mark of dignity.

Suet. Tib.
 23.

Tiberius opened the session by a speech, which he read, according to the custom of Augustus, and which a feigned grief often interrupted. He played his part so well, that he seemed almost suffocated by his sighs and sobs; and when he had said, that he could have wished not only that his voice, but his breath and life, had failed him on so sorrowful an occasion, he ordered his son to read the remainder.

Augustus's
will.
Tac. i. 8.
Suet. Aug.
 101. *Dion.*

Augustus's will the vestal virgins, who had it in keeping. Before it was opened, those who had put their seals thereto as witnesses re-acknowledged them; those who were senators in the senate-house, and such as not being senators had no right to come in, out of it. Polybius, the emperor's freed-man, read the will, which was dated sixteen months before Augustus's death; and by which that prince made Tiberius and Livia his heirs, one as to two-thirds, and the other as to the remainder. To this he added an odd disposition, for he adopted his wife Livia, and ordered her to take the names of Julia Augusta. We shall however continue to call her Livia, by which name she is better known in history. In default of his first heirs, Augustus appointed in the second place his grandsons and great grandsons; that is to say, Drusus for one third, and Germanicus and his three sons for the two others. In the third place he named as heirs some of the first grantees; most of whom, Tacitus is of opinion, he hated, but that he did it out of vain glory, and to make posterity honour him, as having done justice to the merit of even those with whom

whom he might have reason not to be satisfied. A.R. 765. It is to be observed, that in all these dispositions the succession to the empire is nowise concerned, they merely relating to Augustus's private fortune. aft. C. 14.

He bequeathed also by his will * forty mil-^{• 5000000} lions of sesterces to the Roman people, to be di-^{of livres.} stributed from man to man; and † three mil-^{+ 437500} lions and five hundred thousand to the tribes,^{livres.} that is, an ‡ hundred thousand to each; to his ^{‡ 12500} guards a ^{livres.} † thousand sesterces a-piece; to the ^{‡ 12500} soldiers appointed to guard the city ^{livres.} § five ^{‡ 12500} hundred sesterces a-man; and to each le- ^{§ 62} gionary soldier ^{livres.} ¶ three hundred sesterces; and ^{¶ 37} he ordered all these legacies to be immedi-^{livres.} ately paid, which was easy to be done, as he had had the precaution to provide the sums of money they amounted to. He left besides some other legacies, most of which were inconsiderable, and some so small as ** twenty thousand sesterces. ^{** 2500} He excused the mediocrity of his legacies by ^{livres.} the mediocrity of his fortune; and declared that his heirs would not inherit from him above an hundred and fifty millions of sesterces; though ¹⁹⁷⁵⁰⁰⁰⁰ in his last twenty years he had received by lega-^{livres.} cies from his friends fourteen hundred millions; ¹⁷⁵⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ but he said, he had exhausted these sums, as ^{livres.} well as the two patrimonies he had inherited from his father Octavius, and Cæsar the dicta- tor, and all other the inheritances that had fal- len to him, in the service of the republic.

He made no other mention in his will of the two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, than to forbid their being buried in his tomb.

To his will Augustus had subjoined three <sup>Three me-
memorials
joined by
Augustus
to his will</sup> memorial; the first of which contained his ^{inten-} intention.

A.R. 765. intention and orders as to his funeral. The
 1st. C. 14. second was an abstract of his life and actions,
 drawn up by himself, which he ordered to be
 engraved on brass tables placed before his mau-
 soleum. The learned consider as a fragment of
 these the monument found at Ancyra in Galat-
 tia; in which Augustus, speaking in the first
 person, relates simply and uniformly, and almost
 in the style of an inscription, the principal facts
 that had immortalized his government. These
 two memorials were read after the will. As to
 the third, which alone is mentioned by Tacitus,
 that historian assures us that it was not read in
 the senate till after Augustus's funeral; till
 when I shall defer speaking of it.

The se-
 nate's deli-
 beration.

Tac.

The senate, when it had finished the read-
 ing of the things I have mentioned, deliberated
 on the honours to be paid to the memory of Au-
 gustus in his funeral; and in this every one
 strove who should out-do another in excessive
 adulation. It was carried to that pitch, that
 the whole senate cried out, that none but se-
 nators should carry the corpse on their should-
 ers to the funeral pile: *Tiberius †consented to
 it by an arrogant moderation, as unable to with-
 stand the unanimous voice of the senate.

Before

* Remisit Cæsar arroganti moderatione.

† Thus have *Justus Lipsius* and *Gronovius* explained
Tacitus; and necessarily, if he is to be reconciled with
Suetonius, who says expressly, that *Augustus's* corpse was
 carried to the funeral pile on senators shoulders. Yet, I
 must confess, it seems better to give *Tacitus's* words the
 opposite sense: *Tiberius* dispensed with it by an arrogant
 moderation, exempting them as by a favour from a servili-
 ty that degraded them. But this is to disbelieve *Sueto-*
nus.

Before the day of the funeral the prince issued an ordinance, in which he recommended to the people not to disturb by too great a zeal the funeral pomp of Augustus, as had happened at Julius Cæsar's burial: and not to insist obstinately on having the corpse burnt in the forum rather than in the Campus Martius, which was the place destined for this ceremony. And in consequence hereof, troops were posted from space to space, to hinder as it were, popular commotions: which precaution * gave ample subject of raillery to those who had themselves † assisted at Cæsar's funeral, or who had heard the circumstances of it from their fathers. "How different, said they, are the circumstances! Then the nation, not yet broke to servitude, had recovered a glimpse of departing liberty. The citizens were divided into violent factions; some of them considering Cæsar's murder as a detestable action, and others crying it up to the skies. Now, a prince grown old in the exercise of sovereign power, and who has even provided for the oppression of the republic by his heirs, must doubtless have great need of the military to secure the quiet of his funeral."

Augustus's obsequies were magnificent; and Dion has left us a circumstantial description of them,

* Multum invidentibus qui ipsi viderant, quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii, et libertatis improspere repetitæ, quum occisus dictator Cæsar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum, facinus videretur. Nunc senem Principem, provisus etiam heredum in Rempublicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura ejus quieta foret. *Tac.*

† This was the fifty-eight year after Cæsar's death.

A.R. 765. them, which will perhaps be agreeable to the
 aft. C. 14. reader. The bed of state opened the march :
 which was made of ivory and gold, and cover-
 ed with purple embroidered with gold. The
 corpse was at the bottom in a coffin. Above
 appeared a wax effigy of Augustus in trium-
 phal robes. This was followed by two statues
 of this prince ; one was of gold, and destined
 to receive divine honours ; and the other, whose
 composition we are unacquainted with, was car-
 ried on a triumphal car. These statues were
 accompanied by that of victory, which Au-
 gustus himself had consecrated in the * Julian
 palace. Round about was a choir of young
 nobility, who sang funeral hymns in honour
 of the deceased prince. Then came a long file
 of representatives of all his ancestors, and even
 of all the illustrious Romans from Romulus,
 among whom Pompey was not omitted. There
 were also representations of Augustus's own
 glory, as the images of the nations conquered
 by him with their various dresses and charac-
 ters, and the names, and titles, of the laws made
 by him. The whole procession halted in the
 forum : where first Drusus, and afterwards
 Tiberius, read a funeral panegyric on Augustus.

During this time the bed of state was placed
 on the rostra. When the orations were ended,
 the march recommenced : the magistrates, the
 whole senate, the knights, the pretorian co-
 horts, and all the troops in the city, accompa-
 nying the corpse, which was carried on the
 shoulders of senators. The pomp went out of
 the triumphal-gate, as had been expressly or-
 dered by the senate, and proceeded, and went

Suet. Aug.
 100.

* See his-
 toire de la
 Républ.
 Rom. t. xvi.
 p. 170.

Dion.

Tac.

Suet. Dion.

in this manner to the Campus Martius ; where A.R.765.
 a funeral pile was erected, on which the colin aff.C. 14.
 and bed were placed. Then all the colleges of
 priests made a procession round the pile ; and
 afterwards the senate, the knights, and the
 soldiers : of whom such as had received military
 gifts from Augustus threw them on his pile.
 This done, some centurions set it on fire with
 lighted tapers that they carried in their hands ;
 and when the flame blazed out, an eagle was
 let fly from the top of the pile, which carried
 the emperor's soul to heaven. And that no-
 thing might be wanting to the comedy of the
 Apotheosis, an old pretor, named Numerius
 Atticus, renewed what Julius Proculus did of
 old for Romulus, and swore that he saw Au-
 gustus's soul fly away to heaven. Livia re-
 compensated his perjury by a present of a million
 of sesterces.

The ashes were collected by the most illustri-
 ous knights, who had on this occasion Livia
 at their head. The urn wherein the ashes were
 inclosed was carried to the Mausoleum which
 Augustus himself had constructed above forty
 years before, between the Via Flaminia and the
 Tiber, and about which he had planted a wood
 and made public walks.

A temple in Rome was wanting to the new
 god, and this was the first thing ordered by the
 senate after the ceremony of the funeral. Au-
 gustus, as has been said, had permitted tem-
 ples to be erected to him in the provinces. But
 now a temple was consecrated to him in the pa-
 latium his old abode. Till the edifice was fit to
 receive him, his golden statue was placed in the
 temple of Mars ; and the Romans hastened to
 honour

A temple
 in Rome,
 and divine
 honours were
 decreed
 him.
 Tac. i. 11.

Dion.

A.R. 765. honour him by an impious, sacrilegious worship.

act. C. 14. Livia would be the priestess of him, whose widow and adopted daughter she already was.

Tac. i. 54. A college of priests were also instituted to his honour, and named the Augustal College, which was composed of one-and-twenty of the first Romans, appointed by lot, at whose head Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, and Claudius, afterwards emperors, put themselves. Festivals and games were ordered to eternize Augustus's memory; and the house he died in at Nola, was turned into a temple, and consecrated to his service.

Tac. i. 15.
Dion.

Tiberius makes believe he will not accept the empire.
Tac. i. 2.

I now return to the assembled senate, where Tiberius, after having procured divine honours to be decreed to Augustus, declined declaring himself his successor. The senators entreated and pressed him to do it; and he answered them by studied harangues about the greatness of the empire, and his own moderation. He told them, that "The divine Augustus had alone knowledge and strength enough not to fall under so oppressive a load. That as for himself, as he had been many years his associate in the government, he knew by experience with what difficulties and dangers the supreme authority was environed. That it was therefore more adviseable in a republic abounding in great men, not to lay the whole weight on one person; but to lessen it by dividing it among several." This language was rather specious than solid and true, and was indeed a fient founded on various motives. In the first place, Tiberius was afraid of Germanicus, who was at the head of eight legions, and at least, an equal number of auxiliary troops on the Rhine; and who, joining
to

to this formidable army the love of the people A.R. 755. that adored him, might rather choose to possess aft. C. 14. the empire than wait for it. Besides *, he thought his reputation was interested. He did not choose to have it said, that the intrigues of a wife, and the adoption of a superannuated man, had palmed him on the empire; and judged it more glorious to seem to be called and elected by the republic itself. And a third intention was afterwards discovered, which was full of malignity. He had a mind to sound, by his pretended hesitation, the sentiments of the great men. For nothing escaped his observation. Each word †, each look, took root in his memory; where it remained registered, to be converted into a crime whenever the time would permit.

Tiberius carefully concealed these motives; and if on ordinary occasions, when he had no reason to dissemble, his language was always obscure and ambiguous, we may imagine how enigmatical he was on the present, when he had a mind to be less intelligible than usual, and even impenetrable. His meaning was however The senate pressed him thereto by earnest supplications. guessed at; and none considered his refusal of the imperial dignity as sincere. But nothing would have so greatly offended him, as to have seemed to fathom him. Wherefore the senators opposing feint to feint, and dupes through artifice, made heavy complaints: they had recourse to tears; they addressed their vows to heaven; they spread their arms, sometimes to-ward

* Dabat et famæ, ut vocatus electusque potius a republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum et senili a lottione irrepsisse. *Tac. i. 7.*

† *Nam verba, vultus, in crimen detorquens recondebat*

A. R. 765. wards the statues of the gods, sometimes to
 A. C. 14. the image of Augustus that was in the place
 they were assembled in, and sometimes towards
 Tiberius's knees: who to close, without too
 much revealing himself, a scene he began to be
 tired of, ordered the third memorial annexed to
 Augustus's will to be read.

A state of
 the empire
 of Augustus's
 own hand-writing
 is read.

This contained a circumstantial and particular state of the empire, of Augustus's own hand-writing; wherein were specified the number of citizens and allies in arms, the fleets of the republic, the kingdoms under its protection, its provinces, the product and kind of its tributes and taxes, and its expences, both those on account of its necessary wants, and those established under the notion of gratifications. This wise prince had subjoined an advice to his successors, not to endeavour to extend the bounds of the Roman empire. Tacitus doubts whether this was done through timidity or envy; but it seems more reasonable to suppose through prudence.

Tiberius's
 counterfeit
 modesty
 makes
 some of the
 senators
 lose all pa-
 tience.
Suet. Tib.
 24

The senate continually returned to the most submissive supplications, in order to get the better of Tiberius's pretended modesty; but without effect. If those who had nearer connections with him made their representations in private, he silenced them by saying, * That they did not know what a monster the empire was. And by vague answers he eluded the instances of the senators in a body. At last, some of them lost all patience; and comparing his language with his conduct, and his reserve and cir-

* Adhortantes amicos increpans ut ignaros quanta bellua esset Imperium. *Suet.*

circumspection in the senate with the acts of A.R. 765. sovereignty he openly exercised throughout^{aff. C. 14.} the whole empire, could not contain their indignation. Voices were heard to cry out, “ * Let him either accept or refuse.” And if we believe Suetonius, a senator told him to his face, “ † That others were slow in performing what they had promised, but that he was slow in promising what he had performed.” The stroke is keen, and if true, I am surprized Tacitus has omitted it.

Tiberius, notwithstanding, continued the farce; and persisted in saying, That he was not equal to the weight of the whole government: but if a part of it was assigned him he would endeavour to acquit himself as well as he was able. Upon which Asinius Gallus asked him, “ What part of it he would have?” This unexpected question disconcerted Tiberius, and made him some time silent; but after reflection he answered, “ That it would be very indecent for him to choose his part, and that he had rather be altogether dispensed with.” Asinius perceived he had displeased him; and to repair the breach, explained himself, by saying, “ That he did not propose by his question to divide what was indivisible, but to oblige Tiberius himself to acknowledge that the republic formed one body which ought to have but one soul and head.” To this he added a panegyric on Augustus; and put Tiberius in mind of his own victories and triumphs. But all he could

* Aut agat, aut desistat.

† Ceteros quod polliciti sint tarde prætare, sed ipsum quod prætet tarde polliceri.

A.R. 765. could say did not reconcile Tiberius, to whom
 aft. C. 14. he had been long odious on two accounts; for
 retaining the haughtiness of his father Pollio;
 and for having married Vipsania, daughter of
 Agrippa, and before wife of Tiberius himself;
 who suspected that Asinius, by means of this
 great alliance, was endeavouring to soar above
 the condition of a subject.

Lucius Arruntius, one of the most illustrious
 senators, having spoke much to the same pur-
 pose as Asinius, no less offended this suspicious
 prince, with whom merit was criminal. For
 he had no reason to be dissatisfied with Arrun-
 tius; but knowing him to be rich, expert, and
 active, and well esteemed by the public, he
 mistrusted and guarded against him.

And Augustus himself had furnished some
 pretext for Tiberius's suspicions. For in one of
 his last conversations, as he was reviewing those
 who might have pretensions to the empire, and
 sorting them in different classes, he said, "That
 Manius Lepidus had all the necessary talents,
 but that he had rather an aversion, than incli-
 nation to sovereignty; that Asinius Gallus was
 ambitious, but incapable of it; and that L.
 Arruntius did not want the requisite talents, and
 if an opportunity offered, might aspire to it."
 There are those who in the room of Arruntius
 put Cn. Piso, who was much less worthy of
 Augustus's esteem. And it is certain that they
 all perished, except Lepidus, in Tiberius's

Which also reign.

happens to
 Haterius
 and Ma-
 mercus
 Scaurus.

Two other consular persons alarmed also his
 suspicions; Q. Haterius, by saying, "How
 long, Caesar, will you suffer the republic to re-
 main without a head? and Mamercus Scaurus

by

by observing, that there was room to hope for A.R. 765. success from the senate's prayers, since Tiberius had not hindered the consuls, as he might by the tribunitial power, from bringing the affair into deliberation. Tiberius was, doubtless, a strange character. He would neither have his right and title questioned, nor his artifice and false refusal detected. Which is, I suppose, the reason he was equally offended by him, who, literally believing what he said, imagined the republic had no head; and by him whose sensible reflection unmasked his art. He immediately fell into a passion with Haterius, doubtless, because too much pressed and importuned by him; but to Scaurus, whom he implacably hated, he said not a word.

Haterius, alarmed at the emperor's anger, went, when the senate broke up, to the palace, to endeavour to appease it. He found him walking, and threw himself at his knees. Tiberius, either because his anger was not over, or (as Suetonius supposes) through an aversion to such suppliant cringing, endeavoured to get away from him. But his legs being unluckily entangled in Haterius's arms, he fell down. And Haterius narrowly escaped being killed on the spot by his guards. Yet this imminent danger of a man of his rank did not make Tiberius more tractable; and Livia was obliged to employ all her power to mollify him.

The senate's repeated entreaties, and reiterated instances to Tiberius to accept the empire had some effect however on him at last. He no longer absolutely refused; according to Tacitus. Suetonius assures us, that he condescended to declare that he accepted the imperial power

Tiberius at length half yields to the senate's entreaties. See, Tit.

24.

A.R. 765. power, but that* he complained at the same
 aft. C. 14. time of the necessity imposed of taking on him
 so hard and burdensome a slavery. He even
 gave them to understand that it should be only
 for a time; but fixed no certain period; mak-
 ing use of these words, “ † Till the time comes,
 when it may seem right in your eyes to grant
 some ease to my age.”

But obsti-
 nately re-
 fuses some
 of the ho-
 nours at-
 tached to
 the impe-
 rial digni-
 ty.

Suet. Tib.

26 § 27.

Tac. Ann.

i. 72. § ii.

87.

Dion. vi.

57.

To persuade the world that his modesty was
 real, he obstinately refused some titles and ho-
 nours that adorned the sovereignty, and render-
 ed the head of the empire more respectable.
 For he would not suffer his palace gates to be
 ornamented with civic crowns. He never ac-
 cepted the title of father of his country; and
 having been several times pressed on this head
 by the senate and people, he at last acquainted
 them with the reasons of such his refusal, which
 was indeed very remarkable, and seemed to de-
 note a distrust of himself: “ † If, said he, the
 time should ever come when you should doubt
 of my sentiments and devotion for you, (and
 before that misfortune happens to me, may my
 last day preserve me from being the witness of
 your mutation!) the title of father of my
 country will be no longer honourable to me, and
 will be to you a reproach, either of rashness for
 *having

* Querens miseram et onerosam sibi injungi servitu-
 tem. *Suet.*

† Dum veniam ad id tempus, quo vobis æquum possit
 videri dare vos aliquam senectuti meæ requiem.

‡ Si quando autem de moribus meis devotoque vobis a-
 nimo dubitaveritis (quod prisquam eveniat, opto ut me
 supremus dies huic mutatæ vestræ de me opinioni eripiat)
 nihil honoris adjiciet mihi PATRIS appellatio, vobis autem
 exprobrabit aut temeritatem delati mihi ejus cognominis,
 aut inconstantiam contrarii de me iudicii. *Suet. Tib. 67*

having bestowed it on me, or of inconstancy A. R. 7. 5. for having formed contradictory opinions of aft. C. 14. me." This seems a very ill-judged piece of modesty. The civic wreath, and the title of Father of the country, were, properly speaking, only inducements to mildness and humanity. And what an idea must a prince give of himself who refuses to enter into such engagements?

We are not to blame him, though we may be surprized, for his declining even prerogatives that were not mere honours, but that might be considered as appurtenances and supports of the sovereign power. As his not permitting at first the observation of his present and future ordinances to be sworn to, though he himself had sworn to the observation of those of Augustus. The custom of renewing this oath the beginning of every year, was established by his predecessor, and perpetuated by his successors. But he opposed it a long time, alledging a reason not unlike that for which he refused the title of father of his country. " * I shall be always the same, says he, and never shall alter my conduct while I keep my senses. But for fear of the consequences, the senate ought to be cautious of being bound by the acts of any mortal whatever, who possibly may change."

He even declined the prenomens of imperator; but not the exercise of its power, which was indeed the foundation of all the grandeur of the Cæsars. If therefore we call him emperor, it is

C 2

be-

* *Similem se semper sui futurum, nec unquam mutaturum mores suos quamdiu mentis sanæ fuisset Sed exempli causa, cavendum ne se Senatus in acta cujusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset. Suet. Tib. 67.*

A.R. 765. because we consider the reality more than the
 a. l. C. 14. title, which he never took, and which is never
 given him either in inscriptions, or on the medals struck at Rome

The surname of Augustus was, as it were, hereditary to him, and he permitted himself to be so called. But he never used it himself, except in writing to kings and foreign princes. He styled himself therefore simply Tiberius Cæsar, or Tiberius Julius Cæsar, with the addition of the tribunitial power and chief-priesthood, and also the surname of Germanicus on account of his nephew's exploits in Germany, and the title of imperator in the sense of a victorious general. As to the name of lord, or master, he, after Augustus's example, always rejected it with indignation; and often said, "I am the master of my slaves, the general of my soldiers, and the chief of my fellow-citizens."

And opposes those intended to be decreed his mother.
Tac. Ann.
 l. 14.

Tiberius's reserve as to honourable titles, had much in view the right of hindering their being, partly at least, communicated to his mother. For the flattery of the senate to Livia was excessive. Some senators were for styling her *Mother of her Country*; others for adding to Tiberius's name the son of Julia (for that, as has been said, was the name Livia had taken since she had been adopted by Augustus's will.) Some of them even proposed an altar to the adoption, and other such like servilities. But Tiberius opposed all this, saying, "That such great honours ought to be sparingly bestowed on women; and that he should act with the same moderation in what concerned himself." He would not even suffer a lictor to be decreed her, though it was what was allowed the vestal virgins.

virgins. In a word, he considered every thing that tended to his mother's elevation as a diminution of his own grandeur. A.R. 765. aft. C. 14.

And he had some reason for thinking so. Livia was haughty and ambitious. Having been used to be consulted by Augustus, and to have a share in the government, she considered herself as much more intitled to participate of the power of a son who owed the empire to her. But Tiberius was far from consenting to it. Hence the coldness that gradually increased; and which, without breaking out in an odious manner, was at last productive of more than indifference between the mother and son.

Tiberius was more generous with respect to Germanicus, whom he certainly loved less, but whom he feared. He demanded of the senate for him the proconsular power, which was one of the titles of the sovereignty: and he also proposed to send him a deputation of the senate to make him compliments of condolence on Augustus's death. There was no room to decree any such honour to Drusus, who was designed consul and present in Rome. He demands the proconsular authority for Germanicus.

Tiberius afterwards named twelve pretors for the ensuing year, according to Augustus's memorials. Velleius Paterculus thinks it a great honour to have been of that number, as was also his brother. "So that we were, says he, the last candidates recommended by Augustus, and the first proposed by Tiberius." Nomination of twelve pretors. Vell. ii. 124.

This nomination was made in quite a new manner. Hitherto, although the prince's will had great influence in the election of Magistrates, yet the suffrages of the tribes had also some weight. But at this time Tiberius translated the right of election from the people to the senate. The right of election, and the whole power of the people transferred to the senate.

nate

A.R765. nate. This alteration produced among the
 aft. C. 14. people nothing more than some impotent mur-
 murs; and was very agreeable to the senators,
 who were released by it from an expence that
 was often ruinous, and from the necessity of
 making court to the meanest citizens. And
 Tiberius manifested on this occasion a modera-
 tion that was very satisfactory to the senate.
 He only recommended four candidates, who
 were not to be refused, and left the rest to a
 free suffrage.

Grazina de Some traces, however, of the ancient practice
Imp. Rom. remained. For those who had been elected by
 15.—22. the senate went out of the assembly and shewed
 themselves to the people; while their names
 were proclaimed by an herald.

The alteration I relate, was in a manner the
 coup-de-grace to the power of the people, who
 had no longer any ordinary assemblies wherein
 to exercise even a shadow of their ancient rights.
 They gave, however, their votes for the esta-
 blishing of some laws under Tiberius. But af-
 terwards the senate's decrees were substituted in
 the room of laws; and thus the senate got at
 last possession of all the rights the people had
 formerly enjoyed, and represented alone the
 body of the republic.

Two sedi- While affairs went on thus peaceably at
 ti .aut Rome, two terrible seditions happened at once,
 once. one in Pannonia, and the other in Germany;
 to verify, as it were, Tiberius's saying, who ex-
 pressing his slippery situation in this beginning
 of his reign, said, That he held the wolf by the
 ears. The common origin of these two sedi-
 tions was no other than the change of the
 prince, and the desire of a civil war which
 might procure the soldiers rewards equal to
 those

*Two sedi-
 ti .aut
 once.*

*Suet. Tib.
 25.*

*Tac. Ann.
 1. 16.*

those bestowed formerly on such occasions on A.R. 765. their predecessors. I shall begin, according to aft. C. 14. Tacitus's order, by the Pannonian sedition.

There were three legions in Pannonia in-^{Relation of} camped together under the command of Juni-^{that in Pan-}us Blesus, a consular person; who, upon notice of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius, both on account of mourning and festivity intermitted the wonted military duties. Nothing is more dangerous than to let an army be idle. This interval of ease made the soldiers grow licentious and turbulent; listen to bad advisers; and, in a word, abandon themselves to pleasure and sloth, and look on discipline and labour as intolerable.

Among them was one Percennius, formerly a leader of one of those theatrical factions that often occasioned so much disturbance at Rome. He had afterwards turned soldier; but had retained, from his intercourse with the comedians, a bold manner of prating, and the impudence to set up for a declaimer. Percennius, then (laying hold on the critical moment when the minds of an ignorant multitude began to be agitated, as not knowing what would be their fate under the new government,) began to sow the seeds of revolt; at first in particular nocturnal conversations; and afterwards in the evening, when the best and wisest were retired, he used to collect together all that were corrupted in the army. At last, finding himself seconded, he became bolder, and held, in a manner, assemblies, wherein he spread his venom by the most seditious harangues. “ * Why, said he, do so many
ny

* *Cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis, in modum servorum obedirent? Quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum & mutantem adhuc principem precibus vel*

A.R. 765. by brave fellows servilely obey a few officers,
 aft. C. 14. who are no better men than ourselves! when shall we be bold enough to demand redress of our grievances, if we do not lay hold of the present opportunity, while the emperor is yet new and unsettled in his government, to prevail with him by petition, or to compel him by arms? Too long has our cowardice kept us in subjection; and suffered soldiers, decrepid with age, and covered with wounds, to serve thirty or forty years. Nor even does our discharge put an end to our fatigues; but we are still kept tied to the colors, and endure the same hardships under the title of veterans. And if any of us are so happy as to escape so many dangers, and survive so many calamities, we are sent into remote countries to take possession, under the specious name of lands, of bogs, or waste mountains. And indeed the service is in itself severe and unprofitable. * Ten asses a day is the price of our bodies and souls; and out of this slender salary we must buy cloaths, arms, and tents; out of this we must bribe the cruelty of the centurions, and

armis adirent! Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes, & plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore, tolerant. Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae: sed apud vexillum retentos, alio vocabulo eisdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum, ulgines pauludum, vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam & corpus aestimari. Hinc vestem, arma, tentoria: hinc sævitiâ centurionum, et vacationes munerum redimi. At hec verbera, & vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas æstates, bellum atrox, aut sterilem pacem, sempiterna.

* *The denarius originally went for but ten asses; and though in common traffic it afterwards passed for sixteen, yet it retained its ancient value in the payment of the army. For Percennius expressly says, that the denarius paid to each soldier per-day was reckoned but ten asses.*

and pay for occasional exemptions from duty. A.R. 765. On the other side stripes from our officers, and wounds from our enemies, hard winters and laborious summers, bloody wars and barren peace, are miseries that accompany us for ever. Nor does there remain any other remedy for us, than to refuse to serve but on certain stipulations. Our pay must be fixed at a full denarius, or sixteen asses a day; sixteen years must be the utmost term of serving; and, that expired, we must be no longer obliged to follow the colors, but have our reward, paid in ready money, in the camp we receive our discharge in. Are the pretorian cohorts, who have double pay, and after sixteen years service are paid off and sent home, exposed to superior dangers? yet I don't mean to detract from the merit of their quiet service in the city and palace; though I must observe, that it is our lot to be stationed in the midst of barbarous nations, where we cannot look out of our tents but we see the foe."

The multitude received Percennius's harangue with tumultuous applause: and to inforce what he said, and animate one another, they exposed, in the bitterness of reproach, some the scars of the stripes inflicted by their officers, others their hoary heads, and many their ragged cloaths and half-naked bodies. At length they worked themselves up to that pitch of fury, as to violate the first laws of discipline, by undertaking to incorporate the three legions into one. But their mutual jealousy prevented the execution of this project, as each legion claimed the honour of giving the name to the corps that was to be formed by the union of the three. They therefore did nothing more than place together the three eagles and the thirty colors of the cohorts; and at the same time they set about erect-
ing

A.R. 765. ing a tribunal of turf, as if about to make a new
aft. C. 14. emperor. For it was a prerogative of the generalissimo to mount such a tribunal when he harangued the army.

While they were at this work Blesus arrived, severely reprimanded them, and laid hold on some, crying out, "Dip your hands rather in my blood: to murder your general will be a less heinous crime, than to revolt from your prince. * If you would have me live, you must preserve your loyalty; if you kill me, my death will be serviceable to the emperor, as it will hasten your repentance." Spite of his out-cries and complaints the work still went on, and was almost breast-high, (before overcome by the obstinate opposition of their general, and doubtless of the other principal officers) they abandoned their enterprise.

This first point gained, Blesus very artfully represented to them, "That sedition and mutiny were not the methods of conveying to the emperor the soldiers pretensions. That their demands exceeded all that had been ever desired by the soldiers of old of their generals, or by themselves of Augustus; and were remarkably ill-timed, as their prince, just upon his accession, was but too embarrassed with other affairs. *If, however, added he, you mean to try to gain in full peace, what, even after a civil war, the conquerors never claimed; yet why, trampling upon obedience and discipline, have you recourse to violence? Appoint a deputation, and in my presence declare your pretensions.*" Upon this they all cried unanimously, "That his son, who was one of their tribunes, should be their deputy; and should demand,

* Aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut jugulatus pœnitentiam accelerabo

demand, in their name, a full discharge after six-
 teen years service. And when he had succeeded
 in this, they would explain themselves as to
 their other demands." * Young Blesus accord-
 ingly set out: and for some days the camp was
 quiet. The soldiers having exulted at having
 their general's son for advocate of their cause;
 and were well aware that they had extorted by
 force, what they should never have obtained by
 modesty and submission.

And the calm was not of long duration. For
 some companies that had been sent before these-
 dition to † Nauportum, to mend the roads, repair
 the bridges, and do such like-work, were no
 sooner informed of the tumult in the camp, but
 they caught the contagion. They spread them-
 selves over the country, and plundered the neigh-
 bouring villages, and even Nauportum itself,
 which was a considerable place. The centuri-
 ons endeavouring to restrain them; but the mu-
 tineers answered them by mockery, insults, and
 even blows. They particularly ill-treated an
 old officer named Aufidienus Rufus. Him
 they threw out of his carriage, loaded him with
 their baggage, and made him march on foot,
 asking him, how he liked to carry such heavy
 burthens, and make such long marches. The
 reason of their dislike to him was, that Refus,
 who had long been private, then by his services
 risen to the rank of a centurion, and afterwards
 to that of a † quarter-master, was a restorer of
 the

* *Profecto juvenis, modicum otium: sed superbire miles
 quod filius Legati orator publicæ causæ satis ostenderet,
 necessitate expressa quæ per modestiam non obtinuissent.*

† *D' Ablancourt translates Castris præfectus, camp-mar-
 shal. But the prefect of the camp among the Romans was
 not so considerable an officer as the camp-marshal with the
 French.*

† *Other Late
 buck in Car-
 nola.*

the

A.R. 765. the strictness of primitive discipline ; and * as he aft. C. 14. had borne the greatest military fatigues, was the more rigorous to others, since he had himself undergone the same severities.

The arrival of these seditious troops renewed the trouble and disorder of the camp. Every one disbands and falls to pillaging the country. Blesus, who was still obeyed by the centurions and the wisest and soberest of the soldiers, caused some of these marauders to be seized, who were laden with booty, and ordered them to be chastized and imprisoned. But the criminals resisted, and clasped the knees of the by-standers, imploring every one the help of the company, cohort, and legion, they belonged to. They interested all the soldiers in their cause, as liable to the same treatment : they heaped invectives on their general ; they called on the gods ; nor left ought unattempted to excite compassion for themselves and detestation for Blesus. And they succeeded. The army took their parts ; rushed to the prison ; burst it open ; set the prisoners at liberty ; and incorporated with themselves mutineers under condemnation.

Then the sedition became more violent ; new leaders spread the contagion ; and one Vibulenus, a common soldier, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades over against the tribunal of Blesus, thus declaimed the soldiers † : “ To these innocents, under unjust sentence, you have indeed

* *Vetus operis ac laboris, & eo immitior quia toleraverat.*

† *Vos quidem his innocentibus & miseris lucem & spiritum reddidistis. Sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis patrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis, nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blæse, ubi cadaver abjeceris. Ne hostes quidem sepulturæ invident. Quum osculis, quum lacrymis, dolorem implevero, me quoque irucidari jube: dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legio-um consulebamus, hi sepeliant.*

indeed restored; fellow-soldiers, the light and liberty. But who will restore life to my brother, who my poor brother to me? He was sent hither, alas, by the German army with propositions for our common good; and for this was last night butchered by Blesus's gladiators, whom he entertains and arms for our destruction. Answer me, Blesus. Where have you thrown his corpse. Even declared enemies deny not burial to the slain. When I have sated my grief by giving the last kisses to my dead brother, and bedewing him with tears, command me also to be murdered; so that, slaughtered both guiltless of any crime, and only because we studied the good of the legions, we may be buried by the hands of these our comrades." A.R. 765.
aft. C. 14.

He animated his discourse by tears and lamentations, and all the symptoms of the deepest and sincerest sorrow. And when those who carried him on their shoulders had separated, he threw himself on the ground at the feet of his companions; and by these means excited such a furious indignation, that the soldiers divided, and one part of them seized on Blesus's gladiators and the rest of his slaves, and the other went to search for the corpse. And had not the affair been quickly cleared up; had not the camp been soon informed that no corpse was to be found, that Blesus's slaves had on the rack denied the fact, and that Vibulenus never had any brother, they had probably assassinated their general.

They expelled, as it was, the tribunes and quarter-master, and plundered their baggage. They also put to death Lucilius the centurion, whom they had nick-named *Give me another*, because when he had broke his * cane on a soldier's

* The centurion's cane was a vine twig. It was the ensign of their rank, as well as their instrument of chastisement of the soldiers.

A.R. 765. diers back, he used to call for another, and
aft. C. 1+. then for another. This intimidated the other
centurions so much that they took to flight :
one only the soldiers kept with them, who was
named Julius Clemens, to serve them for an
orator, as he was a man of ready parts.

As the factious seldom agree long, two of the
legions, the eighth and the fifteenth, fell out
about a centurion called Serpicus, whom the
first required to be put to death, and the other
protected; and they had come to blows, but
that the ninth interposed its intreaties, and
menaces also, to declare against that which
should refuse its mediation.

Tiberius
sends his
son Drusus
to appease
the sedi-
tion.

When Tiberius was informed of all that had
been related, mysterious as he was, and disposed
to conceal bad news, he thought proper to send
into Pannonia his son Drusus with some of the
principal nobility; but he gave him no precise
instructions, and left him the liberty to act ac-
cording to the exigency. He was escorted by
two pretorian cohorts, strengthened with an ex-
traordinary addition of chosen men, a great part
of the pretorian horse, and the emperor's *Ger-
man guards. At the head of these troops was
Sejanus, who had been joined with his father
Scius Strabo in the command of the pretorian
bands. Sejanus had then great credit with Ti-
berius, and was the person he depended on to
conduct the young prince in this affair, and to
intimidate the soldiery by threats, or gain them
by promises.

When Drusus approached, the legions march-
ed out to meet him, and pay him the respect
due

* It is plain by this that the body of German guards,
which was broke by Augustus after Varus's defeat, had
been restored either by Augustus himself, or Tiberius.

due to his birth* ; but not with the symptoms of joy usual on such occasions. Their arms, color, and dress, appeared neglected ; and in their countenance, though composed to sadness, were visible signs of sullenness and contumacy.

As soon as Drusus was within the camp, they secured all the gates ; posted troops in every important place ; and then came and crouded about his tribunal. Drusus went thither and made signs with his hand for silence. The soldiers according as they surveyed their own numbers, or turned their eyes on the prince, appeared menacing or disconcerted. First there was a confused murmur, next a furious clamor, and then a sudden dead silence. Divided by opposite passions, they were at once scared and frightened. At last in quiet interval Drusus made shift to read his father's letters to them, who therein declared, " That he knew no worthier object of his care than the brave Pannonian legions, the companions of his victories. That as soon as his great grief would suffer him to apply himself to business, he would lay their demands before the senate. That in the mean time he had sent his son to them, to grant immediately whatever could be immediately granted. That every thing else should be referred to the senate, from whom they could expect no other than a wise and regular decision, exempt from severity and weakness."

The

* Non lætæ, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inlævie deformi, et vultu, quanquam mœstitiam imitarentur, contumaciæ propiores.

† Illi, quoties oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere ; rursum, viso Cæsare, trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor, & repente quies. Diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque.

A.R. 765. The assembly answered, that the centurion aft. C. 14. Clemens would speak for them. Upon which he presented himself, and gave an account of the soldiers demands. "That they would be discharged after sixteen years service: and then would be paid in cash the recompense they claimed: that their pay should be increased to a denarius a day: and that the veterans should be no longer detained under their ensigns."

And when Drusus urged, that only the senate and his father could regulate articles of such importance, the soldiers renewed their clamours with more violence than ever. They asked him, "* To what purpose came he, since he had neither power to augment their pay, nor alleviate their grievances; nor, in a word, to do them any sort of service? while, on the contrary, every officer had sufficient authority to inflict blows or death. That formerly Tiberius used to frustrate the desires of the soldiers by referring all to Augustus; now Drusus was come to delude them with the same artifice. *Shall we never have a visit, said they, but from children who can do nothing for us? It is surely very extraordinary that the emperor should leave to the senate no part in the direction of the army but that of rewarding the soldiery. Ought not the senate to be consulted when a battle is to be fought, or a private*

* Cur venisset, neque augendis militum commodis, neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla benefaciendi licentia. At hercule verbera & necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum retulisse. Nunquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane, quod Imperator sola militis commoda ad Senatum rejiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quoties supplicia aut prælia indicantur. An præmia sub dominis pœnas sine arbitrio esse?

*private man to be punished? Or are our re- A.R. 765.
compenses to be adjudged by many masters, and aft. C. 14.
our punishments to remain without any modera-
tor whatsoever."*

At last they abandoned the tribunal; and whenever they met with any of the guards or friends of the prince, they fell on them with menaces and insults declarative of discord and the last extremities. They were particularly enraged against * Cn. Lentulus, a senator venerable on account of his age, and illustrious for his warlike exploits, who they imagined hardened Drusus, as he openly condemned the disorders occasioned by the sedition. He was informed of his danger, and endeavoured to prevent it by retiring to the † winter-quarters of the legions. But the mutineers discovered, surrounded, and asked him; "Where he was going? to the emperor or Senate? to oppose the interest of the legions?" They then assaulted, and threw stones at him; and Lentulus, covered with wounds and blood, expected certain death, when Drusus's troops flew in great numbers to his assistance.

Every thing was now to be apprehended from the furious soldiers, and the following ‡ night threatened some tragical event. But an unforeseen accident, assisted by vulgar ignorance and superstition, calmed this terrible agitation. The moon, in the midst of a clear sky, seemed suddenly to sicken. This was the beginning of

An eclipse
of the moon
terrifies
the sedi-
tious.
They grow
calm.

VOL. II.

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* This Cn. Lentulus seems to be the same as Getulicus, who was consul in 751; and who had the triumphal ornaments bestowed on him in 757.

† The legions had in every province permanent winter camps.

‡ Noctem minacem & in scelus erupturam fors lequitt,

A.R. 765. eclipse. But the soldiers, unacquainted with the
 aft. C. 14. natural cause of this phenomenon, took it for an
 omen of their present situation; and, comparing
 the obscuration of the planet to their own labours,
 concluded that the success of their enterprize
 depended on the restoration of the goddess to
 her wonted brightness. Therefore in order to
 assist her, they made great noises, by striking on
 brass and sounding of trumpets: and some ac-
 cidental clouds being sometimes added to the
 constant effect of the shadow of the earth, the
 soldiery, as the moon appeared lighter or dark-
 er, exulted or lamented: till at last, the eclipse
 becoming total, they imagined the goddess bu-
 ried in everlasting darkness, and that it portend-
 ed consequently their own eternal sufferings, and
 the vengeance of the gods on their crimes.

Drusus thought he ought to improve this
 their disposition, and * second by his prudence
 the benefit of fortune. He sends for the cen-
 turion Clemens, and whoever else had by honest
 means made themselves acceptable to the mul-
 titude; these he orders to go round the tents
 and corp-de-gardes, and there use such discour-
 ses as were proper to bring back the wavering
 soldiers to their duty.

And they well executed their commission; and
 addressing themselves more particularly to such
 as had been carried away by the stream, though
 not otherwise disposed to revolt; they roused
 their hopes and fears. “How long, said they,
 shall we hold our emperor’s son thus besieged?
 Where will our contests end? Shall we enlist
 under Percennius and Vibulenus? Can they sup-
 port us with pay during our service, and re-
 ward us with lands when dismissed? Shall Per-
 cennius

* Quæ casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus.

cennius and Vibulenus govern the Roman empire in the room of the Nero's and Drusus's? A.R. 765. aft. C. 14.
 let us rather come to ourselves; and as we were the last to revolt, let us be the first to return to our duty. * Demands for all are ever slowly complied with, but particulars no sooner merit favours than they receive them."

These reasonings had their effect: many were brought over thereby; who consequently became suspicious to the rest. Schisms arose between the fresh soldiers and the veterans, between legion and legion. Then by degrees returned the love of duty and respect for discipline. They relinquish the guard of the gates; and restore to their places the ensigns, which they had collected together at the beginning of the sedition.

Drusus, as soon as it was day, summoned an assembly: and though he was unskilled in speaking (which Tacitus remarks as being unusual among the Cæsars), yet the confidence and haughtiness that birth inspires, gave him, as was proper, a tone of authority: He blamed the excesses the legions had been guilty of, and acknowledged his satisfaction at their present disposition. He told them he was not to be subdued by threats and terrors; but if he saw them reclaimed to submission, and heard from them the language of supplicants, he would himself write to his father in their behalf.

The spirit of mutiny had now given place to fear and shame. The legions humble themselves; and beg for, and obtain the permission to send a second deputation to the emperor, at

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the

* Tarda sunt quæ in commune expostulantur; privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.

A.R. 765. the head of which was young Blesus again, with
 aft. C. 14. L. Apronius, a Roman knight attached to Drusus,
 and Justus Catonius, first captain of a legion.

It was then debated in council what conduct should be pursued with respect to the guilty ; and the opinions were divided. Some were for doing nothing till the return of the deputies ; and for endeavouring in the interim to regain by mildness the terrified soldiery. Others thought, on the contrary, “ * That more vigorous remedies should be applied. That the multitude were always in extremes ; imperious, when not awed ; but to be without danger despised, when frightened. And concluded that while the courage of the mutineers was suppressed by superstition, it was proper for the prince to wholly subdue them by a just and severe punishment inflicted on the authors of the sedition.”

Tacitus observes, that Drusus † was naturally inclined to rigour. And upon this occasion indeed mildness would have been weakness. Vibulenus and Percennius were by his order produced, and executed. Tacitus says, that most authors recounted, that these wretches were dispatched and buried in Drusus’s own tent ; which was certainly a most timid precaution : though some, on the contrary, related that their bodies were thrown over the intrenchments, as a public spectacle of terror. These two leaders were not the only sufferers for their insolence. Strict search was made for such as under them had been principal incendiaries. Some were caught
 wandering

* Nihil in vulgo modicum ; terrere ni paveant ; ubi pertinuerint, impune contemni.

† Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat.

wandering about the fields in search of an asylum A. R. 765.
and killed by the centurions or pretorian soldi- aft. C. 14.
ers. And others were delivered up to punish-
ment by their several companies, as a proof of
the sincerity of their repentance.

The consternation of the soldiers was height- End of the
ened by the precipitate accession of winter, with sedition in
rains incessant, and so violent, that they were Pannonia
not able to stir out of their tents, or maintain
common intercourse, nay scarce to preserve their
standards though ever so well fixed in the ground,
assaulted as they were by tempestuous winds and
raging floods*. Dread besides of the offended
deity still possessed them; nor was it, they
thought, but by a special providence, that such
impious traitors were visited with eclipses and
tempests. They imagined therefore that there
was no other remedy for their calamities, than
the quitting an unlucky camp, contaminated
with crimes, and avoiding its contagion by re-
tiring to their respective winter-quarters.

The eighth legion set out first, and was soon
followed by the fifteenth. The ninth long op-
posed this resolution, saying, they ought all to
wait for the Emperor's answer. But at last
finding themselves deserted by the other two,
they chose to do of their own accord what they
apprehended they should be forced to. Drusus,
seeing the factious were all dispersed, and that
quiet was restored, went back to Rome, with-
out staying for the return of the deputies.

I have said that the German army mutinied Sedition in
at the same time, and from the same motives, the Ger-
as the Pannonian; but it was with much great- man army.
er

* Durabat & formido cœlestis iræ: nec frustra adver-
sus impies hebescere sidera. ruere tempestates.

A.R. 765. er fury, as well on account of their greater num-
 aft. C. 14. bers, as because they hoped that Germanicus,
 who commanded them, would willingly accept
 of the empire from their hands, and by their
 assistance bring about a revolution.

These forces were divided into two bodies,
 one stationed higher; the other lower, on the
 Rhine; composed each of four legions and an
 equal number of auxiliaries, and amounting con-
 sequently to above forty thousand men. Ger-
 manicus was commander in chief of these forces,
 but he was then in Gaul collecting the tribute;
 and in his absence Silius was the subordinate
 commander of the army on the higher Rhine,
 and Cecina of that on the lower, having both
 the rank of lieutenant-generals.

Of these two armies, that under Silius re-
 mained quiet, watching the motions of the other
 camp, and waiting for the event, to determine
 them. The sedition began in the army on the
 lower Rhine, which was then encamped on the
 frontiers of the * Ubians, and in a state of
 inaction, almost always fatal to discipline. The
 twenty first and fifth legions set the example,
 which was quickly followed by the first and the
 twentieth.

In these legions were a great many new levies,
 who, accustomed to the licentiousness of Rome,
 and impatient of military fatigues, seduced the
 simplicity of their comrades. When they heard
 of Augustus's decease, they observed to them
 that now was the time for the Veterans to de-
 mand a speedier dismissal, the fresh soldiers
 larger pay, and all some alleviation of their hard-
 ships;

* A German nation, transported to the left of the Rhine,
 whose capital became soon after a Roman colony: and has
 to this time retained the name of Cologne.

ships; as also to return due vengeance for the A.R. 756. cruelties of the centurions. These were not the aft. C. 14. harangues of a single incendiary, as amongst the Pannonian legions, nor heard with fear by slender forces over-awed by more numerous armies. Here was a sedition of many mouths full of boasts of the glory and strength of the German armies. "We are, said they, the support of the Roman empire; our victories extend its dominions; and from us the Cæsars take a surname that does them honour. "Cecina too did not restrain them. So general a frenzy deprived him of all courage. The mutineers therefore meeting with no opposition, rush furiously with drawn swords on the centurions, the first objects of the hatred of the soldiers, as exercising an immediate and often rigorous authority over them. And as the companies were of sixty men each, they set sixty soldiers against each centurion; they drag them to the earth, trample on them, beat them, and then throw them half dead out of the camp, or into the river. The centurion Septimius hoped, in vain, for an asylum at his general's feet. The mutineers obliged Cecina to deliver him up. Cassius Cherea, since famous in history for killing Caligula, sought in his valour for that protection which the weakness of his commander denied, and opened himself a retreat with his sword.

After the death or flight of the Centurions, nor tribune, nor any other officer, had the least command over the legions. The soldiers themselves set the corp-de-gardes, the sentries, and appointed all military duties. * Hence men,
of

* Ad militares animos altius conjectantibus, præcipuum

A. R. 765. of reflexion judged of the greatness and implacability. C. 14. cableness of the sedition. They were terrified at observing that the mutineers did not act every one of their own head. Nor were conducted by two or three leaders: but that they all at once raged, and all at once kept silence, with such order and regularity, that they seemed to be under a legitimate power.

Germanicus who was in Gaul, hastes thither to appease it.

The news of these commotions, which favoured by Germanicus, might have procured him the empire, reached that prince while he was labouring for Tiberius, by taking the oaths of fidelity of the Sequani and Belgæ. For that was his first business after he heard of Augustus's demise.

He was then in the most critical situation that can be imagined. We may remember that Augustus had thoughts of appointing him his successor, because he did him the justice to judge him worthy. But being unwilling to break through the order of birth, he had preferred Tiberius to him, though at the same time he obliged him to adopt Germanicus for his son, who was already his nephew. It is easy to believe, that these dispositions of Augustus, which brought Germanicus so near the sovereignty, rendered him suspicious and odious to Tiberius and Livia. * This the young prince knew, and was under the greater anxiety on account of the hatred which his uncle and grandmother bore him, as it was unjust.

For

indiciu magni atque implacabilis motus, quod neque disjecti, nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescent, pariter celerent, tanta æqualitate et constantia ut regi crederes.
Tac. l. 39.

* *Arrius occultis in se patrii aviæque odiis, quorum causa acriter, quia iniquæ.*

For the grounds of it were such as ought to A.R.765. have made Germanicus dear and estimable to aft. C.14. them. He was the favourite of the people, and the soldiery, both out of respect to his father Drusus, who was an accomplished popular prince, and on account of his own personal merit. * For he was affable, good-natured, candid, generous, beneficent, and the opposite of Tiberius, whose language and looks denounced arrogance and hypocrisy. And this is what a bad heart can never forgive. Too much merit is an unpardonable crime.

† There was also a woman's quarrel between Agrippina and Livia. The last had a step-mother's dislike for Augustus's grand-daughter: and the other was naturally haughty and inflexible; but her virtue and love for her husband corrected her impetuous courage.

In these circumstances, if Germanicus had not obstinately persevered in his duty, he might have considered the good-will of his soldiers as a necessary asylum from an unjust persecution. But he would owe his security to nothing but his innocence. He thought that a demonstration of the rectitude of his intentions would reconcile Tiberius to him; and ‡ the nearer he found himself to empire, the more vigour he exerted to secure it to Tiberius. With such disposition he hastened to the camp of sedition.

The

* *Juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas, et diversa a Tiberii sermone, vultu, arrogantibus et obscuris.*

† *Accedebant muliebres offensiones, novercalibus Livæ in Agrippinam stimulis: atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate, et mariti amore, quamvis indemitum animum in bonum vertebat.*

‡ *Germanicus, quanto summæ spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti.*

A.R. 765. The legions came out to meet him, with down-cast eyes in feigned token of remorse. After he had entered the intrenchments, his ears were assaulted with complaints and clamors: nay, some catching his hand, as if they meant to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, that he might feel their gums were destitute of teeth: and others pointed at their bodies stooping under age. He mounts the tribunal; and perceiving the soldiers surround him disorderly and at random, he commands them to range themselves in companies and cohorts under their proper colours. With slowness and reluctance they obey him.

He then harangues them; and beginning with an encomium on the venerable memory of Augustus; he proceeds to Tiberius's victories and triumphs, and particularly celebrates the exploits he had performed in Germany with these very legions. He next sets in a strong light the unanimity of all Italy in acknowledging Tiberius for emperor; the fidelity of both the Gauls; and the quiet state of the universe. Thus far they hear with silence, or at least with moderate murmuring.

But when Germanicus touched on their sedition, and asked them, Where was now the modesty and obedience of soldiers? where the glory of discipline; and whither they had chased their centurions and tribunes? they all set up a vast noise. They bare their bodies, and shew the scars of their wounds, or the bruises of their chastisements; then, in undistinguished uproar, complain of the hardships of service; dwelling on the particulars that made it painful and insupportable; such as their scanty pay, the exactions of the centurions, their rigorous labours,

bors, ramparts to be reared, ditches to be dig- A.R. 765.
 ged, forage to be fetched, wood to be cut, in aft. C. 14.
 a word, every toil required of a soldier by the
 exigencies of war, or to prevent idleness.
 Above the rest are heard the clamorous com-
 plaints of the veterans, who having served
 thirty campaigns or more, besought Germani-
 cus to have compassion on men that were ut-
 terly exhausted, and not to suffer death to over-
 take them in the midst of their labours, but to
 discharge them from so severe a warfare, and
 grant them a recess free from poverty and mi-
 sery. Some there were who asked him for the
 money bequeathed them by Augustus; testifi-
 ing at the same time, by their acclamations,
 their zeal for his service, and offering him, in
 case he aspired to the empire, to support him
 with their valour.

The sediti-
 ous offer
 him the
 empire,
 which he
 considers
 as an af-
 front.

Germanicus, thinking himself affronted by
 this offer; and that to suppose him capable of
 a crime was in some sort to sully his character;
 leaps headlong from the tribunal. The seditious
 soldiers oppose their weapons, and threaten him
 if he will not reascend. He protests that he
 would rather die than violate the oath of fide-
 lity he had taken to Tiberius. At the same time
 he draws his sword, and would have buried it
 in his breast, if not prevented by those who
 were next him. On the contrary, some pla-
 toons of soldiers that were in the extremities of
 the assembly exhorted him to strike home.
 A part of them advancing near enough to
 be heard of him, continue the same language:
 and a soldier, named Calusidius, presents him
 his naked sword, telling him, that it was sharper
 than his own. An insolence, which to the rest,
 outrageous as they were, seemed horrid; and
 their

A.R. 765. their indignation thereat producing a sudden
aft. C. 14. calm, gave Germanicus's friends an opportunity to snatch him away to his tent.

Gratificati- It was here deliberated what remedy to apply
ons and pri- to so dangerous a disorder. For it was known
vileges granted by that the mutineers were going to send a de-
him in or- putation to the army on the higher Rhine, to
der to quiet invite it to join them: that the capital of the
them. Ubians was to be sacked: and that after this
essay of plundering, they intended to spread
themselves over all Gaul, and enrich themselves
with the pillage of that fertile country. And,
what still encreased the terror, there was advice
that the enemy was informed of the sedition,
and waited only for the Romans quitting the
bank of the river to execute some enterprise.
If the auxiliary troops were employed against
the rebellious legions, it would occasion a civil
war: * severity was dangerous; and donatives
infamous: to grant the soldiery, or to refuse
them every thing, was equally dangerous to
the state.

A medium was therefore resolved on. A letter was feigned from the emperor, in which he granted a full discharge to such as had served twenty years; and such as had served sixteen were to have the privileges of veterans: and be exempt from all duties of fatigue, but were to continue under their ensigns, and combat the enemy. The emperor was also to promise in this letter to pay them Augustus's legacy, and even to double it.

The soldiers were aware of the imposition, and demanded the immediate performance of the

* *Periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio; seu nihil, et v omnia, militi concederentur, in ancipiti republica.*

the emperor's promises. And they had satisfaction with respect to the discharges, which were immediately granted them by the tribunes: as to the money, the distribution of that was adjourned to the winter-quarters. But the fifth, and twenty first legions, who were the first that mutined, obstinately refused to stir, unless payment was made in that very camp. So that Germanicus and his friends were obliged to pay the four legions out of the money they had brought with them for the expences of the campaign. Cecilia led back the first and the twentieth to a place named the * Altar of the Ubians †, by an infamous march, wherein the money they had extorted from their general was carried in triumph amidst the ensigns and eagles.

Germanicus then proceeded to the army of the higher Rhine, to administer to it the oath of fidelity to Tiberius. The second, thirteenth, and sixteenth legions, swore allegiance without hesitation; the fourteenth stood out a little; and none of them insisted either on donatives or concessions. However, Germanicus, to preserve an equality, promised them the same privileges he had granted to the legions on the lower Rhine.

Such was the conduct of this prince in appeasing this sedition. And without doubt, his great condescension made a breach in the sovereign power. Accordingly Velleius, who wrote when Germanicus was dead, and his family

* This place was probably so called from an altar consecrated to *Iugustus* by the *Ubian*: Some think it *Uonn*.

† Turpi agmine, quum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur.

A. R. 765. mily under oppression, condemns him severely,
aft. C. 14. and calls his * indulgence cowardice. But after all, the troops well knew that they had raised the Cæsars to empire; and a power, which they considered as their work, could not be exercised so strictly on them, as an authority originally founded in law.

Commo-
tion of a
detach-
ment of
thesè legi-
ons sup-
pressed by
a subaltern.

At this very time, there happened a seditious commotion among a detachment of the mutinous legions which had been sent among the Chaucians to keep them in awe. But this tumult was somewhat quelled in the beginning by the resolution of an officer, who put to death two of the most criminal on the spot. His name was Mennius, and he was only a prefect of the camp, or quarter-master, and had no power to punish capitally; but the necessity of an immediate severity emboldened him to exceed his commission. The seditious, however, though intimidated at first, soon resumed their audacity, and renewed their rage; so that Mennius was forced to make off. But being discovered, and reduced to seek his safety in his own courage, he boldly told the mutineers, "That to himself, who was only a subaltern officer, their outrages were not done, but to Germanicus their general, and Tiberius their emperor." At the same time dispersing those who were about the colours, he snatched them, and carried towards the Rhine, ordering the soldiers to follow him, and threatening to treat as deserters whoever should disobey. The soldiers, agitated by various passions, and uncertain what to do, suffered themselves to be thus

10-000.

* *Pleraque ignave Germanicus, Vell. ii. 127.*

re-conducted to their winter-quarters, without daring to enterprize any thing. A.R. 765.
aft. C. 14

All now seemed quiet ; yet there remained in the hearts of the soldiery a leaven of mutiny, which only waited for the slightest opportunity to re-ferment with more violence than ever. Germanicus, on his return, met at the altar of the Ubians, (where were the winter-quarters of the first and twenty first legions) the deputies from the senate, who brought him the decree that conferred on him the proconsular power, and were to make him also compliments of condolence on account of Augustus's decease. The soldiers, whom the remembrance of what they had deserved, rendered both fearful and furious, took it in their heads that these deputies were come to cancel and abolish the concessions they had extorted from their general. * As it is usual with the vulgar not to suspect by halves, but to charge somebody with the crimes of their suggestion ; they laid to the charge of Munatius Plancus, a senator of consular dignity, and at the head of this deputation, the guilt of this imaginary decree.

† The standard of those soldiers who had been lately made veterans, was kept in the house where Germanicus was. The mutineers pretended to claim the custody of it, doubtless as a proof of their right. In the dead of the night they went and demanded it, and not receiving an immediate answer, they burst the doors, rushed into the prince's bed-chamber, dragged

* Utque mos vulga quamvis falsis reum subdere.

† The distinction of this standard is not expressed in Tacitus. The commentators are divided hereupon. I follow Gronovius, whose opinion I think most probable

A.R. 765. dragged him out of his bed, and compelled him
 ait. C. 14. with drawn swords to deliver the standard.

At this time the deputies from the senate, who were frightened at the tumult, were coming to Germanicus. Unluckily for them they fell in with these madmen, who overwhelmed with outrages, and devoted them to death. The deputies escaped by flight, all but Plancus, whom the dignity of his character restrained. He was in the utmost danger, and had no other asylum than the camp of the first legion, where he embraced the eagle and other ensigns that were honoured as divinities among the Romans. Thither however they pursued him; and if the eagle-bearer had not opposed the fury of the mutineers, * they had committed a crime-rare even in the camp of an enemy, and assassinated their countrymen, at the altars of their gods, though acting in a sacred public character.

At day-break Germanicus enters the camp, sends for Plancus, and seats him by himself. † He then inveighed against the late fatal, unnatural frenzy; whose revival could only be imputed to the anger of the gods; and eloquently deplored the foul violence done to the sacred person of an ambassador, the misfortune of Plancus who had done nothing to deserve it, and the disgrace thence derived on the legion. Having by this discourse ‡ rather amazed than calmed the soldiery, he dismissed the deputies with an escort of auxiliary horse.

In

† *Rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castis sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset.*

‡ *Fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira refurgere.*

‡ *Attonita magis quam quieta concione.*

In these dangerous circumstances, all Germanicus's friends, and all the chief officers, A. R. 765. aft. C. 14. blamed him for not having recourse to the army on the higher Rhine, where he was sure to find obedience, and sufficient force to reduce the revolters. "You have, said they, condescended enough; enough employed gentle, unavailing measures; to the increase of the insolence of the mutineers. Or if, after all, you despise your own safety, yet, why expose to the fury of a multitude, who violate the most sacred rights, your infant son and pregnant wife? It becomes you, at least, to take care of these, and preserve them for the emperor and the state." Germanicus made great difficulty of listening to these representations; and Agrippina was more averse thereto than he. This high-spirited princess said, That being of Augustus's blood, she had hereditary valour sufficient to brave danger. However, at last, Germanicus embracing her, and their son, with great tenderness, and many tears, prevailed on her to depart.

* Agrippina's departure was an affecting sight; a great princess, compelled to fly from her husband's camp, held in her arms her young son; the wives of Germanicus's friends, companions of her deplorable flight, contained not their lamentations and groans; nor lighter than their's

* *Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen: profuga ducis uxor, parvum sinu filium gerens; lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges, quæ simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant. Non florentis Cæsaris, neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa facies, gemitusque ac planctus, etiam militum aures oraque advertere. Progređiuntur contuberniis. Quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas illustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoris uxor, aut comitatus soliti, pergere ad treveros, et externæ fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio.*

A.R. 765. their's was the grief of those who remained.
 aft. C. 14. Tears and wailings, better becoming a city
 Grief of the
 soldiers. stormed, than the victorious camp of a prince,
 so nearly exalted to empire, and commander
 of such numerous forces, softened even the
 soldiers. They leave their tents, and ask,
 "Whence these lamentable cries? What sud-
 den unforeseen misfortune has happened?
 What! so many illustrious ladies with the ge-
 neral's wife at their head, unattended by a cen-
 turion, or a soldier, destitute of even their or-
 dinary train, fly to Treves to commit them-
 selves to the faith of foreigners preferably to
 that of Romans!" Shame and commiseration
 seize them; they recall the remembrance of
 Agrippa, the prince's father, of Augustus
 her grandfather, and of her father-in-law Dru-
 sus; they recollect her singular fertility and chas-
 tity. They were also greatly touched on ac-
 count of the young prince, who was born in the
 camp, nursed among the legions, and by them-
 selves surnamed Caligula, because to win their
 affections, he commonly wore little boots (cali-
 gas) of the same fashion with their own. But
 nothing so effectually subdued them as their
 jealousy of the inhabitants of Treves. They be-
 seech Agrippina to stay, they stop her, and
 while some of them prevent her going, the rest
 run to Germanicus. He, yet in the transports
 of grief and indignation, addressed himself to
 them in these terms.

Germani-
 cus's
 speech to
 the legions.

"* Those whose retreat you are so much con-
 cerned

* Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et Republica cariores
 sunt: sed illum quidem sua majestas, imperium Romanum
 ceteri exercitus defendent. Conjugem et liberos meos,
 quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, procul a
 furentibus submoueo, ut quidquid istuc sceleris imminet,

cerned about, are not dearer to me than my fa- A.R.765.
 ther and the commonwealth. But neither the ^{aft. C. 14.}
 emperor nor the state give me any disquiet ;
 they are sufficiently defended ; the one by the
 majesty of his name, and the other by the rest
 of the Roman armies. My wife and son, whom
 for your glory I would freely sacrifice, must be
 removed from your rage : that whatever further
 mischief you meditate may be expiated by my
 blood alone ; and that the murder of the great
 grandson of Augustus, and of the daughter-
 in-law of Tiberius, may not be added to the
 black catalogue of your crimes ; for during
 your late frenzy, what has been too horrid for
 you to commit ? What name is there left for
 me to give you ? Can I call you soldiers, who
 have besieged the son of your emperor ? Ro-
 man citizens can I call you ? you have trampled
 on the authority of the senate ; you have even
 violated the customs religiously observed by de-
 clared enemies, the law of nations, and the sa-
 cred persons of ambassadors. Julius Cæsar
 once quelled a violent sedition by a single word ;
 by calling them citizens who no longer acted as
 soldiers. Augustus, by his presence, and a look,
 terrified into submission the legions that were
 victorious at Actium. If I am far unequal to
 these demi-gods, yet their blood runs in my
 veins. What kind of excuse can you make for
 your rebellion ? If the legions in Spain or Syria

2

refused

meo tantum sanguine pietur ; neve occisus Augusti prone-
 pos, interfecta Tiberii nurus, nocentiores vos faciat. Quid
 enim per hos dies inausum, intemeratunve vobis ? Quod
 nomen huic cœtui dabo ? Militesne appellem ? qui filium
 Imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis. An cives ?
 quibus tam projecta Senatus auctoritas. Hostium quoque
 us, et sacra legationis, et fas gentium, rupistis.

A. R. 765. refused to obey me, I should think it strange.
 aft. C. 14. And yet you, who are so closely connected with

Tiberius, you, the first legion raised by Tiberius himself, and the twentieth, his companion in so many battles, and enriched by his bounties, you thus testify your gratitude to your general! While my father hears nothing but good news from the other provinces, must I send him so very bad? Must I acquaint him, that his own new levies, and his own veterans, are neither satisfied by their discharges nor donatives; that here, and here only, the centurions are butchered, the tribunes driven away, and the deputies of the senate insulted; that here the camp and the rivers are tinged with blood; and that for me, his son, I hold a precarious life at the mercy of madmen? * Why, when I first assembled you, did you snatch from me the sword with which I was going to dispatch myself? O imprudent friends! he who offered me his own sword, shewed me greater kindness. I should then have fallen ignorant of the many crimes since committed by my army. And you would have chosen another general, who should have left my death unpunished, but have revenged the slaughter of Varus and his three legions. For may the gods forbid, that the Belgians, whose good intentions outstrip my wishes, should appropriate the renown of retrieving the glory of the Roman name, and repulsing the Germans. † Rather may, O divine Augustus,

* *Cur enim primo concionis die ferrum illud quod pectori meo infigere parabam detraxistis? O improvidi amici! melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat.*

† *Tua, dive Auguste, cœlo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, iisdem istis cum militibus, quos jam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculem, irasque civiles in*

tus, thy deified spirit, and thy revered image A.R.765.
and memory, O father Drusus, inspire my aft. C. 14.
hearers with the ardour of the noble vengeance !
Already, I perceive, they feel the remorse of
shame, and sense of honour. Improve this their
inclination to return to their duty, and turn the
whole tide of their civil rage to the destruction
of the enemy. And you, my fellow-soldiers,
in whose countenances I read the happy altera-
tion of your minds, if you mean to restore to
the senate their ambassadors, to your emperor
your loyalty, and to me, your general, my wife
and son, fly the contagion of the guilty, and
separate from the seditious. This will be a
sure sign of remorse ; this a firm pledge of fi-
delity."

These words softened the soldiers into suppli-
cations and confessions of their faults. They The muti-
neers come
to them-
selves, and
execute
justice on
the most
guilty.
besought Germanicus to punish the guilty, to
pardon the ignorant and imprudent, and to
lead them against the enemy ; but above all,
they conjured him to recall the princess, and his
son, and not to suffer the fosterling of the le-
gions (so they called the young prince) to be
given in hostage to the Gauls. Germanicus de-
sired them to excuse the return of Agrippina,
on account of the advanced season, and her ap-
proaching delivery. But promised to recall his
son ; and left to them to execute what remain-
ed to be done.

The soldiers, now wholly changed, search all
over the camp for the most seditious ; seize,
bind,

exitium hostibus vertant ! Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc
ora, alia pectora intueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium in-
peratorum, si mihi conjugem ac filium redditis, discedite a
contactu, et dividite turbidos. Id stabile ad pœnitentiam,
id fidei vinculum erit.

A.R.765. bind, and then carry them before C. Cetronius, aft. C.14. commander of the first legion. And this was the manner of this very extraordinary military judgment. The legions being assembled with drawn swords, the prisoner was exposed on an eminence, from whence every one could see him, by a tribune. And if he was unanimously proclaimed guilty, he was thrown down, and killed on the spot. The soldiers rejoiced in these bloody executions, as they thought them expiatory of their own guilt: and Germanicus did not restrain them, as he thereby incurred no sort of odium. The veterans also executed justice on the most guilty among them; and were soon after ordered into Rhoetia, under pretence of defending that province against the Suevians who threatened it. Though the true reason was * to remove them from a camp still horrible, as well on account of the rigorous punishment, as of the remembrance of the crime that occasioned it.

Review of
the centu-
rions.

Germanicus, afterwards, reviewed the centurions in the presence of the soldiers. A popular practice; and which, if not prescribed by custom, but introduced by Germanicus, shewed a great condescension in him for the soldiery. Each centurion was cited in his rank; and gave an account of his name, his company, his country, the number of campaigns he had served, his exploits, and military presents, if with any he had been distinguished. If the tribunes and legion bore testimony to his valour and conduct, he kept his post. If there was a concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was broke.

The

* Ut avellerentur castris, trucibus adhuc, non minus a-
peritate remedii, quam sceleris memoria.

The news of these violent commotions in the A.R. 735. German legions reached Rome, before the ac- aft. C. 14- count of the end of the Pannonian sedition: Tiberius keeps quiet in Rome during all these con- motions. * and the citizens, being alarmed, condemned Tiberius for amusing himself in town with mocking by an affected modesty the senate and the people, who were weak and unarmed; while the soldiery were in too stubborn a rebellion to be quelled by two young princes, whose raw authority was not sufficiently respected. They wanted him to go himself, and awe them with the majesty of imperial power; thinking they would infallibly submit upon sight of their emperor, the sole and sovereign disposer of rewards and punishments. "Augustus, said they, could, under the pressure of age, take many journies into Germany; but Tiberius keeps quiet at home, watching and cavilling at the senators words. † He had fully provided for the domestic servitude of Rome; he ought now to cure the licentiousness of the soldiery, and reconcile them to a life of peace."

Notwithstanding these discourses came to Tiberius's ears, he continued resolute and inflexible in his resolution not to depart from the capital, lest he should expose himself and the commonwealth to some extraordinary danger. And really various considerations detained him. The Germany army was the stronger, the Pannonian the nearer. The former might be supported by the forces of Gaul, the latter threatened Italy.

* *Trepida civitas incusare Tiberium, quod dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermis, cunctatione facta ludificetur; dissideat interim miles, nec duorum adolescentium novulum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat.*

† *Scitis provisum urbanæ servituti: militaribus animis adhibendæ fomica ut ferre pacem velint.*

A.R. 765. Italy. To which then should he repair? Besides, he was afraid that the army he appeared to consider least would be offended, and therefore more intractable. * Whereas, by sending one of his sons to each of the armies, the equal treatment of both was maintained; as also the majesty of sovereignty, ever most revered at a distance. He thought too that the young princes might evade some demands of the soldiers, by referring them to their father; and that if the mutineers should disobey Germanicus or Drusus, he was not without hopes of appeasing them by his own authority, or of reducing them by force. But if once they contemned their emperor, what resource was behind? Such were Tiberius's thoughts. Notwithstanding, through an inclination for dissimulation, as well as to appear to grant something to the desire of the Roman citizens, he declared his intention to set out, he chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet. But on pretence, sometimes of the winter, sometimes of business, he continued at Rome; and enjoyed the pleasure of deceiving the public.

The German sedition was not however totally appeased. Two legions, the fifth and twenty-first, that were camped at a place called † Vetera, persisted in their disobedience. These were the most guilty of all; it was they that began the troubles; they that committed the greatest excesses; and now, neither terrified by the punishments, nor reclaimed by the reformation of their comrades, they preserved all their fierceness and audacity. Germanicus determined there-

Germanicus prepares to reduce by force two obstinate legions. † *Santen* in the duchy of *Clèves*.

* At per filios pariter adiri, majestate salva, cui major è longinquo reverentia.

therefore to use force against them. He assembled an army, and got a great many vessels together to go down the Rhine to them. A.R. 765. aft. C. 14.

But he took this resolution with regret. Therefore, before he put it in execution, being willing to try a last resource he wrote to Cecina, who commanded the winter quarters of the mutinous legions, that he was coming with a powerful army, and that if he was not prevented by the punishment of the seditious, he should put all to the sword without distinction. Cecina privately sends for the eagle-bearers, ensigns, and all who were best affected: reads to them the general's letter, and exhorts them to redeem themselves from death, and their legions from infamy *: representing to them, that in peace reason was heard and merit distinguished, but in war, the innocent perished with the guilty. These sound their friends and acquaintance, and finding that the majority of the camp persevered in their duty, they, in concurrence with Cecina, settle a time for putting to the sword the most notoriously seditious and criminal. The soldiers dutifully prevent him by a bloody execution of the most criminal.

Upon a particular signal given, those who had the word, rush into the tents, and slaughter their comrades, who had no such apprehension: nor was it known whence the massacre began or where it would end. † This was a kind of civil

* In pace causas et merita spectari; ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere.

† Diversa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium armorum facies. Non prælio, non adversis e castris, sed iisdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentes dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor, vulnera, sanguis, palam, causa innoculo: cetera fors regit: et quidam bonorum cæsi, postquam intellecto in quos sæviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque Legatus aut Tribunus moderator adfuit: permixta vulgo licentiâ.

A. R. 765. civil war different from what had ever happened. C. 14. ed. The combatants made not two separate bodies, nor came out of different camps. But those who had eat together in the day, and slept together part of the night, rise from the same bed, and fall on one another as enemies. Outcries, wounds, and blood, were heard and seen : but the cause of them remained hid : a fortuitous rage seemed to direct the action : till the seditious, having at length discovered that they were the persons attacked, endeavoured to unite, and killed some of the loyalists. No lieutenant-general, no tribune, moderated the slaughter : it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, who left off when sated with destruction. Soon after this terrible massacre, Germanicus arrived, afflicted and in tears ; who said, that this was not the appearance of an execution, but of a defeat ; and ordered the bodies of the slain to be burnt.

Short and happy expedition against the Germans.

* The legions, still agitated by a mad rage, are seized with a passion to go against the enemy, as an expiation of their crimes ; and persuade themselves that nothing but their own blood shed in an honourable cause, could wash away the stain of the blood of their comrades with which they were contaminated, and appease their angry ghosts. Though the season was far advanced, Germanicus fell in with their ardour ; and laying a bridge on the Rhine, marched over

atque ultio, et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud, plurimis cum lacrymis, sed cladem appellans, crenari corpora jubet.

* Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, pinculum furoris: nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impie honesta vulnera receperint

over twelve thousand foot detached from the A.R. 765
four mutinous legions, six-and-twenty auxili- aft. C. 14
ary cohorts, making about the same number,
and about two thousand four hundred horse,
divided into eight squadrons.

The German army was not far off, enjoying at its ease the vacation that the intestine divisions of the Romans afforded it. Germanicus, having intelligence that the Germans were celebrating a festival with all the licentiousness and disorder usual with barbarians, made a forced march, and surprised them in the night. He found them stupified with wine and sleep: without corps-de-gardes, without sentries, without even the precautions necessary in full peace. The carnage was great: Germanicus extended himself over all the country of the Marsians, and ravaged with fire and sword a space of fifty miles; and destroyed the temple of * Tanfana, a divinity much revered in these regions; and all this was performed without the loss of a single man, because he had to do with people either asleep or in flight, unarmed and defenceless.

In his return three German nations, the Bructeri, Usipetes, and Tubantes, having united their forces, endeavoured to obstruct his march. They watched their time when the van of the Roman army was defiling cross a thick wood, and then they fell on the auxiliary cohorts that composed its rear. Germanicus had foreseen this attack. He rides up to the twentieth legion, which was the nearest to the action and exhorts it to efface the remembrance of
of

* It appears to be the divinity of the forests, adored among the Germans, as *Sylvanus* was among the Romans.

A.R.765. of sedition. "Haste, my friends, says he, haste to obliterate your faults, by a glorious achievement." Animated by these words, the legion advances against the enemy, breaks them, and cuts most of them to pieces. Mean while the Roman van passed the forest, and fortified a camp. The rest of the march was uninterrupted; and the soldiers, pleased with their late expedition, and forgetful of their past faults, went quietly into winter-quarters.

Tiberius's
joy temper-
ed with dis-
quiet.

The news of these things, when they came to Tiberius, gave him at once both joy and disquiet. He rejoiced that the sedition, was suppressed; but the manner of doing it disturbed him. He was alarmed at, and suspicious of, the donatives and premature discharges, by which Germanicus had gained the affections of the soldiery. He was jealous of the glory that young prince was acquiring in war. But above all, he apprehended in him a rival, who might by seconding the inclination of the armies, aspire to the empire. He was so affected by this apprehension, that he counterfeited illness to make Germanicus believe he had not long to wait. Nor did the modesty of a prince, who had given such proofs of his fidelity, at all remove his fears; because as Dion observes, knowing himself to be a great hypocrite, and the opposite of what he publicly appeared to be, he thought other men were like him, and that none but weak people were sincere.

Suet. Tib.

He reported to the senate, nevertheless, an advantageous account of the services Germanicus had done the state, and greatly applauded them, but in words too pompious and studied to be thought dictated by his heart. He spoke more modestly of Drusus, and of his
address

address in pacifying the sedition of Illyricum ; A.R. 765. but the little he said appeared natural and cor- aft. C. 14: dial. He ratified, and extended to the Pannonion legions, all that Germanicus had granted to those he commanded ; an indulgence which did not at all suit with Tiberius's genius ; and which, as it was extorted by the circumstances of affairs, was not of long duration.

S E C T. II.

Death of Julia, Augustus's daughter. Sempronius Gracchus slain by Tiberius's order. Tiberius, naturally inclined to cruelty, conceals it under an appearance of great lenity and moderation. He manifests great zeal for justice. He does not oppress the nations. And affects popularity. It was his dread of Germanicus that made him thus counterfeit. He permits prosecutions for pretended treasons. Affair of Falanius and Rubrius. That of Granius Marcellus. Tiberius's well-judged liberality. He sometimes couples it with severity. Overflowing of the Tiber. Project for turning the rivers that ran into it. Achaia and Macedonia become provinces to Cesar. Tiberius's custom of continuing those in place he had once put in. Drusus's vices. Tiberius leaves off going to the games and spectacles. Passion of the Romans for pantomimes. Seditions. Regulation on that subject. Augustus's legacy to the people discharged somewhat lately by Tiberius. Melancholy fate of a pleasant fellow. The hundredth denarius continued. Revocation of the indulgences extorted by the seditions in Germany. German war. Germanicus's expedition
against

against the Catti. Segestes besieged by his countrymen. Germanicus delivers him. Discourse of Segestes to Germanicus. Arminius makes the Cherusicans and neighbouring nations take up arms. Germanicus marches against him. He pays the last duties to the remains of Varus and his legions. Tiberius blames him for it. Action between the Romans and Germans, wherein the advantage is equal. Return of the Roman army. Four legions under the conduct of Cecina are in great danger, but extricate themselves by their valour. False rumour of the entire defeat of these legions. Thoughts of breaking the bridge on the Rhine. Agrippina prevents it. Tiberius takes umbrage at Agrippina. Two legions under the conduct of P. Vitellius are in danger of being drowned. Germanicus's liberality and goodness. He receives into favour Segimerus and his son. He takes a resolution to transport all his troops into Germany by sea. A fleet of a thousand sail. Short expedition toward the Luppia. Embarkation. Course of the fleet to the mouth of the Amisia. Conversation between Arminius and his brother Flavus, who served in the Roman army. Germanicus passes the Vescr. He secretly informs himself of his soldiers disposition. Germanicus's dream. His harangue to the soldiers. Arminius encourages his troops. Battle gained by the Romans. Second battle, where the Romans are again victorious. Trophy. The Angrivarians submit. Return of the Romans by sea. Storm. Disaster of the fleet. Germanicus's grief. His care to pick up his soldiers. Expeditions against the Cattans and Morsians. Fright of the Germans. Return of the legions into winter-quarters. Germanicus

ens recalled. He has no successor in the chief command of the legions in Germany.

THIS year the unfortunate Julia, daughter of Augustus, concluded a banishment of sixteen years, by a death which was occasioned or at least accelerated. However justly her father was exasperated against her, as he left her no life, he rightly judged that he ought to provide her a subsistence; and when he transferred her from the isle of Pandataria to the city of Rhegium, he gave her that town for her prison. Tiberius, who had formerly interceded for her, was no sooner sole master, than he cut off her alimentary pension; under an unworthy pretence that there was no mention made of it in Augustus's will: he also confined her to her house, where she was kept close prisoner. Thus Julia, an emperor's daughter and wife, was in want of necessaries, and died almost of hunger; and her mournful fate, though merited by her horrible irregularities, raised nevertheless a spirit of indignation against him who violated, with respect to her, all the aights of humanity.

One of her corrupters perished about the same time by the sword: A man, who joined to the advantage of a great family, an easy wit and an eloquence which he made no good use of. Sempronius Gracchus had begun an adulterous intercourse with Julia, while she was Agrippa's wife. Constant in iniquity, he did not break off the intrigue after her marriage with Tiberius. He even set the princess against her husband; and it was thought that a letter written by Julia to Augustus, wherein she complained bitterly of Tiberius, was dictated by Gracchus. He there-

A.R. 765. fore deserved the banishment Augustus condemn-
 aft. C. 14. ed him to. He was transported to the isle of
 Cercina, near Africa ; where he bore his long
 exile with resolution ; and shewed great spirit in
 his death. The soldiers sent to kill him found
 him on the shore full of melancholy reflections,
 and in expectation of the approaching misfortune.
 He desired of them a short respite, in order to
 acquaint his wife Alliaria with his last intentions
 by letter : after which he presented them his
 throat, and received the mortal blow with a con-
 stancy, says Tacitus*, in death, not unworthy of
 the Sempronian name, though in his life he had de-
 generated. According to some authors, the sol-
 diers that slew him came not directly from Rome,
 but were sent by L. Asprenas, proconsul of
 Africa, by order of Tiberius, who hoped to have
 cast on Asprenas the imputation of Gracchus's
 death. And truly this little finesse is of a piece
 with the rest of this prince's proceedings.

Tiberius,
 naturally
 inclined to
 cruelty, &
 conceals it
 under an
 appearance
 of great
 lenity and
 modera-
 tion.

Thus Tiberius began to disclose his bent to
 cruelty, which had appeared in his infancy, as
 may be proved by the celebrated saying of his
 tutor, who, to express the meanness and bloody
 disposition of his pupil, defined him, † a piece
 of clay moistened with blood. He concealed it
 however in the beginning of his reign, and op-
 posed to the acts of inhumanity I have related, a
 conduct in other respects extremely moderate,
 and which would have been very laudable if his
 sentiments had concurred with appearances.

Suet. Tib.
 27. Dion. I.
 l. 48.

Enemy to flattery and cringing servilities, he
 suffered no senator to attend his litter, either by
 way

* Constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine ;
 vita degeneraverat. Tac. i. 53.

† Πηλον αίματι περιφραμίεν. Suet. Tib. 57

way of company or business. If in conversation A.R.765. or set discourses terms of adulation were bestowed aft. C.14. on him, he interrupted the speakers, and obliged them to change their style. Thus one having called him *Master* or *Lord*, (a title he would never admit of, as I have said,) he told him, that he took that pretended respectful expression as an affront, and ordered him to leave it off. Another styling his occupation *sacred* or *divine*, he bade him say *laborious*. A person who told the senate he came there by his *order*, was obliged to alter his expression, and substitute, *by his advice*. * The proper manner therefore of treating this prince was very difficult to be attained, as he feared liberty and hated flattery.

This severity with respect to adulation was the more remarkable, as he himself went almost beyond the bounds of politeness in the terms and turns he used to the senate and its particular members. Once when he gave an opinion contrary to that of Haterius, " Pray excuse me, says he, if as a senator I combat your sentiments with freedom." And to the senate in a body, he thus expressed himself: * " I have often said, fathers, that a prince invested by you with such unlimited power, if he will govern well, ought to be the slave of the senate, the state, and even sometimes of particulars. This I have said, and do not repent of it. For I have always found, and yet find,

* Unde augusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat. *Tac. Ann. ii. 87.*

† Dixi et nunc et sæpe alias, P. C. bonum et salutarem principem, quem vos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui servire debere, et universis civibus sæpe, et plerumque etiam singulis: neque id dixisse me poenitet; et bonos et æquos et faventes vos habui dominos, et adhuc habeo. *Suet. Tib. 29.*

A. R. 765. find, you good, just, and indulgent masters." aft. C. 14. He said too much to be believed.

Yet it must be confessed that he exceeded mere words, and that he allowed the senate and magistrates the exercise of their authority. On every affair, whether of great or small importance, public or private, he consulted the senate; whether about impositions or finances, public works to be made or restored, the levy and discharge of troops, the quartering of the legions and auxiliaries, the choice of generals, the continuation of governors of provinces, the answers to the letters of foreign kings, or the ceremonial to be observed to them. And he permitted them to make decrees contrary to his opinion. Suetonius observes, that on an occasion where the sentiments were divided, Tiberius going over to the minority was followed by nobody. He always entered the senate unattended and alone; and if on account of indisposition he came in a chair, he dismissed his train when he came to the porch of the senate-house.

Dion. If affairs required dispatch, or were too inconsiderable to be brought before the senate, he would not then determine them alone. He received the deputations and petitions of the cities and provinces assisted by a council of senators; and this he constituted of such, as having commanded in the place in question, were best acquainted with its concerns.

Suet. It is not sufficient to say that he had a great regard for the consuls; he paid them the utmost deference, rising up when they came near him, and giving them the wall. At the entertainments of ceremony that he gave them, he received them at the door of his apartment, and reconducted them there when they went away. Nay, he

he left them so much authority, that some de- A.R. 765.
puties from Africa came and complained to them, aft. C. 14.
“That Cæsar, to whom they were sent, would
not dispatch their business.”

He endeavoured to appear to desire that all *Dion.*
who had places should enjoy their rights. Some
persons of consular dignity that commanded ar-
mies having written to him an account of their
exploits, he reproached them for not addressing
themselves to the senate, according to ancient
custom. If they consulted him about certain
military presents, the distribution whereof they
reserved to him, he complained that they were
unacquainted with the extent of their power,
which made them the disposers of all such re-
compenses. He commended a pretor, who the
first day of his employment had assembled the
people, to put them in mind (as used to be done
under the republican government) of the servi-
ces of his ancestors.

He manifested great zeal for justice, and watch- He mani-
ed it himself. He frequented the tribunals *in-* fests great
cog. that he might not take from the pretor his zeal for jus-
place of president; and heard the pleadings. If tice.
he perceived, or had been informed, that the
judges were biassed by favour or affection, he re-
formed them by his advice and exhortation. Ta-
citus observes, that * by thus enforcing justice,
he hurt liberty: a peevish reflection, which sets
in a bad light a most laudable conduct.

He took care that the nations should not be He does not
oppressed by too burthensome imposts. Emilius oppress the
Rectus, prefect of Egypt, having transmitted to nations.
the imperial treasury a greater sum of money than *Dion.*
his

A.R. 765. his province was obliged to furnish, Tiberius, aft. C. 14. instead of thanking him for it, wrote to him *,
 “ That sheep should be sheared, but not skin’d.”

He affects
 popularity.
Dion.

He bent his natural haughtiness and arrogance to popularity: by frequenting the games and spectacles, that he might seem to partake of the diversions of the people; by being of easy access; by visiting his friends without guards or state, and by interesting himself in their affairs, soliciting for them when they had suits, and being present at their domestic entertainments; in a word, by bringing himself almost to a level with private citizens; and by reserving the part of the prince and emperor for public occasions.

It was his
 dread of
 Germani-
 cus that
 made him
 thus coun-
 terfeit.

The union of all these good qualities would seem to constitute an accomplished prince. But it was only Tiberius’s dread of Germanicus that made him strive to make his government palatable. He himself did not love virtue; but he made use of it as an expedient to support himself against the popularity of one whom he considered as a rival. To him may be applied what Horace says, “ † That he was a subtle fox that counterfeited the generous procedure of a lion.” And time unmasked him; and altogether undid his good and laudable outset. But this change was effected by degrees, and long preparation. We may consider it as begun, though with great caution, from the consulship of his son Drusus and Norbanus, who entered on their office within five months of Augustus’s death.

DRUSUS

* *Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere. Suet. Tib. 32.*

† *Astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem.*

Hor. Sat. ii. 3.

DRUSUS CESAR.

A.R. 766.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

aft. C. 15.

Under these consuls Tiberius permitted prosecutions for pretended reasons in frivolous cases, wherein there was nothing serious except the malice of the informers. He at first affected to despise the reflections cast on him; and often said, * That in a free state men's thoughts and tongues ought to be free. He even explained himself on this head in the senate, in a most modest manner. "If any one, says he, censure my conduct, I will give him an account of the principles I act by; and if, after such an explanation, he persist in doing it, I shall return enmity for enmity." Some senators, through flattery, or in concert with him, having moved, that the senate should take cognizance of such words and actions as were contrary to the respect due to the majesty of the prince; he answered; "† We have not leisure enough to embark in this new species of business. If once you introduce such prosecutions, you will have nothing else to do. Every one will take this method to ruin his enemy." It was impossible, as Mr. de Tillemont observes, to predict with greater truth the horrible mischief he himself was about to do.

He permits prosecutions for pretended treasons. Tac. Ann. i. 72. Suet. Tib. 28.

It is true, that he was exasperated beyond patience by the rashness of some petulant wits, who dispersed about Rome the most injurious satires against him. They therein told him, "† You

Suet. Ti. 59.

F 4

are

* Subinde jactabat, in civitate libera linguam mentemque liberasse debere. Suet.

† Non tantum otii habemus, ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus. Si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis; omnium inimicitiae hoc praetextu ad vos deferentur

‡ Asper et immitis. Breviter vis omnia dicam?

Dispeream si te Mater amare potest.

A.R. 766. are harsh and austere ; and to sum up your character in one word—your very mother cannot love you.” His bias to cruelty had shewn itself, as we have seen by the violent deaths of Agrippa, Posthumus, and Gracchus, and his inhumanity to Julia. He also loved wine much, and had been guilty of great excess that way. A poet, uniting these two vices, said of him : * “ He disdains wine because he thirsts after blood. And he drinks human blood in as great quantities as he formerly did wine.” They also reproached him with his retreat to, and sort of exile at, Rhodes ; and, having cited the examples of Sylla, Marius, and Anthony, who, soured by their disgraces, had killed so many citizens at their return to Rome, they added : † “ Rome is undone. What can you expect but a bloody reign from one who comes from banishment to the throne.”

Tac. Tiberius’s affected moderation could not hold out against this unbridled licentiousness ; he endeavoured to put a stop thereto by severity ; and the pretor, Pompeius Macer, having asked him, if he was to take cognizance of accusations of treason, he answered, that he should do justice and see the laws executed. However, he did not at once carry things to extremities ; and in some of the first of these affairs is only to be blamed for having suffered to be treated seriously such accusations as only deserved contempt.

Affair of
Falanius
and Ru-
brius.

Falanius and Rubrius were accused before the senate as guilty of irreverence towards the majesty

* Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem.

Tam bibit hunc avidè quam bibit ante merum.

† ——— Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

ty and divinity of Augustus : the first, because A.R 766. in the celebration of the festivals that were solemn-^{aff. C. 14.}ized from house to house in honour of this deified prince, he had admitted among the ministers of the worship, a player, named Cassius, of infamous life ; and also, because he had sold together with his gardens a statue of Augustus that was in them. To Rubrius was imputed, that he had sworn falsely by the name of Augustus. The consuls wanted to know the emperor's mind about crimes of so new a species. He, being absent, answered them in writing : " That heaven had not been decreed to his father, to ensnare the Roman citizens. That the pantomime Cassius had been employed by his mother in the interludes celebrated by her in Augustus's honour. That his statues, like those of the other divinities, might, without hurting religion, be comprehended in the sale of houses and gardens. That as to the swearing falsely by his name, to profane Augustus's or Jupiter's was but the same ; and * the gods alone were to avenge the injuries done to the gods." He could not have given a more moderate or more equitable answer. But the accusation had been admitted, and the example set.

Another followed soon after. Granius Marcellus, governor of Bithynia was accused of high-treason by his questor Cæpio Crispinus † ;
Affair of Granius Marcellus.
who,

* *Deorum injurias diis curæ.*

† *Qui formam vitæ iniiit quam postea celebrem misciæ temporum & audaciæ hominum fecerunt. Nam egeus, ignotus, iniquus, dum occultis læbellis sævitie principis, adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentium apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus, dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis, ac postremum sibi, invencere.*

A.R. 766. who, says Tacitus, first opened a way which the
 aft. C. 15. misery of the time and the audacity of trouble-
 some people made trite and beaten. He was an
 obscure man, poor, ambitious and restless; and
 by gratifying by secret informations the sanguinary
 inclination of the prince, and thus endanger-
 ing the first persons in Rome, he acquired the
 favour of one and the hatred of all: nor wanted
 he followers, who like him, from poverty be-
 come rich, and as dreadful as they were once
 contemptible; and who dug for others a pit
 into which they at last fell themselves.

Crispinus accused Marcellus of speaking ill of
 Tiberius; and he gave the accused an inevitable
 blow, by selecting all that was bad in the Prince's
 character, and making it the subject of Marcel-
 lus's criticisms. For it was easily believed to
 have been spoken, because it was true.

Romanus Hispo, who acted as second to the
 principal accuser, added, that the statue of Mar-
 cellus was by him placed higher than those of
 the Cesars; and that having taken off the head
 of a statue of Augustus, he had in the room of
 it set that of Tiberius.

The emperor, doubtless, suffered greatly in
 hearing the censure of himself related; yet he
 contained himself. But this last grievance giv-
 ing his anger an opportunity to shew itself, as it
 seemed more to affect Augustus than himself, he
 fell into a violent passion. He declared that in
 this affair he would himself give his vote, under
 an oath to observe justice. * There remained, even
 then says, Tacitus, some traces of departed liber-
 ty. Hence Cn. Piso addressed him, "In what
 place, Cesar, says he, will you choose to give your
 opinion? If first, I shall know what to do. If
 last,

* *Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis.*

last, I fear I may unwillingly differ from you." A.R. 766. This representation made Tiberius ashamed of aft. C. 15. his transport. He grew cool, and suffered Marcellus to be acquitted of high treason. He was also accused of extortion. But that was referred to the ordinary judges, as usual.

About this time Tiberius did some well-placed and truly laudable acts of generosity. Aurelius Pius, a senator, complained to the senate, that his house had suffered much from some public works that had been done for a road and an aqueduct, and desired to be indemnified. This the pretors, who managed the treasury, opposed; but the emperor relieved him, and ordered him the price of his house. * For he was fond, says Tacitus, of being liberal upon honest occasions: a virtue which he long retained after he had abandoned all others. Of this we have another proof.

Propertius Celer, once pretor, desiring leave to resign the dignity of senator, which was burthensome to him; Tiberius, who knew that his poverty was not occasioned by this bad conduct, but derived from his father, presented him with a million of sesterces.

This proved a bait for others to try the same resource who had not so good a title. M. Allius, who had formerly been pretor too, but had dissipated his substance in debaucheries, petitioned the emperor to pay his debts. Tiberius was aware of the consequences, and demanded of Allius a state of his debts, and a list of his creditors. Allius, who was not easily put out of countenance, and was very desirous to be made easy at any price, did as he was ordered: and Tiberius gave him a draught

* *Frogandæ per honesta pecunio cupiens: quam virtutem diu retinuit, quam ceteras exueret.*

A.R. 766. draught on his treasurer payable to Allius the
 aft. C. 15. prodigal.

His reason for mixing this bitterness with the benefit was, to prevent his being fatigued by such requests, which he thought indecent to grant, and hard to refuse. And accordingly many preferred poverty and silence, to relief with ignominy. Others, who were hardier, were forced to submit to the same conditions as Allius.

Tacitus and Seneca condemn the severity of this conduct of Tiberius. But, would it have been more good-natured to have refused? and those who could submit to such infamy deserved to undergo it. Tiberius's harsh and savage temper has discredited actions which in a prince of a different character would perhaps have been considered as a wise mixture of indulgence and severity.

Overflowing of the
 Tiber.
 Project for
 turning the
 rivers that
 ran into it.
 Tac. l. 76,
 79. An extraordinary overflowing of the Tiber made this year great havoc in Rome by destroying of houses and drowning of men. It was considered as a prodigy; and Asinius Gallus proposed in the senate, to consult thereupon the Sibylline books. * But Tiberius opposed it equally, says Tacitus, smothering all enquiries whether into human or divine matters. And he judged certainly better than Gallus, and took better measures, for he appointed two senators, Arruntius and Ateius Capito, commissaries to consider of means to prevent the like disaster for the future.

The result of their examination and enquiry was a project to turn the rivers and lakes that ran into the Tiber. The countries and cities that were to be affected by the alteration, some of whom were apprehensive of being deprived of water,

* Renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens

water, and others of being drowned, made vigorous remonstrances. So that after much examination for and against the project, it was resolved to let things remain as they were. A.R. 766.
aft. C. 15.

A long time after, another expedient was thought of. It appears by a passage of Pliny the younger, that Trajan, or Nerva his predecessor, dug a bason to receive the water of the Tiber, when it overflowed. But human remedies are weak barriers against the laws of nature. The Tiber is in a manner a torrent, which must inevitably be subject to sudden increases when the Apennine snows begin to thaw. *Plin. Ep.*
viii. 17.

Achaia and Macedonia, that were under the jurisdiction of the people and governed by pro-consuls, being overburthened, were ordered to be subjected to the emperor. Which seems to prove that Cesar's provinces, as they were called, were better treated than those of the people. Tiberius accordingly conferred the government of Achaia and Macedonia on Poppeus Sabinus, continuing him also in that of Mesia. Achaia and
Macedonia
become
provinces
to Cesar.
Tac. i. 76,
80.

Tiberius made a practice of continuing those in place he had once put in. And this he did either through indolence, to spare himself the trouble of a new deliberation and choice; or through diffidence. * For the finesse of his views made him difficult and slow to determine. He did not love eminent virtue, yet hated vice. From great geniuses he apprehended danger to himself, and from weak people disgrace to the public. Thus perplexed Tiberius's
custom of
continuing
those in
place he
had once
put in.

* Sunt qui existiment, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium. Neque enim eminentis virtutes insectabatur, & rursus vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum, metnebat. Qua harsitatione postremo eo proventus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias quos egredi urbe non er. t passurus. *Tac. Ann. i. 80.*

A.R. 766. plexed and irresolute, he even sometimes com-
aft. C. 15. mitted foreign governments to those whom he
never meant to suffer to depart from Rome.

Drusus's
vices.

Drusus gave this year, in his own name and that of his brother Germanicus, the entertainment of gladiators; and presided at it. The people, who observe accurately all the indications of a temper that is one day to govern them, remarked with dread, that the young prince took too much pleasure in the cruel spectacle, and too eagerly feasted his eyes with the blood of the wretches who mutually butchered one another. And he was reproved for it by his father.

Dion. L. lvii.

Drusus, if we believe Dion, by no means promised, in case he had come to the empire, to make the people happy. This historian makes him thoroughly vicious; cruel, scandalously debauched, intemperate in eating and drinking, and choleric to such a degree as to commit sometimes all sorts of violences. He would have been his father unmasked. But this account wants perhaps some limitation, as we shall observe hereafter.

Tiberius
leaves off
going to
the games
and specta-
cles.
Tac.

Tiberius was not present at the shew exhibited by his son. People had so bad an opinion of him that there were those, who thought the reason of his absence was to give Drusus an opportunity of shewing what he was to the people, and of acquiring thereby their hatred. But however disposed Tacitus is to judge unfavourably of Tiberius, he rejects this suspicion as destitute of probability. He rather thinks that his gloomy temper made him shun great assemblies. He at first put a force on himself by appearing there, after Augustus's example. But nothing was more opposite than his dry disdainful manner, and the affable popular air of his predecessor. This he

was

was aware of, and therefore avoided a disadvantageous comparison. A.R. 766. aft. C. 15.

And this was his motive, for he will never be suspected to have absented himself through humanity from those bloody entertainments; nor was it zeal for purity of manners which hindered him from favouring, as Augustus did, the licentious theatre. This licentiousness was at this time carried to great excess by the * Pantomimes, whose marvellous but corruptive art intoxicated the Romans. This art, produced in the preceding reign, brought into vogue by Mecenas, and patronized by Augustus through liking and policy, was in such favour, that the schools of the inventers, Pylades and Bathyllus, kept up for several ages an uninterrupted succession of masters and disciples. The love of the Romans for these speaking gestures and dumb language was carried, as I have said, to intoxication and madness. They espoused the quarrels of these players; they put themselves into passions about the preference of one to another; they divided into contrary factions, and even raised such seditions at these spectacles, that the government was forced to interfere. Passion of the Romans for Pantomimes. Seditions. Regulation on that subject.

The preceding year a disturbance of this sort happened at the Augustal games. But Tiberius took no notice of it; not daring yet to treat the people severely, as they had been tenderly used by Augustus. This impunity occasioned another disorder this year that was more violent than the other. There was even blood spilt. Not only some of the populace were killed; but in the Tac. l. 64.

* The reader may find many curious particulars about these Pantomimes in the Reflexions sur la Peinture & la Peinture & la Poesie du l' Abbé Dubos, p. iii. § 16.

A.R. 766. the endeavour of the troops that guarded the theatre to hinder the tumult, and second the magistrates whom the multitude hallooed and outraged, a centurion and several soldiers lost their lives, and a tribune of a pretorian cohort was wounded.

This riot was canvassed in the senate; and some were for impowering the pretors to whip the players, as had been formerly done. Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the people, opposed it; and was sharply reprimanded by Asinius Gallus. Tiberius, who was present, kept a profound silence; allowing the senate, says Tacitus, these empty appearances of liberty. The tribune's opposition however prevailed, because it was conformable to Augustus's ordinances, which had in many things restrained the power of the magistrates over the players. And Augustus's will was a law to Tiberius, who affected to respect his lightest words.

A regulation therefore was only made; and it shews how far the abuses of this kind were carried. By it the wages of the players were limited, which the madness of the times had made excessive. The senators were forbid going into the schools of pantomimes, and the knights attending them abroad; they were not to play in private houses; and lastly, the pretors had a power given them over the spectators, which was refused them over the players, and were allowed to punish by banishment such of the audience as should make a disturbance during the performance.

Augustus's legacies to the people discharged some what late by Tiberius. Tiberius had not hurried himself about paying Augustus's legacy of three hundred sesterces to each Roman citizen. A pleasant fellow imagined an expedient to hasten him, which cost him

him dear. Seeing a corpse cross the forum, he went up to it, and whispered something in it's ear: and, when many asked him what he had said to the dead body, he answered, that he had commissioned him to acquaint Augustus, that the Romans were not yet paid the money bequeathed them by his will. Tiberius did not approve of this joke; and ordered the wit to be brought before him, to whom he paid his three hundred sesterces, and then sent him to execution; desiring him, to deliver with his own mouth his message to Augustus. This was revenging cruelly, a pleasantry which deserved only a light punishment. And Tiberius acknowledged the fellow not to be altogether in the wrong, by paying soon after what he owed the people.

But he paid no regard to the complaints of the people about the tax of the hundredth denarius, which was laid on every thing that was sold. On the contrary, he published a declaration, in which he affirmed, that this tax was necessary to make the fund for the expences of wars that was established by Augustus. He also laid hold of this opportunity, to abolish the indulgence of veterancy at sixteen years, which had been extorted by the seditious in Germany and Pannonia; and he restored the ordinances that made twenty years service the condition of that privilege; protesting, that otherwise the state could not support the expence of the armies it kept on foot. It is not said, that the legions murmured at having that revoked, which they had acquired by such fury. Their transport was over; and those in Germany in particular, did not the less do their duty against the enemy; as I am going to relate.

A triumph

A.R. 766.
aft. C. 15.
Melancho-
ly fate of a
pleasant
fellow.
Suet. Tib.
57.

The hun-
dredth de-
narius con-
tinued.
Revocation
of the in-
dulgences
extorted
by the se-
ditious in
Germany.
Tac. i. 78.

A.R. 766. A triumph had been decreed Germanicus, aft. C. 15. though the war was far from finished ; but he was willing to merit it ; and knowing that there was a difference between Arminius and Segestes, two chiefs of the Cherusci, he hastened to make use of the opportunity, by making early in the spring a sudden irruption into Germany.

German war. Germanicus's expedition against the Cattans. *Tac. Ann. i. 55.*

We have said, that Segestes had given Varus advice of the designs and plot of Arminius, though he was not credited. After the disaster of that unfortunate general, and of his three legions, Segestes was carried away by the unanimous revolt of his whole nation against the Romans. But he was never reconciled to Arminius : on the contrary, * their hatred had been heightened, by the injury Arminius did him, by carrying away and marrying his daughter against his consent when betrothed to another. Become therefore more implacable enemies, since they stood in the relation of father and son-in-law, that which is usually a bond of friendship, stimulated afresh the resentment of two men who could not endure one another.

While this dissension divided and weakened the forces of the Cherusci, Germanicus entered the territories of the Catti, their allies, with four legions and numerous auxiliaries. The Catti expected nothing less than this invasion : so that all who were defenceless through sex or age, were taken or killed. Their youth swam over the Adrana, now the Eder, and attempted to hinder the Romans from passing it. But their efforts were vain ; and they obliged to surrender

or

* *Auctis privatum odii, quod Arminius filiam ejus allipactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri: quæque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos, erant.*

or disperse. Germanicus, now master of the country, ravaged it; and burnt * Mattium, the capital: without any opposition. For to keep the neighbouring nations quiet, he had sent among them four legions under the command of Cecina.

This expedition over, he returned towards the Rhine; and his march was not disturbed by the enemy, who were terrified, nor by the difficulty of the ways, about which he had taken proper precautions. For though he set out in a dry season, he did not trust to it, as it is rare in the German climate; but being apprehensive of the rain and waters in his return, he left behind him L. Apronius with some troops, who was to take all possible care to make the roads practicable and convenient.

While he was on his march, deputies arrived from Segestes, imploring his assistance against Arminius's faction, who held him besieged, and in great streights. He, it seems, had angered his countrymen by dissuading war; whereas Arminius, who was fierce and enterprising, and ever talking of preserving liberty, and repulsing slavery, was greatly liked by these barbarians. Among Segestes's deputies, was his son Segimundus, who had not without some fear, put himself once more into the power of the Romans, whom he had greatly offended at the time of the defection of the Germans; and the disaster of Varus. For having been created priest of the altar consecrated to Augustus by the Ubians, he had torn his sacerdotal robes, and joined the rebels. Germanicus, however, received him graciously, and sent him with an escort over the Rhine. He granted Segestes's suit, and made no difficulty of going back again to his assistance:

A.R. 766.
aft. C. 15.
* It is imagined to be Marpourg.

Segestes besieged by his countrymen, and delivered by Germanicus.

A. R. 766. attacked his besiegers, and forced them to raise
aft. C. 15. the siege.

Segestes came out of the place with a great number of his relations and dependants, who had followed him. There were also with him some illustrious women, and among these his daughter *, Arminius's wife †, who was big with child, and more conformable in her sentiments to her husband than her father. She, when she appeared before Germanicus, disdained to shed tears or use submissive entreaties, but, keeping a profound silence, kept her arms across her breast, and her eyes fixt on her pregnant womb. Segestes at the head of this company, of superior stature, and with the confidence of an old and faithful ally, expressed himself in these words.

“ † This is not the first day of my proving an inviolable attachment to the Roman people. From the moment I was presented by the deified Augustus with the freedom of the city, I have had no friends or enemies but your's. Not that I disown or hate my country, (for traitors are odious even to those they serve) but that the interest of Rome and Germany seem to me the same, and that I prefer peace to war. From these motives I accused before Varus the ravisher of
of

* *The name of Arminius's wife was if there is no mistake in the text of Strabo, l. vii. Thusnelda.*

† *Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam patris animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplicis, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. Tac. i. 57.*

‡ *Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus diligere: neque odio patriae, (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt inveniunt) verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere, et pacem quam bellum probabam.*

of my daughter, and the treaty-breaker; and finding that indolent general was going to ruin himself by his delays, I pressed him to arrest us all, Arminius, his accomplices, and myself first. Witness this, thou fatal night, the last of Varus! Why was it not my last too? The conduct which the circumstances of affairs have obliged me to pursue since, is more to be lamented than justified. Yet have I cast Arminius into irons, and have myself wore the chains of his faction; and as soon as ever it was in my power to dispose of myself, I preferred my old engagements to my new ones, and tranquillity to combustions. Nor is it a view to my own interest that makes me return to you; but a desire to wipe off the stain of perfidy, and to reserve myself a mediator, if peradventure the Germans choose rather to repent than to be destroyed. As to my son, I beg you would forgive his youth and imprudence. As to * my daughter, whom I confess I brought here against her inclinations; it lies in your breast to determine under which character you will consider her, whether as the wife of Arminius or the daughter of Segestes." The answer of Germanicus was gracious; he promised his protection to Segestes, his children, and kindred; and to procure him an establishment in ceterior Germany. He then returned with his army; and with Tiberius's consent, received the title of Emperor. Arminius's wife was delivered of a son, whose singular adventures were related by Tacitus in those books of his annals that are lost.

* *Filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. Tuum erit consultare ntrum prævaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit, an quod ex me genita est.*

A. R. 766.
aft. C. 15.
Arminius
makes the
Cherusci
and neigh-
bouring
nations
take up
arms.

The kind reception of Segestes by Germanicus affected the Germans with grief or joy, according as they were inclined or averse to war. But Arminius, enraged at the affront done him in the person of his wife, ran like a madman about the country of the Cherusci, encouraging them to take up arms against Segestes and Germanicus. Nor was he sparing of invectives. “ * A good father this, he cried, a mighty general, an invincible army ! so many troops have made one woman prisoner. Such are not my exploits ; before me three legions fell, and three lieutenant-generals. For it is not by treason that I war, nor against pregnant women ; but openly, and against armed men. Still are to be seen in our forests the Roman colours hanging devoted to our gods. Let Segestes live in an enslaved province ; let him recover for his son an ignominious priesthood : the Germans will never forgive him for having been the cause of their seeing between the Elbe and the Rhine, the Roman fasces and toga. To other nations who know not the Roman domination, executions and tribute are also unknown. Evils, from which we have delivered ourselves by our courage ; in spite of their deified Augustus, and of Tiberius his chosen successor. Shall we now be awed by a rash, inexperienced boy, at the head of a mutinous army ? † No, if you love your country,
your

• *Egremium patrem ! magnum Imperatorem ! fortem exercitum ! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse. Non enim se proditione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos, bellum tractare.*

† *Si patriam, parentes, antiqua mallent, quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriæ ac libertatis, quam Segestem flagitiis servitutis, Ducem sequerentur.*

your kindred, your ancient rights, better than A.R. 766. haughty tyrants, and new colonies; follow Ar-^{aft.} C. 15. minius, who will lead you to liberty and glory, rather than Segestes, who points out the way to infamous slavery." These warm exhortations roused not only the Cherusci, but also the neighbouring nations: and Inguiomerus, Arminius's uncle, a man well known to, and much esteemed by, the Romans, followed the steps of his nephew.

Germanicus did not think proper to give the league that was forming time to assemble their forces. He therefore dispatched Cecina with his ^{Germanicus marches a-} ^{gainst him.} four legions across the country of the Bructeri, to the river Amisia. And Pedro led the cavalry by the confines of the Frisians. He himself embarked the rest of his forces on the Rhine and the *Issel, and went over the lake since named the Zuiderzee. The general rendezvous was at the mouth of the Amisia; where the fleet, the cavalry, and Cecina's legions joined. The Chauicians furnished succours to the Romans. But the Bructeri wasted their country to try to starve Germanicus's army. A detachment sent by this general under Stertinius routed them; and found amongst the booty a Roman eagle, which had been lost at Varus's overthrow. The Romans then marched after Arminius, and having wasted all the country between the Amisia and the Luppia, they came near the fatal place where the slaughtered legions of Varus had remained six years unburied.

Germanicus, who was humane, and loved popularity †, had a mind to pay the last offices to ^{He pays the last duties to the remains of Varus and his legions}

* See what is said in the second book about Drusus's canal.
 † Cupido Cæsareum invadit solvendi suprema militibus

A.R. 766. the deplorable remains of those brave soldiers, .
 aft. C. 15. and of their unhappy commander ; and all who
 were with him, were like him affected with ten-
 derness by the fate of their friends and relations,
 and by the consideration of the casualties of war,
 and of the sad lot of humanity. Occina, by the
 general's order, went before, to reconnoitre the
 woods and defiles, for fear of an ambuscade ;
 and also to lay bridges over the pools, and cause-
 ways, on the morasses. These precautions took,
 the army advanced to a spectacle hideous in it-
 self, and infinitely afflicting by the ideas it re-
 called. Dry, bleached bones, covered the ground ;
 separate, or in heaps, according as the slain had
 dispersed by flight, or fought united ; broken
 weapons were scattered about, skeletons of hor-
 ses, the instruments of the tortures inflicted on
 the captives, the savage altars on which the tri-
 bunes, and principal centurions were immolat-
 ed. Those who had happily survived the slaugh-
 ter, pointed out to their comrades, the places
 remarkable for the principal circumstances of
 that tragedy. The death of the lieutenant-ge-
 nerals, and the loss of the eagles.

“ Here Varus was wounded ; there desperate,
 and without resource, he stabbed himself with his
 own sword ; that hillock, covered with turf, is the
 tribunal whence Arminius harangued the vic-
 tors.” They related too many acts of his cru-
 elty and insolence, and recalled with something
 like satisfaction, objects that had formerly af-
 fected them with the greatest grief. * The du-
 ties

cique ; permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu
 ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum, et sor-
 tem hominum.

* Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum,
 trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suo-

ties of that piety which had brought the Roman A.R.766. army into these melancholy places, were executed with zeal. Nobody knew, whether it was to relations, or strangers, that he performed them : but considering as friends and relations, all for whom a common calamity equally interested them, they buried the bones in one heap ; divided by grief for their countrymen, and indignation against the enemy ; at once, shedding tears and threatening vengeance. This pile was covered with earth, on which Germanicus laid the first sod, discharging his duty to the dead, and setting an example to the living.

^ For this Tiberius blamed him ; either in consequence of that malice, which inclined him to give a bad turn to all Germanicus's actions, or because he really thought that the sight of the unburied slain, might have a bad effect on the minds of the soldiers, and make them afraid of the enemy. The Roman superstition, too, might induce him to judge it unbecoming a general, vested with the sacred dignity of an augur, to assist at the mournful ceremonial of an interment.

Meanwhile Germanicus was in pursuit of an enemy, whom it was almost as difficult to find, as to conquer. He at last came up with him ; but in the only action between the Romans and Germans, Arminius making use of his perfect knowledge of the country, and the advantage of the woods and morasses it abounded with, planted an ambuscade, which succeeded so well, that he worsted and put to flight Germanicus's cavalry, and the cohorts sent to support it. Put the legions put a stop to his victory ; though all that

rum humo tegetet, omnes ut junctos ut consanguin eos, aucta in hostem ira musti simul et infensi, condebant.

Tiberius blames him for it.

Action between the Romans and Germans, wherein the advantage is equal.

A. R. 766. that the Roman bravery could do, and the skill
aft. C. 15. of the commander was, only to separate with
equal advantage.

Return of
the Roman
army.

The season was now advanced ; and Germanicus was obliged to think of a retreat, which was an affair of more labour and hazard than the rest of the campaign. When he came to the river Amisia, he divided his army into three corps, according to his plan, when he set out on this expedition. He himself undertook to bring back by sea the four legions, he brought that way. Cecina with the four other legions, was to go through the heart of the country ; and the cavalry was to coast the ocean as far as the * Rhine. This third division was the only one that met with no misfortune.

Four legions under the conduct of Cecina are in great danger, but extricate themselves by their valour.

Cecina made all the haste he could to gain a causeway, called then the *Long bridges*, a work of L. Domitius, that traversed a marshy country, and known now by the name of the Ponds of Bourtang. But, impeded by the baggage, he made no great dispatch ; and Arminius, crossing the country with light troops, prevented him ; and posted himself in the mountains and forests about the causeway.

This causeway was decayed in many places : and while Cecina employed part of his troops in repairing it, the Cherusci fell on him, and, had greatly the advantage of the Romans who were in danger of being destroyed if the approaching night had not luckily obliged the victors to retire.

The success of the Germans increased their ardour. They employed the night in turning in-
to

* We must understand here, that branch of the Rhine which ran into the sea by the mouth called Flevum. See the above-cited place of the second book.

to the works of the Romans, the waters, springs, A. R. 766. and rivulets, of the neighbouring mountains. aft. C. 15. All the plains were thereby flooded; and Cecina compelled to abandon the reparation of the causeway.

Cecina was an old warrior, who had served forty years; and * being inured to the prosperous and disastrous vicissitudes of war; was undaunted. Between the mountains and the marshes there stretched a plain, large enough to contain an army on a small front. Cecina resolved to send forward by this passage the wounded, and the heavy baggage, while, with his best troops he restrained the enemy to the woods, by a spirited engagement. This plan was well formed by the commander, but ill executed by the troops. Two legions quitted their post, and ran into the plain beyond the bogs. Arminius, watched the Romans motions, and instead of acting with the usual precipitation of a barbarian, he stayed till the difficulty of the place, and the confusion of a dangerous march had disordered them. † When he saw the baggage-waggons set fast in the mire, the soldiers in disorder about them, the colours moving in confusion, and every one (as happens in such cases) taking care of himself, and deaf to his officers orders, he gave the signal of battle, crying out, “Behold again Varus, and his legions, subdued by the same fate.” At the same time he began the attack; recommending, particularly to his troops,

to

* *Secundarum adversarumque rerum sciens, eoque interitus.* Tac. i. 64.

† *Ut hasere cœno, fossisque, impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore, sibi quisque properat, et lentæ adversum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos jubet, clamitans, En Varus, et eodem iterum fato victæ legiones.*

A.R. 766. to strike the enemies horses. They obeyed him, and the horses of the Romans, who had before difficulty enough to keep on their legs in such slippery ways, wild with their wounds, fly about, and throw their riders, and run away, tumbling down all they meet, and trampling on such as were on the ground. The disorder becomes terrible; and, to complete the misfortune, Cicina's horse being killed under him, he fell; and had been taken, if the greediness of the barbarians after the booty, had not carried them elsewhere, and hindered their victory from being decisive. The courage of the legions was revived by the danger of their commander; and, redoubling their efforts, they at last, towards night, gained an open, solid spot, where they could encamp.

But in losing a great part of their baggage, they had also lost their instruments for digging, and carrying earth, and cutting turf *; no tents they had; no remedies for the wounded; and their food defiled with mire and blood, disgusted them; while the dismayed soldier looked on this horrid night as his last. In such a consternation, the minutest accident is capable of producing the most terrible effects. An horse that had broke his halter, as he strayed about, took fright at the noise made after him, and running full speed, threw down some people in his way. This was enough to occasion a rumour throughout the army, that the Germans had forced the camp. The consternation becomes general, every body runs to the gates to save himself, and

* Non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis: infectos tæno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras, et tot jam millibus unum reliquum diem, lamentabantur.

and particularly to that which was farthest from the enemy. Cecina, though certain it was nothing but a panic, tried in vain, every method to stop the soldiers; nor entreaties, nor menaces, nor force avail. At last he flung himself across the gate. The soldiers, who could not get out without trampling on their commander, stopped; and quiet being by degrees restored, the truth was known.

Cecina then assembled, and represented to them, "That there was no resource left but that of their valour, tempered with prudence. That they must therefore keep within their intrenchments, till the enemy came close up, in hopes to storm them. That then they should make a general sally, break through the enemy, and get to the Rhine." Having added to this, every motive of encouragement that the circumstances afforded, as in the late battle they had lost many horses, he distributed first his own, and then the horses of the chief officers, among the bravest soldiers, without any other consideration than that of merit. And thus strengthened his cavalry, who were to begin the charge, and to be supported by the infantry.

Cecina's good conduct perfectly succeeded; but it was by no fault of Arminius, who was for letting the Romans go out of their camp, and re-attacking them amidst the pools and bogs. But Inguiermus, his uncle, gave bolder advice, and more conformable to the taste of the barbarians. "Let us, says he, attack the Romans in their camp; which we shall easily force. We shall thereby make more prisoners, and richer booty, because it will be all together, and unhurt." This was the counsel that was followed. As soon as it was light, the Germans came and filled up
the

A. R. 766. the fosse of the Roman camp, or passed it on
 aft. C. 15. hurdles; and endeavoured to get on the ram-
 parts, on which they saw but few soldiers, and
 those seemingly terrified. But on a sudden the
 trumpets sound; and the Romans sally out on
 them, telling them insultingly, that they had
 now no woods, nor bogs to assist them, and that
 all was equal between them, but valour and mi-
 litary skill. The Germans, finding themselves
 so briskly attacked, contrary to their expectation,
 are presently disconcerted, and repulsed. * Fierce
 and insolent in prosperity, destitute of conduct
 in distress, they fall in great numbers. Their
 leaders, seeing all was lost, quit the combat,
 Inguiomerus much wounded, and Arminius un-
 hurt. The multitude were cut in pieces, and
 the slaughter continued till night. † The legions
 then returned; in the same want of provisions,
 and with more wounds; but they found vigour,
 health, and abundance, in their victory.

False ru-
 mour of the
 entire de-
 feat of these
 legions.
 Thoughts
 of breaking
 the bridge
 on the
 Rhine.
 Agrippina
 prevents it.

In the meantime the news of the danger
 these legions were in, had reached the Roman
 winter-quarters; and, as fame always exagger-
 ates, they were reported to be routed and exter-
 minated; and the victorious Germans were said
 to be in march to make an irruption into Gaul.
 The cautious ones were immediately for demo-
 lishing the † bridge on the Rhine; but Agrippi-
 na opposed it. This courageous princess per-
 formed on this occasion the duty of a general;
 and when the legions returned, distributed among
 the

* Ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti.

† Nocte demum reversæ legiones, quamvis plus vulne-
 rum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim, sanitatem, co-
 pias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

‡ Bucherius and Ryckius think, this bridge was at the
 place then called Vetera, and now Santen, in the duchy of Cleves.

the soldiers cloaths, and medicines. Pliny, who A.R. 766. had wrote an history of the German wars, said, aft. C. 15. according to Tacitus, that she received the returning legions at the head of the bridge, gave them thanks for their behaviour, and loaded them with encomiums.

This conduct of Agrippina made a deep im-^{Tiberius}pression on the mind of Tiberius. He thought, ^{takes um-}“ That this officiousness of her’s could not be ^{brage at} without design ; and that it was not against fo-^{Agrippina.}reigners that she laboured to engage the army. That the generals had nothing now to do when a woman reviewed the companies, attended the camp, and distributed largesses ; as if she was afraid she had not before manifested her ambitious views sufficiently, by making Germanicus’s son wear the uniform of a private soldier, and giving him the title of Caligula Cesar. That Agrippina was in greater credit with the army than the emperor’s representatives, and had appeased a sedition, that the name of the emperor could not.” Sejanus * inflamed these odious jealousies, well knowing Tiberius’s temper, and scattered from far those seeds of hatred, which, hid in his heart, had time to grow, and produced, when they appeared, the most terrible effects.

Germanicus did not at first embark his four ^{Two le-}legions on the fleet. As he knew that in that ^{gions un-}latitude the sea abounds in shallows and ebbs ; ^{der the}he thought it best to lighten his ships : and ^{conduct of}therefore delivered two legions to P. Vitellius to ^{P. Vitellius}lead by land. ^{are in dan-}
^{ger of be-}
^{ing drown-}
^{ed.}

Vitellius, setting out from the banks of the Amisia, coasted the sea-shore ; and had at first
an

* Accendebat hæc onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii, odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque proneret.

A. R. 766. an easy march; for the ground was dry, or moderately overflowed. But soon the high tides of the equinox, assisted by a violent north-wind, laid the coast in such a manner under water, that the two legions were in the utmost danger of being drowned. * All was covered with water; the sea, the shore, the fields, had the same face. There was no such thing as distinguishing the inequalities of the soil the army marched on; eminences and hollows, firm and boggy ground, all were confounded. The soldiers were thrown down, or swallowed up by the waves; and horses, baggage, and dead bodies, struck against, or separated them. The companies were disordered and mixed, none being able to keep their ranks in water up to their chin; and sometimes the ground failing them, they fell, some never to rise again. Their mutual exhortations and encouragements, availed nothing against the inexorable element. No difference there was between the coward and the brave, the wise and the foolish, between circumspection and chance; but all were equally involved in the invincible violence of the inundation. At last, however, the legions fell on an eminence, that proved an asylum to them.

Thus, they passed a terrible night, without

* *Opplebantur terre: eadem freto, littori, campis, facies: neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus: jumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima, interfluunt, occurrant: permiscuntur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus extantes, aliquando substracto solo disjecti aut obruti: non vox et mutui hortatus juvabant, adversante unda. Nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens * ab rude. nihil concilia a casu, differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tac. i. 70.*

* *The text is, sapiens a prudenti, which is a palpable fault. My location is approved by B. y. k. i. u. s.*

out provisions and fire; most of them naked, A.R. 766. wet, or bruised *; and more miserable than men aft. C. 15. inclosed by an enemy, for even to such remained the consolation of an honourable death; but here, certain, inglorious, destruction was before them. Such were their thoughts. When with returning light the land returned, and delivered them. They afterwards marched to a river then named † Usingis, now called the ‡ Hunnese, whither † A river that goes to Gronin- Germanicus was gone with the fleet. There they embarked, and had a good passage. But the re- guch. port of their entire ruin was not discredited, till they silenced it themselves by their arrival.

Germanicus's whole army had, as we see, greatly suffered in the retreat. Gaul, Spain, and Italy, strove with emulation to recruit it with all necessaries, as arms, horses, and money. But Germanicus would only accept of the horses and arms; and with his own money relieved the soldiers. And to add goodness to munificence, Germanicus's liberality and goodness. he visited the sick, interested himself in their cure, praised the exploits of particulars; and by the hopes of better success for the future, and the glory of what was past, comforted the soldiers, and confirmed their devotion to him.

Three of his lieutenant-generals, Cccina, A-
pronius,

* *Haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumcidit. Quippe illis etiam honestæ mortis usus; his inglorium exitium.*

† I have again corrected the text of *Tacitus*. It was thus, *penetratumque ad amnem Visurgim*. The *Veser* was far off, and the rout of the *Romans* actually carried them from it. *Lipsius* was aware of the fault, and substituted *Vidrum*, which he supposes the *Vecht*: this has also its difficulties; and is not fully satisfactory if admitted. My correction is adopted from *Cellarius*, who cites *Menso Ullingius*. *Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 5.*

A.R. 766. pronius, and Silius, had the triumphal ornaments decreed them.

He receives into favour Segimerus and his son. *Strabo. l. vii.*

Segimerus, and his son Sesithacus, the brother and nephew of Segestes, followed his example, and threw themselves into the arms of the Romans. Germanicus, who found them in the city of the Ubians, where Stertinius had brought them, received the father into favour readily, the son with some difficulty, because he was accused of having insulted Varus's corpse.

He takes a resolution to transport all his troops into Germany by sea. *Tac. Ann. ii. 5.*

Thus ended this campaign; to the Romans more glorious than decisive. Germanicus reflected much on the means of remedying the inconveniences he had hitherto struggled with. "He observed, that the Germans were ever beaten on fair ground; that the advantages they obtained, were owing to their mountains and forests; and above all, to their short summers and early winters, which prevented their being closely pushed. That he lost more men by fatiguing marches, than by the chance of war; that every year, he was obliged to renew the equipages; that Gaul could not replace the horses he lost; that a long file of baggage was easily surprised, and very embarrassing; whereas, if he entered the enemy's country by sea, which they would not think of disputing, the campaign would be earlier, the legions and provisions carried together, and the cavalry undergo no fatigue, but, by ascending the rivers, would be in an instant, in the heart of the hostile territories." Germanicus therefore fixed on this method; and employed himself in the construction of a fleet in the winter; during which, the consuls, Taurus, and Libo, entered on their office at Rome.

T. STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

A. R. 767.
aft. C 16.

A thousand vessels were thought sufficient ; A fleet of a thousand sail. and they were made of different forms, some being short, sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle ; others having flat bottoms that they might bear to run a-ground : and most of them having helms at each end, that by only turning the oars they might work either way. These different constructions appear to have been taken from the practice of the Germans themselves. There were of these ships two that were arched over, for carrying the engines of war, the horses, and stores ; and these used both oars and sails. A formidable armament in itself, and rendered more terrible by the ardour and boldness of the soldiers. The isle of Batavia was appointed the general rendezvous of the fleet on account of its easy access.

While it was assembling, Germanicus had in- A short expedition towards Luppia. telligence, that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged by the Germans. He hasted there with six legions, and raised the siege. He restored the altar of his father Drusus, which the barbarians had demolished. They had also destroyed the tomb raised the last year over Varus's legions. But Germanicus did not think proper to expose himself again, by renewing it, to the complaints and censure of Tiberius.

When he returned he found every thing ready Embarkation. for the embarkation. He sent forward the provisions, assigned ships to the legions and allies, and Course of the fleet to the mouth of the Amisia. embarked on the canal of Drusus ; invoking his father to be assistant to him in an enterprize wherein he was following his steps. He sailed down the Issel joined to the Rhine, crossed the lake

A.R. 767. lake Fleous, and entered the ocean by the eastern
 aft. C. 16. mouth of the river. Thence he got safely to the
 fort of Amisia, where he debarked his army on
 the left side. In this Tacitus accuses him of a
 mistake, because if he had gone higher up the
 river Amisia, and debarked on the right side, he
 had saved the time and trouble of making brid-
 ges over the marshes that the neighbouring sea
 made in the low country he passed through.

Conversa-
 tion be-
 tween Ar-
 minius and
 his brother
 Flavius,
 who served
 in the Ro-
 man ar-
 my.

Germanicus advanced as far as the Vesper, where
 he camped, over-against the army of the Cherus-
 cans that was on the other side. Arminius, their
 general, had a brother in the Roman service,
 who was a brave man, and faithful to those he
 had sided with ; of which he carried on his face
 the marks, having lost an eye in an engagement
 with his countrymen under the command of Ti-
 berius. He was named Flavius. At this time Ar-
 minius had a mind to have some discourse with
 him, and called him with a loud voice. Flavius,
 with his general's permission, appeared ; and
 they entered into conversation, with the river be-
 tween them. Arminius observing that his brother
 had lost an eye, asked him how that accident
 had happened ; and being told when, where, and
 on what occasion, demanded how he had been
 recompensed. Flavius replied, " By a chain, a
 " crown, and an encrease of pay *." The fierce
 German heard him with an insulting smile ; let-
 ting him know that he thought this was selling
 his liberty at a vile price.

They continued the discourse by mutually so-
 liciting one another to change sides. Flavius
 boasted of the Roman grandeur, and the power
 of the Cesars. He set before his brother the rigour
 of

* *Incidente Arminio vilia servitii pretia. Tac. ann. ii. 9.*

of the Romans to those they vanquished, and the clemency they would shew him in case he voluntarily submitted; of which he gave him proof in the favourable treatment of his wife and son, who were not considered on the footing of captives. Arminius to this opposed the sacred rights of their country, the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors, the tutelary gods of Germany, and the prayers of their common mother. "By what fatal stupefaction, said he, do you choose to be a traitor to your family and nation, rather than their general?" The dispute by degrees grew warm; and they had come to blows but for the river. Flavius was calling for his arms and horse to fly to vengeance, but was restrained by a general officer. On the opposite side was seen Arminius denouncing battle with menaces. Thus parted the two brothers, greater enemies than ever.

Next day the Cherusicans ranged themselves in battalia on the other side of the Vesper. Germanicus, who had not yet thrown bridges over the river, did not think it necessary to accept the challenge. He contented himself with detaching the Roman cavalry and the Batavians, who having forded the river in several places, had a brisk skirmish with the enemy.

Germanicus, having afterwards passed the Vesper himself with his whole army, learned from a deserter, that the Cherusicans, reinforced by several other German nations, were preparing to attack his camp. He took upon this the proper precautions against a surprise; and perceiving a battle to be near, he wanted to know his soldiers' dispositions; and deliberated on the means to be informed of them with certainty. He re-

A. R. 767. flected, that * the reports of the officers were rather pleasing than true ; that his freed-men were too servile to be confided in ; that friends were apt to flatter ; and that even in an assembly of the army a few hot heads took the lead of the rest. He therefore concluded, that the only way to know exactly what he had to trust to, was to hear the soldiers when they were got together from under their officers eyes, while the military repast opened their hearts, and they frankly disclosed their hopes and fears.

Accordingly in the beginning of the night, he goes out secretly, accompanied by a single friend, and disguised in a German fur. He visits by secret ways all the camp, listens from tent to tent, and † enjoys the pleasure of hearing himself praised by sincere mouths. One magnifies the beauty of his general, another his high birth ; the majority dwell on more-estimable qualities, and extol his invincible patience, his sweet temper, and the equality of his soul in serious or jocular affairs ; they all confessed that they ought to give him in the battle proofs of their affection and gratitude ; and at the same time they animate one another against the perfidious barbarians, with mutual exhortations to immolate them to vengeance and the glory of the Roman name.

Dur-

* *Tribunos et Centuriones læta sæpius quam comperta nuntiare ; libertorum servilia ingenia ; amicis inesse adulationem ; si concio vocetur, illic quoque, quæ pauci incipiunt, reliquos adstrepere. Penitus noscendas mentes, quum secreti et incustoditi, inter militares cibos, spem aut metum proferrent.*

† *Fruiturque fama sui : quum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimam patientiam, comitatem, per seria per jocos eundem animum, laudibus ferrent ; reddendamque gratiam in ecce faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriæ nactandos.*

During this time one of the enemies who understood Latin, rode up to the intrenchments, and cried with a loud voice, that Arminius offered to every one who would come over to him a good match, an estate, and an * hundred sesterces a-day as long as the war lasted. The Roman soldiers were shocked at the insulting offer: and said one to another, " Let the day of battle come that we have so long waited for. Yes, we will seize on the lands of the Germans, and take their captive wives. The omen is lucky, and assures us of the possession of the enemy's estates and women." At midnight the barbarians came to attack the camp of the Romans, but, perceiving them on their guard, retired without striking a blow.

A.R. 767.
aft. C. 16.
* Twelve livres; a large sum. In English money about 12s 6d.

I should not take notice of a dream that Germanicus had this night, if Tacitus's care to relate it was not a proof that this writer (whom nobody can blame for too much religion, but on the contrary for some strokes of impiety, here and there, in his works) had some faith in dreams; as well as in auguries, of which he speaks too soon after, and which by no means he appears to condemn. So discordant are men, that they are sometimes childishly credulous of chimeras, while they deny or sap the fundamental truths of natural religion.

Germanicus's dream. Tac. Ann. ii. 14.

Germanicus, says Tacitus, had a joyful dream. He thought he sacrificed; and in place of his own robe, besmeared by the blood of the victims, received a letter from the hands of his grandmother Livia. This was a deceitful dream: for Germanicus ought to have expected nothing from Livia but hatred and plots.

This imagined good omen however augmented his confidence; and the auspices, as Tacitus observed

His language to the soldiers.

ob-

A.R. 767. observes, having proved also favourable ; he assembled his troops to harangue them according to custom : and in his discourse he particularly laboured to make them comprehend the advantage the Roman soldier had in fighting in the woods as well as in the plains. “ For, says he, the immense bucklers of the barbarians and their enormous spears are not so manageable amongst thickets and trunks of trees as the Roman swords, and javelins, and shields, adjusted to the size of their bodies. Thicken your blows, and strike at their faces. The Germans have neither cuirasses nor casques. Their bucklers too are not fortified with iron, nor bound with leather ; but are only basket-work or painted boards. And only the first line are so well armed ; for the others have but stakes burnt at the end, or contemptible darts. * As to their persons, if they are terrible to fight, and violent in a short onset, on the other side they have no sort of resolution, and are disconcerted by wounds ; they are without fear of ignominy, without respect for their commanders, easy to be dispersed, and put to flight ; and as timid in distress, as insolent and inhuman in prosperity. If tedious marches and your fatigues at sea make you desire an end of the war, you have an opportunity of finishing it in the approaching battle. You are now nearer the Elbe than the Rhine ; beyond that we shall have no more war ; only while I follow the footsteps of my father and uncle, let your ardour second mine, and make me victorious in those countries where they have signalized themselves by their exploits.” The soldiers

* Jam corpus, ut visu torvum, et impetu validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia. Sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum, abire, fugere: pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani juris, memores.

diers answered him by shouts ; and Germanicus A.R. 767. aft. C. 16. gave the signal of battle.

Arminius, on his side, encouraged his troops, Arminius encourages his troops. by depreciating the enemy. “ * Who are these Romans, says he, you are going to combat? Are they not the most cowardly fugitives of Varus’s army, who have lately mutinied for fear of going to war? Some of them with backs covered with wounds, and others with limbs maimed with tempests, they are once more presenting themselves as victims to the vengeance of the Germans, and the anger of the gods. Nor think that hope animates them. You see they have had recourse to the ocean, to prevent our advancing against them, and pursuing them when driven back. But now that we are going to engage hand to hand, sails and oars will little avail the vanquished. Let us only call to mind their avarice, cruelty, and pride : and remember that for us nothing remains but to preserve our liberty, or by death to prevent our bondage.” The Germans inflamed by this exhortation desire with great clamour to be led on.

Every thing was now ready on either side ; and the battle was decided in a plain called by Tacitus, Battle gained by the Romans. Idistavisus, which extended between the Veker and a range of hills, and closed on a wood of high trees. Justus Lipsius says, the field of battle was not far off the city of Bremen. Maugre the natural bravery of the Germans, and the powerful motives to good behaviour that had been

* *Hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui, ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint: quorum pars onusta vulneribus * terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus, infensis rursus hostibus, adversis diis, objiciant.*

* So some learned commentators read instead of *tergum*, which is in the text.

A.R. 767. been set before them, the victory cost the Ro-
 aft. C. 16. mans little. For while their infantry charged
 the barbarians in front, their cavalry took them
 in flank and rear; and disordered them so much,
 that their fugitives crossed one another, some
 running out of the plain into the woods, and o-
 thers out of the woods into the plain.

Arminius acted on this occasion both as gene-
 ral and soldier, encouraging his men, and setting
 them an example of bravery; and, though
 wounded, he kept so long engaged, that he nar-
 rowly missed being taken. But by his valour
 and the strength of his horse, he made his way
 through opposing battalions; having besmeared
 his face with his own blood to avoid being known.
 Yet some have pretended that he escaped by fa-
 vour of the Chaucians, who served as auxiliaries
 in the Roman army; Inguionerus had the same
 fate. A parallel deceit or courage saved him.
 The slaughter of the vanquished was great. They
 filled the country for ten miles with dead bodies
 and arms: a great number too perished in the
 Veser. Some of them climbed up the trees, and
 hid themselves in the branches: where, when
 discovered, the archers shot at them in sport, as
 if they had been birds; or else they were squashed
 by felling the trees.

The Romans lost but few men; and found a-
 mong the booty the chains which the Germans,
 as secure of victory, had taken care to bring for
 their captives. The conquering army proclaim-
 ed Tiberius emperor on the field of battle; and
 having made a small mount, placed thereon,
 trophy-wise, the arms taken from the enemy,
 with the names of the vanquished nations.

Second bat-
 tle, where-
 in the Ro-
 mans are
 again vic-
 torious.

* This trophy affected the Germans more sen-
 sibly

* *Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia.*

sibly than the loss of the battle, than their wounds A.R. 767. or the ravage of their country. Before they pre- aft. C. 16. pared, in consternation, to abandon their dwellings, and seek beyond the Elbe a quiet retreat. Now they change their minds and breathe nothing but war, both people and nobility, old and young. They form quickly an army; harass the Romans in their march by skirmishes; and choose a very advantageous ground for a general action. This was a strait and moist plain, shut in between a river and a forest; the forest too surrounded by a deep marsh, except in one place, where the Angrivarians had raised a large cause-way, which served for a boundary between them and the Cherusicans. The German infantry posted itself on the cause-way; and their cavalry concealed itself in the woods, in order to take the Romans in rear when they had entered them.

Germanicus, like an able general, knew all this. He penetrated the enemies designs, reconnoitred the places, got information both of what they endeavoured to conceal, and what they studiously exposed, let nothing escape him; and turned the subtlety of the barbarians against themselves. He ordered Seius Tubero, one of his lieutenants, to take possession of the plain with his cavalry. His infantry he divides into two bodies, one of which was to enter on level ground the forest, and the other to attack the cause-way. He charges himself with the most difficult task, and leaves the rest to his lieutenants. Those who had the even ground to traverse, easily broke in. But the cause-way was vigorously defended; the Romans, who attacked it, being exposed to
shower

quam ea species, dolore et ira adfecit. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt plebes, primores, juventus, senes.

A. R. 767. showers of darts which fell from high with great
aft. C. 16. force. Germanicus presently perceived that this
close fight was too unequal. He ordered then
the legions to retire, and brought up the slingers
and engineers. The barbarians at the top of
their cause-way were fair marks for these, who
killed or wounded many of them, and disorder-
ed the rest ; whereupon Germanicus, at the head
of his guards, took possession of the cause-way,
and followed the enemy into the forest.

Here was an obstinate engagement. The Ger-
mans had the morass behind them, the Romans
the river or the mountains. So that a retreat
being impracticable to the vanquished, they had
on either side no hopes but in their courage, nor
safety but in victory. The valour of both parties
was equal, but the manner of fighting and dif-
ference of arms gave great advantages to the Ro-
mans. The Germans, hampered in narrow
places, could neither push nor recover their long
pikes, and their agility was useless in a close
combat. Whereas the Roman soldier, exactly
covered with his buckler, and managing with
ease an handy sword, delved the vast bodies and
naked faces of the barbarians ; and thinned
their ranks.

Arminius, either discouraged by his continual
misfortunes, or disabled by a recent wound, did
not show his customary intrepidity and resolu-
tion. But Inguiomarus replaced him ; and run-
ning from rank to rank, with unfortunate brav-
ery, endeavoured to keep alive the engagement.
Germanicus also mixt in the action with his
helmet off, the better to be known, and exhorted
the Romans to give no quarter. " We want no
prisoners, says he ; and only the extermination
of this people can put an end to the war."

When

When it grew late, he drew off a legion to make a camp. The rest until night glutted their vengeance with the blood of the foe. The cavalry had a small share in the success of the day. A.R. 767.
aft. C. 16.

The next day Germanicus assembled the victorious army, and loaded it with encomiums. He then collected in a heap all the arms of the vanquished and put thereon this proud inscription :
* *The army of Tiberius Cæsar, having entirely vanquished the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, has consecrated this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus.* Of himself he made no mention ; either fearful of provoking envy, or content with the testimony of his virtue. Trophy.

The Angrivarians, who had entered into the league, at the head of which were the Cheruskans, prevented by a speedy and absolute submission the war that Stertinius, by Germanicus's orders, was about to carry into their country. The Angrivarians submit.

The winter now sensibly approaching, and putting the Romans in mind of going home, their general sent back some of the legions to their winter-quarters by land. More of them he embarked on his fleet ; and entered the ocean by the mouth of the Amisia. At first the sea was serene ; and the thousand Roman ships majestically advanced with oar and sail. But soon a black cloud covered the heavens ; and hail, the storm's forerunner, clattered down : and presently the unsteady agitation of the waves, joined to the obscurity, made it extremely difficult to work the ships ; so much the more too, as the soldier, fearful of his new acquaintance the sea, Return of the Romans by sea. Storm. Disaster of the fleet.
(disturbed

* *Debellatis inter Rhenum Albiæque nationibus, exercitum Tiberii Cæsaris ea monumenta Marti, Jovi, et Augusto sacrasse. De se nihil addidit, metu invidiæ, an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse.*

A.R. 767. disturbed the sailors by his frights and cries, or
 aft. C. 16. embarrassed them by his ill-judged assistance.

At last a violent south-wind arose which dispersed all the fleet, drove some of the ships into the open ocean, and others towards islands beset with rocks or sands. The Romans, with difficulty, kept clear of these islands, the approach to which would have been fatal. But then the ebb, coinciding with the wind, so furiously beat on the ships, that it was impossible to keep at anchor, or discharge the vessels of the water they took in. So that to lighten them they threw over-board their horses, beasts, baggage, and even arms.

These vessels were for the most part but barks made for coasting, and unable to withstand the fury of the ocean. Add to this the unskilfulness of their navigators, the consternation that an unknown sea threw them in (which they imagined, too, much more terrible than it really was) with its coasts lined with hostile nations; in a word, all things seemed to concur to the total destruction of the Roman fleet. And indeed many of the ships were lost; and the majority drove on distant and desert islands, where the soldiers died of hunger, except the sea supplied them with drowned horses for subsistence. The galley of Germanicus, which had three ranks of oars alone got safe to the coast of the Chaucians.

Germanicus's grief.
 His care
 to pick up
 his soldiers.

This humane prince was almost desperate on this occasion. As long as the storm continued he wandered day and night about the most prominent parts of the shore, accusing himself as the cause of this so great misfortune, and ready at times to precipitate himself into the sea by way of punishment, had he not been hindered by his friends. At last however he saw some of his ships coming

coming back, by the aid of the tide and the shifted wind. They were in a bad condition; few oars left; no sails, which they supplied with spread coats: some of them, deprived of even these feeble succours, were towed by those that had suffered less. Germanicus refitted them expeditiously; and then sent to visit all the islands of that sea. He by this means gleaned up most of his soldiers: and the Angrivarians, who had lately submitted, redeemed many from the distant nations of Germany, and restored them to him: and some who had been thrown on the coasts of Great Britain, were sent back by the petty British kings. What they related at their return was wonderful. Fear had transformed every thing they saw into a prodigy, or the pleasure of fiction made them advance absurdities about the incredible height and violence of the waves, and birds seen of odd unheard of shapes, and ambiguous monsters between men and beasts.

The news of the wreck of the Roman fleet re-animated the Germans. Many of their nations began to think of a revolt. But Germanicus, careful to prevent the natural consequences of the contempt that misfortune occasions, dispatched Silius with thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse against the Cattans; and entered himself with greater force the territories of the Marsians. The whole country was ravaged; and the Romans recovered one of the eagles lost at Varus's defeat. This was the second that Germanicus retook. The principal fruit of this expedition was the increasing the terror of the Roman name among the barbarians. Never, according to the report of the prisoners, had they been so much terrified. * They acknowledged now the

Expedition against the Cattans and Marsians. Fright of the Germans.

Romans

* *Invictos & nullis casibus superabiles Romanos prædicant.*

A.R. 767. Romans to be invincible, and superior to every
 aft. C. 16. mischance, since after they had lost their fleet
 and their arms, while the shores were covered
 with the bodies of their horses and men, they had
 renewed the war with their wonted ferocity,
 and increased numbers.

Return of
 the legions
 into winter
 quarters.

The legions were then brought back into win-
 ter-quarters, glorious of having balanced by
 their late advantages by land, the damages they
 had sustained by sea. Germanicus by his li-
 berality entirely compensated them, giving to
 each the amount of what he lost, according to
 his own valuation.

Germani-
 cus recal-
 led.

The constancy of the Germans was much im-
 paired by their perpetual defeats. They delibe-
 rated seriously about peace; and there was little
 doubt but that another campaign would have fi-
 nished this war. But Tiberius, by frequent let-
 ters, exhorted Germanicus to come home and ce-
 lebrate the triumph that had been decreed him.
 He represented to him, "That he had already
 hazarded himself enough, and got battles enough.
 That he ought also to remember the losses which
 the winds and the waves though without any fault
 of his, had occasioned to his army. That Varus
 and the Romans were now revenged. And that
 for the rest they might rely on the divisions that
 would inevitably arise among the barbarians, as
 soon as they were left to themselves."

Germanicus did not immediately acquiesce in
 these reasons, and begged one year more to
 put the last hand to his work. - But Tiberius
 persevered, and attacked his modesty by the of-
 fer of a second consulship, to be administered
 at

bant, qui perdita classe, a missis armis, post constrata equo-
 rum virorumque corporibus littora, eadem virtute, pari fe-
 rocia, et veluti aucti numero, irupissent.

at Rome. The emperor added, "That if it was A.R. 767. necessary to continue the war, Germanicus ought ast. C. 16. to leave something for his brother Drusus to do. That the state had now no other declared enemies but the Germans. That only that people could give Drusus matter for military glory, and the triumphal laurel."

These * were mere pretences. Germanicus perceived it; and that it was only Tiberius's envy that robbed him of a glory he was almost in possession of. But he obeyed, left the German army, and returned to Rome.

He was received at his arrival by the military Strut. Calig. c. 4. and the people in a manner not at all proper to cure the emperor's jealousy. Only two pretorian cohorts had been ordered to meet him; but they all went, thinking it an honour to them to attend his entry: and the citizens of every rank, age, and sex, flocked into the country for twenty miles together.

I shall observe here, that Germanicus had no He has no successor in the chief command of the legions in Germany. successor who singly commanded all the Roman troops on the Rhine. So mighty forces rendered one chief too powerful. Tiberius and his successor divided them between two lieutenant-generals, who commanded with equal power, one the army of higher, the other that of lower Germany.

* *Haud contatus est Germanicus; quanquam fingi ea, seque per invidiam parto jam decori abstrahi intelligeret.*

BOOK V.

SECT. I.

Conspiracy of Drusus Libo discovered. He is accused, and kills himself. Renewal of the old ordinances against astrologers. Remarkable trace of the republican government. A slave of Agrippa Posthumus personates that prince. He is arrested, and put to death. Foolish vanity of Vibius Rufus, Tiberius's moderation with respect to him. Attempt to reform luxury. Liberties taken by L. Piso. Contest between Cn. Piso and Asinius Gallus about the vacations of the senate. Asinius Gallus proposes to fix the magistrates for five years. Tiberius removes that notion. Hortensius's grandson demands a gratification of Tiberius. He is rudely refused. Old records sought out and transcribed. Germanicus's triumph. Troubles among the Parthians. Troubles in Armenia. Death of Archelaus King of Cappadocia. Decree of the senate for reducing his kingdom into a Roman province. Other commotions in the east. Commission given Germanicus to pacify the east. Cn. Piso made governor of Syria. Tiberius's court divided between Germanicus and Drusus, who continue themselves good friends. Terrible earthquake in Asia. Tiberius eases the Asiatics. His liberality to several Roman senators. His severity to prodigals. Dedications of several temples. He won't suffer his name to be given to the month of November. Apuleia Varilia accused of high-

high-treason, and gently treated. Death of Titus Livius, and of Ovid. Drusus sent into Illyricum on occasion of the war between Maroboduus and Arminius. Maroboduus, being dethroned, is received into Italy; and grows old in peace. Arminius's death and panegyric. Rhescuporis king of Thrace, despoiled of his kingdom and banished. Horrible immorality at Rome. Ordinances to restrain it. Action of Mundus and Paulina. Egyptian superstitions proscribed. Jews driven out of Rome. Election of a vestal. New island in the Archipelago.

T. STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS.

A. R. 767.

L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

aft. C. 16.

WHILE Germanicus was warring on the Rhine, a plot was slowly forming at Rome, which for a long time employed the care and anxiety of Tiberius; and which, brought at last to light, ended in the death of the guilty person, who was a young man of very illustrious birth.

Conspiracy of Drusus Libo discovered. He is accused, and kills himself. Tac. Ann. ii. 25. Suet. Tib. 25. Dio. l. lxxv.

Drusus Libo, of the Scribonian family, great-grand-son of the great Pompey, great-nephew of Scribonia Augustus's first wife, and consequently cousin to the Cesars, a weak young man *, let himself be drawn in by Firmius Catus, a senator, who was his great intimate, to form ambitious projects; which exceeded what the circumstances of the times would let him hope, and yet more exceeded his merit. Firmius, who was continually magnifying to him the splendour of his birth, and

* Juvenem improvidum, et facilem inanibus. Tac.

Adolescentis tam stolidi, quam nobilis, majora sperantis, quam aut illo seculo quisquam sperare posset, aut ipse ullo. Sen. ep. l. x

A.R. 767. pointing out the statues of the great men of his
 aft. C. 16. family that crowded his hall, easily persuaded him
 that there was nothing too high for him to aspire
 to ; and carried him to magicians and astrologers
 to consult about his great fortune, and the means
 of attaining it. While he was waiting for this
 unavoidable good fortune, Firmius drew him in-
 to luxury and foolish expence, was one in all his
 debauches, ran in debt and involved himself e-
 qually with Libo, the better to acquire his con-
 fidence ; and when he had got sufficient proofs
 and witnesses against him, he traiterously turned
 about and became the accuser of him, whose ac-
 complice, and even corrupter, he was. He de-
 sires an audience of the emperor, acquainting
 him with the crime and the criminal, by the
 means of Flaccus Vesularius, a Roman knight,
 who had access to the palace.

Tiberius'graciously received the advice, but
 would not see Firmius, and ordered him to con-
 tinue to address himself to Vesularius. His de-
 sign in this was to cover his play, and avoid giv-
 ing Libo any suspicion. The better to succeed,
 he made him pretor ; and admitted him fre-
 quently to his table, shewing no strangeness in
 his behaviour or countenance, nor the least re-
 sentment in his words : and * when he could
 have restrained the bad practices of Libo, he
 chose to watch them. This scene of dissimula-
 tion must have lasted above a year : for Sueton-
 ius joins Libo's plot with the Pannonian and
 German seditions, as a second danger that en-
 creased Tiberius's alarms.

Suet. All this time this artful prince contented him-
 self with taking secret precautions for his securi-
 ty.

* *Cunctaque ejus dicta factaque, quum prohibere posset. scire malebat. Tac.*

ty. Thus being obliged to sacrifice with Libo, A.R. 767. who was chief-priest, instead of a steel knife, with ^{aft. C. 16.} which it was usual to cut the victim's throat, he took care that he should have a leaden one. And Libo having desired a private conference with him, he made his son Drusus be present; and all the time of the conversation kept hold of Libo's right hand, as if he wanted a support.

At last the affair was carried before the senate; but neither by the emperor, nor by his orders. One Junius, having been solicited by Libo to call up the infernal shades, informed Fulcinus Trio hereof. * This Trio was an informer by profession, and greedy, says Tacitus, of wicked renown. He immediately enters his action; goes to the consuls, and desires the affair may be brought before the senate. The consuls issue an ordinance for an extraordinary meeting of the senators, specifying therein, that they were to deliberate on a most important and weighty affair.

Libo the while dressed in mourning, and accompanied by some of the first ladies in Rome, his relations, went from house to house, begging the interest and votes of his kindred and friends in his favour. † Which they all declined, under various pretences, but through the same fear.

The day the senate sat, Libo, sinking under fear and anxiety, or, according to some authors, counterfeiting sickness, was brought in a litter as far as the porch of the senate-house; and having entered the hall, leaning on his ‡ brother,

2

he

* *Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque male fame.*

† *Abnuentibus cunctis, quum diversa prætenderent, eandem formidine.*

‡ Tacitus does not tell us who this brother of the accused

A.R. 767. he stretched his arms towards Tiberius, and aft. C. 16. poured out the most submissive deprecations. Tiberius heard him perfectly unmoved : and for answer, ordered the depositions of his accusers to be read ; affecting, by a just temperament, neither to soften nor heighten the charge.

Libo had four accusers ; for there are always enow ready to fall on the unfortunate. Besides Fulcinus and Catus, of whom one had first made the discovery, and the other had long supplied Tiberius with secret information, Fonteius Agrippa and C. Vibius, had also entered themselves. These disputed among themselves who should implead the accused. As Libo had no advocate, Vibius offered to give a summary of the facts, and was therefore preferred. He then produced his proofs, by which it appeared that Libo had been foolish enough to ask the magicians, whether he should be so rich as to be able to cover with money the great Appian road from Rome to Brundisium. * There appeared too many other such like chimerical extravagancies, deserving indeed rather of compassion than punishment, if taken in a tenderer sense.

But what was particularly objected to the accused, was a list of the names of the Cesars and of some senators, under which were notes in cypher, that the accuser pretended to be of Libo's hand-writing, and to be magic characters of mischievous effect. This Libo denied ; and it was resolved to examine his slaves by torture, in hopes of coming at the truth. This method of procedure, though contrary to a decree of the senate,

was. Lipsius thinks it was L. Scribonius Libo that year consul. But Ryckius is of another opinion.

* *Fuerant et alia hujusmodi, stolidi, vana ; si mollius acciperes, miseranda.*

nate, had been begun, as was said, by Augustus, who invented a finesse to elude the law.

A.R. 767.
aft. C. 16.

Libo, seeing things go so ill, begged only for the respite of a day; and then returning to his house, he made one more attempt to soften Tiberius by the mediation of his kinsman P. Quirinius. His answer was, that he should address himself to the senate.

T. l. i. 2.
p. 312.

His house was in the mean time invested by soldiers; who came into the very porch, so that he could hear and see them. Libo then advised with the friends he had left, whether he should stay for sentence, or prevent it by a voluntary death. Scribonia *, his aunt, advised him not to be too precipitate. "Why †, said she, do you meddle with what do not belong to you? Your fate is no more your own concern." This lady, whose prudence Seneca praises, did not approve of a blind despair, and rightly judged, that nothing worse than death could happen to her nephew. But suicide was accounted in those times an heroic action; and Libo resolved on it.

He was epicure enough however to desire to taste once more before he died, the pleasure of good eating; and accordingly prepared a great entertainment ‡, which served only to increase his regret and torments. At the end of the feast, he implored the assistance of his slaves in putting himself to death; and as they declined the cruel task, he took them by the arm, and put his drawn sword into their hands. Upon this they

all

* This lady, being no otherwise described by *Seneca* than as *Libo's* aunt, is not probably the same *Scribonia* that married *Augustus* and had *Julia*.

† Quid te juvat alienum negotium agere? *Sen. Ep. lxx.*

‡ Ipsis, quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat, epulis excruciatas. *T. c.*

A. R. 767. all disperse and run away, and in the hurry, over-
 aft. C. 16. turn the lights that were on the table. Libo,
 now alone, executed in the horrors of darkness
 his fatal design, and gave himself two stabs with
 his sword in the belly. As he groaned and fell,
 his freed-men ran in; and the soldiers, perceiving
 that he was mortally wounded, retired. His pro-
 secution was however carried on as if he had
 been living; and Tiberius vowed, that, guilty as
 he was, he would have interceded with the se-
 nate for Libo's life: a vain parade of clemency
 from one, who had forced him to die. His goods
 were confiscated and divided among his accusers;
 of whom such as were senators were rewarded
 with the pretorship.

The senate afterwards stigmatized the memo-
 ry of Libo, by a decree, the several articles where-
 of rose in severity. It was decreed that Libo's sta-
 tue should not accompany the funerals of his fa-
 mily: that none of the Scribonii should hence-
 forth assume the surname of Drusus: that solemn
 thanksgivings to the gods should be appointed;
 that gifts should be presented to Jupiter, Mars,
 and Concord; and lastly, that the ides of Sep-
 tember, the day Libo slew himself, should be an
 established festival. These various articles were
 moved for by the most illustrious senators, who
 laboured with emulation to heap the cruellest in-
 famy on the unfortunate, in order to shew their
 zeal to the emperor. But he was too penetrating
 not to discover from what principle proceeded
 these ostentatious demonstrations of loyalty.

Libo's affair, in which several diviners and as-
 trologers were involved, occasioned the revival
 of the old ordinances against those pests of so-
 ciety. Two of them were capitally punished, and
 the rest banished Italy. But Tiberius, who be-
 lieved

Renewal of
 the old or-
 dinances a-
 gainst as-
 trologers.

lieved in astrology, and made frequent use of it, A.R. 767. aft. C. 16.
 did not let this decree be too rigorously executed. So that those who promised to renounce their art were suffered to stay at Rome.

On this occasion Dio Cassius has taken care to preserve a fact that shews how far Tiberius permitted the senators to be occasionally free in their deliberations, and the magistrates in the exercise of their offices. There happening a division in the senate about an article relative to the astrologers; Tiberius and his son Drusus divided on one side, and a great majority of the senators on the other. But when the decree was going to pass, according to the plurality of voices, a tribune opposed, and prevented it. Thus the senate got the better of Tiberius, and a tribune of the senate.

I join, after Suetonius, to the foolish plot of Libo, the strange boldness of a slave of Posthumus Agrippa; who having formed the design of saving his master, and not having been able to prevent his murder, undertook to personate that prince, whom he much resembled in age, shape, and countenance. He set out by stealing his ashes; after which, sailing to Cosa *, a promontory of Etruria, he kept himself some time concealed in desert places, till his hair and beard were grown.

Meanwhile the confidants of the impostor whispered about that Agrippa was living. This was at first told as a great secret, as is usual about things that are displeasing to a government. Presently it gets ground, by the credulity of the ignorant multitude, or by the malice of such as laid hold of every occasion to embroil things. Then the false Agrippa appeared; but with caution; entering always the towns in the gloom of the

even-

* Now mount *Argentario*, near to *Porto Hercole* in *Tuscany*.

A.R. 767. evening ; and * as he knew that truth is strengthened by observation and time, falsehood by haste and uncertainty, when he appeared he was always in a hurry ; he came when he was not expected ; and went away before the delusion was discovered. All Italy rang with the happy news that Agrippa lived, and had been preserved by the special providence of the gods. It was even believed at Rome ; and the deceiver, emboldened by success, comes to Ostia with a numerous retinue, and publicly shews himself ; enters the capital, and holds clandestine nocturnal cabals.

Tiberius † was at a loss how to behave on this occasion. To use arms against his slave, was almost ridiculous ; to leave a gross imposition to destroy itself by time, was somewhat dangerous. Distracted by fear and shame, sometimes he thought nothing should be despised, sometimes that he ought not, however, to be afraid of every thing. At last he orders Sallust to essay his address and cunning.

He is arrested and put to death.

This minister pitched on two of his clients, some say on two soldiers, whom he sent to the false Agrippa, to insinuate themselves into his favour, by offering money, and their service in all hazards. These artfully executed their commission ; and watching a night when the impostor was not on his guard, they, with assistance, seize on, bind, gag, and carry him to the palace.

The emperor himself examined him ; and when he asked him, how he came to be Agrippa ;

“ Just,

* *Quia veritas visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat funam aut praveniebat. Tac.*

† *Tiberium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum coereret servum suum, an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret. Modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda, ambiguus pudoris et metus, reputabat.*

“Just, answered the audacious slave, as you came A. R. 767. to be Cesar.” It was not possible to make him ^{aft. C. 16.} discover the names of his accomplices: and, as Tiberius durst not execute him publicly, he was killed in a secret part of the palace, and his body privately carried away. This affair was unattended with consequences. Tiberius wisely stifled it: and though it was firmly believed, that some of his household, some knights, and senators, had supplied the impostor with money, and assisted him with counsel, no enquiry was made.

Dio enables us to add here another act of mo- ^{Foolish} deration of Tiberius, though in a much lighter af- ^{vanity of} fair. Vibius Rufus, a vain man, gloried much ^{Vibius Ru-} in having in his possession the curule chair of ^{fus.} Cesar the dictator, in which he was killed; and ^{Tiberius's} in being married to Terentia, Cicero's widow. ^{moderation} This lady must have been very aged at that ^{with res-} time, since Cicero had been dead eight-and-fifty ^{pect to} years: but the fact is possible; for we learn from ^{him} Pliny and Valerius Maximus, that she exceeded ^{Dio.} the common limits of humanity, and lived to the ^{Plin. vii.} age of an hundred and three years. Vibius Rufus ^{48.} then thought himself a second Cesar, because he ^{Val. Max.} sat in his chair; and another Cicero, because he ^{viii. 13.} lay with his wife. Such vanity seemed only worthy of laughter to Tiberius, who, instead of fearing the new Cesar and treating him as a criminal, made him consul. Vibius's name is not to be found among the ordinary consuls: therefore he must have been one of the substituted.

The senators yet enjoyed the privilege of pro- ^{Attempt} posing whatever they thought conducive to the ^{to reform} good of the state. When their turn came to ^{luxury.} speak, they could, as in the time of the repub- ^{Tac. Ann.} lic, depart from the matter in deliberation, and ^{ii. 33.} ad-

A.R. 767. advance their own observations and notions about
 aft. C. 16. useful institutions, or reformation of abuses. Q.
 Haterius, a consular, and Octavius Fronto, for-
 merly pretor, exerting this right, inveighed
 against the reigning luxury; and, at their re-
 quest, a decree passed to prohibit the use of gol-
 den plate, and to * forbid mens debasing them-
 selves, as Tacitus, says by the use of effeminate
 silks.

Fronto went farther, and desired a regulation
 with respect to silver plate, furniture, and the
 number of slaves. But Asinius Gallus opposed
 him, the advocate of luxury. He represented,
 "That with the growth of the empire private
 riches had likewise grown: and this from the re-
 motest antiquity. That the wealth of the Fa-
 bricii was different from that of the Scipio's. That
 the condition of the state was the measure of
 private fortunes, which were small when it was
 distressed, but increased with its prosperity. That
 in plate, furniture, slaves, nothing was extrava-
 gant of frugal, but in proportion to the condition
 of the possessor. That a distinction indeed had
 been made between the riches of the senators,
 the knights, and the people; but not because
 nature had made any such difference between
 them, but because it was proper that those who
 had the pre-eminence in rank, office, and order,
 should also enjoy more abundantly the means of
 diverting the mind, and preserving the body.
 Unless it could be expected that the first men in
 a state should undergo the heaviest fatigues and
 dangers, and yet be deprived of the alleviations
 of fatigue and danger." These reasons, which
 are at this day made use of in support of the
 same cause, did not appear satisfactory to Tacitus.

The

* Ne vestis serica viros fœdaret.

* The advocate for vice, says the grave historian, was heard with applause by an audience who found in his discourse an apology for their manners. Tiberius himself too, though inclined to severity, declared that it was not a season for exercising the censorship, and that, when a reformation became necessary, he would undertake it himself. And in fact, his example did not authorize luxury, as we shall have occasion to observe elsewhere.

In the same assembly of the senate, wherein passed what we have related, L. Piso, an illustrious senator, but fiery and impetuous, exhibited a singular scene. After he had bitterly declaimed against the intrigues of candidates; the corruption of judges; and the inhumanity of the orators, who were always breathing imprecations against honest men; he declared he could not live any longer in so vitious a place as Rome; and that he would retire into some distant country, out of the way of the human species. This said, he instantly arose, as going to execute what he had threatened. Tiberius was moved; and not satisfied with endeavouring to appease himself the anger of Piso, he engaged his relations to restrain him by persuasion or intreaty.

The same Piso gave soon after another instance of his intrepid liberty, by prosecuting Urgulania, Livia's favourite, and therefore above law. She so insolently abused her credit, that having been cited as a witness in a cause before the senate, she refused to appear; and had a pretor sent to take her deposition; when the vestal virgins, who enjoyed the highest privileges, were nevertheless, obliged to depose before the judges

in

* *Facilem ad sensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum, et similitudo audientium, dedit.*

A. R. 767. in the forum. Urgulania accordingly disdained aft. C. 16. Piso's citation, and instead of appearing to answer it, went publicly to the palace of the emperor. Piso, who had justice on his side, acted as haughtily as she, and though Livia complained of his want of respect for her, ceased not vigorously to prosecute his suit.

Tiberius, divided between his complaisance to his mother, and his desire to maintain order, thought to satisfy both, by going to the pretor's tribunal, and soliciting personally for Urgulania. Accordingly, he went out of the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance; and walked on gravely, conversing with those who accompanied him, through a crowd of people that kept their eyes on him. Meanwhile, all Piso's relations were pressing him in vain to desist. So that Livia was obliged to pay him the sum of money he claimed. Thus ended this affair, much to Piso's honour, and more to the emperor's. But Tiberius was commended too soon; for it will appear hereafter, that he entertained a deep resentment against Piso, which only waited for an opportunity to shew itself.

Conte. t
between
Cn. Piso
and Asi-
nius Gal-
lus about
the vaca-
tions of the
senate.

Tacitus relates here, a contest that arose between Cn. Piso (who must not be confounded with the Piso we have been speaking of) and Asinius Gallus. It was about the vacations, which Cn. Piso was not for having the senate admit of, though Tiberius had talked of being absent for some time. On the contrary, he insisted that it was a reason for continuing the prosecution of business, as it would redound to the honour of the commonwealth, to have the senators or magistrates perform their parts equally, in the presence or absence of the prince. This opinion had an air of liberty that was not displeasing to many.

As

As therefore Piso had appropriated that kind of merit, Gallus had nothing left but to make his court to Tiberius; which he did. He maintained that the assembled senate owed its chief dignity to the presence of the prince; and that therefore, it was proper to reserve for him the concourse, that the judgments and deliberations of the senate drew to Rome from Italy and the provinces. The dispute waxed warm on both sides, without Tiberius's seeming the least to concern himself in it, or speaking a single word. But the adjournment was carried.

Tiberius was not equally silent upon a proposition made by Asinius Gallus, which he thought tended to weaken the imperial authority. This proposition was bipartite. In the first place, it appointed magistrates, not for one year as usual, but for five years at once, as had been practised by the dictator, Cesar, and after him by the Triumviri: and it also bestowed the pretorship on those commanders of legions who had never yet exercised it.

It is easy to imagine why the second article hurt Tiberius. Every thing that concerned the military was in the emperor's province; and though Tiberius had once shewn so much deference to the senate, as to oblige a considerable officer to answer before that assembly an accusation of rapine and violence; he doubtless, did not like that the principal senators should arrogate to themselves a right of conferring favours on those in the service. In the answer Tacitus puts in his mouth, nothing is said on this second head. Tiberius did not love to be explicit about the mysteries of state. As to the first, he pretended to discover in it an increase of power that offended his modesty. "Why will you, said he, have
me

A.R. 767.
aft. C. 16.

Asinius Gallus proposes to fix the magistrates for five years. Tiberius removes that notion.

Suet. Tib. 30.

A.R. 767. me take on myself so many nominations; which
 aft. C. 16. must inevitably expose me to more refusals? It is scarce possible every year to avoid giving disgust, though the hopes of being more successful next year is some consolation to those who fail. But when candidates are to be rejected for five years, what will comfort them, and how great will their resentment be? Besides, who can foresee the alterations that such a tract of time may make in the minds, families, and fortunes, of subjects? Pride seizes those designed for a power of some months, even before they enter on it: How imperious will it not make them to enjoy a magistracy for five years? It will also multiply every magistrate into five; and subvert the laws, which have wisely provided a proper time, as well for soliciting, as enjoying preferments." By this artful discourse, which seemed to have no other view than the general good, he put a stop to an innovation that might have prejudiced his authority, by increasing the boldness of the ambitious, and the complaints of the malecontents, and by depriving him for five years, of the means of rewarding such as had been serviceable to him. He knew well, that hopes of a future reward operated much more powerfully on men than gratitude for a past favour.

Hortensius's grandson demands a gratification of Tiberius.

Tiberius, about this time gave gratuities to several poor senators; and this doubtless, emboldened M. Hortalus, grandson of the orator Hortensius, to ask him to relieve his indigence. Hortalus ill deserved the favour of the emperor by his own conduct, if he is the person cited by Valerius Maximus, among the examples of unworthy descendants of great families. In other respects the circumstances of his case were very favourable. It was his father, who was killed af-

Val. Max. lib. 4.

ter

ter the battle of Philippi, by order of Anthony, A. R. 767. as a bad subject, that had ruined him. Augustus, aft. C. 16. who had a vanity in hindering the ancient families of the republic from falling to decay, gave him a * million of sesterces to marry. Hortalus. ¹²⁵⁰⁰⁰ obeyed; and had issue four children, all now ^{livres, a-} very young, whom he brought into the porch ^{bout 83337.} of the senate-house; and when it came to his ^{6s. 8d.} turn to speak, he expressed himself in this ^{English.} manner:

“ † Those children, fathers, whose number and youth you see, are the fruits of a marriage that I contracted in obedience to my prince. And truly, my ancestors deserved to have posterity. But as the circumstances of the times have not been advantageous to me, and as I have not been able to inherit or acquire the usual supports of nobility, riches, popularity, nor even eloquence itself, the fortune of our family; I deemed it sufficient, in my slender circumstances, to live without disgracing myself, or burdening others. By the emperor's command I married. Behold the offspring of so many ‡ consuls and dicta-

* *Patres Conscripti, hos quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia Princeps monebat; simul majores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. Sed ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi, neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostræ bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meæ nec mihi pudori, nec cuiquam oneri, forent. Jussus ab Imperatore uxorem duxi: En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandæ misericordiæ refero. Adsequentur, florente te, Cæsar, quos dederis honores: interim Q. Hortensii propotes, divi Augusti alumnos, ab inopia defende.*

† The *Fasts* furnish us with but two consuls and one dictator of the house of *Hortensia*. The dictator created A. R. 466. brought back the people from *Mons Janiculi* where they had retired. Of the two consuls, one named for

A.R. 767. dictators. They are certainly not in an enviable
aft. C. 16. situation; and it is only to excite your compas-
sion for these children that I mention the splen-
dour of their ancestors. Under your protection
and auspices, Cesar, they may arrive at the ho-
nours you think them deserving of. In the mean
time, defend from want the great grandsons of
Hortensius, and the foster-sons of Augustus.”

He is rudely refused. Tiberius was one of those whom demands
sour, and who choose to be generous of their
own accord. Besides *, the favourable disposition
of the senate to Hortalus was, according to
Tacitus, a reason for his being the less conde-
scending. He answered him therefore with all
imaginable rigour. “If all that are poor, says
he, come here to beg a provision for their chil-
dren, the public will be impoverished, without
satiating the greediness of particulars. And cer-
tainly, if senators have been allowed to depart
sometimes from the matter in debate, and to pro-
pose what they thought of importance to the
state; they are not therefore to abuse that liberty
by entertaining us with their domestic concerns,
and taking occasions to increase their fortunes,
and to render the senate and prince odious, whe-
ther they are refused or gratified. But in truth,
‡ these are not petitions, but demands, altogether
ill-timed;

the year 614, died before he entered on his office; the other
is the celebrated orator. But *Hortalus*, in speaking thus,
doubtless, comprehends the alliances of his family.

* *Inclinatio Senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit, quo
promptius adversaretur.*

‡ *Non enim preces sunt istuc, sed efflagitatio, intempesti-
va quidem et improvi-ta, quum aliis de rebus convenierint
Patres consurgere, et numero atque ætate liberam suorum
urgere modestiam senatû, eandem vim in me transmittere,
ac velut perfringere ærarium, quod si ambitione exhausseri-
mus, per scelera suppleendum erit.*

timed ; while the senate is assembled upon other A.R.767. affairs, one stands up, and points out the num- aft. C. 16. ber and infancy of his children, importunes the assembly, with equal violence attacks me, and forces open, as it were, the exchequer ; which if exhausted by inconsiderate bounties, must be supplied by tyranny and oppression. 'The divine Augustus, Hortalus, gave you money, but unsolicited ; and never intended to oblige us to supply you with unceasing generosity. If this method once prevails *, if people are to have no care of themselves, and no hopes in their own industry, emulation will cease, sloth will take its place, and every one grown sluggishly idle, will expect to be supported by others, and become useless to themselves, and burdensome to the public."

† This discourse, says Tacitus, was approved only by those who are pleased with every thing that comes out of the mouth of the prince, whether good or bad, just or unjust. But the silence, or low murmurs of the majority of the senators, convinced Tiberius, that the assembly was dissatisfied. He therefore added, that he had answered Hortalus ; yet, if the senate desired it, he would give ‡ two hundred thousand sesterces † 25,000 to every one of his sons. The house returned livres, a- about 16667, him thanks for this ; but Hortalus said no- 13s. 4d. thing, either through fear, or because, perhaps, he retained in his poverty some of the spirit of his

* *Languescet alioquin industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes ; et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.*

† *Hæc atque talia, quanquam cum adsensu audita ab his quibus omnia Principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est, plures persilentium, aut occultum mitmur exee- pere.*

A.R. 767. his family. Tiberius, however, never softened ;
aft. C. 16. and saw, with indifference, the house of Hortensius reduced to beggary.

Old records sought out and transcribed. *Div.* We shall finish the relation of the events of this year, by Tiberius's carefulness about the ancient public records. Many of these had been lost ; and others were so defaced by time, that it was difficult to read them. He commissioned three senators to get such as existed transcribed, and to search after such as did not appear.

A.R. 768.
aft. C. 17.

C. CÆLIUS RUFUS.
L. POMPONIUS FLACCUS.

Germanicus's triumph. *Tac. Ann. ii. 41.* The twenty-sixth of May, in the consulship of Cælius and Pomponius, Germanicus triumphed over the Cheruskans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations between the Rhine and the Elbe. A great many illustrious prisoners marched before the triumphal carr ; Segimond, Segestes's son, Thusnelda, his daughter, and Arminius's wife, holding in her arms * a son of the age of three years, Sesithacus, nephew of Segestes, and several others, whose names may be seen in Strabo. But what was remarkable was, that though all Segestes's family were led captive in this triumph, he himself appeared with honour and distinction, as the old, faithful ally of the Roman people. The spoils of the Germans were also exhibited ; and the representations of mountains, rivers, and engagements ; and though the war was not finished, Germanicus's triumph was not considered as the less just,

Strabo, l. vii.

* This age does not agree with that of the son of Arminius, who was born in Italy during his mother's captivity. Therefore Arminius either had two sons, prisoners among the Romans, or Strabo makes that which was led in triumph too old.

just, or less glorious, because he would willingly have completed it. A.R. 768.
aft. C. 17.

The people contemplated with admiration the heroic presence of this prince, his becoming air, and his five children that filled his chariot. * But a secret disquiet mingled with their joy, when they reflected, that his father Drusus, and his uncle † Marcellus, had been both by early deaths, snatched from the affections and hopes of the Roman people; so that it seemed the fate of the nation to lose all its favourites prematurely.

Tiberius distributed to the people, in Germanicus's name, ‡ three hundred sesterces a-man; and would be himself his colleague in the consulship he had promised him for the succeeding year. But these external appearances of good-will deceived no-body. The world knew he did not love his nephew; and he soon proved it, by either procuring by his artifices, an opportunity to send him from Rome, or laying hold of the first that chance offered. Parthia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria, Judea, in a word, all the east, being in agitation, or in danger of being so, furnished him with the pretext. And of these troubles, it is proper I should give the reader some account, beginning with the Parthians.

We may remember that old Phraates, though he had gained great advantages over the Romans under Anthony's command, shewed, nevertheless, much deference and respect to Augustus; Troubles among the Parthians. Tac. Ann. ii. 1.

2

even

* Sed suberat occulta formido reputantibus, haud pro-perum in Druso patre ejus, favorem vulgi; avunculum ejusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis ereptum: breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.

† Marcellus was brother of Antonia, Germanicus's mother.

A.R. 768. even so far as to restore the colours taken from
 aft. C. 17. Crassus, and to send his four sons almost as hos-
Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 3. tages. These princes continued at Rome during the reign of Phraataces, their brother, and of Orodes, who being of the blood of the Arsacidæ, though of another branch, had succeeded Phraataces, who was deposed by his subjects. When a conspiracy had also dethroned, and even destroyed Orodes; the Parthians being without a king, divided among themselves, and tired of their civil dissensions, thought of Phraates's son who had been many years among the Romans. They send to Rome an embassy, composed of the chief among them, to demand the prince Vonones, the eldest of Phraates's family, in order to re-instate him in the throne of his fathers. Augustus*, who was then alive looked upon this event as very glorious to him, and sent Vonones laden with presents.

The barbarians received their new king with joy. But soon they reproached one another with what they had with ardour desired. They said one to another; "That the Parthians had degenerated, in fetching from another world a king, debauched with the arts and maxims of their enemies. That the throne of the Arsacidæ was now deemed a Roman province, and disposed of by the Romans as they thought proper. *What will become, added they, of the glory we acquired by killing Crassus, and repulsing Anthony, if Cesar's slave, who has so many years bore the yoke, is suffered to reign over the Parthians?*"

Vonones

* In Tacitus's text we have here the name Cæsar, which may equally signify Tiberius, or Augustus. But the ambiguity is destroyed by a passage of the xiith book of the Annals, chapter the 11th, where Claudius says expressly, that Augustus gave a king to the Parthians, which king could only be Vonones.

Vonones himself, by the difference of his manners from those of his ancestors, increased the contempt of his haughty subjects. They were shocked at seeing him so seldom a hunting, at the small regard he had for horses, at his being carried in a litter in the towns, and at his contemning the plain eating of the Parthians. They ridiculed his taste for the conversation of learned Greeks, and his care to lock up (as was practised at Rome) the most common and trifling things. His * very virtues, because unknown to the Parthians, appeared to them vices. Nothing could be more remote from the practice of the Arsacidæ, than to permit an easy access to their persons, or to shew an anticipating politeness; and the Parthians were so attached to their own customs, that they equally hated in their king, what was laudable, and what was blameable.

A revolt soon followed this general murmuring. Artabanus, a prince of the family of the Arsacidæ, and king of Media, being sent for, came, and put himself at the head of the malecontents. There were two engagements, in the first of which Vonones was victorious. But being entirely defeated in the second, he was obliged to seek an asylum in Armenia, which seemed to open its arms to receive him.

For the throne was then vacant. Ariobarzanes, whom Caius Cesar, Augustus's grandson, had made king over the Armenians, dying in a few years, his posterity had not been able to maintain themselves in possession of the kingdom. The Armenians then tried the government of a woman named Erato; and being quickly

* Sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium prævis et honestis. Tac.

A.R. 768.
aft. C. 17.

Tac. & Ju.
sepl.

Troubles in
Armenia.

A. R. 768. quickly tired of, deposed her ; so that they were
 aft. C. 17. now * rather without a tyrant, than free. Vonones, coming among them while affairs were thus situated, was well received, and made king. But Artabanus, pursuing and menacing his rival, and Armenia being unable of itself to make head against the Parthians, and the timid distrustful policy of Tiberius, who had then took the reins of the Roman government, not suffering him to enter into a war with them, Silanus Creticus, proconsul of Syria, invited Vonones to come to him; and when he had him in his power, set a guard over him, leaving him the name and equipage of a king. Artabanus hereupon made his son Orodes king of Armenia. These commotions among the Parthians, and Armenians, are related by Tacitus in the preceding year.

Death of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Decree of the senate for reducing his kingdom into a Roman province. Tac. Ann. ij. 42. & Dio. l. vi. 49. & 57.

This year, Cappadocia suffered also a revolution by the means of Tiberius. Archelaus, descended from Archelaus, Mithridates's general had reigned there fifty years. His kingdom had been given him by Anthony, to whom he continued faithful till after the battle of Actium. Having been confirmed by Augustus in the throne, he had behaved in such a manner, as to give the Romans no kind of suspicions. But he had offended Tiberius, by shewing him no civility during his retreat at Rhodes. This he had not done through haughtiness, but policy; having been advised by his friends at Augustus's court, that C. Cesar, the Emperor's grandson, was the favourite, and that it was not safe at that juncture to seem engaged with Tiberius. But Tiberius was the more piqued at the indifference and coldness of Archelaus, because he was under obligations

* *Magis sine domino, quam in libertate.*

tions to him ; Tiberius having defended him, A.R.768. when an accusation was brought against him be-^{aft.}C. 17. fore Augustus.

When he attained the sovereignty, he did not think it below the emperor, to revenge the injuries of Augustus's son-in-law. He even used cunning against his weak enemy ; and his mother, at least went halves in the plot. She wrote to the king of Cappadocia, advising him to come to Rome, and implore her son's clemency, whose just resentment she confessed, but flattered him, at the same time, with hopes of forgiveness.

Archelaus, either did not suspect the deceit, or was apprehensive of violence, in case he shewed any distrust. He came then to Rome ; where he found the emperor implacable, and a charge of sedition and rebellion against him laid before the senate. It would not have been difficult for him to have cleared himself of imaginary crime ; but * equal treatment is unusual to kings, and to be treated like malefactors intolerable. Grief seized on Archelaus, which, added to his age, killed him, or prevailed on him to kill himself. Tiberius upon this, caused a decree of the senate to pass, for uniting Cappadocia to the Roman empire ; and that his injustice to Archelaus might be covered by a pretence of public good, he declared, that the revenues of this new province, would enable him to reduce to half the tax of the hundredth denarius, about which the people had made fruitless remonstrances two years before.

Two other little kingdoms of these countries, ^{Other com-} Comagena and Cilicia, having about the same ^{motions in} ^{the first} time

* Regibus æqua. nedum infima, insolita sunt. *Tac.*

A.R. 768. time lost their kings, Antiochus, and Philopater,
 aft. C. 17 dissensions arose between the nobility and people.
 The first, desired the Roman government, under
 which they, doubtless, expected opportunities of
 advancing themselves, and making fortunes, and
 the people preferred the dominion of their kings,
 as what they had been accustomed to.

The provinces too of Syria and Judea, over-
 burdened with taxes, petitioned for relief.

Commis-
 sion given
 to Germa-
 nicus to
 pacify the
 East.

These affairs in the east, gave Tiberius the
 pretence he wanted, to take Germanicus from the
 armies on the Rhine that were well affected to
 him; and send him into distant countries, where
 he might be exposed to innumerable dangers,
 and where attempts on his life would be easily
 concealed.

He represented therefore to the senate all I
 have related, and added, "That only Germa-
 nicus's wisdom could put a stop to these growing
 troubles. That for himself, he began to find
 he was too old to take such long journies, and
 that his son Drusus had not yet years, or experi-
 ence enough." Germanicus had accordingly
 given him the command over all the provinces
 beyond sea; with an authority superior to that
 of the proconsuls, or propretors, that governed
 the different countries, either in the name of the
 senate, or of the prince.

C. PISO
 made go-
 vernor of
 Syria.

The employment was glorious, and such as
 had formerly been bestowed on Pompey, and af-
 terwards on Brutus and Cassius. But Tiberius
 had provided an adversary for Germanicus in Cn.
 Piso, whom he had for that very purpose made
 governor of Syria. He had recalled Creticus
 Silanus, who was about to enter into Germani-
 cus's alliance, by marrying his daughter to Nero
 the eldest of Germanicus's sons; and Piso, who
 suc-

succeeded him, was an haughty, imperious, ^{A.R.76S.} violent man; and incapable of obedience. He ^{act.C. 17.} inherited these qualities from his father, of whom we have * elsewhere spoke; and his pride was ^{* B. i. A. R.} greatly increased by his marriage with Plancina, ^{729.} whose birth (which was derived from the cele- ^{Lips. ad.} brated Plancus) was set off by great riches. Pi- ^{Tac.} so therefore considered himself as scarce inferior to Tiberius, but much superior to his sons; and he knew he was employed to make head against Germanicus, and stop a flight that seemed to Tiberius too aspiring. Some thought that Piso had secret orders for his conduct: and Tacitus assures us, as of an undoubted fact, that Livia recommended to Plancina to plague Agrippina, to affect an equality with her, and to lose no opportunity of mortifying her.

Such were the intrigues of the court, which ^{Tiberius's} was now divided between Germanicus and Dru- ^{court di-} sus. Tiberius was, as was natural, for his son. ^{vided be-} But Germanicus, extremely amiable of himself, ^{tween Ger-} was the more esteemed by most of the Romans, ^{manicus} on account of his uncle's antipathy to him. ^{and Dru-} Besides, he was of more illustrious descent than Dru- ^{sus, who} sus on the mother's side, being grandson of Au- ^{continue} thony, and grand-nephew of Augustus; where- ^{themselves} as, Drusus's great-grandfather was Atticus, a ^{good} Roman knight, whose name seemed to disgrace ^{friends.} that of the Claudii. And Agrippina, by her glorious fruitfulness, and unsuspected virtue, quite eclipsed Livilla the spouse of Drusus. But what is very remarkable, and does great honour to the young princess, is, † that whilst every thing was in a ferment about them, they themselves were

† Sed fratres egregie, concordēs, et proximorum certami-
pibus inconcussi. Tac

A.R. 768. were cool, and lived in perfect union, without
 A.D. 17. concerning themselves with the divisions and
 cabals of their partizans.

Tac. Ann. - Their unanimity appeared in an affair of itself
 ii 61. of small importance, if not set off by Tacitus's
 reflections. Vipsanius Gallus a pretor, being
 dead, Haterius Agrippa was candidate for the
 vacancy. He had the interest of Germanicus,
 whose kinsman he was, and also that of Drusus ;
 but the law was against him, and preferred that
 candidate who had most children. So that a con-
 test arose, and Tiberius rejoiced to see the se-
 nate divided between his sons and the laws. The
 law, without doubt, was vanquished ; yet not in-
 stantly, and by a small majority, and with the
 same struggle as when the laws were in force.

Germanicus did not set out till the close of
 the year, on his journey to the east, where he pe-
 rished. But to avoid interrupting the relation,
 I shall place here all the facts that concur in
 time with this unfortunate expedition, but have
 no other relation to it.

Terrible
 earthquake *
 in Asia.
Tac. Ann.
 ii. 47.

Asia Minor was afflicted with the most terrible
 earthquake that ever was known. Twelve ce-
 lebrated cities were overthrown in one night,
 without a possibility of foreseeing the misfortune.
 Many people, doubtless, were buried under the
 ruins, and passed immediately from sleep to
 death ; and those who escaped, had not the usual
 sanctuary, a flight to the fields ; for the earth o-
 pening under their feet, swallowed them. Mighty
 moun-

* Tiberius letabatur, quum inter filios ejus et leges se-
 natus disceptaret. Victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque sta-
 tim, et paucis suffragiis : quomodo, etiam quum valerent,
 leges vincebantur.

† Maximus terræ, memoria mortalium motus *Plin.* ii. 83.
*Since Pliny spoke thus, I do not know that any subsequent
 earthquake enables me to soften his expression.*

mountains subsided, and vallies were heaved into hills; eruptions of subterraneous fire increased the horror and devastation. A.R. 768. aft. C. 17.

The unfortunatè Asiatics found some relief in the liberality of the emperor. The city of Sardis had suffered the most. Tiberius promised the Sardians * ten millions of sesterces, and exempted them from all tribute for five years. The other towns that had suffered, obtained the same remission, and gratuities proportionate to their losses. To make a just reparation of these bounties, and to give the necessary orders in this conjuncture, a commissary was sent by the senate on the spot; and he was chosen among the pretors, and not among the consulars, because, as a consular senator governed Asia, it was apprehended that the jealousy and rivalship, which easily intervene between those of the same rank, might impede the relief of the sufferers. This munificence gained Tiberius great encomiums; and the cities of Asia, to perpetuate its remembrance, struck medals on the occasion; some of which are at this time subsisting. Tiberius eases the Asiatics. * 1250000 livres. In English money about 83,333l. 6s. 8d. Lipt. ad Tac.

This prince knew perfectly well the way to glory; and he added, at the same time, some liberalities, which, though they made less noise, as being confined to particulars, got him, nevertheless, great reputation. A wealthy woman, named Emilia Musa, having died without a will or heir, the public treasurers, who always are on the look out, claimed her fortune as an escheat. Tiberius put a stop to their proceedings; and gave her estate to Emilius Lepidus, of whose family she seemed to be a branch. One Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, having left Tiberius half his substance; he, knowing that Patuleius, by a prior will, had given his all to M. Servilius, would His liberality to several Roman senators.

A. R. 769. would have the first testament stand. Lepidus aft. C. 17. and Servilius were both men of illustrious birth, but in narrow circumstances; and Tiberius declared, that he was glad to help them to maintain their rank. And generally, he would not accept legacies, but from such as had been his intimates. As to strangers, who out of hatred to, and to baulk their relations, left their fortunes to him, he rejected their bequests with indignation.

His severity to prodigals.

But at the same time that he made it a duty to relieve the indigence of those illustrious persons, that had not impoverished themselves by their own faults, he exerted great severity towards prodigals, who had ruined themselves by their debaucheries. Tacitus names five senators whom he degraded, or obliged to resign.

Dedications of several temples.

About this time, he dedicated several temples, whose reconstruction had been begun by Augustus, and which he completed. This was another way to please the Romans, who were fond of having their metropolis embellished.

He will not suffer his name to be given to the month of November.

Dio.

We may attribute to the general satisfaction arising from these various laudable acts of Tiberius, the desire the senate shewed to give his name to the month of November, wherein he was born; in the same manner, as two months already bore the names of Julius Cæsar, and Augustus. Tiberius, who disdained flattery, ridiculed the proposal, in a witty, sensible manner. "What will you do, says he to the senators, when you have thirteen Cæsars?"

Apulia Varilia accused of high-treason, and gently treated.

Tac. Ann.

ii. 60.

In the midst of so many subjects for joy, the terror of accusations for high-treason was renewed. Apulia Varilia, grand-niece to Augustus, was accused before the senate as guilty of this crime, for having reviled in her discourses Augustus,

gustus, Tiberius, and Livia; and also, because A.R. 768. being related to the Cesars, she had dishonour. aft. C. 17. ed her family by an adultery.

It was sufficient to Tiberius's designs to put on foot such prosecutions, in which he at first affected great moderation. He therefore treated Varilia's affair with great gentleness. He said, that if she had been impious enough to violate the respect due to Augustus's memory, she ought to be punished; but he would have no notice taken of what concerned himself personally. A pretor having asked him, what was to be done with respect to Livia, he made no immediate answer; but the next assembly of the senate he desired, in her name, that it might not be imputed as a crime to any body to have attacked her merely by words. Varilia was accordingly acquitted of high-treason. As to the adultery, he desired, that the rigour of the laws might be somewhat mitigated. So she was sent back to her relations, who removed her two hundred miles from Rome. And Manlius, her gallant, was interdicted Italy and Africa.

This year the republic of letters lost two celebrated members, Titus Livius, and Ovid. The judicious and eloquent historian died quiet and revered, in the bosom of his country, at Padua. The licentious poet perished in his exile in Scythia; after having exhausted, for near eight years, all his wit and sense in humble and cogent entreaties, and lamentable complaints, without having been able to obtain his recall either from Augustus or Tiberius.

Drusus had received a commission of the same nature as Germanicus's, to go and command in Illyricum. Tiberius wanted his son to learn the art of war, and gain the affection of the soldiery; and,

Death of
Titus Li-
vius, and
of Ovid.
*Euseb.
Chron.*

Drusus
sent into
Illyricum
on occasion
of the war
between
Marobodu-
us and Au-
minius.
*Tac. Ann.
lib. 44.*

A.R. 768. and, instead of accustoming himself to the cor-
 aft. C. 17. ruptive luxury of Rome, to inure himself to the
 fatigues of warfare, which would justify both his
 body and valour. He therefore laid hold on the
 opportunity presented by the divisions among the
 Germans. The Suevians, who obeyed Maroboduus,
 having sent to Rome to implore assistance
 against the Cheruskans, Drusus had orders to go
 and put himself at the head of the legions of Il-
 lyricum; though he was not actually to engage
 in the wars between the German nations, but to
 foment their dissensions, and by that means se-
 cure the tranquillity of the Roman provinces.

The intestine feuds of the Germans had recommenced, as Tiberius had foreseen, the moment they ceased to be disquieted by the Romans. Incapable as they were of rest, and lovers of motion and war, their emulation in glory engaged both chiefs and people to turn their arms against one another. Maroboduus and Arminius considered one another as rivals, and determined on mutual destruction. But the name of king rendered the first odious; whereas Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the favourite of the nation. Therefore not only his countrymen, the Cheruskans, and their allies, followed him to war; but the Senones and Lombards, subjects of Maroboduus, revolted to him: and by this increase of strength he would have exceeded in puissance, had not Inguiomerus restored the balance, by deserting shamefully, with all his vassals and clients to Maroboduus, for no other cause but pique and jealousy. The old uncle, it seems, could not submit to take orders from the young nephew.

Both armies were drawn out, and each general, before they came to blows, animated his soldiers by powerful exhortations. Arminius
 boasted

boasted his exploits, the defeat of Varus and ex- A.R.768.
tirpation of three legions, the Romans repulsed, aft. C.17.
the German liberty maintained against the tyrants
of the universe. He depreciated Maroboduus,
whom he talked of as a coward, who had never
dared face the Romans, but on the contrary
had, by entering into an alliance with them
shewn himself a traitor to his country.

Maroboduus was even with his adversary both
in bravado and outrage. He represented Armi-
nius as a young madman, who insolently bragged
of his advantage wholly due to surprize, which
thus brought many misfortunes on Germany, and
much ignominy on himself, whose wife and son
were in bondage in Italy. He transferred to In-
guiomerus, his new ally, all the glory of the ex-
ploits of the Cheruskans against the Romans.
Then passing to his own actions, he greatly ex-
toll'd the honour he had acquired by making
head against Tiberius and twelve legions; and
far from being ashamed of the treaty he made
with the Romans, he valued himself on it, as a
piece of politics that left it in his power to have,
as he chose, peace or war with them.

They then engaged, not only with courage,
but conduct. The Germans, by their long wars
with the Romans, had learned to correct the ir-
regular motions of barbarian courage, and the
confusion of their battles. They knew now to
follow their ensigns, to post bodies properly in
reserve, and to obey their commanders. After
a long and obstinate action, the victory was am-
biguous. But Maroboduus, by timidly retreat-
ing to a hill, in some sort confessed himself worst-
ed. His troops at least so interpreted it, and
deserted in great numbers; so that the king of
the Suevians, in fear of being abandoned, fled
for

A. R. 768. for security to * Bohemia, the centre of his do-
 aft. C. 17 minions. From thence he sent to desire Tiberi-
 us's assistance. The emperor answered him,
 that Maroboduus had no right to ask the aid of
 the Romans against the Cherusicans, as he had not
 assisted them while they were warring with that
 people. He sent, however, Drusus, as has been
 said, into Illyricum; with instructions to main-
 tain peace in that province, and hinder the war
 from penetrating into it.

The young prince perfectly conformed to his
 father's orders. He took pains to keep up the
 dissensions among the Germans, and managed so
 well during two years, that he completed the
 ruin of Maroboduus, who was already weak-
 ened by his preceding misfortunes. For this
 purpose he made use of a young nobleman of
 the nation of the Gotones †, named Catualda,
 who had been driven out of his country by the
 violence of Maroboduus, and who laid hold on
 the opportunity his disgrace afforded to revenge
 himself. Catualda then, encouraged by Drusus,
 assembles troops, enters in arms the country of
 the Marcomans, gains to his party their nobility,
 and carries by storm Maroboduus's capital, and
 a neighbouring fort that served for a citadel.
 He made a great booty; for here it was that the
 Suevians had deposited all the riches they had
 pillaged from the neighbouring nations. Tac-
 itus observes, that a great many victuallers and
 traders from the Roman provinces were found
 there,

A. R. 770.
 Tac. Ann.
 bk. 62.

* We have said, in the second and third books, that *Ma-
 roboduus* had transplanted with himself the *Marcomans* in-
 to *Bohemia*, who were his countrymen, and some other
Suevian nations.

† This people inhabited a country near the *Baltic sea*
 to the left of the *Vistula*.

there, whom the hopes of gain had brought into the heart of a barbarous region, and whom use had taught to consider as their country that where they made most profit.

Maroboduus, dethroned, without troops, and without dominions, had nothing to fly to but the mercy of the Roman emperor. He got over the Danube; and from Norica wrote to Tiberius; not however in the language of a fugitive or supplicant, but with a spirit suitable to his late grandeur. He said, that having been invited by many nations to take an asylum among them as a king, once potent and glorious, he had preferred to all, the friendship of Rome. His answer was, That he would find a safe and honourable retreat in Italy, and should have liberty to return if his affairs required it.

Maroboduus being dethroned, is received into Italy; and grows old in peace.

Tiberius was transported at having ruined a great king, without having drawn his sword. He boasted of it to the senate as a glorious achievement, magnifying Maroboduus's power, the extent of his dominions, the danger of his neighbourhood to Italy, and the wisdom of the measures taken to ruin him. He granted this prince the town of Ravenna for his residence; whence he was shewn as a bugbare to the Suevians, when at any time they began to stir. But during the eighteen years, that he lived after this he never went out of Italy. * He grew old there in peace having greatly diminished his glory by a fondness for life which was accounted a weakness among the ancients.

Catualda, the author or instrument of his ruin, shared soon after the same fate. For having been expelled

* *Consenuitque, multum imminuta claritate, ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. Tac.*

expelled by the * Hermondans, he was obliged to have also recourse to the Romans, and was sent to Frejus.

They were both followed by a number of their partizans ; whom it was judged improper to continue about them. For it was apprehended that so many impetuous, restless barbarians, might occasion some disturbance in the empire ; they were therefore sent across the Danube, into the country between † the rivers Narus and Cusus ; and Vannius, by nation a Quadian, was appointed their king.

Arminius's
death and
panegyric.
Tac. Ann.
ii. 88.

Arminius was now at the height of his glory. He had maintained himself against all the power of the Romans. He had conquered and expelled Maroboduus, the only rival he had to fear in Germany. Triumphant and adored, he had nothing to do but enjoy the voluntary homage paid him by admiration and gratitude. But his great prosperity turned his head : he gave way to an unjust ambition ; and, after having so many years defended the liberty of his country, he wanted to become its tyrant. This alteration of conduct altered the disposition of the Germans. They took up arms against him, and several battles were fought between the zealots for liberty and the partizans of Arminius. But force was the least he had to fear. Treachery was practised against him ; and Adgandestrius, prince of the Cattans, wrote to Rome an offer to destroy Arminius, if poison were sent him. His letter was read in the senate ; but Tiberius rejected the proposal ;

* A people that lived between the Danube and the Sala.

† That is, according to Cellarius, in Higher Hungary, between the river March (which borders Moravia) and the Waag.

proposal; and, in imitation of the noble behaviour of Fabricius to Pyrrhus, answered him; that it was not by fraud and poison, but by steel * and open force, that the Romans subdued their enemies. But this real or affected generosity of Tiberius did not save Arminius's life, which he lost soon after by a conspiracy of his relations.

† He deserved, undoubtedly, says Tacitus, the title of the Deliverer of Germany: and what gives his exploits a relief that those of the most celebrated enemies of Rome have not, he attacked the Romans in the height of their power. In particular actions sometimes victor, sometimes vanquished, yet was he never subdued in war. He lived but thirty-seven years, during twelve of which he commanded with reputation the Germanic league. The barbarians, adds this historian, still celebrate his memory in their songs. But he is unknown among the Greeks, who admire only their own nation. And even among the Romans he is not sufficiently esteemed; because, overlooking modern prowess, we reserve our admiration for the feats of antiquity.

Arminius's death made Tiberius quite easy about the Germans, who, having lost their hero, made for a long time no efforts, but were satisfied with the liberty and peace the Romans suffered.

Rhesu-
poris king
of Thrace,
despoiled
of his king-
dom and
banished.

2

ferred

* Responsum est, non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. *Tac.*

† Liberator haud dubie Germaniæ, et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium laccessierit: præliis ambiguus, bello non victus. Septem et triginta annos vitæ, duodecim potentiæ, explevit: caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur: Romanis haud perinde celibris, dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi.

ferred them to enjoy. This was all that Tiberius desired, who * had nothing so much at heart as to prevent troubles, and maintain tranquillity where established. Accordingly he was very solicitous to extinguish the sparks of war and discord that were breaking out in Thrace, a kingdom in alliance with the empire; and in order thereto, he employed his favourite methods of artifice and cunning.

Tac. Ann.
ii. 64—67.

Rhymetalces king of Thrace, and a friend of the Romans, being dead, Augustus had divided his dominions between his brother Rhescuporis and his son Cotys. These two princes were of entirely opposite tempers. Rhescuporis was passionate, haughty, violent, and had all the inclinations of a barbarian. Cotys good-natured, moderate, and so far learned as to make Latin verses that Ovid praises, in an epistle addressed to him from the place of his exile. Their different shares of Rhymetalces's dominions were agreeable to their different tastes. Cultivated grounds, towns, and provinces bordering on Greece, composed Cotys's lot: and his uncle's consisted of a wild country, in the neighbourhood of savage nations, who were continually making inroads into it.

Ovid. de }
Ponto,
ii. 9.

Rhescuporis, who was greedy and unjust, longed for his nephew's fertile and pleasant portion. Yet, as long as Augustus lived, his fear of that emperor, who had made the partition, kept him in order, or at least hindered him from acting with open injustice. But as soon as he knew of his death, imagining his successor would not be equally interested, he pulled off the mask, went out of his prescribed limits, pretended to take possession

* Nihil æque Tiberim anxium habebat, quam ne com-
posita turbarentur. *Tac. Ann.* ii. 65.

possession of some territories allotted Cotys, and on his resisting had recourse to force, sent bands of robbers to ravage Cotys's dominions, stormed and sacked several castles, and in a word provoked a war.

Tiberius was alarmed on the first account of these commotions; and immediately dispatched a Roman centurion to the two kings, to order them to lay down their arms, and determine their differences amicably. Cotys obeyed, and disbanded the troops he had raised. Rhescuporis, pretending to enter into the emperor's views, proposed an interview to his nephew, to adjust their differences in a friendly manner: The time and place of conference were soon settled, as also the conditions of the agreement: the one through easiness, and the other through fraud, agreeing to every thing. When the treaty was concluded, Rhescuporis was for cementing the reconciliation by a banquet: and while wine, good cheer, and mirth, lulled the young prince into a fatal security, the traitor seized on his person. The unfortunate Cotys in vain invoked the sacred rights of majesty, and the gods, the avengers of violated consanguinity and hospitality; he was loaded with chains and carried off. Rhescuporis wrote to Tiberius, that having had information of some snares laid for him by his nephew, he had found himself under a necessity of being beforehand with him: and at the same time, under pretence of a war with the Scythians and Bastarncans, he increased his forces by new levies of horse and foot.

Tiberius was not to be imposed on by the frivolous allegations of this barbarian; but he did not choose to enter into a war. Therefore, instead of avenging by force Rhescuporis's crime,
he

he answered : “ That if he had practised no guile he might securely trust to his innocence. But that it was impossible, without proper examination, to judge who was in the right, who in the wrong. That he should therefore deliver up Cotys, and come to Rome to justify himself.” This letter was addressed by the emperor to Latinus Pandus, propretor of Mesia ; who sent it to Thrace by the soldiers that were to receive Cotys from his uncle and bring him away. * Rhescuporis wavered some time between fear and rage. But at last he determined rather to be found guilty of a finished, than an imperfect villany : he then caused Cotys to be murdered ; and set about a report that he had laid violent hands on himself.

Any body but Tiberius would have now discovered his sentiments. But he continued his dissembling : and Latinus (whom Rhescuporis looked on as his enemy) dying during these transactions, Tiberius gave the government of Mesia to Pomponius Flaccus, an old warrior ; and the better qualified to betray the king of Thrace, because he was in close friendship with him. This intimacy had been undoubtedly formed during the campaigns that Rhescuporis served as an auxiliary in the Roman armies ; and wine had been its cement. Flaccus, who was an hard drinker, in that agreed with the Thracian.

Suet. Tib.
c. xlii.

The new governor of Mesia went to Rhescuporis, and by the most specious promises persuaded him, notwithstanding the diffidence that remorse for his crimes gave him, to enter the Roman camp. The Thracian king had no sooner set his foot in it than he was surrounded, as it were

* Rhescuporis inter metum et eam contatus, maluit patratu facinoris quam incepti reus esse.

were out of respect, by a good number of chosen soldiers ; and the officers, by their advices and exhortations, made him continue to advance ; till having got him away from his people, they took him prisoner, and carried him to Rome. There, accused before the senate by the widow of Cotys, he was condemned ; and despoiled of and banished from his kingdom : but it was given to his son Rhymetalces, who was innocent of his father's crime. Cotys left some young children, to whom their father's dominions were restored ; and till they were capable of governing, Trebellienus Rufus, formerly pretor, was appointed their guardian, and regent of their kingdom, as M. Lepidus had formerly been to Ptolomy Epiphanes king of Egypt. Rhescuporis was sent to Alexandria ; where, on an accusation, either true or false, of attempting an escape, he was put to death.

This year (770) immorality was at such a ^{Horrible} pitch in Rome, as to draw the attention of the ^{immorality} prince and senate, and occasion some regulations ^{at Rome.} that shewed the desperateness of the disease by ^{Tac. Ann.} the violence of the remedy. The love of public ^{ii. 85.} spectacles was so extravagant amongst the young ^{Suet. Tib.} men, that sons of Roman knights, and of senators, in order to be at liberty to appear on the theatre, or to fight in public as gladiators, got themselves, of their own accord, declared infamous by the judges, who by thus stigmatizing them, freed them from the laws of decency. The women too thought of a parallel expedient for a more shameful purpose. It had been long a custom for the courtezans, in order to follow their wretched profession with impunity, to enter their names on a roll kept by the ediles. For it had been imagined, that the infamy of a public confession

profession would be check sufficient on all women, but those that were of the very dregs of the people. But it proved otherwise. Women of quality did not think they purchased a licence for debauchery at too dear a rate, by submitting to the ignominy of such a declaration before a magistrate. Tacitus names particularly Vistilia, whose ancestors had been pretors, and whose husband appears to be a senator.

Ordinances
to restrain
it.

Such excesses were not to be borne. Tiberius procured a decree of the senate, to prohibit the infamous profession of a courtesan to every woman whose grandfather, father, or husband, had been Roman knights. Vistilia, and those ladies in the same predicament, were banished and confined to islands; as also those young madmen whose passion for public shews had made them seek a voluntary stigma. Titidius Labeo, Vistilia's husband, was examined about his indolence with respect to his wife's indecent conduct; and his not exerting the power the laws gave him over her. He answered, that the sixty days allowed the husband to determine, and commence his action in, were not expired. This excuse was accepted: but to prevent the impunity of women's debauchery, it was determined, that if nobody accused those guilty of adultery, an assembly of relations should sit (as was anciently practised) and pronounce sentence on them.

Action of
Mundus
and Pauli-
nus. Eryp-
tian super-
stition pro-
scribed.
Joseph. Ant.
xviii. 4, & 5.

Among the causes of this strange corruption of manners, may be reckoned the foreign superstitions. The historian Josephus proves it by the action of Mundus, a Roman knight; who not having been able either by promises or presents to seduce Paulina, a virtuous woman of quality, obtained his ends by the assistance of the priests of Isis, who persuaded Paulina, that their god Anubis

Anubis was in love with her. This scandalous adventure made a great noise, and occasioned the revival of the ancient ordinances against the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians, which were not to be performed in Rome: the guilty priests were crucified, the temple of Isis demolished, and her statue thrown into the Tiber.

The Jews who were in Rome drew a like punishment on themselves, for a crime of another nation. Four wretches of that nation, who pretended great zeal for the propagation of their religion, converted an illustrious lady called Fulvia. But her wealth was what they really wanted. They persuaded her to put into their hands her jewels and cloaths, in order to their being sent to the temple of Jerusalem; and they themselves detained the booty. Fulvia's husband, having information of the fraud, complained thereof to the emperor; who, by a decree of the senate, prohibited the exercise of the Jewish religion in Rome, and banished from thence all those who would not forsake it. Four thousand Jews were enrolled and sent into Sardinia, to secure that island against the robbers that infested it. The air of that island was known to be unwholesome; but if they perished, their loss was inconsiderable.

About the same time came on the election of a vestal in the room of Occia, who had filled that priesthood fifty-seven years, with great reputation for her virtue. We have observed, that Augustus had been sometimes at a loss for proper subjects for vestals. But Tiberius had no difficulty, except about the choice. Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio offered their daughters with great importunity. The emperor thanked them both for their zeal for their service of religion, and of the state. And Pollio's daughter

*Tac. ibid.
Suet. Tib.
c. xxxvi.
Jos.*

Jews driven out of Rome.

Tac. & Suet.

*Election of a vestal.
Tac. ii. 86.*

daughter was preferred, only because he had never separated from his wife, whereas Fonteius had been divorced from his. But his daughter, though rejected, was not unrewarded; for Tiberius gave her a million of sesterces for a portion.

New island
in the Ar-
chipelago.
Plin. ii. 87.

Pliny takes notice of a new island that appeared on the eighth of July, in this year, in the Archipelago. This phænomenon has been renewed from time to time in that sea, the waters of which cover volcano's, whose furious throws sometimes produce, and sometimes swallow up rocks.

I now return to Germanicus, whose journey into the East, and death, I shall relate without any digression.

S E C T. II.

Germanicus sets out for the East. Detail of his journey. First instances of Piso's insolence and turbulency. Germanicus's good-nature. Piso being arrived in Syria, endeavours to gain the affection of the soldiery at the expence of discipline. Germanicus gives a king to Armenia. The ovation is decreed him and Drusus. Cappadoçia and Commagena reduced into provinces. Piso's bad procedure with respect to Germanicus. Vonones sent into Cilicia. His death. Germanicus's journey to Egypt. At his return he falls ill. New extravagancies of Piso. Germanicus imagines himself poisoned by Piso. He orders him to leave Syria. Germanicus's death. Universal grief. He is buried at Antioch. Praises given him. Sentius takes the command in Syria. Agrippina's departure with Germanicus's ashes. Piso endeavours to resume by force the government of Syria. Sentius hinders him, and obliges him to retake the route

of

of Italy. Excessive grief in Rome, on account of Germanicus's illness and death. Honours decreed to his memory. Livilla, Drusus's wife, is delivered of male twins. Agrippina's arrival at Brundisium. Honours shewn to Germanicus's ashes from Brundisium to Rome. They are carried to Augustus's tomb. Tiberius cautions the people to set bounds to their immoderate grief. Dates of the interment and death of Germanicus. Piso arrives at Rome. He is accused, and the affair brought before the senate. Tiberius's discourse. Pleadings. Piso's death. Plancina, Piso's wife, saved at Liva's entreaty. Opinion of the consul moderated by Tiberius. Piso's accusers rewarded.

GERMANICUS left Rome and Italy in the Consulship of Cœlius Rufus and Pomponius Flaccus. He took his rout by the Adriatic sea, and visited in his way, on the coast of Dalmatia, Drusus, who had been sent into that country (as has been said), upon account of the war between Arminius and Maroboduus. Thence coasting Illyricum, he came to Nicopolis in Epirus, near Actium, where he took possession of his second consulship, in which he had Tiberius for colleague.

Germanicus sets out for the East. Detail of his journey.

TIBERIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS III.

GERMANICUS CAESAR II.

A. R. 769.
aft. C. 18.

Germanicus had a difficult and dangerous voyage. He therefore stayed sometime at Nicopolis, to have his fleet refitted, which had greatly suffered: and he took that opportunity to visit the places immortalized by the victory that gave Augustus the Roman empire. He viewed the promontory and gulf of Actium, the monuments erected by the victor, and the camp of the vanquished;

A. R. 769. quished ; objects that equally brought before him
aft. C. 18. the memory of his ancestors. For he was grand-
son of Anthony, and grand-nephew of Augustus ;
* so that every thing he saw was a source of
images both pleasing and sad.

He then reembarked, and being come to Athens, shewed his regard for that ancient and illustrious city, by using only one lictor. The Athenians received him with the most elaborate honours ; and to give a value to their flattery, they set themselves off by recalling the glory of their ancestors.

From Athens he sailed to Eubœa, and thence to Lisbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, who was named Julia, and proved her last child. Germanicus continued his voyage by the Hellespont, viewed the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium in Thrace, passed the canal of the Bosphorus, and went as far as the entrance of the Euxin, satisfying his laudable curiosity of seeing with his own eyes what he had heard imperfectly from fame. And the nations were the better for the journies of this beneficent prince. For, as he went along, he re-established order and tranquillity in provinces tired of intestine dissensions, or oppressed by the injustice of magistrates.

He proposed to go, in his return, to the island of Samothrace, famous all over the world for its religious mysteries. But the north-wind preventing him, he again coasted Asia, and saw the ruins of Troy and origin of Rome ; at last he landed at Colophon, with an intention to consult the oracle of Apollo at Claros.

Tacitus on this occasion instructs us in the particular rites of this oracle ; where was no Pythoness

* *Magna illic imago tristium lætorumque. Tac.*

thoſe as at Delphos ; but a prieſt choſen out of certain families of that country, and commonly of Miletus. This man required no more than the numbers and names of thoſe who came to conſult the god ; and then he deſcended into a cave and drank of the water of a myſterious ſpring ; inſpired by which, though ignorant of letters and poetry, he uttered his answers in verſe about the ſubject of the thoughts of each conſultant. Such a performance required the aſſiſtance of the miniſters of the temple ; and doubtleſs had it. After Germanicus's death, it was pretended that this oracle foretold it : before, nobody ſuſpected any ſuch thing.

Meanwhile Cn. Pio, who was to thwart and teaze Germanicus every poſſible way, commenced at Athens his odious employment. He entered that city with a terrifying buſtle ; and harangued the inhabitants with great ſeverity ; taxing Germanicus obliquely with having proſtituted the dignity of the Roman name, by ſhewing ſo much conſideration for thoſe who were no longer Athenians (for they had many ages ceaſed to exiſt) but a vile collection of all nations ; the allies of Mithridates againſt Sylla, and of Anthony againſt Auguſtus. Yet he went back ſo far as to reproach them with their bad ſucceſs in their wars with the Macedonians, and their injuſtice to their moſt illuſtrious citizens. Piſo, beſides his deſign of nettling Germanicus, had alſo a perſonal quarrel with the Athenians, who had reſuſed to reſtore, at his requeſt, one Theophilus, who had been convicted of forgery by the Areopagus. After this coarſe inſult, he left the Athenians ; and ſailing through the Cyclades, came up with Germanicus at Rhodes. The prince knew how Piſo had behaved at Athens. But he was ſo good-

A. R. 769.
aft. C. 18.

First in-
ſtance of
Piſo's in-
ſolence and
turbulency.
Germanicus's
good nature.

A. R. 769. good-natured, that seeing him in danger of be-
 aft. C. 18. ing driven on some rocks by a tempest, instead
 of enjoying the destruction of his enemy, from
 whom chance was about to deliver him without
 his interfering, he sent his gallies to rescue him.
 But this generosity made no impression on Piso.
 He scarce stayed a day with the prince ; but hur-
 ried away in order to get into Syria before him.

Piso being
 arrived in
 Syria, en-
 deavours
 to gain the
 affection of
 the sol-
 diery at
 the ex-
 pence of
 discipline.

As soon as he saw himself at the head of the
 legions, he employed every method to corrupt
 them ; such as distributions of money, indecent
 civilities, and open partiality to the bad. He re-
 moved the old centurions and the tribunes that
 were disciplinarians, and put in their room his
 own creatures, or such as had ingratiated them-
 selves with the multitude by irregular ways. He
 authorised idleness in the soldiers in the camp,
 licentiousness in the towns, and pillage in the
 country ; in a word, by flattering the inclinations
 of the generality he attained his ends, which were
 to win their affection ; and he was accordingly
 styled by them, *Father of the legions*.

Plancina seconded him perfectly well ; and
 forgetting her sex, assisted at the military exer-
 cises, and appeared at the head of the squadrons
 and battalions, inveighing, on all occasions, a-
 gainst Germanicus and Agrippina : and among
 the soldiers, some even of the most dutiful acted
 in obedience to Piso and Plancina, from a rumour
 that was whispered, that what they did was not
 unacceptable to the emperor.

Germani-
 cus gives a
 king to
 Armenia.
Jos. Ant.
xviii. 5.
Nect. Callig.
 2.
 2. 56.

However great Germanicus's resentment was
 on account of this unworthy behaviour of Piso,
 and however desirous he was of putting a stop
 to it, yet he preferred to every other considera-
 tion the service of the state, and went to Ar-
 menia. Orodes, who had been made king of this
 country

country by Artabanus his father, since the flight of Vonones, either had retired, or made no resistance : and the throne of Armenia being once more vacant, Germanicus gave it, accordingly to the inclinations of the Armenians, to Zeno, son of Polemon, who, under the protection of the Romans, had reigned over part of Pontus and Cilicia. Zeno, from his infancy, had shewn much liking to the manners and customs of the Armenians, and his acknowledged taste for hunting, wine, and horses, had won him the hearts of the great and small. And accordingly Germanicus, with the applause of the whole nation, crowned him in the city of Artaxata. His new subjects, when they did him homage, gave him the name of Artaxias, which several of their kings had already borne.

The news of this act of supreme power and authority exercised in Armenia by Germanicus in the emperor's name, reached Rome about the same time as that of the pacification of the troubles in Germany by Drusus's care. The ovation was thereupon decreed the two young princes, and triumphal arches were erected on both sides the temple of Mars the Avenger, with statues that represented them ; Tiberius valuing himself more for having established peace by his good conduct, than if he had got a victory in a pitched battle.

Germanicus also regulated the affairs of Cappadocia and Commagena, which were both reduced, conformable to the decrees of the senate, into Roman provinces ; lessening somewhat the royal taxes, to raise their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome. Two of his friends, Veranius and Serveus, were made the governors, one of Cappadocia, and the other of Commagena.

The

A.R. 769.
aft. C. 18.

The ovation is decreed him, and Drusus.
Tac. ii. 64.

Cappadocia and Commagena reduced into provinces.
Tac. ii. 56.

A. D. 79. The success Germanicus met with in what con-
 cern his commission, did not make him amend
 for the bad procedure of Piso, who having lately
 received orders from him to bring or send, un-
 der the conduct of his son, part of the legions
 in Armenia, had not thought proper to obey
 them. This justifiable discontent of the prince
 was increased by the discourse of his friends,
 who, as it is usual in courts, exaggerated what
 was true, added some falsehood, and let slip no
 occasion to render odious to him Piso, Plancina,
 and their son.

Piso's bad
 procedure
 with res-
 pect to
 Germani-
 cus.

Germanicus was naturally sweet tempered ; and policy induced him to dissemble ; therefore at his first interview with Piso at Cyrrum, a city of Syria, where were the winter-quarters of the tenth legion, he composed his countenance so as to have nothing threatening in it. But * his discourse notwithstanding was such as dissembled resentment dictates. Piso replied with disdainful submissions : And they parted in enmity, though they did not come to an open rupture. Piso, who ought to have assisted at Germanicus's tribunal, seldom appeared there : and when he did, he acted arrogantly, and in perpetual contradiction to him.

He shewed his ill-humour on every occasion. The king of the Nabatheans, at an entertainment he made for Germanicus, having presented him and Agrippina with golden crowns of considerable weight, and Piso and the rest of the guests with lighter, Piso was piqued at this well-judged distinction. But not daring to shew the
 true

* Sermo cœptus a Cæsare qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit : responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus : discesseruntque opertis odiis. Tac.

true cause of his chagrin, he pretexted the luxury of the feast; which, he said, seemed to be intended for the son of a Parthian king, rather than for the son of the prince of the Romans. He then threw away his crown; and committed some other extravagancies, which Germanicus's patience put up with.

At this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to renew his alliance with the Romans. He desired an interview with Germanicus; and declared, that to do honour to the son of the Roman emperor, he would come as far as the banks of the Euphrates. The motive to these demonstrations of friendship and politeness, discovered itself by the demand he afterwards made, that Vonones should be sent out of Syria, where he might keep up a correspondence with the Parthian lords, and disturb the peace of his kingdom.

Germanicus's answer was great and majestic, as to the alliance between the Romans and Parthians; modest yet noble, as to what concerned himself. He granted what was desired with respect to Vonones; and he was transferred to Pompeiopolis* in Cilicia; less however to satisfy Artabanus, than to mortify Piso, whose protection the dethroned prince had sought, by making his court to Plancina, and loading her with presents.

Vonones perished the year following; but I shall insert here, to make an end of all that concerns him, the relation of his death. He grew tired of his captivity, and having corrupted his guards,

* This was the ancient city of Soli. See in L'Histoire de la Rep. Rom. T. ii. p. 251. how it came by this new name.

A. R. 769. guards, attempted to fly into Armenia. His de-
 aft. C. 18. sign was to get from thence to Albania, and af-
 terwards, to seek an asylum with, and protec-
 tion from, the king of Scythia, to whom he
 was related. Having therefore, under pretence
 of hunting, got amongst the woods and moun-
 tains; as soon as he found himself alone, he rode
 away full speed. The river * Pyramus stopped
 him. On the first news of his flight, the bridges
 on that river had been broken; and it was not
 fordable. There he was retaken by Vibius Fron-
 to, general of horse; and soon after Remmius,
 who had the custody of him, in a pretended
 rage, ran him through with his sword. Which
 confirmed the opinion of a collusion, and that
 Remmius had killed his prisoner, for fear their
 mutual understanding should come to light. We
 do not know that the death of this illustrious
 prince was ever avenged. The Romans always
 kept up their contempt for kings: and those
 who were so unfortunate as to be their captives,
 had reason to expect the worst of treatment.

* A river
 of Cilicia.

A. R. 770.
 aft. C. 19.

M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
 L. NORBANUS BALBUS FLACCUS.

Germani-
 cus's jour-
 ney to
 Egypt.
Tac. Ann.
 ii. 59.

Under the consulship of Junius and Norba-
 nus, whose names a famous civil law † bears, Ger-
 manicus took a journey to Egypt, with an inten-
 tion to know, and study, the antiquities of a
 country so fruitful in wonders; but his pretence
 was, the care of the province. And indeed, at
 his arrival, he lowered the price of corn, by
 ordering the granaries to be opened. He also
 affected

† The law *Junia Norbana*, established a sort of middle
 state between full liberty and slavery, for such slaves as
 had not been made free according to strict form of law.

affected popular manners; as walking without A.R. 770. guards, and wearing the Greek habit and sandal, as Scipio Africanus did at Syracuse, during the second punic war. Scipio * had been blamed for this by some; and so was Germanicus, in full senate, by Tiberius, though in a gentle manner. But he made heavy complaints about (what affected him very differently) the liberty Germanicus took of going into Egypt without the emperor's leave, against an express † prohibition of Augustus to all senators, and even dignified Roman knights.

• See *Histoire de la Rep. Rom.* t. vi. p. 309.

Germanicus, without doubt, committed a fault, especially as he knew the jealous temper of the emperor. But the uprightness and innocence of his intentions made him act with unconcern; and having no suspicion that his journey was disapproved of, he prosecuted it quietly, sailing up the Nile from Canopus to Elephantina and Syene under the tropic of Cancer. I shall not follow Tacitus in his account of the various objects of Germanicus's curiosity and admiration in Egypt. These are things now well known; and I should only repeat what Mr Rollin has said in the beginning of his *Histoire ancienne*.

Germanicus, at his return from Egypt, found when he came to Antioch, all his orders, both civil and military, annulled or changed. He reproached Piso severely upon this occasion; who, on his part, kept no measures. It was impossible for them to continue longer together; and therefore Piso determined to leave Syria. But when he was about setting out, Germanicus falling ill, he resolved not to hurry himself. He

At his return he falls ill. New extravagancies of Piso.

† The reasons of this prohibition may be seen in *L'Histoire de Rep. Rom.* t. xvi. p. 146.

A. R. 770. even added to the excesses he had been guilty of.
 aft. C. 19. For the prince's health appearing re-established, and the inhabitants of Antioch making preparations to pay the vows they had made during his sickness, Piso comes with his lictors, overturned the apparatus, drives away the victims from the altars, disperses the multitude who were adorned for the festival, and after this exploit, retires to Seleucia *, a city near Antioch.

Germanicus's image himself poisoned by Piso.

But Germanicus was not recovered, for this glimpse of health was soon followed by a relapse. His malady, dangerous in itself, was augmented by a persuasion he had that he was poisoned by Piso. Proofs also of fascination and sorcery were pretended to be found, such as the ashes and bones of human bodies dug up again, half-burnt, and stained with black blood, magic forms of devoting persons to the infernal gods; and Germanicus's name graved on sheets of lead: and those Piso sent to enquire after the prince's health, were considered as spies that came to watch the progress of the disease.

This last circumstance, above all, excited the indignation and fear of Germanicus: "Must then my doors, said he, be besieged by my enemies; and under their eyes, must I render up my spirit? What then will become of my unhappy wife, and infant children? The poison is thought too slow; Piso is impatient to seize on the command of the province and legions. But Germanicus is not yet sunk so low: the author of my death shall never enrich himself with my spoils." He immediately wrote a letter to Piso, to acquaint him that he renounced his friendship:
 and

He orders him to leave Syria

* This Seleucia, was surnamed Pieria, and was situated on the sea, at the mouth of the Orontes. ●

and it is probable, that he therein ordered him to quit the province. For Piso without any farther delay, weighed anchor; but he took care not to advance too expeditiously, that he might the sooner return, whenever Germanicus's death should give him re-entrance into Syria.

Piso's departure was a small consolation to Germanicus, which procured him some relief, and revived his hopes. But he was soon after overpowered by his distemper; and perceiving his strength fail, he desired his friends to be sent for, and in extreme grief, breathing nothing but revenge, and scarce sufficiently submissive to the deity, spake to them in the following manner: " * If I died a natural death, I might justly accuse the gods for hurrying me away in my youth, from my parents, children, and country. Now shortened in my course, by the malignity of Piso and Plancina, I conjure you by my last prayers with which I entrust you, to acquaint my father, and brother, with the indignities I have suffered,

* Si fato concederem, justus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus, liberis, patria, intra juventutem præmature exitu raperent. Nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinæ interceptus, ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo; referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus delaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus, miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meæ, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, inlacrymabunt quondam florentem, et tot bellorum superstitem, muliebri fraude cecidisse. Erit vobis locus querendi apud Senatam, invocandi leges. Non hoc præcipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed que voluerit meminisse, que mandaverit exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti; vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam colebatis. Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem, eandemque conjugem meam; numerate sex liberos. Misericordia cum accusantibus erit; fugientibusque, scelestam mandata aut non credent homines, aut non ignoscent.

A.R. 770. suffered, and with the detestable snares which
 aft. C. 19. have ended an unhappy life by a miserable death.

They whom my rank, or alliance, had attached to me, even they, who might bear me envy, will bewail my fate, who in a flourishing fortune and age, after having survived so many wars, have at last fell by the fraud of a woman. You may complain to the senate, you may invoke the laws. The principal duty of friends is not to pour unavailing tears, but to remember and fulfil the last desires of the deceased. Even strangers will lament Germanicus; you will revenge him, if you loved me rather than my fortune. Shew the Roman people my wife, Augustus's grand-daughter; shew them my six children. Their compassion will attend you who accuse; and if the accused pretend iniquitous orders, they will not be believed; if believed, not forgiven." When he had ended this discourse, Germanicus extended his hand to his friends, who pressing it, swore, that they would all forego their lives sooner than their revenge.

The dying prince then addressed himself to Agrippina; and conjured her by the memory of a husband once dear to her, and by their children, the product of mutual love, to restrain her great spirit, yield to her hostile fortune, and take great care at her return to Rome, not to irritate those in power by an ill-judged rivalry. So much he said aloud; and more in secret: whence it was perceived that he was apprehensive of Tiberius's enmity to his family. And indeed he had but too much reason.

Universal
 grief.

* Soon after he expired, to the heavy sorrow
 of

* Exstinguitur, ingentiluctu provincie et circumjacentium populorum. Indolere externa nationes, Regesque: tanta illi

of the province, and neighbouring countries; A.R. 770. nay, kings, and remote nations, were mourners. aft. C. 19. At Antioch, they carried their grief to a senseless Suet. Calig. excess. The day Germanicus died, they flung stones against the temples of the gods, they overturned their altars, some threw their domestic gods into the streets, and others exposed the children, born on so black a day. It is also reported, that barbarous nations, who were at war with the Romans, or with one another, interrupted their military operations, as in a public calamity; that many oriental princes shaved their beards, and cut off their wives' hair, the greatest mark of sorrow among them: and that the Parthian king, for the same reason, left off hunting, and eating in public with his grandees.

Germanicus, indeed, merited this universal love, by his goodness to his confederates, and his clemency to his enemies. Delightful he was to all that saw him, and respected by those who only heard of him; and, without departing from the dignity of his rank, he lived destitute of haughtiness and arrogance.

His funeral, which was performed without He is buried at Antioch. pomp, drew its solemnity from the praise and regret of his virtue. He was compared to Alexander, whose name, by a sort of fatality, makes Praises given him. part of the panegyric of every hero; and he was thought to resemble that famous conqueror much in his bodily advantages; in his age, in his manner of dying, and the proximity of the places, in which they both lamentably closed their bright career. It was observed, " * That each of them

was

comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes: visuque et auditu juxta venerabilis, quum magnitudinem et gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat.

* Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud

A. R. 770. was of a graceful person, and illustrious descent ;
 aft. C. 19. and that they had both fell victims in the midst
 of foreign nations, to the machinations * of their
 own people, in years not much exceeding thirty.
 But, that Germanicus was gentle towards his
 friends, temperate in his pleasures, confined to
 one wife, and the father of legitimate children ;
 nor less a warrior, though not so rash, and how-
 ever hindered from a perfect subjection of Ger-
 many, which he fitted for it by so many victo-
 ries. That had he been sole arbiter of things,
 had he been in possession of the power and title
 of a king, he would as easily have equalled A-
 lexander in military glory, as he surpassed him in
 clemency, temperance, and every social virtue.”
 Whatever judgment we may pass on this com-
 parison, which grief and affection have certainly
 over-strained as to his military reputation ; it is
 certain that Germanicus was the most accom-
 plished prince of his age ; and, since Augustus,
 the only estimable Cesar ; and that he was par-
 ticularly master, in an eminent degree, of the
 art of making himself beloved.

His body, before it was burnt, as usual, was
 exhibited naked in the public place of Antioch ;
 where the funeral was to be solemnized. Tacitus
 does not decide whether it bore the marks of
 poison ;

*multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas
 inter gentes occidisse. Sed hunc nitem erga amicos, modi-
 cum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis, egisse ;
 nequiusque perlatorem, etiam si temeritas abfuerit, prop-
 ditusque sit periculis tot victoris Germanias servitio pre-
 mure. Quod si solus arbiter rerum, si jure et nomine Regio
 fuisset, tanto promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiæ,
 quantum clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus,
 præstisset.*

* Alexander's being poisoned, is supposed a fact by the
 speakers ; though there is no more certainty about his
 death than about Germanicus's.

poison; because people did not agree in their opinions about it, every one giving into the prejudice of his pity for Germanicus, or friendship for Piso. Pliny and Suetonius say, that the heart could not be burnt, and was found whole among the bones after the fire was extinguished. This was certainly fact, since, according to Pliny, Piso's accusers and defenders agreed in it, and the only matter in debate between them was, whether it was poison or the distemper that had made his heart incombustible. Perhaps it would have been more earnest to have sought after no mystery, but to have supposed that an accidental position had secured the heart from the action of the fire.

By Piso's retreat and Germanicus's death, the legions of Syria were without a general, and Syria without a governor. The lieutenants of the prince and the other senators that were with him, deliberated about the choice of a person to fill the vacant places, until they could have the emperor's orders: and, after some contests, they bestowed them on Cn. Sentius Serturninus. His first act of authority was to arrest and send to Rome a woman named Martina, famous for poisoning, and an intimate of Plancina. He did this at the suit of Vitellius, Veranius, and the other friends of the dead prince, who were busy in collecting proof and articles against Piso and Plancina, as if they had already had permission from a magistrate to prosecute them.

Agrippina*, though overwhelmed with sorrow, and

* At Agrippina, quanquam defessa luctu et corpore ægro, omnium tamen quæ ultionem morarentur intolerans, adscendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis: miserantibus enuctis, quod femina nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, inter venturantes gratantesque adspici solita, tuq;

A. R. 770.
aft. C. 19.

Plin. xi. 71.
Suet. Cæsar.

Sentius
takes the
command
in Syria.
Tac. ii. 14.

Agrippina's de-
parture
with Ger-
manicus's
ashes.

A.R. 770. and even indisposed, yet impatient of all delays
 .aft. C. 19. to her revenge, embarked with Germanicus's
 ashes and children. At her setting out she had
 the demonstrations of universal sorrow. Every-
 body pitied so great a princess, happy lately in an
 husband crowned with glory, used to have about
 her a numerous court ; who now bore in her bo-
 som the remains of that unhappy husband, un-
 certain of vengeance for him, fearful for herself,
 and exposed to the blows of fortune by an unfor-
 tunate fruitfulness which only served to multi-
 ply her dangers and alarms.

Piso en-
 deavours to
 resume by
 force the
 govern-
 ment of
 Syria.

Piso was overtaken in the isle of Cos by the news
 of Germanicus's death. He could not contain
 his joy ; but repaired to the temple, slew victims,
 and returned thanks to the gods : and Plancina,
 yet more insolent than he, threw off on this occa-
 sion the mourning she wore for her sister. At
 the same time many centurions, Piso's creatures,
 flocked about him, assuring him that the legi-
 ons wanted him, and exhorting him to come and
 resume his government, of which he had been
 unjustly despoiled, and which was now vacant.

Upon this he held a council : and M. Piso
 his son was of another opinion. He thought the
 best thing that could be done was to hasten to
 Rome. He represented, " That his father had
 hitherto done nothing criminal : and that he
 needed not fear idle rumours and suspicions desti-
 tute of probability. That his misunderstanding
 with Germanicus might perhaps incur disgrace,
 but never a judicial punishment ; and that the loss
 of his government would satisfy even his enemies.
 Whereas if he returned into Syria, where Sentius
 would doubtless not give him place ; he would
 actually

*ferales reliquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui, et in-
 felici fecunditate fortunæ toties obnoxia.*

actually begin a civil war. And that he ought not to depend on the attachment of the centurions and soldiers, men with whom would infallibly prevail the recent memory of their general, and a deep-rooted affection for the Cesars." A.R. 770.
aft. C. 19.

Domitius Celer, Piso's intimate friend, espoused opposite sentiments; and was for seizing the present opportunity. "The government of Syria, he said, had been given to Piso, and not to Sentius; and Piso was to answer to the emperor for the province and legions with which he had been entrusted. He added, that * it was also proper to give bad reports time to dissipate. That prejudice and hatred, when recent, were often too powerful for the clearest innocence. But were he once possessed of the army, and had augmented his forces, many accidents might happen that would put his affairs in a better posture. *Shall we hasten, said he, to arrive at Rome together with Germanicus's ashes, that Agrippina's lamentations and the clamours of an ignorant multitude instantly ruin us without a possibility of defence? You have secret orders from the emperor's mother; he himself favours you, though undetected; and none will affect greater sorrow for Germanicus's death than those who sincerely rejoice at it.*"

Piso, prompt to violent pursuits, was easily persuaded to follow an advice conformable to his

OWN

* Relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant Plurimque innocentes recenti invidiæ impares. At si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa que provideri non possint fortuito in melius casura. An festinamus cum Germanici cineribus adpellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinae, et vulgus imperitum, primo rumore rapiant? Est tibi Augustæ conscientia; est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et periisse Germanicum nulli jactantius moerent, quam qui lætantur.

A.R. 770. own inclination. He wrote to Tiberius a letter
 A.D. 19. full of invectives against Germanicus, whom he
 accused of arrogance and luxury. "He has driven
 me out of Syria, added he, the better to carry on
 his designs against your service. But I am now going
 to resume the command of the army with the same
 fidelity you have always experienced."

This precaution taken, he disposed all things for
 the execution of his design. He dispatched Domitius
 Celer, with orders to get into Syria; but to avoid the
 coasts and keep the main sea. As for himself, he
 endeavoured to form a body of troops, composed of
 people picked up here and there, of deserters that
 came over to him, of soldier's boys, and of recruits
 for the Syrian legions: he sent to demand aid from
 the petty princes of Cilicia: and in the prosecution
 of these various affairs he was well served by his son,
 who boldly seconded an enterprise he disapproved of.
 Piso then put to sea again; and as he was coasting
 Lycia and Pamphylia, he fell in with the squadron
 that was carrying Agrippina back to Rome. Mutual
 hatred made them both at first prepare for an
 engagement; but fear restrained them, and they
 proceeded no further than to reproaches and menaces.

Sentius
 hinders
 him, and
 obliges him
 to take
 the route
 of Italy.

Sentius, having information of Piso's motions,
 took all proper measures to frustrate them. He
 rendered ineffectual the attempt Domitius Celer
 made, at Laodicea in Syria, to corrupt the fidelity
 of the legions. He marched with land and sea
 forces to meet Piso; and forced him to throw
 himself into a castle of Cilicia named Celendris.
 An engagement ensued, in which Sentius had
 greatly the advantage. But Piso's obstinacy was
 unconquerable, while he had the least glimpse
 of

of hopes. He attempted to surprise the adverse A.R. 770.
fleet; and then shewed himself from the wall to aft. C. 29.
the legions, and harangued them, endeavouring
to entice them over to him. And the eagle-
bearer of the sixth legion actually went over with
his standard. Upon this Sentius commanded the
trumpets to sound, that the soldiers might not
hear the voice of the corrupter; and prepared
to storm the place: then at last Piso, sensible of
his weakness, proposed an accommodation; and
offered to lay down his arms, if he might be per-
mitted to stay in Celendris, till the emperor's
pleasure about the government of Syria could be
known. But this was rejected; nor was aught
granted him but some ships and a passport to
Italy. To these conditions he was forced to sub-
mit: and such was the issue of a mad enterprise,
which, by adding treason to the crimes Piso
was already guilty of, made his ruin inevitable.

At Rome the consternation was excessive when Excessive
Germanicus's illness was known. Grief, indig- grief in
~~nit~~ Rome on
~~nit~~ account of
and bitter complaints, no longer brook- Germani-
ed restraint. "It was for this, then, said the cus's ill-
people, that Germanicus was banished to the ex- ness and
tremities of the empire; for this, that Piso was death.
made governor of Syria; for this, that Livia
had so many secret conferences with Plancina.
Certainly * our fathers spoke truth about Dru-
sus. The masters of the world behold with an
evil eye the popularity of their sons: nor is it ne-
cessary to look for any other reason of the deaths
of

* Vera prorsus de Druso seniores loctos, displicere reg-
nantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos
quam quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti, red-
dita libertate, agitaverint.

A. R. 770. * of the amiable princes we yet regret, than
 aft. C. 19. their intentions to restore to the Roman people
 their liberty and re-establish the republican equality.”

Whilst the Romans were ruminating on these melancholy reflections, came the news of Germanicus's death, to complete the public desolation. A vacation was thereupon assumed in Rome, without staying for an ordinance from the senate or magistrates: the public places were deserted, the houses and shops shut up: a † sullen silence, interrupted but by groans and sighs, reigned throughout the city: a scene of real sorrow this, and not of form or shew. And though the people forbore not the exterior marks of mourning, in their souls they mourned yet deeper.

It happened that some merchants, who came from Syria when Germanicus was still alive, by their discourse revived the Roman hopes. What ‡ they said was immediately believed, and immediately circulated. The happy news flies from mouth to mouth, continually enlarged and embellished by the relater. Joy seizes
 on

* It is proper to observe, that Tacitus, whom I translate here, does not speak in his own name, but in that of the multitude. It would be therefore wrong to seek in this discourse for the opinion of the historian, and thence to infer that he thought Augustus guilty of the deaths of Marcellus and Drusus.

† *Passim silentia et gemitus: nihil compositum in ostentationem. Et quanquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinere, altius animis morerant.*

‡ *Statum credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obivus, quamvis le viter audita, in alios, atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. Eursunt per urbem, moliantur templorum fores. Juvit credulitatem nex, et promptior intertenebas adfirmatia. Nec obstetit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vancserent: et populus, quasi rursus ereptum, acrius doluit.*

on all; they run to the temples, and burst open their doors. The night too, when this happened, assisted the boldness of the affirmation, and the credulity of the hearers. Tiberius was awakened by the joyful acclamations of the people, who sang in chorus, “* Rome is saved, our country is saved, Germanicus is saved.” But he took no pains to confute a falsehood which would destroy itself. And the sorrow of the people, was renewed with more bitterness, as they thought they lost Germanicus a second time. They were a long time inconsolable; and spent in mourning and tears even the Saturnalia, which had from all antiquity been set apart for rejoicings and diversions.

The senate decreed to the memory of Germanicus all sorts of honours: crowns: statues; triumphal arches at Rome, on the bank of the Rhine, and on mount Amanus in Syria; with inscriptions containing an account of his exploits, and testifying that he died for the service of the commonwealth. As he was a lover of letters, and had even made a progress in the eloquence of the bar and poetry, his bust was ordered to be placed among those of the illustrious writers that adorned the senate-house. It was even proposed to have his bust larger and more ornamented than the rest; but Tiberius opposed it, saying, That fortune never decided the degree of literary merit, and that it was sufficient for Germanicus to be reckoned one of the standard authors. The order of knights signalled also their zeal for the dead prince's memory, by taking his effigy for their standard in the solemn pomp which they celebrated every year on the fifteenth of July.

In

* *Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.* *Suet.*

Suet. Calig.

vi.

Suet. Calig.

vi.

Honours
decreed to
his mem-
ory.

Suet. Calig.

iii.

Tac. ii. 93.

A. R. 770. In the height of this public sorrow, Livilla, aft. C. 19. his sister, and Drusus's wife, was delivered of male twins. This gave Tiberius great joy; who, laying hold of every advantage, boasted to the senate of this extraordinary piece of fortune; of which, he said, there was no * example in a Roman of his rank †. But the people, in their then circumstances and sentiments, were sorry for this increase of Drusus's family, which seemed to bear hard on that of Germanicus their sole concern.

A. R. 771.
aft. C. 20.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA
M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Agrippina's arrival at Brundisium. Tac. Ann. iii.

Agrippina having come directly from Syria, in spite of the inconveniences and dangers of the sea in the worst season of the year; landed at last in the island Coreyra. Here she ‡ took some days to calm her mind, and compose her exterior, where the violence and impatience of her grief were too visible.

At the first news of her arrival, there crowded to Brundisium, where she was to debark, all the friends of her house, particularly the officers that had

* It may seem extraordinary that Tiberius should reckon many Romans of his own rank. *Nulli ante Romanorum ejusdem fastigii viri geminam stirpem editam.* His expression cannot be limited to Cesar and Augustus; and it is plain that it comprehends the illustrious men in the time of the republic. The reason is, that he did not consider himself as a monarch; he supposed that the old form of government yet subsisted, and that it had not been destroyed, but only regulated, by the alterations Augustus had introduced.

† Sed populo tali in tempore id quoque dolorem tulit; tanquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgeret.

‡ Illis paucos dies componendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi.

had served under Germanicus, and even many strangers from the neighbouring cities, either through curiosity, or a mistaken notion of pleasing the emperor. The fleet quickly appeared, and * as soon as it was in sight, not only the port and shore, but the walls and roofs, and every place whence the sea could be seen, were filled with an infinity of spectators; who, in deep sorrow asked one another how they should receive the princess at her landing, whether with silence or acclamations. They had not yet determined, when the fleet approached; not as usual with cheerful oars, but in a slow melancholy manner. The princess appeared and landed, carrying the sepulchral urn, with her eyes immoveably cast down, and accompanied by two of her children. Then was heard an universal groan: nor were the wailings of relations to be distinguished from those of strangers, nor of men from those of women. The only remarkable difference was, that those who came to meet the princess, being forcibly struck by the impression of the unusual spectacle, seemed more afflicted than Agrippina's attendants, whose transports of grief were diminished by time.

Tiberius

* Ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed mœnia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, mœrentium turba, ac rogitantium inter se, silentione an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. Neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, quum classis paulatim successit, non alacri ut adsolet remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. Postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus: neque discerneres proximos alienos virorum feminarum planctus: nisi quod comitatum Agrippinæ longo mœrore fessum obvii et rœcentes in dolore anteibant.

A.R. 771
aft. C. 20
Honours
shewn to
Germani-
cus's ashes
from
Brundisi-
um to
Rome.

Tiberius had sent two pretorian cohorts ; and ordered the magistrates of * Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, to pay the last honours to the memory of his son. So that the funeral pomp was continued without interruption from Brundisium to Rome. The urn, placed on a litter, was carried on the shoulders of tribunes and centurions. Before it marched some companies of soldiers with neglected colours, and Germanicus's lictors with their fasces reversed. In the colonies they passed through, the people in mourning, and the knights in their robes, burnt raiment, perfumes, and other valuable things, usual in funerals. Even the inhabitants of remote cities met the procession, erected altars and slew victims to the gods of the dead, and manifested their sorrow by their tears and lamentations. Drusus came as far as Terracina, with those of Germanicus's children that had been left at Rome, and his brother Claudius. The consuls Valerius Messala, and Aurelius Cotta, the senate, and great part of the people, filled the road without † order, in confusion, and attentive to nothing but their grief. For in this mourning, flattery and art had no share. Every body well knew that Tiberius was not displeas'd at Germanicus's death, and that all his dissimulation was not sufficient to hide his joy. Tiberius and Livia did not appear in public ; doubtless because they expected to be narrowly examined, and were apprehensive that their affected sorrow would be
seen

* This is not the country now called Calabria. The Calabria of the ancients was part of what we now call *la Pouille*.

† Disjecti, et, ut cuique libitum, flentes. Aberat quippe adulatio: gnaris omnibus lætam Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulari.

seen through. Antonia, Germanicus's mother, A.R. 771. also kept up. But Tacitus very justly suspects, aft. C. 20. that she was ordered so to do. The uncle and grandmother wanted the authority of the mother's example, and to have it thought, that the like grief had occasioned in all three the like conduct.

The * day that Germanicus's ashes were carried to Augustus's tomb, sometimes a sullen silence prevailed, as if the city had been a vast solitude, sometimes an uproar of tears and cries. From all parts the people were running to the Campus Martius, which blazed with numberless torches. The soldiers under arms, the magistrates without their insignia, the people by their tribes, all cried in concert, that the commonwealth was fallen, that there were no remains of hope; expressing their sentiments with a freedom that shewed no respect to the reigning family. But nothing hurt Tiberius so much, as the signs of the affliction of the public for Agrippina. They called her the honour of their country, the only true blood of Augustus, the single model of ancient virtue; then applying to heaven, they begged for the preservation of her family, and that they might survive those who envied them.

The interment appears to have been performed without much ceremony. There were no processions of the images of the prince's ancestors, no funeral bed of state, no oration. All these

2

omissions

* Dies quo reliquæ tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus iniquis; plena urbis itinera; collucentes per Campum Martis faces. Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus, concidisse rempublicam, nihil spei reliquum clamabant, promptius apertiusque, quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes.

A. R. 771. omissions were laid hold on. People called to
aft. C. 20. mind what Augustus did for Drusus, his proofs
of affection and regret, the many honours he
heaped on his dead son-in-law: and they com-
pared his active zeal with the coldness and in-
difference of Tiberius, for a prince who was na-
turally his nephew, and adoptively his son. "If
he has, said they, no real sorrow, he surely
might have shewn so much regard for decency,
as to counterfeit some."

Tiberius
cautions
the people
to set
bounds to
their im-
moderate
grief.

Tiberius had information of these murmurings; and to put a stop to them, he published an edict, in which he told the people, "That many illustrious persons had died for the commonwealth, but none so vehemently lamented. That this sorrow, however, was glorious to himself and to all the Romans, if a measure were observed. That * the conduct of private families and small states, was one thing, and another that of princes and an imperial people. That it was proper to be afflicted, and to vent that affliction by tears, while their loss was recent; but that it was now time to shew their fortitude. That thus Cesar upon the death of an only daughter, thus Augustus after the loss of his grandsons, had got the better of their sorrow. That the Roman people had also shewn great constancy in public calamities, after bloody defeats, wherein they lost great generals, and the hopes of the first houses of Rome. That princes were mortal, but the commonwealth immortal. And that he therefore exhorted them to return to their usual occupations;

* Ubi illa veterum instituta, propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina, et laudationes, et lacrymas, vel doloris imitamenta?

† Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatoribus populo, quæ medicis domibus aut civitatibus.

pations; and as the Megalensian games were at A.R. 771. hand, to resume their diversions and pleasures." aft. C. 20.

These games, in honour of the mother of the gods, which were celebrated on the fourth of April, inform us, that the sorrowful ceremony I have just described, was performed in the beginning of that month, or the latter end of March; in the same manner as the Saturnalia, a festival in December, which (according to Suetonius) soon followed the news of Germanicus's death being brought to Rome, give us pretty nearly the date of that death, which must be placed about the end of the November of the preceding year.

The people, having paid their last duties to Germanicus, were now bent upon revenging his death; and already murmured at Piso, who, instead of coming to Rome to answer the accusations prepared against him, wandered about the delightful countries of Asia and Greece; and by this delay, equally arrogant and artificial, sunk the evidences of his crime. For it was bruited, that Martina, who was famous for poisonings, and had been sent (as we have seen) by Sentius to Italy, was suddenly dead at Brundisium; and as no marks of a violent death appeared on her body, they suspected she had dispatched herself by some poison tied up in her hair.

Meanwhile Piso approached; and when he was come into the Adriatic sea, he sent his son to Rome, with instructions how to soften Tiberius, and make him favourable to him. He himself went to Drusus, who after Germanicus's funeral had returned to Illyricum, and appeared before him with confidence, expecting * to find him less exasperated

* Quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam remoto æmulo æquiores, sperabat.

A.R. 771. asperated at the death of a brother, than secretly
aft. C. 20. pleased at the removal of a rival.

Tiberius, affecting equity and impartiality, received young Piso graciously; and gave him the presents usually bestowed on young noblemen. Drusus's answer to Piso was, "That if the current rumours were true, he ought to set the example of grief and revenge; but he hoped they were vain and chimerical, and that Germanicus's death would be pernicious to nobody." He spoke this before witnesses, and avoided all privacy; nor * was it doubted, but that this circumspect, politic conduct, in a prince, whose youth and temper biassed him to unwariness and frankness, was the effect of Tiberius's directions.

Piso, having crossed the Adriatic sea, landed at Ancona; where he left the vessels that brought him. Then crossing Picenum, he joined a legion that was going from Pannonia to Rome, and then to Africa, on account of the war with Tacfarinas, of which I have hitherto deferred speaking. When a person is once odious, every thing he does is observed and suspected. It was pretended that he had officiously mixed with the soldiers to attempt their fidelity, and court their aid. This was what he probably had no thoughts of. When he was come to Narnia †, either to remove that suspicion, which his friends at Rome had taken care to acquaint him with, or because men in dread waver in their conduct, he embarked and came down the ‡ Nar, and then the Tiber to Rome. The populace were shocked to see

‡ Now la
Nera.

* Neque dubitabantur præscripta ei a Tiberio, quum in-
callidus alioqui, et facilis juvena, senilibus tum artibus
uteretur :

† Vitandæ suspicionis, an quia pavidis consilia in incerto
sunt.

see him land over against the burying place of A.R. 771. the Cesars; as also, at his coming a-shore in ^{aft. C. 20.} open day, at a frequented landing place, attended by a great number of clients, with Plancina surrounded by many ladies; and both with countenances of confidence and serenity. Piso's house was in the forum; so that nothing that passed there could be concealed; and the entertainment he gave his friends on occasion of his return, was eyed with indignation; as well as the marks of joy, the festoons and illuminations that adorned his windows.

The next day, Fulcinus Trio went to the ^{He is ac-} consuls, and desired to be admitted as Piso's ac- ^{cused, and} cuser. Vitellius, Veranius, and the other friends ^{the affair} of the dead prince, opposed this; and maintain- ^{brought} ed, that Fulcinus had no right to intermeddle ^{before the} in this affair, in which they themselves should ^{senate.} less act the part of accusers, than that of witnesses, and agents of Germanicus. Fulcinus not to be entirely excluded from a business he was fond of, desired, and obtained leave, to accuse Piso on account of his former conduct, before he was appointed governor of Syria.

The emperor was supplicated by the accusers to try and judge himself this important cause; which the accuser did not decline, dreading the disposition the senate and people were in; and knowing Tiberius's resolution in despising vulgar inconsiderate rumours, and the part he had in the plots and secret orders of his mother. Besides, he knew * that a single judge better distinguished truth from malicious misinterpretations, than an assembly, where hatred and prejudice prevail.

Tiberius

* Veraque, aut in deterius credita, iudice ab uno facilius discerni; odium et invidiam apud multos valere.

A.R. 771. Tiberius was aware of the difficulty and weight of the trial of so delicate an affair; and was acquainted with what was reported of him on this occasion: so that he resolved to take nothing on himself; and only heard, assisted by some friends, the menaces of the accusers, and prayers of the accused; and then, without entering into any discussion, left the cause to the senate. Drusus returned the while from Illyricum, and though the senate (as I have said) had decreed him the honour of the ovation, he postponed the solemnity, and entered the city.

Piso, being constrained to make his defence before the senate, had great difficulty to find advocates. Tacitus names * five of the most illustrious orators of those times, who under various pretences refused him. At last, M. Lepidus, L. Piso, and Livineius Regulus, undertook his cause. Every body had now their eyes on Germanicus's friends, on the accused, on Tiberius. Never was any affair so universally interesting. But above all, every one was attentive to Tiberius's behaviour, to see whether he would be so much master of himself as to smother his sentiments: but in case he did, they were pre-guessed, and very freely judged of; though secretly, and with caution.

Tiberius's
discourse.

Tiberius opened the sessions of the senate by a premeditated discourse; in which he endeavoured to shew a perfect impartiality. He said, "That Piso had been the lieutenant, and friend of his father Augustus; and that he himself, by the advice of the senate, had appointed him co-adjutor to Germanicus in administering the
affairs

* One of the five, Marcellus Eserninus, appears to be that grandson of Pollio, of whom we spoke towards the close of the second book.

affairs of the East. That they were now to examine, with the utmost impartiality, whether in that employment, he had exasperated the young prince by contumacy and bad behaviour; and exulted over his death, or procured it by poison. For, added he, if * as a lieutenant, he forgot his duty to his general, and refused him obedience; if Germanicus's death, and my loss, was to Piso a matter of joy and triumph; I shall detest him, and forbid him my house, as my particular enemy, who has offended me personally, but without interposing the authority of the prince. But if he is proved guilty of any crime that deserves punishment, were it the murder of any man whatsoever, in that case, my mother and I, and Germanicus's children, demand justice. The conduct of the accused is also to be scrutinized about another important article. It must be examined as to the soldiery, whether he behaved in a turbulent and seditious manner to them; and endeavoured to win their affection by methods contrary to discipline; and whether he attempted to resume, by force of arms, the government of Syria; or whether these allegations are untrue or exaggerated by his accusers. For I think I have reason to complain of them too, and to blame their excessive heat in this affair. Whether tended it, to expose the naked corpse at Antioch, to invite the eye of the public to examine it strictly, and to spread the report of the poisoning among foreign nations, since the fact is at this time dubious

* *Nam si Legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga Imperatorem exiit, ejusdemque morte et luctu meo lætatus est odero, seponamque a domo mea, et privatas inimicitias, non Principis, ulciscar. Sin facinus in cujuscumque mortaliū nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici, et nos parentes, justis solatiis adfcite.*

A. R. 771. bious and under examination? I bewail my son,
 aft. C. 20. and shall ever bewail him; but I will not hinder
 the accused from using every method to justify
 his innocence, though at the expence of Germani-
 cus himself, if he has been in fault. And I beg
 of you, fathers, however great my interest may
 be in this business, not to consider a crime im-
 puted, as a crime proved. You, whom affinity
 or friendship have induced to undertake the de-
 fence of the accused, employ all your eloquence
 and zeal to extricate him out of this dangerous
 situation. To the same activity and firmness I
 exhort the accusers. The only privilege beyond
 the common course of law that we grant to Ger-
 manicus's memory is, that the inquest concern-
 ing his death be held before the senate, and not
 before the ordinary tribunal. In every thing else,
 let the common methods take place. Let none *
 regard Drusus's tears, or my affliction, nor the
 malicious reports concerning us."

Pleadings. The time was then fixed for the pleadings;
 two days were allowed the accusers, and, after an
 interval of six days, three to the accused. Ful-
 cinus began with stale, impertinent facts; ad-
 vancing that Piso, when he was Augustus's lieu-
 tenant in Spain, had ill-performed his duty both
 to prince and people; having plundered the one,
 and rendered himself suspected of acting contra-
 ry to the service of the other; vain allegations,
 which were useless, whether proved or refuted,
 because the decision of the cause depended on
 quite other things.

Piso's real adversaries were, Serveus, Veranius,
 and Vitellius, and in particular the last, who
 equalled

* *Nemo Drusi lacrymas, nemo mœstitiam meam spectat,
 nec siqua in nos adversa finguntur.*

equalled the others in zeal, and surpassed them A.R.771. in eloquence. They proved, that Piso, in hatred ast. C. 20, to Germanicus, and through ambitious views, had corrupted the soldiers, by tolerating in them licentiousness and the oppression of the provincials; and that in return, by the most profligate, he was styled *Father of the legions*. That on the contrary, he had studiously misbehaved to the best subjects, and particularly to the friends of Germanicus, and such as were attached to him. They added, that he had also murdered Germanicus by sorcery and poison; and instanced the magic sacrifices performed by Piso and Plancina. And finally, they accused him of having begun a * civil war; so that before he could be brought to be tried, it had been necessary to defeat him in a pitched battle.

The accused but ill defended himself on most of these heads: only the charge of poison he cleared himself of. What his accusers themselves alledged, did not seem probable. They said, That Piso dining with Germanicus, and being on the same couch, had, with his hands, poisoned the meat of the prince. Was it likely that he should dare commit such a crime in a strange house, watched by so many curious, suspicious persons, and even under Germanicus's eye? And Piso, as secure of his innocence, offered his slaves to be racked, and required the same of such of the princes as waited at that entertainment. But his judges, for different reasons, were implacable; the emperor on account of the war he had raised in the province; and the senate could not be convinced that Germanicus's death was without fraud

* *Petitam armis Rempublicam; utque reus agi posset acie victum.*

A. R. 771. fraud and crime. And from without, were heard
aft. C. 20. the cries of the people, who protested, that if
the criminal escaped the condemnation of the senate, they would with their own hands do themselves justice. They were already going to drag Piso's statue to the * Gemoniæ, and to break them to pieces, had not Tiberius sent a party of soldiers, who rescued, and replaced them. Piso, when he came out of the senate, got into a litter, and was reconducted to his house by a tribune of a pretorian cohort, whom many supposed to have orders to put him to death. But, it appeared by the event, that this officer was, on the contrary, intended to escort and protect him from the insults of the populace.

Plancina was not less odious to the public than her husband, but she had more secret favour. Livia took her under her protection; and it was thought that the emperor could not get the better of such an obstacle. As long as Piso had any hopes, Plancina declared to him, that she was resolved to share his fortune, and accompany him, if necessary, even in death. But when she found things go ill, she altered her way of thinking, and having by Livia, secretly secured her own pardon, she by degrees separated her interest from her husband's, and prepared a particular defence, as if she had had another cause.

Piso comprehended that this was the signal of his destruction; and doubted whether he should make any further efforts. However, through the exhortation and entreaties of his sons, he once more ventured to appear before the senate. † He
there

* The place to which were dragged the bodies of such criminals as had suffered public punishment.

† *Redintegratamque accusationem, infensas Patrum voces, adversa et sæva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterr*

there suffered every hardship and indignity, the A.R. 771. accusation renewed with greater vehemence, the aft. C. 20. menaces of the enraged senators. But nothing so effectually discouraged him as to see Tiberius cool, unmoved, without compassion or anger, close, and impenetrable.

When he returned home, he set to writing, as if he had been preparing somewhat for his next day's defence; and when he had sealed the paper, he gave it to a freed-man. He then bathed, and sat down to table; and late in the night, his wife having left the chamber, he ordered the door to be shut. And in the morning he was found with his throat cut, his sword lying by him on the floor.

Tacitus says, that he had heard from old men, who were alive at the time of these transactions, that more than once in Piso's hands was seen a bundle of papers which he never made public, and which, as his friends reported, contained Tiberius's orders against Germanicus; and that Piso had resolved to produce them in the senate, and accuse the emperor face to face, but for the hollow promises of Sejanus; and that he had not killed himself, but that an agent of Tiberius had come and dispatched him in his house. Suetonius agrees in the orders given by Tiberius to Piso, and his determination to use them in his own justification.

I scarce know what stress is to be laid on these rumours, which seemed to suppose the truth of the poisoning, of which there was no evidence produced at the trial. And I shall go by what appeared to the public, without making any conjectures.

Tiberius

tus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum, clausumque vidit, ne quo affectu perumperetur.

A. C. 771. Tiberius assumed an air of sadness to the senate, and complained that Piso's bloody death might alienate their affections from him. The freed-man, who brought him the writing that Piso had drawn up a little before his death, being produced, Tiberius asked him many questions about all the circumstances of the last hours of his patron's life: after which he read the writing aloud; wherein Piso said as follows: "Oppressed by * calumny, and a combination of my enemies, I call the immortal gods to witness, Cesar, that I have never departed from the loyalty I owed you, nor from the profound respect I ought to pay your mother; and I beseech you both to have mercy on my sons. Cn. Piso, the elder, has had no share in the transactions that occasion my present situation, as he was at Rome the whole time I was absent from it. M. Piso did not approve of my return to Syria: and I wish that I had yielded to the opinion of my young son, rather than he to the authority of his ancient father. Hence I more earnestly intreat you not to suffer him who is innocent to bear the punishment of my rashness. By forty-five years service, by our † fellowship in the consulship,

* *Conspiratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor vixisse me, Cæsar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate: vosque oro liberis meis consulatis: ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunæ meae non est adjunctus, quum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit. M. Piso repetere Syriam dehortatus est: atque utinam ego potius filio juveni quam ille patri seni cessisset! Eo impensius precor ne meae pravitatis poenas innoxius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus, divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus, et tibi amicus, nec quidquam post hæc rogaturus, salutem infelicis filii rogo.*

† Piso had been colleague with Tiberius in his second consulship, A. R. 745.

ship, I beg you to grant the life of an unfortun-
ate son to a father, who has been honoured with
Augustus's esteem, who has been your friend,
and who will never ask any other favour." Of
Plancina, Piso said nothing.

Tiberius condescended to his request about his
younger son. He excused M. Piso, as having
orders from his father, which a son could not
disobey. He likewise bewailed that noble
house; and even the miserable end of the ac-
cused; who, however to blame, was to be pitied.

He afterwards * interceded for Plancina, with
an air of shame and confusion, alledging the im-
portunity of his mother; against whom the best
people secretly murmured with no little indigna-
tion. "What, said they, is the murderess of the
grandson admitted to the sight and intimacy of
the grandmother, and by her snatched from the
vengeance of the senate! To Germanicus alone
is denied what the laws grant to every citizen.
What a contrast! Veranius and Vitellius prose-
cute the murderers of the emperor's son; Tibe-
rius and Livia defend and rescue her! Plancina
might now turn her successful poisons against
Agrippina and her children; and satiate the un-
natural uncle and grandmother with the blood
of that unhappy family." Tiberius's intention
was not to pardon Plancina himself, but to get
her acquitted by the senate. Therefore two days
were

Plancina,
Piso's wife,
saved at
Livia's entreaty.

* Pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens: in quam optimi cujusque secreti questus magis ardescebant. Id ergo fas aviæ interfectricem nepotis adspicere, adloqui, eripere. Senatui! Quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse! Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Cæsarem, ab Imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam! Proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam et liberos ejus, egregiamque aviam ac patrum sanguine miserimæ domus exsatiaret.

A. R. 771. were spent in trying, or rather in making believe
 aft. C. 20. they were trying her. The emperor pressed
 Piso's sons to defend their mother; the accusers
 pleaded, the witnesses were examined against
 her: and as nobody answered for her, her con-
 dition rather excited compassion than hatred.
 At last the suffrages were collected.

Opinion of
 the consul,
 moderated
 by Tibe-
 rius.

The consul Aurelius Cotta, who was first ask-
 ed, was of opinion, "That the name of Piso
 should be razed out of the annals; that half of
 his fortune should be confiscated, and the other
 half granted to Cn. Piso; his elder son, upon
 condition he changed his name; that M. Piso
 should be divested of his senatorial dignity, and
 banished for ten years, with an allowance of five
 millions of sesterces out of his father's forfeited
 estate: and that Plancina's life and fortune should
 be granted to Livia's intercession."

Tiberius softened in most particulars the rigour
 of this opinion. He was not for striking Piso's
 name out of the annals, since, as he said, that of
 Mark Antony, who made war on his country, and
 that of Julius Antonius, who had by adultery dis-
 honoured Augustus's house, still continued there.
 He exempted M. Piso from degradation, and left
 him his paternal inheritance. For confiscations,
 which were often afterwards the objects of the
 rapaciousness of bad princes, little influenced Ti-
 berius. He was not avaricious; and on the pre-
 sent occasion, the shame of having brought off
 Plancina, made him milder than usual. In con-
 sequence hereof, Valerius Messalinus and Cecina
 Severus, having proposed, the one to consecrate
 in the temple of Mars, the avenger a golden sta-
 tue of that god, and the other to erect an altar to
 revenge, Tiberius intervened, saying, that such
 monuments were proper for perpetuating foreign
 victories,

victories, but that domestic evils should be buried in oblivion. Messalinus had added, that public thanks should be given to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for having revenged Germanicus's death: but had omitted Claudius. The simple Claudius, who was then only a Roman knight, made so small a figure in the state, though Germanicus's brother, that he was overlooked. L. Asprenas, however took notice of the omission of his name, and it was then added in the decree. Upon which Tacitus makes this reflection: "For * my part, says he, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more I am persuaded that the affairs of mortals are the sport of superior powers. For in the opinion, hopes, and veneration of the public, all men were rather destined to the empire than he whom fortune then reserved for it in the dark." Instead of a blind capricious power, such as fortune, put providence, who mocks human schemes, and by hidden, but infallible ways, executes its unerring designs; and nothing can be juster than Tacitus's reflection.

Tiberius, soon after, proposed to the senate to prefer to the priesthood Vitellius, Veranius, and Serveus, as a reward for their zeal. To Fulcinius, he promised his interest towards preferment; but advised him to be moderate in the use of his talents, and to take care that by going too fast he did not fall into some precipice. It appears in the sequel that Fulcinius neglected this advice. Thus ended the pursuit of the vengeance for the death of,

Piso's accusers rewarded.

* Mihi, quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolve, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. Quippe fama, spe, veneratione, potius omnes destinabantur imperio, quam quem faturum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

A. R. 771. of Germanicus, which was variously talked of
 aft. C. 20. at that time, and has always continued ambiguous : so * obscure, says Tacitus, are the highest transactions and most important, while some hold for certain facts the first hearsays, and others disguise the truth they know ; and both are swallowed by posterity. After all, then, it is uncertain whether Germanicus was poisoned or no. But it is very certain, that Piso, who was the instrument of Tiberius's malice, by fatiguing, mortifying, and vexing Germanicus every possible way (if he did nothing more), was punished by the very prince he had served. A memorable example of divine justice, and of the imprudent temerity of courtiers !

SECT. III.

Drusus's ovation. Death of Vipsania his mother. Lepida accused and condemned. Death of Quirinius. D. Silanus obtains leave to return to Rome. Moderations and restrictions of the law, Papia Poppea. The eldest of Germanicus's sons puts on the virile robe. His marriage. Death of Sallust, the emperor's minister. Consulship of the father and son. All Tiberius's colleagues in the consulship perished miserably. Tiberius absents himself from Rome. Dispute between Corbulo and L. Sylla. Corbulo blamed in another kind of affair. Cecina Severus's proposition rejected. An enormous and tyrannic abuse repressed. Drusus acquires great good-will on that account. Accusations of high treason. Incredible

* Adeo maxima quæque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquomodo audita pro compertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt : et gliscit utrumque posteritate.

Incredible lengths that they are carried to. Condemnation and death of Lutorius Priscus. Law that defers for ten days the execution of the judgments of the senate. Commotions in Thrace. Revolt in Gaul. Alarm that the news of it produces at Rome. Tranquillity of Tiberius. Sacrovir, chief of the Eduans, defeated by Silius. Tiberius acquaints the senate by letter, with the beginning and end of the war at the same time. Base flattery of a senator. Tiberius makes frequent delusive projects of journies. War of Tacfarinas in Africa. He is beat by Furius Camillus. He defeats a Roman cohort. It is decimated by order of the proconsul Apronius. The civic crown given by the emperor to a soldier. Tacfarinas is driven back again into the deserts. Junius Brutus named to succeed Apronius. He gains great advantages, but does not terminate the war. Tiberius bestows on him the triumphal ornaments, and the title of Emperor.

DRUSUS had deferred (as we have said) A.R. 771. the honour of the ovation which had been ast. C. 20. decreed him, not being willing to interrupt the Drusus's ovation. grand affair that busied the whole city. The Tac. Ann. ancient formalities were yet so strictly observed, iii. 19. that, as by entering Rome he had lost his command, which was necessary in the day of ceremony, he was obliged to go out of the walls, and renew the auspices; and presently after he re-entered with the pomp of the minor triumph.

A few days after died Vipsania his mother; of all the children of Agrippa the only one Death of Vipsania permitted to make a pacific end. The deaths of his mother. all the rest were either violent, or premature.

A.R. 771. The two young Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, were
 æt. C. 20. carried off in the flower of their age; not without suspicion of being poisoned. Tiberius assassinated Agrippa Posthumus. In the sequel of this history we shall see Julia perish lamentably in banishment, and Agrippina die of hunger. If Agrippa had not raised himself above the obscure condition of his ancestors, if he had never been Augustus's son-in-law, his family had been less unfortunate.

Lepida accused and condemned.

Tac. iii. 22.

The accusation and condemnation of an illustrious lady, though guilty, excited the compassion of the people. She was named Lepida, descended consequently from the *Æmili*i on the father's side, and was also great-grand-daughter of Pompey and Sylla. Augustus had once intended her for wife to the youngest of his adopted sons, L. Cæsar; but the death of that prince prevented this intended alliance. She had been married more than once, and in the last place * to Sulpius Quirinius (of whom we have had occasion to speak in the preceding reign) a man of an obscure birth, but who by his talents and services, had raised himself to the first dignities of the state. Lepida, whose conduct was not irreproachable, easily displeased her old husband. He repudiated her; and retaining afterwards a warm resentment, accused her of imposing a false birth on him, and of poisoning, as well as of adultery; and, to complete all, of high treason: for it was pretended that she had consulted with
 Astro-

* I suppose Quirinius was the last of Lepida's husbands, because I see he accuses her of imposing a false birth, which seems to agree with a recent divorce. Suetonius says he accused her twenty years after he had been divorced from her; which is a circumstance that Tacitus should not have omitted, if true.

astrologers about the fortune and family of the A. R. 771.
 Cesars. aft. C. 20.

Tiberius, according to custom, behaved in this affair very ambiguously; and interwove signs of clemency and anger so artificially, that nobody could dive into his secret disposition. He declared, that he did not think that high treason was included in the charge, and in fact did not suffer Lepida's slaves to be examined by torture on that head. But at the same time he encouraged several of the witnesses to explain themselves as to the very facts which he appeared desirous to have suppressed. He excused Drusus from voting first, which, as consul elect, he should have done; in which he might have had two views: for it might be thought, that he thereby intended to preserve the freedom of the suffrages, which would have been influenced, if the sentiments of the emperor's son were immediately known; but on the other side, if his intentions had been favourable to Lepida, he would not have left to others the acquittal of her.

While the trial was depending, some public games having been exhibited in Pompey's theatre, Lepida went there accompanied with other ladies of great quality; and with doleful lamentations invoking her ancestors, and particularly Pompey, whose remembrance the place itself recalled, she * so much affected the spectators, that they all rose up, and with tears uttered dire imprecations on, and cruel invectives against Quirinius. They reproached him with his low birth, his great interest, which arose only from his being

* *Tantum misericordiae commovit, ut effusi in lacrymas seve et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cujus senectae, atque orbitati, et obscurissimae domui, destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari, ac divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Tac. iii. 23.*

A.R. 771. ing rich, old, and childless, and this vile abuse
 aft. C. 20. of it in ruining an illustrious lady ; judged by
 Augustus worthy of the honour of being his
 daughter-in-law. However, Lepida's irregu-
 larities having been proved at the trial, the judg-
 ment of Rubellius Blandus, for banishing her,
 was agreed to by the majority. And it was ob-
 served, that Drusus assented to this sentence,
 though other senators had proposed a milder. Ba-
 nishment included confiscation ; but at the en-
 treaty of Scaurus, who had a daughter by Lepida,
 that part of the punishment was remitted. After
 every thing was settled, Tiberius declared, that
 it appeared from the examinations of Quirinius's
 slaves, that she had attempted to poison him.

Death of
 Quirinius.
Tac. Ann.
 iii. 48.

Quirinius was a favourite of Tiberius, because
 he had given him proofs of his respect and at-
 tachment at a critical time, that is, while he was
 at Rhodes. We have seen that Lollius, gover-
 nor to C. Cæsar, Augustus's adopted son, set the
 young prince against Tiberius. Quirinius, when
 he succeeded Lollius, behaved quite otherwise.
 Tiberius always remembered this ; and that con-
 sideration undoubtedly gave great weight to Qui-
 rinus's prosecution against Lepida. He therefore
 obtained his revenge ; but did not long enjoy it :
 for he died the next year ; little regretted by the
 public, who never forgave him Lepida's affair,
 and despised him as an old miser, whose interest
 did them no good. Tiberius, on the contrary,
 having acquainted the senate with the reasons of
 his esteem for Quirinius, had, notwithstanding
 his obscure birth, the honour of a public funeral
 decreed him. I now resume the series of facts.

D. Silanus
 obtains
 leave to
 return to
 Rome.

Two of the first families in Rome were now in
 mourning at the same time ; the Calpurnian
 house for the death of Piso, and the Emilian for
 the

the banishment of Lepida. In these circumstances, it was some consolation to the nobility, to see D. Silanus restored to the Junian family. He had been one of the corrupters of Julia, Augustus's grand-daughter; and though that prince, thus exasperated, had only broke all friendship with him, according to the simplicity of the ancient Romans, Decimus thought he should but act prudently in going into voluntary exile; which he continued as long as Augustus lived. When he saw Tiberius succeed him, he ventured to solicit the senate and prince for leave to return, by the means of his brother M. Silanus, whose eloquence and quality made him very considerable. This leave he obtained: Decimus returned to Rome; and when Marcus gave thanks to Tiberius in the senate, the emperor replied, "That he himself also rejoiced at his brother's return from his long travels. That nothing ought to have hindered his doing so before, since there was no decree of the senate, nor judgment against him. He added, that he should not nevertheless, be reconciled to Decimus; that he retained the remembrance of his father's just resentment against him: and that this return was not to be considered as an abrogation of Augustus's intention." D. Silanus continued afterwards at Rome, but without preferment.

Some qualifications were afterwards proposed to the law Papia Poppea, made by Augustus against bachelors. This law was good in itself; and the * abuse it punished, equally destructive of morality and the increase of citizens, proved

Moderations and restrictions of the law Papia Poppea

by

* I mean the celibacy of the ancient Romans. For continency was not attacked by the law Pappia Poppea. That virtue was scarce known among the heathens; and Augustus would have opposed a chimera in opposing it.

A.R. 771. by its obstinacy the necessity of the remedy;
 aft. C. 20. For celibacy was always in vogue, notwithstanding the severity of this law. Besides the attraction of liberty, or rather libertinism, which brutally pursued pleasure, and avoided domestic cares, and the education of children, nothing was more comfortable than the situation of a rich man at Rome without children. Every one paid their court to him; and the hopes of being well placed in his will, procured him friends, interest, and power.

It therefore was worthy of Augustus's wisdom to set bounds to so pernicious and obstinate a disorder. But, as all things have their inconveniencies, the Papia Poppean law gave occasion to an infinity of vexations. It invited informers by its rewards, in common with the other penal laws of the Romans; and that temptation put in motion a multitude of greedy men, who, by forced and malicious interpretations, extending the law to cases the legislator never thought of, gave great trouble to the Romans in the city, in Italy, and throughout the empire; ruined families, and terrified those they did not attack; so that Tiberius was obliged to establish a commission, composed of five who were formerly consuls, five who had been pretors, and five senators of lower rank, who made thereto divers restrictions and qualifications, and thus rendered it less heavy and oppressive.

The eldest
 of Germanicus's sons
 puts on the
 virile robe.

Nero the eldest of Germanicus's sons, was now grown up; and Tiberius, after having recommended him to the senate, asked for him a dispensation from executing the office of the vigintivirate*, which was the first degree of honour; and

* The vigintivirate comprehended different functions, and was, as the word imports, a college of twenty magistrates;

and that he might have leave to sue for the ques- A.R. 771.
torship five years sooner than the laws directed. aft. C. 20.
He enforced his request by reasons and exam-
ples, saying, That he himself, and his brother,
had obtained the same favour, by Augustus's
recommendation.

Tacitus assures us, that the senators secretly
ridiculed this modest language of Tiberius; and
even suspects that the like requests did not ap-
pear less delusive, or more serious, in Augustus's
mouth. It is very certain, that these princes
had no fears of a refusal; and that they might
have commanded what they chose to request of
the senate. But it was, however, an homage
paid to the ancient right of the republic, which
they thereby supposed not annihilated.

Nero received at the same time the priesthood;
and the day he put on the manly habit, the em-
peror, his grandfather, made a donative to the
people, who exulted to see some of Germanicus's
family at the age of manhood. Their joy was
also heightened by his * marriage with Julia, His mari-
Drusus's daughter. But on the other side, they age.
took it very ill, that Claudius's son, who was yet
a child, was destined to marry the daughter of
Sejanus, which alliance was rightly judged be-
neath the imperial family. But it never took ef- Sac. Clu. &
fect, the young prince being killed soon after by xxvii.

an

that is, of three, who presided at the executions of cri-
minals, *Triumviri capitales*; three that took care of the
coinage, *Triumviri monetales*; four who superintended the
streets of Rome, *Quatuorviri curandarum viarum*, and ten
who judged the *Centumviral* causes, *Decemviri stlitibus judi-
candis*. Dio, l. liv.

* It was said before, that Germanicus's eldest son was
to marry the daughter of Creticus Silanus. And history
does not inform us why that match broke off.

A. R. 771. an uncommon accident. He was playing with a pear, which having thrown up in the air, he caught it in his mouth; but it went so far into his throat that it choked him.

Death of Sallust the emperor's minister.

At the end of this year died Sallust, the successor and rival of Mecenas, under whom he had acted a second part in the ministry. He was grandson of a sister of Sallust the historian, who adopted him. He continued satisfied, like Mecenas, with the order of knighthood; without accepting of honours, though he surpassed in power many of the consularies. Like him, he was too, a man of pleasure, and united effeminacy of manners and vigour of mind. He had long the chief confidence of Augustus, and afterwards that of Tiberius, who employed him to make away with Agrippa Posthumus. And, that his resemblance to Mecenas may be perfect, he, like him, outlived his interest.

Tiberius was consul the following year with his son Drusus.

A. R. 772.
aft. C. 21.

TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS IV.
DRUSUS CAESAR II.

Consulship of the father and son.

This consulship of the father and son is a remarkable event. Three years before, Tiberius and Germanicus were colleagues in that office. But the ties of blood between them were not so near, and their hearts were widely disunited.

All Tiberius's colleagues in the consulship perished miserably.
Dio.

Another more remarkable observation, is that the being colleague in the consulship with Tiberius, seemed productive of destruction. He was consul five times, and his five colleagues all perished miserably. Varus, the colleague of his first consulship, was reduced by the Germans to kill himself. We have just related the unhappy fates of Piso and Germanicus; his colleagues in the

(the second and third consulship. Drusus, his fellow-consul in the fourth, we shall soon see dispatched by poison. And in Tiberius's fifth consulship, his colleague was Sejanus, whose horrible catastrophe nobody is ignorant of.

Tiberius, in the beginning of his fourth consulship, absented himself from Rome; and retired to Campania, as it were, to re-establish his health. Since he was emperor he had scarce lost sight of Rome. For the first two years he never set his foot out of the gates. Afterwards, he took some short journies; but never went farther than Antium. That I now speak of was longer, and to a greater distance from the capital. Perhaps, he even then meditated the project of a perpetual absence, which he executed some years afterwards; and had a mind to accustom the Romans to it by degrees; perhaps, he only intended to give his son an opportunity of executing alone the consulship. And the young prince acquired, in fact, reputation in an affair, which, though of small consequence in the beginning, yet at last, engaged the whole senate.

Corbulo, who afterwards signalized himself at the head of the armies; complained to the senate of L. Sylla, a young man of great family (as his name demonstrates), because at a public spectacle he would not yield him place. He had for him the rights of age, custom, and the interest of all the old men. Sylla was supported by Mamercus Scaurus, L. Aruntius, and his other relations. Many warm speeches were made on both sides; and examples were quoted from antiquity, where the audacity of youth had been restrained by severe decrees, whenever it forgot the respect due to the pre-eminence of age. But Drusus reconciled every body, and spoke with great

A.R. 772.
aft. C. 21.

Tiberius
absents
himself
from
Rome.
Tac. Ann.
iii. 31.
Sust. Tib.
38.

Tac.

Dispute
between
Corbulo
and L.
Sylla.

great

A. R. 772. great wisdom and moderation ; and at last, Ma-
 aft. C. 21. mercus, who was both uncle to Sylla, and hus-
 band to his mother, made satisfaction to Corbulo
 in the name of his nephew and son-in-law.

Corbulo
 blamed in
 another
 kind of af-
 fair.

The same Corbulo, whose temper was active
 and ardent, represented to the senate, that the
 roads were ill kept up, and in bad order, through
 the fraud of the undertakers, and the negligence
 of the magistrates ; and took on himself to rec-
 tify these abuses. The roads are an object of
 public good, well worthy the attention and zeal
 of such a man as Corbulo. But he is accused
 of being too rigorous. He prosecuted many
 persons, whose fortunes and reputations he ruined.
 We shall see him resume the same affair
 under Caligula, in order to satisfy the avidity
 of that prince, and raise himself to the consul-
 ship. This is a blot in his character.

Bio. l. lix.

Cecina Se-
 verus's pro-
 position re-
 jected.
 Tac. iii. 33.

Cecina Severus proposed another project of
 reformation. He was for having the senate or-
 der, conformably to ancient practice, that gene-
 rals and governors should not carry their wives
 with them abroad. The whole senate was
 against this proposal ; which was particularly
 combated by Valerius Messalinus, son of the ora-
 tor Messala, and in some degree, inheritor of his
 eloquence. The reader may see in Tacitus the
 arguments on both sides. I shall content myself
 with observing, that Drusus was of the same opi-
 nion as the generality. He declared, that in the
 journies he might take for the service of his fa-
 ther, and good of the empire, he should be sor-
 ry to be parted from Livilla, with whom he liv-
 ed in perfect union, and by whom he had three
 children. Livilla, by her conduct, ill answered
 the tenderness and esteem that Drusus shewed
 for her in the senate.

The

The absence of Tiberius seems to have encouraged the senators to speak and act with unusual freedom. Every body stomached, though no one durst rectify, an enormous and tyrannic abuse, introduced under the shadow of respect to the emperor's person. The most profligate wretches, laying hold of a statue or representation of the emperor, could with impunity vent their invectives and calumnies against the best men; and the freed-men too, and very slaves, thus protected, insulted and menaced their patrons and masters; and instead of being afraid of them, became, on the contrary formidable to them. C. Cestius was the interpreter of the general grief and indignation. He remonstrated to the senate, "That * princes were gods on earth; but that the gods themselves only granted just prayers; and that no body was sullered to retire into the capitol, or any other temple of Rome, in order to commit, under the protection of religion, all sorts of crimes. He added, that the laws had now no force, but were annihilated, since a woman, whom he had convicted of forgery, had publicly assaulted and threatened him at the door of the senate-house, without his daring to prosecute her, because she protected herself with the emperor's image."

When one senator had ventured to speak what the rest thought, he did not want partizans: many related the like, or more atrocious facts, and they all desired Drusus to make an example. He complied with their reasonable request: and Annia Rufilla, the woman Cestius complained

* *Principes quidem instar deorum esse. Sed neque a diis nisi justas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium, aliave urbis templa pertugere, ut eo sub^o dio ad flagitia utatur. Tac. iii. 86.*

A.R. 772.
aft. C. 21.
All enormous and tyrannic abuse repressed.

A. R. 772. ed of, was sent for, convicted, and put in prison. aft. C. 21. At the same time, two Roman knights, who had falsely accused a pretor of high-treason, were punished by a decree of the senate, with the emperor's approbation.

Drusus ac-
quires
great good
will on that
account. These two acts of justice were very agreeable to the public. The * merit of them was attributed to Drusus; who being in the city, in the way of hearing people's talk, and of knowing himself the manner of thinking of the citizens, softened the rigour that a melancholy solitude inspired his father with. And, as vice is not displeasing to men but when it hurts them, people were not offended at his giving into pleasure. "Let him be thus employed, said they; let him spend his days at the public shews, and his nights in feasting; rather than in solitude, withdrawn from every amusement, in fostering black cares, and a malignant activity."

Accusa-
tions of
high-trea-
son.

And in truth, neither Tiberius nor the informers were idle. Accusations † of high-treason accompanied and completed all others. Tacitus gives here instances of two illustrious men accused, one of extortion, and the other of adultery, to whose impeachment was also added, in order to make sure of their destruction, the ‡ crime of all those who are without crime.

Incredible
lengths
that they
were car-
ried to.
Suct. Tib.
58.

This tyranny increased by degrees to an incredible excess. It is little to say, that the slips of

* *Utrunque in laudem Drusi trahebatur; ab eo, in urbe inter cœtus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. Neque luxus in juvene adeo displicebat. Huc potius intenderet; diem editionibus, noctem conviviis traheret; quum solus, et nullis voluptatibus avocatus, mœstam vigilantiam, et malas curas exerceret.*

† *Quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat.*
Tac.

‡ *Unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacabant. Plin. Paneg.*

of * wine, and innocent jests, were laid hold of ; A.R.772. it was a capital crime, even to chastise a slave ^{aft. C.21.} near a statue or picture of Augustus ; to have stripped there to change cloaths ; or to have carried to a necessary, a coin, or stone, that bore the image of the emperor.

I should scarce venture to insert a story from ^{Sen. de Benef. iii. 26.} Seneca, did not the example of that grave philosopher authorize me ; and were it not proper to shew what the base malice of informers is capable of, when countenanced by those in power.

Paulus, who had been pretor, had, at an entertainment a ring on, that bore a relief of Tiberius. I should make myself ridiculous, says Seneca, to look out for a circumlocution for expressing that he had occasion to use a chamber-pot ; and did not think of the ring on his finger. This was attentively observed by one Maro, a notorious informer, who was in company. But luckily the same observation was made by a faithful slave through an opposite motive ; who secretly drew the ring off his master's finger. Already Maro had planned his impeachment, and challenged as witnesses all who were present, when the slave produced to them the ring.

Tiberius thus verified the disadvantageous ^{Suet. Tib. lix.} judgment made of him by the public in the beginning of his reign. For being then informed of the bad reports spread about concerning him, and of the satirical verses made on him, he attributed their origin to ill temper, and an inordinate love of independence ; nay, he almost gloried in them, and alluding to, and correcting the famous saying of Atreus, " Let † them hate me,

* Excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas jocantium. *Sen. de Benef. iii. 26.*

† Oderint, dum probent. *Suet.*

A.R. 772. me, said he, provided they esteem me." But
 aft. C. 21. though a severe * virtue may sometimes acquire
 both hatred and admiration; yet cruel tyranny
 never met with any thing but detestation. For
 with no other sentiment will every reader, with-
 out doubt, be affected by the account of the
 condemnation of Lutorius Priscus.

Condem-
 nation and
 death of
 Lutorius
 Priscus.
Tac. Ann.
 iii. 49.

This Roman knight, having a genius for poe-
 try, had composed a poem on the death of Ger-
 manicus, which succeeded; and had been re-
 warded for it by the emperor. Drusus, being
 ill, Lutorius made a similar composition, with
 an intention of publishing it in case the prince
 died; in hopes of a still greater reward. Drusus
 recovered; and the poet was indiscreet and vain
 enough to read this poem to a company of la-
 dies. An informer by profession got the wind
 of it, and immediately brought the new crime
 before the tribunal of the senate. The witnesses
 were summoned, and all of them (except a lady
 named Vitellia, who insisted she heard nothing)
 confessed the fact. The opinions were then col-
 lected; and Haterius Agrippa, who, as consul-
 elect, had the first voice, was for putting Lu-
 torius to death. I own, I cannot conceive on
 what principle of jurisprudence, or on what law,
 this rigorous sentence was founded. But cer-
 tainly, the cowardice of the senators was exces-
 sive, since Man. Lepidus did not endeavour to
 alleviate the fate of the accused, but by acknow-
 ledging him deserving of that to which the con-
 sul-elect had condemned him. He spake as fol-
 lows:

“ If

* Livy says of Camillus's soldiers, *severitate Imperii vic-
 ti, tandem virtutem et oderant, et mirabantur.* v. 26.

“ If, fathers, we only consider the impious use Lutorius Priscus has made of his talents, and the temerity with which he has endeavoured to spread the contagion of his perverse work, neither the rope nor the punishment of slaves are sufficient for him. But if in the blackest crimes the moderation of the prince, the precedents of our ancestors, and our own judgments, may teach us to mollify the rigor of the punishment; if we may* distinguish between levity and guilt, between words and actions, we may then find out a medium, which shall not leave this fault unpunished, nor draw on us the reproach of either over-indulgence or over-severity. † I have often heard our prince express his regret, when any criminal by voluntary death prevented his mercy: Lutorius is yet alive; and his life will not endanger the commonwealth, no more than his death can serve for an example. His studies, as they are full of frenzy, are also empty and perishing. Fear not a serious well-considered enterprize from one who betrays his own secret, and in a manner informs against himself, who makes his court not to the judgments of men but the imaginations of women. I would not, however, by any means, have him accounted innocent. But I am of opinion, that he ought to be banished, and have his fortune confiscated, as if he were charged with treason.”

Rubellius

* *Vana a scelestis, dicta a maleficiis differunt.*

† *Sape audivi principem nostrum conquerentem, si quis sumpta morte misericordiam ejus prævenisset: Vita Lutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in periculum reipublicæ, neque interfectus in exemplum ibit: studia illi, et plena ve-cordie, ita inania et fluxa sunt: nec quidquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor, non virorum animis, muliercularum adrepat.*

A.R. 772. Rubellius Blandas was the only consular person who followed Lepidus's opinion: all the others voted with Haterius Agrippa; and Lutorius was accordingly led to the dungeon, and instantly put to death.

Tiberius complained, in a letter to the senate, of this sentence; but with his usual ambiguity. He extolled the zeal of the senators in punishing the slightest injuries done to the majesty of the prince; but at the same time he desired that mere words might not be subject to so severe and speedy a punishment: he praised Lepidus; and blamed not Agrippa.

Dio. l. lvii. If we believe Dio, Tiberius was really dissatisfied; not at the condemnation and death of Lutorius, but because the senate had acted without his orders: and on that account made the famous regulation, by which the decrees of the senate were not to be carried to the treasury, (that is, not registered) and consequently not executed, till ten days after they were made; which gave some respite to the condemned. This law seemed to savour of moderation and wisdom: but Tiberius, who was then in Campania, and who had in his head his scheme of fixing there, had no other view, in ordering this delay, than to be able to have timely information of the decrees of the senate, and to give them the sanction of his authority. Therefore no good resulted from it; because the senate could not alter their decrees, and the interval of time never mollified Tiberius's inexorable cruelty.

Law that defers for ten days, the execution of the judgments of the senate.

Tac.

Without doubt the good princes afterwards realised what was only intended an empty appearance by the first legislator; and considered this law as a check on precipitate anger, and an opportunity given to shew mercy. This delay

was even extended to thirty days: and the emperor Theodosius, at the representation of Saint Ambrose, granted to the sentences of the prince, the same interval of thirty days as already took place with respect to the judgments of the senate.

There were some commotions this year in Thrace, which was divided (as we saw) between Rhymetalces and Cotys's sons: but they were appeased by A. Velleius, who very probably is the man that wrote an abstract of history we have, which would be valuable, were it not infected with flattery.

The troubles that happened in Gaul, as more serious, are more interesting. They were occasioned by the excessive debts of the cities and people. In order to pay their tributes and taxes, they borrowed at large interest of the rich Romans; thus procuring a momentaneous relief, which soon became a new burden that overwhelmed them. Two illustrious Gauls, one of Treves and the other of Autun, Julius Florus, and Julius Sacrovir, animated their countrymen to rebel. Their fathers had been made Roman citizens, in recompense of their services to the Romans. But these, more attached to their old country than the new, formed a project to rescue their nation from slavery; and in order to that, Florus was to make the Belgians rise in arms, and Sacrovir the Gauls that neighboured Italy.

They gained to their party at first, by secret meetings, the most spirited and courageous of their countrymen, and those whom indigence, or guilt had made desperate. Afterwards, at the assemblies of the different nations, they represented, with indignation, their burdensome tributes, the usurious interest they were obliged to

A.R. 772. pay, the pride and cruelty of the Roman magis-
 aft. C. 21. trates. They observed, "That the legions on the
 Rhine had been ripe for sedition ever since they
 were informed of Germanicus's miserable end.
 That they now had a glorious opportunity to
 recover their liberty; that to be convinced there-
 of, they needed only consider their own strength,
 the weakness of Italy, the effeminacy of the in-
 habitants of Rome, who had long disused arms,
 and the present Roman armies, whose whole
 prowess consisted in their auxiliaries."

There was scarce a people in Gaul, among
 whom these seeds of rebellion were not sowed,
 with some effect. But the general enterprise
 was ill-concerted: the risings were made one af-
 ter another, and were suppressed as they ap-
 peared, before the league had time to form.

Those of Anjou and Touraine declared first.
 A cohort, that was in garrison at Lyons, redu-
 ced the first. And the last were overcome by a
 detachment sent by Vitellius Varro, commander
 of the army on the lower Rhine. Acilius Avio-
 la, lieutenant-general, had the honour of these
 two victories. But what is very remarkable,
 many illustrious Gauls who were in the plot
 fought then on the Roman side, in order to cover
 their intelligence with the rebels, and to wait for
 a favourable opportunity. Sacrovir in particu-
 lar appeared in the engagement against those of
 Touraine, without a helmet; a demonstration,
 he pretended of his bravery: but the prisoners
 told the true reason, which was, that he might
 be known so, and spared by his countrymen.
 Of this Tiberius had advice, but he did not re-
 gard it; and by his unconcern, gave the rebel-
 lion time to increase its strength.

Florus the while pushed his designs; and tried

to debauch a considerable body of cavalry levied at Treves, and disciplined after the Roman manner. He would have engaged them to begin the war, by putting to the sword the Roman merchants who had settled in the country. And some few listened to his solicitations; but the greatest part retained their loyalty. Florus joined to those he had seduced, his clients, and some wretches, whose debts made them wish for a revolution: and with this body made to the forest of Arden. But he was prevented reaching it by the legions that were opposed on different sides to him, by Vitellius Varro and C. Silius, commanders of the Roman armies on the Rhine; and Julius Indus, a Gaul of the same country as Florus, his personal enemy, and for that reason warm in the Roman cause, easily dispersed his irregular multitude, with some chosen troops that he headed. Florus frustrated some time the search of the victors, by lurking from place to place; but finding himself at last discovered, and seeing every outlet he could escape by beset with soldiers, he killed himself. And thus ended the insurrection at Treves.

The Eduans, a more potent people, and farther removed from the Roman armies, had the means and time to give more disquiet and trouble to their masters. Sacrovir, having armed some cohorts, reduced with them the city of Autun; and secured all the young noblemen of Gaul, who were there instructed in the liberal arts, as pledges of the good-will and attachment of the first families of the nation. He had secretly prepared arms, which he distributed among those who joined and acknowledged him as their chief, to the number of forty thousand. The fifth part of this multitude was armed like the legionaries;

A.R. 772. the others had nothing but hunting spears and
 aft. C. 21. hangers. To these he added the slaves designed
 for gladiators, who were covered with iron, and
 consequently impenetrable by the weapons of their
 enemies, but unwieldy at using their own. His
 troops were also increased by the volunteers who
 came from the neighbouring cantons, though the
 states they belonged to did not publicly side
 with him. Sacrovir had time too to strengthen
 himself, through the dispute between the two Ro-
 man generals, who were both ambitious of hav-
 ing the conduct of the war: till Vitellius, who
 was old and infirm, thought proper to yield his
 pretensions to Silius, who was in full vigour.

Alarm that
 the news
 of it pro-
 duces at
 Rome.
 Tranquil-
 lity of Ti-
 berius.

At Rome fame aggrandized, as usual, this re-
 volt. There it was believed, not only that the
 Eduans and those of Treves had rebelled, but
 also that the sixty-four nations of Gaul were in
 arms: that the Germans had joined them; and
 that even the Spaniards fluctuated: great subjects
 of alarm to all good men, who were well-wishers
 to the Roman state. But the generality, tired
 of an hard and tyrannic government, and wish-
 ing for a change, rejoiced at their own danger.
 Tiberius was censured for amusing himself at
 such a crisis with the informations of state accu-
 sers. "Will Julius Sacrovir, said the people,
 appear before the senate on an information of
 high-treason? Well, there are at last found brave
 men, who answer with their swords the empe-
 ror's bloody letters. A wretched and shameful
 peace is well-exchanged for war." The more
 Tiberius saw of emotion and alarm, the more
 tranquillity he affected. He neither changed
 place, nor countenance; and acted in all things
 as if nothing had happened; either through great-
 ness of mind, or because he knew these commo-
 tions

tions were inconsiderable in comparison of what A.R. 772. aft. C. 21.
was reported.

Silius was now in march with two legions; Sacrovir, chief of the Eduans, defeated by Silius.
and had sent before a detachment of cavalry, which ravaged the territories of the Sequanians, because they, being neighbours of the Eduans, had entered into the league. The legions advanced expeditiously towards Autun; the eagerness of all, even of the common soldiers, was extreme. "Let us march stoutly, said they; let us but see and confront the foe, and we will answer for beating them."

The enemy, however, advanced to meet them; and appeared in a plain four miles from Autun. Sacrovir had placed in front his iron troop, his well-armed cohorts on the wings; and the irregular armed multitude in his second line. When he had made this disposition, he rode from rank to rank, on a fine horse, boasting of the ancient achievements of the Gauls, and the overthrows they had given the Romans. He represented to his men, that liberty would be the glorious fruit of their victory; but redoubled slavery of their defeat.

In vain the Gaulish general endeavoured to inspire his troops with valour: how could unwarlike townsmen resist the Roman legions! Silius's cavalry took them in flank, and presently broke and routed the cohorts that formed the enemies wings. The centre of the Gaulish army gave some obstruction, because the iron band was impenetrable to the Roman sword and javeline. But some of the soldiers took axes, as if they were going to make a breach in a wall, and hewed down body and armour together; and others with poles overturned these motionless lumps, who, when once down, lay as dead, without power

of

A. R. 772. of rising. Sacrovir fled at first to Autun ; thence, aft. C. 21. being apprehensive he should be delivered up, he retired with his most faithful adherents to a country house near it ; where he killed himself. And his friends, by agreement fought and mutually slew each other. After their death the building was fired, and they were there all consumed.

Tiberius acquaints the senate by letter with the beginning and end of the war at the same time.

Then at last Tiberius wrote to the senate, acquainted them at once with the rise and conclusion of the war. He related the facts just as they were, without aggravating or lessening them ; dividing the honour of the success between the valour of his lieutenants, and the wisdom of his own orders, which directed their operations. He likewise assigned the reasons why neither he, nor his son, went into Gaul ; which were, because it was beneath the imperial dignity, upon the first news of a slight disturbance in a province, to be put instantly in motion, and to quit the metropolis, the centre of all, and the place whence the head of the empire was to watch all its parts. He added, that as in the then situation of affairs, it could not be imagined that fear at all influenced his steps, he would visit those nations, and take the necessary measures for securing the public tranquillity.

Base flattery of a senator.

The senate decreed vows for the emperor's return, and other honourable testimonies of their attachment to, and respect for him. One only senator, of an illustrious name, Cornelius Dolabella, made himself ridiculous, by proposing to decree him the ovation, to honour his return from Campania to Rome. This low sycophancy had its due reward : it occasioned a letter from Tiberius, in which he declared, that he was not so destitute of glory, that, after having in his youth subdued the fiercest nations, and having enjoyed

enjoyed or slighted so many triumphs, he should, A. R. 772.
 in his old age, seek a frivolous honour from a aft. C. 21.
 short progress into the country for his health.

This journey, however, to Gaul, was no more Tiberius
 serious than the others he had hitherto projected. makes fre-
 For every year almost he talked of some, and quent de-
 made preparations accordingly. He took up lusive pro-
 carriages, amassed provisions in the towns he was jects of
 to go through, suffered vows to be made for his journeys.
 good journey and safe return, and after all never Suet. Tib.
 stirred out of Rome or its environs: so that to 38.
 him was applied the Greek proverb concerning
 one Callipedes, who was always in motion with-
 out advancing a yard.

Africa had been some years troubled by a war, War of
 that was rather inconvenient than dangerous, Tacfarinas
 raised by one Tacfarinas, an obscure man, of in Africa.
 great courage. Tacitus places the beginning of
 this war in the year of Rome 768; and gives
 the following account of it.

Tacfarinas, a Numidian, who had some time Tac. ii. 52.
 served in the Roman armies, and afterwards de-
 serted, assembled at first a band of robbers, with
 whom he made incursions, pillaging and robbing
 whatever he met with. His troops increasing, he
 formed it, according to military discipline, into
 battalions and squadrons. At last, his strength
 daily augmenting, he found himself at the head
 not only of a disorderly gang, but also of the Mu-
 sulans, a powerful people near the deserts of
 Africa, who acknowledged him their chief, and
 at his solicitation took up arms; and soon drew
 into the war the Moors commanded by Mazip-
 pa. The two generals acted perfectly in concert.
 They divided the army. Tacfarinas took with
 him the choice troops, whom he armed after the
 Roman manner, kept incamped, and accustom-
 ed

ed to discipline. Mazippa, at the head of the light irregulars, carried fire and sword throughout the neighbouring countries. Their success procured them the alliance of the Cinthians, who inhabited the environs of the lesser Syrtes.

He is beat
by Furius
Camillus.

Furius Camillus was then proconsul of Africa, and had only one legion with him. To this he joined some auxiliaries, and marched against the enemy. His numbers were very small if compared with the Moors and Numidians: but Camillus was apprehensive of nothing so much as of appearing formidable to these barbarians, and thence disposing them to avoid fighting. * By giving them hopes of victory, he made himself victorious. Tacfarinas was defeated in a pitched battle; and Camillus recovered to his family military renown, which had been long a stranger to it; if not ever since the time of the famous conqueror of the Gauls and his son, as Tacitus says, at least for above † two hundred years. Furius Camillus, of whom we now speak, had never been esteemed a warrior; hence Tiberius the more magnified the service he had done his country. The senate decreed him the ensigns of triumph: and this ‡ distinction did not prove fatal to him, on account of the modesty of his conduct. As his victory had not terminated the war, Tiberius thought proper to strengthen Africa, by sending there a legion from Pannonia.

7th. lib. 9.

There

* Spe victoriæ inducti sunt vincerentur.

† The last of the name of Furius that triumphed was L. Furius Purpureo; who being pretor, overcame the Cisalpin Gauls, and entered Rome in triumph in 552. See *L. Histoire de la Repub. Rom. t. vi. p. 526.*

‡ Quod Camillo ob modestiam vite impune fuit. *Tac.*

There is no more mention made of Tacfarinas by Tacitus for three years; whether this Numidian continued thus long in inaction, which is scarce probable; or that the historian includes, without saying so, in this relation the facts of several years. However Tacfarinas re-appears on the scene in the year 771, ravaging, burning, and plundering away; and at last daring to besiege a Roman cohort in a fort not far from the river Pagyda. The governor of the fort, named Decrius, was a brave, experienced officer; and ashamed of suffering a siege from barbarians. He therefore exhorted his men to sally out, and offer open battle: but his valour was ill-seconded. For at the first shock the cohort gave way. Decrius, rushing into the midst of the enemy's darts, stops the run-aways, reproaches the ensigns, and represents to all, how infamous it was for Roman soldiers to turn their backs on undisciplined robbers. He received several wounds, and lost an eye; but still faced the foe; till, abandoned by his troops, he was slain on the spot.

He defeats
a Roman
cohort.
Tac. iii. 20,
21.

L. Apronius, who had been formerly Germanicus's lieutenant, and had been honoured with the triumphal insignia, having succeeded Camillus in the proconsulship of Africa, practised a severity on this occasion, of which there had been no example for many years. He decimated the guilty cohort, and beat to death with clubs those on whom the lot fell. This rigour had its effect. Soon after a battalion of veterans, of about five hundred men, put to flight this very army of Tacfarinas, and raised the siege of the city of Thela, before which it was.

It is decimated by
order of
the procon-
sul Aproni-
us.

In the last action, a common soldier, named Helvius Rufus, acquired the glory of saving a citizen's life. Apronius rewarded him with the bracelets,

The civic
crown given
by the
emperor to
a soldier.

bracelets, collar, and spear; as to the civic crown, he durst not take on himself to bestow it, but referred him to the emperor, who granted it, complaining of the modesty of the proconsul, at which he certainly was not offended.

Tacfarinas
is driven
back again
into the de-
serts.

Tacfarinas, seeing his Numidians dismayed, and determined to undertake no more sieges, resumed the usual method of warring of his nation, by making incursions, retiring when attacked, and then suddenly returning and skirmishing with the rear of those he had fled before. By this plan he eluded and rendered fruitless all the efforts of the Romans. But the temptation of booty drew him into the maritime country, where he incamped. Then Apronius's son fell on him with the Roman cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and the most alert of the legionary soldiers. The Numidian was beat, and forced back again to the desert.

Junius
Blesus
named to
succeed A.
pronius.
Tac. iii. 32,
35.

A. R. 772.

Junius Blesus, Sejanus's uncle, was Apronius's successor. Africa was one of the provinces of the people, and consequently the senate named its governors. But the war gave occasion to the senators to refer this choice to the emperor. Tiberius, with his affected modesty, complaining that the senate cast all public cares on him, proposed to them Man. Lepidus and Blesus. Lepidus excused himself on account of his ill health, the youth of his children, and the marriageable state of a daughter: and his best reason, which he did not mention, was also understood, namely that Blesus was Sejanus's uncle, and consequently had more power and interest than he. Blesus also declined it, but with less earnestness; and was interrupted by the flatterers of power, who comprehended his meaning, and served him as he wished.

Blesus.

Blesus, though preferred by favour, had merit ; and behaved very well in his station. Tacfarinas, not dismayed at his reiterated defeats, having found means to repair them by reinforcements from the heart of Africa, arrived to such a pitch of insolence, that he sent an embassy to the emperor, with demands for a settlement for himself and followers ; otherwise he threatened everlasting war. Tiberius was touched to the quick by this insult to him and the Roman name. He observed, that not Spartacus himself, the conqueror of so many consular armies, at the time that he ravaged Italy without opposition, had been admitted to a composition ; though the commonwealth had then on its hands a war with Sertorius, and another with Mithridates : much less, in the height of the Roman power and glory, ought the friendship of a deserter and robber to be purchased, by granting him peace and lands. He ordered Blesus to promise an amnesty to all who should lay down their arms and abandon Tacfarinas ; and to get him into his hands at any price.

The pardon offered by the Romans brought over many of his partizans : he was nevertheless still formidable ; so that to get the better of him, Blesus was obliged to imitate his manner of warring. For this Numidian, though unable to withstand the weight and efforts of the Roman army, excelled in enterprises of stratagem ; and kept his army divided into small parties, who scoured the country, and planted ambuscades. The Roman general therefore separated his army also into three corps. One, under the conduct of Cornelius Scipio, was ordered to the left, towards Leptis ; Blesus, the son, at the head of another division, extended towards the right,

to

He gains great advantages, but does not terminate the war.
Tac. iii. 73, 74.
A. R. 773.

to cover the dependencies of Cirta, the capital of Numidia; and the proconsul himself, advancing between them, erected forts in all proper places; and thus straitened the barbarians, who, wherever they turned themselves, found Roman soldiers, in front, flank, and even sometimes in rear. Several skirmishes happened, in which the enemy lost much people.

Blesus, finding this method successful, subdivided his three divisions into platoons, under the command of centurions of tried courage. And at the end of the summer, he did not, as usual, put his troops into winter-quarters; but continued in the field; constructing more forts, detaching his most alert men, those who best knew those deserts, and driving Tacfarinas from retreat to retreat. At last, having taken prisoner the brother of this free-booter, he returned, sooner than he should have done for the good of the province, as he left the root of the evil still subsisting.

Tiberius bestows on him the triumphal ornaments, and the title of imperator.

He claimed, however, the glory of having terminated the African war, and Tiberius feigned to believe it. He not only had the triumphal insignia decreed Blesus, but permitted his army to proclaim him imperator, or victorious general: an honour that the Roman provinces reserved to themselves; and which was for the last time granted to a subject in Blesus.

Tiberius, in thus distinguishing Blesus, had the weakness to declare, that he did it out of regard to Sejanus, his nephew; for whom this emperor had a blind prejudice, while he was on his guard against the best men.

SECT.

S E C T. IV.

Complaint of the ediles of the luxury of eating. Stories about Apicius. The senate consults Tiberius. Frugality of that prince's table. His answer to the senate. No reformation. This luxury continues increasing to Galba's time. It had ceased when Tacitus wrote. Causes of that change. The tribunitial power asked by Tiberius for Drusus of the senate, and granted. Drusus returns thanks by letter. Discontent of the senators. Maluginensis precluded the government of Asia on account of his being priest of Jupiter. The rights of asylum discussed before the senate, and moderated. Livia's illness. Tiberius returns to Rome. Silanus, proconsul of Asia, accused and condemned. Tiberius rejects a novelty that tended to increase his power. Another pro-consul condemned. Tiberius's moderation. Base flattery of Ateius Capito. Tiberius tired of the servitude of the senators. Death of Ateius Capito. The basilic of Paulus repaired by Lepidus. Pompey's theatre destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Tiberius. Death of Junia, Brutus's sister.

C. SULPICIUS GALBA.

A. R. 774.

D. HATERIUS AGRIPPA.

aft. C. 22.

TIBERIUS had passed in Campania the year he and his son were consuls, and was still there at the beginning of the following, whose consuls were D. Haterius Agrippa, and C. Sulpicius Galba, brother to the Galba who was afterwards emperor. He there received a decree of the senate, that referred to him the reformation of the luxury of eating, of which the ediles had complained.

Luxury

Complaint
of the
ediles of
the luxury
of eating.
Tac. Ann.
iii. 57.

A.R. 775. Luxury had got to a prodigious excess in all
 aft. C. 22. kinds of idle expences. But in many articles peo-
 ple sheltered themselves from censure, by con-
 cealing the real price of things. The excesses of
 the table could not be thus covered, and were
 the talk of the whole city. For this was the age
 of the Apicius, who was the most renowned of
 the three epicures of that name; and as he had
 many imitators and disciples among the most il-
 lustrious Romans, and * kept a school of glut-
 tony, the stories Seneca tells of him may serve
 to give us an idea of the general taste of his
 times. Tiberius had been presented with a fish
 that was much in vogue among the Romans, and
 supposed to be the mullet. This was a sort of
 monster; for it weighed four pounds and a half.
 Tiberius, probably for the sake of the following
 diversion, sent it to the market to be sold, say-
 ing to those about him, "I am vastly deceived,
 if either Apicius, or P. Octavius, do not buy this
 fish." His prediction was verified, even beyond
 his hopes. Apicius and Octavius bid against one
 another for it; and the latter bought it for five
 thousand sesterces, which is about six hundred
 and fifty French livres. † And it was matter of
 great triumph to Octavius, to bring to his table
 a fish that the emperor had sold, and Apicius
 could not buy.

Stories a-
 bout Api-
 cius.

Sen. Ep. lix.

In English
 money a-
 bout 414.
 13s. 4d.

It is astonishing that Apicius gave out in this
 noble contest. Perhaps his great penetration in
 the science of eating made him discover some
 slight fault in the fish he yielded; perhaps his
 finances

* Scientiam popine professor, disciplina sua seculum in-
 fecit. *Sen. Consol. ad Helv. c. x.*

† Vicit Octavius, et ingentem consecutus est inter suos
 lauriam, quum quinque millibus sestertium emisset piscem,
 em Caesar vendiderat, ne Apicius quidem emerat

finances began to be disordered, and his creditors pressing. For he ruined himself by his epicurism, and of the great fortune he was born to, guttled away * an hundred millions of seterces. Then plagued by creditors on all sides, he looked into his affairs; and finding, on calculation, that after payment of his debts, he should have no more left than † ten millions of sesterces ‡, he considered the living thereon as starving, and therefore chose to die by poison.

A.R. 773.
aft. C. 22.
Sen. Consol. and Helv.
* 12000000
livres.
In English money
about
833.338 l.
6s. 6d.
† 1250000
livres.
In English money
about
85,000 l.

This luxury, which wanted not the example of the first senators, as the Valerii and Asinii; who, Pliny says §, purchased a cook at the expence of a triumph, and a fish as dear as a cook; and esteemed nobody equally with a slave expert in the art of ruining his master; this mad luxury, I say, well deserved the attention of the magistrate. As the ediles superintended the police of Rome, and for that reason were best acquainted with what passed in the markets, and with the extravagant price that luxury set on eatables, it became their office to make representations accordingly to the senate: and Bibulus having begun the complaint, the other ediles took it up, and desired a speedy and efficacious remedy to so great an evil: since not only the old sumptuary laws, but the new ones made by Augustus, were insufficient.

Tac.

The senate durst not decide in an affair of such importance, and productive of such consequences; but referred it to the emperor's wisdom. As Tiberius gave not an immediate answer, Rome was under

The senate consults Tiberium. Frugality of that prince's table.

‡ Velut in ultima fame victurus, si in sestertio centies vixisset, veneno vitam finivit.

§ Nunc ceci triumphorum pretiis parantur, et coquorum pisces: nullusque prope jam mortalis estimatur plus, quam qui peritissime censuræ domini mergit. *Plin. ix. 17.*

A.R. 773. under great apprehensions, dreading the severity of a prince, who was naturally rigid, and an example of frugality. For * in his entertainments of ceremony, he made no scruple of bringing to his table the victuals of yesterday, heated over-again, even such as had been touched; and at a time when whole boars appeared on the tables of private men, half a one sufficed for that of the emperor, who affected to say, that the half had all the same parts as the whole. At last Tiberius, having long weighed all inconveniencies and advantages, sent his answer to the senate, couched in these terms:—

His answer
to the se-
nate.

“ In most affairs, fathers, it would be perhaps, advantageous to have me present at your deliberations, and to give personally my opinion on what I thought useful to the commonwealth. But as to the present affair, it was better that it was not debated under my eyes, lest the fear and paleness of the countenances of the guilty should have marked them out, and in some sort convicted them. And † indeed, if the ediles, whose good intention I commend, had consulted me before they acted, I believe I should have advised them, rather to let alone vices that are deeply rooted, than only to make it manifest, what enormities are an over-match for us. Yet I do not blame those magistrates: they have done their duty; as I wish every one would that is in office. But for myself, it is neither proper for me to be silent,

* Solemnibus cœnis pridiana sæpe ac semesa opsonia apposuit; dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans, Omnia eadem habere quæ totum. *Suct.*

† Quod si mecum ante viri strenui Ædiles consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis imparer essemus.

silent, nor easy to speak ; because I bear not the A.R.773. character of edile, pretor, or consul : something aft. C. 22. more is required of the prince. * Every one is ready to assume to himself the merit of whatever is well done, while upon the prince alone are thrown the miscarriages of all.

“ For where shall I begin this reformation, and what shall be the first object of my censure ? Shall it be our immense parks, or the infinite number of our slaves, which † make almost armies in private houses, and are distributed into nations ; or the enormous quantity of our gold and silver plate ; or our passion for statues and pictures ; or the gorgeous vestments that turn men into women ; or, what is yet peculiar to women, those precious stones, for whose purchase our coin is carried into foreign, and even hostile nations ? For I am not ignorant, that at entertainments, and in companies, these abuses are complained of, and a regulation required. But the zealous reformers, if penal laws were made on these subjects, would be the first to cry out, that the state was overturned, that snares were laid for the prime nobility, that nobody could be secure from such informations. And yet ‡ bodily diseases, grown inveterate, are not to be cured but by violent and rigid medicines. So the mind, the corrupter and corrupted, the sick and raging mind.

2

mind.

* Et quum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur.

† Seneca says of Demetrius, Pompey's freed man : Numerus illi quotidie servorum, ut Imperatori exercitus, referebatur. *De Tranq. Am.* n. viii.

‡ Atqui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres, et diu auctos, nisi per dura et aspera, coerceas. Corruptus simul et corruptor, æger et flagrans animus, haud levioribus remediis restituetur, quam libidinibus ardescit. *Tac.*

A.R. 773. mind, cannot be rectified but by remedies strong
aft. C. 22. as its own irregular appetites.

“The many laws made by our ancestors, and added to by Augustus, and abolished either by oblivion, or, what is worse, by contempt, have only served to make luxury more insolent and secure. For * when we covet any thing yet unprohibited, we are apt to fear that it may be forbid: but when once we have outbraved the prohibition, there is no longer any restraining fear or shame. Why then did frugality and temperance formerly prevail? It was because every one was moderate in his desires: it was because we were then citizens of but one city, and not a mixture of all the nations in the universe. Luxury, too, had not so powerful instigations, when our dominion was confined to Italy. † It was by our foreign victories we learned to consume the riches of others; and by our civil to dissipate our own.

“The particular that the ediles would reform, is not the most important. How inconsiderable indeed is it, if compared with so many others of more weight? Nobody ‡, for example, represents that Italy is in constant want of foreign supplies, that the lives of the Roman people are daily

* Nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne veteres: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est. *Tac. Cato, in Livy, uses the same thought, and expresses it more forcibly: Luxuria non mota tolerabilior esset quam erit nunc; ipsis vinculis, velut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissa. Liv. xxxiv. 4.*

† Externis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra, consumere didicimus. *Tac.*

‡ At hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externæ opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur. Ac nisi provinciarum copias et dominis, et servitiis, et agris subvenerint; nostra nos scilicet nemora, nostræque villæ tuebuntur. *Tac.*

daily at the mercy of seas and tempests. Were it not for supplies from the provinces, by which the masters and slaves are maintained, would our own parks and villas maintain us? This is the care of the prince, and by the neglect of this, the commonwealth would be ruined. With respect * to other abuses, every man must be his own censor. Us, who are at the head of the state, shame will reclaim; necessity will document the poor; and satiety will mend the rich. Or if any of the magistrates has resolution and perseverance enough to apply the necessary remedies, he has my praises and acknowledgment that he discharges me of part of my labours: but if such will only inveigh against, and impeach corruptions, and when they have gained thereby reputation, leave on me the burden; believe me, fathers, I am not more fond than others of bearing resentments. I already suffer many for the good of the commonwealth that I have not merited; and, therefore, may well avoid such as would be vain and fruitless, and promise no advantage to you or me."

The senate, when they had read the emperor's letter, dispensed the ediles from undertaking so burdensome and difficult a business. Only it appears from Suetonius, that they exhorted them, that they might not be thought totally to neglect what so well deserved their care, to keep a watchful eye over the taverns and markets, and in a word, over the excesses of the lower people, rather than to intermeddle in what might affect the grandees. Thus the luxury of the table, which chiefly commenced at Rome after the

No reformation. This luxury continues increasing till Galba's time. It had ceased when Tacitus wrote.

Tac. iii. 51.

* Reliquis intra animum incedendum est. Nos pudor, pauperes necessitas, civites satias, in melius mutet,

A.R. 773. battle of Actium, continued increasing for an aft. C. 22. age till Galba's time. Then it was it began to diminish; and at the time that Tacitus wrote, that is, in Trajan's reign, it had entirely ceased. That ingenious historian examines into the causes of this change; and these are his thoughts about.

Causes of
that
change.

Formerly, says he, the great families of Rome were carried away with a passion for magnificence; for then it was allowed to court the favour of the people, the allies, and kings that were in friendship with Rome; and to receive from them marks of respect and attachment. The more affluence a senator lived in, the more he was distinguished by the number and quality of his clients. But when the jealous policy of the emperor's had destroyed many of these too powerful senators, when it was perceived that too great splendour was the infallible means of destruction, the rest grew wiser; and instead of drawing the eyes of people on them by their expences, they set themselves to accumulate. Besides, many new men, chosen senators from the municipal towns, the colonies, and even the provinces, introduced their domestic parsimony; and though some of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet they retained in their new condition their old manner of thinking. But * the principal cause of this reformation was the example of Vespasian, who conformed in all things to ancient simplicity. The deference of the public for this prince, and the desire by imitating to please

* Sed præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque: obsequium inde in principem, et æmulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus et metus.

please him, had greater effect than all the penal laws. A.R. 73.
aft. C. 27.

These were the causes that observation and reflexion furnished Tacitus with, to explain a change that he was a witness of; and which seems to have surprized him. For distrusting the reasons he had given, which, notwithstanding, are very solid, he adds thereto a sort of fatality, that occasions possibly a revolution in the manner of men, as in the succession of time. * Nor have our ancestors, says he, excelled us in all things; our own age has produced, for the imitation of posterity, models of learning and virtue. And indeed he spoke truth as to the last point. For the most glorious age of the Roman empire, the most polished, and the happiest, is, beyond dispute, that which begins with Vespasian, and ends with Pertinax. This time, if we except Domitian and Commodus, contains a series of the best princes that ever governed Rome.

Tiberius was in the right to suppose that a reformation of luxury would procure him ill-will. He was in high favour for his moderation; the public was pleased that he had prevented the malice of informers, who only waited for the handle of a new law to plague the Romans, and enrich themselves with their spoils.

Tiberius soon after wrote to the senate, to desire the tribunitial power for Drusus. We may remember, that this title signified the supreme power; and that Augustus, after he had been complimented with it, first assumed Agrippa in to a fellowship in it, and afterwards Tiberius, in order to ascertain his successor, and The tribunitial power asked by Tiberius for Drusus of the senate, and granted bridle the ambition

* *Nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque ætas multa laudis et artium inmutanda posteris tulit.*

A.R. 773. ambition of particulars. Tiberius (after Augustus's example) as he had never publicly decided between Germanicus and Drusus so long as the former lived, had now a mind to secure to his son the succession to the empire.

He began his letter by beseeching the gods to prosper his design to the benefit of the commonwealth. He then proposed his request, and spoke of Drusus modestly, and without exaggeration. He said, "That his son was married, and had three children; and was of the same age as himself, when called by Augustus to the same office. He added, that he had tried him for eight years; and that Drusus, after having appeased seditions, concluded wars, and been honoured with a triumph, and two consulships, might divide with him the cares with which he was now familiar."

The senators, having foreseen this address of the emperor, had their adulation ready prepared. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but, as usual, statues to Tiberius and his son, altars and temples to the gods, and triumphal arches. Only M. Silanus strove to honour the emperors at the expence of the consuls, and was for having the years dated for the future, not by the names of the consuls, but of those who enjoyed the tribunitial power. Q. Haterius made himself more ridiculous, by proposing to have the decrees of that day engraved in golden letters, and hung up in the senate: from which *abominable flattery, this servile old man, having not long to live, could consequently reap no other fruit than infamy.

Tiberius

* Senex fœdissimæ adulationis tantum infamia usus
Tac. iii. 57.

Tiberius, in his answer to the senate, moderated the honours with which the decree of the tribunitial power to his son was accompanied. And in particular, rejected Haterius's golden letters, as an unusual thing, and contrary to ancient custom.

Drusus, who was with his father, wrote at the same time a letter of thanks to the senate; which though the letter itself was modest, extremely shocked the senators. "What, said they, are things come to that pass, that a young prince, who receives so great an honour, will not deign to come and adore the gods of Rome, appear in the senate, and take possession of his new dignity in his native city? This might, indeed, have been excusable were he detained by war, or at an extraordinary distance. But far from it, he is only sauntering about the shores of Campania, and the enjoyment of that delicious country in his only avocation. Thus is formed a prince destined to rule mankind; and such are the lessons he takes from his father! The emperor himself, an ancient man, may perhaps find uneasiness in living under the public eye, and may plead his former fatigues. But what can detain Drusus except arrogance?" Such was the talk of the senators. Princes do as they will; but the judgment of the public is free, and does not spare them.

A contest arose then in the senate on account of the government of Asia, which should have been Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis's in turn; and from which many senators pretended he was precluded, on account of his being * priest of Jupiter, since he could not be absent from Rome above two nights together. This government, and that of Africa, were great posts; the objects

A.R. 773.
aft. C. 22.

Drusus returns thanks by letter. Discontent of the senators. Tac. iii. 50.

Maluginensis precluded the government of Asia, on account of his being priest of Jupiter. Tac. iii. 50. * Flavianus Du. lit.

A.R. 773.jects of the ambition of the consular senators ;
aft. C. 22. and one or other of them, closed the carrier of
honour. Maluginensis, therefore, strenuously
combated the objections made to his right. He
maintained, that his situation was the same as
that of the priests of Mars and Quirinus, who
formerly met with the same opposition as he did
now, but got the better of it. He advanced, that
the chief pontiffs in former times had used this
pretence only to set aside those they did not
love. “ *But now, said he, by the goodness of the
gods, the chief pontiff is also the chief of men ;
and divested of envy, hatred, and all the little
interests of private men.”

The senate would not decide in this debate,
and resolved to wait the determination of Tiberius,
as chief pontiff. Maluginensis had taken
an artful course to fix the emperor in his interest ;
but flattery had little effect on Tiberius ;
and he made it a law to himself to conform in all
Tac. iii. 71. things to Augustus’s ordinances. As therefore
there had been a decree made under that prince’s
authority by the college of pontiffs, which seemed
to thwart Maluginensis’s pretensions, Tiberius
decided against him ; and the government of
Africa was given to the next consular in order.

The rights of asylums discussed before the senate, and moderated.
Tac. iii. 60. This emperor †, who was tenacious of real
power, afforded the senate a shadow of its ancient
jurisdiction. He, therefore, referred to it
the affair of the asylums, which were very numerous
in the Greek cities, and whose abuse occasioned
a general complaint. For the temples
protected

* Nunc deum munere summum Pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non emulationi, non odio, aut privatis adfectionibus, obnoxium. *Tac.*

† Tiberius vim Principatus sibi firmans, imaginem auctoritatis Senatui præbebat. *Tac.*

protected slaves from their masters, debtors from their creditors, and criminals from justice. And *the authority of the magistrates was insufficient to suppress the seditions of the populace, who confounded the villainies of men with the worship of the gods.

It was therefore ordered, that these cities should send deputies to Rome, to give an account of their claims. Some of them, who had no title, desisted of their own accord; many confided in their ancient superstitions, or the services they had done the Romans. And it was a glorious day to the senate, on which it gave audience to a multitude of deputies from the most celebrated cities; and examined the decrees of the consuls and prætors of antiquity, the treaties with our confederates, and even the ordinances of kings independent of the Roman power, and the religious traditions on which the worship of the gods was founded, and this, with a perfect freedom, as heretofore, of ratifying or reforming as to it seemed proper.

Twelve cities or nations contended for their privileges, either before the senate, or the consuls, on whom the senators, tired with a tedious discussion, had thrown the examination of the records; of which they were to make a report to the senate.

The most renowned of these people were, the Ephesians, the Cyprians (who had in their island three temples with right of asylum) and those of Pergamos, Symrna, Sardis, Miletus, and Crete. After mature examination, these privileges were not abolished, but limited by decrees of the senate;

* Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut ceremonias demum protegentis.

A. R. 773. nate ; which the several nations were ordered
 aft. C. 22. to engrave on brass, and hang up in their temples ; as perpetual memorials and irrevocable rules, to prevent abuses, and hinder religion from countenancing licentiousness.

Tac. iv. 14. This regulation, of which Tacitus says nothing more, probably took place also with those of Samos and Cos, who, the next year, petitioned the senate for the conservation of the right of asylum, the former to the temple of Juno, and the latter to that of Esculapius.

Livia's illness. Tiberius returns to Rome.
Tac. iii. 61. Tiberius was perfectly satisfied with his retreat in Campania ; but his mother falling ill, he was obliged to return in haste to Rome. He had hitherto kept on tolerable terms with her, at least as to appearance. For at the bottom, jealous as he was of his rank and authority, he but ill brooked the ambition and haughtiness of Livia.

Suet. Tib. 1. He had often advised her in private not to intermeddle in affairs of importance, which did not become her sex. He disapproved of her appearing in public to give orders ; as had happened at a fire near Vesta's temple, whither Livia came to encourage the people and soldiers to extinguish it, as she used to do in Augustus's

Tac. iii. 64. time. He had been lately offended, because Livia, having dedicated a statue to Augustus near the theatre of Marcellus, had, in the inscription, put Tiberius's name after her own. But these discontents were hitherto kept secret ; and he shewed a proper concern at his mother's danger. For orders were issued upon this occasion, with his consent, for public prayers, and games, under the direction of almost all the colleges of priests, of the pontiffs, the augurs, the keepers of the Sibylline books, the presidents of the sacred feasts, and the fraternity of Augustals. The order

order of knights vowed a gift to equestrian for-
 tune; which is no farther explained. And Li-
 via, though very old, recovered; and lived some
 years afterwards.

C. Silanus, proconsul of Asia, a man of illus-
 trious birth, was at this time prosecuted. He
 was undoubtedly guilty of extortion and cruel-
 ty; and his condemnation would have done
 honour to Tiberius, if he had left it to the com-
 mon course of justice. But by permitting ac-
 cusations of high-treason, which were the pub-
 lic abhorrence, to interfere, he spoiled all; and
 put the just punishment of crimes in a light of
 odious persecution, which even his moderation
 in the sentence could not efface.

Silanus,
 proconsul
 of Asia, ac-
 cused and
 condemn-
 ed.
 Tac. lib. 66.

The Asiatics then prosecuted Silanus as a rob-
 ber of the public. But three senators, Mamer-
 cus Scaurus, a consular; Junius Otho, pretor;
 and Brutidius Niger, edile; charged him with
 irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and
 with violation of the respect due to the majesty
 of Tiberius. Mamercus, to justify the scanda-
 lous part he acted, quoted the examples of ac-
 cusations brought by Scipio Africanus against
 Cotta, by Cato the censor against Galba, and
 by Scaurus (his ancestor) against Rutilius. * To
 be sure, says Tacitus, the same objects animated
 the zeal of Scipio and Cato; or of that Scaurus,
 whom Mamercus, the shame of his progenitors,
 was dishonouring by his infamous occupation.
 The first employment of Junius Otho was the
 teaching of eloquence. But being created a se-
 nator by Sejanus's interest †, he laboured to over-
 come

* Videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulcisebantur, aut ille
 Scaurus, quem proavum suum, opprobrium majorum Ma-
 mercialium infami opera dehonestabat. Tac.

† Obscura initia impudentibus ausis propellebat.

A.R. 773. come by a shameless audacity the obstacles that aft. C. 22. his obscurity threw in his way. As to Brutidius *, he had merit enough, and might have hoped from his talents for the greatest dignities, without quitting the paths of honour. But impatience ruined him : while he endeavoured first to outstrip his equals, then his superiors, and at last, his own very hopes. A course which, as our judicious historian observes, has been the destruction of many valuable men ; who, scorning acquisitions that come slow, but attended with security, grasp at a premature fortune, though linked to imminent danger. Gellius Poplicola and M. Paconius, the former Silanus's questor, the other his lieutenant, increased the number of his accusers.

The accused was then to answer, not only the most eloquent orators of Asia, selected to prosecute him, but also five senators bent on his ruin : and as the charge of high-treason silenced his friends and relations, he was to oppose alone, and without advocates, the multitude of his prosecutors, ignorant as he was of pleading, and beset with capital terrors, which often disable the most practised eloquence. To this may be added, the menacing air of Tiberius, who intimidated the accused both by voice and gesture, and teased him with his questions : whilst the wretched Silanus was not at liberty to refute what he objected, or to elude his demands ; nay, he was sometimes forced to make confessions, lest the

* Brutidium artibus honestis copiosum, et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quæque iturum, festinatio exstimulabat, dum æqualis, dein superiores, postremo suasinet ipse spes, anteire parat. Quod multos etiam bonos pessumdedit, qui spretis quæ tarda cum securitate, præmatura vel cum exitio properant.

the emperor should seem to have advanced any thing rashly. A R. 773.
af. C. 22.

Such a series of hardships, formidable even to an innocent person, made the condemnation of Silanus, who was guilty, inevitable. He therefore requested an interval of a few days, gave up his defence, and ventured to write to Tiberius, in a style between entreaty and reproach.

Before judgment was given, Tiberius caused to be read the decree of the senate, made under Augustus, against Volesus Messala, proconsul also of Asia; of whose conduct we may judge by what Seneca relates of him. This magistrate, having had three hundred men beheaded *S. n. de l. c.*
ii. 55. in one day, walked up and down among the carcases in triumph, applauding himself for this act of power, and crying, "O the truly royal exploit." We are not told that these men were innocent; but, supposing them criminals, yet the barbarous and inhuman pleasure of Volesus was something monstrous.

Messala's sentence dictated to the senate the judgment it was to pass on Silanus. *Tit. iii. 68.* L. Piso, who first voted, having enlarged on the clemency of the emperor, who was not for having even the guilty punished rigorously, concluded, for interdicting Silanus from fire and water (that is, banishing him) and confining him to the isle of Gyarus. This punishment included confiscation of fortune. The other senators were of the same opinion; only Cn. Lentulus proposed to exempt from forfeiture the estate he had from his mother; which Tiberius approved of. But Cornelius Dolabella, whom the ill success of a low flattery (that has been mentioned in its place) had not mended, having inveighed bitterly against Silanus's morals, added, that it ought

A. R. 773. ought to be ordered that no men of bad lives
 aft. C. 22. should be admitted candidates for the govern-
 ment of a province; and that the prince should
 judge of this their character. “ * The laws,
 says he, punish transgressions when committed :
 but how much better would it be for the guilty
 themselves, as well as advantageous to the pro-
 vinces, to prevent transgressors.”

Tiberius
 rejects a
 novelty
 that tend-
 ed to in-
 crease his
 power.

Tiberius condemned this novelty, although it
 increased his power. “ He was not † ignorant,
 he said, of the rumours concerning Silanus’s con-
 duct. But it was not proper to decide by ru-
 mours. That it often happened that the adminis-
 tration of governors of provinces did not an-
 swer the ideas framed of them before, whether
 good or bad. That some of them had by the
 importance of their trust been roused into amend-
 ment; and others, on the contrary, sinking under
 a weight disproportionate to their strength, had
 there lost the reputation they acquired in the city.
 That a prince could not know every thing him-
 self; nor was it to be wished that he should be
 led by the partial representations of those about
 him. That laws had been made against facts
 committed, because futurity was uncertain.
 That the maxims and customs of antiquity had
 established

* *Nam a legibus delicta puniri. Quanto fore mitius in
 ipsos, melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur ! Tac.*

† *Non quidem sibi ignara que de Silano vulgabantur :
 sed non ex rumoribus statuendum. Multos in provinciis
 contra quam spes aut metus de illis fuerit egisse. Excitari
 quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios.
 Neque posse Principem sua scientia cuncta complecti, ne-
 que expedire ut a libidine aliena trahatur. Ideo leges in
 facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint. Sic a majoribus
 institutum, ut, si antisent delicta, pœne sequerentur. Ne-
 verentur sapienter reperta, et semper placita. Satis one-
 rum Principibus, satis etiam potentiar, esse. Minui jura,
 quoties gliscit potestas; nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus
 agi possit. Tac.*

established punishments for preceding crimes. A.R. 773. That it would not be right to change a wise institution, that had always been approved of. That the prince had already sufficient burdens, and even sufficient power. That the authority of the laws diminished in the same proportion as the imperial authority increased: and that sovereignty was not to be exercised when the laws would serve." aft. C. 22.

These maxims, savouring of public liberty; pleased the more out of Tiberius's mouth, as it was seldom he used such. The general satisfaction arising from thence, of which he was witness, inclined him to further clemency: and, as he well knew how to moderate when his own resentments did not influence him, he represented, that Gyarus was a desert island, and afforded none of the conveniences of life; that out of regard to the Junian family, and to Silanus's having had the honour to be of their order, they might allow him a more comfortable banishment in the isle of Cythera; and that his sister Torquata, a vestal of primitive virtue, requested this. This motion was adopted, and was Silanus's sentence.

The condemnation of Silanus was followed by that of Cesium Cordus, pro-consul of Crete and Cyrene, convicted also of extortion. The misbehaviour of the Roman magistrates to the subjects of the empire did not end, we see, with the republican government; but the provinces obtained more easily justice and reparation for the wrongs they suffered under the emperors. Another proconsul condemned.

An information was lodged against a Roman knight, L. Ennius, for having converted into plate, or some other common use, a representation of the prince, in silver. The time was not Tiberius's moderation. Base flattery of Atcius Capito:

A.R. 71². yet come, when equally innocent actions were
 ait. C. 22. looked on as atrocious crimes. Tiberius would
 not suffer Ennius's name to be put in the list of
 the accused. But what is very remarkable is,
 that a senator of rank, Ateius Capito, of whom
 we have elsewhere spoke, opposed the emperor's
 acquittal with a false and wretched affectation
 of liberty. "It is against all rule, said he, to de-
 B. i. prive the senate of the cognizance and determi-
 nation of a crime brought before its tribunal:
 nor ought such an iniquity as Ennius's to re-
 main unpunished. The prince may be patient,
 if he pleases, to excess, under his own grievan-
 ces; but let him not stop the just vengeance of
 the offended commonwealth." Tiberius* under-
 stood this language perfectly well, and persisted
 in his interposition.

His commendable perseverance completed the
 infamy of Ateius Capito, who, learned in laws
 human and divine, by the meanness of his soul
 debased those accomplishments which ought to
 have been employed for the service of the state,
 and of particulars.

Tiberius Flattery † was then an universal distemper,
 tired of the from which none of the senators were free. Not
 servitude of the sena- only the first nobles, whose obnoxious splendour
 tors. found
 Tac. iii. 65.

* Intellexit hæc Tiberius ut erant magis quam ut dice-
 bantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignior infamia
 fuit; quod humani divinique juris sciens egregium publi-
 cum et bonas domi artes debonestavisset.

† Tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere,
 ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obse-
 quiiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars
 eorum qui prætura functi, multique etiam pedarii senato-
 res, certatim exsurgerent, fædæque et nimia censerent. Me-
 morie proditur, Tiberium quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis
 verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum, O homines ad servi-
 tutem paratos! scilicet etiam illum qui libertatem publicam
 vult, tam projecte servientium patientie tædebat

found protection in obsequiousness; but all A.R. 773. who had been consuls, a great part of such as aft. C. 22. had been pretors, and even many of the undistinguished senators, strove with emulation who should dishonour themselves most by base and shameful adulations. Their prompt servitude tired Tiberius; and it is reported, that as he went out of the senate, he often cried out, "O wretches, who more than meet slavery!"

Atcius Capito, in the affair I have just mentioned, rendered himself ignominious for nothing at all. He died the same year. But he only continued the trade he had followed all his life. Capito, though of a good family, had no reason to expect to be at the head of the senate. His grandfather was a centurion in Sylla's army; his father served pretor. He raised himself by his skill in jurisprudence and the suppleness of his temper. Augustus had pushed him early into the consulship, to give him the precedence of his rival Antistius Labeo. For *these two men, who were similar in their genius and studies, were very dissimilar in their sentiments. Labeo, who was haughty, zealous for liberty, and not always sufficiently discreet, as I have observed under Augustus's reign had therefore acquired greater reputation with the public; but Capito's blind submission made him more acceptable to those in power. The injustice done Labeo, by not suffering him to rise beyond the pretorship, increased his glory; and the consulship

Death of
Atcius Ca
pito.
Tac. ii. 75

* Namque illa ætas duo pacis decora simul tulit. Sed Labeo incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebrator: Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur. Illi, quod præturam intra stetit, commendatio ex injuria; huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia oriebatur.

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

A.R. 773. sulship of Capito procured him the envy and hatred of his countrymen.

The Basilic of Paulus repaired by Lepidus.
Tac. iii. 72.

The Roman grandees yet kept up a taste for public expence, and particularly in the preservation of the monuments of the magnificence of their ancestors. We have seen Augustus exhort and encourage thereto the first senators in his time. And it was with such a view that Lepidus asked leave of the senate to repair and embellish, at his own expence, the Basilic of Paulus, which had been erected by the consul of that name, about the beginning of the rupture between Cesar and Pompey. His proposal was accepted of; and the public was the more obliged to him for his generosity, as he was not very rich.

• See *Histoire de la Rep. Rom.* T. xiii. p. 334.

Pompey's theatre destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Tiberius.

But Pompey's theatre having been consumed by fire about this time, as there were none of the family of that great man left that were rich enough to restore it. Tiberius undertook to do it, permitting it still to retain Pompey's name. He made also, on this occasion, a panegyric on Sejanus, to whose vigilance and activity it was owing that the fire did no more damage: and the senate, never backward to flatter the prince and his favourite, ordered a statue of Sejanus to be erected in the theatre of Pompey.

Death of Junia, Brutus's sister.
Tac. iii. 76.

Tacitus closes his relation of the events of this year by the death of Junia, Cato's niece, Brutus's sister, and Cassius's wife. She had survived the battle of Philippi sixty-three years. Her will made much noise at Rome; because this lady, who was very rich, and related to most of the grandees, having therein honourably distinguished almost all of them, took no notice of Tiberius. But he did not take offence at this last mark of her enmity to his house; and permitted her funeral oration

oration to be spoke from the rostra, and her funeral to be solemnized with proper pomp. There were carried at it the images of twenty illustrious families, the Manlii, the Quinctii, and other names of equal lustre : but * Brutus and Cassius eclipsed them all, and engrossed the public attention, for the very reason that their representations were not seen. .

* Sed præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus, eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

B O O K VI.

S E C T. I.

Beginning of the misfortunes of the Imperial family. Tiberius pretends to visit the provinces. State of the land and sea forces on foot in Tiberius's time. Short sketch of Tiberius's government to his ninth year. Divers events, the most interesting of which is the danger C. Gracchus is in. The pantomimes expelled Italy. Capito, intendant of the emperor, condemned by the senate. A temple erected in Asia to Tiberius, Liva, and the senate. Death of Lucillius Longus. Tiberius's old and faithful friend. Honours done the vestals. The war of Tacfarinas is ended by Dolabella. Conspiracy of the slaves stifled. L. Piso, being accused, dies before sentence. Cassius Severus transported from Crete to the isle of Seriphos. Plautius Silvanus, who threw his wife out of a window, is reduced to die by opening his veins. Vibius Senenus accused by his son. The informers protected by Tiberius against the inclination of the senate. Tiberius forgives a Roman knight who had made satirical verses on him. Affair of Sullius, and of Firmius Catus. Tacitus's reflection on the ungrateful matter treated of in his annals. Accusation and death of Cremutius Cordus. Passion for accusing. Vibius Senenus protected by the public hatred. Tiberius will not consent to have a temple erected to him in Spain. He fortifies himself, in his resolution to leave

leave Rome. Tiberius's rigour to the accused. Death of Lentulus Getulicus; and of L. Domitius. Death of L. Antonius. Divers affairs of the provinces. L. Piso assassinated in Spain. Poppeus Sabinus makes war on the Thracians, and receives the triumphal ornaments. Tiberius quits Rome for ever. His motives. He settles in the isle of Caprea. A fisherman ill-treated by Tiberius. Tiberius abandons himself to indolence, intemperance, and the most infamous debauchery. Fifty thousand men killed or wounded by the fall of an amphitheatre. A terrible fire. Tiberius's generosity. Flattery of the senate. Revolt of the Frisians. The Roman losses. Agrippina, Germanicus's daughter, married to Cn. Domitius. Death of Julia, Augustus's granddaughter. Q. Haterius's death. His species of eloquence. Livia's death. Her character. Ingratitude of the emperor her son. Tiberius's government becomes more tyrannic than ever.

C. ASINIUS.

A. R. 779.

C. ANTISTIUS.

aft. C. 23.

TIBERIUS * was now in the ninth year of a fortune constantly favourable from his accession to the empire. The state was composed, his family flourishing; for the death of Germanicus he reckoned amongst the incidents of his prosperity. Under the consuls, Asinius and Antistius, his house began to grow unfortunate, either through his own means, or by his countenancing the man who was its enemy and bane. It is

Sejanus

* Nonus Tiberio annus erat compositæ reipublicæ, florentis domus; (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat) quum repente turbare fortuna cœpit; evire ipse, an eventibus vires præbere.

A.R. 774. Sejanus I speak of, who, to make his way to so-
aft. C. 23. vereignty, poisoned Drusus, ruined Agrippina,
and her two eldest sons ; and at last, though too
late, was deservedly punished for his many
crimes. The relation of this black plot, pur-
sued for many years by Sejanus with great per-
severance, will be better understood if uninter-
rupted. I shall, therefore, begin by disengaging
it from all foreign facts.

Tiberius
pretends
to visit the
provinces.
Tac. iv. 4.

This year Tiberius revived his stale, worn-out,
pretence of visiting the provinces. He even al-
ledged, as reasons that obliged him, the multitude
of veterans, and the difficulty of recruiting the
army for want of volunteers, scarce any such
presenting themselves but what were libertines
and vagabonds, generally without honour or cou-
rage. It has been observed, in the *Histoire de la
Republique Romaine*, that the old Roman militia
was composed only of such citizens as had for-
tunes, and were therefore interested in the con-
cerns of the state : and though it was now * near
an hundred and thirty years since Marius broke
through that it regulation, yet, it appears by Ti-
berius's reflection, that it was not altogether
lost sight of.

* See *His-
toire de le
Rep. Rom.*
vol. ix. p.
317.

And upon this occasion Tiberius summarily
recounted the forces that the republic kept on
foot, and their distribution in the provinces :
and the account Tacitus gives of this, as well as
of the kings, then allies of the empire, is not on-
ly curious, but useful in the sequel of this his-
tory.

State of
the land
and sea for-
ces on foot
in Tibe-
rius's time.

Italy was guarded by two fleets, one at Mise-
num, on the Tuscan sea ; and the other at Raven-
na, on the Adriatic : and to secure it towards the
west, Augustus had stationed to guard the coasts
a good number of gallies (that he took at Actium)

at

at Forojulium; which was then a good port, A.R. 774.
 but has been ruined for many ages. This third aft. C. 23.
 fleet was not so considerable as the other two.
 To this marine, which was national, must be
 added the squadrons of the allies, that is, the
 vessels furnished by the subjects of the empire;
 these were distributed in all convenient places in
 the Mediterranean. The Romans had also two
 fleets of another kind, which consisted in simple
 barks, on the Rhine and the Danube, by whose
 means they made themselves masters of the
 course of those two great rivers.

As to the land forces, the largest body the
 Romans had was on the Rhine, which amount-
 ed to eight legions, and overawed Gaul and Ger-
 many. Spain, which was not completely re-
 duced till Augustus's time, was maintained by
 three legions. Juba possessed Mauritania, by the
 gift of the Roman people. Africa, properly so
 called, had commonly but one legion. On ac-
 count of the war of Tacfarinas, a second was sent
 thither out of Pannonia, which was soon re-
 turned to its proper province. There were two
 legions in Egypt, and four in Syria. Iberia,
 Albania, and some other little states in those
 parts of the east, had their own kings, who were
 under the protection of the empire. Thrace was
 parted between Rhymetalces and Cotys's sons.
 Five legions guarded the banks of the Danube,
 three in Pannonia and two in Mesia. In Dal-
 matian were also two, which were at hand either
 to join those on the Danube, or to come in a
 short time to the assistance of Italy when neces-
 sary. Rome, however, was not defenceless, but se-
 cured by three city cohorts, and * nine pretorian.
 Thus the Roman empire, in full peace, kept on
 foot twenty-five legions, making about an hun-
 dred

* Dio rec
 kons ten.

A. R. 774. dred and twenty-five thousand men: to whom, if
 aft. C. 23. we join the twelve cohorts that guarded the emperor and the city, the total of the Roman forces will amount to near an hundred and forty thousand men. And then we must add the auxiliaries or allies, which doubles this number.

It is proper to observe, that it was only since Augustus's time that the custom of keeping forces constantly on foot had been introduced. As long as the republican government continued, the Romans only armed when wars arose; and when they were over, disbanded their legions. Nevertheless, besides the alteration in the form of government, the extent of the empire, and the neighbourhood of barbarous nations, would have necessitated the Romans to have had constantly forces on their frontiers at least.

Another observation equally useful is, that the legions were confined to the provinces they guarded. They passed there the summer in the field, and the winter in what they called winter-camps. For the Roman soldier was always incamped, and never quartered in cities. Of these permanent winter-camps many cities have been made, which now subsist, as Santen in Cleves, Vienna in Austria, and many others. I now resume my thread.

Short
 sketch of
 Tiberius's
 govern-
 ment to his
 ninth year.

Tacitus, after having given a list of the Roman forces under Tiberius, presents us with a short sketch of the government of that prince, to the ninth year of his reign, which is the æra of his fatal change, or rather the time when he laid aside constraint, and gave way to the tyrannical disposition that was natural to him.

He shewed great regard for the senate, where were determined all public affairs, and all private, of moment. The senators of distinction were allowed

allowed free debate ; and when they lapsed into flattery, he checked them himself, and brought them back to their proper business. In conferring preferments, he considered nobility, military renown, and civil accomplishments ; and it was generally manifest his choice could not have been better. The consuls and pretors had all the exteriors of their dignities : the inferior magistrates the exercise of their charges ; and the laws, except in cases of high-treason, were directed to their proper end, the good of the public.

The revenues of the government were farmed, as formerly, by companies of Roman knights. The management of his own finances the emperor committed to men of probity, whom he often knew by reputation only : and when he had once taken them into his service, he generally continued them in an unusual manner, since most of them grew old in the same employments.

The populace were indeed aggrieved by the dearth of provisions, but without any fault of the prince. On the contrary, he remedied, as much as possible, by his care and generosity, the inconveniences that arose from the barrenness of the earth, or the difficulty of navigation. Four years before Tacitus relates that Tiberius in a dearth fixed the price of corn, and gave the merchants a gratification of two sesterces a bushel. He provided that the provinces should not be oppressed by new impositions, nor harrassed about the payment of the old. He checked the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates, and suffered not the subjects of the empire to be ill treated in their persons, nor exposed to the loss of their fortunes by rapine and injustice.

The emperor's possessions through Italy were thin,

A. R. 774. thin the behaviour of his slaves modest, the freed-
 aft. C. 23. men who managed his house few : and his dis-
 putes with particulars were decided by the
 common course of justice.

But * to these many good qualities, grace was wanting. He did good in a savage, terrible manner. Yet he did it, as long as his son lived. Tacitus attributes the cause of it to Sejanus, who, while he was but laying the foundation of his power, chose to recommend himself by good counsels ; and who also feared the vengeance of Drusus, who he knew hated him mortally, had he given occasion for complaints against him.

Divers e-
 vents ; the
 most inter-
 esting of
 which is
 the danger
 C. Grac-
 chus is in
 Tac. iv. 13.

The consulship of Asinius and Antistius af-
 fords no very considerable events, except the
 death of Drusus, of which we shall speak in ano-
 ther place. The cities of Cibyra in Asia, and
 Ægyra in Achaia, having suffered much from
 earthquakes, obtained from Tiberius and the se-
 nate an exemption from tribute for three years.
 Vibius Sereus, proconsul of Bœtica, a fierce,
 passionate man, was convicted of cruelty and
 tyranny, and banished into the isle of Amorgus,
 one of the Sporades. Carsius Sacerdos, accused
 of supplying Tacfarinas when at war with the
 Romans with corn, was acquitted. C. Gracchus
 cleared himself also from the same imputation,
 but with some difficulty. He was the son of
 that Scmpronius Gracchus, whose death we have
 related in the beginning of Tiberius's reign, and
 he had in his childhood been carried by his fa-
 ther into the island Cercina, whereto he was ba-
 nished. He was † there ill educated among fu-
 gitives,

* Quæ cuncta, non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac
 plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi
 verterentur.

† Illic adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios,

gatives, and illiterate, low people. Having lost A. R. 771. all subsistence by his father's death, he was re-^{ast. C. 23.} duced to sustain himself by a small traffic between Africa and Sicily: nor thus low did he escape the perils of an elevated fortune. If Ælius Lamia and L. Apronius, proconsuls of Africa, had not protected his innocence, he had fallen a victim to a name as unfortunate as illustrious, and to the calamity of his father.

The licentiousness of the Pantomimes was now ^{The Pan-} grown intolerable. They occasioned all sorts of ^{tomimes} disorders, seditions in public, and debauchery in ^{expelled} private. The pretors had complained of them to the senate; and that was all they could do; because Augustus, as we have elsewhere observed, had taken from the magistrates much of ^{Lit. iv. p.} their power over the players. Tiberius was not ^{125.} near so indulgent to them; policy at first made him spare them: but at last he proposed to the senate to restrain the insolence of the comedians; in consequence whereof a decree passed for driving them out of Italy.

For by the senate all affairs were yet transact- ^{Capito, in-} ed: insomuch that the Asiatics having complain- ^{tendant of} ed to the emperor of Lucilius Capito, his ^{the empe-} comptroller in that province, he would have the ^{ror, con-} senate take cognizance of the affair: and declar- ^{demned by} ed in express terms, that he had given him only ^{the senate.} the inspection of his slaves, and collection of his revenues: and that if Capito had assumed the power of the pretor, and employed military force, he had exceeded his orders; and that the allies of
the

nox per Africam et Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur: nec tamen effugit magnæ fortunæ pericula: ac, ni Ælius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis, et paternis adversis foret abstractus.

A. R. 774. the empire must have justice done them. Ca-
 aft. C. 23. pito was accordingly prosecuted, and condemn-
 ed. Such were then the narrow bounds in which
 the power of the emperor's intendants were con-
 fined; particularly in the provinces where they
 had superiors, as propretors or proconsuls: af-
 terwards they much extended their authority.

A temple
 erected in
 Asia to Ti-
 berius, Li-
 via, and
 the senate.
Tac. iv. 15.

Asia, avenged of the injustice of Capito, and
 before of that of the proconsul Silanus, testified
 her gratitude by an impious piece of flattery,
 which custom authorised in vain. She desired,
 and obtained leave to erect a temple to Tibe-
 rius, and Livia, and the senate. Nero *, the
 eldest of Germanicus's sons, made a speech of
 thanks on this occasion for the Asiatics, to the
 senate and his grandfather, which was heard
 with transports of joy. The audience thought
 they heard, they thought they saw, Germanicus.
 There appeared also in the young prince a mo-
 desty and dignity, worthy of his birth, and which
 acquired an additional lustre from the dangers
 to which he was exposed by the known enmity
 of Sejanus.

Tac. iv. 55,
 66.

The permission to build a temple having been
 granted to Asia in general, there arose afterwards
 great contests which city in particular, should
 have the honour. And three years afterwards
 were seen at Rome deputations from eleven ci-
 ties of Asia, that disputed with one another this
 glorious privilege, and alledged their reasons for
 a particular preference. The senate decided in
 favour of those of Smyrna.

The

* *Egit Nero grates ea causa patribus atque avo, lætas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti memoria Germanici, illum adspici, illum audiri rebantur. Aderantque juveni modestia, ac forma, principe viro digna, notis in eum Sejani odiis ob periculum gratiora. Tac. iv. 15*

The death of Lucilius Longus much afflicted Tiberius. He was his inseparable friend, and the only senator who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. And therefore, though a new man, he received after his death the greatest honours that could be conferred on a Roman—a public funeral, and a statue in the square of Augustus.

A. R. 774.
aft. C. 23.
Death of
Lucilius
Longus,
Tiberius's
old and
faithful
friend.
Tac. iv. 15.

I have already taken occasion to observe Tiberius's care to observe and heighten, after Augustus's example, the dignity of the vestals. Of this he gave a fresh proof this year by granting a gratification of * two millions of sesterces to Cornelia, who had been chosen superior in the room of Scantia. And it was ordered at the same time, that Livia, when she went to the theatre, should sit among the vestals.

Honours
done the
vestals.
* About
50,000
crowns

SER. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
L. VISELLIUS VARRO.

A. R. 774.
aft. C. 23.

During the consulship of Cethegus and Visellius the Romans were at last delivered from their long and inglorious war with the free-booter Tacfarinas. Till then, the Roman generals, when they thought they had done enough to deserve the triumphal insignia, had let him alone. Already there were in Rome three statues crowned with laurel for victories obtained over Tacfarinas, while, potent as ever, he ravaged Africa. He had even increased his strength by great numbers of Moors, who fled from the dominions of Ptolemy, son of Juba, a careless young prince, that was governed by his freed-men. Therefore his fierce subjects, disdaining to obey ministers recent from slavery, embraced readily war and arms.

The war of
Tacfarinas
is ended by
Dolabella.
Tac. iv. 28.

A. R. 775. arms. The king of the Garamantes furnished Tacfarinas with safe places to harbour his booty in ;
 aft. C. 24. and assisted him too in pillaging, not by marching with him at the head of an army, but by detaching light parties, which were magnified by distance and report. From the Roman province too, came into him all that were indigent and turbulent ; the more confidently, because Tiberius, supposing that after Blesus's exploits in Africa there were no enemies remaining, had ordered the ninth legion back to Pannonia : and Dolabella, Blesus's successor, durst not detain it, fearing more the orders of his prince than the hazards of the war. Tacfarinas also took advantage of this circumstance, and had it rumoured among his partizans, that the Romans had other enemies to deal with, and were therefore abandoning Africa by degrees ; so that it would be easy to crush the small remainder of them, if all who loved their liberty in the nation would unite and make a vigorous effort. And he accordingly assembled his forces, and set down before the city of Thubuscum.

On news herof, Dolabella took with him what forces he had about him, and marched against the enemy : and at his first approach raised the siege, by the terror of the Roman name, and the advantage his infantry had over people who could only fight on horseback. He afterwards fortified the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood ; and having intelligence that the chiefs of the Musulans meditated a revolt, he seized on, and beheaded them. He then formed a plan for terminating the war : and as the experience of former expeditions had taught him, that it was not with numerous united forces that he was to assail a rambling foe, he sent orders to king Ptolemy

to come and join him with some of his troops ; A.R.775. then divided the Romans into four bodies, com-^{ast.} C.24. manded by lieutenant-generals and tribunes ; and distributed the Moors into several flying camps, under commanders of their own nation. He himself was present every where, moving from corps to corps, and directing all their motions.

Soon after these measures were taken, tidings came, that the Numidians had settled, and pitched their huts near a ruined fort which they formerly burnt down, called Auzea ; thinking themselves safe in a place that was on all sides surrounded by vast forests. Dolabella immediately sets out with some horse and foot, who for dispatch carried nothing but their arms ; and who knew nothing of their general's design. At break of day the Romans come up with the barbarians, whom they awaken with their trumpets and shouts. They advanced in good order, the foot in close array, the horse divided on their wings ; all disposed for battle. The Numidians on the contrary were surprized ; and unable even to use their horses, which were either tied* by the foot to the piquet, or straggling at grass : they were unarmed, without order, without concert ; and were dragged away, killed, and taken, by the Romans, more like sheep than soldiers. Irritated by the remembrance of past fatigues, and glad of having at last joined a foe that had so oft eluded the combat, the Roman soldiers glut their vengeance with seas of blood.

Dolabella, who wanted to end the war, gave orders to each company to make sure of Tacfa-
rinas,

* Thus Freinshemius explains Tacitus's *præpeditis equis* ; and confirms his interpretation by two passages of Xenophon, which shew it to have been customary among the Assyrians and Persians.

A.R. 775. rinas, whom every one knew after a pursuit of
aft. C. 24. so many years. The Numidian, finding he could
not escape, resolved to die like a man of honour :
and seeing his guards dispersed, his son a prisoner,
and himself surrounded by the Romans, he
rushed headlong among the showers of darts,
and avoided captivity by death. Thus ended
this war, which had already lasted too long.

Dolabella * desired the ensigns of triumph,
but was refused by Tiberius, lest the glory of
Blesus, Sejanus's uncle, should suffer thereby.
But Blesus was not the more esteemed for this,
and the refusal of a deserved honour increased the
glory of Dolabella, who with a smaller army had
made many considerable prisoners, killed the ad-
verse general, and concluded the war. His vic-
tory had also an extraordinary lustre in the pub-
lic eye, on account of the unusual sight of ambas-
sadors from the Garamantes at Rome, who came
to make satisfaction for the assistance they had
given Tacfarinas.

In consideration of the services Ptolemy had
done the Romans in this war, an old custom al-
most extinct was revived, and a senator was
sent to him with the † presents that the senate
used formerly to make to foreign kings, that is,
an ivory sceptre, and a purple embroidered robe.
The ambassador was also to salute him solemn-
ly king, ally, and friend of the Roman people.

The

* Dolabellæ petenti abnuvit triumphalia Tiberius, Sejano
tribuens ne Blæsi avunculi ejus laus obsolesceret. Sed ne-
que Blesus ideo illustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam
intendit. Tac. iv. 26.

† See in Histoire de la Rep. Rom. vol. vi. p. 9, & 385. ex-
amples of the like presents sent or given by the Romans to
Ptolemy Philopater and Masinissa, both ancestors of this
Ptolemy, who was descended from the Egyptian kings by
Cleopatra, and from Masinissa by Juba his father.

The same year Italy was apprehensive of a re- A.R. 775.
 volt of the slaves. The author of the stir was aft. C. 24.
 one T. Curtisius, who had been a soldier in one of Conspiracy
 the pretorian cohorts. This desperado being of the
 near Brundisium, in a country full of slaves that slaves sti-
 were employed in looking after the cattle and la- Med.
 bouring the grounds, and whom a hard labori-
 ous life made almost wild and capable of any en-
 terprize, held at first private meetings, and af-
 terwards stuck up public invitations to the slaves
 to recover their liberty. Luckily at that time
 came to Brundisium three men of war, destined
 to escort the trading vessels in those seas. Cur-
 tius Lupus, the questor, who was in those parts,
 landed the soldiers of those ships, and with a
 small troop composed of them, quelled the em-
 bryo conspiracy before it got any strength. The
 emperor also sent quickly the tribune Staius with
 a good body of troops: and this officer took and
 carried to Rome the leader of the revolters and
 his chief partisans. Thus tranquillity and secu-
 rity were restored to the city, which was greatly
 alarmed, on account of the infinite number of
 slaves in it, and the daily diminution of its genu-
 ine commonalty.

This multitude of slaves, introduced by luxury,
 was one of the great evils and dangers of the
 empire. Seneca relates, that somebody having Sen. de
 proposed in the senate to distinguish the slaves Clem.
 from those that were free, by a difference in dress, l. xxlv.
 the motion was rejected. The * senate was a-
 ware, says he, to what danger we should be ex-
 posed, if we made our slaves able to count us.

These are all the events that the year I aft

* Apparuit quantum periculum immineret, si servi nos-
 tri numerare nos cõpissent.

A.R. 775. writing of affords out of Rome. The rest of it
 aft. C. 24. turns almost entirely upon melancholy subjects,
 accusations and condemnations, and most of
 them unjust.

L. Piso be- L. Piso, of whom I have related after Tacitus
 ing accus ed some extraordinary bold actions, borne for the
 dies before present with great patience by Tiberius, expe-
 sentenc... rienced at last, that this * deceitful prince had
 Tac. iv. 21. a good memory. Q. Granius accused him of
 words privately uttered against the majesty of
 the emperor ; and added, that he kept poison in
 his house, and came into the senate with a sword
 under his robe. These last charges were too gross
 to be credited, and therefore dropped. The other
 numerous articles whereof he was impeached
 were heard. Pending the prosecution, a well-
 timed death delivered Piso from an inevitable
 condemnation.

Cassius Se- The fate of Cassius Severus, that abusive ora-
 verus tor, who made himself be banished under Au-
 transport- gustus, is scarce to be lamented. He was con-
 ed from fined to the island of Crete, where he might
 Crete to have lived at his ease. But, unable to curb his
 the isle of satirical genius, he continued to compose libels
 Seriphos. there, which revived the old enmities against
 him, and excited new. So that the senate, on a
 fresh complaint, by a second sentence, banished
 Cassius in form, confiscated his fortune, and
 transported him from Crete to the rocks of Se-
 riphos ; where he grew old in the utmost misery,
 having scarce cloaths to cover him.

*Pl. 100.
 Chron.*

Plautius Tiberius did about the same time another act of
 Silvanus, justice. Plautius Silvanus threw his wife Apronia
 who threw out of the window, for what cause is uncertain.

his wife
 out of a
 window, is
 reduced to
 die by
 opening his
 veins.

L. A-

* Sed in animo revolvente iras, etiainsi impetus offensionis
 languerat, memoria valebat. Tac.

L. Apronius, his father-in-law, carried him immediately before the emperor, to whom Plautius answered in confusion, as if not thoroughly awake, endeavouring to have it believed that his wife had killed herself. Tiberius instantly went to Plautius's house, and examined the chamber; where he found the apparent marks of his violence, and her resistance. This he reported to the senate, who took cognizance of the affair; Urgulania, Plautius's grandmother, sent him a dagger. As she was the intimate of Livia, it was not doubted but that she acted by secret orders of the emperor. Plautius essayed to kill himself with his sword, but not succeeding, ordered his veins to be opened. Numantina, who had before been his wife, was accused of having disordered his understanding by charms and potions; but, nothing being proved against her, was acquitted.

The * horrid spectacle of a father accused by a son, terrified soon after the senate. They were both named Vibius Serenus. The father, soon after he left his government of Bætica, was as I have related, banished into the isle of Amorgus. From thence he was brought to answer this accusation; and he appeared in a most deplorable condition, and laden with chains; while his son, elegantly dressed, gay and confident, at once both prosecutor and witness, opened the romance of a conspiracy formed by his father against the prince, and of pretended steps taken to make the

Vibius Serenus accused by his son.
Tac. iv. 28.

* Miseriarum ac sævitæ exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius,—in senatum inducti sunt; ab exsilio retractus, illuvieque ac squalore obsitus, et tum catena vinctus, perorante filio pater; adolescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas Principi insidias, missosque in Galliam concitores belli, index idem et testis, dicebat. Tac.

A.R. 775. the Gauls rise in arms. He involved also in this
 aft. C. 24. affair Cecilius Cornutus formerly pretor, whom
 he charged with having supplied his father with
 money. Cornutus, unable to support the vexa-
 tion of a criminal persecution, the issue of which
 a multitude of examples made him believe must
 necessarily be an ignominious condemnation, kill-
 ed himself.

This was an unlucky circumstance to the ac-
 cused. But * far from being discouraged, turning
 full upon his son, and shaking his chains, he in-
 voked the gods, the avengers of filial impiety.
 He besought them to restore to him his exile,
 where he might live far from such wickedness?
 and to signalize their justice in the punishment
 of his unnatural son. He asserted, that Cornu-
 tus was innocent, and too soon alarmed. "The
 proof of it, adds he, will be clear, if my other
 accomplices are named; for it is not probable,
 that with one confederate I should plan the mur-
 der of the emperor, and the revolt of a great
 province. The accuser then named Cn. Lentu-
 lus and Seius Tubero, two most illustrious sena-
 tors, and intimate friends of Tiberius, one, very
 aged, the other very infirm.

Dio. l. lvii. Lentulus, who was present, laughed at the
 folly of such an imputation. Tiberius too was
 ashamed of it, and said, "I were not fit to live,
 Tac. if Lentulus also wished my death. "However
 as he hated the accused, his slaves were examined
 upon the rack, who acquitted him. Then the
 accuser, distracted with guilt, and afraid of the
 people, who loudly menaced him with the Tar-
 peian

* At contra reus, nihil infracto animo, obversus in filium, quatuor vincula, vocare ultores deos, ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more. ageret, filium autem quandoque supplicia sequerentur.

peian rock, or the punishment of parricides, A.C. 775. aft. C. 24.
 stole out of the city. But he was overtaken at Ravenna, brought back to Rome, and compelled to go on with his prosecution.

Proof was wanting; but that was made up by the old enmity of Tiberius to the accused, who *, having been instrumental in the condemnation of Libo, and not having been recompensed according to his expectation, had complained bitterly thereof in a letter sent to the emperor himself, which was wrote in too haughty and contumacious a style for proud, touchy ears. Tiberius after eight years revived this grievance; and pretended to have reasons for being dissatisfied with Serenus's conduct in that interval; "though, said he, the obstinacy of his slaves has prevented the judicial proof of it."

The votes were then taken; and some senators being for death, Tiberius, who was aware how odious such an illegal severity would make him, opposed it. Asinius Gallus was for banishing him to the isle of Gyarus, or that of Donusa. This the emperor also rejected, saying, those two islands were without water, and that the necessaries of life were to be granted to those to whom life was granted. So Serenus was carried back to the isle Amorgus.

On occasion of the suicide of Cornutus, it was proposed, that the rewards promised by the laws to the informers should not take place, when any one accused of high-treason prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. It is easily conceived that the senate readily came into this The informers protected by Tiberius against the inclination of the senate.
 proposal.

* Post damnatum Libonem, missis ad Cæsarem litteris exprobraverat, summi tantum studium sine fructu fuisse; addiditque quædam contumacius, quam tutam apud aures superbas et offensionis propiores.

A.R. 775. proposal. But Tiberius, forgetting his usual
 aft. C. 24. reserve, declared resolutely, and even sternly,
 for the accusers. "The laws then, says he, are
 to be annihilated, and the commonwealth endan-
 gered. Dissolve the laws rather than dismiss
 those who are their guardians." Thus, says Ta-
 citus *, the informers, those public pests, whom
 the severest penalties could not curb, were now
 invited and allured by recompences.

Tac. Ann.
 vi. 22.

It is, however, true, that commonly a person
 accused, who killed himself, frustrated, at least
 in part, the greediness of his accusers. His for-
 tune was not then confiscated; but went to his
 heirs: his will was executed; and consequently,
 nothing that he left turned to the advantage of
 his prosecutors. The law only gave them the
 spoils of those on whom sentence was passed.
 When there was no conviction, their prey es-
 caped them. But this always supposes that the
 voluntary death of the party put a stop to the
 prosecution; which was ordinarily the case; and
 the senate in these unhappy times would willing-
 ly have passed it into a law. But Tiberius pre-
 tended to reserve to himself a right both to fully
 satisfy his vengeance, and to abundantly re-
 ward the accusers; and in order thereto, to con-
 tinue the prosecutions, when he pleased, to a
 final sentence, which should have the same effect
 as to the fortune of the accused as if he had been
 living. And this we have seen practised with
 respect to Scribonius Libo and Cn. Piso.

Dio, ap Va-
let. l. lviii.

Even honorary rewards, such as statues, and
 triumphal ornaments, were, according to Dio,
 prostituted by Tiberius to these informers; that
 is

* Sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum,
 et pœnis quidem nunquam satis coercitum, per præmia eli-
 cebantur. *Tac. iv. 30.*

is to say, he laid hold of every little pretence of services done the state to bestow those distinctions on men who had really earned them only by their informations. And these honours became hereby so vilified, that some persons of merit refused them, for fear of being confounded with those who thus unworthily obtained them.

In the midst of this accumulation of melancholy events, it was some consolation and slight joy to have Tiberius forgive C. Cominius, a Roman knight, convicted of having made satirical verses on him. He granted his pardon at the supplication of his brother, who was a senator. For this Tiberius was much applauded; but * at the same time it was thought astonishing, that he who knew better things, and what glory attended clemency, should yet rather choose the ways of rigour and tyranny. For neither did he transgress through want of discernment: nor is it ever too intricate to be distinguished whether the applauses given princes are sincere, or the effect of flattery. Nay, Tiberius himself, who upon other occasions studied his words, and whose speech seemed to labour whenever he spoke as an advocate for any one, expressed himself with readiness and volubility.

Tiberius severely treated P. Sullius, formerly questor to Germanicus. He was a venal man, who had taken money in an affair wherein he acted as judge. For this he was sentenced to be expelled Italy. Tiberius was for confining him

in

† Quo magis mirum habebatur, gnarum meliorum, et quæ fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. Neque enim secordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata lætitiæ, facta Imperatorum celebrentur. Quin ipse compositus alias, et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quoties subveniret.

Tiberius forgives a Roman knight who had made satirical verses on him. Tac. iv. 31.

Affair of Sullius, and of Firmus Catus

A. R. 775. in an island, insisting thereon with such vehemence, that he even swore that the interests of the commonwealth would otherwise suffer. This * procedure was then thought too harsh. But the sequel justified it; when under Claudius the emperor the same Sullius, in high favour with that weak prince, abused his interest unworthily, by selling it to the best bidder.

Firminus Catus, the faithless friend of Libo, to whom he had behaved in the double capacity of corrupter and betrayer, was accused and convicted, of having forged treasonable practices against his own sister. Here Tiberius acted a quite contrary part. He moderated the severity of the senate, which had condemned him to exile; and covering by false motives his remembrance of his past service, he managed so that he was only expelled the senate.

Tacitus's reflection on the ungrateful matter treated of in his *Annals*.

Tacitus, after the relation of these events, stops awhile his narration, to make as it were an excuse to his readers for the ungrateful matter that he lays before them; such as inhuman orders, perpetual accusations, faithless friendship, innocent peoples suffering the penalties of the guilty, the same causes always producing the same effects; all similar, all disgusting. None must compare, says he, these my *annals* with the writings of those who compiled the story of the ancient republic. They had fertile subjects; mighty wars, cities taken, kings routed and made captives; or, if they spoke of domestic affairs, the animosities between the consuls and tribunes, the Agrarian laws, the jealousies and dissensions between

* Quod aspere acceptum ad presens, mox in laudem vertit, regresso Sullio; quem vidit atas sequens praeponentem, venalem, et Claudii Principis amicitia diu prospero, tanquam bene, usum.

tween the senate and people ; noble toptics for their eloquence to work on. To me, adus he, remains a streightened task, and void of glory ; a steady peace, or short intervals of war, the proceedings at Rome sad and tragical, and a prince careless of extending the empire ; these are the heads I am reduced to.

This reflection of Tacitus is very just. It is certain that such matter is little assisting, and in the hands of a vulgar writer would soon tire. But Tacitus's pencil animates and impassions all it touches ; and, if the chief use of history is to teach the knowledge of mankind, no historian has succeeded better ; for none has deeper penetrated, nor more skilfully laid open, the human heart.

He accordingly observes, that his work may be instructive to those who lived under the Roman emperors. For, says he, * few can by their own wisdom distinguish between what is honest and what is vicious, what is useful and what is pernicious ; most men are instructed by the example of others.

I will add, that, as the characters of men are fundamentally the same at all times, the lessons taught in Tacitus's writings suit all countries, and all ages. The judicious reader will make a proper application of them, observing always the essential difference between a military government and one founded on law ; between a power always uneasy about the legitimacy of its origin, and therefore suspicious of virtue itself : and a sceptre, whose rights of equal antiquity with the nation it governs, are undistinguishably blended with those of the country.

It

* Pauci prudentia, honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis, oiscernunt ; plures aliorum eventis docentur.

A. R. 775. It is proper to observe, that Tiberius having
aft. C. 24. finished the tenth year of his reign, did not de-
Dio. l. lvii. mand a continuation of it, like Augustus, be-
cause he had not received the sovereignty like
him, for a limited time ; but he omitted not to
exhibit on this occasion games and feasts ; and
his example served for a rule to his successors.

A. R. 776. COSSUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
aft. C. 24. M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA.

Accusation
and death
of Cremu-
tius Cor-
dus.
Tac. iv. 24.
Sen. Consol.
ad Marc.
xxii. See
Hist. Rom.
vol. xv. p.
214.

The first event that Tacitus relates in the year, whose consuls were Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, is, the accusation of Cremutius Cordus ; who was arraigned, for that in annals he had published he had praised Brutus, and styled Cassius *the Last of the Romans*. This was the panegyric of Brutus himself on Cassius, when he deplored the death of his worthy colleague.

It was certainly too bold in Cremutius Cordus to treat thus honourably the two greatest enemies of the house of the Cesars ; but that was not his real crime. He had offended Sejanus by some sarcaistical expressions. He had inadvertently said, that Sejanus would not stay till he was lifted above all the Romans, but that he was mounting thither himself. And upon placing a statue of that favourite in Pompey's theatre (which, after having been burnt down, as I have above related, had been rebuilt by Tiberius) "It is now, cries Cremutius, we may truly say that Pompey's theatre is fallen."

Sejanus could not forgive him these satyrical strokes ; and set * on him two of his clients, or,
as

* *Acerrimi canes, quos ille (Sejanus) ut sibi uni mansuetos, omnibus feros, haberet, sanguine humano pascebat. circumlatrare hominem incipiunt. Sen.*

as Seneca says, two of his mastiffs, whom he fed with human blood, tame to him alone, and fierce to all the world besides. These two informers were called Satrius Secundus, and Pinaris Natta. Tiberius, too, did not hide his indignation against a rash author, who had dared to praise men that were now universally considered as traitors and parricides.

Cremutius, perceiving his destruction resolved, determined on death; and having consequently no terms to keep, he pleaded his cause in the senate with the utmost constancy and courage. "My actions *, fathers, says he, are so innocent, that my words only are accused. But neither are any words of mine pretended to be pointed against the sacred persons comprehended in the law against high-treason. I am accused of having praised Brutus and Cassius; men whose stories many have wrote, and of whom none have spoken but honourably." Cremutius proves what he had advanced by the examples of Livy, Pollio, Messala. He alledges the panegyric of Cato composed by Cicero under the eyes of the dictator Cesar, who contented himself with answering it by a similar production. He also quotes various pieces then in being, Antony's Letters, Brutus's Speeches, verses of Catullus, all full of opprobrious defamations of Cesar and Augustus. "But these † great men, adds he, were patient; they even let those writings remain unsuppressed. And in such a conduct, I will venture
to

* Verba mea, P. C. arguuntur; adeo factorum innocens sum. *Tac.*

† Sed ipse divus Julius, ipse divus Augustus, et tulere ista, et reliquere, haud facile dixerim moderatione magis, an sapientia. Namque spreta exolescunt, si irascere, agnita videntur.

A.R. 776. to say, there was as much prudence as modera-
 aft. C. 25. tion. For such things, when despised, are forgot-
 ten; but if you wax angry, you seem to acknow-
 ledge them true. Moreover, if any thing is
 perfectly free, if any thing exempt from all re-
 striction, it is our judgment on such as being no
 longer of the number of the living cannot pre-
 judice us either in their favour or disfavour. Am
 I of intelligence with Brutus and Cassius, who
 fill with troops the plains of Philippi? Or do I
 second their arms by seditious harangues?
 They have now above seventy years been slain;
 nor subsist but in their representations which
 the victor did not destroy, and in their charac-
 ters which the historian perpetuates. Impartial
 posterity * does every man justice; and if I am
 condemned, not only the names of Brutus and
 Cassius will not be thereby obliterated, but even
 mine will with their's be co-immortal."

He then went out of the senate, in a resolu-
 tion to end his life by abstinence. But he had a
 daughter named Marcia, by whom he was ten-
 derly beloved, who opposed this determination.
 He was obliged to deceive. He accordingly
 bathed, and afterwards ordered something into
 his chamber to eat, as was usual after bathing,
 which he threw out of the window, when his
 slaves had retired, to make believe he had eat it;
 and declined supper under pretence of want of
 appetite. The second and third days he did the
 same; on the fourth his apparent weakness be-
 trayed him. Then, seeing his daughter discon-
 solate, "My † dear daughter, says he, embrac-
 ing

* Summ cuique decus posteritas rependet; nec deerunt,
 si damnatio ineruit, qui non modo Bruti et Cassi, sed etiam
 mei, meminerint.

† Carissima, inquit, filia, et hoc unum tota celata vita, iter

ing her, I have never till now concealed any A.R. 776.
 thing from you in my life. But it is all over att. C. 25.
 with me. I have entered the paths of death, and
 have made above half my journey. You neither
 ought, nor can, recall me to life." He then or-
 dered all the lights of his chamber to be shut,
 and resigned himself to darkness. When the
 news * of his determination had got into the
 city, the public with joy beheld those ravenous
 wolves his informers, baulked of their prey.
 They address themselves, by Sejanus's advice, to
 the consuls; they complain that Cremutius was
 slipping out of their hands by a voluntary death;
 they would fain hinder the execution of a design
 to which they had forced him. While the af-
 fair is under deliberation, while his accusers
 present petition on petition, Cremutius, says Se-
 neca, had already pronounced his sentence of
 absolution, and escaped them.

Neither Tacitus, nor Seneca, inform us whe-
 ther his memory was prosecuted, and his for-
 tune confiscated. But their silence inclines to be-
 lieve that his death put a stop to the suit. His
 books, however, were ordered to be burnt by the
 senate. But his daughter carefully concealed *Sen. Consol.*
 them; and some years after produced and restor- *o. Marc.*
 ed them to the public. Seneca and Tacitus had
 some of them; and if they have since perished,
 they have only shared the common calamity of
 many other valuable pieces of literature. There-
 fore

mortis ingressus sum, et jam medium fere teneo. Revo-
 care me nec debes, nec potes. *Sen.*

* Cognito consilio ejus, publica voluptas erat, quod e
 faucibus avidissimorum luporum educeretur præda. Ac-
 cusatores, Sejano auctore, adeunt Consulium tribunalia,
 querentur mori Cordum, interpellantes quod coegerant.—
 Dum deliberant, dum accusatores iterum adeunt, jam ille
 se absolverat. *Sen.*

A.R. 776. fore Tacitus with his usual freedom derides the
 aft. C. 25. * stupidity of those who imagine they can by
 present power extinguish the light of truth to
 succeeding times. For on the contrary, says
 he, prohibitions give credit to writings; and
 those who have exercised these severities, have
 reaped no other from it, than infamy to them-
 selves, and glory to the persecuted writers.

Passion for
 accusing.

The passion for accusing was such, that Dru-
 sus, Germanicus's second son, having been ap-
 pointed governor of Rome during the Latin
 festival, which was a mere nominal office, and
 the shadow of a magistracy, the first time the
 young prince ascended his tribunal, one Cal-
 purnius Salvianus presented himself, and desir-
 ed leave to prosecute Sex. Marius. The inde-
 cency of which proceeding shocked Tiberius him-
 self, and occasioned the banishment of Salvianus.

Vibius Se-
 renus pro-
 tected by
 the pub-
 lic hatred.

But Vibius Serenus, the impious accuser of
 his father, brought a false charge with impunity
 against Fonteius Capito, formerly proconsul of
 Asia. He was worsted; for the accused proved
 his innocence; yet † the forgery drew no penal-
 ty on Serenus. The public hatred made him
 secure. For, says Tacitus, audacious informers
 became in a manner sacred and inviolable per-
 sons. Only those who did their business by halves
 were sometimes surrendered to punishment.

About

* Quo magis socordiam eorum irridere libet, qui præsen-
 ti potentia credunt exstingui posse etiam sequentis ævi me-
 moriam. Nam contra punitis ingenii gliscit auctoritas
 neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eadem sævitia usi sunt,
 nisi dedecus sibi, atque illis gloriam, peperere. *Tac.*

† Neque tamen id Sereno noxiæ fuit, quem odium publi-
 cum tutiorem faciebat. Nam ut quis destrixius accusator,
 velut sacrosanctus erat; leves, ignobiles, pœnis adficiēban-
 tur. *Tac. iv. 30.*

About the same time the furthestmost Spain A.R. 776.
 besought the senate by its ambassadors for aft. C. 25.
 leave, after the recent example of Asia, to erect Tiberius
 a temple to Tiberius and Livia. Tiberius, who will not
 did not live upon chimeras, and whose * judg- consent to
 ment was sufficiently solid to condemn vain ho- have a
 nours, laid hold on this occasion to explain his mo- temple
 tives for condescending to the desire of the Asi- erected to
 atics, and to refute those who censured him for him in
 giving into vanity. " I know, fathers (says he) Spain.
 that many imagine that I deviated from my
 principles, in consenting lately to the request of
 the cities of Asia. For which reason I am glad
 of this opportunity to lay before you the reasons
 of my acquiescence then, and the rules that for
 the future I am determined to observe. Augustus
 having permitted the inhabitants of Pergamus
 to found a temple to himself and the city of
 Rome, I, with whom all his actions and words
 have the force of laws, the readier followed this
 respectable example, as the senate was to share
 the worship pretended to be paid me. But if a
 prince is to be excused for having once accepted
 of such honours, on the other hand, to suffer
 himself to be consecrated as a divinity in every
 province, is an excess that might be justly taxed
 with vanity and pride ; and the incense offered
 Augustus will lose its value, if flattery prodigally
 multiplies such honours. For myself, fathers, I
 acknowledge, and take you for my witnesses,
 that I am a mere mortal, subject to every weak-
 ness of humannature, and abundantly honoured
 by holding the first place among men. And I desire
 that posterity may know that this was my way of
 thinking ; and it will do my memory sufficient
 right, if it judges me to have been worthy of

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* Validus spernendis honoribus

A.R. 776. my ancestors, watchful of your interests, un-
 aft. C. 25. moved in perils, and fearless of undeserved en-
 mities when the good of the public was con-
 cerned. These are * the temples I am ambitious
 of ; which may in your breasts endure for ever ;
 whereas those that are built with hands, if their
 idol is hated by posterity, are despised, and con-
 sidered as sepulchres. All my prayers, therefore,
 to the gods and goddesses are, that they would
 grant me to the end of my life a spirit undis-
 turbed, and intelligent of human and divine du-
 ties ; and I wish my fellow-citizens, our allies,
 and mankind, may retain an honourable remem-
 brance of me when I am dead."

I doubt whether there is an instance of a hea-
 then, who, in Tiberius's circumstances, has spoke
 with so much judgment and wisdom. Nothing
 remained to be desired but that he had sincerely
 expressed his sentiments. Notwithstanding few
 approved of the modesty of his discourse : some
 thought that he declined divine honours because
 he apprehended that they would not be continued
 after his death : and others attributed this refu-
 sal to degeneracy of spirit. And man's wisdom
 is so confined, and the most irrational pride so
 natural to him, that Tacitus, that sensible wri-
 ter, does not seem to disapprove of the opinion
 of the last. He expatiates at least complaisantly
 enough on their reasons. " The † most virtuous
 of

* Hæc mihi in animis vestris templa: hæ pulcherrimæ
 effigies, et mansuræ. Nam quæ saxo struuntur, si judicium
 posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur.

† Optumos qui pe mortalium altissima cupere. Sic Her-
 culem et Liberum apud Græcos, Quirinum apud nos, deum
 numero additos. Melius Augustum, qui speraverit. Cetera
 principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum,
 prosperam sui memoriam Nam contemptu famæ, contemni
 virtutes. Tac. iv. 38.

of mortals, said they, covet the most exalted honours. Thus Hercules and Bacchus among the Greeks, and Quirinus among us, were raised to the rank of gods. Augustus too was to be commended for hoping to attain to the like honour : and his expectation was answered by the temples erected to him throughout the provinces. All other gratifications princes presently procure : one only is to be pursued insatiably, the glory of an eternal name. By contemning fame the virtues that procure it are contemned." Thus was made, I will not say the panegyric, but the apology of a sacrilegious folly, that transferred to weak mortals the worship due to God the Sovereign Creator.

This year Tiberius began to think seriously of retiring into the country, and there living far from Rome. Sejanus persuaded him thereto, with a view of making himself more absolutely master of affairs, and even of the emperor's person : and an incident that proved very disagreeable to Tiberius gave great weight to his favourite's arguments.

Votienus Montanus, a Narbonian by birth, a man of celebrated wit, but incapable of keeping it in due bounds, and the * Ovid of the orators, was accused of high-treason before the senate. Among the witnesses, one was produced that was in the service, who with a soldier's freedom, thinking of nothing but loading the accused, spoke all he knew, without reflecting that he repeated things that were very injurious to the emperor. It was in vain that he was interrupted, or that clamours were raised to silence him, he only persisted with the greater obstinacy : so that

2

Tibe-

* Solebat Scaurus Montanum inter oratores Ovidium vocare. *Sen. Controv.* iv. 28.

A.R. 776.

aft. C. 25.

Tac. i. 78.

He fortifies himself in his resolution to leave Rome.

A. R. 776. Tiberius was informed of what was said of him
aft. C. 25. in private ; of the odious names given to him ;
and of the disadvantageous constructions put on
his conduct and administration. He was so
struck therewith, that he cried out, That he
would instantly clear himself ; or at farthest be-
fore this suit was determined : and the entrea-
ties of those about him, and the flatteries of all
the senators, could scarce calm him. And though
he seemed easy for the present, yet he never for-
got what he heard : and this remembrance gave
him great disgust to the assemblies of the senate.
Votienus was condemned, and banished to the
Balears ; where he died soon after.

*Euseb.
Chron.*

Tiberius's
rigour to
the ac-
cused.

Tiberius, who was very obstinate, having
learned on this occasion, that he was reproached
with severity against the accused, resolved to be
more rigorous than ever. A lady named Aquillia,
being indicted of adultery, the consul elect, Len-
tulus Getulicus, sentenced her to the punishment
* prescribed by law. But the emperor would
have her banished : and he struck Apidus Mer-
cula out of the list of senators, for not having
sworn to Augustus's ordinances. Two years be-
fore he had by a new hardship deteriorated the
condition of exiles, whose licence and luxury,
Augustus had sufficiently curtailed. Tiberius de-
prived them of the power of making wills.

Dio, l. lvii.

Dio, l. lvi.

Death of
Lentulus
Getulicus,
and of L.
Domitius.
Tac. iv. 44.

Lentulus Getulicus, father of the consul elect
just spoken of, and L. Domitius, both died this
year. Lentulus † not only drew his lustre from
his

* It appears that Augustus's law, which is meant here,
only prescribed in cases of adultery the penalty of relega-
tion, which was less severe than banishment, properly so
called. A person by relegation lost not the rank or rights
of a Roman citizen, which were forfeited by banishment,
or interdiction of fire and water,

† *Lætulo, super consulatum et triumphalia de Grætulis*

his high birth, the honour of the consulship, and the triumphal ornaments for his victories over the Getulians: but what particularly exalted him in the opinion of all just raters of merit, were poverty long borne with honour, and afterwards riches virtuously acquired and modestly enjoyed. A.R. 776.
aft. C. 25.

Domitius was not so estimable, though more illustriously descended. Mention is made in the *Histoire de la Republique*, of his grandfather, who was killed at the battle of Pharsalia; and of his father, who, after the battle of Philippi, was for some time master of the sea, and afterwards joined Anthony, whom he deserted just before the engagement of Actium, to go over to Augustus. The Domitius we are now speaking of married the eldest daughter of Anthony and Octavia, and had by her Cn. Domitius, who espoused afterwards Agrippina, and was father of the emperor Nero. He signalized himself in war. He passed the Elb, and penetrated farther into Germany than any of his predecessors; for which he received the triumphal insignia. But his conduct and manners were altogether blameable. In his youth he valued himself on the scandalous excellence of being a good coachman. He was arrogant, prodigal, intractable; while he was only edile, he obliged the censor Plancus to give him the wall. In the games he exhibited as pretor and consul, he exposed on the stage, Roman knights and women of quality. He also gave combats of gladiators, that lasted many days; and with such cruelty, that Augustus, after having in vain reprimanded him in private, by an ordinance

gloriæ fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, deinde magnæ operæ innocenter partæ et modeste habitæ.

A.R. 776. dinance put a stop to the excesses. His son was
aft. C. 25. still more vicious than him.

Death of L. Antonius died also at Marscille, the unfor-
L. Antoni- tunate heir of a great family. He was son of
us. Tac. Julius Antonius, who was put to death by Au-
gustus for committing adultery with Julia. His
mother was Marcella, daughter of Octavia, and
consequently he was a near relation of Augustus.
This prince sent him, when very young, to
Marscille, under pretence of his studying there.
And there L. Antonius died, as I have just men-
tioned, in relegation. His memory was however
honoured by a pompous funeral ; and his ashes,
by a decree of the senate, deposited in the tomb
of the Octavii.

Divers af- The provinces furnish us with a few facts that
fairs of the are not very important. The inhabitants of Cy-
provinces. zicus were again deprived of their liberties, which
Tac. vi. 36. * Augustus, after having taken them away, had
& 43. restored to them. They were accused of negli-
* See Au- gence in the religious ceremonies instituted in
gustus, their city in honour of Augustus ; and of vio-
under the lences committed on some Roman citizens. The
years 732, Lacedemonians and Messenians disputed for the
and 737. possession of a temple of Diana, surnamed Lim-
netis. They were heard contradictorily in the se-
nate, and the Messenians carried their cause by
the authority of ancient titles. The citizens of
Segestum in Sicily applied for a re-establishment
of the temple of Venus, on mount Eryx, which
was falling to ruin. They made the best of their
relation to the Romans, and their common ori-
gin from Troy and Eneas. Tiberius heard them
with satisfaction ; and undertook himself the re-
construction of the temple, as being of the blood
of the goddess Venus, who was the founder of the
Julian house. The inhabitants of Marscille peti-
tioned

tioned for a confirmation of the bequest of the estate of Vulcatius Moschus, a Roman exile, to their republic, of which he had been admitted a member. They brought the famous example of Rutilius, whom those of Smyrna had made free of their city, though in banishment. And they carried their cause.

In Spain, L. Piso, pretor of the province, was assassinated by a Terrestinian peasant. The murderer dispatched him with one blow; and, as he had a fleet horse ready, rode off to the mountains, and escaped his pursuers by plunging into the bye-paths. He was not at first known. But his horse, which he let go when he had gained the mountains, being taken, discovered him. He was found out, and put to the rack to learn his accomplices. But in the midst of the tortures, he cried out in his own language, that it was in vain they endeavoured to force him to confess; that those who were in the secret might safely stand by and be witnesses of his tortments and constancy; for that no pain should extort from him a discovery. Next day preparations were made for racking him again. But as he was bringing back, he suddenly sprung from his guards, and dashed his head against a wall with such force that he expired instantly. It was thought that the assassination of Piso was the effect of a conspiracy of the Terrestinians, whom he treated with a rigour that was insupportable to barbarians.

CN. LENTULUS GETULICUS.

C. CALVISIUS.

Thrace, agitated by commotions, and reduced to submission by Poppeus Sabinus, afforded that general the triumphal ornaments, during the

CON-

A.R. 777.
aft. C. 26.
Poppeus
Sabinus
makes war
on the
Thracians,
and re-
ceives the
triumphal
ornaments.
Tac. iv. 64.

A.R. 777. consulship of Lentulus Getulicus, and C. Calvisius.

The Thracians were in general a fierce people ; but particularly such of them as inhabited the mountains, who breathed nothing but war, and could not bear slavery. They had been always accustomed not to obey even their own kings, but so far as their caprice dictated ; and if they assisted the Romans with troops, it was only against their neighbours, and they were then under their own captains. They would not therefore suffer the Romans to take away their stoutest men and enlist them among their troops : and they were particularly alarmed by a rumour, that they were to be dispersed into distant regions separated from one another, and blended with soldiers of other countries. However, before they took up arms, they sent deputies to Poppeus, to declare to him, that they were friends to the Roman people, and disposed to obey them, provided they were not overburdened by new impositions : but that if they were to be treated like slaves, they let him know that they had a numerous youth, arms, and courage ; and were determined upon liberty or death. At the same time they pointed to their forts founded on precipices, into which they had conveyed their old men and women ; and threatened a difficult, dangerous, and bloody war.

Poppeus gave them gentle answers, till he had put himself in a respectable condition. When Pomponius Labeo had brought him a legion from Mesia, and Rymetalces had joined him with a body of loyal Thracians, he marched with all his forces united against the enemy. He easily drove them out of the open country, where the boldest of them had posted themselves ; and there

there fixed his camp. But he found more difficulty in attacking a fort built on the ridge of a hill, and defended by a great number of these rebels, some of them armed, and the rest supplying their want of weapons by a double portion of courage. His camp was not far from them : and as he saw the most resolute of the enemies come out of the fortifications, singing and dancing in their barbarous manner, he detached against them his archers, who having approached too near, were routed by a brisk unexpected sally ; and had like to have been surrounded, but for the precaution the Roman general had taken of keeping ready to assist them a body of Sicambrians, a German people not less impetuous and boisterous than the Thracians.

He found that it was absolutely necessary to besiege in form people that were determined to defend themselves to the last ; and advanced nearer the fort, leaving in his old intrenchments the auxiliary Thracians, who were useless in a siege. Them he permitted to ravage the country, to put all to sword and fire, and to plunder whatever they could ; provided their pillage was confined to the day, and that they passed the nights in the camp, which they were to secure by keeping a good guard. These orders were at first observed ; but in a little time the Thracians, enriched by plunder, chose to enjoy their opulence. Wine and good cheer had invincible attractions for that nation. They abandoned themselves thereto, and consequently to negligence : and, instead of corps-de-gardes and sentinels to secure the camp, nothing was to be seen but men extended on the ground, and intoxicated with liquor.

The

A.R. 777. The enemy had intelligence of this disorder, aft. C. 26. and made proper advantage of it. Having divided into two bodies, and fixed on the night as the most favourable time for a surprize, they at the same time attacked the Roman camp, and those who were ravaging the country. The attempt on the camp was properly a false attack, in order to employ the Romans, and hinder them from knowing the danger of their allies. And they succeeded, and cut in pieces, with all imaginable ease, their faithless countrymen. For they found them laid along the entrenchments, or dispersed about the country; and they made the greater slaughter of them, as they considered them as deserters and traitors, who had united with the oppressors of their country to reduce it to servitude.

Thus they sated their vengeance; and that was all the fruit of their success. The Roman general did not therefore remit the siege. He raised his batteries, played his machines, and by cutting off all communication between the besieged and the country, reduced them to want. They particularly suffered from thirst, having but one fountain for them all, both soldiers and useless mouths. Their horses and beasts of burden, which were shut up with them, perished for want of forage: and their carcasses, mixed with the bodies of men dead of thirst or their wounds, not only shocked the sight, but infected the air.

To these distresses discord accrued. Some, quite disheartened, were disposed to surrender; despair made others furious: and these last were also divided, part of them being for suicide, and more for seeking death in the midst of the enemy. Each of these parties had its leader. Dinis

a venerable old man, whom long experience had taught the power of the Romans in arms, and their clemency in victory, not only advised a surrender, but set them an example by submitting with his wife and children to the victors. He was followed by all that were weak through sex or age, and by such, says Tacitus, as had a greater passion for life than glory. Tarsa and Turesis, who were at the head of the two other parties, did also themselves what they advised others. Tarsa, crying with a loud voice, that as soon as one was determined not to survive liberty, the shortest way to death was the best; and that one's hopes and fears were to be at once extinguished; buried his sword in his breast: nor were there wanting those who imitated him.

Turesis, accompanied by such as chose to sell their lives dearly, stayed for night; and then made a vigorous sally, and briskly assaulted the Roman camp. Poppæus was prepared for it, and had given all proper orders. But the natural fury of the Thracians, heightened by despair, made them perform wonders, and force the entrenchments in some places. They were not, however, able to maintain their ground. And valour and conduct at last triumphed over blind rage: so that after the engagement had lasted all night, the Thracians were beat back to their fort, which they were forced to deliver up. Other circumjacent castles surrendered also. But some remained unreduced. However, the sudden, rigorous winter of mount Hemus, obliged the Romans to retire from their imperfect conquest; which did not hinder Poppæus from obtaining, as I said, the triumphal ornaments.

This year Tiberius executed at last the design he had long formed of quitting Rome for ever.

Tiberius
quits Rome
for ever.

His mo-
tives.

He

Tac. iv. 57.

A.R. 777. He took for a pretext the dedication of two
aft. C. 26. temples one to Jupiter at Capua, and the other
to Augustus at Nola; and set out accordingly
for Campania. Sejanus's counsels, as I have
said, contributed to his taking this resolution.
But since after the death of that minister he con-
tinued in his retreat six whole years, it is plain
that he had motives of his own, independent of
Sejanus's impulse.

These Tacitus investigates. And the first he
assigns is, that Tiberius, ashamed * of his cruelty
and debauchery, strove to hide in solitude, what
in deeds he proclaimed. Besides, he was naturally
gloomy; and during his recess at Rhodes, had
got the habit of living sequestered. Some have
imagined that the deformity of his person, in no
very advanced age, made him uneasy, and de-
termined him to avoid shewing himself. For
though he was not then above sixty-seven, and of
a good constitution, yet was he grown very lean
and decrepid, which ill agreed with his exces-
sive height. His head too was bald, and his
face so ulcerous, that he was generally feigned
to use plasters.

Another motive was the haughtiness of his
mother, who grew every day more insupportable
to him. He disdained sharing the government
with her, and knew not how to exclude her to
whom he owed the empire. She, on her side,
took care to reproach him with her services, and
to remind him that it was she who hindered
Augustus from preferring Germanicus to him.
This soured the intercourse of the mother and
son, till they came to a rupture on the follow-
ing occasion.

Livia

* *Sævitiā ac libidinem quum factis promeret, lævis occultantem.*

Livia had desired Tiberius to make a judge of A.R. 777. a new citizen whom she patronized; and after she had often repeated her request, he told her at last, aft. C. 26. Suet. Tib. li. that he would not do it, unless she would consent that on the roll which contained the names of the judges should be wrote, that the nomination of this man was a favour which his mother had extorted from him. This extremely provoked Livia; who in her passion drew out of her cabinet, where she kept her most valuable things, an old letter of Augustus, which she read to him, in which that prince complained to her of the rugged intractable temper of her son. Tiberius was so piqued at this home stroke, and her having so long preserved that letter for so malicious an use, that he determined to leave Rome for good.

He set out with a very small train; accompanied but by one senator, Cocceius Nerva, a consular person and great lawyer; Tac. and some knights, of which but two were of eminence, Sejanus and Curtius Atticus. He had also with him a few men of learning, mostly Greeks, with whose conversation he intended to amuse himself. Suet. Tib. lxx. For he was himself a man of letters, but odd in learning as in every thing else; obscure and affected in his style; fond, not of good authors, but of writers that were scarce ever heard of; and a lover of mythology to childishness, so that he fatigued those who made profession of it by ridiculous questions, such as who was Hecuba's mother, what name Achilles went by when in woman's cloaths in the isle of Scyros? and others equally futile, which nobody knows, nor desires to know.

At his departure it was rumoured, that according to the aspect of the heavens, and the predictions of the astrologers, he would never return Tac. iv. 48. Suet. Tib. xl.

A. R. 777. to Rome ; and this opinion was the cause of the
 aft. C. 26. destruction of many, who thence concluding
 that he would die soon, and consequently taking
 the liberty of talking and acting without con-
 straint, experienced that he did not want time
 to exercise his cruelty. For he lived eleven years
 longer, without ever re-entering Rome ; though
 he often came to the foot of the walls. Upon
 which Tacitus, always credulous in astrology and
 divination, admires * how near the art was to
 mistaking. Whereas we ought rather to be
 surprised that it came so near the truth.

Tiberius's age, and his aversion for his capi-
 tal, were the sources of the marvellous discovery
 of the astrologers ; and when they found he
 outlived their expectation, they were, without
 doubt, more astonished than any body at the ac-
 complishment of their prediction.

Tac. iv. 67.
 Suet. Tib.
 xl.

Tiberius, when he quitted Rome, forbade by a
 decree, that was publicly stuck up, his quiet to
 be interrupted by any one ; and wherever he went,
 soldiers were posted to prevent his being ap-
 proached. Thus he travelled all over Campa-
 nia. But not finding himself yet solitary enough,
 and constrained by the sight of cities and men,
 having dedicated the two before-mentioned tem-
 ples, he, the next year, quitted the continent,
 and went into the island of Caprea.

A. R. 779.
 aft. C. 27.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
 L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

He settles
 in the isle
 of Capreae.

This island, which the long residence of Tibe-
 rius has made so famous, was altogether adapted
 to his intention of concealing himself. It is sur-
 rounded

* Patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, veraque quam ob-
 scuris tegebantur.

wounded with rocks, and accessible but by one place, so that nobody can land unseen. It is also a delicious habitation; for the winters are mild there, because it is defended by a mountain from the north winds; and it is refreshed in the summer by the western gales; it looks on the gulf of Naples, whose coast made a charming prospect before it was disfigured by the ravages of mount Vesuvius. Its circuit is, according to Pliny, about forty miles; and Tiberius built there twelve pleasure-houses, that had each its proper name.

Plin. iii. 6.

I said, that it was chiefly solitude, and difficulty of access, that made Tiberius relish this isle; and the adventure of an unfortunate fisherman proves it. This man, having clambered over some steep rocks to bring the emperor a present of a fine large mullet he had taken, and having appeared before him unexpectedly, Tiberius, displeas'd with the surprise, ordered his face to be rubbed with his fish; and as the poor fellow while under the execution of the tyrannical order, felicitated himself for not having also brought a large lobster that he had likewise taken, Tiberius was so inhuman as to take advantage of the intelligence to increase his punishment, by substituting the lobster to the mullet, and set his face in a gore of blood.

▲ fisherman ill-treated by Tiberius. Suet. Tib. lx.

Tiberius had sought this retreat to get free from constraint. He was tired of curbing, as he had hitherto done, his passions and vices. Now he was determin'd to live at his ease; * and as much as he had formerly applied himself to public business, so much did he now deliver himself up to idleness; which he only interrupted to do ill.

Tiberius abandons himself to indolence, intemperance, and the most infamous debauchery.

He

* *Quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultior in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Tac.*

A.R. 778. He so totally renounced the administration of
 aft. C. 27. affairs, that from this time he did not fill up the
Suct. Tib. vacancies of the judges ; he neither changed the
 xli. military officers, nor the governors of the provinces that were near ; he left Spain and Syria many years without proconsuls ; and he suffered the barbarians to insult the frontiers on all sides, with as much dishonour as danger to the empire. His only business was pleasure. He even created a new office in his household under that title, and made a Roman knight, named Cesonius Priscus, intendant of his pleasures.

Plin. xiv. He had always loved wine and good eating ;
 22. *Suct.* and from his first campaigns had subjected himself to jests on that score. When he became emperor he did not mend. Suetonius relates, that at the very time when a reformation of manners was thought of at Rome, Tiberius spent two days and two nights at table without interruption, with Pomponius Flaccus and L. Piso. And he rewarded these companions of his debauchery afterwards, by making one governor of Syria, and the other prefect of the city ; and he was not ashamed to own his motives in their patents, wherein he called them agreeable friends, and friends of all hours. In his recess at Caprea, he gave a loose to this failing, not only unworthy of a prince, but of any man of reputation. We may guess at what he did in this vice, by the honours he bestowed on those who distinguished themselves in drinking, or inventing good cheer.

Plin. xiv. He was curious to see, and contemplated with
 22. admiration, one Novellius Torquatus of Milan, who, valuing himself on an accomplishment more befitting a porter than a pretor, as he had been, could swallow at a draught three congii, that is, near ten pints of wine. He preferred
 for

Suct.

for questor before very illustrious candidates a nameless man, who, by his invitation, had tied at an entertainment an amphora of wine, which contained above four-and-twenty pints. And another had from him a gratification of two hundred thousand sesterces for a dialogue, in which he introduced the mushroom, becafigo, oyster, and thrush, disputing the prize.

I do not mention another sort of debauchery yet more shameful, nor the bestialities by which this impure old man has for ever stigmatised the isle of Capreæ. Suetonius, whose pen has taken the liberty to trace the detail of these horrors, has been deservedly blamed by the gravest authors, and has merited to have Bayle for his apologist.

When Rome was in perfect peace, a sudden and instantancous misfortune destroyed a great number of Romans, that would have fallen in a bloody defeat. At Fidena, one Atilius a freed-man, undertook to exhibit a combat of gladiators; and as he did it, not out of ostentation of his wealth, nor to get reputation, but out of hopes of a sordid gain, he was saving in the building of his amphitheatre, and neither made its foundation strong enough, nor its timber sufficiently solid. The passion of the Romans for spectacles was now irritated by the austerity of Tiberius, who was weaning them from such pleasures. The proximity of the place also invited them. So that most of the inhabitants of Rome, men and women of all ages, thronged to Fidena. The edifice was not able to sustain so enormous a weight. Part of it fell in with the spectators; while some of its ruins burst outwards, and crushed those who were gathered round it. The

Fifty thousand men killed or wounded by the fall of an amphitheatre: Tac. iv. 63.

A.R. 779. calamity was terrible ; many * were instantly
a. d. C. 27. killed, and they at least escaped long torments.

Those were more to be pitied, who, dangerously wounded, and bereft of part of their bodies, were yet not forsaken of life ; and who, besides their own affliction, suffered also for their wives or children, whom they saw by day, and by night could distinguish by their lamentations. When the news of this fatal accident had spread, an infinity of persons came to the spot to look for, or deplore, one his father, another his brother or friend. The alarm in Rome was excessive : all those who had friends or relations absent, trembled for them ; and the dread greatly exceeded the reality of the mischief, in itself prodigious. For the number of those who were killed or wounded by the fall of this amphitheatre amounted to fifty thousand.

The † doors of the grandees were thrown open to the unfortunate wounded, whom they assisted with surgeons and medicines. And at that juncture, the city, though sorrowful of aspect, recalled the memory of ancient times ; when, after great battles, the senators took into their houses, and by their liberality, relieved the wounded. To prevent

* Et illi quidem quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere. Miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis, nondum vita deseruerat : qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu, conjuges aut liberos nocebant. Jam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes, lamentari. Etiam quorum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen : neque dum comperto, quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus. *Tac.*

† Sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus : fomenta, et medici passim præbiti : fuitque urbs per illos dies, quanquam mæsta facie, veterum institutis similis, qui magna post prælia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant. *Tac.*

prevent the like disasters, the senate decreed, A. R. 778. that no one should exhibit combats of gladiators, who was not worth * four hundred thousand sesterces; and also regulated the proper precautions about the foundations of the amphitheatre. Atilius was punished by exile.

* About 10,000 crowns.

The agonies from this deadly blow were yet recent, when Rome was again afflicted by a terrible fire, which consumed all the quarter of mount Celius. The superstitious vulgar, looking on the year as unfortunate, found the cause of it in the prince's absence; who, they said, had set out with bad omens. But Tiberius stifled these murmurs by his generosity. He indemnified the proprietors of the houses that were burned; and † that without waiting for entreaty or solicitation, and without any personal consideration. Those who had no interest, and were even unknown at court, were sent for, and paid the necessary sums for rebuilding their houses. A munificence so worthy of a prince, did Tiberius great honour; and he was formally thanked for it by the senate. And to perpetuate the remembrance of the emperor's liberality, it was even proposed to change the name of mount Celius, and to call it for the future mount Augustus. But this denomination was not lasting.

A terrible fire. Tiberius's generosity. Flattery of the senate.

Hitherto all was right; but now flattery began to interfere. A statue of Tiberius, standing in the house of Junius a senator, had escaped the flames; doubtless, because great care had been taken of a thing, the neglect of which would have been hazardous. This event was exalted into a miracle. It was observed, that the same thing had happened to Quintia Claudia, who statue,

2

twice

† Sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus, ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia juverat.

A.R. 778. twice spared * by the flames, had been conse-
 aft. C. 27. crated in the temple of the mother of the gods.
 Thence it was concluded, that the Claudii were
 favourites of heaven, and that a religious respect
 ought to be paid to a place where the gods had
 given such signal proof of their concern for the
 emperor. Such was the baseness of the Roman
 senate.

A.R. 779. AP. JUNIUS SILANUS.
 aft. C. 28. P. SILIUS NERVA.

Revolt of
 the Frisi-
 ans. The
 Roman los-
 ses.
 Tac. iv. 72.

The year that followed Tiberius's retreat into
 the isle of Capreæ affords us proof of what we
 have said, after Suetonius, concerning the in-
 difference of the emperor about the incursions
 of the barbarians, and the dishonour of the Ro-
 man name. For the Frisians revolted; and the
 occasion of their rising is remarkable.

They were a poor people, from whom Drusus
 had exacted no other tribute than certain ox-hides
 for the soldiers bucklers and machines of war.
 These they quietly paid, till avarice and exaction
 embittered the yoke that they patiently bore. The
 strength, thickness, and size of the hides they
 were to furnish had never been fixed. One O-
 lennius, formerly first centurion of a legion,
 having been appointed governor of Frisia, in-
 sisted that the hides of wild bulls should be the
 models of those of the tribute. This was tying
 the Frisians to impracticable conditions, as the
 wild beasts in the German forests were very
 large, and their domestic cattle very small.
 Finding it therefore impossible to obey this new
 law,

* Valerius Maximus (l. i. c. 8) gives us the dates of these
 two pretended murders; and places the first in the year of
 Rome which we count the 741st, and the other in the
 year 754.

law, they first parted with the herds themselves ; A. R. 779. next resigned their lands ; and at last surrendered ^{(aft. C. 28.} their wives and children to bondage ; in payment of the rigorous exaction. Hence murmurings, and complaints ; and when these were disregarded, a recourse to arms, and a seizure of the soldiers that came to levy the tribute, whom they hanged on trees. Olennius himself only escaped their fury by flight into the fort of Flevum *, which was situated, as the name demonstrates, on the most eastern mouth of the Rhine, and well garrisoned. There the Frisians besieged him : but raised the siege at the approach of Apronius, commandant in the lower Germany, who descended the Rhine with considerable forces ; and prepared to defend their own country.

Apronius entered it, having thrown bridges over the marshes that covered it. He soon came up with the enemy ; and an engagement ensued, in which he made a capital mistake. For instead of sending at once a body of troops sufficient to produce a great effect, he only detached small parties of horse and light foot, who, coming up one after another, were inevitably beat ; and afterwards terrified and disordered those that were advancing to support them. At last, the fifth legion was obliged to be sent entire against the rebels ; and it brought off all those little detachments that were in danger of being cut off. The Frisians were then repulsed ; but the loss was considerable on the Romans' side, who left on the field of battle many officers, tribunes, prefects, and centurions.

* See what has been said about the junction of the Rhine and the Issel, Book II. under the year 740.

A. R. 779. This blow was not the only one the Romans
 aft. C. 28. received from the Frisians. At some distance
 from this action nine hundred soldiers were en-
 tirely cut to pieces. And in another place four
 hundred were reduced by them to mutual slaugh-
 ter, to prevent falling into their hands. And
 things continued in this situation; Apronius,
 not daring to revenge these disgraces and losses;
 and Tiberius dissembling the knowledge of them,
 lest he should be obliged to employ some gen-
 eral of sense and service. The senate, continu-
 ally exposed to the cruelty of the prince, and
 busied about its own dangers, was little anxious
 about distant evils on the frontiers.

Agrippina,
 Germani-
 cus's
 daughter
 married to
 Cn. Domi-
 tius.
Tac. iv. 75.
Suet. Ner.
 5. 6.

This year Tiberius married Agrippina, Ger-
 manicus's daughter, to Cn. Domitius, the nobi-
 lity of whose paternal blood was yet set off by the
 honour of belonging to the imperial family by his
 mother's side, who was eldest daughter of Octa-
 via. But he degraded himself by an haughty
 temper and odious manners. He was yet a child
 when accompanying young C. Cesar into the east,
 he killed one of his freed-men, because he would
 not drink as much as he ordered; for which
 crime he was removed from about that prince;
 but he did not grow more moderate. Riding full
 speed through a town in the Appian road, he
 chose to demolish a child that he saw, rather than
 stop or turn aside. At Rome, in the forum, he
 put out the eye of a Roman knight, who took
 more liberty in a dispute with him than he liked.
 He was unjust and faithless, buying things at
 public sales that he would never pay for: and in
 his pretorship he defrauded of their pay the con-
 ductors of the chariots in the circus. At last, be-
 ing accused of treason, several adulteries, and in-
 cest with his own sister Domitia Lepida, in the
 close

close of Tiberius's reign, he escaped condemnation but by the death of that emperor. Agrippina, we know, did not yield in vice to such an husband. So that * he might well say, that from him and that princess, nothing could be born but some monster fatal to the human species: and his prediction was but too well verified by the crimes and cruelties of Nero their son.

The marriage of Agrippina was preceded by the death of Julia, her aunt, and grand-daughter of Augustus, who had been banished by him, as has been elsewhere said, for adultery, into the isle of Trimetus on the coast of Apulia. † She lived twenty years in relegation, supported by the bounty of Livia, who, says Tacitus, after having by dark plots ruined all her husband's family, affected public shew of compassion for misfortunes of which she herself was the cause. But was not Julia by her bad conduct the true cause of her misery? and if there were vanity in Livia's assistance, was not that still better than a cruelty that might have let her languish in want? We teach men, and princes particularly, to do ill, when we are not thankful for those good actions they do, but pry into their secret intentions for something to decry them.

I shall mention here the death of Q. Haterius, though it happened two years before. He lived till he was nearly ninety; and had a greater reputation for wit and eloquence, than for dignity and noble sentiments. We may recollect some strokes of his

Death of Julia, Augustus's grand-daughter. Tac. iv. 71.

Death of Q. Haterius. His species of eloquence. Tac. iv. 61. Euseb. Chron.

* Præsagium fuit Domitii vox, negantis quidquam ex se et Agrippina, nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse. Suet.

† Illic viginti annis exsilium toleravit, Augustæ opes sustentata: quæ florentes privignos quum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adfectos palam ostentabat. Tac.

A.R. 779. his flattery. His eloquence was much esteemed
 aft. C. 28. in his lifetime ; but it did not support an equal
Sen. Con- reputation in writing after his death. His talent
trov. l. iv. was an astonishing ease and volubility of dis-
Sen. Ep. xl. course. He said whatever he would in choice
 language, and with great extent of thought. He
 spoke readily, never stopped, never hesitated ;
 but proceeded in an equal manner from the be-
 ginning to the end. But as he was incapable of
 governing himself, he wanted *, as Augustus
 said, to have his wheels triged. And as he knew
 his failing, he employed the assistance of a freed-
 man, who used to keep by him when he spoke,
 and let him know when he had sufficiently in-
 sisted on a point, and when, on the contrary, he
 might retouch a topic : and, what is wonderful,
 Haterius had always sufficient command over
 himself to follow step by step this man who led
 him, as it were in a string. It is very conceiv-
 able that an orator of this kind might appear in-
 ferior to himself when he was no longer to be
 heard, but to be read. He had † indeed more
 fire than judgment ; and as the elaborate com-
 positions of others flourish after them, so the
 melody of voice and fluency of words that were
 peculiar to Haterius died with him.

A.R. 780.
 aft. C. 29.

C. RUBELLIUS GEMINUS.
 C. FUFIVS GEMINUS.

Livia's
 death. Her
 character.
 Ingrati-
 tude of the
 emperor
 her son.
Tac. v. 1.
Suet. Tib.
 51.
Dio, l. lviii.

Under the consuls Rubellius and Fufius, Li-
 via died, at the age of eighty-six. She had been
 called

* Augustus optime dixit ; Haterius noster sufflaminan-
 dus est. *Sen. Contr.*

† Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigeat : utque alio-
 rum meditatio et labor in posterum valet, sic Haterii cano-
 rum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est. *Tac.*

called since Augustus's decease Julia Augusta, A.R. 780. which names that emperor conferred on her when ^{aft. C. 29.} he adopted her by his will. Thus to the nobility of the Claudii, from whom she descended, and to that of the Livii, into whose family her father had been adopted, she added that of the Julii, which was become the first house in the world.

Her virtue is never called in question in history, unless we condemn her marriage with Augustus, as being contracted in such circumstances as might give room to criticism and suspicion. In other things Tacitus acknowledges * that she equalled in her conduct, the most virtuous matrons of antiquity, whom she surpassed in politeness: she was an imperious mother, a complaisant wife, well comporting with the nice arts of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son.

Her resemblance to this picture, which is of Tacitus's drawing, is confirmed by the strokes of other historians. Suetonius says, that the emperor Caligula, who had wit enough, to express Livia's cunning and subtlety, often called her † *Ulysses in petticoats*. According to Dio, being once asked by what secret she had attained so much influence over Augustus: "My secret, answered she, is very simple. I have always behaved prudently. I have studied to please him. And I have never been indiscreetly curious, neither about his affairs, nor even his galantries, of which I have affected to be ignorant." The same writer praises her for having been an asylum
to

* Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum: mater impotens, uxor facilis, et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii, bene composita.

† Ulysssem stolatum. *Suet. Calig. 23.*

A.R. 780. to many senators in their adversities, for having aft. C. 29. brought up the children of some of them, and for having assisted others in disposing well of their daughters : noble uses of her power and riches.

But ambition was her vice. And though I do not think it is proved from history that she removed by sword and poison all obstacles to her son's elevation ; yet it is not to be doubted but that she was passionately desirous of having him emperor, and that in order thereto she made her advantage of all the accidents, disorders, and vices, that deprived Augustus of part of his family, and rendered the rest odious to him.

However, the immoderate ambition of the mother was properly punished by the ingratitude of the son, who, not to mention the other disgusts he gave her, saw her but once from the time he left Rome to her death, that is, during the space of three years ; and who was hard-hearted enough not to visit her in her last illness. Neither did he attend her funeral, which was not sumptuous, but excused himself, in a letter to the senate, on account of the multitude and importance of public affairs, while he rioted in his pleasures, to which his mother's death brought no interruption.

Livia's funeral encomium was pronounced from the rostra by C. Cesar her great-grandson, afterwards the emperor Caligula : and she had little more honour paid her memory. For as to those which the senate decreed in great number, and probably very cordially, Tiberius took care to reduce them sufficiently ; and expressly forbade her being consecrated as a divinity, saying it would be contrary to her own choice. Not that he was not more religious, but only more malicious than

than Claudius, who afterwards ordered divine honours to be paid to Livia, whose grandson he was. Tiberius would not even suffer a triumphal arch to be raised to Livia, though the senate had ordered it. But, aware of the indecency of opposing the decree, he thought of an expedient; which was to undertake himself its construction. But he never set about it; and thus the senate's decree was rendered ineffectual.

Livia's will was also neglected and annulled by her son. Far from paying her legacies to her friends, Tiberius studiously maltreated them; and condemned a Roman knight of her court to the pump, the same thing as at this time to the gallies. Galba, afterwards emperor, was raised high a rank to be so used. But Tiberius defrauded him of a very considerable legacy left him by Livia, because the sum was not all expressed in words. On this pretence he reduced it to a tenth; which he never paid. He shewed his ungrateful, malicious disposition, in the first letter he wrote to the senate after Livia's death. He therein censured those who by insipid complaisance insinuated themselves into the good graces of women. Fufius, then consul, was the person he aimed at. For Fufius* was highly favoured by Livia; and, being a man of wit, used to enliven conversation by biting sarcasms on Tiberius. The great, says Tacitus, do not soon forget such offences; and accordingly they cost Fufius his life soon after.

After Livia's death, Tiberius's government became more severe and tyrannic than ever. She had parried many a blow, because Tiberius had not

* *Is gratia Augustæ floruerat, dicax idem, et Tiberium acerbis facetiis invidere solitus; quarum apud præpotentes in longam memoria est. Tac.*

A.R. 780.

aft. C. 29.

Suet. Claud.

11.

Dio.

Tac. & Suet.

et. Galb.

3.

Tiberius's

govern-

ment be-

comes more

tyrannic

than ever.

A.R. 780. not been able to get rid of an old habit of paying
aft. C. 39. a deference to his mother's desires; and Sejanus
durst not cross her. Her death freed them both
from constraint; and instantly appeared the un-
just and inhuman orders against the widow and
eldest son of Germanicus. But this fact implies
the whole series of Sejanus's intrigues; which
it is now time to unravel.

S E C T. II.

Origin and fortune of Sejanus. His ambitious projects. His character. He poisons Drusus, Tiberius's son. Tiberius's resolution at his son's death. Suspected of insensibility. Honours decreed to the memory of Drusus. His funeral. Another manner of relating Drusus's death; refuted by Tacitus. Vices imputed to Drusus. His generosity. General affection for the family of Germanicus. Sejanus undertakes its ruin. Flattery of the pontiffs to Nero, and Drusus. Tiberius's complaints, aggravated by Sejanus. Silius and Sosia his wife accused and condemned. Moderation and wisdom of Man. Lepidus. Regulation for making magistrates responsible for the extortion of their wives in their governments. Sejanus asks leave of Tiberius to marry Drusus's widow. Tiberius refuses him, but with great gentleness. Sejanus inspires Tiberius with the design of retiring from Rome. Claudio Pulcra accused by Domitius Afer. Agrippina's complaints on that subject. Domitius Afer more esteemed for his eloquence than his probity. Agrippina demands of Tiberius to be remarried. He makes her no answer. Agrippina, deceived by Sejanus's emissaries, in-
sines

gines Tiberius has a design to poison her. Adventure that increases Sejanus's credit with Tiberius. Sejanus sets about destroying Nero, Germanicus's eldest son. Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer. Guards set over Agrippina and Nero. Titius Sabinus, who was attached to them, perishes by signal infidelity. Faithfulness of Sabinus's dog. His accusers punished some time after. Flattery of the senate. Tiberius and Sejanus permit the Romans to come and pay their court to them. Tiberius writes to the senate against Agrippina, and her son. His letter is ineffectual. Another letter from Tiberius. Hiatus in Tacitus. Condemnation of Agrippina, Nero, and Drusus. Tiberius's perfidy and inhumanity to Asinius Gallus. Enormous power of Sejanus. Tiberius, apprised by Antonia of Sejanus's designs, at last opens his eyes. To lull him into a false security, he loads him with honours, and names him Consul with himself. Sejanus is received with infinite respect into Rome. Tiberius's artificial conduct in ruining him. Death of Nero, Germanicus's eldest son. Tiberius's letter to the senate against Sejanus. Sejanus is arrested, and carried to prison. He is put to death. His children perish with him. Death of Apicata, former wife of Sejanus. Livilla's death. Some of Sejanus's partizans massacred by the people. Houses plundered by the pretorian guards. Decree of the senate against Sejanus's memory. Tiberius refuses the honours decreed him. Preaching of Jesus Christ.

S E J A N U S is universally known for the most famous example of the prodigious rise, and terrible fall of a favourite who abused his power.

Origin and
fortune of
Sejanus.
Tac. iv. 1.
Dio. l. lxxv

power. He was born at Vulsinii, a Tuscan city, and his father was Scius Strabo, a Roman knight. He must have been adopted into the family of the Elii, since he was called L. Ælius Sejanus. Rumour accused him of having dishonoured his youth by debauchery and a criminal complaisance for Apicus, for which he was well paid: a fit beginning of a life sullied with every crime. He was at first a follower of C. Cesar, Augustus's grandson; afterwards his father, being made prefect of the pretorian guards, obtained leave to associate him as his colleague; and in a short time resigned it wholly to him, having himself been made prefect of Egypt.

The place of prefect of the pretorian cohorts was inconsiderable originally, as has been observed in the reign of Augustus its institutor. Sejanus was the first who increased its power, by assembling in one camp, out of the walls of the city, all the ten cohorts, which before was dispersed not only in the different quarters of Rome, but even in the neighbouring villages. His design in this was to have them altogether at his back; and to make them by their union more confident in themselves, and more formidable to the rest of the Romans. But to cover this he alledged various pretences, such as the benefit of discipline, which could not be properly kept up among troops divided into small parties; the preserving the soldiers from the corruptive debaucheries of the city: and the advantage of having an immediate, great assistance in unforeseen wants and dangers.

His ambition is projected.

These measures were taken against Tiberius, whose place Sejanus proposed to usurp, yet this emperor conceived no jealousy. Though he was distrustful

distrustful *, dark, and impenetrable to every body besides, his blind credulity for his faithless minister was prodigious. Tacitus is astonished at it, and attributes so surprising an effect, not to the artifice of Sejanus, who at last fell a victim to the cunning of Tiberius, but to the anger of the gods against the Romans, to whom the prosperity and adversity of that favourite were equally fatal. Tiberius's blindness lasted many years; and Sejanus had time to make an infinite number of creatures both among the officers and soldiers under his command, and also among the senators, by advancing in a civil and military capacity those who were devoted to him. Tiberius in no shape opposing him; but on the contrary seconding his traitorous designs with so much readiness, that not only in conversation, but even in his discourses to the senate and people, he called him the companion of his labours; and permitted the statues of Sejanus to be placed and honoured in the theatres, public places, and even the camps of the legions.

Sejanus had all the necessaries to form one of ^{His charge-} those great villains that are capable of over-^{ter.}turning states, and occasioning the most terrible revolutions. † His person was hardy and equal to fatigue; his spirit daring and dissinulative; he was able to blacken others, and recommend himself; and alike fawning and imperious when necessary;

* *Tiberium variis artibus divinxit adeo, ut obscurum adversus alios, sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret: non tam solertia (quippe iisdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque.* Tac.

† *Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, sui obtogens, in alios criminator: juxta adulatio et superbia: palam compositus pudor; intus summa apiscendi libido; ejusque causa modo largitio et luxus sepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxia, quoties parando regno finguntur.* Tac.

necessary ; with a modest exterior, and an insatiable ambition. He sometimes employed in his views profusion and luxury ; oftener activity and diligence, qualities laudable in themselves, but very pernicious when assumed by the ambitious.

He poisons
Drusus,
Tiberius's
son.

Thus circumstanced, Sejanus durst hope for any thing : but when he formed his project, related by Tacitus under the year of Rome 774, he had infinite obstacles to vanquish ; the house of the Cesars was full of heirs, the emperor's son at the age of manhood, his grand-children growing up. To attack by force so many princes at once would have been hazardous ; plots and intrigues required time. On the last Sejanus resolved, and to begin with Drusus, against whom he was transported by a fresh motive of anger. For in a contest that lately arose between them, Drusus, naturally passionate, and long prejudiced against an obscure man by whom he found himself rivalled, shook his fist at him : and the minister having been insolent enough to return the threatening gesture, the prince gave him a blow on the face.

Sejanus's ambition spurred by revenge made him cast about for every method to destroy Drusus. And the readiest seemed to apply to Livilla, the prince's wife, and Germanicus's sister, who from an uncomely person in her childhood became afterwards a beauty. Sejanus * pretended to be desperately in love with this lady, and obtained his ends of her. A woman who has granted the last favour can deny nothing. Therefore

* Hanc, ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit : et postquam primi flagitii potitus est, (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnerit) ad conjugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti, impulit. Tac.

fore Sejanus, when he had enticed her to this first iniquity, prompted her to others. He pretended a great desire to marry her, and have her his partner in the empire; but then in order thereto it was necessary to get rid of her husband. She refused nothing: and thus this princess*, great-niece of Augustus, daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, dishonoured herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a criminal correspondence with a burgher of Vulsinii; and all to exchange a certain grandeur in possession for pursuits altogether uncertain and flagitious. Eudemus, physician and confidant to Livilla, was assumed into the guilty fellowship, and lent to a detestable crime the ministry of his profession, which gave him frequent, unsuspected, access to the princess: and Sejanus, to avoid giving any mistrust to Livilla, divorced his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children.

The execution of such a plot met with unavoidable delays, from fears, intervening obstacles, and the necessary alterations of measures when disconcerted. But Drusus hastened his destruction, by flying out on every occasion against Sejanus, whose power and pride he could no longer bear. He complained of the emperor, who, though he had a son, shared the government with a stranger. "And how little was wanting to his being declared his colleague? The † first advances to sovereignty, added the prince, are

* *Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque et majores et posteros municipali adultero sædabat; ut pro honestis et præsentibus, flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. Tac.*

† *Primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros.*

are difficult and perilous : but, when the ambitious are once entered, parties and instruments are ready to espouse them: Already a camp is formed for the prefect of the guards, and the soldiers are delivered into his hands ; his statue is seen in Pompey's theatre ; and he had entered into the alliance of the imperial family, had not death taken away his daughter's destined husband. What hopes have we now but in his modesty ? we may think ourselves happy if he rests contented where he is." These discourses of Drusus were public ; but even what he said in private in his own family was by his wife reported to his enemy.

Sejanus grew alarmed ; and resolved to procrastinate no longer. He chose such a poison, as by operating gradually, might preserve the appearance of a natural distemper. The eunuch Lygdus, a favourite of Drusus, and one of the chief officers of his household, administered the potion to him, as was learned eight years after by the declaration of Apicata, and the confessions of Lygdus and Eudemus from the rack.

Tiberius's
resolution
at his son's
death.

Drusus's illness lasted many days, during which Tiberius, who was then at Rome, (for the facts I am now relating are prior to his retreat to the isle of Capræ) did not at all intermit his ordinary occupations, and came constantly to the senate. He even went thither in the interval between his son's death and funeral. The consuls, to shew their grief, were not seated in their usual place. But the emperor put them in mind of their dignity and station. He also stopped the sighs and tears of the senators, not only by his exhortations and example, but also by a speech uttered without hesitation. He told them,
that

“ * That he was not ignorant that he might be censured for having so soon after so great a loss beheld the face of the senate. That the generality of mourners could scarce endure the company of their relations, scarce bear the light. That he did not tax such with weakness ; but for himself, he hoped to find in the arms of the commonwealth consolations more becoming a great heart.” He then lamented his mother Livia, who in her old age had received so sensible a mortification. And added, that he himself was advanced in years, that Drusus’s sons were extremely young ; and desired that Germanicus’s sons, the only alleviation of the present evils, might be introduced.

The consuls went out of the assembly ; and having found in the porch of the senate-house Nero and Drusus, Germanicus’s two eldest sons, they comforted, and encouraged the young princes ; brought them in ; and presented them to the emperor. Tiberius took them by the hand, and addressing himself to the senate †, “ Father, says he, after the death of my son Germanicus, I committed these orphans to the
care

* Non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus. Vix propinquorum alloquia tolerari, vix diem adspici, a plerisque lugentium. Neque illos imbecillitatis damnandos. Se tamen fortiora solatia e complexu Reipublicæ petivisse. Miscratusque Augustæ extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum, et vergentem ætatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica presentium malorum levamenta, introducerentur petivit.

† Patres conscripti, hos, orbatos parente, tradidi patruo ipsorum, precatusque sum, quanquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret ac tolleret, sibi que ac posteris confirmaret. Erepto Druso, preces ad vos converto, diisque et patria coram obtestor ; Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis majoribus genitos, suscipite, regite ; vestram meamque vicem explete. Hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco : iua nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rempublicam pertineant.

care of their uncle ; and, though he had issue of his own, besought him that he would bring them up as his own, and as supports for himself and posterity. Now I have lost Drusus, it is to you I have recourse. And in the presence of the gods and the face of our country, I recommend to your protection the great-grandsons of Augustus, the descendents from the best blood in Rome. Take them, fathers, under your tuition, watch over them, fulfil your own duty, fulfil mine. These, Nero and Drusus, will be parents to you ; born as you are, the commonwealth is interested in all the good or evil that befalls you."

* This was heard with much weeping : and had Tiberius gone no further, he had left his hearers penetrated with compassion and admiration. But he returned once more to his pretended intention of laying down the burden of the government, reinstating the consuls, or putting it into the hands of any one the senate should make choice of? and by these chimerical, stale, ridiculous proposals, forfeited his faith in the assertions which were sincere and noble.

Suspected
of insensibility.
Suet. Tib.
lii.

And indeed there is reason to believe that what he spoke came from his head not his heart ; and that his firmness of spirit on this occasion was at the bottom but insensibility. This suspicion, founded on his general character, is confirmed by his answer to the ambassadors from Ilium, who come very late to make him compliments of condolence on Drusus's death. For, ridiculing their

* *Magno ea fletu, et mox precatationibus faustis, audita ; ac si modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleverat. Ad vana et toties inrisa revolutus, de reddenda republica, utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem demisit.*

their tardy consolation, “ I am also *, says he, very sorry for your having lost your brave countryman Hector.”

The senate decreed to the memory of Drusus Honours decreed to the memory of Drusus. His funeral. Tac. iv. 9. the same honours as to that of Germanicus, and † even more agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights in additions. The pomp of the funeral was particularly illustrious on account of the long and noble procession of images carried at it ; where on one side appeared Eneas, head of the Julian family, the Alban monarchs, and Romulus founder of Rome ; on the other, Atta Clausus, a Sabine who settled at Rome, and all the Claudii his descendents. Tiberius himself made the funeral panegyric of his son.

A tradition, which subsisted at the time that Tacitus wrote, altered much the circumstances of the death and poisoning of Drusus. Another manner of relating Drusus's death ; refuted by Tacitus. According to this, Sejanus, having formed his detestable project, and taken the necessary measures for its execution, charged Drusus secretly with the crime he meditated himself, and with a design to poison his father, advising the emperor to take care of the first cup that should be given him at an entertainment to which his son had invited him. It was added, that Tiberius fell into the snare, and having taken the cup, delivered it to Drusus, who, having no suspicions, ignorantly and gaily drank it off ; and his death, which soon followed, was considered as a demonstration of his guilt, though he had endeavoured to bury the proof of it with himself.

The fact thus related is more tragical ; and it is not surprising that a fable in this taste should

* Se quoque vicem eorum dolere, quod egregium civem Hectorem amisissent. *Suet.*

† Plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio. *Tac.*

be favoured by the public. But, besides that it wants authority to support it, it is in itself improbable. For, as Tacitus observes, is it to be believed, that Tiberius, a prince of consummate prudence and experience, or indeed any father, capable of the least reflexion, should resolve to present with his own hand to his son the mortal draught, without hearing his defence, without reserving a possibility of repentance? Tiberius, if he had received such intelligence, would have examined by torture the minister of the poison; and have endeavoured to discover who had prepared it. In a word, as he was naturally slow, nor determined even about strangers but after much deliberation and examination, why should he deviate from his usual method with respect to an only son, a son never before reproached with any design against him? But there was nothing too wicked to be credited when imputed to Sejanus. Tiberius's excessive confidence in him, the public hatred for both the * bias of men to believe something extraordinary and marvellous in the deaths of princes, these contributed to make a rumour current, which, upon serious examination, deserved not credibility.

Vices im-
puted to
Drusus.
His gene-
rosity.
Dio, l. lvii.

As Drusus passed his whole life in dependence on an austere father, there is no such thing as forming a judgment of his character to be depended on. Dio accuses him of many vices, as violence, cruelty, excessive debauchery, and a love for the public shews approaching to madness. And we may have seen something of all these in what I have related concerning this young prince out of Tacitus. But perhaps the Greek historian has exaggerated such faults of youth

* *Atrocior semper fama, erga dominantium exitus.*

youth as age might have corrected. And I am inclined to judge the less disadvantageously of Drusus, because he seems to me to have had a generous heart. This I prove from the good understanding that always subsisted between him and Germanicus, whom he might well have considered as a dangerous rival; and from the friendship which he preserved for the children of that amiable prince after their father's death. It is * Tac. iv. 4. very seldom that jealousy of power fails to produce enmity. But Drusus never treated the family of Germanicus as one he hated, or suspected of standing in the way of his own. He entertained favourable sentiments of his nephews, or at least he was not their enemy.

This disposition was the more laudable in Drusus, as the generality of the Romans adored Germanicus in his children. Of this we have before seen divers instances: and Tacitus asserts, that while Tiberius was making the funeral encomium of his son, the senate and people only affected sorrow, but were really glad to see the house of Germanicus revive and flourish. And it was this that accelerated its ruin: nothing was so fatal to it as the public favour, which began to declare openly for it, and the unguardedness of Agrippina, who could not hide her hopes. For Sejanus finding Drusus's death pass unpunished, and occasion no great affliction to the Romans, encouraged by the success of his first crime with more boldness set about new ones, and made it his business to ruin Germanicus's sons, whose right to the succession was now indisputable.

It was not possible to poison three princes, under the care of incorruptible governors: and their

* *Quanquam arduum sit, iodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse. Tac.*

their mother's chastity was above an attack. Sejanus therefore determined to make an advantage of her haughtiness : he endeavoured to revive the old hatred of Livia to her daughter-in-law, and irritated the jealousy of Drusus's widow, that these two princesses might take all opportunities to represent Agrippina to the emperor as an haughty enemy, who, proud of her fecundity and popularity, aspired to sovereign power. Livilla well seconded Sejanus's black plot with her grand-father. The * old princess was naturally tender and jealous of her power. Livilla attacked this foible, making her look on Agrippina as a rival that wanted sole to bear rule: and she acted in concert with a number of artful calumniators, to whom she dictated the same language; and above all with one Julius Posthumus, become an intimate confidant of Livilla, by the means of an adulterous commerce that he had with Mutia Prisca, in whom the emperor's mother had great trust. Lastly, that Sejanus might omit no means of ruining Agrippina, he placed his creatures about her, who laid snares for the princess by discourses proper to make her discover her haughtiness and high hopes.

The execution of Sejanus's plot against Germanicus's family took him up several years; and he perished when the work was far advanced, but not entirely completed. The innocence of Agrippina's intentions gave no hold to her enemy; and haughty manners, and high, but lawful views, could not easily and immediately be transformed into crimes of state. Sejanus, however, let slip no advantage that offered.

The

* Anum suapte natura potentia anxiam, Tac.

The year after Drusus's death, the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other colleges of priests, when they made their solemn vows for the emperor's preservation, recommended likewise Nero and Drusus to the protection of the gods; not * so much from any tenderness to the young princes, as from flattery, which, in times of refined corruption, it is equally dangerous to exceed in and to forbear. Tiberius, never benevolent to the house of Germanicus, was extremely provoked at their being no difference made between the youth of his grandsons, and the majesty of his station and years. He sent for the pontiffs, and examined them as to their motives of acting thus, and whether they had not been induced thereto out of deference to the entreaties of Agrippina, or through fear of her menaces. On their answer, which cleared Agrippina, he contented himself with making them a slight reprimand: for most of them were his relations, and men of the first distinction in Rome. But he strongly recommended to the senate, not to puff up by premature honours the pride of the youths, but too susceptible of audacity. Sejanus, on this occasion, took care to alarm the emperor, by urging, "That Rome was rent into two parties, as in a civil war; that there were those who openly declared for Agrippina, and if care was not taken their numbers would increase; and that the only remedy for the prevailing spirit of faction, would be to make an example of one or two of the hot-heads."

C. Silius was accordingly pitched on for the first victim. He had been consul, had commanded for seven years the army on the higher Rhine, had

Flattery of the pontiffs to Nero and Drusus. Tiberius's complaints aggravated by Sejanus. Tac. iv. 17.

Silius and Sosia his wife accused and condemned.

* Non tam caritate juvenum, quam adulatione, quæ, moribus corruptis, perinde anceps si nulla et ubi nimia est. Tac.

had vanquished the rebel Sacrovir, and had been recompensed with the triumphal insignia. But the more considerable the person was, the more dread his fall would inspire. Besides his connections with Germanicus, whose lieutenant he had been, Silius was also obnoxious to Tiberius, for having immoderately boasted of the service he did him at the time of the sedition in Germany. He valued himself indeed much for having then contained his troops in obedience and loyalty : and was rash enough to advance, that Tiberius could not have kept the possession of the empire, if the legions under his command had followed the example of those on the lower Rhine.

Tiberius * thought himself in a manner degraded by such discourses, which raised Silius's services above the fortune of the emperor. For benefits are only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge them ; when they have exceeded all requital, hatred is returned, for gratitude. Sosia Gallia, Silius's wife, was equally odious to Tiberius with her husband ; because she was dear to Agrippina. It was therefore resolved to arraign them two : and the † consul Varro was charged with that odious commission ; under colour of revenging a family quarrel, acted as the minister of Sejanus's passion, at the expense of his honour.

The accused desired a short respite till his accuser was out of office. The consulship, we know, was then confined to a few months. But Tiberius
opposed

* *Destruï per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito, rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum anteverere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tac.*

† *Immissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens, odiis Sejani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. Tac.*

opposed * Silius's request, alledging that it was customary for the magistrates, in criminal cases, to bring particulars upon trial: and that the prerogatives of the consuls ought not to be lessened, they whose salutary vigilance prevented the republic from receiving any damage. This was an expression of the old times: and Tacitus observes, that Tiberius † had the talent of sheltering under ancient forms new invented crimes. The affair was accordingly treated as seriously as if no farce had been acting; and the senators were summoned to judge, as if Silius had been dealt with according to law, or Varro had been really acting the part of a consul, or Tiberius's administration had resembled the old government.

To Silius was objected an intelligence with Sarcovir, whose rebellion he had fomented by affected delays. He was accused also of having dishonoured his victory by pillage and rapine; and of having been an accomplice with his wife in the extortions she had been guilty of.

They, without doubt, could not be acquitted of the last crime; but their prosecution was managed as if they had been guilty of high-treason. Silius made no defence; or if he opened his mouth, it was only to tell by whose vengeance he

* Dio relates (*l. lvi.*) four years before this time, that Tiberius hindered the consuls from pleading for particulars, by saying he would not do it if he was consul. We may suppose that he meant in civil cases, and private affairs, in which he imagined it was not decent for a consul to act the part of an advocate. But he thought differently in public causes, wherein criminals were prosecuted: and the distinction would have been just, if Silius's crimes had been real.

† Proprium id Tiberio fuit, scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. Igitur multa adseveratione quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur, aut Varro consul, aut illud republica esset, coguntur patres. Tac.

he was pursued. At last, finding his condemnation inevitable, he prevented it by a voluntary death. He did not, however, save his fortune by this desperate precaution; and though none of the subjects of the empire whom he had plundered, reclaimed any thing from him, Tiberius substituted the exchequer to their rights. This was the first time he manifested any passion for the riches of the condemned. Sosia was banished at the motion of Asinius Gallus. As to her effects, Asinius was for dividing them between the exchequer and her children. Man. Lepidus mitigated this article, and was for giving a fourth of them to the accusers, as the law directed; and the remainder to the children.

Moderation and wisdom of Man. Lepidus.

This * Man. Lepidus was a wise and virtuous man, who often corrected and mitigated the cruel counsels dictated by the flattery of others; as we have seen in the affair of Lutorius Priscus; and who, nevertheless, did not want circumspection and consideration, since he maintained to his life's end the friendship of Tiberius. Tacitus, who inclined to the belief of a fatality, the usual refuge of men without principles, proposes a doubt on this subject; and asks, whether the law of destiny determines the inclination or aversion of princes for particular men; or, whether our fortune is in our own hands, so that it may be possible to find a medium between an arrogant

* Hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperio. Nam pleraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum in melius deflexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, quum æquabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium vigerit. Unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos; an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque, inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium, pergere inter ambitione et periculis vacuum.

gant haughtiness, and a base servility, and to proceed in a path that may preserve the dignity of virtue without exposing it to danger. It is to the latter part of the alternative that we are doubtless to assent: and if the examples of it are rare, it is because an equal conduct, without passions, without heat, and always guided by reason and prudence, is the most difficult thing in the human life.

Messalinus Cotta, of no less illustrious birth than Lepidus, but much inferior in his way of thinking, endeavoured on this occasion to please the prince by burdening the subject. He proposed a regulation, that passed, by which it was ordered that the magistrates of the several provinces should be answerable for the crimes of their wives, and punished accordingly, however innocent themselves and ignorant of them. This law cannot perhaps be blamed for injustice, though it may for severity; but under such a prince as Tiberius, it was certainly making a new opening to vexations.

Sejanus and Livilla let the rest of this year, which was the second since Drusus's death, also pass without daring to try to effect the engagement they had entered into of marrying. Besides the strange disproportion of birth, the very condition of a simple Roman knight (to which Sejanus was confined, because the command of the guards, which was his force, was always given to one of that order) kept him at an infinite distance from a princess, who was Germanicus's sister and Drusus's widow. However, the following year, Livilla beginning to grow impatient, Sejanus, dazzled by his good fortune, ventured to sound Tiberius, and presented him, as was then the custom, with a memorial. He therein

Regulation forming magistrates responsible for the extortion of their wives in the governments.
Ulpian. de Off. Procons.

Sejanus asks leave of Tiberius to marry Drusus's widow.
Tac. iv. 39.

therein said, " That having been honoured by the benevolence of Augustus, and by numerous proofs of the friendship of Tiberius, he was thence accustomed to address his prayers to the emperors, as to the gods. That he had never sought a blaze of honours, content with bearing, as the meanest soldier, fatigues and watchings for the safety of his prince. That, however, he had attained the pinnacle of glory, since he had been thought worthy of the Cesarcan alliance. That thence was the source of his present hopes ; and that having heard that Augustus, when about disposing of his daughter, had thoughts of some Roman knights, he made bold, supported by such an example, to beg of the emperor, that when, if he thought of an husband for Livilla, he would remember a friend, who renouncing all advantage from such an alliance, would be amply satisfied with the honour alone. For that he would never abandon his present trust ; and only desired to secure his family against the injurious hatred of Agrippina ; in which, too, he consulted merely his children. For as to himself, that he should esteem it the height of happiness to end his life in the service of so good a master.

Tiberius
retuses
him, but
with great
gentleness.

Tiberius did not relish the proposal. But as nothing offended him from Sejanus, he answered him with much gentleness. He began by commending Sejanus's zeal, and congratulating himself for the favours he had bestowed on him. He then required time to think on what he had requested. Afterwards he added, " That * the generality of men in their deliberations only consulted

* *Ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent ; Principum diversam esse sortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.*

sulted their conveniency ; but that different was the lot of princes, who were obliged on all occasions to pay a regard to their fame, and the judgment of the public. Therefore, continued he, I shall not content myself with making you an obvious answer. I shall not tell you, that Livilla herself should decide, whether after Drusus she ought to think of another spouse, or to persist his widow ; and that she has a mother, and a grandmother, who are nearer to her than me, whom she should advise with. I will deal more frankly with you, and let you into my thoughts.

“ And first, as to the enmity of Agrippina, of which you are apprehensive, can you doubt but it will flame out with redoubled fury, when Livilla once married, shall make a second party in the house of the Cesars ; Jealousy already animates them against one another, and disturbs my family. What will not be the consequence, if the marriage you propose inflames their diffidence and strife ?

“ For you are deceived, Sejanus, if you think after this alliance to continue in the rank you are now ; and if you imagine that Livilla, who was first the wife of Augustus’s grandson, and then of my son, will be content to grow old in the quality of the wife of a Roman knight. Nay, if I suffered it, do you think those would who have seen her brother, her father, and all our common ancestors, covered with the supreme dignities ?

“ Your inclination would continue you in the modest rank you now are. But those magistrates, those grandees, who, spite of you, disturb your tranquillity, by consulting you in all affairs, loudly proclaim you far above the condition of a knight, and that your fortune surpasses that of

my father's friends; and the jealousy that attacks you, censures me.

“ But it seems, Augustus deliberated about giving his daughter to a Roman knight. It is very surprising, that perplexed as he was with an infinity of cares, and knowing to what an height he raised those he honoured with his alliance, he should talk of Proculus, and some others of the same order, retired men, who never interfered with public affairs. But if his hesitation influences us, how much more ought his decision, and the choice he made, first of Agrippa, and then of me, for his sons-in-law ?

“ These are reflections that my friendship would not let me conceal from you. However; I do not oppose your inclinations, or those of Livilla. Not but that I have myself views about you, and projects to unite you to me in the closest manner. But at present, I shall content myself with declaring, that there is nothing too high for your virtue and zeal for my service to aspire to ; and this I shall not fail to shew, when opportunity presents, both to the senate and the people.”

Sejanus inspired Tiberius with the design of retiring from Rome.

Sejanus, having had this answer from Tiberius, not only dropped the project of his marriage, but dreading the secret suspicions that might arise in the emperor's breast, pretended to be alarmed at the reports that would be spread about it, and at the envy he was going to be exposed to. And that his conduct might tally with his discourse, he even resolved to make a reform in the exterior of his fortune. But for fear of lessening his power, by hindering the concourse of those that crowded his house ; or, if he received them as before, of giving a handle to criminal imputations ; he resolved to persuade Tiberius

to go and live far from Rome in some pleasant retirement. From whence he promised to himself great advantages. For as he commanded the emperor's guards, he knew that in such a case, all access would depend on him; and he would be in a great measure master of all letters, as the soldiers under his command would be the carriers. He also hoped that the emperor, now in a declining age, being softened by the pleasures of recess, would more readily part with part of the public concerns to his minister; and that he himself should be less subject to envy when he had removed the train of courtiers that surrounded him; so that by discharging the phantoms of power he should augment the realities. He, therefore, began by little and little, to throw out things that tended to disgust the emperor, with the fatigue of business that oppressed him at Rome; and with the throng of people that besieged, and scarce suffered him to breathe. He praised the quiet and solitude that were to be found in the country; where were no tedious details, no disagreeable business, but liberty to abandon one's self entirely to those things that made the value and merit of life.

I have already observed, that Tiberius's indolence made him very susceptible of such impressions, and contributed at least, as much as Sejanus's suggestions, to his taking, at length, the wished-for resolutions. Other motives, elsewhere related, came in too for their share. But as Tiberius did nothing in haste, no dispatch was made in this affair till the year following; and before he left home, he gave Agrippina another blow.

Claudia Pulera, Agrippina's cousin, was accused by Domitius Afer. This famous man, that Quintilian often mentions as the greatest

orator he ever heard, was born at Nismes, a Roman colony, and going to Rome to mend his fortune, soon fell into the rout of honours. He had lately been pretor; and as he was yet but in slender estimation, he was watching an opportunity to get a name at any price. He accused then Claudia of adultery with Furnius, and of witchcraft, and magic operations directed against the emperor.

Agrippina's complaints on that subject.

Agrippina*, ever haughty, and then in a flame on account of the peril of her kinswoman, flew to Tiberius; and having found him sacrificing to Augustus, took that handle to upbraid him. She told him, "That it ill became the same person to slay victims to the deified Augustus, and to persecute his posterity. That his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues; the genuine images of Augustus were the living descendents from his celestial blood. And yet I, adds she, who have that honour, I am in trouble, and tears, while my grandfather's statues are crowned with wreaths. Claudia Pulcra is but a pretext, it is I that am in danger. She has drawn on herself this concerted attack only by being so indiscreet as to love Agrippina to adoration, unmindful of the example of Sosia, to whom my friendship has already been fatal."

These

* *Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquæ accensa, pergit ad Tiberium, ac forte sacrificantem patri reperit. Quo initio invidiæ; Non ejusdem, ait, mactare divo Augusto victimas, et posteros ejus insectari. Non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum transfusum, sed imaginem veram cœlesti sanguine ortam, intelligere discrimen, suscipere sordes. Frustra Pulcram præscribi, cui sola exitiî causa sit, quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum dilegerit, oblita Sosiæ ob eadem afflictæ. Audita hæc raram occulti pectoris vocem alicuere: correptamque Græco versa admonuit, Ideo lædi quia non regnaret. Tac.*

These bold words threw Tiberius for once out of his wonted dissimulation; and drew from him some remarkable words. For, taking Agrippina by the arm, he repeated a Greek verse, signifying, "That * she was therefore aggrieved, because she did not reign." This was indeed telling her that he should have no regard to her complaints; and accordingly Claudia and Furnius were condemned.

Their accuser, who had preferred fame to virtue, obtained what he wanted. He was henceforth ranked amongst the most celebrated orators by the judgment of Tiberius himself. Afterwards, says Tacitus, he continued the same rout; and whether accuser or defender †, acquired more reputation for his oratory than his morals. Old age, however, much impaired his eloquence. Yet, impatient of silence, he could not help haranguing, though with decayed parts; and ‡ chose to be distanced rather than to give out. He had offended Agrippina, and meeting her soon after the impeachment of Claudia, he endeavoured to avoid her. But that spirited princess made no mistakes; and disdained to let her resentment fall on the minister of an injustice, that came from an higher power. "It is not of you, says she, alluding || to a passage in Homer, it is of Agamemnon that I complain."

Domitius
After more
esteemed
for his elo-
quence
than his
probity.

Dio. l. lix.

2

Agrip-

* Si non dominaris, filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas. *Suet. Tib. liii.*

† Prosperiore eloquentiæ, quam morum fama fuit; nisi quod ætas extrema multum etiam eloquentiæ demisit dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam. *Tac.*

‡ Maluit deficere quam desinere. *Quintil. xii. 11.*

|| It is what *Achilles* says in *Homer* to the heralds that came to take away *Brisis*.

Οὔτε μοι ὕμεις ἐπικίττοι, ἀλλ' Αλαμίγων. *Il. α. 335.*

Agrippina demands of Tiberius to be re-married. He makes her no answer.

Agrippina, deceived by Sejanus's emissaries, imagines Tiberius has a design to poison her.

Agrippina fell ill about this time ; and the impatience with which she bore her frequent mortifications, increased her illness. Tiberius being come to see her, she received him with many tears and long silence. At last, she accosted him with entreaties, that he would have pity on her solitude, and gave her an husband. Her request was in itself reasonable, as she was yet young. But Tiberius's policy would not let him consent to a match that would have given him an enemy, and an head to the malecontents. He had recourse to his dissimulation, and rose and went away, without making any answer, though pressed by Agrippina's repeated instances.

The disconsolate Agrippina consumed herself in bitter complaints ; but had not learned to be sufficiently on her guard against Sejanus. That cunning adversary, to set her at irreconcilable variance with Tiberius, employed traitors, who, under colour of friendship, told her that the emperor had a design to poison her. She believed them, and, incapable of dissimulation, acted accordingly. Being at table by Tiberius, she sat pensive and sullen ; said nothing, and eat nothing. He perceived it either of himself, or by a prior advertisement ; and to have further demonstration of his daughter-in-law's suspicions, he took some fruit, and having commended it, presented it with his own hand to Agrippina. She, without tasting it, gave the plate away to a slave. Tiberius then opened himself, and turning to his mother, asked her, if it would be any wonder if he took harsh measures with her who charged him as a poisoner ? These words made Rome tremble for the widow and children of Germanicus. But the time was not yet come to bring things to the last extremities.

The

The same year that Tiberius left Rome, as I Adventure that in- have already observed, and before he had fixed creases Se- his residence in Capræ, an accident gave Sejanus janus's cred- an opportunity of still increasing his credit with dit with him. They were in a villa named * Speluncæ, Tiberius. [the Grotts] near the sea, not far from Gaeta and Tac. iv. 57, Fondi. There, as they were eating in a natural 59. grotto, on a sudden, some stones falling from Now the roof, crushed some of the attendants. The Spertonga. alarm was great, and every one ran away. Only Sejanus, mindful of nothing but his prince, leaned over him; and kneeling on one knee, with his head and hands elevated, supported the part that seemed to threaten Tiberius; and was found in that attitude by the soldiers who came to the emperor's assistance. The emperor, touched with this new proof of his minister's zeal, considered him as a man ready to sacrifice himself in his defence; and set no longer bounds to his confidence.

So that Sejanus had now a fair opportunity to Sejanus sets about overthrow the house of Germanicus, to whom destroying he began to act as a judge, and let his creatures Nero, Ger- play the part of accusers. He gave them orders manicus's to set on Nero principally, who was the eldest eldest son. son and presumptive heir, a young prince of amiable modesty, but not circumspect enough for his critical situation. He was besieged by a multitude of clients and freed-men, who, for their own interest, and out of an impatience to get in power, exhorted him to act with confidence and spirit. They told him it was what the Roman people expected from him; that the armies wished it; and that Sejanus † durst not then oppose him; though now he proudly insulted the
weakness

† Neque ausurum contra Sejanum, qui nunc patientiam senis, et segnitiam juvenis juxta insultet. Tac.

weakness of the old emperor, and the tameness of the young heir. These suggestions, with which he was continually stunned, never worked him up to any criminal design; but sometimes unguarded, resentful expressions escaped him; which the spies that were about him carefully collected, and reported, not faithfully, but with exaggerations; and Nero, who knew nothing of what passed, had no opportunity of justifying himself.

Meanwhile a thousand mortifying circumstances disquieted him, and foretold his ruin. Some * he observed avoided meeting him, others as soon as they had saluted him turned away, many having entered into conversation with him, left off abruptly; and, on the contrary, the friends of Sejanus that were present at these disagreeable scenes, stood sneering by. Tiberius always entertained him with a stern countenance or an hollow smile; whether the young prince spoke, or said nothing, his silence, his words were criminal. Nor was he safe in dead of night; then his wife, Livilla's daughter, watched his sleep, his wakings, his sighs; and gave an account of them to her mother, and she to Sejanus. Drusus, Nero's brother, entered also into this conspiracy, seduced by the favourite, who made him hope for the first place, if he could get out of the way his elder brother, whose fortune was already shaken. Drusus † (naturally furious) from his ambition,

* *Nam alius occursum ejus vitare, quidam, salutatione reddita, statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra iridentibusque qui Sejano fautores aderant. Enimvero Tiberius torvus, aut fadum renidens vultu; seu loqueretur, seu taceret juvenis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce: ne nox quidem secuta, quum uxor vigilias, somnos, suspiria, matri Liviae, atque illa Sejano, patefaceret.*

† *Atrax Drusi ingenium, super cupidinam potentiae, et*

ambition, the usual ill-will between brothers, and his jealousy of Nero, to whom Agrippina was too partial, was susceptible of any impression against his brother. Sejanus therefore employed him to ruin his elder brother, knowing he could easily afterwards destroy him, whose passion and heat would soon make him odious, and facilitate his fall.

The subsequent year there happened two signal misfortunes, that I have elsewhere related—the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenæ, and a terrible fire at Rome. But these accidents, mournful as they were, were not endless, nor remediless; whereas * the fury of the informers was continually increasing and admitted of no intermission.

Quintilius Varus, son of Claudia Pulcra, was Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer. arraigned by Domitius Afer (who had occasioned his mother's condemnation) and by P. Dolabella. † Nobody was surprised, says Tacitus, that the first, who having long lived needy, had already wasted the riches he got out of the spoils of Claudia, should engage in fresh iniquity for the reward. But the amazement was, that Dolabella, a man of birth, and Varus's relation, should associate with Domitius, to dishonour his name, and spill his own blood. The senate took the advantage of Tiberius's absence to parry this blow; by declaring that the emperor's re-
turn

solita fratribus odia, accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat.

* *Accusatorum major in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur. Tac. iv. 66.*

† *Nulla mirante, quod diu egens, et parto nuper premio male usus, plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationibus exstitisse, miraculo erat: quia claris majoribus, et Varro connexus, suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. Tac.*

turn was to be waited for. This delay was their only remedy in such calamities.

Tiberius, instead of coming back to Rome, confined himself to the isle of Capreæ; and thus, it seems, the senate's expedient succeeded to Varus, of whom no further mention is made in Tacitus. But the condition of Agrippina and Nero grew worse, by the facility Sejanus had of inflaming the emperor's jealousy, who saw now only by his eyes; and who, naturally diffident and suspicious, the more readily gave way to believe ill, as fear no longer restrained him, he considering himself in perfect security in his island, where none could land without his leave. Agrippina and her son began to be treated as

Guards set
over A-
grippina
and Nero.

state-prisoners. Guards were set over them, who kept an exact journal of all their actions, of the messages they sent or received, of such as visited them, of what they did in public, of what they did in private. Wretches were suborned to advise them to fly to the German armies; or to go and embrace Augustus's statue in the midst of the forum, and implore the protection of the senate and people. They rejected these proposals, they testified their extreme aversion to such seditious steps; and yet these were afterwards imputed to them as their own projects.

Titius Sa-
binus, who
was attach-
ed to them,
perishes by
signal infi-
delity.

Every body left them; their house became a desert. The only friend who stood by them, Titius Sabinus, an illustrious Roman knight, was the victim of his fidelity, and perished by the blackest and most infamous plot that is recorded in history. This honest man, who had formerly been attached to Germanicus, had always continued his court to the widow and children of that prince. He * visited them at home,
and

* *Sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus;*

and accompanied them abroad, notwithstanding the general desertion of them; and his constancy was accordingly applauded by the good, and grievous to the bad. Four senators, Latiarius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and M. Opsius, entered into a combination to destroy him; they had all of them been pretors, and were now passionate * for the consulship, to which there was no access but by Sejanus; and Sejanus's friendship was only to be purchased by iniquity. They agreed among themselves, that Latiaris, who had some connexion with Sabinus, should manage the plot, and that the others should be witnesses; and that when they had got sufficient proof, they should jointly begin the accusation.

Latiaris therefore having introduced himself to Sabinus, entertained him at first with indifferent things; and afterwards, proceeded to commend him for not imitating the infidelity of so many others, who had been friends to Germanicus's house when flourishing, but had deserted it in affliction; he then made honourable mention of Germanicus; and bewailed the unhappy fate of Agrippina. Such discourse † drew tears from Sabinus; the human mind being usually softened by calamity. The traitor blends his complaints with those of Sabinus, and growing bolder, falls on Sejanus, whose cruelty, pride, bold and wicked hopes, he inveighs against; nor did he
 even

eoque apud bonos laudatus, et gravis iniquis. *Tac.* iv. 68.

* Cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Sejanum aditus, neque Sejani voluntas nisi scelere querebatur. *Tac.*

† Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrymas.

even spare Tiberius. These * conversations often repeated, created a shew of great friendship between them, as if they had mutually trusted each other with nice and dangerous matters. And now Sabinus sought out Latiaris, frequently visited him, and discharged in his breast his griefs, mistaking him for his best friend.

The four knaves next consulted how they might all together hear such a conversation. For it was necessary that the place where it was to be should have the appearance of solitude; and if they stood behind the door, there was a possibility of their being spied, or discovered by their own noise, or some sudden suspicion of Sabinus. They therefore † bethought themselves of getting into the void between the roof of the house of Latiaris and the ceiling of the room; and into this lurking hole did three senators thrust themselves; a concealment as vile as their treachery was detestable; and there listened with their ears laid to the holes and crannies of the ceiling.

Meanwhile Latiaris, having found Sabinus in the street, brings him home to the chamber, as having news to tell him; where after having recalled past grievances, he accumulates those they had to fear, and the alarms and terrors (too real and too many) with which they were surrounded. Sabinus ‡ then takes up the matter, which he enlarged on; as the discharges of grief having once found a vent are not easily stopped. Immediately
the

* *Iique sermones, tanquam vetita miscuissent, speciem arctæ amicitiae fecere.*

† *Tectum inter et laquearia tres Senatores, haud minus turpi latebra, quam detestanda fraude, sese abstraxerunt; foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent.*

‡ *Eadem ille et diutius: quanto mœsta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius retinentur.*

the accusation is dispatched; and these traitors write to the emperor the whole detail of the fraud, and of their own infamy.

When * this heinous affair was known in the city, anxiety and dread seized on the Romans. Nobody knew now who to trust; nobody durst visit, or speak to another; men distrusted both strangers and acquaintance; even things dumb and inanimate, the walls and roofs, were examined by timid looks, for fear they should conceal informers and witnesses.

Tiberius, like an hardened tyrant, was unaffected by any consideration that might have restrained, or at least deferred his vengeance. The religious celebration of the first day of the year stopped him not; for in the same letter in which he sent the customary compliments to the senate, he fell on Sabinus, whom he accused of having corrupted some of his freed-men, and laid snares for his own life; and then demanded in no obscure terms a suitable punishment. His sentence was immediately passed; and the unfortunate Sabinus was the same day carried to prison, in order to suffer death.

Whilst † he was dragged along, though it was with

* Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens adversum proximos: congressus, colloquia, notæ ignotæque aures vitari: etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

† Trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus poterat clamitans, sic inchoari annum, has Sejano victimas cadere. Quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga, vastitas; deseri itinera, fora: et quidam regrediebantur, ostentabantque se rursus, id ipsum paventes, quod timuissent. Quem enim diem vacuum pœna, ubi inter sacra et vota quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? Non imprudentem Jiberium tantam invidiam adhisse: quæsitum meditatumque

with difficulty he made himself be heard, because his head and throat were muffled with his garment, he cried, "That with such solemnities the year began; and such were the victims slain to Sejanus." Wherever he cast his eyes, or directed his words, every body fled; the streets, the public places, were in a moment empty: there were those who having fled, returned, and shewed themselves, dreading this very thing that they had discovered, dread. What day, said the affrighted people, will be free from executions, if in the midst of solemn sacrifices and holy vows, on a day when it is customary to abstain even from profane words, fetters and halts are used? They added, that it was not at random, nor without consideration, that Tiberius thus hazarded the public hatred. That he intended thereby to shew, that no day was to be privileged, and that the magistrates on new-year's day should open the prisons, as well as the temples.

Faithfulness of Sabinus's dog.
Dio. l. lviii.
Plin. viii.
40.

Sabinus having been strangled in prison, his corpse was hauled with an hook to the * *Gemoniæ*, and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Dio and Pliny have observed, that the fidelity of his dog increased the public commiseration on so mournful an occasion. This animal followed his master to prison; stayed with his corpse when exposed at the *Gemoniæ*, howling terribly; and when it was thrown into the river, the dog also leaped in, and endeavoured to keep it up from sinking.

Sabinus's

ne quid impedire credatur, quominus novi magistratus, quomodo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant.

* I have already observed, that the *Gemoniæ* was the place where the bodies of executed malefactors were exposed. It was ascended by several steps; and thence called *Gemoniæ scalæ*, or *Gemonii gradus*.

Sabinus's accusers were without doubt rewarded according to custom and law. But afterwards they were punished for their signal treachery ; Caligula executed justice on three of them. And Latiaris was punished, as we shall see, by the authority of Tiberius himself. For that prince * protected against the senate and every one else, the ministers of his cruelties ; but often grew tired of them in time, and sacrificed the old ones that grew burdensome to him, to make way for new.

His accusers punished some time after. Tac. iv. 74

After Sabinus's execution, the emperor wrote a letter of thanks to the senate for having delivered the commonwealth from a bad member and an enemy. He added, that he led a life of constant anxiety, and in fear of the snares of his enemies. Though he no further explained himself, it was not doubted but he meant Agrippina and Nero : and Asinius Gallus, whose children were nephews of that princess, moved that the prince should be requested to acquaint the senate with his fears, and permit it to remove the causes. Tiberius cherished his dissimulation as his favourite virtue, and valued himself on nothing more. He was therefore greatly offended with Gallus for endeavouring to get at his secret. But Sejanus pacified him, not † out of friendship for Gallus, but with a view of making Tiberius at last declare the fatal design he had long had against the house of Germanicus. For he knew the character of the prince he had to deal with

was

* Qui scelerum ministros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat ita plerumque satiatus, et oblati in eandem operam recentibus, veteres et prægraves adflixit.

† Non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes Principis aperirentur : gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis atrociter facta conjungere.

was to nourish himself with his gall, and to be slow in ripening his pernicious projects; but when he had once opened them, the most tragical effects were linked to his denunciations.

Flattery of
the senate.
Tiberius
and Sejanus
permit
the Ro-
mans to
come and
pay their
court to
them.

Tac. iv. 74.

The senators found no refuge from their continual fears but in flattering the emperor and his favourite. Insomuch that, without being required, and when they met upon a different business, they decreed an altar to clemency, and another to friendship, and on each side of them the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They conjured them by repeated supplications to permit them to see, and pay their respects to them. Tiberius and Sejanus were not inflexible. They quitted their island; but not to come to Rome, or into its neighbourhood. They condescended however on the shore of Campania to receive * the homage of the senators, knights, and great part of the people, who crowded thither.

Sejanus was more difficult of access than the emperor. The favour of an audience of that insolent minister cost much solicitation, or an association into his ambitious projects. It was abundantly apparent that the spectacle of public servitude, exhibited on this occasion under his eyes, much increased his arrogance. For at Rome motion and bustle was nothing extraordinary;

* *Eo venire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Sejanum; ejus durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum, et societate consiliorum parabatur. Satis constabat auctant ei adrogantiam, sædum illud in proapatulo servitium spectanti. Quippe Romæ sucti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum, quod quisque ad negotium pergat. Ibi campo aut littore jacentes, nullo discrimine, noctem ac diem, juxta gratiam ac fastus janitorum perpetiebantur: donec id quoque vetitum: et revenere in urbem tripidi, quos non sermone, non visu dignatus erat; quidam male alacres, quibus infaustæ amicitia gravis exitus imminabat.*

nary ; and in the vast multitude that fills the streets of a great city, it is impossible to distinguish what pursuit engages individuals. But here all orders of the commonwealth, without distinction, lying on the fields and shores, days and nights, courted, and bore the insults of his porters. At last all this multitude was sent away, and returned to Rome ; but with different sentiments, some anxious and fearful, if the favourite had not deigned to speak to or look on them ; and others, on whom he had bestowed marks of kindness, full of rash transports, soon to be changed into tears by his terrible fall.

C. RUBELLIUS GEMINUS.

A. R. 780.

C. FUFIVS GEMINUS.

aft. C. 29.

Livia's death, which happened, as we have related under the consulship of Rubellius and Fufius, removed the last obstacle to the ruin of Germanicus's family. As soon as Tiberius found himself freed from the constraint of the remains of respect he had for his mother, he wrote to the senate against Agrippina and her son Nero. The people even believed that the letter had been sent while Livia was yet living, and that she had prevented its appearing. It is however certain, that it was read in the senate very soon after her death.

Tiberius writes to the senate against Agrippina and her son.

Tac. v. 3.

The style of it was bitter : Tiberius apparently took pleasure in using therein the hardest expressions. Yet he did not reproach his daughter-in-law or grandson, with seducing the armies, nor conspiring against his person. Only to Nero he objected his extravagant debaucheries ; and to Agrippina, against whom he durst not pretend such an imputation, nothing but arrogant manners and invincible haughtiness.

A.R. 780. On reading this the senate was astonished, and long kept a mournful silence. At last *, a few of those men that are always to be found, who, having no hopes of rising by honourable means, from the public calamities take opportunities of making their fortunes, spoke, and demanded to proceed upon the matter of the letter. The warmest of these was Messalinus Cotta, who had in his head a rigorous motion. But the other leading men, and particularly the magistrates, remained undetermined and fluctuating: because Tiberius had contented himself with bitter invectives, without otherwise explaining his intention.

aft. C. 29.
His letter
is ineffec-
tual.

Among the senators was one Junius Rusticus, appointed by the emperor to keep the journals of the assembly, and for that reason supposed to be in the prince's secrets. This man had never given any proof of magnanimity. However, on this occasion, whether carried away by the stream, or guided by an ill-judged policy, that made him apprehensive of future danger, and forgetful of the present, he joined the party that hesitated, and prevented the consuls proposing the business: he represented, that the greatest changes often depended on the slightest causes; and that at the prince's age, time ought to be given him for recollection and remorse. At the same time the people gathered about the senate, carrying with them the images of Agrippina and Nero, and invoking Tiberius in respectful terms, and making vows for his prosperity, cried that the letter was forged, and that the prince did not desire the

* Pauci, quibus nulla ex honesto spes, et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiæ trahuntur, ut referretur postulare. Tac.

the destruction of his family. So that no tragical resolution was taken by the senate that day. There were even dispersed about discourses, said to have been spoken by different consular persons in the senate against Sejanus: and these * under-hand pieces were the more petulant, as the authors, under borrowed names, could with impunity give the greater scope to their pens.

It is easy to imagine how much Sejanus was irritated; and with what bitterness he renewed his accusations with Tiberius. He told him, "That the senate had contemned the complaints of its prince; that the people had revolted. That seditious discourses were published at Rome, and decrees passed that breathed rebellion. What remained but to take arms, and march under those leaders and generals whose images they had already chosen for standards?"

Tiberius therefore wrote again; and repeated his reproaches against his daughter-in-law and grandson, severely reprimanded the people, complained to the senate that by the fraud of a single senator the imperial majesty had received a public affront, and reserved to himself the cognizance of the affair. There was no further hesitation, and if the senators did not pass a decree (which was forbid them) they however testified that they were ready to revenge the injuries of their prince, but were restrained by his orders.

Here Tacitus on a sudden fails us. A chasm of near three years deprives us of all this excellent historian had delivered concerning the prosecution of Agrippina and Nero, and afterwards

* *Exercentibus plerisque per occultum, et eo procacius libidinem ingeniorum.* Tac.

A.R. 780. of Drusus; and concerning the discovery of Sejanus's conspiracy, and the ruin of that ambitious favourite. We have also lost other records
 aft. C. 29. which might have somewhat supplied this deficiency, and particularly the memoirs of Agrippina, daughter of her we are now speaking of, and mother of the emperor Nero, who together with her life had wrote the history of the misfortunes of her family. We are now reduced to some scattered sentences of Suetonius; and extracts from Dio, a writer very unfit to replace Tacitus if we had him entire. With such feeble succours it will be impossible for us to distinguish the facts that belong to the remainder of the current year, or to the year following, when Cassius and Vinicius were consuls.

A.R. 781.
 aft. C. 30.

M. VICINIUS.

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Condemnation of Agrippina, Nero, and Drusus.

Tac. vi. 20.
 Suet. Tib. 53, 54, & Cal. 7.

All that we are sure of, is that under these consuls, or towards the close of the preceding year, Agrippina was condemned by the senate, at Tiberius's instance, and banished into the isle of Pandataria, wherein her mother Julia had before, for very different reasons, been confined by Augustus. Nero, her eldest son, was at the same time declared a public enemy, and transported to the isle of Pontia, not far from that of Pandataria. Drusus, Nero's brother, did not enjoy a disgrace that his bad heart had made him instrumental in. Being also declared an enemy to the commonwealth, he was imprisoned in a lower apartment of the palace, where he was strictly watched.

Tiberius's perfidy and inhumanity to Asinius Gallus.
 Dio, L. lviii.

The ruin of Agrippina appears to have drawn on that of Asinius Gallus, her brother-in-law. We have observed that Tiberius hated as violent-

ly

ly as unjustly this illustrious senator. He at last A. R. 781. satisfied himself by a treatment equally perfidious aft. C. 30. and inhuman. Asinius, having been deputed by the senate to the emperor, on some occasion we are ignorant of, Tiberius took that opportunity to write to the senate against him : so that, by a most extraordinary accident, at the same time that Asinius was treated with the utmost civility by the emperor at Capreæ, and eat at his table, the senate was condemning him at Rome, and dispatching a pretor to arrest, and conduct him to punishment. Asinius, when he was informed that sentence had passed against him, would have killed himself : but Tiberius hindered him, not out of compassion, but to prolong his suffering and misery. He ordered him to be carried back to the city, and to be kept in the house of one of the acting consuls, till he himself returned to Rome. That time never came : for Tiberius never returned to Rome. Thus Asinius continued imprisoned many years, without having a friend or a servant with him, and without conversing with, or seeing any body, unless when he was compelled to take nourishment, which was not designed to give him pleasure or strength, but so proportioned as to be just sufficient to keep him alive. He would have thought himself happy in the fate of one Syriacus, who was put to death only because he was his friend.

Sejanus was now at the height of his wishes. Enormous power of Sejanus. He had destroyed his enemies ; and the way to sovereignty was made easy by the destruction of those who were its heirs. He was every where joined with Tiberius in the honours paid that prince ; games were exhibited on his birth-day ; the senate, the knights, the tribunes, the chief citizens. erected a countless number of statues

A.R. 781. to him; his fortune was sworn by, as well as
 a. C. 20. the emperor's. Nay more, as he was the awar-
 der of recompences and punishments, and the
 canal of favour and disgrace, he was more res-
 pected and feared than his master. Sejanus
 seemed to be the emperor; and Tiberius the
 prince of the little isle of Capræ.

Tac. iv. 47. Tiberius was so blinded that he would never
 apprise of Antonia of Sejanus's designs, at
 last opens his eyes. *Jos. Ant. xviii. 8.*
 have opened his eyes, had not a salutary infor-
 mation unbewitched him. A word of Tacitus
 informs us, that Satrius Secundus was the man
 who discovered Sejanus's conspiracy. Josephus
 relates, that Antonia, Germanicus's mother, hav-
 ing information of Sejanus's designs, acquainted
 the emperor therewith by a letter, which she
 sent by Pallas the most faithful of her slaves, who
 afterwards became famous in the reign of Clau-
 dius. We must therefore suppose that Satrius,
 an old client of Sejanus, and who had been in-
 strumental in his vengeance on Cremutius, know-
 ing and being an accomplice in his patron's de-
 signs, determin'd, for some reason or other, to
 acquaint Antonia therewith; who immediately
 gave notice to the emperor, in the manner Jose-
 phus relates. We do not know the detail of the
 plot, nor the proofs against Sejanus. But we
 cannot doubt but that he was convicted of hav-
 ing attempted to usurp the place of his master,
 and contrived his murder; since nobody has
 pretended to justify or excuse him. And Tibe-
 rius was sufficiently hated to have created de-
 fenders of Sejanus's cause, had it not been alto-
 gether indefensible.

It was time for Tiberius to rouse himself.
 Sejanus could depend on the pretorian guards,
 who were devoted to him as their captain; and
 on almost all the senate, many of whose mem-
 bers

bers he had gained by services, whilst he kept the rest in play by hopes and fears. And he was so much master of all who approached the emperor's person, that he knew in time all Tiberius said or did, while Tiberius was totally ignorant of the steps Sejanus took. A.R. 782.
aft. C. 31.

In such circumstances it would not perhaps have been prudent to have openly attacked so potent an adversary: and the artful temper of Tiberius could not fail of throwing him on devious unusual methods. He began accordingly by manifesting a greater confidence in Sejanus than ever: he was never tired of talking of him, as of a faithful friend with whom he delighted to trust his most important concerns. It is also a probable conjecture, that he at this time promised his consent to the long-projected match between him * and Livilla; and it was perhaps under pretence of raising him to a rank proper for that alliance, that he named him consul for the next year with himself, without dismissing him from the command of the pretorian cohorts.

The

* Ryckius, in his notes on the fifth book of Tacitus, believes rather that Tiberius gave Sejanus hopes of marrying one of his grand-daughters; and he has to support him the title of son-in-law of Tiberius, twice given to Sejanus by Tacitus, v. 6. and vi. 8. This opinion, however, meets with difficulties: for first, the disproportion of age was too great, Tiberius's grand-daughters being all very young, and Sejanus, when he died, not less than fifty. Next Tacitus says nothing about it, when speaking, in his sixth book, of the marriages of the three grand-daughters of Tiberius; on one of whom the project of an alliance with Sejanus must have fallen, if there were any such; yet he does not say of any one of them, that she had been promised to him in marriage. I therefore hold the common opinion; and suppose that Livilla, being Tiberius's daughter-in-law, might in some sort be reputed his daughter, and he who was to marry her treated as the emperor's son-in-law.

To lull
him into a
false secu-
rity, he
loads him
with hon-
ours, and
names him
consul with
himself.

A.R. 784. The functions of the consulship required Sejanus's presence at Rome. So that Tiberius procured thereby the absence of his enemy, and the opportunity of contriving, with more ease, the means to destroy him.

Every body was deceived by Tiberius's conduct. Sejanus was thought in greater favour than ever, and more assiduous court was paid to him than usual. Statues, curule chairs enriched with gold, offering and sacrifices, were lavished on him. The senate ordered that Tiberius and he should be consuls together five years successively; and that when they came to town (for it was not doubted but Tiberius would come to officiate as consul) they should have a common entry, which should be as pompous as possible. They were mistaken: for Tiberius continued in his island; and Sejanus came to Rome alone.

A.R. 782. TIBERIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS V.
aft. C. 31. L. ÆLIUS SEJANUS.

Sejanus is received with infinite respect into Rome.

He was there received with honours that approached to adoration. The eagerness of all to pay court to him was incredible: an infinite multitude filled his anti-chambers, which overflowed into the very streets: every body was afraid not only of not being seen, but of not being seen one of the first. For the service of this proud minister was hard; as it was known that he had accounts given him of every word and action that escaped each Roman of rank at least. Upon which Dio makes a reflection somewhat long, and yet methinks worth transcribing.

Princes, * says he, in their inherent dignity are less

* Οἱ μὴν οἰκεῖα ἀξιώσει περὶ χονίης, ὡς τὰ διζιώματα παρὰ τινῶν

less jealous of disrespect, and more disposed to pardon negligence of that sort, because they are perfectly satisfied that they cannot be despised : but those who enjoy only a borrowed power, severely exact such duties, as essential to their grandeur ; and in case of failure are angry, as thinking themselves contemned and insulted. For which reason there is often greater crowds about favourites than sovereigns themselves ; because if an offence is committed against the former, it is a virtue in them to forgive it ; but such forbearance in the latter is a proof of their weakness, and the revenging of it a confirmation of their power.

Meanwhile Tiberius was preparing all things for Sejanus's ruin ; in doing which he acted with singular, unexampled circumspection and caution. He proposed to weaken Sejanus, without making him desperate ; for fear he should take off the mask, and excite a revolt. The intention of Tiberius also was to sound the disposition and sentiments of the generality of the Romans, to be certain whether they were personally attached to the minister, or merely to his fortune, and consequently to know whether he should be applauded for, and seconded in, destroying him ; or whether, on the contrary, a rising was to be apprehended. To attain this double end,

Tiberius's artful conduct in ruining him.

πάν ἀπειλοῦσι· καὶ ἄρα ἢ ἐκλειφθῆ τι αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐκκαλεῖται σφίτιν, ἄτε ἢ καυλοῖς συειδοῦτες ὅτι μὴ καταφρονῆσαι· οἱ δ' ἱπακίῳ καλλωπισμαὶ χρωμένοι, πάντα ἰσχυρῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν τῆ ἀξιομαλῆ σφῶν πληρωσιν ἀνεκκαίῃ, ἐπιζήῃσι· καὶ μὴ τύχῳσιν αὐτῶν, ἀχθοβαί τε ὡς διαφωλλόμενοι, καὶ ὀργίζονται ὡς ὑπεριζόμενοι· καὶ διὰ τῆτο μᾶλλον περὶ τῶς τοιούτους, ἢ περὶ αὐτῶς, ὡς εἰπαι, αὐτοκράτορας, σπιδάζουσιν. ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κεν πλημεληθῆ τι, ἀερίῃν τὸ συγινῶναι τῶ φέρῳ τοῖς δὲ τῆτο μὲν τὴν ἀσθινεῖαν σφῶν ἰλίχαιν δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιξελεῖν ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι, βεβαίωσιν τῷ μίγῃ δύνασθαι ἔχειν νομίζῃαι. Διὸ

A.R. 782. he resolved to act so dubiously with respect to
 aft. C. 31. Sejanus, so to blend what might alarm him, with
 what would strengthen his confidence, that his
 change with regard to his minister might be
 guessed at, and yet the minister himself should
 have only transient apprehensions, which should
 not hinder him from thinking himself still loved
 and in favour.

Thus, as to himself, he wrote to the senate
 and Sejanus, sometimes that he was extremely
 ill, and expected to die; sometimes that he was
 in very good health, and was setting out for
 Rome: at one time he commended Sejanus ex-
 cessively, and at another used him roughly: he
 observed the same variations with respect to the
 favourite's creatures, alternately rewarding and
 punishing them.

This ambiguous, contradictory policy, kept
 Sejanus and the Romans in suspense. The fear
 Sejanus was in at times was not strong enough
 to drive him to extremities, being thus moder-
 ated by marks of esteem; and the signs of cool-
 ness abated his presumption, which otherwise
 would have made him look on the success of his
 enterprise as certain. The Romans for their
 part no longer knew whether they were to
 honour, or contemn, Sejanus; whether they were
 to expect Tiberius's death, or his arrival in
 Rome: and their suspended judgment waited for
 some external determination to fix it.

Hence, however, resulted a certain effect;
 namely, that particulars were more cautious of
 shewing marks of respect and attachment to Se-
 janus, beginning to apprehend that they might
 hurt themselves by appearing too much devoted
 to him. But bodies of men, whose steps are slow-
 er and more deliberate, continued their wonted
 behaviour

behaviour; and so much the more, as Tiberius A. R. 782. bestowed a fresh favour on Sejanus, by admitting him and his son into a college of public priests of the Roman people. And the senate following the emperor's example, conferred on Sejanus, when his consulship expired (that is, on the * fifteenth of May) the proconsular power; and ordered that his conduct in the magistracy he quitted should be proposed as a model to all his successors.

Suet. Tib.

xxvi.

Dio.

* Or rather

the eighth,

says Mr de

Tillemont.

These were the last honours paid Sejanus. From this time Tiberius, grown bolder, as every thing continued quiet, studiously multiplied on him marks of his disfavour. Sejanus having asked leave to return to Capreæ, under pretence of the sickness of Livilla, who had been promised in marriage to him, Tiberius denied him, saying, that he himself should come immediately to Rome.

He had sent for Caius, Germanicus's third son, who was afterwards the emperor Caligula, to stay with him. This young prince, who was then about twenty, had not put on the virile robe, through the usual tardiness of Tiberius. This he did therefore at Capreæ, without ceremony, without pomp, without any of the honours that had on the like occasion been paid to his elder brothers, Nero and Drusus. But soon after Tiberius invested him with the dignity of pontiff; and writing on that occasion to the senate, he expressed himself favourably as to Caius, and insinuated that he intended him for his successor.

Suet. Calig.

x. & xii.

Dio.

This was a home-stroke to Sejanus, who sensibly felt it, and deliberated whether he should not enter into action. But he was prevented by the jey the people testified at this glimpse of the elevation of the last son of Germanicus; and he repented

A. R. 782. repented of not having made use of the consu-
 aft. C. 31. lar power, wherewith he had been lately armed,
 to execute his designs, and declare himself em-
 peror.

Death of
 Nero,
 Germani-
 cus's eldest
 son.
Suet. Tib.
 liv.

About this time Nero died of hunger and
 want in his prison, in the isle of Pontia. Others
 related his death differently, according to Sueto-
 nius, and said, that an executioner having been
 sent to him, as if by order of the senate, with
 the instruments of death, the halter and hooks,
 the young prince was so frightened as to kill him-
 self. However it was, Tiberius, in the letter in
 which he acquainted the senate with Nero's
 death, named Sejanus, without adding any ex-
 pression of affection and benevolence, as he used;
 and this omission was much remarked.

Deo.

An enemy of that minister having been ac-
 cused in the senate, Tiberius caused him to be
 acquitted. At length, to shew that his intention
 was not to have Sejanus loaded with new ho-
 nours, he forbade the decreeing of any to him-
 self, and also to all sacrifices relative to the wor-
 ship of a living man. Now the custom of sacri-
 ficing in honour of Sejanus had got such ground,
 that, if we are to believe Dio, he offered sacrific-
 es to himself, and was his own priest.

These proofs given by Tiberius of his aliena-
 tion from his minister were the more intelligible,
 as he was known for a prince who did nothing
 without a meaning, and carefully weighed his
 words and syllables. And he was understood;
 for people no longer concealed their deserting
 Sejanus, but avoided him with the same care
 they had before courted him.

Tiberius's
 letter to
 the senate
 against Se-
 janus.

Then Tiberius judged it proper time to give
 the finishing blow. Of the two consuls in office
 in the month of October, Falcinius Trio and

Mem-

Memmius Regulus, he suspected the first. It was therefore to Regulus that he addressed his orders against Sejanus, which he sent by Nevius Sertorius Macro, having first given him the commission of commandant of the pretorian cohorts, and ample instructions how he was to behave. And though he had taken every measure that the most refined prudence could suggest, yet, anxious about the event, fearful and quaking, he ordered Macro, in case of any tumult, to free, if he thought it necessary, Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, who was imprisoned in the palace, and produce this young prince to the multitude for their leader. He had got vessels ready, if the danger became serious, for his flight into some distant province, where he proposed to implore the assistance of the legions; and, for fear the couriers should be detained by unforeseen accidents, he got on the summit of a rock, whence he watched the signals he had ordered for his information of what should happen. Timid precautions, declaratory of a mean soul, and which render Tiberius as contemptible, as his cruelty makes him detestable. But he had no occasion to make use of any of these last refuges; for all passed with perfect tranquillity.

Macro being come to Rome by night, communicated his orders to the consul Regulus, and to Gracilus Laco, captain of the watch. The next morning early he went to the palace, (for the senate was to meet in the temple of Apollo that was contiguous) and meeting Sejanus, as he perceived him uneasy that there was no dispatch from the emperor for him, he heartened him, by telling him in his ear, that he brought the order for associating him with Tiberius in the tribunitial power. This was the sum of Sejanus's wishes;

*Sart. Tib.**lxv.**Tac. vi. 23.**Dio.**Dio.*

A. R. 782. wishes ; he believ'd the flattering news, and entered the senate full of joy. Then Macro dismissed the pretorian soldiers who had attended Sejanus, and were to guard the senate ; shewing them the commission which appointed him their commander, and promising them a gratuity from Tiberius. In their room, he posted about the temple, the soldiers of the watch ; and then going in, gave Tiberius's letter to the consuls ; after which he immediately went out ; and having recommended to Laco to keep a good guard, ran to the camp of the pretorians, to prevent the commotions that the ruin of their commander might occasion among them.

During this time the letter was reading in the senate. It was long, and miserably mean-spirited, but drawn up with all possible art. For it was not an invective against the ambitious minister who designed to dethrone his master. It began with matters altogether foreign ; then came a short sly sally against Sejanus ; after which Tiberius passed on to something else ; then returned to Sejanus, and made him a reproach of small importance, which he concluded bluntly, by ordering justice to be done on two senators that were devoted to that minister, and he himself to be carried to prison. For he dared not command him to be put to death, doubting his strength, and fearing that the last severity not once denounced, might produce some great disorder. He ended, by representing himself as a weak, defenceless old man ; and desired that one of the consuls would come to him at Capreae with a good body of troops, that he might come to Rome in safety.

Sejanus is arrested and carried to prison.

The effect of this artful letter was such as Tiberius desired. If Sejanus had perceived from the

the beginning whither it tended, he might have left the senate ; and he had partisans enough to have made an insurrection in the city. But as Tiberius's first complaints against him were about matters of small concern, he was not at all alarmed. He had already experienced such little discontents, without their having had any bad consequences. He thought it would now be the same, and continued quiet to the end. A. R. 782.
aft. C. 31.

As soon as the order for arresting him was heard, the pretors and tribunes of the people surrounded him, to prevent his making any resistance ; and then was seen a terrible example of the vicissitude of human affairs. At the beginning of the meeting, all the senators crowded about him to felicitate him on his supposed elevation to the tribunitial power, they lavished their flattery on him, assured him of their zeal for his service, and begged his protection. After the letter had been read, they fled from him, detested him, would not even sit near him ; and among so many adorers he found not one friend. Those who were most violent against him, were the very men who had had the closest connexions with him, but fearing now the consequences of his fatal friendship, they endeavoured to obliterate it by the strongest testimonies of hatred.

In the midst of the tumult, the consul Regulus called Sejanus, who did not leave his place ; not through haughtiness (he was not sufficiently humbled) but because it was so new a thing for him to receive orders, that he knew not how to obey. The consul was forced to repeat the citation a second and third time. At last Sejanus answered, " Is it me you speak to ? " and as he rose up, Laco entered, and secured him. Though it was plain enough, that none of the senators would

A. R. 782. would pretend to defend Sejanus, yet the consul, aft. C. 31. fearing the number and power of his relations and creatures, would not hazard a deliberation in form. He contented himself with asking the opinion of a single senator; and he being for sending him to prison, the criminal was carried there by the consul, accompanied by all the magistrates, and by Laco.

Jura Sat. x. The people failed not to follow the example of the senate. The inconsiderate multitude always runs after fortune *, and declares against those in disgrace. But if Sejanus had succeeded, they would have proclaimed him emperor. Now they overwhelm the wretch with insults and outrages. All the way from the palace to the prison, he was exposed to their outcries and shoutings; and if he hid his face, they uncovered it, that he might escape no part of his confusion. They reproached him with his cruelty, in having destroyed such numbers. They rallied him on account of his vain hopes. They pulled down, and broke to pieces his statues; to shew him how they would willingly treat himself; and he saw in his representations what he was soon to suffer in his person.

He is put
to death.

For the consul perceiving the people to be in the most favourable disposition he could wish, and knowing that the pretorian guards made no motion, re-assembled the same day the senate in the temple of concord, near the prison. There Sejanus was condemned to die, and immediately executed.

* Sed quid

Turba Remi? sequitur Fortunam, ut semper, et odit
 Damnatos. Idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
 Favisset, si oppressa foret segura senectus
 Principis, hac ipsa, Sejanum diceret hora
 Augustum.

Juv.

executed. His corpse was dragged with a hook A. R. 782.
 to the Gemoniæ; and the populace for three aft. C. 31.
 whole days insulted it every imaginable way,
 and at last, threw the miserable reliques into the
 river. Sejanus was put to death on the eigh-
 teenth of October. His fortune was at first ad- Tac. vi. 25.
 judged to the public treasury; and the year fol- vi. 2.
 lowing, by a fancy that supposed a difference
 where there was none, transported to the em-
 peror's exchequer.

All his family perished with him. His eldest His chil-
 son soon followed him. The tender age of his dren perish
 other son, and of his daughter, probably occa- with him.
 sioned for some time a doubt, whether they Tac. v. 9.
 should be punished for a crime of which they Dio.
 were incapable of participating. And perhaps
 the dread of displeasing Tiberius by an indul-
 gence contrary to his intention, made severity
 prevail. They were sentenced to death, and car-
 ried to prison to be executed. The son was sen-
 sible of his misfortune; but the daughter so lit-
 tle knew what they were about, that she asked
 with tears, what fault she had done, and where
 they were conducting her? she protested she
 would do so no more, and that she would wil-
 lingly submit to the punishment proper for her
 age. Tacitus and Dio add, that as there was no
 example of a virgin's being capitally punished,
 there was an effort made to palliate the inhumani-
 ty at the expence of decency, and that the exe-
 cutioner had orders to violate the child in the
 prison, before he strangled her. Dio says, this
 was her who had been betrothed to Claudius's
 son. If so, her marriage must have been settled
 almost as soon as she was born.

Apicota, who had been long divorced from Se- Death of
 janus, was not condemned by the senate. But Apicota,
 the former wife
 of Sejanus.

A. R. 782. the death of her children, and the spectacle of
 aft. C. 31. their bodies exposed at the Gemoniæ, so affected
 her that she could not bear life. She killed her-
 self, after having drawn up and sent to Tibe-
 rius a memorial, wherein she discovered the
 black, abominable conspiracy that had robbed
 him by poison of his son Drusus.

Suet. Tib. Till then he had been in an error, and had
lxii. believed that the prince died of an illness occa-

Tac. iv. 11. sioned by his intemperance and excesses. To
 dive into this horrid mystery, he had the eunuch
 Lygdus, and the physician Eudemus racked ;
 and when by their confessions, he was satisfied
 that Drusus's death was effected by the crime of
 Livilla and Sejanus, the frightful discovery made
 him conceive a distrust of all mankind ; he ima-
 gined that there was nothing among them but
 iniquity ; and his natural inclination to cruelty
 greatly increased. Wherefore I cannot readily

Suet.

Livilla's
 death.

believe a tradition attested by Dio, concerning
 Livilla's death. This historian reports, that
 Tiberius shewed so much regard for Antonia, as
 to let her be the arbiter of her daughter's fate ;
 and that Antonia, spite of her natural good-na-
 ture, and maternal tenderness, could not forgive
 Livilla, but starved her to death. It is not like-
 ly that Tiberius, angry with the human species
 on account of Livilla's crimes, should be dispos-
 ed to spare herself ; and I think it is not to be
 doubted, but that it was by his orders this wick-
 ed princess was put to death. The next year
 the senate decreed that her statues should be re-
 moved.

Tac. vi. 2.
 Some of
 Sejanus's
 patients
 massacred
 by the
 people.
 Houses
 plundered
 by the pre-
 torian
 guards.
Dio

It is remarkable, that in the disgrace of a fa-
 vourite, potent as Sejanus was, nobody should
 take his part. It is true, there were some popu-
 lar commotions ; but they were occasioned by
 the

the rage against that detested minister. The mob massacred some that were known to be strongly attached to him, and who under his protection had been guilty of tyrannic violencés. A.R. 782. aft. C. 31.

The pretorian soldiers too, discontented at the preference given by the emperor to the soldiers of the watch in the imprisonment of the criminal, got together, and plundered and burnt some houses. But this licentiousness was soon stopped by the authority of the magistrates, to whom Tiberius had recommended to be on this occasion particularly careful of the safety of the city; and yet more efficaciously by a donative that the emperor made them of a thousand denarii a man. The Syrian legions received also a gratification from Tiberius, because they alone had never honoured among their standards Sejanus's image. Suet. Tib. xlviii.

The senate, after having severely treated Sejanus, and all his family, blasted his memory too by the most ignominious decrees. It forbid any one's going into mourning for him; as if his death had freed the Romans from servitude, it ordered to be erected in the forum a statue of liberty; it appointed that the magistrates, and all the colleges of priests, should celebrate every year a festival with solemn games on the day he was executed. The senate also decreed new honours to Tiberius; but that austere prince refused them. He would not even receive the deputations that the senate, knights, and people sent to felicitate him; and the consul Regulus, who had so well served him, going to him at Capreæ to escort him to Rome, as he had desired in his letter against Sejanus, met with a repulse. Perhaps fear, as well as moroseness, contributed to this brutal behaviour. For he was Decree of the senate against Sejanus's memory. Dio. Tiberius refuses the honours decreed him. Suet. Tib. lxv.

A.R. 782. 50 intimidated that even after Sejanus's death, aft. C. 31. he spent several months * without going out the Villa of Jupiter, which probably was the strongest and securest of the twelve he had built in his island.

Dis.

The senate, who thought that the extraordinary honours conferred on Sejanus, had inspired him with rashness, and turned his head, forbid by a decree, that such should be ever granted to any Roman, and also the swearing by any name but that of the emperor. And yet this wise assembly fell into flattery, almost at the same time, to Macro and Laco. It decreed both of them gratifications out of the public treasury; and to Macro the pretorian ornaments, and those of the questorship to Laco; together with some other prerogatives. But both these officers, made wise by Sejanus's recent lesson, declined honours whose danger they were aware of.

Preaching
of Jesus
Christ.

Nobody at Rome was attentive to an event which was to renew the face of the universe. *Jesus Christ*, our Saviour, then preached his gospel in Judea, and founded the spiritual monarchy foretold by the prophets, and destined to subdue, by the power of words, all the kingdoms of the earth.

S E C T. III.

Tiberius crueller after Sejanus's death. Blesus, and many others, prosecuted before the senate as accomplices of Sejanus. Cruelties of Tiberius at Caprea. Melancholy adventure of a Rhodian. Public hatred of Tiberius. Servilius

* Suetonius says nine months. But the time is too long, and not to be reconciled with Tacitus, who makes Tiberius quit the isle of Caprea towards the beginning of the following year, to go along the shore of Campania, and come near Rome.

lities of the senate. A senator punished for having proposed to give an honourable recompence to the pretorian soldiers. Two accomplices of Sejanus condemned. Messalinus Cotto attacked by many senators, and defended by Tiberius. Tacitus's reflection on a confession that escaped Tiberius. Tiberius's debaucheries. His shame of them spite of himself. His cruelty continues. Passion for accusations. Magnanimity of a Roman knight accused of being Sejanus's friend. Tiberius's cruelty to his old friends; and to the learned Grecians he had about him. Many accused. Death of Scaurus. A mother put to death for bewailing her son. Death of Fufius Geminus, and of his wife. Rubrius Fabatus thinks of retiring to Parthia. Piso, prefect of Rome, dies. His perpetual drunkenness. Lamia succeeds him, and afterwards Cossus. New Sibylline verses. Tiberius has them examined. Seditious motions of the people appeased. The empire foretold Galba by Tiberius. Marriages of Drusilla and Julia, Germanicus's daughters, and of Julia, Drusus's daughter. Troubles and general confusion about debts. Remedy applied by Tiberius. Continuation of Tiberius's cruelties. He puts to death all who were detained in prison as Sejanus's accomplices. Death of Asinius Gallus. Death of Drusus, Germanicus's son. Agrippina's death. Plancina is accused, and kills herself. Cocceius Nerva starves himself. Peaceable deaths of three illustrious persons. Consummation of the mysteries of the Saviour. A phoenix. Pomponius Laebo and his wife cut their veins. Informers punished. Boldness of Lentulus Getulicus. Second decennials of Tiberius. False Drusus. Troubles and revolutions among the Parthians and Ar-

menians. Commotions in Cappadocia. Continuation of Tiberius's cruelties. Peaceable death of Poppæus Sabinus. Burial of a raven. A person accused poisons himself in the senate itself. Punishment of Tigranes. A great fire in Rome. Tiberius's liberality. Tiberius's perplexity and uncertainty about the choice of a successor. Remarkable saying of Tiberius about Caius. Tiberius endeavours to conceal the declension of his health. Divers accusations. Voluntary death of Arruntius. A tragical and scandalous adventure. Tiberius's demise. The people inveigh against his memory. Epochs and degrees of Tiberius's wickedness. Proofs of the badness of his heart. His moroseness. His irreligion. His learning. His obscure, pedantic style. His affectation of purity. His person.

A. R. 782.
aft. C. 31.
Tiberius
crueller af-
ter Sejan-
us's death.
Surt. Tib.
lxi, lxii.
Dio, l. lviii.

MEN love to flatter themselves. When the Romans saw Sejanus dead, they expected a milder government; imagining that the tyrannic rigours they had experienced, proceeded less from the emperor than his minister, who had often acted of his own head, or by orders extorted from his master's weakness.

Tiberius took care to undeceive them; and let them know that he wanted no prompter to cruelty; that it was natural to him; and that if he had not shewn it at first, his moderation was owing to his policy, and not to clemency, to which he was a stranger. His fury, far from being diminished by Sejanus's death, broke out with redoubled violence. On account of real or pretended friendship, and intelligence with that guilty minister, Tiberius shed an ocean of blood; and the relation of these horrors takes up almost all the rest of his reign.

Blesus, Sejanus's uncle, who had benefited A.R. 782. by his credit, as we have seen, was one of the aft. C. 31. first that shared his disgrace; and when he was Blesus, and many dead, Tiberius loaded him with reproaches and others, prosecuted before the senate as accomplices of Sejanus. outrages. Another illustrious man, laudable for Tac. v. 6. 7, 8. his constancy, but whose name is not to be found in Tacitus, fell by his own hand. It is a very probable conjecture that Velleius, who flatters Sejanus in the most servile manner in his abstract of history, participated of the destiny of all his partizans.

P. Vitellius, the friend and avenger of Germanicus, was accused of having offered Sejanus, to second his criminal enterprizes, the money in the public treasury, of which he had the custody. To Pomponius Secundus, predecessor of Memmius Regulus in the consulship, was objected, that he had received into his gardens Ælius Gallus, who, after Sejanus's execution, came there for shelter. These two found an asylum in the generosity of their brothers, who undertook to keep them, and be their sureties. Their affair lingered; and Vitellius, not able to bear a continual suspense between hope and fear, desired a pen-knife, as if he wanted it for writing, and with it opened his veins. His hurts, however, were not mortal; but he died of grief.

Pomponius was a man of great elegance of manners, of a lively wit, and of distinguished ability in poetry. His spirits, and the amusements he was capable of inventing, made his captivity tolerable, and he survived Tiberius. We shall have occasion to mention him again in the sequel of this work. His brother acquired great reputation by the good-nature he shewed at so nice a juncture. But he tarnished this glory Tac. vi. 18. by lending his assistance in odious accusations of pretended

A.R. 782. pretended high-treason. He excused himself by
 aft. C. 31. saying, that he wanted the emperor's favour to
 ward the blow that threatened his brother. But,
 besides that injustice is not to be committed on
 any pretext whatever, his bustling turbulent
 temper, really contributed to his giving so much
 trouble to himself and others.

Cruelties of Tiberius at Capreae. Dio. Tiberius took pains to lay to the senate most
 of the condemnations and punishments, think-
 ing to deceive the world, and throw on that as-
 sembly the odium of the many bloody execu-
 tions of which he was the true cause. He even
 took a malicious pleasure in obliging the sena-
 tors to serve his vengeance by prosecuting one
 another. But his cruelty could not be fully sa-
 tisfied without exercising it personally. At Ca-
 preæ he often fed his eyes with the long and cru-
 el torments that by his order were inflicted on
 the wretches he doomed to die; and in Sueton-
 ius's time the rock used to be shewn from which
 he had them precipitated afterwards before him
 into the sea; while marine soldiers placed at
 the foot of the rock, with long poles and oars,
 beat and bruised their bodies for fear some spark
 of life should yet remain.

Suct.

Suetonius also says, that Tiberius, after hav-
 ing the first hint about the black mystery of his
 son Drusus's death, employed himself altogether
 many days in examining into that affair by tor-
 tures; so that during this time, an old friend of
 his of Rhodes, whom he had invited by letters
 to come and see him, arriving at Capreae, Ti-
 berius, absorbed in this business, ordered him im-
 mediately to be racked, as if he had been one of
 the accomplices of the crime under examination;
 and when he found his error, he ordered him to
 be

*Melan-
 choly ad-
 venture of;
 a Rhodian.*

be

be slain, for fear the poor man should divulge his melancholy adventure. A. R. 782.
aft. C. 31.

Tiberius's cruelty was ingenious in inventing punishments that made people suffer long without killing them. Death was a favour; and he knew it so well, that having been informed, that an accused, named Carnulius, had destroyed himself, he cried out, Carnulius has escaped me. And on another occasion, as he was reviewing some prisoners, one of them begging of him immediate death, he answered, "I am not yet reconciled to you." Every body is aware how much such a tyrant must have been hated. The public detestation of him went so far, that, as Dio expresses it, there was no Roman who did not wish to tear him to pieces, if possible, with his teeth. But he was full as much dreaded as hated, and to avoid his cruelty his subjects redoubled their servility. Public hatred of Tiberius.
Dio.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS.

A. R. 783.
aft. C. 32.

I said, that Tiberius long refused to suffer the observation of his ordinances to be sworn to. He consented thereto at last; and it was customary every year, on the first of January, for a senator to repeat the oath, which the rest joined in by an unanimous acclamation. The year after Sejanus's death, whose consuls were Domitius, Agrippina's husband, and Camillus Scribonianus, this engagement was made more personal, and each member of the senate pronounced the whole oath. Servilities of the senate.

At the same time, the first men of the commonwealth strove to signalize their zeal for the emperor, by the new decrees, that I have anticipated Tac. vi. ?
Dio.

A.R. 783. cipated, against the memory of Livilla and that
aft. C. 32. of Sejanus.

An obscure senator, Togonius Gallus, made himself ridiculous by aping the Cassii and Scipios. He had a mind, like them, to pay his court to the emperor, and he proposed that Tiberius might be desired to choose a number of senators, out of which twenty, drawn by lot, should attend him armed with swords when he entered the senate. Dio justly observes, that this proposal was injurious to the senate, into whose assemblies none were admitted but its members. If then the emperor wanted guards there, he must be supposed to have enemies among the senators. However, Togonius's motion was registered; and Tiberius answered it with a serious irony. For after having, in the letter he wrote on that subject, thanked the senators for their great good-will and affection, he exposed the difficulties of this new establishment. "Who, said he, must I choose, or refuse? Are they to be always the same, or a continued succession? Must they be old magistrates, or young senators? Those in office, or those out of office? Moreover, how strange will it appear to see senators gird on their swords at the entry of the senate? my life cannot be of such importance as to have it defended by such arms." Thus bantered Tiberius, who at the bottom would have been very unwilling to trust his person and life in the hands of the senators, whom he hated, and who he knew hated him. This he sufficiently proved the following year, when he desired leave to be accompanied, when he came to the senate, by Macro, and some of the tribunes and centurions of his guard; an useless precaution, by which he wantonly insulted the senate, as he had determined never more to enter the senate-house.

house. But he risked nothing in braving that assembly, whose cowardice was then so great, that in the decree that gave Tiberius the liberty he desired, without prescribing the number or quality of the military people he should bring with him, they added, that every senator should be examined and searched before he came into the assembly, that no one might conceal a sword under his robe.

Togonius then was quit for having his motion turned into ridicule by Tiberius. Another flatterer paid dearer for a fine invention that adulation dictated to him, and for which he valued himself. Junius Gallio, a senator, observing that Tiberius paid great regard to the pretorian cohorts, in whom he apprehended some remains of their attachment to Sejanus, thought he should enter into the emperor's views by proposing to the senate, to order that the pretorian soldiers, when their time of service was expired, should have a right to sit at the spectacles among the Roman knights. Tiberius sent a thundering answer to this article; demanding of Gallio, as if present, "What business he had with the soldiery, men who were to receive neither orders nor rewards, but from the emperor? he added, insultingly, that Gallio was wiser to be sure than Augustus, and had discovered what had escaped that great prince; or rather, that he acted as a mercenary of Sejanus, who aimed at sedition and discord, by luring simple and rude men, under pretence of honour and privileges, to break the laws of military discipline." In consequence of this answer, Gallio was expelled the senate, and afterwards Italy; and as he was suspected of making his exile easy and agreeable, because he fixed in the pleasant isle of Lesbos, he was brought back to

A senator punished for having proposed to give an honourable recompence to the pretorian soldiers. Tac. vi. 3. Dio.

A.R. 783. to Rome, and put in custody of the magistrates, aft. C. 32. so that one of their houses always served him for a prison.

Two accomplices of Sejanus condemned.

Tiberius in the same letter, charged as an accomplice of Sejanus, Sextius Paconianus, who had served pretor. He was a bold mischievous man, and one of those whose curiosity is always diving into the secrets of families, and Sejanus had pitched on him for his instrument and assistant in his plot to destroy young Caius, Germanicus's third son. The senate was well pleased to have an opportunity of exercising a just vengeance against this person, who was hated by all good men. They were going to condemn him to death, when he had recourse to an expedient that had succeeded to others, and offered to discover an accomplice. He accused Latinius Latiaris, who some years before had been the chief betrayer of Titus Sabinus.

* The accuser and the accused, two men equally detested, administered a most grateful scene to the senate by their humiliation and distress. Latinius was condemned, and Paconianus kept in prison. At the end of three years, being detected of composing in the very prison, verses against the emperor, he was strangled there.

Suet. Tib. lxi.

I do not know whether this is the same Paconius, about whose death Suetonius relates an anecdote worth observing. Tiberius being at table, a dwarf, who among other buffoons diverted him, asked, why Paconius, who had been so long accused of high-treason, yet lived? The emperor silenced him, by telling him to curb his pecculant tongue; but in a few days he sent orders to

* Accusator ac reus, juxta invisum, gratum spectaculum prebebatur. Tac.

to the senate to proceed immediately to pass sen- A.R. 783.
tence on Paconius. aft. C. 32.

Whilst men once formidable and supported Messali-
met with the punishment of their crimes, some nus Cotta
senators thought the opportunity favourable to attacked by
attack Messalinus Cotta, who long had merited many sena-
the public hatred by the rigour with which he tors, and
always voted against the unfortunate, to satisfy defended
the cruelty of the emperor. This was the secret by Tiberi-
motive of the senate's indignation against him, us.
but other pretences were used. Sarcasms Tac. vi. 5.
against young Caius and Livia were alleged. He
was arraigned for that, in a pecuniary affair be-
tween him and Man. Lepidus and Arruntius, he
said, " My * adversaries will have the senate
for them, but I depend on my little Tiberius." These allegations, which were advanced by sena-
tors of a middling rank, were seconded by the
leading men ; wherefore Messalinus, fearing the
senate's judgment, prevented it by an appeal to
the emperor.

He was not deceived in his hopes of Tiberius's
protection. Soon came a letter to the senate, in
which the emperor, having dated very back-
ward his first friendship with Messalinus, and re-
called many of his services, desired the senators
not to wrest into crimes, words maliciously in-
terpreted, and some gaieties escaped in the midst
of good cheer. He even demanded justice against
the senator Cecilianus, who had been the most
sanguine against Cotta ; and the senate implicit-
ly obeyed. A little before Arruntius having been
accused (of what we cannot tell, because the
place where Tacitus related the affair is lost) his
impeachers were punished as guilty of calumny.

The

* Illos quidem Senatus, me autem tuchitur Tiberiolus
meus.

A.R. 763. The same sentence was pronounced against Cecilianus; and Messalinus, a man indeed of great birth, but odious on account of his manners, and his cruelty, was equalled in treatment with the most worthy member of the Roman senate.

Tacitus's reflexion on a confession that escaped Tiberius.

Most remarkable * was the beginning of this letter of Tiberius I am speaking of. He expressed himself thus; "What to write to you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write, or what at all not to write at this instant, if I can determine, may all the deities doom me to still more cruel agonies than those under which I feel myself perishing daily." This confession of what he suffered, while he himself was the scourge of the universe, occasions a judicious reflexion from Tacitus. His cruelties, says the historian, and debaucheries became his punishments. Nor was it at random that wise Socrates affirmed, that if the souls of tyrants could be seen they would appear full of wounds and scars; because what stripes are to the body, the same to the soul is cruelty, lust, and iniquitous inclinations. And it appears, that neither Tiberius's imperial fortune, nor his inaccessible solitude, could exempt him from feeling, and avowing, the tortures and racks he endured, the consequences of his crimes.

Nothing

* *Insigne visum est earum Cæsaris literarum initium. Nam his verbis exorsus est: Quid scribam vobis, P. C. aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deæque pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie sentio, si scio. Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra sapientissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse adspici laniatus et ictus, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant: quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur. Tac. vi. 6*

Nothing more certainly causes these avenging A.R. 783.
remorses, that ignominy which makes a guilty af. C. 32.
person odious to himself, than criminal debau- Tiberius's
cheries. Now in the last years of the reign and debauche-
life of Tiberius, he became a monster that way, ries. His
keeping no sort of measures, using violence, and shame of
making no difference of rank or sex. And his them spite
consequential involuntary shame made him avoid of himself:
the sight of men. This year he quitted his is- Tac. vi. 1.
land, and having sailed along the shore of Cam-
pania, came near Rome; and had, or feigned to
have, a design to enter it. But the remembrance
of his crimes, on a sudden, drove him back to
his solitudes and the rocks of Capreae.

The shameless disorders to which he abandoned His cruel-
himself without reserve, did not lessen his cru- ty conti-
elty. He continued to wage an implacable war nues. Pas-
with all who had any connexions with Sejanus. sion for ac-
He himself raised up informers, though there were cusations.
already so many of them. The great as well as Tac. vi. 7.
the little followed * that scandalous profession,
and appeared in public impeachments, or gave
secret intelligence. Friends and enemies, ac-
quaintance and strangers, every body was to be
feared, and all sorts of accusations were admit-
ted. No distinction was made between old
and recent facts, between words and actions.
Words dropped in the forum, or escaped at the
table, were made crimes of. The fury of ac-
cusing seemed an epidemic distemper that had
seized

* Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, quum pri-
mores Senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, multi
propalam, alii per occultum. Neque discerneres alienos a
conjunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid recens, aut vetustate ob-
scurum; perinde in Foro, in convivio, quaque de re locuti
incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare prope-
rat; pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine
et contactu. Tac.

A. R. 783. seized the whole nation. The least criminal aft. C. 32. were those who thereby endeavoured to extricate themselves from difficulties. Tacitus names four unfortunate persons who, when condemned, saved their lives by declaring themselves ready to impeach other pretended culprits. The best known of the four is Q. Serveus, formerly pretor, and a friend of Germanicus. He was arraigned by C. Cestius, an illustrious senator, who, after he had secretly accused him to Tiberius, received orders from him, to lay before the senate what he had acquainted him with by letter.

Magnanimity of a Roman knight accused of being Sejanus's friend.

So universal a cowardice makes the more laudable an example of magnanimity, set at this time by M. Terentius a Roman knight. Accused of being Sejanus's friend, he openly avowed it, in the following speech to the senate: "In my present circumstances, fathers, to deny the charge were, perhaps, more expedient than to acknowledge it. But, whatever may be the result, I will own that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I even sought to be his friend, and that I gloried when I had gained his friendship. I had seen him colleague with his father in the command of the pretorian cohorts; and afterwards I saw him invested with unlimited power, governing the civil and military. All favours were bestowed on his relations and friends. His friendship was the road to that of the prince. On the contrary, those whose enemy he was, experienced nothing but alarms and misfortunes. Instances I bring none; I will endanger nobody; but at my single peril, I will undertake the defence of all those, who, like me, are guiltless of the criminal designs of Sejanus. No, * Cesar, † Sejanus the Vulsinian was not the man we courted;

* Tiberius, though absent, is apostrophized as if present.

† Non Sejanum Vulsiniensem, sed Claudiae et Juliae do-

courted ; but the man permitted to enter into the A.R.783.
 alliance of the Claudii, and the Julii, the man ^{aft. C.32.}
 who was your son-in-law, the man who was your
 colleague in the consulship, the man who under
 you administered the empire. To us it belongs
 not to judge, who is he, whom above all others
 you exalt, nor for what causes you have exalted
 him. Upon you the gods have devolved the
 supreme disposal of all things, and to us remains
 the glory of obedience. Facts we behold ; we
 perceive on whom you accumulate honours and
 power, and who are most capable of serving or
 hurting us. And that all these characteristics
 centered in Sejanus, no man will pretend to deny.
 But to pry into the secrets of the prince
 and endeavour to penetrate into his mysteries, is
 a rash, hazardous enterprize ; in which we should
 never succeed. Recall not, fathers, the last day
 of Sejanus ; recall sixteen years of the highest
 fortune. We then courted his meanest retainers ;
 and esteemed it a great honour and advantage
 to be acquainted with his freed-men and porters.
 What then ? Is this to be the undistinguished
 defence of all Sejanus's friends ? Far from it,
 let just limits bound it. Let the conspiracy
 against the state, let the bloody design against
 the prince's person be justly punished. As to
 the ties of friendship and acquaintance, we are
 in the same situation as you, Cesar, yourself ;
 and justified by your great example."

The

mus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, tuum, Cæsar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in republica capessentem colebamus. Non est nostrum aestimare quem supra ceteros, et quibus de causis, extollas. Tibi summum rerum iudicium dii dedere ; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Spectamus porro quæ coram habentur, cui ex te opes, honores, quis plurima iuvandi nocendive potentia ; quæ Sejano fuisse nemo negaverit. Abiit Principis sensus, et si quid occultius parat, exquirere illicitum, anceps, nec ideo adsequare. Tur.

A.R. 783. The success was equal to the laudable resolu-
 aft. C. 32. tion here manifested. Terentius had dared utter
 what every body thought. He was not only
 acquitted, but his accusers (guilty too of divers
 crimes) were punished by banishment or death.

Tiberius's
 cruelty to
 his old
 friends ;
 and to the
 learned
 Grecians
 he had
 about him.
Suct. Tib.
 66.

We do not know what share Tiberius had in
 this act of justice, though the honour of it seems
 to belong in the first place to the senate. But if
 he authorised it, as we must suppose, he soon
 tarnished the little glory he thereby acquired,
 by new cruelties exercised on his oldest friends.
 Sex. Vestilius, formerly dear to Drusus, Tibe-
 rius's brother, and afterwards received by Tibe-
 rius into the class of those who had at all times
 admittance to him, was accused of having calum-
 niated the manners of young Caius in a satirical
 writing. Tiberius loved not Caius enough to
 interest himself warmly in revenging his injured
 reputation ; but he made a pretence hereof to
 get rid of a man who was grown odious to him,
 and thereupon forbid Vestilius to come into his
 presence. Nobody was ever disgraced by halves
 with Tiberius. Vestilius understood his lan-
 guage, and with his trembling, aged hand, at-
 tempted to open his veins ; afterwards by a nat-
 ural repentance he bound them up, and wrote
 to the emperor to depreciate his wrath. But
 receiving a dry, severe answer, he finished what
 he had began, and opened them again for ever.

Vesularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, insepa-
 rable friends of Tiberius, who had followed him
 to Rhodes, nor quitted him at Capreæ, were put
 to death too about the same time. We may re-
 member that Vesularius was the inter-agent in
 the plot against Libo : and Sejanus had used Ma-
 rinus to ruin Curtius Atticus, an illustrious Ro-
 man knight who had accompanied Tiberius to
 Capreæ,

Capreæ. * Hence the public was not displeas'd A.R. 753.
to see them fall by precedents of their own con- aft. C. 32-
triving.

It was a misfortune, as I have already observed, to approach Tiberius, or have any connexion with him. The learned Grecians, in whose conversation he amused himself, though not to be suspected of plotting against the state, or combining with Sejanus, experienced nevertheless his barbarity. As one Zeno was talking to him, Tiberius, displeas'd with his affected pronunciation, ask'd him what dialect he spoke: "I speak the Doric," answer'd Zeno. As that was the dialect of Rhodes, Tiberius imagin'd that the Grecian reproach'd him with his retreat into that island, and banish'd him to one of the Sporades.

Tiberius us'd, during his meals, to propose questions to the grammarians with him, about what he had read that day: and these questions were often (as I have elsewhere observ'd) very difficult and odd. But he divert'd himself with puzzling the ablest of them, and detecting them in mistakes. He was inform'd that one of them, nam'd Selucus, got intelligence from the officers of his chamber of what books he read, in order to prepare himself: and for this pretended crime he first forbid him admittance, and afterwards put him to death.

All that I have last related happen'd at Capreæ. Mary accus'd.
At Rome five of the most illustrious senators Death of
were at one time accus'd of high-treason. Hor- Seaurus,
ror seiz'd the senate: for there was scarce one Tac. vi. 9.
of that assembly who was not a relation, or friend
of some of the accus'd. Two of them, Appius
Silanus and Calvisius Sabinus, were clear'd by
the

* Quo letius acceptum, sua exempla in consultores reci-
disse. Tac. vi. 10.

A.R. 783. witnesses. As to the other three, Annius Pollio, aft. C. 32. Annius Vinicianus his son, and Mam. Scaurus, Tiberius reserved to himself the cognizance of their affair, which he said he would judge of in conjunction with the senate; and as he never returned to Rome, they escaped, all but Scaurus, who was re-accused two years after.

Tac. vi. 29. We have already more than once mentioned
Dio. this Scaurus, a man who was able to have sup-
Sen. De br- ported the glory of his family by his eloquence,
nes. iv. 31. had he not tarnished it by such immoral deeds as modesty cannot relate. It was not Sejanus's friendship, but Macro's enmity, that ruined him. This new commandment of the pretorian bands secretly imitated his predecessor: and knowing that Scaurus had been long hated by Tiberius, imagined it would be an easy matter to make him criminal. A tragedy composed by this senator furnished matter of accusation. Atreus was the subject of it, one too much resembling Tiberius by his cruelty to his family; and some verses therein seemed liable to such an application. At this Tiberius was much enraged, and passionately said, "Since he makes me Atreus, I will make him Ajax." And accordingly suborned accusers brought him before the senate, not for his tragedy, which was his real crime, but for an adulterous commerce with Livida, who had been dead three years, and for magic sacrifices. Scaurus prevented condemnation by suicide encouraged thereto by Sextia his wife, who added practice to precept, and died with him. He was the last of the Scauri, and with him that branch of the Emilian family became extinct.

I now return to the year wherein Scaurus was accused the first time; which presents a piece of cruelty till then unheard of. I shall relate it in

Tacitus's

Tacitus's very words. * " Even women, says A.R. 787. this historian, were not exempt from danger, aft. C. 32. and as they could not be charged with designs A mother put to death for bewailing her son. Tac. vi. 10. to usurp the government, their tears were made treason. Vitia, an old lady, and mother of Fufius Geminus, was sentenced to execution for bewailing the death of her son."

The bloody death of Fufius Geminus is not in what we have of Tacitus. Dio † places it before Sejanus's ruin : so that it is probable that Fufius, having been consul in the year of Rome 780, perished the following year. He had been a courtier of Livia ; which was sufficient reason for drawing on him Tiberius's hatred, as he made it a rule to persecute all that had been loved and protected by his mother. Fufius accordingly was impeached of high-treason and impiety against the emperor. To obviate this, he produced and read in the senate his will, by which he had made Tiberius joint-heir with his own children. But seeing his destruction was resolved, he retired without waiting the sentence. Suet. Tib. 51. Dio.

Soon after he was told that a questor was coming to notify to him a capital sentence, and execute it. Upon this he ran himself through with his sword : and, as effeminacy and lubricity had been imputed to him, when the questor entered, pointing to his wound, he said ; " Look here ; and acknowledge that he who dies in this manner is a man, and no effeminate." Publia Prisca his wife was also arraigned, and being compelled

2

to

* Ne feminæ quidem exsortes periculi ; quia occupandæ reipublicæ argui non poterant, ob lacrymas incensabantur : necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset.

† The name is somewhat disguised in the Greek historian : for instead of *Fufius Geminus*, it is there *Rufus Geminus*. But the mistake is plain, and *Muretus* has corrected it.

A.R. 783. to appear before the senate, killed herself, in
 a. C. 32. the sight of her judges, with a poniard she con-
 cealed under her gown.

I am aware that the uniformity of so many
 melancholy events must tire the reader. I will
 therefore omit some of the least interesting.

Rubrius
 Fabatus
 thinks of
 retiring to
 Parthia.
Tac. vi. 14.

But I cannot pass over in silence the singular ad-
 venture of one Rubrius Fabatus, who, frightened
 at the blood spilt on account of Sejanus's conspi-
 racy, and despairing for the Roman common-
 weal, resolved to retire among the Parthians.
 At least he was suspected of it; and it is certain
 that he was stopped near the straits of Sicily, and
 could give no good account of his intended jour-
 ney. He was afterwards brought back to Rome :
 but his life was not touched, through forgetful-
 ness rather than clemency.

Piso, pre-
 fect of
 Rome,
 dies. His
 perpetual
 drunken-
 ness.

The death of L. Piso, prefect (or governor)
 of the city, is an interruption of these tragic
 scenes. His name proclaims his nobility : * he
 was never the author himself of any servile mo-
 tion in the senate, and was wise in moderating
 such as necessity forced from him. Notwith-
 standing he lived long in honour and dignity, and
 died peaceably at the age of fourscore. Perhaps
 he was partly indebted for this fortunate tran-
 quillity as well as for his government, to his con-
 formity to Tiberius in the love of wine. Seneca
 † says of him, That he was drunk but once in
 his life ; for from the first time he got intoxica-
 ted he was never sober till his death.

Tac. vi. 10.
Suet. Tib.
42. Sen.
Ep. lxxxiii.

He spent at table the greatest part of the night,
 and slept till noon, which was his day-break.

But

* Nullius servilis sententiæ sponte auctor, et, quoties
 necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. *Tac.*

† L. Piso—ebrius, ex quo semel factus est, fuit : ma-
 jorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat : usque in horam
 sextam fere dormiebat, hoc erat ejus matutinum. *Sen.*

But what is surprising is, that, notwithstanding A.R. 783. this vice, he filled for many years, to the satisfac- aft. C. 32. tion of both prince and people, an important post, that required extraordinary vigilance.

His successor was Elius Lamia, whom Tibe- Lamia suc- rius had long detained at Rome with the title ceeds him, of governor of Syria, without suffering him to and after- go and officiate. At last he took from him this sus- wards Cos- empty honour, and gave him a real employment, sus. *Tac. vi. 27;* where the title and function went together. *Dio.*

Lamia, who was very old, kept his place but two years: and after his death, Tiberius, as if fond of drunkards*, bestowed the government of *Sen.* Rome on Cossus, whose birth, wisdom, and moderation, would have entitled him to it, had he not been as much given to liquor as Piso. He often would fall into so sound a sleep in the senate, into which he would come immediately from the table, as to be carried away without waking him.

A new book of pretended Sibylline oracles, *New Si-* presented to the senate, and too easily adopted *bylline* by it, gave Tiberius an opportunity of acquir- *verses.* ing reputation, by shewing how skillful he was *Tiberius* in all parts of government. Caninius Gallus, *has them* one of the Quindecimvirs (or priests that had *examined.* the custody of the Sibylline book) had been the promoter of this affair; and Quinctilianus, tribune of the people, had proposed it to the deliberation of the senate. Tiberius excused the youth of the tribune, who was not obliged to understand these matters. But upbraided Gallus, who, on account of his age and employment, ought to have known with what circumspection and

* Puto quia illi bene cesserat Pisonis ebrietas postea Cossus fecit urbis Præfectum, virum gravem moderatum, sedmersum vino et madentem; adeo ut ex Senatu aliquando in quem e convivio venerat, oppressus inexcitabili sonna tolleretur. *Sen.*

A.R. 783. and maturity it was proper to proceed in the admission of new oracles. He recalled the wise precautions that Augustus, and before him the senate, at the time of the burning of the capitol, had taken about a collection of Sibylline verses : and he concluded by ordering the new book to be examined by the quindecimviral college. Tacitus leaves us to guess that the book, on examination, was rejected.

Seditious motions of the people appeased. He conducted himself with the same gravity on account of some commotions of the people, occasioned by the dearness of provisions. There had been for several days in the theatre seditious clamours ; and the emperor had been apostrophised very disrespectfully for not remedying the dearth. Tiberius reprimanded the senate and magistrates for not putting a stop to this licentiousness ; and subjoined to his letter a memorial, in which he shewed from what provinces he had corn, and in how much greater quantities than in the time of Augustus. In consequence of this letter the senate passed a decree of ancient severity, to keep the people within the bounds of their duty. The consuls also published an ordinance in the same style. Tiberius addressed no remonstrance to the people, imagining that his moderation would be commended. But every thing is taken ill of a prince that is hated, and his silence was placed to the account of his pride.

The consuls of the following year, as well as those of that we are closing, were two men of most illustrious names, Galba and Sylla.

A.R. 784.
aft. C. 33.

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Galba is the emperor who succeeded Nero, when he was very old, and reigned but a few months.

months. Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius fore-
 told him, during his consulship, †his his late and
 short reign, in these words; “* Galba, you shall
 one day taste of empire.” He also adds, that it
 was by judicial astrology, which Tiberius had
 been instructed in by Thrasyllus, that he thus
 penetrated into futurity.

Those who are acquainted with the cheat of
 astrology, will not be disposed to admit readily
 the truth of such a prediction. We must ob-
 serve too, that authors differ about this affair, and
 that Suetonius ascribes to Augustus what Tacitus
 says of Tiberius. But supposing the fact true,
 supposing we were also to believe, on the autho-
 rity of Tacitus, that Thrasyllus’s son foretold that
 Nero should be emperor, two predictions that have
 succeeded by chance are not sufficient to gain cre-
 dit to an art without principles, or rather contrary
 to the principles of reason. Credulous writers re-
 cord the instances that are favourable to their pre-
 judice, and prudently pass over in silence the facts
 which are repugnant thereto, and the numberless
 prophccies that have been falsified by the events.

This year Tiberius married Drusilla and Julia,
 Germanicus’s daughters, to Cassius and Vinicius,
 who had been consuls together four years before.
 Vinicius is the person to whom Velleius addresses
 his abstract of history. His family had not been
 long ennobled; and he was originally of the lit-
 tle town of Cagli in Latium, where his ancestors
 had lived Roman knights. His grandfather first
 introduced the consulship into the family. He
 himself was a man of a gentle temper, and a good
 speaker, which was then a matter of moment
 among the first Romans: but his eloquence was
 like his character; and when Tacitus says that
 it

* Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis Imperium.

A. R. 784.

aft. C. 33.

The em-
 pire fore-
 told Galba
 by Tibe-
 rius.

Tac. vi. 20.

Marriages
 of Drusilla

and Julia,

Germani-
 cus's

daughters;

and of Ju-
 lia, Dru-
 sus's

daughter.

Tac. vi. 15.

27.

A.R. 784. it was mild, he makes us imagine that it was spi-
 aft. C. 33. ritless. The name of Cassius is famous in the
 Roman history. This we speak of was more
 admired for the easiness than vigour of his spirit.
 Tiberius's policy in the choice of his sons-in-
 law is easily fathomed, he took care they should
 be such as, from the turn of their temper, would
 not give him any suspicions.

He followed the same plan in the marriage of
 Julia, daughter of his son Drusus, and widow of
 Nero, Germanicus's eldest son. She was re-mar-
 ried to Rubellius Blandus, a consular person,
 but whose grandfather many remembered a Ro-
 man knight settled at Tiber.

Troubles
 and gener-
 al confu-
 sion about
 debts.
 Remedy
 applied by
 Tiberius.
Tac. vi. 16.

Debts and usury, the old causes of divisions
 and troubles in Rome, and always continued by
 the wants of some and the avarice of others, spite
 of the methods often attempted to prevent the
 abuse, had prodigiously increased by the means
 of luxury, which was now at its height. The
 evil appeared by the great number of disputes
 between the borrowers and the lenders; and the
 pretor Gracchus, tired with the many suits of
 this sort brought before him, and perceiving that
 it was a general sore which particular judgments
 could not heal, but that the government alone
 could do something effectual therein, had re-
 course to the senate, and implored the aid of its
 wisdom and power.

The senate could not help ordering the ob-
 servation of the old laws, and particularly of that
 which Cesar the dictator made against usury. But
 on the other hand the breach of the laws had
 been universal, and the senators themselves were
 all guilty. They therefore begged impunity
 from the prince, and an interval of eighteen
 months for settling all accounts between debtors
 and

and creditors agreeably to the law. Then hap- A.R. 784.
 pened a general commotion in all fortunes. Lands aft. C. 33,
 were every where sold, and their value according-
 ly fell. Money was locked up; which was before
 scarce, because the condemnation of so many
 rich Romans, and the consequential confiscations
 and sales had carried most of the current money
 to the public treasury, or that of the emperor.
 In this disorder the first families in Rome were
 threatened with immediate ruin.

Tiberius on this occasion came to a resolution
 worthy of a prince who desired the relief of his
 subjects. He set apart a fund of an hundred
 millions of sesterces, (about two millions and
 five hundred thousand crowns) out of which any
 one might borrow for three years, without in-
 terest, what he wanted, provided he mortgaged
 twice the value of the sum in land. This resource
 made money circulate again; people paid, pri-
 vate lenders too were found, and credit was re-
 stored. This fact, with several others that we
 have related, proves, contrary to the opinion of
 Dio and Suetonius, that avarice was not to be
 reckoned among Tiberius's vices. It is true he
 did not attempt magnificence; but he made a
 good use of his money: and if he enriched his
 exchequer by confiscations, it was rather through
 malice than covetousness.

For he was thoroughly mischievous; and his
 attention sometimes to the public good stopped
 not the course of his tyrannic cruelties. Consi-
 dius Proculus, while he was celebrating peace-
 ably his birth-day, was hurried away to the se-
 nate on pretence of high-treason, and instantly
 condemned and executed. And his sister San-
 cia was interdicted fire and water.

A whole family, descended from Theophanes,
 formerly

Continuation of Ti-
 berius's
 cruelties.

A.R. 784. formerly a friend of the great Pompey, was
 aft. C. 33. ruined by one blow. Pompeia Macrina his great-
 grand-daughter, whose husband and father-in-
 law, two of the prime nobility of Greece, Tibe-
 rius had already destroyed, was banished. The
 father of this lady, an illustrious Roman knight,
 and her brother, formerly pretor, perceiving they
 should be condemned, slew themselves. And,
 what seems incredible, they were reproached
 with nothing but Pompey's friendship for their
 ancestor, and the divine honours paid by the
 flattery of the Grecians to Theophanes.

Tac. vi. 19.
Dio, l. lviii.

The riches of Sex. Marius, and the beauty of
 his daughter, were his ruin. He was the richest
 man in Spain, possessing mines of gold of pro-
 digious value. Dio relates a romantic proof of
 his wealth. He says, and I doubt whether he
 is to be believed, that Sex. Marius, being dissa-
 tisfied with a neighbour invited him to his house,
 where he detained him two days; during which
 time he pulled down this man's house and rebuilt
 it in a better manner. He then led him to it,
 and shewed him what he had done; saying, "It
 is thus that I make my enemies sensible of my
 vengeance and generosity." As to his daughter,
 he was apprehensive of Tiberius's lust, and to a-
 void that danger kept her from court, secreted in
 a place of safety. Tiberius, enraged thereat, had
 him accused of corrupting her: and on this odious
 imputation Marius was precipitated from the
 Tarpeian rock. His effects being confiscated,
 Tiberius seized on his mines of gold, either
 through real avarice, or perhaps to conceal un-
 der the appearance of a less shameful vice the true
 reason of his hatred to the unfortunate father.

The prisons were filled with persons accused
 of being Sejanus's accomplices. The detail of
 parti-

particular prosecutions tired Tiberius; therefore to avoid that trouble, he issued inhuman orders for putting to death all who were detained in prison on that account. Tacitus makes a terrible picture of this horrid butchery. * Exposed at the Genoniæ lay the monuments of the mighty carnage; those of every age and sex; the illustrious and the mean, their carcasses thrown in heaps or apart. Nor was it permitted to their friends or relations to approach, bewail, or even behold them. Round the dead, guards were placed, who watched faces and marked the signs of sorrow; and as the bodies putrified saw them thrown into the Tiber, where they floated in the stream, or were driven upon the banks, nobody daring to burn, or touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourses of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every symptom of commiseration was banished.

This year the death of Asinius Gallus was divulged, who had languished three years in misery, being strictly guarded in the houses of the magistrates, with only just nourishment enough (as I have said) to prolong his life and punishment. Tacitus reports, that he perished through famine, and doubts only whether his death was voluntary or constrained. It is easy to imagine that the languor occasioned by short and bad diet should destroy an old man. Tiberius being consulted whether he should be buried, was not ashamed

* Jacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis ætas; illustres, ignobiles, dispersi aut aggregati. Neque propinquus aut amicis adsistere, inlacrymare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur: sed circumjecti custodes, et in mœrorem cuiusque intenti, corpora putrefacta adsectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur: ubi fluitantia aut ripis adpulsa, non cremare quisquam, non contingere. Intereiderat sortis humanæ commercium vi metus; quantumque sævitia gliscebatur miseratio arcebatur. Tac.

A.R. 784.

aft. C. 33.

He puts to

death all

who were

detained in

prison as

Sejanus's

accomplices.

Death of

Asinius

Gallus.

Tac. vi. 23.

A. R. 784. ashamed to permit it, nor even to complain of
 aft. C. 33. the accident that had carried off the accused be-
 fore he had time to convict him; as if three
 years had not been sufficient for preparing the
 prosecution of one of the most illustrious mem-
 bers of the Roman senate.

Death of
 Drusus,
 Germani-
 cus's son.

Soon after perished Drusus, Germanicus's son,
 having struggled with hunger nine whole days,
 and supported himself by the most miserable nour-
 ishment, and gnawing the stuffing of his bed.
 We said that Macro had orders to fetch this young
 prince out of prison to oppose Sejanus, if he found
 means to raise any disturbance in the city. This
 order got wind, and rejoiced the public, who
 looked on it as a sign of a reconciliation of the
 emperor to his daughter-in-law and grandson.
 This was the reason why the inhuman wretch
 hardened his heart, and ordered Drusus's death.

And after he had killed him, he still pursued
 him with cruel invectives, charging him with a
 body foul with every prostitution, a spirit breath-
 ing destruction to his own family, and a rage
 against the commonwealth. He had also read
 in full senate the journal, that had been kept by
 his order, of all the actions and words of this
 young unhappy prince. This lecture * struck
 the senators with horror. They could not con-
 ceive that a grandfather could place for so many
 years about his grandson, spies, to watch his least
 motion, his gestures, his looks, his sighs, his
 murmurs;

* Quo non aliud atrocius visum. Adstitisse per tot annos
 qui vultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent!
 et potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promere, vix
 fides: nisi quod Actii centurionis, et Didymi liberti epi-
 stolæ servorum nomina præferabant, ut quis egredientem
 cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat. Etiam sua verba
 centurio sævitæ plena, tanquam egregium, voceque def-
 cientis, adjecerat: quis primo alienationem mentis simulans,
 quasi per dementiam, funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi expro-

murmurs; much less that he could bear to hear, A.R. 784. read, and publish, such a register. 'They knew aft. C. 33. not how to believe their ears, but that the style of these infamous memoirs too plainly savoured of the servile character of those who drew them. Therein were mentioned slaves, who boasted of having struck Drusus as he came out of his chamber, of having filled him with terrors. The centurion that guarded him also repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to Drusus, full of barbarity: with the words uttered by him in his last moments: and told how Drusus at first; feigning disorder of mind, ventured to rage against Tiberius, in the style of a madman; and how afterwards, when all hopes of life had forsaken him, in steady and deliberate imprecations he invoked the vengeance of the gods, that, as he had slaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grand-children, and with slaughters had filled his whole house, so they would, in justice to the ancestors of the slain, in justice to their posterity, doom him to some most cruel and dreadful catastrophe. The senators interrupted this by outcries and wishes opposite to these imprecations. And they were really frightened, and amazed, to find that Tiberius, who had been once so dark and subtle in his wickedness, was arrived at such a disregard of the judgment of the public, as to remove as it were the covert of the walls, and present to the senate his own grandson,

vitæ fuit, meditatae compositasque diras imprecabatur: ut quemadmodum nulum, filiumque fratris, et nepotes, domumque omnem cædibus complexset, ita pœnas nomini generique majorum et posteris exsolveret. Obturbabant quidem Patres, specie detestandi: sed penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum, huc confidentiæ venisse, ut tanquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verberibus centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitæ alimenta frustra orantem. Tac.

A. R. 784. grandson, outraged by a centurion, beat by slaves, aft. C. 33. and imploring in vain the last sustenance of life.

Agrippina's death. *Tac. vi. 25. Suet. Tib. 53, 64.* Before the impressions of this grief were worn out, the death of Agrippina caused new tears to stream. Since her condemnation she had been treated by Tiberius with the utmost inhumanity; insomuch that, as even her imprisonment could not break her spirit, nor hinder her from reproaching him bitterly to his face, he ordered her one day to be struck on the face; which was executed with such violence as to beat out one of her eyes. And when she and her sons were carried from one place to another, he used the precaution to shut them up close in a litter, loaded with chains, with the windows shut, and guards all about them, to disperse curious people.

Tacitus conjectures, that Agrippina on the death of Sejanus, flattered herself that her condition would be bettered, and therefore prolonged her wretched life; but at last finding no alteration but the same cruelties continued, she resolved to famish herself. According to Suetonius, Tiberius envied her even that sad consolation, and ordered victuals to be forced down her throat. Others, on the contrary, have said that Agrippina was not willing to die, but that they refused her nourishment. All that seems certain is that she was starved. Tiberius also endeavoured to ruin her reputation, and accused her of adultery with Asinius Gallus: whose death, he said, drove her to despair, unable as she was to survive her gallant. But Agrippina *, impatient of a private condition, and eager for rule, had sacrificed to masculine ambition the vices of her sex. Tiberius was not ashamed to boast to the senate of his not having strangled her, nor exposed her body

at

* Sed Agrippina æqui impatiens, dominandi avida. virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat. *Tac.*

at the Gemoniæ : and he observed, as a memorable circumstance, that she died the same day on which, two years before, Sejanus had suffered. The senate, always slavish and cringing, returned him thanks for his clemency ; and decreed at the same time, that every year on the eighteenth of October, the day on which Sejanus and Agrippina died, a gift should be offered to Jupiter.

The death of Agrippina, by a reverse scarce credible, procured that of Plancina her mortal enemy. We may recollect what share this lady had in the crimes that cost her husband, Cn. Piso, his life. But then the enmity of Agrippina, as well as Livia's protection, saved her. Favour and hate being now withdrawn, justice prevailed. I add too, that Plancina had been too great a favourite with Livia to be one with Tiberius. Finding herself therefore accused of crimes that had made so much noise, she would not stay for judgment, and with her own hand revenged on herself, somewhat late, Germanicus, and his family.

In the midst of so many deaths that afforded Tiberius joy and triumph, there happened one that afflicted him. Cocceius Nerva, his inseparable friend at all times, the only consular person that accompanied him to Capreæ, in vigour of body, and as much in favour as ever, formed on a sudden a purpose of dying. Tiberius was alarmed at it. He went to him, asked him his motives to so extraordinary a procedure, entreated him to desist, and even owned that it would be grievous to him, and prejudicial to his reputation, to have his best friend, without any apparent cause, relinquish life. Nerva all the while kept an obstinate silence ; and completed his purpose by abstinence. Those who were his confidants pretended, that the more he saw into the miseries of the commonwealth, the more he was transported

A.R. 784.
aft. C. 33.

Plancina is
accused,
and kills
herself.
Tuc. vi. 26.

Cocceius
Nerva
starves
himself.

A. R. 784. transported with indignation and dread ; and had
 aft. C. 33. therefore resolved, while yet his fortune was fa-
 vourable and unassaulted, to secure an honest end.
 This manner of thinking, at a time when suicide
 passed for an act of heroism, well agrees with
 the character of a great lawyer, as Nerva was,
 who, being accomplished in the knowledge of
 divine and human laws, must bear with more im-
 patience than other people injustice and tyranny.

Peaceable
 deaths of
 three illus-
 trious per-
 sons.

This year three persons of the first rank died
 peaceably, Elius Lamia, governor of Rome, of
 whom we lately made mention ; Man. Lepidus,
 famous for his moderation and wisdom ; and
 Pomponius Flaccus, governor of Syria, who at-
 tained that high post by his talent for drinking,
 as we have elsewhere observed. On occasion of
 the death of the last, and the consequential va-
 cancy of the government of Syria, Tiberius wrote
 to the senate, to complain that those senators
 who were fittest to command armies declined
 that office, so that he was obliged to have re-
 course to entreaties that one of the consulars
 would accept the government of that province. A
 groundless complaint, since nothing but his suspi-
 cious diffidence made the senators afraid of great
 posts : and he himself had detained ten years Ar-
 runtius at Rome, not being willing he should go to
 the government of Spain which had fallen to him.

Consum-
 mation of
 the mys-
 teries of
 the Sa-
 viour.

To this year also is to be referred, according
 to the opinion of the most knowing chronolo-
 gists, the consummation of the mysteries of Je-
 sus Christ, his death, resurrection, and glorious
 ascension : the only comfortable objects in the
 mid t of a deluge of crimes ; and divine reme-
 dies to the ills of mankind, whose iniquities are
 effaced by the sufferings of their Saviour, and
 who revive with him to eternal justice.

The following year the consuls were Paulus
 Fabius

Fabius * Persicus ; and L. Vitellius father of the emperor of the same name.

PAULUS FABIVS PERSICVS.
L. VITELLIVS.

A.R. 785.
aft. C. 34.

In this consulship, if we believe Tacitus, the A. Phenix. Tuc. vi. 28. Plin. xiii. 1. Dio. l. lviii. Phenix appeared in Egypt : Pliny and Dio say it was two years before. But the date of a fabulous wonder, of whose falsity nobody now doubts, is of little importance.

Rome always offers us the same view, accusations, condemnations, and bloody executions. Pomponius Labeo and his wife cut their veins. Pomponius Labeo, who had been governor of Mesia, and Paxea his wife, being accused of extortion, opened their veins and died. The dread of an infamous execution determined many to such desperate actions : and the more, as those who were condemned in form were debarred burial, and forfeited their estates ; whereas suicide commonly put an end to the prosecution, and Tiberius, discharged (as he imagined) of the reproach of cruelty by those who killed themselves, suffered them to be interred, and their wills to stand : the motive and price of dispatch. He manifested this inhuman policy with respect to Labeo and his wife. For he wrote to the senate, " That according to a custom of the old Romans, judging Labeo unworthy of his friendship, he had broken off all intercourse with him, and forbid him his house : and that Labeo, knowing himself guilty of mal-administration in his government, had chosen to conceal the just apprehension of the punishment of his crimes under the odium of a tragical death. And that Paxea had too soon taken fright, since, if guilty, she had

* I shall relate under Caligula a fact that gives a strange idea of the morals of Fabius Persicus.

A. R. 785. had nothing to fear." It cost Tiberius nothing aft. C. 34. to boast of his clemency to the dead.

Informers punished. This affected mercy did not hinder him from reducing soon after to self-destruction Mamercus Scaurus, whose death I have anticipated. But his accusers did not go unpunished. They were venal souls, as are all of that profession, and took a bribe of Varius Ligur, to drop a prosecution they were setting on foot against him. Tiberius, whom such a practice could not fail to displease, abandoned them to the vengeance of the senate, who banished them into distant islands. Abudius Rufo, once edile, gives a second instance of the punishment of an informer. Having commanded a legion under Lentulus Getulicus, who was at the head of the army of the higher Germany, he endeavoured on his return to Rome to ruin his general; and accused him of being an accomplice with Sejanus, because a marriage had been agreed on between a son of the favourite and a daughter of Lentulus. The credit and constancy of the accused made the mischief he was threatened with recoil on the accuser himself, who was banished Rome.

Boldness of Lentulus Getulicus. Lentulus had taken pains to ingratiate himself with his soldiers, by treating them indulgently, and seldom using severity. He was even acceptable to the army of the lower Rhine, where his father-in-law, L. Apronius, commanded. Confiding in these supports, it is believed, says Tacitus, that he was bold enough to write to Tiberius in this manner. "It is by no choice of mine, but by your advice, that I formed a design of joining affinity with Sejanus. I am liable to mistakes, as well as yourself, and it is not right that you should forgive yourself an error, and punish others for it. I know I owe you fidelity, and I will maintain it, while no intrigues are formed

formed against me. But I shall look on the nomination of a successor, as a denunciation of my death. Let me therefore come to an agreement with you, and you shall remain master of all the rest of the empire, and I always retain my province." It is surprising that Tiberius should take the law thus from a subject. Yet the fact is probable, because Lentulus alone, of all that were allied to Sejanus, remained in safety and favour. Besides, Tiberius was timid, old, and universally hated; and did not choose to hazard by a civil war his authority, which was rather apparent than real.

This year were celebrated the second decennals of Tiberius, that is, festivals and public rejoicings on account of the twentieth year of his reign.

Second decennals of Tiberius. *Dio.*

Dio places in the same year the taking of an impostor, who passed for Drusus, Germanicus's son; and, being seconded by the fraudulent testimony of some of the emperor's freed-men, appeared first in the cyclades, and then on the continent; and began to make a great noise among the Greeks, who were always lovers of novelty. But his progress was soon stopped. Poppeus Sabinus, governor of Macedonia and Achaia, followed the false Drusus so close, that he could not escape, but was arrested, and sent to Tiberius.

False Drusus. *Tac. v. 11. Dio.*

C. CESTIUS GALLUS.

A.R. 786.
aft. C. 35.

M. SERVILIUS RUFUS.

Under the consulship of Cestius and Servilius

Troubles and revolutions among the

2

some

* I suspect that the piece at the end of the fifth book of Tacitus's Annals, about the false Drusus, is misplaced; and ought to come long after, when Drusus was dead. And I am inclined to think so, because it is not probable that, while Drusus lived, an impostor should assume his name. Dio, agreeably hereto, does not speak of this impostor till after Drusus's death.

Partians and Armenians. *Tac. vi. 31—37. & 41—44. Dio. l. vii.*

A.R. 786. some noble Parthians came to Rome, unknown
aft. C. 35. to their king Artabanus. Things were then in
a violent fermentation in that empire, whose rap-
id revolutions will make a seasonable diversion
to the melancholy scenes we have been so long
contemplating at Rome.

Artabanus, as long as he feared the Romans,
affected a punctual observance of treaties, and
great mildness towards his subject. These assum-
ed virtues lasted no longer than the dread that
produced them. Puffed up with his success in
the wars with his neighbours, and contemning
the lazy indifference of Tiberius, which increas-
ed with his age, Artabanus appeared what he
really was, and acted with insolence to the Ro-
mans, and cruelty to the Parthians.

The throne of Armenia being vacant by the
death of Artaxias, whom Germanicus had plac-
ed there, he made himself master of that king-
dom, and bestowed it on his eldest son Arsaces.
This invasion was a rupture with the Romans;
to which he added an insult. He sent to re-de-
mand the treasure that Vonones had left in Syria
and Cilicia: and in menacing letters declared, that
he intended to re-establish the ancient bounda-
ries of the Persian and Macedonian empires;
and that he looked on himself as the successor
of Cyrus and Alexander, and should claim all
the possessions of those illustrious conquerors.

With such vast projects in his head, he should
in the first place have secured the affections of
those by whose means he was to execute them.
But, on the contrary, by his cruelties he alienated
the minds of his subjects: and while he was mak-
ing an ideal conquest of all Asia, many of his
grantees, having at their head Sinnaces a man of
birth and wealth, and Abdus an eunuch, were
plotting to dethrone him. They wanted a prince
of

of the blood of the Arsacidæ to make their king, because Artabanus had exterminated all the royal family, or if he had left any alive, they were such as were extremely young. For this reason the conspirators were forced to have recourse to Tiberius for Phraates, son of old Phraates, who had formerly been sent to Rome by his father. Their deputies represented, that they only wanted a name to authorize them; and that if a prince of the blood would appear on the banks of the Euphrates, under the protection of the Roman emperor, their enterprize could not fail of succeeding. This was entering into Tiberius's system, whose policy was to transact foreign affairs by artifice, and avoid engaging in a war. He very readily granted what they desired, and sent Phraates with an equipage and retinue worthy of his birth, and the dignity he designed him for.

Meanwhile Artabanus had information of what was plotting against him. His anger against Tiberius for it vented itself in an abusive letter, in which he reproached him with his murders and parricides, his debauchery and cowardice; and advised him to satisfy soon, by voluntary death, the violent and just hatred of the Romans.

But this letter did little towards preventing the designs of the Parthian lords, which not a little embarrassed Artabanus; who knew not what measures to take to suppress so potent a conspiracy. On one side, fear restrained him, on the other vengeance excited him to violent methods. And * among the barbarians, says Tacitus, delay is reckoned cowardice, but instantly to satiate present passion, the part of royalty. However, interest prevailed; Artabanus resolved to

dissem-

* Et Barbaris cunctatio servilis; statim exsequi regium videtur. Tac.

A. R. 786. dissemble; and having invited Abdus to an entertainment, gave him there a slow poison.

As to Sinnaces, he kept him about his person by shews of friendship, favours, and employments. And Phraates, who had lived fifty years among the Romans, resuming the customs of the Parthians, proved unequal to the change. His constitution failed him, he fell ill in Syria, and died there. But Tiberius forsook not the enterprize; and to Phraates, whom death had deprived him of, he substituted Tiridates, who was of the same blood, and probably, a son of one of the four princes whom old Phraates put in Augustus's hands. At the same time that he raised up a rival to Artabanus in the kingdom of Parthia, he endeavoured to revive the Roman pretensions to Armenia; and to execute this design, he chose Mithridates, brother of Pharasmanes king of Iberia. And lastly, he gave the government of Syria to L. Vitellius, to whom he entrusted all the future operations in the east.

His choice was good. Vitellius, who afterwards dishonoured himself by the lowest adulation, was a man of parts, and in his administration of provinces, equal to the virtuous men of antiquity. Tacitus * thinks himself obliged to observe this, because Vitellius was in great disesteem among the Romans, who looked on him as the model of the basest and vilest flattery. Afraid of Caligula, powerful under Claudius, but always a slave, he lost at Rome the reputation he had acquired in the provinces. The first part of

* *Eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque sæda momorari. Ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus, et formidine C. Cæsaris, familiaritate Claudii, turpe in servitium mutatus, exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur; cesseruntque prima posteris, et bona juventutis senectus flagitiis obliteravit. Tac.*

his life was swallowed up by the last, and the excellencies of his younger years were obliterated by an old age, black with flagitious crimes. A.R. 786.
aft. C. 35.

Mithridates, sure of the Roman protection, made haste to make use of it; and his brother Pharasmenes, acting in concert with him, employed both force and treason. For they corrupted by money some persons about Arsaces, who undertook to murder him; and also broke into Armenia with an army of Iberians, and made themselves masters of Artaxata its capital.

On news of this, Artabanus made his son Orodes take the field with a numerous army; and Pharasmanes, to be able to make head against him, strengthened himself with the assistance of the Albanians, his neighbours. Both parties also sent to hire troops among the Sarmateans, who used to lend them to whoever would pay for them, and even often to contrary sides. But the Iberians, being masters of the passes, were easily joined by the troops they hired; and they stopped those who had taken the pay of the Parthian king. They guarded all the defiles of the mountains that separate the Asiatic Sarmatia from the country between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian sea. One only way remained between the eastern extremity of Albania and the sea. But this pass wanted no defence, being very narrow, and overflowed in the summer when the north-east winds set in; though it is practicable in the winter, when the south wind rolls back the flood.

Pharasmanes, therefore, strengthened by the Sarmateans, offered battle to Orodes, who retreated and declined it, in expectation of his auxiliaries. But at last, the impatience of the Parthians constrained their general to give battle. As the Iberian army was strong in infantry as well as cavalry, it had an advantage over the Parthian,

A.R. 786. Parthian, which was composed wholly of cavalry. However, the Parthians maintained the fight by their usual alternative of flight and charging; till Phraasmanes and Orodes met and engaged. Orodes was not only wounded, but imagined dead; and this report spread among the Parthians, entirely disconcerted them, and gave the victory to the Iberians.

*Dio.
Tac.*

Artabanus having assembled all his forces, marched in person against the conquerors, to revenge himself. But he only increased their glory by his defeat. Yet he would not have retreated, vexation augmenting his courage; if Vitellius, drawing together his legions, had not threatened Mesopotamia with an invasion. The fear of a war with the Romans made Artabanus abandon Armenia, of which Mithridates remained master; and from this time, the affairs of the Parthian king declined. The conspiracy that had been so long forming, now broke out, being forwarded and fomented by Vitellius's emissaries, who exhorted the Parthians to abandon a king, cruel in peace, and unsuccessful in war. Sinnaces, having drawn his father Abdageses into the plot, gave the signal of the revolt, which soon became general. Artabanus's subjects had never obeyed him through inclination, but only through fear; and declared against him as soon as they had found leaders. Artabanus had no adherents left but some foreigners, the fugitives of various countries, that served him as guards, who were indifferent to the good or ill of the state, and had sold themselves to be the ministers of his cruelties. These he takes with him, and retires among the Hyrcanians, his allies, where he waits * for the repentance of the Parthians,

* Atque interim posse Parthos, absentium equos, præsentibus mobiles, ad pœnitentiam mutari. *Tac.*

thians, who were always discontented with their actual masters, and favourable to the princes that had been expelled. A.R. 786.
aft. C. 35.

Artabanus having by his flight vacated the throne, Tiridates had scarce any thing to do but to take possession of it. Vitellius, at the head of the Roman legions, accompanied him over a bridge of boats to the other side of the Euphrates, and introduced him into Mesopotamia. Presently Ornospades, governor of that country, joined them with a numerous cavalry. He had old connexions with the Romans, having, when banished from his native land, served with reputation under Tiberius in the war against the Dalmatians. The Romans endeavoured to fix him among them, by bestowing on him the privilege of a Roman citizen; but his love for his country restored him to Parthia, where, having found favour with Artabanus, he gave him his government; which, however, did not hinder him from being the first to abandon him, and acknowledge his rival Tiridates. A little while after, Sinnaces increased by additional forces the strength of his party. And Abdageses, the pillar of it, brought him the royal treasury, and enabled Tiridates to appear with all the splendour suitable to his rank.

Vitellius, now thinking that he had done enough in shewing the Roman arms, assembled the principal Parthian lords with their king. And recommended to the last, to remember that he was the grandson of Phraates, and the pupil of the Cæsars; and to act agreeably to such a birth, and such an education. He exhorted the nobles to be obedient to their king, to respect the Romans, and to consult their own honours by an inviolable observance of their engagements. He then led back the legions into Syria.

All

All these facts that relate to the troubles in Parthia take up two years, and belong to the years 785, and 786. The year of Rome 787 saw the fall of Tiridates, whose good fortune commenced but the preceding.

A.C. 787.
 a. d. C. 36.

Q. PLAUTIUS.
 SEX. PAPINIUS.

At first, every thing succeeded with him. The cities opened their gates to him ; the people joyfully met him ; and, detesting the cruelty of Artabanus, who had been brought up among the Scythians, promised themselves a mild government under a King, instructed in the arts and maxims of the Romans. The inhabitants of Seleucia, particularly, distinguished themselves by their zeal and flattery. Seleucia was a powerful city, founded on the banks of the Tigris by Seleucus, and had retained the Grecian manners, notwithstanding the vicinity of the barbarians. Its government was republican. Three hundred of the citizens, eminent for their wealth or merit, composed its senate. The people had also their privileges, and share in the administration. While they acted with unanimity* they despised the Parthians ; but when discord got among them, the weakest used to call in foreign aid, which, under pretence of assisting one party, oppressed all. This had lately happened in the reign of Artabanus ; and that prince had increased the authority of the senate ; agreeably to monarchical principles, which choose to trust power in the hands of the few, rather than of the many. When Tiridates appeared, the Seleucians lavished on him all sorts of honours, old
 and

* Quoties concordæ agunt, spernitur; Parthus; ubi discensere, dum sibi quisque contra æmulos subsidium vocat. accitus in partem, adversus omnes valet. Tac.

and new. On the contrary, they heaped on Artabanus every outrage and reproach, saying, that he did not belong to the house of the Arsacidæ but on the mother's* side, and that in every thing else he merited nothing but contempt and hatred. Tiridates, pleased with these marks of goodwill, restored to the people the government.

The coronation of Tiridates came next in question. But while it was under deliberation, came letters from Phraates and Hiero, who presided over two great and potent provinces, desiring a short respite, that they might be able to assist at the ceremony. It was accordingly determined to wait for them; and during the interval, Tiridates proceeded to Ctesiphon, the seat of the Parthian empire. It afterwards appeared, that these grandes did not act honestly. Therefore as they delayed coming, the Parthians grew impatient, and the Surena, the second person in the kingdom, solemnly crowned Tiridates, in the presence and with the applause of a numerous assembly.

If immediately after this royal ceremony, which always awes the multitude, the new king had advanced, and shewn himself at the head of an army in the further provinces, it is credible that he would have obliged those to declare in his favour who wavered, and have established himself absolutely. But he amused himself in besieging a strong castle, whither Artabanus had conveyed

* I have elsewhere said, that *Artabanus* was of the blood of the *Arsacidæ*, which seemed to insinuate a descent from male to male. I followed in that place *Tacitus*, as I do here. Are we to believe that the *Parthians* acknowledged for *Arsacidæ* even those who descended from *Arsaces* only by the mother's side? or is there a fault in the text of *Tacitus*? or has *Tacitus* made a mistake, and contradicted himself? I leave this to be settled by more learned men than myself; and am content with pointing out the difficulty.

A. R. 787. ed his women and part of his treasure ; which
aft. C. 36. held out long, and gave time for a revolution.

Phraates and Hiero were not the only grandees who absented themselves from the coronation. Many other Parthian lords had done the same. Fear of being suspected struck some ; and the most powerful were jealous of Abdageses, who governed the king and court. They therefore determined to recall Artabanus. Hiero offered to go and find him out, and make him a tender of his services, and those of his friends. He found him in Hyrcania in a deplorable condition, and reduced to live by hunting.

Artabanus, when he saw Hiero and those with him, was at first alarmed, thinking they were pursuing him into his very desert, and thirsting after his liberty and life. But they encouraged him, by declaring that their intentions were quite opposite, and that they hoped to replace him on his throne. Artabanus, surprised at so sudden a change, asked them the reason of it ; and Hiero answered, that they had got a child for a king ; that the empire was no longer governed by one of the Arsacidæ, but that Tiridates, a pusillanimous prince, and debauched by foreign manners, only bore an empty title, while the family of Abdageses enjoyed the real power. The * old prince, experienced in the art of reigning, discerned, that however false they might be in their affections, their hate was unfeigned. He therefore assembled in haste some auxiliary Scythians, and then marched with dispatch to frustrate the measures of his enemies, and prevent the defection of his friends. Nor changed he his neglected noisome dress, hoping thereby to strike the eyes and draw the commiseration of the

* Sensit vetus regnandi, falsos in amore odia non fingere. *Tac,*

the people; nor did he omit wiles, entreaties, A.R. 767. nor any means whatever, to fix the wavering, aft. C. 16. and confirm the well-affected.

He was already near Seleucia, before Tiridates had determined whether he should meet him, or temporize. Those who were for a speedy engagement, alledged, that they should have to do with enemies that were in disarray and disorder, fatigued with long journies, and not sincerely reconciled to a prince whom they had so recently betrayed. On the contrary, Abdageses was of opinion it was best to retreat into Mesopotamia, where putting the Tigris between them and Artabanus, they might wait for the assistance of the Armenians, Elymeans, and above all, of the Romans. This advice prevailed, being supported by Abdageses's authority, and the timidity of Tiridates. They accordingly retired; and their retreat had all the appearance of a flight. The troops being discouraged began to disband; and the Arabians having set the example, the rest followed their steps and returned home; or deserted to Artabanus. So that Tiridates with a few having crossed over to Syria, gave full liberty to leave him even to those whom shame had hitherto kept with him. And thus Artabanus remained peaceable possessor of the Parthian crown.

The Cliteans, a people of Cappadocia, took Commo-
tions in
Cappado-
cia. 7th.
iv. 41. some steps against their king Archelaus, who, in imitation of the Romans, was for subjecting them to a tax upon their persons and goods. This Archelaus was probably the son of the Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, whose death we have elsewhere related; and his father's kingdom having been reduced to a Roman province, perhaps to make him some amends he had had a part of it allotted him. Dio gives us reason to Dio, l. viii think,

A.R. 787. think, that the Cliteans were assisted by Artabanus. However, their king being unable to reduce them, Vitellius sent a detachment of the Roman troops, which compelled them to return to their duty.

Continuation of Tiberius's cruelties. Tac. vi. 38.

This is all that foreign affairs affords us during the last years of Tiberius's reign. We must now return to Rome, where we shall be displeased with a repetition of the same disagreeable objects. For* though four years had elapsed since the death of Sejanus, yet neither time, nor prayers, nor satiety, which soften the hardest hearts, had any effect on the inflexible barbarity of Tiberius; and uncertain facts, or forgotten, excited his cruelty, as if they had been proved and recent.

Fulcinus Trio, who was well acquainted with this disposition of Tiberius, finding himself accused, made no doubt of his destruction. He himself was a professed informer. We have seen him forward to accuse Libo, and afterwards interfering unnecessarily in the impeachment of Cn. Piso on account of Germanicus's death. He continued this odious trade; and by such services having made himself agreeable to Tiberius, attained the consulship, of which he was in possession when Sejanus perished. We have observed that he was then suspected by the emperor, who, for that reason addressed his orders against Sejanus to the other consul Memmius Regulus; and Dio, when he speaks of Fulcinus's death, says positively, that he had been a friend of Sejanus.

Dio, l. viii. Tit. v. 11.

This troublesome, shuffling man, hoping, perhaps,

* Non enim Tiberium, quanquam † triennio post eadem Sejani, quæ ceteros mollire solent, tempus, preces, satias, mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. Tac.

† This date is faulty. The consuls *Cestius* and *Servius*, under whom what *Tacitus* here relates happened, did not enter in office till three complete years after *Sejanus's* death.

haps, to dispel the suspicions of him by an affected zeal, obliquely censured in the senate his colleagues too slothful and slow in punishing the guilty. Memmius was naturally mild and modest. But finding himself touched in so tender a part, he not only repulsed the charge of Fulcinus, but arraigned him as a confederate in the conspiracy. The senators, however, put a stop to a quarrel that might have ruined them both.

The next year Haterius Agrippa endeavoured to revive it. He asked them, in full senate, why, after they had mutually threatened to impeach each other, they were now silent? "They are two criminals, added he, who, by a manifest collusion, have agreed to spare one another. But the senators must not forget what they have heard." Regulus and Trio had had time to reflect on their danger, and were endeavouring to avoid it. The first answered, that he waited for the return of the prince to Rome, in order to prosecute the affair; and the other frankly owned himself in the wrong; and said, that words uttered in a heat by jealous colleagues, ought to have no stress laid on them, and were better forgot. Haterius returned to the charge. But Sanguinius Maximus, a consular, besought the senate, not to increase wantonly the trouble and anxiety of the emperor; whose wisdom was abundantly sufficient to find out all disorders, and remedy them. This mild and moderate representation saved Regulus, and delayed the doom of Trio. It also increased by the contrast the* detestation of Haterius, who, emaciated by debauches, and protected by his voluptuous sloth against all danger

* Haterius invidiosus fuit, quia somno aut libidinis vigiliis marcidus, et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem Principem non metuens, inlustribus viris perniciem inter gemitum ac stupra meditabatur. Tac.

A.R. 787. danger from the prince's cruelty, meditated, in
 aft. C. 36. the midst of cups and harlots, the destruction
 of illustrious men.

Tac. vi. 38. Three years after, new accusers, as I have
 said, fell on Fulcinius, who thereupon resolved
 to die. But he gratified his revenge, by insert-
 ing in his will a bitter invective against Macro,
 against some of the principal freed-men of Tibe-
 rius, and against Tiberius himself, whom he up-
 braided with a spirit sunk through age, and his
 stay at Capreæ, which he treated as an infamous
 exile, to which his crimes had condemned him.
 Fulcinius's heirs took care not to publish this
 testament. But Tiberius, having got scent of
 it, by an inconceivable misjudgment, would have
 it read in the senate; as if he had studiously
 braved the public, and wanted to shew every
 body how little he was affected by the severest
 things that could be said against him.

The death of Fulcinius is related by Tacitus
 in the consulship of Cestius and Servilius. It
 was followed by those of four other senators,
 who perished by their own hands, or those of
 the executioner. Tiberius was near Rome when
 he ordered these cruelties, so that he wrote to,
 and received answers from, the consuls the same
 day. It seemed as if * he were from thence be-
 holding the houses floating in blood, or the busy
 hands of the executioners opening its sources.

Peaceable
 death of
 Poppæus
 Sabinus.

In the end of this year Poppæus Sabinus died a
 peaceable death, who, from an ordinary origin,
 had raised himself, by the favour of Augustus and
 Tiberius, to the consulship and triumphal honours.
 For four-and-twenty years he filled the highest
 posts, and governed the greatest provinces; not

on

* *Quasi adspiciens undantem per doros sanguinem, aut
 manus carnificum.* *Tac.*

* on account of his signal abilities, but because he was equal to business, and not above it. A. R. 797. aft. C. 36.

May I be permitted to insert here a fact that happened this year, which is related by Pliny, but of so little importance, that I fear it will seem, to many of my readers, unworthy of a place in so serious a work as this; were it not that men of a philosophic turn can make use of every thing.

A young raven, quitting his nest which was on the temple of Castor and Pollux, fell into the shop of a shoemaker that was opposite thereto. The shoemaker took a fancy to it, through a principle of religious veneration for the place it came from. He took pains to instruct it; and the docile bird so much improved under him, that it learned to fly every morning to the rostra; where, turning himself to the forum, he used to salute Tiberius, Germanicus, and the Roman people; and then flew back again to his shop. This lasted several years; till a neighbour, envious of the bird that made its master so much known, destroyed it. The populace were greatly enraged thereat; and its murderer was drove from that quarter of the town, and then killed. *The regret of the multitude even made them foolishly honour the bird whose loss afflicted them.* They buried it in fern; it was placed on a funeral bed, covered with flowers and wreaths, preceded by a man who played on the flute (as was customary at funerals) and carried by two Ethiopians to a pile that was prepared two miles from Rome, on the Appian way. Thus, † says Pliny,

* Nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod pro negotiis, neque supra est.

† Adeo satis justa causa populo Romano visa est exsequiarum ingenium avis, aut supplicii de cive Romano, in ea urbe in qua multorum Principum nemo duxerat funus; Scipionis

A.R. 787. Pliny, was celebrated the funeral of a bird in a city where the Gracchi had been denied interment; and the death of a raven was better avenged than that of the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia.

A person accused poisons himself in the senate itself.
Tac. vi. 40.

The following year, when Q. Plautius and Sex. Papinius were consuls, a tragical spectacle, and amidst so many horrors till then unknown, terrified the senate. Vibulenus Agrippina, a Roman knight, when his accusers had finished their pleading, swallowed, in the senate itself, some poison he had about him. He fell immediately; and yet he was not suffered totally to escape execution. He was hurried to prison; and the rope tied about his neck, to take away forcibly a remaining spark of life, which would otherwise have been soon extinguished.

Punishment of Tigranes.
Jos. Ant. xviii. 7.

I omit the voluntary deaths of many illustrious persons. But I cannot pass over in silence the punishment of Tigranes, grandson of Herod by Alexander, the eldest of the sons the unfortunate Mariamne had by that king of the Jews. He was by his mother, grandson of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and had been himself king of Armenia, according to Tacitus and Josephus; which Mr de Tillemont interprets of little Armenia, given fifty years before by Augustus to Archelaus. All this splendour did not preserve Tigranes from condemnation and an ignominious death; a treatment unworthy of a king, but worthy of an apostate, who had renounced the worship of the true God to adore idols, of whose vanity he was convinced.

Note ii, on Tiberius.

A great fire in Rome. Tiberius's liberality.
Tac. vi. 15.

Tiberius continuing thus to make himself hated by all the great persons in Rome and the empire, took care to keep well with the people; and

vero Æmiliani, post Carthaginem Numantiamque deletas ab eo, nemo vindicaverat mortem. *Plin.*

and when any public calamity happened, he remedied it with all the magnificence that could be desired. A fire having destroyed part of the circus, and the quarter of mount Aventine, Tiberius set apart a hundred millions of sesterces for indemnifying the owners of the houses burnt down. This liberality did him the more honour, as he was very modest in his own buildings. He never even erected above two public buildings; the one a temple to Augustus, and the other the scene of Pompey's theatre. Nor did he ever dedicate them, either through indifference for all that he looked on, as vain pomp and ostentation, or on account of his age. He was willing, however, that his liberality should be properly distributed; and to ascertain the loss of particulars, his four sons-in-law were commissioned; Cn. Domitius, Vinicius, Cassius, and Rubellius Blandus; to whom the consuls joined P. Petronius.

Various honours were decreed Tiberius in gratitude for his generosity. But he died before he had explained himself as to which of them he should accept or decline. The last consuls he appointed were Acerronius and Pontius.

CN. ACERRONIUS PROCULUS.

A.R. 788.

C. PONTIUS NIGRINUS.

aft. C. 37.

Tiberius, perceiving himself decay, in such a manner, as to be convinced that his end drew near, busied himself about the choice of a successor. He had two grandsons, Caius Caesar Germanicus's son, and Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus. This last was nearer to him in blood, being his grandson by birth, whereas, the other was only so by adoption. But the extreme youth of Gemellus, who was not then above seventeen, and even the suspicions of illegitimacy that his mother's ill conduct occasioned, embarrassed his grandfather.

Tiberius's perplexity and uncertainty about the choice of a successor.

Suppl. Tib. lxxii. Dio.

A.R. 788. Caius was in his twentieth year, and a favourite
 aft. C. 37. with the people, as being the last hopes of the
 house of Germanicus. But this popularity was
 the very reason why Tiberius hated him. The
 Tac. vi. 20. young prince knew it, and, during several years
 Suet. Calig. x. that he had been with the emperor at Capreae,
 had tried every method to get the better of his
 hatred. He concealed his natural fierceness un-
 der an assumed modesty. The condemnation of
 his mother, the exile and imprisonment of his
 brothers, did not draw a complaint from him.
 He bore with incredible patience what he him-
 self suffered. He studied the taste, the humours,
 the words too, and tone of voice, of Tiberius;
 conforming himself in all things, and changing
 his countenance and conduct, like a Proteus, up-
 on every occasion; which, with his subsequent
 conduct, made the orator Passienus say of him;
 “* That there never was a better servant, nor a
 worse master.” He also strove to fix in his in-
 terest all who had access to his grandfather. But
 Tac. vi. 45. he entered into a particular intimacy with Macro,
 Suet. Calig. xii. Sejanus’s successor in the command of the pre-
 torian bands, who on his side, perceiving Tibe-
 rius decline, was looking out for a protector.
 They were neither of them scrupulous about the
 means of obtaining what they desired. There-
 fore Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, Caius’s
 first wife, being dead, Macro engaged his own
 wife Ennia, to endeavour to make the young
 prince in love with her, and to get from him a
 promise of marriage; and Caligula easily came
 into it, being ready to do any thing that would
 contribute to his being emperor. For young as
 he was, and of a † violent tempestuous temper,

yet

Neque meliorem unquam servum, neque deteriorem
 dominum fuisse.

† Etsi commotus ingenio, simulationem tamen falso in-
 stitu aviperdidiccrat. Tac.

yet he had in his grandfather's school well ac- A.R. 788.
quired the arts of dissimulation. aft. C. 37.

The emperor was informed of this understanding between his grandson and Macro, and easily penetrated the mystery. This was to him an additional reason for not determining in favour of Caius. He then thought of Claudius, his nephew, who was of a proper age, and seemed well disposed; but he was stopped by the defect of the faculties and eternal childhood of that prince. In case he sought a successor out of his family, he dreaded lest the memory of Augustus, and the name of the Cesars, should come to be forgot; nay, perhaps, to be scorned and insulted. For while he despised the affection of his contemporaries, he was very desirous of the applause of posterity. Finding therefore inconveniencies on all sides, and not being able, in his bad state of health, to bear the fatigue of so difficult a deliberation, he permitted to fortune a decision to which he was unequal.

He shewed, however, that he was not ignorant of what would happen, by some remarkable words, which Tacitus, infatuated with astrology, Remarkable saying of Tiberius about Caius. seems willing to have considered as wonderful predictions; but which, indeed, do not surpass the effect of Tiberius's natural penetration. Thus he one day fairly reproached Macro, for forsaking the setting sun to court the rising. And in a conversation about Sylla, young Caius having ridiculed that celebrated man, "You, says Tiberius to him, will have all Sylla's vices, and not one of his virtues." And lastly, having his two grandsons before him, he embraced Gemellus, with tears in his eyes, and said to Caius, who was looking at him with displeasure in his countenance, "You will slay him, and another shall slay you."

This

A.R. 788. This last expression, which is the most extraordinary, does not, however, oblige us to recur to the pretended art of divination. Tiberius knew Caius's temper. He had been a witness of the greediness with which he feasted his eyes with the executions of the condemned. He was so much aware of his natural fierceness, that he was not displeas'd to see him give into debauchery, and a passion for * music and dancing, arts still considered by the Romans as only befitting the theatre. Tiberius hoped that one vice would expel another, and that a taste for pleasure would soften the cruel bloody temper of his grandson. Yet this desperate remedy had no effect; and Tiberius, alarmed at the future mischiefs of Caius, used to call him a public pest, that lived to plague him, and mankind. "I bring up, says he, a serpent that will be fatal to the Romans, a Phaëton that will fire the universe." All this being known, it was not difficult for this sagacious old man to foresee, that Caius would not let his cousin long enjoy the dangerous honour of being so nearly related; and that afterwards he would by his brutality arm some conspirator against his own life.

Tiberius endeavours to conceal the declension of his health. Tac. vi. 46. Tiberius was now reduced almost to the sole business of concealing the declining state of his health, which every day grew worse; and, to deceive therein, if possible, himself and others, he continued his usual debaucheries. He had a very strong constitution, had never had any sickness, and had always ridiculed physicians, and all men who after the age of thirty wanted the information of another about their health.

Divers accusations. Voluntary death of Acutius.

This weakness of the emperor did not put a stop to the usual course of impeachments for pretended high-treason at Rome. Acutia, widow of

* Scenicæ saltandi canendique artes. Suet.

of P. Vitellius, was condemned under this pre-^{A.R. 788.}
tence; and Albucilla, a woman of a loose cha-^{act. C. 37.}
racter, having been accused of impiety towards
the emperor, three illustrious persons were in-
volved in her affair, Cn. Domitius, Agrippina's
husband, Vibius Marsus, and L. Arruntius. Do-
mitius was also accused of incest with his sister,
Domitia Lepida; and, as Suetonius draws his
character, was indeed capable of any crime.
But the minutes transmitted from Capræ to the
senate, imported, that Macro had presided at the
examination of the witnesses, and torture of the
slaves; they were also unaccompanied by any
letter from the emperor; and as Macro was a
declared enemy of Arruntius, it was suspected
that he was the inventor and contriver of the
whole business, of which, possibly, Tiberius
might know nothing. At least, people were
willing to please themselves with this imagina-
tion, which, however, was not very likely.

Domitius and Marsus got time; and pretend-
ing, the first to prepare a defence; and the
other, to starve himself to death; preserved
themselves till Tiberius's death. Dio says, that
they owed their safety to the astrologer Thrasy-
lus, who, being gained by them, assured Tibe-
rius that he should live ten years longer; and
by thus giving him time, prevented his imme-
diately satisfying his vengeance.

Arruntius's friends advised him to imitate his
co-accused. But he answered resolutely, “* The
same

* *Non eadem omnibus decora. Sibi satis ætatis; neque
aliud prænitendum, quam quod inter ludibria et pericula an-
xiam senectam toleravisset, diu Sejano, nunc Macroni, sem-
per alicui potentium invisus, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorum
impatiens. Sane paucos et supremos Principis dies posse
vitari: quemadmodum evasurum imminentis juventam? an
quum Tiberius, post tantam rerum experientiam, vi domi-
nationis convulsus et mutatus sit; C. Cæsarem, vix finita pu-*

A.R. 788. same conduct does not suit all. I have lived long
 aft. C. 37. enough ; and only repent of having submitted to
 bear thus far an old age loaded with anxieties, and
 exposed to daily dangers and insults ; long hated
 by Sejanus, now by Macro, always by some fa-
 vourite, by no fault of mine, but only because I
 cannot bear indignities and iniquities. I may, in
 truth, outlive the few remaining days of Tibe-
 rius, but how shall I escape the youth of his suc-
 cessor ? If Tiberius, after such experience of af-
 fairs, and at such an age, has been changed by
 the seduction of unbridled dominion ; is it to
 be hoped that C. Caesar, who is scarce out of his
 childhood, and ignorant of every thing, or prin-
 cipld in the worst, will take a better course un-
 der the guidance of Macro ; the same who was
 pitched on to destroy Sejanus, as the more wick-
 ed of the two, and who has since by more mis-
 chiefs and cruelties afflicted the commonwealth ?
 No, I foresee a harder bondage than ever ; and
 am therefore determined to withdraw at once
 from the past which I detest, and the future
 which I dread." Uttering these words, which
 were in a manner oraculous, and but too well ve-
 rified by the event, Arruntius opened his veins.
 He was a man of wit and parts ; and was, doubt-
 less, ranked among the first orators, since Cn.
 Piso (as we have seen) desired him for his advo-
 cate. It is not clear, whether it is he or his fa-
 ther who wrote the history of the first punic
 war, in an affected imitation of Sallust's style.

Sⁿ. Ep.
 cxiv.

Albucilla, whose irregularities were notorious,
 aimed at her own life, but the blow being im-
 potent,

eritia, Ignarum omnium, aut pessimis imutritum, meliora
 capessiturum, Macrone duce? qui ut deterior ad opprimen-
 dum Sejanum electus, per plura scelera reipublicam con-
 sultavisset. Prospectare jam se acrius servitium, eoque
 iugere simul acta et instantia. Tac.

potent, she was carried to prison, and there, probably, executed. The ministers of her lust were either degraded from being senators, or exiled into islands. Among these, nobody was sorry for Lelius Balbus, the accuser of Acutia, whom we have just spoken of, and who accused by his pestilent eloquence to frighten the innocent.

A tragical and scandalous adventure is the last event that Tacitus relates before Tiberius's death. A son, solicited by his own mother, found no other means either to avoid her abominable im-

A tragical and scandalous adventure.

portunities, or to expiate the shame and horror of having consented, than to throw himself out of a window. The mother was brought before the senate; and, spite of her protestations, outcries, and tears, banished Rome for ten years, till a younger son that she had was past the age of seduction. It was a consular family that was stained with this infamy. The young men we are speaking of were named Papinii; and by such an example, we may judge to what excess the corruption of manners had got at Rome.

Tiberius's * body now failed him, and his spirits; but his dissimulation failed him not. He exerted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in his looks and discourse, and even sometimes studied to be gay, to hide his manifest declension.

Tiberius's demise. Tac. vi. 50. Suet. Tib. 72, 73. Dio. l. lvi.

He forced himself to assist at the sports of the soldiers of his guard, and himself threw a dart at a boar that was let loose. This effort gave him a pain in the side; he afterwards grew cold, and his weakness increased. The restlessness natural to illness made him often change place; and, at last, he settled near the promontory of Misenum, at

* Jam, Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat. Idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus, quæsitâ interdum comitate, quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat. Tac.

A.R. 788. at a country-house that had formerly belonged aft. C. 37. to Lucullus.

There his condition was discovered by the address of a skilful physician, named Charicles, whom Tiberius saw often; not that he conducted himself by his prescriptions, but he used to hear what he had to say, and then act as he himself thought proper. This man, rising from table, and taking leave of Tiberius, under pretence of being called away by business, took his hand to kiss it, and felt his pulse. Tiberius was aware of the artifice; and the more he was offended at it, the more, according to custom, he concealed his appearing so. He detained Charicles, ordered the table to be re-covered, as it were to honour the departure of his friend; and after the entertainment was over, received, standing in the middle of the hall, the compliments of all the guests, who passed by and saluted him as they retired. But for all this, Charicles acquainted Macro, that nature was exhausted, and that he could not outlive two days.

He was, however, so much himself yet, that having read in the acts of the senate, that some persons had been dismissed without a hearing, against whom he had wrote, though very slightly, only saying, that they had been named by a witness; he fell into a violent passion, thinking himself slighted, and threatened to have an exemplary satisfaction for the affront. In order thereto, he resolved to return to Capræ, which he looked on as his citadel, and a place from whence he thought he might undertake any thing with security. But bad weather and his illness detained him at Misenum: and whilst he was meditating terrible projects, he was become himself a mere shadow of power. For all were paying their court to his successor; and Macro was preparing

preparing all things for Caius's advantage ; the officers and troops on the spot were made sure of, and couriers sent to the armies and their commanders.

On the sixteenth of March, Tiberius lost his senses, and was thought to be dead. Caius was already going out with a numerous attendance, and in the midst of acclamations, to take possession of the empire, by getting himself acknowledged by the pretorian cohorts ; when on a sudden, notice came that Tiberius had recovered his sight and voice, and called for something to eat. This news alarmed and terrified * every one. The whole concourse about Caius dispersed, every one re-assuming a false sorrow, and feigning ignorance of what had just happened. The young prince, immoveable and speechless, instead of the sovereignty he had had a glimpse of, expected instant death. Macro, undismayed and hardened, ordered the apartment to be cleared, and the feeble old man to be smothered with a weight of cloaths ; and finished what he had begun.

Thus expired Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign ; having found in his subjects the perfidy and cruelty of which he set them an example. The circumstances of his death have been differently related, and some have reported that Caius, after having given him a slow poison, strangled him with his own hands. Tacitus's account is more probable : not but that Caius was barbarous enough to project a parricide, but he was not bold enough to execute it. He boasted, indeed, according to some writers cited by Suetonius, to have designed it.

* *Paror hinc in omnes : et ceteri passim dispergi ; se quisque mœstum aut nescium fingere. Cæsar in silentium fixus, a summa spe novissima expectabat. Macro intrepidus, opprimi senem injectum multæ vestis jubet, discedique ab limine Tac.*

A.R. 788. it. He related, how, eager to revenge his mother and brothers, he entered armed with a poignard the chamber of Tiberius, who was asleep, and how, touched by compassion, he threw away his weapon, and retired. And he added, what is altogether improbable, that Tiberius saw him, and never durst examine into the affair. But the whole seems to me a rodomontade, worthy of Caligula.

The people inveigh against his memory. *Suet. Tib. 75.*

As soon as Tiberius's death was known at Rome, the public hatred and detestation, which had been so long constrained, broke out with violence. The populace ran about the streets, crying that Tiberius ought to be thrown into the Tiber. And some entreated the earth, the common mother of mankind, and the Manes, to assign him a place at the bottom of Tartarus among the wicked. Others were for having his corpse treated like that of a malefactor, and dragged by a hook to the Gemoniæ.

A particular circumstance augmented the detestation of him. As the execution of capital judgments was deferred to the tenth day, by the decree of the senate we have elsewhere mentioned, it happened that the fatal day of some that were condemned was that in which the news of Tiberius's death came. These poor people also knew of it, and implored the compassion of gods and men. But as Caius was absent, no body durst procrastinate what had been ordered; so the executioners strangled them, and dragged their bodies to the Gemoniæ: a spectacle * that excited much sorrow; and a fresh motive of hatred to a tyrant whose cruelty was felt even after his death.

Epochs and degrees of Tiberius's wickedness.

Tiberius did not arrive at once to the height of

* *Crevit invidia; quasi etiam postmortem tyranni sævitia permanente.* *Suet.*

of wickedness which at this day renders his me-
 mory odious. Tacitus * makes a sort of gra-
 dation in his conduct, and distinguishes its dif-
 ferent stages. Tiberius, says he, was well es-
 teemed whilst a private man, and whilst in em-
 ployments under Augustus; he was covert and
 seditious in feigning virtue, so long as Ger-
 manicus and Drusus lived; a mixed character
 of good and evil during the days of his mother;
 detestably cruel, but secret in his lewdness,
 while he loved or feared Sejanus; but at last
 he abandoned himself to the rage of tyranny
 and lust, when, delivered from all the checks of
 fear and shame, he followed the bent of his abo-
 minable inclinations

Tiberius was a malicious, ill-disposed, man,
 he never loved any body but himself. He was
 often heard to express his envy of the condition
 of Priam, who survived all his family. And he
 had frequently in his mouth a Greek verse †,
 whose sense answers to the expression now in
 use, to shew an indifference to the human spe-
 cies, *After me the deluge.*

He was so basely envious, that the glory of
 others always hurt him. Yet I do not know
 whether we are to believe, on the authority of
 Dio, that he was even jealous of artists; whom
 a prince should protect, and above whom he
 is too much elevated to fear any competition.

The

* *Morum tempora illi diversa: egregium vita fama-
 que, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: occultum
 ac seditiosum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac
 Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus, in-
 columi matre; instabilis sevitia, sed obiectis libidinibus,
 dum Sejanum dilexit timuitque; postremo in scelestis simul
 ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu,
 suo tantam ingenio utebatur. Tac.*

† *Εὐς ἄνθ' ὅτε γαῖα μίχθηται πυρὶ.*

When I am dead let the earth mingle with fire.

A. R. 788.
 aft. C. 37.

Proofs of
 the badness
 of his heart.
Suet. Tib.
 62.
Dio, l. lviii.

Dio, l. lvii.

A. R. 788. The inventions too, which, according to this writer, excited Tiberius's jealousy, are rather marvellous than credible. He says, that an architect set upright by men and engines a vast portico that leaned on one side: and that the same artist, having broke a glass vessel by throwing it down before the emperor, restored it by handling, and presented it to him, as sound as before the fall. He adds, that, instead of being rewarded, he was after his first operation banished Rome; and after the second put to death. This has greatly the air of a fable, or at least is strangely enlarged. Pliny relates, but does not vouch it, that in Tiberius's reign the art of making maleable glass was found out; and that this secret was stifled, for fear gold and silver should lose their value. However it was, we have no need of such dubious fact to prove what we have said of Tiberius's bent to envy. Germanicus, and the many illustrious persons who were its victims, make the evidence but too clear.

Plin.
xxxvi. 26.

His moroseness.

Morose in his proceedings, Tiberius abolished some customs that Augustus had introduced, or continued; because they were popular: and among others that of the emperor and his subjects mutually giving and receiving new-year's gifts. This he did not at the beginning of his reign: for he conformed at first to his predecessor's example. But he soon grew weary of the trouble and expense of this ceremony, and suppressed it by edict.

His irreligion.
Suet. Tib.
69.

To these many bad qualities, which made him the scourge of mankind, he joined an indifference for religion. Prejudiced in favour of the visions of judicial astrology, he gave into the system of inevitable fatality. Notwithstanding he was terribly afraid of thunder; and failed not in a storm to put a laurel wreath on his head, on account

of the vulgar notion that the laurel is never thunder-struck. A. R. 788.
aft. C. 37.

I have already said that he was learned. He was master of the Roman and Greek languages: and wrote well in both, either in verse or prose. At the time of Suetonius there were extant very succinct memoirs of his life wrote by himself, of whose candour we may judge by this passage quoted by that author. Tiberius therein said that he punished Sejanus, for his outrageous attacks on the children of his brother Germanicus.

He took Messala Corvinus for his model of eloquence: but he fell very short of the perspicuity, elegance, and easy turn of that illustrious orator. For Tiberius's style was affected, obscure, and pedantic; so that what he spoke off-hand was generally better than his laboured productions. The poets he was fondest of were Euphorio, Rhianus, and Parthenius, whom the flattery of his contemporaries, who to please Tiberius had extolled and commented them, could not save from the oblivion they deserved. I have elsewhere taken notice of his puerilities with respect to grammar and mythology.

Though he perfectly understood Greek, and could speak it, he only used it in familiar conversations; and preserved, on all public occasions, the rights and pre-eminence of the language of the empire. He even carried this attention to a scrupulousness that degenerated into trifling. Being obliged to make use of the word *monopoly*, which is Greek, he excused himself for using a foreign word on account of the necessity: and another Greek word*, which signifies an ornament in relief on a vessel or stuff, having been put into a decree of the senate, Tiberius, more nice than Cicero, who has often employed it, ordered it to be struck out, and a circumlocution

A. R. 789. to be used, if no proper word could be thought
aft. C. 37. of in its room.

Dio.

A word that was not Latin once escaped him in an ordinance of his own drawing up. He recollected it in the night, and treated it as a serious affair, for he sent for some learned people to consult with about it. Ateius Capito, whose flattery we have before noticed, acted his proper part on this occasion, and told the emperor, that though the word in debate had never been used before, yet his authority would make it be admitted. Another person was more ingenuous : “ Cesar, says he, you can naturalize men, but not words.” Such trifles surely were below the attention of a Roman emperor ; and discover in Tiberius a littleness of mind, which generally accompanies a base soul.

His person.
Suet. Tib.
68.

To complete his picture, I have only to describe his person. He was taller than usual, large about the breast and shoulders, well proportioned in other respects, and of a vigorous constitution. He had so much strength in his joints, that with his finger he could bore a sound apple, and wound the forehead of a child with a fillip. He had great eyes that projected, so that a strong light dazzled him, and he distinguished objects best in the gloom. His countenance and behaviour promised rudeness, fierceness, and arrogance ; and we perceive by his actions foretold the truth.



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