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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
ROMAN EMPERORS,  
FROM  
AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

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

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH **37207**

BY JOHN MILL, ESQ. *ac*

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IN TEN VOLUMES.

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TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**R O B E R T,**  
EARL OF HOLDERNESSE,  
ONE OF  
**HIS MAJESTY'S**  
PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,  
*&c. &c. &c.*

MY LORD,

**T**HE subject of the following work is such, that it could not be inscribed to any one, so properly, as to a Minister, whose abilities as a Statesman, and whose virtues as a man, might suffer nothing from a parallel between those possessed by him, and those which have adorned any character throughout these volumes. They contain, indeed, the history of a people, so degenerated  
A from

from the virtue of their ancestors, that they may be compared to a sailor's chart, the principal use of which is, to guide us right, by shewing us what we ought to avoid. But, wherever some illustrious instance of Roman virtue, and true patriotism, shines forth, we are to look upon that, as the propitious ray of some friendly beacon, which points out our right course, and directs us to security and happiness.

Were I to enter into any sort of comparison between the times here treated of, and the present days, I should be as uselessly employed, to every body, and as impertinently in regard to your Lordship, as he who should set about proving the fatal effects of absolute dominion, and the blessings of a free constitution. It is our happiness to live in an age, and country, where our knowledge of the former is only to be procured by distant inquiries; and it is our farther happiness, that we may reasonably promise to ourselves, the continuance of those blessings we now enjoy, from the wisdom and justice of our Sovereign, and the steadiness and activity of his Ministers, who study to promote his glory and their country's good.

The



The zeal and assiduity, which your Lordship employs in executing these noble purposes, cannot fail to endear you to both. I will be free to say, they have not failed. And I cannot but congratulate my countrymen, when I behold a Nobleman, formed to refine our manners, and improve our taste, after having applied himself to severer studies, and the management of affairs, become a support of that country, of which he was before an ornament.

The protection of arts, my Lord, and the encouragement of literature, has always been the business of good Ministers, who, like yourself, have been happy in a successful cultivation of them, in themselves; and the patronage which you have so generously extended to me, I hope will be a proof of your ready disposition to advance them, even in the least degree.

Encomiums upon your Lordship's skill, and diligence, in executing the functions of your high office, upon your dexterous management of perverse allies, or insidious foes, are above me to attempt, and beneath your Lordship to receive  
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from my hands. Neither dare I venture (especially to your Lordship) a sketch of those qualifications, that render you amiable, as a man; distinguished, as a scholar; and elegant as a courtier: But give me leave to say, they are so various and extensive, as must greatly enhance the merit of devoting so much of your time to the service of your country, when your Lordship is possessed of all those accomplishments which enliven conversation, embellish society, and make retirement agreeable. It was said of the second Scipio, and the application can never be more properly made, than to your Lordship, \* *Neque enim quisquam elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit.*

Whatever great qualities might at first excite my ambition to prefix your Lordship's name to these volumes, I am now to offer them as a humble tribute of thankfulness, that you have deigned to gratify it; and shall rather indulge myself in the silent admiration of that affability, that gentleness of temper, and sweetness of manners; which are known to all who approach you, and that winning condescension which is experienced by all who are subordinate to you, than pursue  
 the

\* Velleius Paterculus, Lib. i § 13.

DEDICATION.

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the unequal task of celebrating those talents, which your exalted station renders conspicuous to every body.

*I am,*

MY LORD,

*With profound Respect,*

*Your Lordship's most obliged,*

*and devoted Servant,*

LONDON, }  
*Feb. 20, 1755.*

JOHN MILLS.



THE  
AUTHOR'S  
*P R E F A C E.*

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**H**AVING finished the work began by M. ROLLIN, and carried the Roman History down to the battle of Actium, I think I cannot well make a better use of the leisure to which a bad state of health, worn out by the fatigue of public instruction, reduces me, than to treat in the manner of which my dear and much honoured Master has set me a model, the History of the Emperors; it being a natural continuation of that which I have just ended. Inclination prompts, and the exhortations of many illustrious persons encourage me. I yield the more readily to this double motive, as I see no other way by which I can be any longer equally useful to society.

**I**F I am wrong in flattering myself, that what I here present the public may be of some service, it must be owing to the workman's fault, and not to want of materials, the subject itself affording abundantly wholesome lessons

*Plut. in  
the Pre-  
face to his  
Life of  
Pericles.*

lessons for men of every rank and station. Such is the merit and excellence of history in the opinion of all the world; and Plutarch was so convinced of it, that he looked on that particular knowledge and study as the occupation the most worthy of a philosophic mind. Fully satisfied, that History is the best school to form either the judgment or the morals, he says we abuse, degrade, and vilify the faculty we are endowed with of perceiving and knowing, when we apply it to other objects; and on this occasion he mentions a remarkable saying of Cæsar.

SOME strangers were caressing and making much of little dogs and monkees in Cæsar's presence: He asked them whether in their country the women did not bear children? Giving them to understand how much they were to blame to waste, on beasts, that fund of sensibility and tenderness which nature has made our hearts susceptible of, and which is due to our fellow-creatures. Plutarch, carrying this thought still farther\*, condemns equally those who direct the passion we naturally have to learn, towards empty trifles,

\* Ἄρ' ἔτι φιλομαθὲς τι κενήται ἢ φιλοδίαμον ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ εὐσεΐ, λόγον ἔχει φύγειν, τὴν κάλαχραμένης τῆτο πρὸς τὰ μηδερῶς ἀξία σπουδῆς ἀκρίματα ἢ διομαθία, τῶν δὲ καλῶν ἢ ἀφαιρῶν παραμελήσας. . . . ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔργοις, ἀ ἢ ζῆλον τῆνα ἢ προσθυμῶν ἀγωγῶν ἐκ μὲν πρὸς ἐμπροσθέντος ἰσορρομῶσιν. *Plut.*

and not to useful objects ; and those objects of real use, according to him are, Virtuous Actions, which at the same time that they charm us by the radiancy of their beauty, pleasingly induce and lead us to an imitation of them.

THIS zeal of imitation is the proper effect of virtue. In other things we often admire the art, without wishing to resemble the artist. Never, says Plutarch, did a youth, of a truly noble and exalted frame of mind, on seeing the Jupiter of Phidias, or on reading the Odes of Anacreon, wish to rival either the sculptor or the poet. But when virtue is the object, a great and generous soul is not content barely to admire the deed, but is fired with a desire of imitation.

THESE reflections were what induced Plutarch to write the lives of great men ; and they are applicable to all historical compositions, in which it is intended to shew the characters and manners of those that make their appearance in them.

I AM sensible of the objection that may be made here to the nature of the events that seem to prevail in the History I am about to write. I may be said to devote my pen to descriptions, not of virtue, but of vice, and of vice carried to its greatest excess under a TIBERIUS, a CALIGULA, and a NERO.

To

To this I might easily reply, that vice itself, when drawn in the odious colours that properly belong to it, becomes a lesson of virtue; and I may carry this reflection farther elsewhere. I might likewise answer, that vice does not prevail throughout the whole of the work I have undertaken, Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, are models worthy to be proposed to the best of Princes. The second century of the Roman Empire, reckoning from Nerva down to Marcus Aurelius, affords such a series of good Emperors as it were not easy to match in any history whatever. In short, under the worst of them, there still were men whose transcendant virtue seemed to shine the brighter by the contrast: Under Tiberius there was a Germanicus; under Nero a Thrasea; and under Domitian an Agricola. I must add, that Christianity, born under Augustus, gaining strength under his successors, and ascending the throne with Constantine, being on many occasions linked with the affairs of the Empire, affords an opportunity of sanctifying, now and then, this work, by virtues of a superior order, and capable not only to remove the scandal of vice, but to put to the blush all that is but merely human virtue.

It is on this plan, and with these views, that I purpose to write the History of the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Constantine.

The



## PREFACE.

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The task is such as I may reasonably hope to perform. A more extensive work might terrify me: And I frankly own, that hitherto my studies have not been so much directed towards what relates to the lower Empire. I shall confine them within these bounds, which I shall treat with all the care and application I am master of; and beg the Reader will be pleased to pardon such faults as will without doubt escape me, in favour of my good intent, and desire to serve him.

LIST



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

<b>C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus V. Sex. Apuleius.	A. R. 723. Bef. C. 29.
<b>C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus VI. M. Agrippa II.	A. R. 724. Bef. C. 28.
<b>C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus VII. M. Agrippa III.	A. R. 725. Bef. C. 27.
<b>Imp. C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus VIII.	A. R. 726. Bef. C. 26.
<b>T.</b> Statilius Taurus.	
<b>Imp. C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus IX.	A. R. 727. Bef. C. 25.
<b>M.</b> Junius Silanus.	
<b>Imp. C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus X.	A. R. 728. Bef. C. 24.
<b>C.</b> Norbanus Flaccus.	
<b>Imp. C.</b> Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XI.	A. R. 729. Bef. C. 23.
<b>A.</b> Terentius Varro.	
<i>And after the death or abdication of the latter,</i>	
<b>Cn.</b> Calpurnius Piso.	
<b>M.</b> Claudius Marcellus Æserninus.	A. R. 730. Bef. C. 22.
<b>L.</b> Arruntius.	
<b>M.</b> Lollius.	A. R. 73. Bef. C. 21.
<b>Q.</b> Æmilius Lepidus.	
<b>M.</b> Apuleius.	A. R. 732. Bef. C. 20.
<b>P.</b> Silius Nerva.	
<b>C.</b> Sentius Saturninus.	A. R. 733. Bef. C. 19.
<b>Q.</b> Lucretius.	
<b>P.</b> Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 734. Bef. C. 18.
<b>Cn.</b> Cornelius Lentulus.	

C. Furnius.	A. R. 735.
C. Junius Silanus.	Bef. C. 17.
L. Domitius Athenobarbus.	A. R. 736.
P. Cornelius Scipio.	Bef. C. 16.
M. Livius Drusus Libo.	A. R. 737.
L. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 15.
M. Licinius Crassus.	A. R. 738.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur.	Bef. C. 14.
Ti. Claudius Nero.	A. R. 739.
P. Quintilius Varus.	Bef. C. 13.
M. Valerius Messala Barbatus.	A. R. 740.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius.	Bef. C. 12.
Q. Ælius Tubero.	A. R. 741.
Paulus Fabius Maximus	Bef. C. 11.
Julus Antonius.	A. R. 742.
Q. Fabius Maximus.	Bef. C. 10.
Nero Claudius Drusus.	A. R. 743.
T. Quintius Crispinus.	Bef. C. 9.
C. Asinius Gallus.	A. R. 744.
C. Marcius Censorinus.	Bef. C. 8.
Ti. Claudius Nero II.	A. R. 745.
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 7.
P. Lælius Balbus.	A. R. 746.
C. Antistius Vetus.	Bef. C. 6.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XII.	A. R. 747.
L. Cornelius Sulla.	Bef. C. 5.
C. Calvisius Sabinus	A. R. 748.
L. Passienus Rufus	Bef. C. 4.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 749.
M. Valerius Messalinus.	Bef. C. 3.
Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus XIII.	A. R. 750.
C. Caninius Gallus.	Bef. C. 2.
	Cossus

Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 751.
L. Calpurnius Piso.	Bef. C. 1.
C. Julius Cæsar.	A. R. 752.
L. Æmilius Paulus.	A. C. 1.
P. Vinicius.	A. R. 753.
P. Alfenus Varus.	A. C. 2.
L. Ælius Lamia.	A. R. 754.
M. Servilius.	A. C. 3.
Sex. Ælius Catus.	A. R. 755.
C. Sentius Saturninus.	A. C. 4.
Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus.	A. R. 756.
L. Valerius Messala Volusus.	A. C. 5.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	A. R. 757.
L. Arruntius.	A. C. 6.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.	A. R. 778.
A. Licinius Nerva Silianus.	A. C. 7.
M. Furius Camillus.	A. R. 759.
Sex. Nonius Quintilianus.	A. C. 8.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.	A. R. 760.
C. Poppæus Sabinus.	A. C. 9.
P. Cornelius Dolabella:	A. R. 761.
C. Junius Silanus.	A. C. 10.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	A. R. 762.
T. Statilius Taurus.	A. C. 11.
Germanicus Cæsar.	A. R. 763.
C. Fonteius Capito.	A. C. 12.
L. Munatius Plancus.	A. R. 764.
C. Silius.	A. C. 13.
Sex. Pompeius.	A. R. 765.
Sex. Apuleius.	A. C. 14.



# HISTORY

OF THE

## ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

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### BOOK I.

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#### SECT. I.

*OCTAVIUS* purposes to legitimate his power. With this view he feigns a desire to abdicate. He consults *Agrippa* and *Mecænas* concerning his abdication. *Agrippa* advises it. *Mecænas* dissuades him from it. *Octavius* declares in favour of *Mecænas's* opinion. It is hardly probable that *Virgil* was consulted on this occasion. *Octavius* endeavours to gain the people's affection. He reviews the Senate, and expels several unworthy members. He takes the title of Prince of the Senate. Other regulations. *Octavius's* care to keep up the republican forms. He advances *Agrippa* greatly. Close of the *Lustre* after 41 years interruption. Several Senators are assisted by the liberality of *Octavius*. He gives the administration of the public treasure to ancient *Prætors*. Public edifices repaired or

Vol. I. B built.

built. He annuls all acts of the Triumvirate. He declares to the Senate that he abdicates the supreme power. The Senators are of different opinions. All agree to oppose his abdication. He yields. He divides the Provinces with the Senate. He undertakes the government for ten years only: but renewing it from time to time keeps it all his life. He receives the name of AUGUSTUS. The change of the Roman Government must be dated from the seventh consulship of Augustus. All titles of power and authority are united in the person of Augustus. That of IMPERATOR or EMPEROR. The power of Pro-consul, and all the prerogatives of Consul. The power of Tribune. The power of Censor. The High Priest-hood. He causes himself to be dispensed from observing the Laws. The Title of PATER PATRIÆ, FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, annexed to that of Emperor. Augustus and his Successors were only dispensers of the Sovereign power, which itself was always radically vested in the Senate and People. The outward form of Government was preserved in many things. The same Magistracies. New Offices created in order to admit a greater number of Persons into some share of the public power. Prefect of Rome. Ancient Rights preserved to the Senate. Privy Council or governors of Provinces taken from among the body of Senators. The people's Provinces governed by Pro-consuls. They were only Civil Magistrates. The Provinces in the Emperor's department governed by his Lieutenants, vested with a military power. Intendants to levy and disburse the monies belonging to the Emperor. The government of the Empe-



rors was monarchial with regard to military, and mixed as to civil affairs. Public Treasure. Emperor's Exchequer. The people preserves under Augustus the right of naming to employments. Tiberius transfers those elections to the Senate, which, by that means, represents singly the ancient republic. The happiness the Romans enjoy, under Augustus, makes them amend for their loss of liberty. The Provinces are more happy under the new Government. Saying of Augustus concerning Alexander. History becomes more silent. New honours and privileges decreed by the Senate to Augustus.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.  
SEX. APULEIUS.

**O**CTAVIUS CÆSAR, through a series of in-justice, violence, cruelty, and tyrannical enterprises, at length saw himself master of the whole Roman Empire. His first care had been to take off the defenders of the Republican liberty: the family which had been a sworn enemy to his, the rivals and competitors he had found amongst those of his own party, all were destroyed. No power now remained but what he was in possession of, no forces but what were obedient to his commands.

This pitch of greatness had cost him too much to acquire, not to be resolved to keep it. But he had no other right to it than force; and was thoroughly sensible how much a title so odious was insufficient in itself, and dangerous in its consequences. Even the proofs of mildness, wisdom, and moderation he had taken care to give, from the time that cruelty had no

A. R. 723.  
bef. C. 29.  
Octavius  
purposes to  
legitimate  
his power

## HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

A.R.723. longer appeared necessary to him, though they  
 bef.C.29. might gain him the affection of a great number  
 of citizens, yet could not remove the blame  
 of usurpation. However pleasing he had rendered  
 his government, it still was an unjust  
 tyranny, which exposed him to the hazard of  
 revolts and conspiracies from all such as still  
 retained any part of the old Roman sentiments:  
 to snatch the command from him, to take  
 away his life, would, by such, have been  
 thought a noble action, and well deserving from  
 the Republic. Full of these reflections, Octavius  
 undertook to render legitimate by the general  
 consent of the nation, a power whose beginning  
 had been unjust and iniquitous: and proceeded  
 in the execution of this design with a prudence  
 so exquisite as cannot be too carefully remarked.

With this  
 view he  
 feigns a desire  
 to abdicate.

In the first place he judged it was highly proper  
 to feign a desire to abdicate the authority  
 of government: nor could he avoid it without  
 exposing himself to an imputation of insincerity.  
 His pretence for taking arms had been to  
 revenge the death of his uncle and adoptive  
 father. That revenge was now fully satisfied.  
 Mark Antony's attempts to rival him were  
 sufficient reasons for continuing in arms:  
 but Antony was now no more, and all the  
 terms fixed for the duration of the Triumvirate  
 had been long expired. For at least three  
 years past Octavius had exercised the  
 sovereign power in virtue only of the  
 consular magistracy, in which he had  
 taken care to be continued.

He consults  
 Agrippa and  
 Messala  
 concerning  
 his Education.  
 S. C. L. c. 28. D. l.  
 l. 11.

Resolving then to go through all the  
 ceremonial of a pretended abdication,  
 in order to give it a greater air of  
 sincerity, he thought proper  
 to

to deliberate on that subject with his chief ministers and intimate confidants, Agrippa and Mecenas: Having brought them together, he ordered them to tell him freely what they thought on so nice and important a point.

A. R. 725.  
 b. C. 29.  
 Agrippa  
 advises it.

Agrippa, whose soul was great and noble, declared for abdication as the most generous proceeding. He advised Octavius to restore the supreme authority to the Senate and Roman people, agreeable to his engagements so often contracted with them, and in so doing to give them the strongest proof of his candour and sincerity. He added that the safety even of his person was concerned, and alleged the contrary examples of Sylla and of Cæsar; a comparison sufficient to deter any one from thinking ever to maintain the authority of Monarch in Rome. He insisted on the impossibility of going back if ever Octavius should take such a resolution, and represented his bad state of health unequal to the great fatigue and weight of governing so vast an empire. To give his opinion the greater weight, he observed, that self-interest could not be his motive, since it was evident, he had attained the highest dignities by the favour of one; whereas under a Republican form of government, he, being a man of no distinguished birth, could not but fear his glories would be eclipsed by the more shining ones of numbers of the nobility. He ended with adding, that though every reason should induce Octavius to abdicate, yet it did not follow he should be in a hurry to put it in execution: that on the contrary he should take time to prepare and settle proper and necessary means, by establishing the public tranquillity on a lasting foundation.

A.R.723.  
bef.C.29.  
Mecænas  
dissuades  
him from  
it.

Agrippa's advice was not relished by Mecænas. That minister, whose peculiar merit was, an uncommon prudence, and quick discernment, thought, perhaps with reason, the scheme of abdicating more brilliant than solid. He saw that an Empire which comprehended the greatest part of the known world, could not subsist but under the government of one man: and from his experience during near three-score years of civil wars and seditious tumults, he, with the whole thinking part of mankind, was convinced that the frantic madness of a mob, and the factions of the great, exposed the Republic to continual tempests, from which monarchy alone could be its proper and safe shelter. And as to Octavius's personal safety, after the many enemies he had made himself by wars and proscriptions, it was beyond doubt that prudence required him to assume the supreme authority, as a defence and rampart the more necessary as, if a Republican government were once re-established, ambition having then greater scope to exert itself, would, in many, be joined to a desire of revenge; and that all such as should aspire to the high post left vacant by him, would ever consider him as the first obstacle in their way, which they would spare nothing to get rid of.

Sure to enter into the views of him who consulted him, Mecænas advised Octavius not only to keep possession of the supreme authority; but, taking that for granted, proceeded to trace out a plan of government. Dion, on this occasion, makes Mecænas say things quite improbable in discourse, and much more fitting a written memorial: and even then there  
are

are several heads on which I apprehend that \* A.R.723.  
 Author has followed the ideas of the times in bef.C.29.  
 which he lived, rather than represented faithfully the views of the minister into whose mouth he puts those speeches. I shall spare my reader the trouble of all those discussions, and be content to point out from facts, what was the system of government Octavius introduced.

Such were the counsels of Agrippa and Mecaenas; counsels as widely different as were the characters of those who gave them. A modern writer observes, that each spoke according to his own particular interest. Agrippa, a brave warrior, of consular dignity, and judged worthy triumphal honours, would have held the first place in a republic. Mecaenas, a man of letters, a good writer, and experienced courtier, could not expect to shine or make a great figure, but under the protection of a prince who should place an entire confidence in him. This observation, somewhat malicious, is not supported by any ancient authority; and its author may perhaps not be the fittest person in the world to give it much weight: though a writer of great wit, he is apt to be bold in his criticisms, is fond of paradoxes, and apparently inclined to praise whatever contemporary Historians have thought blameable, and to blame what they have praised.

Octavius was quite resolved what to do before he asked his minister's opinions; so was

Octavius declares in favour of Mecaenas advice.

\* Lipsius thought so too; and Mecaenas's discourse seems to him entirely the work of Dion, who has described the plan of government established by Au-

gustus, and with some alterations, followed by the Emperors. Excurs. ad Tac. Ann. III.

A.R. 723. not at all embarrassed by the contrariety of their  
 bef. C. 29. sentiments; and after thanking them equally  
 for this new proof of their zeal and fidelity in  
 speaking their minds so freely, he declared in  
 favour of Mæcenas's advice; but at the same  
 time, without neglecting any of those precau-  
 tions he thought most proper to wipe off the  
 odium of violence and usurpation.

It is hardly  
 probable  
 that Virgil  
 was con-  
 sulted on  
 this occa-  
 sion.

Virgil's great name may be a sufficient reason  
 why I should not omit here that, according to  
 the author of his life, Octavius was desirous to  
 have that illustrious Poet's opinion on a matter  
 concerning which he was in doubt, and that it  
 was by his advice he determined to keep the  
 Empire. I have already observed that Octavius  
 never was in doubt on this occasion; nor can  
 I be induced to think the authority of an ob-  
 scure nameless writer, who takes it into his  
 head to publish his own dreams, sufficient to  
 persuade any one that a Poet; sublime indeed,  
 as a Poet, but unacquainted with affairs of state,  
 should ever have been consulted by the most  
 artful Prince that ever lived, and especially in  
 a thing of such consequence. Whatever en-  
 couragement the masters of the world are  
 pleased to bestow on talents, and on such as  
 possess them in an eminent degree, yet they  
 hardly consult poets in matters of state.

Octavius  
 endeavours to  
 in the  
 people's af-  
 fection.

Octavius, whose maxim was to hasten slowly,  
 employed the rest of his fifth Consulship and  
 the whole of his sixth, in preparing minds and  
 bringing things into a proper situation for the  
 great work he was meditating. Games and  
 shows of all sorts, gifts and generosities to the  
 people, public buildings to adorn the city,  
 were arts he had began to practise some year  
 before,

before, and continued in these, to make his government the better liked: but his chief study was to restore the Senate to its ancient luster, by clearing it of a number of improper and unworthy members, who had crept in during the confusion of the Civil Wars, and were a dishonour to the majesty of that august body. He could not take a step more pleasing to the sensible part of men, and such as saw things in their true light: and what is more, whilst he was thus forming a council full of dignity, and able to assist him in the fatigue of government, his main design still remained secret: he might still seem to act in consequence of a desire to abdicate, and put the Republic in a situation to be able to do without him.

The Senate really wanted a thorough reformation. The dictator Cæsar first lessened its dignity by admitting into it, without distinction of birth, rank, or hardly of country, men, whose sole merit often was, to have been useful to him in the execution of his ambitious projects. The evil increased under the Consulship of Mark Antony. That mercenary magistrate would sell a place in the Senate to any purchaser that offered; and, as he pretended to act in virtue of Cæsar's memorials, such as became Senators by those methods, were called, out of derision Charonites, or \* Senators of Pluto's creation, because they owed their elevation to a dead man. The Triumvirate, that destruction of all laws and order, carried the disorder in this, as in every thing else, to the highest pitch. The number of Senators was increased to above a thousand; and the first citi-

A.R. 723.  
bef. C. 29.

Here reviews  
the Senate,  
and expels  
several un-  
worthy  
members.

Plut. Ant.  
Suet. Aug.  
35.

\* *Charon*

A.R. 723. zens of the Republic hardly knew themselves  
 bef. C. 29. in the midst of such a crowd of associates so  
 unworthy them.

The fault was visible; but the remedy was neither easy, nor without danger. Upwards of four hundred Senators (for Octavius purposed, if possible, to reduce them to their old number of six hundred) were to be divested of their dignities, and that just at the close of a Civil War; that is to say, at a time when men's minds, used to intrigues, conspiracies, violences and murders, were disposed to take fire easily, and to carry things to the greatest extremities.

Octavius thought such a reformation of so great importance as to outweigh all fear of danger: in consequence of which he undertook to draw up a new list of the order of the Senate; and proceeded in that work, not as Censor, for, I know not for what reason, he never took that title, but as Superintendent and Reformer of the laws and customs; a new title, first invented for the Dictator Cæsar. To help him in this undertaking, Octavius chose the faithful and generous Agrippa for his associate: Agrippa zealously assisted him in the execution of a plan he had neither advised nor approved; and whenever he thought it necessary, helped him to the utmost to preserve an authority he had not been able to prevail on him to resign.

As such an operation could not but be disagreeable to many, Octavius endeavoured to correct the bitterness of it by all the palliatives he could imagine. He began with exhorting such among the Senators as were, from what-  
 ever



ever motive it might be, any ways conscious of their being improper persons to sit in that great assembly, to do justice to themselves; and on this bare representation fifty resigned. Octavius bestowed great encomiums on this their voluntary retreat, and this first success enabled him, either by authority or by pressing solicitations, to make a hundred and forty more follow their example. Not one was marked; he even continued to them all some honorary privileges of the Senatorial dignity; but with a special distinction in favour of those whose modesty had induced them to resign without any sort of constraint.

I do not know whether he then carried this reformation beyond what has been just said. Dion says nothing more, unless it be, that he forced one Q. Statilius to renounce the office of Tribune of the people. Very likely the difficulties and danger that might attend making too great a number of malecontents might stop him, at a time when it was so much his interest not to sour the people's minds over much. By the extraordinary precautions he took for his own safety, we may judge how great he thought the danger. During the whole time he was about this reformation of the senate, he never presided but with a coat of mail under his usual garment, and ten of the strongest Senators, such as he knew to be most attached to him, next his person; and all that time no one Senator was admitted to an audience of him, till he had been searched and examined. We shall see him twelve years hence set about this same project again, and carry it fully into execution.

His

A.R. 723.  
bef. C. 29.

Suet. Aug. 35.

A.R.723. His name was placed at the head of the list  
 b.f.C.29. of Senators, and he took the title of Prince of  
 He takes the title of the Senate: a title without function, but pleasing,  
 Prince of as it called to mind some idea of the ancient Re-  
 the Senate public, of which Octavius affected a resem-  
 blance, whilst he was destroying the reality.

Other re- Notwithstanding the many members excluded  
 gulations. the Senate, the body still remained more nume-  
 rous than he desired: but even this consideration  
 did not hinder him from introducing others,  
 chosen undoubtedly from among the most de-  
 serving.

He gave the rank of Consul to C. Cluvius  
 and C. Furnius, tho' they never had been Con-  
 suls; but they had been set down for it, and by  
 circumstances intervening it had happened that  
 others had enjoyed the dignity at the time they  
 should have had it.

He had created a few years before some new  
 Patrician families, in the room of those that  
 had been extinguished by the Civil Wars. Whe-  
 ther it be that he did not think there was  
 enough of them, or that he thought proper to  
 multiply rewards and titles of honour, he this  
 year bestowed on several Plebeians the rank of  
 Patrician, which was now no more than an  
 empty decoration.

In short, he put again in force the old laws  
 by which every Senator was forbid going out  
 of Italy without express leave. Sicily only, as  
 being a neighbouring province, and at peace,  
 was excepted from this law.

Such were the regulations which, according  
 to Dion, took place towards the end of Octa-  
 vius's fifth Consulship, with some other events  
 not to be omitted, such as the rebuilding Car-  
 thage,

thage, already mentioned in the history \* of A.R. 723. the Republic; the death of Antiochus King of bcf. C. 29. Commagene, who was sent to Rome and condemned to die for having assassinated an ambassador, sent to the Senate by his brother to settle the differences that subsisted between them; and Octavius's purchase of the little island of Capræa, so famous for the life of Tiberius afterwards led there.

The consulship was necessary to Octavius, that he might still have a title that set him at the head of the republic. He continued himself in that dignity for the six following years. In his sixth consulship, which we are now entering on, he took Agrippa for his colleague.

### C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS VI.

#### M. AGRIPPA II.

**N**O one ever followed more closely than A.R. 724. Octavius a system of conduct once bcf. C. 28. thought necessary to his interest. So, as his Octavius's care to keep up the Republic's forms. present view was to keep up all the outward appearance of the republican forms, whilst he was settling himself more and more in the possession of a monarchical authority, he took care in this his sixth consulship to imitate in many things the character of an old republican consul: he shared the Fasces with his colleague, and at the year's end, when his office expired, took the usual oath on that occasion.

One part of his secret plan was to advance He advanced Agrippa so that he might be a support to him. Agrippa so that he might be a support to him. bcf. Agrippa's life. He then united him to his own family, by a

\* Rollin's Hist. Rom. Rep. Vol. VIII. Book 26. § 3. and Vol. XIV. Book 47. § 1.

marriage

A. R. 724. marriage with his niece Marcella, sister to young  
 bef. C. 28. Marcella. History does not tell us whether  
 Agrippa was a widower, or whether, to be able  
 to contract this alliance, he separated from  
 Attica, by whom he had a daughter, married to  
 Tiberius.

Octavius made Agrippa almost equal to him-  
 self. Dion observes on this occasion, that when  
 they were together at the army, Octavius would  
 have Agrippa's tent be like his own, and that he  
 should give the order as well as himself.

Close of the  
 lustre, af-  
 ter 41 years  
 interrup-  
 tion.

*Lapis*  
 4<sup>o</sup>. yr.

I have said that he was associated, under an-  
 other title, in the functions of Censor. As such  
 they finished this year the Cens, or numbering  
 of the people, and performed the ceremony of  
 closing the lustre, which had suffered an inter-  
 ruption of forty-one years, since the Censorship  
 of Gellius and Lentulus. The number of citi-  
 zens amounted to four millions one hundred  
 and sixty-three thousand.

Several acts of good conduct, wisdom, and  
 generosity, fill up the year of Octavius's sixth  
 Consulship.

Several Sen-  
 ators are  
 assisted by  
 the liber-  
 ality of Oc-  
 tavius.

He liberally assisted many of the Senators,  
 whose fortunes were not answerable to their  
 rank, merit, and distinguished birth; and by  
 that means preserved to the Republic one of its  
 magistracies, the Curule Edile, for which there  
 often had been no candidates of late. For as  
 that office, on the one hand, required a vast ex-  
 pence for the games and shews; and on the  
 other, the favour of the people, which used to  
 be gained by such shews, was no longer of use  
 towards making a fortune or being advanced,  
 since the alterations in the government, an  
 office so burthensome, and attended with no  
 advantages,

advantages, was no longer sought after; and more than once, Rome being without Ediles, the Prætors were obliged to officiate as such.

A. R. 724.  
 bef. C. 28.  
 He gives  
 the admini-

He reformed the administration of the public treasure, which had always been managed by the Quæstors; and was liable to inconveniencies on account of the youth of those magistrates: for the Quæstorship was the first office through which the youth passed, in order to arrive at places of greater dignity. Octavius thought a thing of so great importance as the public treasure required the care of riper men, and therefore put the chief management of it into the hands of two ancient Prætors, reserving without doubt to the Quæstors subordinate employments under them. But his care of the state's finances never degenerated into private hardship or oppression: on the contrary, he eased the people by remitting all debts due to the public treasure, and even burnt the vouchers for them.

of the public  
 treasure  
 to ancient  
 Prætors.

He embellished and adorned the city either by erecting new buildings, or repairing old ones, or building them up again. This year he finished the temple and library of Apollo Palatine, mentioned in the history of the Republic: and as to old temples or other public buildings that were going to decay, if any heirs or successors of their first founders were living, he exhorted them to repair these monuments of their name and family, otherwise he undertook it himself, but without assuming the honour of it; he left that entirely to those who had founded and built them.

Public ed-  
 fices re-  
 paired or  
 built.

Every part, as may be seen, of Octavius's government tended to the public good; and what has been already mentioned of praise-wor-

He ann  
 all act  
 the Prin  
 virtut

thy,

A.R. 724. thy, he crowned by an action truly magnani-  
 bef. C. 28. mous. He was not afraid to declare to the  
 whole universe the iniquitous tyranny of all that  
 had been done by the Triumvirate; and by one  
 edict annulled and abolished all the acts of those  
 unhappy times, all that himself and his brother  
 colleagues in the Triumvirate had done and or-  
 dained unto the time of his sixth Consulship:  
 intending that should be the epoch of the re-  
 newal of the laws of good order, and of pub-  
 lic happiness.

Thus did he make the Roman nation sensible  
 of the precious advantages of a wise monarchy  
 beyond a turbulent liberty. Having sufficiently  
 proved how much the happiness of the state  
 depended on his government, he thought he  
 might with safety take such steps as to him  
 seemed necessary to give the sanction of legiti-  
 macy to the authority he was in possession of;  
 and resolved to affect a design to abdicate the  
 supreme power, which hitherto he held only  
 by force, but wished to owe to the unanimous  
 consent of those over whom it was to be exer-  
 cised. This he put in execution in the very  
 beginning of his seventh Consulship, in which  
 again he chose to have Agrippa for his colleague.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS VII.  
 M. AGRIPPA III.

A.R. 727. THE seventh day of January, Octavius,  
 bef. C. 27. having first communicated his designs,  
 not only to his colleague, but to some of the  
 Senators on whose affection he relied most, en-  
 tered the Senate, and declared that he abdicated  
 the supreme power, and restored it to the Se-  
 nate

nate and Roman people, to whom it of right belonged. He read, to this purpose, as was his custom, a discourse, certainly not like that which Dion makes him speak, full of haughty arrogance, frivolous vanity, and an affectation of pompous expressions, ill suiting the character of Octavius, who always tended to what was solid, and despised what had only an empty sound.

Let us be content to know the essential part, which may properly be reduced to one head. The more he was sensible the step he was taking might be suspected, the more he endeavoured to appear sincere: he spake the language of a man who really intended to abdicate, advised the Senators to make a proper use of the supreme power which he restored to them, and ended with wishing and foretelling prosperity to their new government.

Those who were in the secret applauded: the rest were greatly embarrassed. The clear-sighted saw through the mystery, but dared not say it. Of those who thought Octavius meant what he said, some were pleased, and glad to think they were going to be freed from the yoke of servitude; others, whose fortune depended on the name and family of the Cæsars, or even who, tired of troubles and civil discords, wished only for peace and public tranquillity, all hopes of which centered in the person of Octavius, were really afflicted to think he should resign, and replunge their country into all those miseries from which he alone had been able to deliver it.

Amidst this diversity of opinions, all agreed however in pressing him most earnestly to desist from a resolution so fatal to the public repose. Great strength of argument was not necessary,

A.R. 725. he soon yielded, but at the same time annexed  
 bef. C. 27. to his consent certain restrictions, which, whilst  
 they added to a shew of modesty, were no ways  
 prejudicial to the well combined plan of his  
 ambition.

He divides  
 the Pro-  
 vinces with  
 the Senate. Declaring then that out of deference to the  
 will of the senate so strongly urged, he under-  
 took the general conduct of the republic's  
 affairs, he added, that his intention was not  
 to bear singly all the weight, but that he was  
 resolved to divide the provinces with the senate  
 and people; so that some should be under  
 the immediate direction of the senate, and the  
 rest under his. In the choice of those pro-  
 vinces he expressed a readiness to take to his  
 share, such as were most turbulent and most  
 liable to tumults and seditions, and the fron-  
 tiers exposed to incursions from foreign ene-  
 mies; leaving to the senators those whose peace-  
 ful state would let them taste the sweets of com-  
 mand, without suffering its uneasinesses and  
 alarms. A specious pretence to have at his  
 command all the forces of the empire: whilst  
 the senate, having the care only of unarmed  
 provinces, could be without troops, and con-  
 sequently not able to give him any umbrage.

The provinces in the senate's department  
 were Africa, that is to say, the country round  
 about Carthage and Utica; Numidia; Asia  
 properly called, comprehending the ancient  
 kingdom of Pergamus; Greece, then more  
 commonly called Achaia; Dalmatia, Macedo-  
 nia, Sicily, the isle of Crete with the Cyrenaic,  
 Bithynia joined with Pontus, the island of  
 Sardinia, and in Spain, Bœtica. Octavius re-  
 served to himself the rest of Spain, divided into



two provinces, Tarragon and Lusitania, all A.R.725. Gaul, comprehending the Narbonnese and Celtic, which then began to be called the Lyonnese, Aquitania, Belgia, and the two Germany's, upper and lower; that is to say, along the borders of the Rhine, on the left of that river, from about Basle down to its mouth. In the east, Cælosyria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, the island of Cyprus and Egypt, fell to the lot of Octavius.

In this account given by Dion, no mention is made of Italy, because it was considered, not as a province, but as the queen and mistress of all provinces. Italy continued to be governed as before the changes made in the republic: all its inhabitants were citizens of Rome, and each people, each town, had its magistrates, who in cases of importance had recourse to the senate and magistrates of Rome, or to the head of the empire.

It is farther to be observed, that in this partition of the provinces, no countries are included but such as were under the immediate dominion of the republic. The whole empire comprehended several cities and nations that were free; kings, as Herod in Judea; in Mauritania, Juba, who married Cleopatra, Antony's daughter. These kings and nations were not reputed subjects, though they lived under the protection and in dependence on the Roman empire. In succeeding times all these countries were, one after another, reduced into provinces, and fell to the emperor's lot, and not the senate's.

Lastly, I must observe, that this allotment of the provinces, made by Octavius, was not

A. R. 725. invariable. He himself took Dalmatia, where  
 bef. C. 27. a great war broke out, and gave the Senate in  
 exchange Cyprus and the Narbonnese. Several  
 other alterations happened under his successors,  
 of which we shall make mention in their pro-  
 per places.

He under-  
 takes the  
 govern-  
 ment for  
 ten years  
 only; but  
 by renew-  
 ing it from  
 time to  
 time keeps  
 it all his  
 life.

Such was the first reserve by which Octavius moderated or limited, at least in appearance, that unbounded power the Senate had given up to him. He added, but still with the same intent, another limitation as to its duration. He would not accept the power of government but for ten years, and protested, with his usual sincerity, that if he should succeed in putting the republic into a happy and lasting situation, in a shorter time, he should not wait the expiration of that term to resign. These were but words. At the end of the ten years, he had himself continued in the supreme power, sometimes for five, sometimes for ten years more, and in that manner kept it all his life. His successors, who came to the empire, without any limitation of time, kept up however some traces of those decennial renewals, by celebrating every ten years solemn feasts, as for a renewal of the sovereign authority in their persons.

He re-  
 ceives the  
 name of  
 Augustus.  
*Plin. nat. Hist. l. vi.*

The division of the provinces between Octavius and the senate was settled the 13th of January; and the 17th Octavius received the appellation of Augustus: he was not sorry to take a new name, that was a title of distinction, and not odious nor savouring of tyranny. At first he thought of that of Romulus, as a name proper to create a respect for him as for a second founder of Rome: but then Romulus was a king,

king, and a despotic king, who had drawn on himself the anger and revenge of the senate. A. R. 725. bef. C. 27. Octavius therefore apprehended that name might awaken disagreeable and perhaps fatal ideas. He rather chose that of Augustus, which signifies a person or thing consecrated by religion, and, as it were, nearly allied to the Deity. Plancus, doubtless, in concert with him, first proposed it, and the senate solemnly conferred the appellation on him. This name was transmitted to his successors, but though common to all who held the first rank in the Roman empire, historians have given it particularly to him for whom it was invented and who first bore it. By that name we shall hereafter call that prince we have hitherto named Octavius Cæsar.

From what has been said it appears, that the change in the Roman government is to be reckoned from the seventh consulship of Augustus, or to speak more precisely, from the seventh day of January in that seventh consulship. All that passed before were acts of violence, no ways prejudicial to the rights of the senate and people, still ready to resume their claims whenever that violence should cease. But by the decree we are speaking of, the Senate divests itself of the administration of the supreme power, and transfers it to Octavius. There is no room to doubt, tho' historians \* are

C 3

silent, Præf. l.

\* In the Roman law we find mention made of a Lex Regalis, or Royal Law, by which the whole power of the Senate and people is transferred to the Emperors. But it is not said that this law was passed in a solemn assembly of the people. We have a considerable fragment of the Act by which

\* See Grævia de Imp. R. n.

A.R. 725. silent, but this decree was ratified by the suffrages of the people solemnly assembled. Octavius was too wary and circumspect to omit so essential a formality. Thus the exercise of the sovereign authority was by the two orders to whom it belonged put into the hands of one person, and the government assumed the form of a monarchy instead of a republic.

*all the powers that Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius enjoyed are given to Vespasian. Many of the learned have thought that this act, which was repeated on every accession of a new emperor, is the Lex Regalis, or Royal Law in question. But after Tiberius the people had hardly any longer share in public affairs, and the act by which the empire is conferred on Vespasian, can be no other than a decree of the senate. It is true then that no ancient record remains to prove that the people conferred the exercise of*

*the sovereign authority on Augustus: but the fact ought not to seem less certain, and the conjecture on which I build surpasses a bare possibility. What sets it beyond all doubt is, that when Augustus, three years before his death, raised Tiberius to an equality of power with himself, Velleius says expressly (II. 111.) that it was by the authority of the senate and Roman people; and Suetonius (Tib. c. 21.) makes mention of a law passed on that occasion by the Consuls,*

## AUGUSTUS

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 AUGUSTUS EMPEROR.

**A**UGUSTUS, however, would take no title that might characterise him a monarch. He always expressed a great hatred not only to the name of king, which since the expulsion of the Tarquins was abhorred by the Romans, but even to that of dictator, which by a law of Antony's was abolished immediately after Caesar's death. In that he acted very artfully; heaping on himself different titles, all used before and all republican in themselves, by that means disguising a new form of government under old names.

The first of those titles was *Imperator*, whence our word *Emperor*. This title had been used in the time of the republic in two senses: at first it denoted only a general of an army; afterwards it was given as a name of glory and honour to a chief who had conquered the enemy in an important action. Augustus in taking this title, gave it a much greater extent, in imitation of the dictator Caesar, on whom it had been likewise bestowed. The emperor, in this sense was generalissimo of all the forces of the empire, and all such as commanded them were no more than his lieutenants. A command so universal was assuredly a most royal privilege. No citizen ever enjoyed it under the republic. Pompey was, however, an example Augustus might have alledged to shew he was not doing a thing absolutely new.

A.R. 725.

bc f. C. 27.

All titles

of power

and autho-

rity are

united in

the person

of Augus-

tus.

That of

Imperator

or Em-

peror.

Dio.

A.R.725. In the war against the pirates Pompey had  
 bef. C. 27. received the command of all the maritime  
 forces of the empire and of all the seas; to  
 which was afterwards added in the war with  
 Mithridates the command of all the republic's  
 armies in the provinces of the east. And as  
 to the right of governing provinces and armies  
 by his orders, at a great distance, without  
 stirring from his closet, Pompey had enjoyed  
 even that with regard to Spain; and without  
 leaving the suburbs of Rome, or at least Italy,  
 had governed that great province and all the  
 legions that were in it, as proconsul and ge-  
 neral in chief, exercising his authority by his  
 lieutenants Afranius, Petreius and Varro.

The emperor was absolute in all military  
 affairs; he had the sole right to make war or  
 peace, to raise men and money: the sword was  
 in his hand, and he swayed it over, not only  
 the soldier, but all the citizens, Roman  
 knights and senators. This title to which  
 such great prerogatives were annexed, was con-  
 sidered as a special and particular mark of the  
 sovereign power residing in Augustus and his  
 successors; but being quite military, it shewed  
 the origin of this new government founded on  
 force of arms. The military people were too  
 sensible of it, and in after-times carried their  
 abuse of it to great excess. So according to  
*Hi. l. Univ.* M. Bossuet's remark, "As the republic had  
 " its inevitable foible in the jealousy between  
 " the people and senate; the dominion of the  
 " Cæsars had its likewise in the licentiousness of  
 " the soldiers who made them Cæsars." Au-  
 gustus endeavoured to remedy this inconve-  
 nience by seeming to make the army subordi-  
 nate

nate to the laws; for to receive from the senate the right of commanding their armies was acknowledged the civil power superior to the military. But the reality still appeared through these slight disguises, and the military men were not deceived.

He likewise softened the terror of the military title of Emperor, by other titles either mixed or entirely civil.

He had been several times consul; but not being minded to perpetuate himself in that office, as if through modesty, and to leave that high place quite free and open to such citizens as had a right of aspiring to it, after his eleventh consulship, he caused the proconsular power to be given him, but only out of Rome, and from time to time, because under the republic the title and command of proconsul were not assumed but when out of the city, and were laid aside on returning back to it. In virtue of this proconsular power, he was to have, in whatever province he should be, a command superior to those that might be the actual governors. The same privilege had been formerly granted in the east to Pompey, Brutus and Cassius. Augustus, in order to have in the city the same power as was given him over the provinces, caused himself sometime after to be vested with the prerogatives and authority of consul, even when he did not discharge the functions of that office, and assumed all the marks of honour belonging to it, the twelve Fasces, and the Curule chair between the consuls' chairs.

For the same reasons the power of tribune, in vain offered several times before, was now conferred

A.R.725. conferred on him : though he was not in fact  
 bef.C.21. tribune, that title, reserved for plebeians only,  
 being beneath his dignity. But by a convenient  
 distinction, before made use of by Cæsar, he  
 was vested with all the authority without the  
 name. The power of tribune was of very  
 great importance to him : by it, nothing could  
 be done without his approbation, neither in the  
 senate nor in the assemblies of the people. The  
 history of the republic shews how far the tri-  
 bunes extended this power ; and we may believe  
 it lost nothing of its weight in the hands of the  
 emperors. Besides, in virtue of this title their  
 persons were sacred and inviolable : not only  
 attempts against their lives, but the slightest  
 offences, the least want of respect, was an im-  
 pious crime. Augustus's successors took strange  
 advantages of this privilege, and made it a pre-  
 tence to spill much innocent blood.

But though the power of tribune was granted  
 the emperors to perpetuity, yet they made a  
 sort of shew of renewing it every year ; and the  
 years of their reigns are reckoned by the years  
 of their tribunian power.

The power  
 of censor.

Augustus and his successors assumed like-  
 wise the power of censor, either under its  
 true and ancient name, which seldom happened,  
 or under that of superintendent of the laws  
 and manners. In virtue of this power they  
 numbered the people, registered knights and  
 senators, or struck off from that list whom they  
 pleased.

The High  
 Priesthood.

So many titles united in one person, put  
 him in possession of the whole civil and military  
 power. To this was added Religion, that great  
 influencer of the human mind. Whilst Lepidus,  
 lived,



lived, Augustus let him enjoy the dignity of High Priest, because there was no precedent of any person being deprived of it in his life-time. But it was no sooner vacant, than he seized it, and his successors in the empire possessed it after him. This great title gave them a controul over all religious matters; and that they might have a more direct and immediate inspection over every part of divine worship, they put themselves at the head of all the colleges of priests, augurs, and keepers of the Sybilline books and others; so that they became sole arbitrators of sacred as well as profane.

Though nothing seemed wanting to so extensive a power, yet the observance of the laws might sometimes cramp it. Augustus found a remedy even for this. In the time of the Republic it was customary to ask and obtain dispensations from observing the laws in some particular cases. Thus the second Scipio Africanus, Pompey and Octavius himself, in virtue of a dispensation from the senate, had been named consuls before the age prescribed by the laws. Augustus made that general, which before had taken place only on some particular occasions; and caused himself to be universally dispensed from observing all the laws \*: so that he obtained in a state, whose

foundation

\* Thus Dion expresses himself; and in fact it appears the Emperors behaved as if the dispensation had been general. Yet the terms of the decree of the Senate, mentioned in the foregoing note, admit of a li-

mitted sense. Vespasian is dispensed from observing the laws from which Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius, had been dispensed: Utique quibus legibus plebisve scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Augustus, Tiberiusve Julius

A. R. 25.  
bef. C. 27.

He causes himself to be dispensed from observing the laws.

A. R. 725. foundation still remained Republican, an entire  
 bef. C. 27. liberty as to the discharge of his functions, with  
 an authority more independent than the most  
 absolute monarchs ever had.

The title of Father of the Country, which had been formerly given to Cicero in his consulship, and afterwards to the dictator Cæsar, if Augustus took it, as did almost all his successors; it was less with a view to assume a paternal authority over the citizens, than as \* an appellation of fondness and tenderness, fit to remind the prince of the love and protection he owes his people, and the people of that filial obedience with which they ought to acknowledge the care and protection of their prince.

With all these accumulated titles did Augustus administer the sovereign power in the republic. Emperor, proconsul, enjoying all the rights of consul, vested with the power of tribune and of censor, dispensed from the yoke of the laws, in short, high priest, every kind of power military, civil and sacred, centered in him. In fact the government was changed, since no body could any longer exercise any authority in the state but what depended on one chief: as to the institution, the right of things, it may indeed be said the government was still the same, since the emperors had only the same magistracies and the same titles of command, as had been used in the

Augustus and his successors were only dispensers of the sovereign power, which itself was always radically vested in the Senate, and people.  
*Græcia, de Imper. Rom.*

Julius Cæsar Augustus, Tibertiusque Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus tenerentur iis legibus plebisque scitis Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit.

\* Patrem patriæ appellavi, ut sciret datam sibi potestatem patriam, quæ est temperatissima, liberis consulens suaque post illos reponens. *Sen. de Clem. l. 14.*

time

time of the republican liberty. It is true those A.R. 725.  
magistracies were formerly divided amongst bef. C. 27.  
several, but though united now in one person,  
their nature was not changed.

Augustus took this method out of policy :  
he can hardly be suspected of having acted in so  
nice and interesting an affair from any motives  
of respect or veneration for the laws : fear of  
the public hatred, and care of his own safety,  
had taught him to dread splitting on those  
rocks, the name of king, or even dictator.  
But in short it results from the plan he fol-  
lowed, that the whole supreme power was  
transferred to him, though the sovereignty con-  
tinued still to reside radically in the senate and  
people.

That it was so, is clear from the very nature  
of the facts. Augustus received his titles and  
powers from the senate and people : those two  
orders were consequently the source ; and what  
power Augustus had, only flowed from thence.

The sovereignty itself most certainly resided  
in the senate, for the senate often exercised the  
functions of sovereignty : nor were the titles  
and privileges, I have been enumerating, given  
all together and at the same time to Augustus.  
That prince, when emperor, received from  
the senate a dispensation from all the laws, the  
proconsular power, the rights of consul to per-  
petuity, the authority of tribune, the power  
to amend old laws, and to enact new ones, and  
even the right of assembling the senate when-  
ever he thought fit, and to propose to them  
such affairs as he judged proper. All these  
concessions are so many acts of sovereignty over  
Augustus

A. R. 725. Augustus himself. I shall mark their dates as  
bcf. C. 27. they occur in the course of this history.

What puts this matter beyond all doubt is, that the grant of these powers by the senate's authority was renewed every ten years in favour of Augustus; or, on the death of an emperor, in favour of him who succeeded. These acts, so often repeated, are so many proofs that at each expiration, whether feigned or real, of the powers granted to the head of the empire, the full enjoyment of the public authority devolved to the senate, as to its source, and was by that senate again bestowed on the person that was to exercise it.

I thought it of some importance to give the reader a just and distinct idea of the nature of the government established by Augustus, and of the difference to be made between the power of the Cæsars, and a thorough settled monarchy: this idea will be a key to many expressions, many steps that may surprise us, both in the good and in the bad emperors; and especially it will shew what right the senate had to treat so roughly, as they more than once did, the memories and even the persons of some of them.

Augustus then enjoyed the exercise of the supreme authority in virtue of the several titles united in him. He kept this authority unlimited, entire, and wholly in himself, so far as related to all military concerns: there lay his rampart and strength. In civil affairs he thought proper to deal gently with the delicacy of the Romans, and in many things to flatter the republican ideas that still subsisted in the minds of many. He therefore kept up all the  
outward

outward form of government, the same names of magistracies, same meetings of the senate, and same assemblies of the people. He took care without doubt that neither the senate in their deliberations, nor the people in their nominations to offices, nor the magistrates in the discharge of their functions, should do any thing contrary to his will and interests: and for that reason I have said, after Tacitus, \* same names of magistracies, for the reality subsisted no longer. But he left them at liberty in matters of indifference: even in those that concerned himself, he avoided all shew of despotism either in his voice or actions: he thought exhortations and gentle insinuating methods preferable to a direct command: and the obedience every order of the Republic payed him, seemed almost a voluntary deference to his will.

A. R. 725.  
bef. C. 27.  
The outward form of government was preserved in many things.

The outward form of things was not much changed. Rome had still its consuls, prætors, tribunes of the people, ædiles, quæstors, who continued to enjoy the same honorary privileges, had the same marks of distinction, and pretty nearly the same functions as in the time of the republic, except their being accountable to a chief, who was careful not to make them feel too much their dependence on him.

Same magistracies.

The number of consuls remained still the same; that is to say, there never was more than two at a time. But it had been a custom since the triumvirate, and remained so under the emperors, not to leave the consuls a whole year in that post; at the beginning of each year several were pricked down for consuls;

some

\* Eadem magistratum vocabula. Tac. *Annal.* l. 1.

A. R. 725. some of whom bore that office some months, bef. C. 27. others not so long.

*Lips. ad.  
Toc. An. 1.  
excursu D.*

As to the prætors, their number had not been absolutely fixed, even under the republican government. Eight had been the last number fixed; Cæsar made it twelve and sixteen. Augustus generally kept it at twelve; though sometimes he had more, sometimes less created. Under his successors it varied greatly. Twelve was looked upon as the general rule, but was often deviated from, rather beyond than short of it.

New offices created, in order to admit a greater number of persons into some share of the public power.

To make the chief citizens amends for the diminution of the power they should have had in virtue of their offices, and having besides a \* mind to associate a greater number of them in some share of the public administration, Augustus invented new offices, or rendered fixed certain commissions, which before were only given for a time; for which reason he instituted inspectors over different things, such as the public buildings, the care of the streets of Rome, and the preservation of peace and order in the several quarters of the city, the aqueducts, clearing the bed of the Tiber, the purchase of corn, and distribution of it to the people. It appears that these offices always subsisted. Whenever he thought it necessary to make a review of the senate or knights, he named for that purpose three commissaries for each of those two orders. Himself undertook to repair and keep up the Flaminian way, and the other great roads were given to such as had received consular and triumphal honours;

\* Quo plures partem administrandæ caperent. *Suet. Aug. 37.*  
and

and to defray the expences of their employ-<sup>A.R.125.</sup>ments, he assigned them the produce of the <sup>bef.C.27.</sup>sale of the spoils they themselves had taken from the enemy. Thus Augustus endeavoured to amuse the great by substituting, in lieu of the real power which he deprived them of, some faint resemblances of authority and rule, by which they were set a little above and distinguished from the other citizens.

He established likewise a prefect or gover-<sup>Prefect of</sup>nor of Rome for life: but that was an im-<sup>Rome.</sup>portant employment, an office of trust, which <sup>Tac. Ann.</sup>Augustus took care to put into very sure hands. <sup>vi. 11.</sup>Mecænas held it a long time; but whether his credit became less, or whether this place, the power of which was despotic, not being subject to ordinary forms, seemed too great for one in the simple station of a Roman senator, it was given to Statilius Taurus\*, a man of low extraction, but who by his merit and the prince's favour had attained a very great rank in the senate and empire.

Such was the order devised and established <sup>Ancient</sup>by Augustus in the magistracy. He followed <sup>rights pre-</sup>the same system with regard to the senate, and <sup>served to</sup>preserved that chief body of the republic in all <sup>the senate.</sup>the appearances of its ancient majesty: their meetings were regular, and the consuls presided: affairs of state were laid before them for their deliberation: ambassadors from kings and other nations had their audiences of the senate: no new establishment was made, no old one suppressed, but with the senate's authority and approbation. Augustus asked and

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D

obtained

\* I make no mention here of *Marc'us* who was Prefect of Rome for a few days only.

A. R. 725. obtained from the senate favours for himself, his children, and relations. All the ceremonials of the ancient administration were kept up, whilst the reality was entirely changed.

Privy  
council.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
*34. Dio.*

As the senate met regularly but twice a month, and it was not the emperor's interest to make their meetings more frequent, he caused a privy-council to be allotted him, composed of his colleague, when he was consul himself, otherwise of the two consuls, of one member of each college, of the other magistrates, and fifteen senators. With this council he determined things that required dispatch, and prepared those that were to be laid before the general assembly of the senate. This custom, though tending greatly to favour a monarchical power, was not new. In the time of the republican liberty, the consuls used often to deliberate in this manner with some of the oldest senators, on affairs that required quick dispatch: there was even a place in the capitol destined for those lesser assemblies.

All govern-  
ors of pro-  
vinces ta-  
ken from a-  
mongst the  
body of se-  
nators.

Augustus likewise preserved to the senate the privilege of naming out of their body all governors of provinces, Egypt excepted, for reasons formerly mentioned \*, whose commander and chief magistrate was only a Roman knight, with the modest title of prefect. All the other provinces, as well those that were governed in the name of the senate and people, as those which the emperor kept immediately in his own hands, were governed by senators. But there was an essential difference between the governors of those two sorts of provinces: the former had more outward shew and brilliancy with

\* *Hist. of the Republ. Book LII.*



with less real power; the latter had a much greater authority with less pomp and splendour.

At first the governors of the people's provinces (for so they were called) had the title of pro-consuls, though but two of those provinces, Asia and Africa, properly belonged to the consular dignity; and the others, in much greater number, were destined for ancient prætors. Each had a number of lictors proportioned to his rank; consuls had twelve, ancient prætors six. They assumed their badges of dignity when they left Rome, and deposed them when they returned, as had always been the custom.

But their power was limited to a year: nor were they allowed to step at once from the charge of the functions of magistrate in the city, into the rank of pro-consul of a province. Augustus, careful not to accustom private persons to a continuation of power, revived the law made by Pompey in his third consulship, by which prætors and consuls could not become governors of provinces, till five years after the expiration of the offices they had held in Rome.

In their province they were no more than civil magistrates, without any command over the troops or any military function. Their dress was the habit worn in times of peace, neither sword nor armour. They were chosen with the approbation of the emperor, the assessors, counsellors or lieutenants, which ever you please to call them, and a quæstor was assigned them by lot, which proves they had the administration of the finances as well as of justice, so far as their government extended; but not with so full a power as in the times of

A. R. 725. the republic. The emperor sent into the people's  
 bef. C. 27. provinces as well as his own, intendants, who  
 were chosen out of the order of knights, and  
 sometimes from amongst his freemen: and  
 those intendants, whose commission was to  
 take care of the prince's finances, cramped the  
 pro-consul's power, and were a check on him  
 in many things relative to raising and disbursing  
 the public money.

The pro-consuls were at first balloted, ac-  
 cording to ancient custom; but as by this meth-  
 od the caprice of chance often bestowed that  
 employment on people unfit for it, the em-  
 peror interposed his authority. He singled out  
 for the vacant provinces the same number of  
 proper subjects, and then chance decided which  
 should have which.

*Tac. Ann.*  
 s. 11. 4.

The more essential affairs that occurred in  
 the people's provinces were to be laid before the  
 senate, from whom those that governed were  
 deemed to receive their authority: this was  
 another of the senate's ancient prerogatives,  
 politically continued by Augustus.

The empe-  
 ror's lieu-  
 tenants  
 sent to the  
 provinces  
 in his de-  
 partment  
 with a mi-  
 litary pow-  
 er.

The most essential difference, in point of  
 power, between the governors of the emperor's  
 provinces and the pro-consuls, was, that the  
 former had the command of the troops, which  
 was not allowed the latter. They were lieu-  
 tenants of the emperor, sole general through-  
 out the whole empire. As the emperor was  
 likewise sole pro-consul in the provinces of his  
 department, his lieutenants had only the title  
 of pro-prætors, even though they had passed the  
 consulship. They wore the badges of military  
 command, the sword, and coat of mail. If on  
 one hand their authority was greater than the  
 pro-

pro-consuls in their provinces, on the other <sup>A. R. 725.</sup> it was more dependant on the emperor, who <sup>bel. C. 27.</sup> put in or out at his pleasure. They did not assume the badges of their dignity till they were in the provinces assigned them, and laid them aside the moment they were recalled: in which case they were instantly to leave the province like private men, and were ordered not to prolong their return by any delays, but to appear before the emperor in Rome within three months, to give him an account of their conduct.

These lieutenants, doubtless in quality of pro-prætors, sat at the head of justice in their provinces. I cannot say how far their power extended with regard to the finances: they had not, like the pro-consuls, a right to levy the public monies. The intendants, just mentioned, having a more extensive power in the emperor's provinces than in the people's, were alone commissioned for that; and though they were inferior in rank to the lieutenants, it seems doubtful whether they received orders from them. The emperors were always ready to advance such subaltern officers who could no ways give them any umbrage: nay, they sometimes gave them governments in small departments. Pilate, no more than an intendant, was governor of Judæa, as appears by the Gospel History.

From the whole of this account of the form of government established by Augustus, it appears that though absolute and monarchical in the military parts, it was mixed in civil affairs. Within Rome all matters were settled by the emperor and senate jointly. The provinces were

Intendants to levy and disburse the monies belonging to the emperor.

The government of the emperor was monarchical in military, and mixed in civil affairs.

A.R. 725. were divided: and though he who has the power  
 bef. C. 27. in his hands prescribes laws, yet in the com-  
 mon course of things the senate had as freely  
 the administration of the provinces in their de-  
 partment, as the emperor had the government  
 of his. Even the public treasury was distin-  
 guished from the emperor's exchequer: a di-  
 stinction indeed of no real consequence, since  
 the emperor disposed of both: but it was a  
 sort of indication of a republican constitution,  
 and a kind of acknowledgment that the state  
 did not reside in the prince, who was to be  
 considered only as administrator of those funds  
 whose property belonged to the republic.

Public  
 treasury.  
 Emperor's  
 exchequer.

See *Gravi-  
 na's Disser-  
 tation de  
 Imperio Ro-  
 mano.*

The same spirit reigned in every thing, and  
 though the nature of a military power be to get  
 the upper hand of that which is only civil; though  
 a course of time necessarily introduced some va-  
 riations in some particular things; yet one may  
 venture to assert that the government in gene-  
 ral subsisted, for several ages at least, on the  
 same foundations on which Augustus fixed it;  
 that the empire never became absolutely a mo-  
 narchy, and that there always remained some  
 symptoms of its having been built on a republi-  
 can foundation.

The public  
 preserves  
 under Au-  
 gustus the  
 right of  
 naming to  
 employ-  
 ments.

In the account I have given of the new sy-  
 stem of government, the people has had but a  
 small share; because the prerogatives of that  
 order, in whom the sovereignty formerly re-  
 sided, were reduced almost to nothing by Au-  
 gustus, and totally extinguished by his suc-  
 cessors. A single chief is more readily induced  
 to let the great ones have some share in the  
 public authority, than to admit the vulgar:  
 and the enormous abuse the people had made

of

of their power, seemed to authorise the taking it from them. However, Augustus, always careful to keep up a resemblance at least of antiquity, would not abolish the assemblies of the people: he left them the right of nomination to employments, and of giving their votes when new laws were to be passed; though in fact he directed what was done in those assemblies, and brought them to the point he desired. The people knew not how to make a proper use even of this feeble remnant of power; and when Augustus was absent from Rome, at election times, there seldom failed to happen troubles and disorders that could not be appeased but by the prince's authority.

Tiberius changed this order, and in the first year of his reign transferred the right of elections to the senate: nor did the populace shew their dislike otherwise than in vain murmurs. The people retained, however, the shadow of the legislative power some years longer: there are some \* laws enacted under Tiberius by the consuls, according to the ancient form. They are the last examples of the kind. From that time, instead of laws, we find nothing but resolutions of the senate. Thus the senate united the people's rights to their own, and by that means acquired the privilege of representing singly the ancient republic.

Caligula was disposed to restore the right of elections to the people; but that design of his was never put in execution, no more than many other chimerical projects of that mad prince.

Thus in a short time the people was deprived of all share in the government: and the ambitious

A.R. 725.  
bef. C. 27.

Tiberius transfers those elections to the senate, which by that means represents singly the ancient republic.  
Tac. Ann. l. 15.

\* The law Junia Norbana, the law Visellia.

A.R. 725. tious desires of those \* tremendous conquerors  
 bef. C. 27. of the universe, those burgesses who thought  
 themselves above any thing on earth, and to  
 whom the first men in the empire formerly  
 paid their court to obtain commands and posts,  
 now rose no higher than the gratuities and dis-  
 tributions of bread, wine, and victuals, with  
 which their emperors alleviated their misery,  
 and the shews with which they amused their  
 fickleness and laziness.

The happi-  
 ness the  
 Romans  
 enjoy un-  
 der Augus-  
 tus, makes  
 them a-  
 mend for  
 their loss of  
 liberty.

Under this new government the Roman peo-  
 ple may seem greatly fallen from their ancient  
 splendour. They lost in effect the exercise of  
 sovereignty which all the citizens thought them-  
 selves in sure possession of, and the privileges  
 they all enjoyed in common. But this advan-  
 tage, so fit to please their vanity, was long  
 become a constant source of disorders and mis-  
 fortunes to the republic in general, and to  
 each citizen in particular. The Romans, when  
 they lost a tumultuous liberty, which had de-  
 generated into a dreadful licentiousness, lost,  
 properly speaking, only an imaginary good;  
 and were sufficiently recompensed by the real  
 and solid benefits that flowed from monarchy.

The civil wars ended after † twenty years of  
 ravage; foreign wars victoriously terminated,  
 or

\* ————— Qui dabat olim  
 Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se  
 Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,  
 Panem & Circenses ————— *Juv. Sat. X. v. 78.*

† Finita vicesimo anno bellæ civilis, sepulta externâ, revo-  
 cata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor: restituta vis legibus,  
 judiciis auctoritas . . . . . rediit cultus agris, sacris honos,  
 securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio;  
 leges emendatæ utiliter, lætæ salubriter Vell. II. 99. *I have  
 omitted in this passage of Velleius what was dictated by Jot-  
 tery.*

or happily avoided by a prudent conduct, or <sup>A.R. 725.</sup> carried on so well that the tranquillity of the <sup>bef. C. 27.</sup> state did not suffer at home: peace established, the rage of arms quelled every where, the laws again put in force, proper authority restored to the tribunals, culture to the fields, respect and honour to sacred things, repose and the free and peaceable possession of their properties to the citizens and subjects of the empire, old laws amended, new ones made with wisdom; such were the fruits of the change introduced by Augustus, and such the general idea that may before-hand be formed of what we shall have to say concerning his government.

Those excellent poets, his cotemporaries, honoured with his bounties and his esteem, delighted in painting the public happiness, the fruit of his care, and I hope the reader will be pleased with a perusal of Horace's charming description of it\*.

Safe by thy cares her oxen graze,  
And yellow Ceres clothes her fields:

\* Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:  
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas:  
Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ:  
Culpari metuit fides:  
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris:  
Mos & lex maculosum edomuit nefas:  
Laudantur simiti prole puerpera:  
Culpam pœna premit comes.  
Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythæ?  
Quis, Germania quos horrida parturit  
Fœtas, incolumi Cæsare? quis fera  
Bellum curet Iberiæ?  
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,  
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores:  
Hinc ad vina redit lætus, & alteris  
Te mensis adhibet Deum.

The

A.R. 725.  
 bef. C. 27. The sailor plows the peaceful seas,  
 And earth her rich abundance yields,  
 While nobly conscious of unsullied fame,  
 Fair honour dreads th' imputed sense of blame.

By thee our wedded dames are pure  
 From foul adultery's embrace ;  
 The conscious father views secure  
 His own resemblance in his race :  
 Thy chaste example quells the spotted deed,  
 And to the guilt thy punishments succeed.

Who shall the faithless Parthian dread,  
 The freezing armies of the north,  
 Or the fierce youth, to battle bred,  
 Whom horrid Germany brings forth ?  
 Who shall regard the war of cruel Spain,  
 If Cæsar live secure, if Cæsar reign ?

Safe in his vineyard toils the hind,  
 Weds to the widow'd elm his vine,  
 'Till the sun sets, his hill behind,  
 Then hastens joyful to his wine.  
 And in his hours of mirthfulness implores  
 Thy godhead to protect and bless his stores.

The provinces  
 more happy under  
 the new  
 government.

Rome and Italy did not alone enjoy the fruits and sweets of the new government. The provinces, plundered and harrassed before by the avidity of the prætors, tormented by as many petty tyrants as there came among them Romans in any office, distracted and exhausted by civil wars, now began to recover from all those ills, under a prince who, whilst he caused peace to reign, knew also how to make the laws respected, and to distribute an equal justice to every one.

Thus



Thus the wisdom of Augustus was like a fruitful spring from whence happiness flowed, and spread itself over each part of the universe. He used to say, speaking of Alexander, that he wondered how that conqueror could fear he should have nothing more to do, when he should have no more nations to conquer; as if it were not much greater to govern a vast empire than to conquer it. He proved the truth of this saying in himself; for he never had any more noble, more glorious, nor more heroic occupation, than when he had no longer wars to make, nor victories to gain.

This calm and tranquillity in which consisted the happiness of the Augustan age, have rendered the history of it more dry and less interesting to us. It were not to be wished for the sake of mankind, that the times in which they live should afford writers a plentiful harvest of such events as are most apt to interest and move the readers. Besides by the new constitution of the state\*, public affairs being now become quite foreign to many of the citizens, were entirely unknown to them; nor had they opportunities of being informed of what passed in a privy council, as they knew formerly what was done in the assemblies of the senate and people. However, there were not wanting some bright geniuses whose pens were employed on these less fruitful times: but their works are lost. Dion Cassius is almost the only one we have left; an author little able to make amends for the loss of the rest. Velleius is an abbreviator, and infected with the poison of flattery. Suetonius,

\* *Inscitia Reipublice, ut alienæ. Tac. Hist. l. 1.*

A.R. 725. nius, a biographer, not an historian: his ac-  
bef. C. 27. counts are curious and interesting, fit to give  
us a knowledge of the persons of the emperors  
he speaks of, but they are not a series of facts,  
still less do they let us into the secret springs  
and causes of actions. To enrich so steril a  
ground, it was necessary to pick up from the  
poets of those times, and from later writers,  
who thought of nothing less than of composing  
a history of Augustus, some detached scraps  
scattered up and down. It is what Freinshemius  
executed with success: but he, like Livy's epi-  
tomiser, ends with the death of Drusus. The  
illustrious M. de Tillemont has treated in this  
manner not only the history of Augustus, but  
that of his successors too. His Memoirs will  
be my chief help in the work I have under-  
taken. I shall take them for my guide so much  
the more readily, as their author, to a profound  
erudition joins the spirit of Christianity, which  
ascribes all to God, to Jesus Christ, and to  
Religion, the sole object to which ought to  
tend all we do, of whatever kind it be.

## S E C T. II.

NEW honours and privileges decreed Augustus by the Senate. Double pay to the troops of the Emperor's guard. Laurel and civic Crown. The name of the month Sextilis changed to that of Augustus. A Tribune of the people devotes himself to Augustus, according to the custom of the Celtes. Augustus goes to Gaul. Messala's triumph. Augustus goes to Spain, Fall and tragical death of Cornelius Gallus. Thanks returned the gods for that event. Public hatred against his accuser. Idle vanity of Egnatius Rufus. Agrippa's wise conduct. Public buildings erected by him. The Julian parks. Pantheon. Public bath. Temple of Neptune. The temple of Janus re-opened. The Salisſi conquered. Aosta founded. Triumphal arch and trophies erected on the summit of the Alps. Augustus subdues with great difficulty the Cantabrians and Asturians. His inclination for peace. Spain pacified after two hundred years war. Temple of Janus shut. Merida founded. Augustus marries his nephew Marcellus to his daughter Julia. His regard for Agrippa. A memorable instance of filial piety. Augustus dispensed from the observation of the laws. Prerogatives granted Marcellus and Tiberius. Questors are wanting for the provinces. Unhappy expedition of Elius Gallus into Arabia. War against Candaces Queen of Ethiopia. Augustus grants her peace. The Consul Piso had been one of the most zealous defenders of the Republican party. Marcellus is made Edile. Augustus,

*Augustus, dangerously ill, names no successor, and gives his ring to Agrippa. Antonius Musa, Physician, cures him by Cold Baths. Removal of Agrippa, who gave umbrage to Marcellus. Death of Marcellus. He is infinitely regretted. Lines of Virgil on his Death. Honours done his memory by Augustus. It is unjustly some moderns have suspected Augustus of having partaken in his Nephew's death. Suspicions against Livia are not proved. Augustus's cares to appease Agrippa. He resigns the Consulship. Makes an old and faithful friend of Brutus his successor in the Consulship. New prerogatives and titles of power granted Augustus by the Senate. His deference towards the Senate. Affair of Tiridates and Phraates. Overflowing of the Tiber. Contagious distempers. Scarcity. The people offer the Dictatorship to Augustus, who refuses it. He accepts the superintendance of provisions. He refuses the Censorship, and has Censors created. Character of the two Censors. It is the last Censorship held by private men. Augustus makes up for the want of capacity in the Censors, Paulus and Plancus. His moderation in private life. Conspiracy of Fannius Capius and Muræna discovered and punished. Bold action of Capius the father. Law to condemn persons accused who would not appear. He who discovered the conspiracy is accused. Augustus saves him. He undertakes a journey to the East. Troubles in Rome on account of the Election of Consuls. Augustus recalls Agrippa, and makes him his son-in-law. After visiting Sicily and Greece, he spends the winter at Samos. He visits the provinces*

provinces of Asia Minor, and goes into Syria. Roman prisoners and standards returned by Phraates. He gives as hostages his four sons with their wives and children. Augustus's moderation towards the Kings and people under the protection of the Roman Empire. He sets Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. Tiberius begins to distinguish himself. Birth of Caius, grandson to Augustus. Indian ambassadors received by Augustus at Samos. An Indian Philosopher burns himself in his presence.

I SHALL resume the thread of this history by taking notice of the new honours and privileges which the senate decreed Augustus at the same time that they conferred the supreme power on him.

As emperor, he had a numerous guard, under the old name peculiar to a general's guard, *Prætorian Cohorts*. That these troops might be the more zealously and faithfully watchful over the safety of the prince's person, the senate ordered their pay to be doubled.

The senate likewise ordered that the gate of his palace should be always adorned with a laurel, and over that a civic crown: as a public acknowledgment of gratitude towards the conqueror of the state's enemies, and the preserver of its citizens. We have still some coins of this prince, with the double symbol of the laurel and civil crown, with this legend, *OB CIVIS SERVATOS*, for having preserved the citizens.

One of the months of the year had had a new name given it, in memory of Julius Cæsar, the

A. R. 725.

bef. C. 27.

New hon-

ours and

privileges

decreed

Augustus

by the se-

nate.

Double pay

to the

troops of

the em-

peror's

guard.

Dio. l. LIII.

Laurel and

civic crown.

The name

of the

month

Septem-

ber was

changed to

that of Au-

gustus.

A.R. 725. the month of July called *Julius*. The same  
 bef. C. 27. honour was intended Augustus, and it was re-  
 solved to give his name to the month of Sep-  
 tember, in which he was born. He preferred  
 the preceding month for the reasons mentioned  
 in the deliberations of the senate preserved by  
 Macrobius. Their tenor ran thus: *As it was*  
*in the month hitherto called Sextilis, that the Em-*  
*peror Caesar Augustus took possession of his first*  
*consulship, that he celebrated three triumphs, that*  
*he \* received the oath of allegiance of the legions*  
*that occupied the Janiculum; that he reduced*  
*Egypt under the power of the Roman people; that*  
*he put an end to all civil wars, it appears that*  
*this month has been a most happy month to this*  
*empire: the senate therefore ordains, that this*  
*month shall henceforth be called August. This*  
 decree of the senate was ratified by an order  
 of the people.

A tribune  
 of the peo-  
 ple devotes  
 himself to  
 Augustus  
 according  
 to the cus-  
 tom of the  
 Celtes.

Amidst these marks of honour and respect,  
 entirely conformable to the situation of things,  
 one Sextus Pacuvius, a tribune of the people,  
 made himself remarkable by a piece of flattery  
 carried to excess. He declared in full senate  
 that he was resolved to devote himself to Au-  
 gustus after the manner of the Spaniards, Celtes  
 and

\* Thus the senate disguises and couches in terms no ways  
 odious, Octavius's forcible invasion of Rome, after raising the  
 siege of Modena, when irritated against the senate, he turned  
 against his country those arms he had been intrusted with to  
 make war against Antony. This event so fatal to Rome proved  
 happy to Augustus: his power commenced with it.

and Germans, and exhorted the other senators A.R. 725.  
to imitate his example. This custom has been bef. C. 27.  
mentioned before, by which, amongst those  
people, a great number of clients attached  
their fate to that of some great man, and bound  
themselves by oath to live and die with him.  
Augustus stopped the tribune's proposal, but  
the latter ran to the people assembled, and  
there made an harangue to the same effect ;  
after which, running from street to street, he  
compelled those he met to devote themselves  
with him to Augustus. He offered up sacrifices  
and made rejoicings on this occasion, and  
one day declared in the assembly of the people,  
that he made Augustus his heir in equal shares  
with his son. As he had nothing, the object  
of his liberality was rather to receive than give ;  
nor was he disappointed in his expectations :  
Augustus rewarded his flatteries, and by that  
shewed they were not quite so disagreeable to  
him as he would have it thought.

Though Augustus had acquired but this year Augustus  
a legal title to command, yet the people had goes to  
been used to obey him for a long time past : so Gaul.  
that free from those apprehensions that generally  
attend a new domination, he was not afraid of  
being at a distance from Rome, but went into  
Gaul to settle the state of affairs there, and fix  
the administration of that province on a sure  
and lasting foundation. For as civil wars had  
ensued immediately after Cæsar's conquest of  
that great country, the Romans had not had  
time to establish in it that order that reigned in  
their other provinces, but every thing was in a  
ferment, and floated between the old govern-  
ment that was to subsist no longer, and the

A.R. 725. new one not yet established. His first step  
 bef. C. 27. there, was to take an account of the number of  
 persons, and what each possessed, agreeable to  
 the custom of the old Romans, and to regulate  
 and impose the tribute accordingly. He caused  
 the laws and orders by which he would have  
 the province governed, to be published in a ge-  
 neral assembly held at Narbonne. He made  
*Strabo, l. iv.* no change in the ancient division of Gaul, ex-  
 cept enlarging Aquitania, which before was  
 bounded by the Pyrenean mountains and the  
 Garonne, but was by him extended to the  
 Loire, with the addition of fourteen districts  
 detached from the Celtes.

*Messala's  
 triumph.*

Gaul was at peace when Augustus arrived  
 there, but had been at war a short time before,  
 as appears by Messala's triumph this year. Near  
 Adour and the Pyreneans he had chastised some  
 people not yet accustomed to the yoke: but as  
 we have no particular account of his exploits,  
 they might perhaps not be very considerable:  
*Suet. Aug. 38.* for Augustus made no great difficulty to grant  
 the honours of triumph.

*Augustus  
 passes into  
 Spain.*

His design in going to Gaul was to cross  
 over from thence to England: but things seem-  
 ing to take a peaceable turn on that side, he  
 marched towards Spain: at Tarragon he took  
 possession of his eighth consulship.

IMP. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AU-  
 GUSTUS VIII.

T. STATILIUS TAURUS II.

A.R. 726. **I**N Spain Augustus was taken up with the  
 bef. C. 26. same cares that had busied him in Gaul. I  
 cannot say whether he staid there the whole  
 year,



year, or whether he returned to Rome in some months. We shall find him again in Spain at the end of this same year. A.R. 726.  
bef. C. 26.

Here Dion Cassius mentions the ruin of Cornelius Gallus, first præfect of Egypt; a man of mean extraction, raised by Augustus's favour, remarkable for his wit and talents, but whose head, as has happened to many others, was turned by prosperity. Finding himself in possession of a great post, and having reduced to obedience several towns that had revolted, and amongst others the famous Thebes, with its hundred gates, an idle pride turned his brain. He took a cruel vengeance on that ancient and renowned city, which he plundered, and even destroyed entirely. To render his name and glory immortal, he caused his exploits to be engraved on the pyramids, and statues to be erected to him all over Egypt. In short, forgetting what he owed to him that had raised him from the dirt, and heated with wine and rioting, he would often give his tongue a most unbecoming liberty: he even proceeded, according to some, so far as to conspire against his benefactor and prince: but we are not told what was the purport of that conspiracy, nor how far it went. Augustus recalled him, and sent Petronius in his stead. Fall and  
tragic  
death of  
Cornelius  
Gallus.  
  
Freinshem.  
cxxxv. 5.

When Gallus made his appearance again in Rome, one Valerius Largus, who had been his intimate, became his accuser; and for the crimes he was charged with Augustus forbids Gallus the entrance of his palace, and banished him from all the provinces of his department. He was no sooner fallen into disgrace, but all his friends to forsake him, and accusers came in on all sides.

A. R. 726. The senate took cognizance of the matter, and, bef. C. 26. more severe than the emperor had been, condemned Gallus to banishment, with forfeiture of his whole estate. His pride could not bear the ignominy of such a sentence; he killed himself. Augustus seemed greatly afflicted, and a very fine saying is attributed to him on this occasion, if it was sincere. "I \* am the only one, said he, that is not allowed to be angry with my friends, to what degree I please."

Gallus was about forty years old when he perished. He was a poet, and his elegies had some reputation among the ancients. They have been lost many ages since; and we have no great reason to regret them, not only because Quintilian thought the versification harsh, but on account of the subject they treated of, love and gallantry. Virgil was his friend, and dedicated his last Eclogue to him; and it is said had ended his fourth book of Georgics with an encomium on Gallus. That part was struck out by order of Augustus, after his tragical death, and the Episode of Aristæus substituted, which makes us ample amends for the panegyric of a man, more estimable for his wit, than for the goodness of his heart.

The Senate ordered solemn thanks to be returned the gods for the discovery and suppression of Gallus's conspiracy as much as if he had been a public enemy, on stopping whose plots the safety of the state had depended. An example of flattery imitated and amplified under the succeeding emperors.

But

\* Conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amici, quatenus illet, irasci. Surt. Aug. 60.

Quintil. Inst. Rhet. x. l.  
O id. Trist. 11. v. 415.  
Surt. ad Ec. 4. g. 2.

Thanks returned the gods for this event.

But neither this decree of the senate, nor the prince's protection, could screen the accuser from the hatred of all good men. He was detested as a traitor to his friend; and looked upon as a man one could not sufficiently guard against. Proculus, an illustrious Roman knight, greatly esteemed by Augustus, meeting one day Lælius, clapt his hand before his nose and mouth, to signify that it was not safe even to breathe in the presence of such an informer: which would incline one to think Gallus guilty rather of folly and giddiness than of any thing criminal; for had he really conspired against his prince, he that detected his ill designs would have done the part of a good citizen, and not of a traitor.

Gallus's misfortune was not a sufficient lesson to Ignatius Rufus, another rash and little-minded man, who, because he had done the public some service in some fires that happened whilst he was edile, thought himself the first man of the age, and had the vanity just as he was going out of office, to post up a writing, declaring the city owed its preservation to him. This puerile vanity deserved only to be laughed at, nor did it meet with any other punishment. But it soon after hurried Ignatius on to audacious and criminal projects, which cost him his life, as we shall see in its proper place.

While Agrippa laboured to increase Augustus's glory, he was constantly adding to his own: perfect model of a minister who ever giving the best advices to his prince, reserved likewise the honour of it for him; and who in the great and magnificent things he undertook either for public use or for the ornament of the city,

A.R. 726.  
bef. C. 26.  
Public hatred against his accuser.

Idle vanity of Ignatius Rufus.

Agrippa's wise conduct.

A.R. 726. city, was forgetful of himself, and studied only  
 bef. C. 26. how to make the love and regard of the people  
 light on the emperor himself.

Public  
 buildings  
 erected by  
 him.  
 The Julian  
 parks.

\* *Rom. Hist.*  
 T. v. l.  
 xvii. § 11.

He put the finishing hand this year to a great work, projected by Julius Cæsar, considerably advanced by Lepidus, but had been left imperfect, being interrupted by the civil wars. That was what they called parks for the use of the tribes and centuries in the assemblies of the people. They have been mentioned elsewhere\*. Each tribe, and each century repaired to those parks to give their suffrages, in a regular order, to avoid the confusion inseparable from too great a multitude. At first they were only of wood, without covering, until Cæsar, whilst he was making war in Gaul, formed a plan to build them of marble, to cover them in, and raise fine large portico's all round. Cicero, who then affected to live with Cæsar on the footing of a friend, was to have presided over this work with Oppius. We know not how far this project was put in execution by Cæsar. Dion says, Lepidus built the body of the work, but only of stone. Agrippa added the ornaments, marble incrustations, carvings, and exquisite paintings. In the solemn dedication of this building he called it the Julian Parks; a name which called to mind at the same time Cæsar, projector of the work, and Augustus by whom it was perfected.

Pantheon.

The year following Agrippa finished the Pantheon; a most admirable building, still subsisting, and is reckoned by judges a masterpiece and wonder of architecture. He called it *Pantheon*, which signifies *an assembly of all the gods*, either alluding to the great number of divinities

divinities whose representations he placed there, or to its round form, imitating the vault of heaven, the dwelling place, (to speak the heathen language) of all the gods. This temple has been for many ages converted to a better use, being consecrated to the true God, under the invocation of the blessed Virgin and all the saints: its modern name is *Sta. Maria della Rotonda*.

A. R. 726.  
bef. C. 26.

Agrippa, as was his constant custom, intended for Augustus all the honour of this magnificent work, and even proposed placing there the statue of that Prince amongst those of the gods. Augustus, incapable of being jealous of so faithful a minister, and resolved not to permit divine honours to be paid him within the city, opposed Agrippa's designs. The statue of Julius Cæsar, long since deified, was consecrated within the temple. Agrippa placed the statue of Augustus and his own in the vestibule. His name is preserved in the inscription on the frontispiece in these words, *M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT*; that is to say, *M. Agrippa, thrice consul, built this temple*.

Other edifices are recorded built by him: public baths adorned with paintings and statues: a temple of Neptune, monument of his naval victories, where the story of the Argonauts was painted. When so many fine works are added to those already mentioned in the history of the republic, during the time he was edile, it must be owned that no private man, nor hardly any emperor, ever had the glory of contributing so much as Agrippa did to the embellishment of Rome, and the convenience of the inhabitants of that capital of the world.

Public  
Baths.  
Temple of  
Neptune.

A.R. 726. Augustus, in his eighth consulship, opened  
 bef. C. 26. again the temple of Janus, on account of dif-  
 The temple of Janus ferent wars, the most important of which was  
 is opened. with the Asturians and Cantabrians in Spain.  
 Ovis vi. 21. He had thought again of marching against the  
 Dto. Britons, who, after seeming disposed to acknow-  
 ledge his laws, had taken a different turn, and  
 refused to submit to the conditions he proposed.  
 But the motions of the Salassi at the foot of the  
 Alps, and of the Spaniards just mentioned,  
 seemed objects of greater consequence. He sent  
 Terentius Varro Murena against the Salassi;  
 and taking the Spanish war to himself, entered  
 on his ninth consulship at Tarragon.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUS-  
 TUS IX.

M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

A.R. 727. **T**HE war against the Salassi required nei-  
 bef. C. 25. ther great efforts nor much time: Varro  
 The Salassi conquered. Murena finished it in one campaign, in which,  
 Aosta founded. after some slight advantages, he perfected by  
 treachery a victory began by force. Under pre-  
 tence of levying the contributions the conquered  
 had submitted to, he distributed troops over  
 all the country, who seized on the unfortunate  
 Salassi when they least expected it. Forty-four  
 thousand, were made prisoners, of which eight  
 thousand were able to bear arms. They were all  
 Strabo l. iv. carried to Eporedia,\* a Roman colony, and  
 \* Punic. there sold with this express condition, that they  
 should be carried into remote countries, and not  
 allowed to gain their freedom before the expi-  
 ration of twenty years. A colony was settled  
 in the country to keep the inhabitants in awe:  
 three

three thousand soldiers of the Prætorian cohorts settled in the place where Varro Muræna's camp had been, and the new town was called Augusta Prætoria; now<sup>a</sup> Aosta, capital of the duchy of that name A.R. 727.  
bef. C. 25.

As Varro Muræna was only the emperor's lieutenant, the honour of this victory belonged to Augustus. On account of this victory, and of some trifling exploits of M. Vincius against some Germans who had killed some Roman merchants that had come into their country to trade, the senate ordered a triumphal arch with trophies to be erected in honour of Augustus on a summit of the Alps. It was executed, but not till some years after, as appears by the inscription preserved in <sup>Plin. III. 20. Cluv. Ital. Ant. 1.</sup> \* Pliny. It is said the ruins of this monument are still to be seen near Monaco, in a village called *Torpia*,<sup>9</sup> a name possibly derived from a corruption of the word *Tropæa*.

Augustus met with more difficulties in the Spanish war: he even succeeded but badly whilst he commanded his army in person. For the Cantabrians, an active brave people, harassed him continually by sudden attacks, sometimes on one part of his troops, sometimes on another: nor could he gain any decisive advantage over them, because they kept close to their mountains, into which they had always a safe retreat. The fatigue he underwent and the vexation

\* Amongst the people there named as subdued by the Roman arms, are some who were not conquered till the year 737, such as the Camunians and the Venoneti, by P. Silius, the Breuni and the Genauni by Drusus. Besides, the title of High Priest is given Augustus in that inscription; and he had it not till 739, twelve years after the time here spoken of.

A.R. 727. vexation he felt at not succeeding, added, to a  
 bef. C. 25. bad habit of body, obliged him to retire to  
 Tarragon; the barbarians, emboldened by the  
 emperor's absence, ventured to give the Ro-  
 mans battle, and were defeated: Antistius  
 Furnius, even Agrippa, were employed to sub-  
 due that fierce people, from whom they took  
 several towns, and pursued them through their  
 most rugged mountains. Whilst they were thus  
 vigorously pushed by land, a Roman fleet  
 harrassed their coasts by frequent descents. At  
 length, forced to fly for shelter to mount \*  
 Medullius, they were surrounded without a  
 possibility of escaping: there finding themselves  
 attacked on all sides, that stubborn people,  
 rather than surrender to the enemy, chose most  
 of them to kill themselves by the sword, by  
 fire, or by a poison extracted from the yew-  
 tree, or from a herb like parsley, which they  
 preserved as a resource against any reverse of  
 fate, because it made them die without pain.  
 Mothers smothered their children to save them  
 from captivity; and amongst those who were  
 taken, a young boy was observed, who having  
 found a sword, killed his brothers and all his re-  
 lations, by his father's order. In like manner a  
 woman killed all that were prisoners with her.

*Strabo l.*  
 III.

This haughty nation being at last subdued by  
 so many losses, Augustus, to soften their fero-  
 city, forced them to leave their mountains,  
 where they grew only more savage; and having  
 sold part of the prisoners, required hostages  
 from those he left in the country, and fixed  
 their abode in the plains.

The

\* This mountain, according to Orosius, commands the Minho.



The Asturians defended themselves with almost as much obstinacy as the Cantabrians; and Carisus, Augustus's lieutenant, had great difficulty to subdue them. When by the loss of a battle and of Lincia their chief town, they were forced to surrender, the conqueror treated them as their neighbours had been. He carried them into the plain and forced them to cultivate their lands and work their mines: for they had mines of gold, *minium*, or vermilion, and other valuable ores. Thus \* the Asturians were taught to know the riches of their country by strangers, to whom the profit accrued.

This was Augustus's last exploit: from this time we shall find him no more at the head of his armies. He was not a warrior by taste or inclination, and if his youth was spent in arms, it was only from a necessity of so doing in order to accomplish his ambitious views, and raise himself to that high rank he at last attained. Henceforth he made all his glory consist in governing well the vast empire of which he was head; and was so little desirous to extend its boundaries, or to add to his own fame by obtaining new victories, that he avoided war with the barbarians bordering on the Roman territories, with as much care as the old Roman generals used to seek it. Far from wanting to provoke them, he often made their princes and ambassadors swear solemnly, faithfully to keep peace with him; and that he might be sure of it, made them give in hostage young girls, having found their attachment was greater to their

\* Sic Astores, latentes in profundo opes suas atque divitias, quæ aliis querunt, nosse ceperunt. Flor.

A.R. 727. their daughters than to their sons. He had  
 bef. C. 25. however wars to make, especially against the  
 Germans, but they were only defensive on his  
 side, at least in their beginnings, and he con-  
 ducted them by his lieutenants.

He even declined the high honours of a tri-  
 umph which \* the senate decreed him for the  
 reduction of the Salassi, the Cantabrians and  
 Asturians. He was already so great that a tri-  
 umph could not add to his glory.

Spain paci-  
 fied after  
 two hun-  
 dred years  
 of war.

What gave him a great satisfaction was to  
 have entirely pacified Spain after two hundred  
 years of almost continual war: for from the  
 time of Cn. Scipio's entrance into Spain, in the  
 first year of the second Punic war, that great  
 country had never been at peace; but had even  
 much alarmed the Romans by the defeat and  
 death of the two Scipio's, by the war of Vari-  
 athus, of Numantium and of Sertorius, not to  
 mention Cæsar's two expeditions, one against  
 the lieutenants and the other against the chil-  
 dren of Pompey. Augustus, fond of peace,  
 was therefore greatly pleased to have re-esta-  
 blished it in so tumultuous a country, and on  
 this occasion closed a second time the gates of  
 the temple of Janus.

Spain enjoyed peace and quiet from this  
 time: and † that country before the theatre of  
 so many bloody wars, was now a stranger even  
 to incursions of robbers. So says Velleius,  
 and

\* *Digna res lauro digna* pacem perduxit Cæsar Au-  
*curru Senatui visi est: sed jam gustus, ut quæ maximis bel-*  
*Cæsar tantus erat, ut posset lis nunquam vacaverant, e-*  
*triumphos contempere. Flor. etiam latrociniis vacarent. Vell.*

† *Has, provincias ad eam* II. 90.

and his expression, though savouring a little of A.R. 727.  
the orator, yet admits of no exception, unless it bef. C. 25.  
be one revolt of the Cantabrians, of which we  
shall speak hereafter.

Augustus having put a happy end to the Merida  
war with Spain, disbanded such of his soldiers founded.  
as had served their time, and to reward them  
for their labours founded a town on the Guadi-  
ana, and called it *Augusta Emerita*. This colo-  
ny, adorned by him with stately buildings, a long  
and magnificent bridge over the Guadiana, and  
two aqueducts, was a long time the capital of  
Lusitania. For many ages past it has been  
fallen from its ancient splendour, and is now  
*Merida* in the Castilian Estramadura

To celebrate his victory, Augustus had shews  
exhibited in his camp; on which occasion his  
nephew Marcellus, and his son-in-law Tiberius,  
both very young, performed the functions of  
ediles.

He was introducing Marcellus into the Augustus  
world as quick as he could, considering him as marries his  
the hope of his house, and one whom he intend- nephew  
ed to make the first and chief support of his au- Marcellus  
thority. As he had no son, he destined Mar- to his  
cellus to succeed him; and, to bring him the daughter  
nearer his own person, gave him this year in  
marriage his only daughter Julia. He was so  
intent on concluding this match, that when re-  
tained in Spain by illness, of which he had vio-  
lent and fatiguing relapses all that time, he  
would not suffer them to wait his return for the  
celebration of their nuptials. Agrippa presided  
in his absence and in his name.

One may see by this commission given to His son  
Agrippa, that Augustus did not neglect his Or A-  
friend Agrippa

A.R. 727. friend whilst he was providing for his nephew.  
 bef. C. 25. He added another proof of his regard for that great man, by lodging him with him in his palace, when Agrippa's own house had been burnt down.

Memorable act of filial piety.

Such were the principal events of Augustus's ninth consulship: I omit some immaterial transactions, but think I ought not to pass over in silence the filial piety of a tribune, whom Dion Cassius calls C. Toranius, who, though a son of a freeman, at a public spectacle made his father take the place of honour next him; for which he was applauded by the people, who rightly judged nobility of sentiments preferable to that of birth.

Augustus was continued consul for the tenth time.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS X.  
 C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

A.R. 728.  
 bef. C. 24.  
 Augustus dispensed from observing the laws.

UNDER his tenth consulship the senate dispensed him from an observation of all the laws. It was prepared and brought about in this manner.

Augustus, being always out of order, could not come to Rome time enough to take possession of the consulship. When ready to arrive there, he sent before him an ordonnance by which he promised the people, on account of his return, a liberality of four hundred sesterces a man, provided the senate approved of it; at the same time positively forbidding this declaration to be fixed up any where until the senate should have vested him with his authority. The first and chief speakers knew doubtless what they

they were to say, and took this opportunity to get granted, not only the permission he desired, but likewise an universal dispensation from the ties of all laws, so that he should never be obliged to do what he did not like, nor to leave undone what he chose to do.

Prerogatives and privileges beyond the rest of the citizens, were not confined to the prince alone, but were granted to his family likewise. When Augustus was returned to Rome, after the rejoicings, festivals, and thanks to the gods for his return, the senate granted Marcellus the right of voting in the rank of ancient prætor, and enabled him to be created consul ten years before the age prescribed by law.

It was little thought then that Tiberius would ever come to the rank to which circumstances of things afterwards raised him. But it was a distant resource, which Augustus took care to preserve. He obtained of the senate in his favour a dispensation of five years, as to the age required in such as hold any offices, and had him made quæstor at the same time that Marcellus was named curule edile.

As the power and privileges of Augustus increased, the citizens seemed to be more and more estranged from the republic, and began not to be fond of offices, now divested of great part of their splendour and authority. This year there was not a sufficient number of quæstors for the provinces: the senate was obliged to exert its authority, and order those who had been quæstors the last ten years, and had never been sent to any of the provinces, to draw lots to fill up the present vacancies. Some years after

A.R. 728.  
bef. C. 24.

Prerogatives granted Marcellus and Tiberius.

Want of quæstors for the provinces.

A. R. 723. after a regulation of the same nature was obliged  
 bef. C. 24. to be made to fill up the posts of tribunes.

Dion places about this time Elius Gallus's expedition to Arabia Felix. This expedition is remarkable for being the first and only one the Romans ever attempted against that country. The success they met with in this did not tempt them to try a second.

Elius Gal-  
 lus's unfor-  
 tunate ex-  
 pedition to  
 Arabia.  
*Strabo*  
 l. xvi. &  
*Dio.*

Elius Gallus, who commanded in this expedition, though only a Roman knight, made great preparations both by sea and land. There was no occasion for such with the enemies he was going against. The Arabians were then, as they are now, a vagabond ill-armed people: they had only the bow, sword, lance, sling and hatchet. Their courage and discipline was yet worse than their arms; for in a great battle they lost ten thousand men, and killed only two Romans.

But the country was its own defence. The hot burning climate made their marches very difficult and tormenting to the Romans; the scarcity of provisions, badness of the waters, and distempers, the necessary consequences of so many inconveniencies, were extremely prejudicial to the Romans. They were attacked with the scurvy, and a kind of paralytic weakness in the legs; distempers unknown to them, and for which they had no remedy at hand. Oil drank in wine, or applied by way of fomentation to the parts affected, relieved them most: but they had brought only small quantities with them, and the country did not afford any.

Treachery, a vice the Arabs have always been noted for, conspired likewise to ruin the  
 Romans.

Romans. Gallus confided in one Syllæus, a Nabatean Arab, who persuaded him to undertake a perilous navigation, under pretence the roads were impracticable by land, though at the same time the caravans (for even so far back they were in use in that country) went that road every day without danger or difficulty. He afterwards led them through the worst roads, such as he thought most fit to destroy the Roman army, and by such round-about ways, that Gallus, on his return back, crossed in sixty days that part of the country that had taken up six months travelling when guided by Syllæus.

In short, after twelve months of hardships and miseries, this unhappy army (that had not even beheld the spicy regions, having stopt two days short of them,) returned to Egypt with the loss of only seven men killed in fight, but the rest utterly destroyed and ruined by sickness and hunger. Thus were the Romans punished for their covetousness<sup>2</sup>; the report of the riches and spices of Arabia having been the motive that carried them thither, and brought on them this dreadful disaster, instead of the treasures they expected to find.

This attempt of the Romans to carry the war into Arabia, brought on them another with the Ethiopians. For Elius Gallus having, for this expedition, left the upper Egypt and Thebais unprovided of troops, the Ethiopians taking

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invidi  
Gazis, & acrem militiam paras  
Non antè devictis Sabæ  
Regibus.

A.R. 729. taking that advantage forced \* Syæna, Elephan-  
 bef. C. 24. tinum and Philes, committed great waste in  
 the country, carried off a considerable booty,  
 and demolished the emperor's statues wherever  
 they found them. Petronius, præfect of  
 Egypt, though he could not leave this insult  
 unpunished, but getting together speedily ten  
 thousand men, marched against the enemy,  
 who, to the number of thirty thousand, ran a-  
 way at the first tidings of his approach

These were still more wretched troops than  
 those of the Arabians: the Ethiopians had  
 huge bucklers of raw hides; and as to offen-  
 sive arms, some few had swords, but the  
 greater part either hatchets or long poles, pro-  
 bably headed with iron.

Such soldiers were not formed to resist the  
 Romans: they ventured however a battle, the  
 decision of which could not be long doubtful,  
 and in which the Ethiopians made more use of  
 their legs than of their arms and hands. The  
 conqueror, Petronius, penetrated into their  
 country as far as Napata, capital of the domi-  
 nions of Queen Candaces. She had lost one  
 eye, but her courage was such that she kept a  
 great part of Ethiopia subject to her laws. She  
 had retired to a neighbouring fort, from whence  
 she sent to make overtures of peace; Petro-  
 nius, bent on revenge, would not listen to  
 them, but took and plundered the royal city of  
 Napata.

But he was then nine hundred miles distant  
 from Syæna, and was told, that if he attempted  
 to

\* *Syæna was a town on the Nile, exactly under the tropic of  
 Cancer. Elephantinum and Philes were not far distant.*



to go farther up the country, he would meet with nothing but sandy deserts: on which he resolved to return, leaving a garrison of four hundred men, and provisions for two years, in Premnis, a town situate on the Nile, below the great cataract.

Candaces levied fresh troops, and attempted to take Premnis again: Petronius was diligent on his side, and prevented her: but at last finding the Romans could get nothing by this war, he was the more easily induced to enter into a negociation with the queen, who, on her side, finding what enemies she had to deal with, renewed her solicitations to obtain peace. When Candaces was told she must send ambassadors to Cæsar, she asked who Cæsar was, and where he lived? Guides were given to conduct the Ethiopian ambassadors, who were favourably received by Augustus. He readily granted their queen peace, and even exempted her from the tribute Petronius had imposed on her.

This embassy found Augustus at Samos, whither he went in the year 730 of Rome. Wherefore we are now to resume the events of his eleventh consulship, which happened in the year 729.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XI. A. R. 729  
bef. C. 21.

A. TERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA.

And after the abdication or death of the latter, C. N. CALPURNIUS PISO.

**T**ERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA, the first of these two colleagues of Augustus, is the same that conquered the Salassi three years before.

A. R. 729. He did not enjoy that post long, and on its becoming vacant, either by his abdication, or, which is more likely, his death, Augustus had for colleague Cn. Piso, who had been one of the greatest and most inveterate enemies of the grandeur of the Cæsars. Piso had signalized his zeal for the republic in the war that Scipio and Cato renewed in Africa against Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia: after that he adhered to Brutus and Cassius, and when these two last defenders of the Roman liberty were dead, he obtained leave to return to Rome: but still preserving all his haughtiness of mind, would never stoop to ask any employment: Augustus was forced to make the first advances, and desire he would be pleased to accept of the consulship.

The consular  
Piso had  
been one of  
the most  
zealous de-  
fenders of  
the Roman  
liberty.  
*Tac. Ann.*  
II. 43.

Marcellus held the office of curule edile this year, having been named to it the year before. Augustus spared nothing that might add to the magnificence of the games given by the new edile, his nephew and son-in-law; only it were to be wished he had so far respected the rules of decency and decorum, as not to have thought of adding to the lustre of those games, by making a Roman knight and a lady of distinction dance on the stage.

Marcellus  
Edile.  
*D. J. l. LIII.*

He likewise, in Marcellus's name, procured the people a new convenience, by covering the forum with tilts during the great heats of summer. Nothing of the kind had ever been done before, unless sometimes when games were exhibited, or for very great festivals. Augustus let this shelter remain the whole summer, for the convenience of all that had business in the forum, and especially the pleaders, which,

says

says Pliny \*, would hardly have been approved of by Cato the censor, who would rather have wished it payed with sharp pointed flints.

A.R. 729.  
bef. C. 23.

For a long time Augustus had been in a declining way, and had but very short intervals of health, interrupted by frequent relapses. He had one this year which brought him near the grave. Not thinking he could recover, he sent for the magistrates, chief of the senators, and of the order of knights, and in their presence gave the consul Piso the general register of the empire, that is to say, the state of the public revenues and expences, the number of sea and land forces the republic had, and instructions concerning whatever else related to the government. He named no one to succeed him, perhaps not thinking his power sufficiently established to be respected after his death: only he gave his ring to Agrippa: This preference shocked Marcellus extremely, and every body wondered at it; for none had hitherto doubted but he designed his nephew to succeed him.

Augustus dangerously ill, names no successor, but gives his ring to Agrippa. *Sut. Aug. 81 § 23. Di.*

The skill or good fortune of a physician saved Augustus from death and the empire from the confusion it seemed ready to fall into: as the ordinary way of treating his distemper had no effect, Antonius Musa ventured the cold baths, cooling drinks, and lettuce: with the help of these he conquered the disorder that hitherto had resisted every remedy. Augustus not only recovered, but from that time had a better state of health than ever, being after-

Antonius Musa, physician, cures him by cold baths. *P. l. six. 8.*

F 3

ward

\* Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis Censorii, qui sicut et Plinius quoque totum medicum cenonem. *P. l. six. 1*

A.R. 729. wards subject only to slight indispositions, in-  
 bef. C. 23. separable from a tender constitution. The phy-  
 sician was rewarded in proportion to the service  
 he had done: besides large sums of money,  
 Augustus gave him the right of wearing a gold  
 ring, by that means raising him from the sta-  
 tion of a freeman, which he was, to the rank  
 of Roman knight. He likewise exempted him  
 from payment of all tributes, and, which must  
 have been highly pleasing to a man zealous to  
 do honour to his profession, the emperor ex-  
 tended that privilege to all physicians present  
 and to come. The senate concurred with Au-  
 gustus in granting those honours to Antouius  
 Musa, and the citizens taxed themselves to  
 erect a statue to him near to that of Esculapius:  
 a monument that did more honour to the em-  
 peror, than it did even to him for whom it was  
 made.

*Suet. Aug.*  
 59.

Removal of  
 Agrippa,  
 who gave  
 umbrage to  
 Marcellus.  
*Vell. II. 93.*  
*Suet. Aug.*  
 60.  
*Dio.*

Augustus's recovery was soon followed by  
 the removal of Agrippa. That great man, so  
 long accustomed to hold the first rank next the  
 emperor, could not conceal his dislike of the  
 elevation and expectations of Marcellus; whilst  
 Marcellus, nephew to Augustus, could not  
 brook being balanced by Agrippa. Doubtless  
 their rivalship became more apparent at the  
 time the prince was so ill; and the particular  
 confidence Augustus, when thought dying,  
 had shewn Agrippa, carried Marcellus's dissa-  
 tisfaction to the greatest height. Augustus,  
 having recovered his health, thought himself  
 obliged to give up Agrippa. One may ima-  
 gine he could not take this resolution without  
 regret: at least he endeavoured to colour his  
 old friend's disgrace, with a specious appear-  
 an-  
 an r

ance of honour, and made him governor of Syria, one of the richest and most flourishing provinces of the empire. Agrippa not only was not deceived in this, but spoke his mind freely and openly, calling it an honourable exile; and disdaining to put on the mask that was offered him to cover his disgrace, he affected on the contrary to shew it, by sending only his lieutenants to Syria, whilst himself retired to Mitylenum, to live like a private man.

He who had been the cause of his fall, did not long enjoy the satisfaction of having removed so formidable a rival. Young Marcellus, scarce twenty years old, nephew and son-in-law to the emperor, and destined to succeed him, in the midst of all these gaudy hopes, was taken with a mortal sickness; and the same means that had saved Augustus, employed by the same physician, hastened, or at least did not prevent the death of Marcellus.

He was extremely regretted by the people, whose love and esteem he had deserved and acquired by his good conduct, affability and popularity: they had even flattered themselves, that if he became master, he would one day restore the republican liberty; still the fond object of every Roman's wishes, and which was not till long after entirely erased from their hearts and memories.

Seneca bestows the highest character on this young nephew of Augustus. He \* gives him

F 4

a

\* Ad adolescentem animo alticrem, ingenio pretentem, sed & frug. In utis continentiaque in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandum, uti

ent in laboris, voluptatibus alienum quantumque imponere illi avunculus, & ut ita dicam, in edificare voluisset, laturum  
Sic. Consul. ad Marc. c. 2

A.R. 729.  
bef. C. 23.

Marcellus's death

He is infinitely regretted.  
Tac. Ann. II. 11.

A.R. 729. a noble and undaunted courage, a great genius,  
 bef. C. 23. a degree of temperance and moderation admirable in one so young and in so high a station ; patience in labour, an indifference for pleasure ; in short, talents equal to the great and important task his uncle designed him for.

Lines of  
 Virgil on  
 his death.

Every one is acquainted with those fine lines where Virgil deploras his death. What a great and noble idea does he give of that young hero, when he says, \* “ The fates only shewed him “ to the world, and instantly snatched him “ thence, the gods apprehending the Roman “ root would strike too deep should he be left “ in possession of what they had given him.” One would be apt to suspect this encomium of flattery ; but weighing Seneca’s character of Marcellus, and laying aside the poetic turn, we shall find the cotemporary poet does not say more than the philosopher, who wrote at a time when he could not be interested.

Sen. ad  
 Virg. En.  
 lvi. v. 861.

These lines of Virgil are full of sorrow mixed with the greatest majesty ; and one may readily believe what his commentator says, that when the poet read them to Augustus and Octavia, tears dropped from his eyes, and sobs often interrupted his reading, and hardly suffered him to proceed.

No wonder Octavia was greatly moved at these lines of Virgil, nor that she rewarded them liberally. She loved her son beyond expression, and mourned for him all her life.

Augustus

\* O t r e c t u r i s h u n c t a n t u m F a t a , n e q u e u l t r a  
 F e s t e s e n t . N i l i u m v e l i s R o m a n a p r o p t e r g o  
 V i r g i l i s , S u p e r i , p r o p r i a h e c s i d e n a f u i s s e n t .

Augustus too was sorely afflicted at this loss: he ordered pompous funerals for his nephew, but above all they were graced with the tears and lamentations of the people. Himself pronounced his funeral oration, and to perpetuate his memory, gave the name of Marcellus to a grand theatre began by Cæsar, and finished by him. He induced the senate to decree him a statue of gold, with a crown of the same metal; and the magistrates who were to preside at the Roman games were ordered to place that statue between them in a curule chair, that Marcellus, even after his death, might still seem to preside with them over those ceremonies.

Notwithstanding all these marks of grief in Augustus, some moderns have not scrupled to suspect him of having partaken in the death of Marcellus. They quote Pliny and Tacitus, whose expressions they strain beyond their meaning. Pliny says \*, the object of Marcellus's wishes (which were probably to restore the old republican form of government) were displeasing to his uncle. Tacitus expressing the people's uneasiness, on account of Germanicus, introduces the citizens reminding one another of the melancholy examples of Marcellus and Drusus, both universally beloved, and both taken off by an untimely death: which draws on this reflection †, that the nation's love seems to bring misfortunes on such as are the object of it; that their life is of short duration. But is it right for a few random words, and those susceptible

A. R. 729.  
bef. C. 23.  
Honours  
done his  
memory by  
Augustus.  
Dio.

It is unjustly some moderns have suspected Augustus of having partaken in his nephew's death.  
*Lips. ad Tac. Ann. l. 3.*

\* Suspecta Marcelli vota. PLIN. VII. 45.

† Breves & infaustos populi Romani amores. TAC. Ann. II. 41.

A. R. 729. susceptible of another interpretation, to accuse  
 bef. C. 23. Augustus of the most atrocious crime, he who  
 is known to have been so remarkably fond of all  
 his family?

Suspicious  
 against Li-  
 via are not  
 proved. As to Livia, Dion expressly mentions the  
 bad reports that were spread concerning her:  
 many thought she had a hand in the death of  
 Marcellus, who was an obstacle to her ambi-  
 tious projects. It cannot be denied that she was  
 a most ambitious woman, and strongly bent on  
 promoting her own children; but, should that  
 ambition induce her to commit a crime, which,  
 if discovered, must ruin her for ever? Such  
 talk is generally the consequence of the death  
 of great men; and if it be silly to refuse to cre-  
 dit a bad thing when fully proved, it is surely  
 very malignant to believe it on the slightest  
 grounds. The very season, which proved ex-  
 tremely unhealthy, and was fatal not only to  
 Marcellus, but to a great many others, seems  
 to conspire to clear Livia from any such accu-  
 sation.

Augustus's  
 care to ap-  
 pease A-  
 grippa. Augustus's first care, after Marcellus's death,  
 was to appease Agrippa, whom he had not re-  
 moved from his person without great reluc-  
 tance, and who was now become more neces-  
 sary to him than ever. It was probably for  
 this reason that he carried his will to the senate,  
 to read it in presence of the whole assembly;  
 but being prevented by all the senators, who  
 desired him not to do it, he at least insisted on  
 letting them know he had appointed no one to  
 succeed him. This reserve was pleasing to the  
 whole nation, but above all, it shewed his re-  
 gard for Agrippa, between whom and Mar-  
 cellus he had not taken any party. He was,  
 how-



however, in no hurry to recall him, perhaps not to shew too plainly the true cause of his removal, nor to acknowledge publicly that he had sacrificed him to Marcellus's jealousies.

Eight years had now passed since the battle of Actium, and people were quite accustomed to acknowledge a legal right of command in Augustus, and to obey him as the supreme head of the republic; for which reason the consulship, necessary whilst his personal authority was not firmly established, appeared to him now of no other use than to resign it, to acquire with the multitude the merit of moderation.

I say with the multitude, for men of sense could not fail to see that, by resigning the consulship, and continuing to govern, Augustus in fact declared the right of command resident in his own person, and independent of that title which hitherto had denoted the supreme magistracy among the Romans.

He was careful, however, not to betray any such design: he resigned the consulship as being a burthen, and to open access to it for a greater number of citizens. These reasons were not of the unanswerable kind: his desires met with opposition, and he was strongly pressed to accept of the consulship for the twelfth time. But his resolution was taken, and to avoid their importunities he retired to his country seat at Alba, and from thence sent his demission.

Part of his eleventh consulship was not yet expired: he pitched on a person, whose choice did him very great honour, to finish it: that was L. Sestius, who had been quaestor to Brutus at the time of the battle of Philippi, and still held

A.R.729.  
bef.C.23.

He resigns  
the consul-  
ship.

Makes an  
old and  
faithful  
friend of  
Brutus his  
successor in  
the consul-  
ship

A.R. 729. held most dear the memory of his unfortunate  
 buf. C. 23. general, keeping with great care his picture,  
 which he one day shewed Augustus, speaking  
 of him with singular veneration, and expressing  
 on all occasions his high esteem and admiration  
 of his virtues. The emperor's equity, who, far  
 from regarding that inviolable attachment to  
 the memory of his enemy as a cause for hatred  
 or revenge, rewarded him with the most distin-  
 guished post, charmed every one, and espe-  
 cially the senate, who still retained some value  
 for the old defenders of the republican govern-  
 ment.

New privi-  
 leges and  
 titles of au-  
 thority  
 given Au-  
 gustus by  
 the senate.

This was an additional motive to the senate  
 to be the more disposed to replace, by new  
 titles, that which Augustus had thus resigned.  
 They therefore decreed him, and he accepted for  
 life, the power of tribune, several times offered  
 him before, and as often refused; the power of  
 pro-consul out of Rome, likewise for life, with-  
 out subjecting him to lose it on his return into  
 the city, nor to renew it when he went out of it;  
 the right of proposing one affair to be delibe-  
 rated on at each meeting of the senate, even  
 when he should not be consul; in short, a pre-  
 eminence of power over the actual governors  
 of whatever provinces he might be in.

His regard  
 for the se-  
 nate.

On his side he well deserved the zeal the se-  
 nate shewed to promote his glory and grandeur,  
 by the regard he himself had for that respecta-  
 ble body; for he did not determine things by  
 his own pleasure, but proposed his plans, ex-  
 hortating all the senators to give their opinions  
 freely, and promising to pay the greatest regard  
 to their sentiments. Nor were those promises  
 words only; he would often, in consequence of  
 what

what was represented to him, alter projects already formed. A. R. 729.  
bef. C. 23.

He gave the senate a share in affairs of the greatest splendour. Phraates, by his ambassadors, and Tiridates in person, were renewing their solicitations to interest the Romans in their quarrel: Tiridates requested the help of their arms to put him in possession of the crown of Parthia, which he had worn some time: Phraates, on the contrary, formerly expelled by Tiridates, and since restored by the Scythians, pretended his enemy ought to be delivered up to him as a rebellious slave; and moreover required his son to be returned, whom Tiridates had carried away into the Roman territories. Augustus ordered Tiridates, and the ambassadors of Phraates, to present themselves at the senate's audience; nor would he undertake to determine the affair, until it was referred to him by an order of the senate.

He gave satisfaction to neither one or the other of the contending parties. He was by no means disposed to undertake a war against the Parthians to oblige Tiridates; nor did he think he ought to give up a suppliant prince, who had fled to him for refuge. As to Phraates's son, he agreed to restore him to his father, but on condition that Phraates, on his side, should give up the prisoners and standards the Parthians had taken from Crassus and Antony. Phraates was in no hurry to fulfil this condition.

The consuls fixed for the next year were M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius: the latter had served Augustus well, and in the battle of Actium had the command of the left wing of the fleet.

A. R. 730. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS ESERNINUS.  
 bef. C. 22. L. ARRUNTIUS.

**T**HIS year, and the end of the last, were  
 unfortunate to Rome and Italy : the city  
 was overflowed by the inundations of the Tiber,  
 and all Italy was afflicted with contagious dis-  
 tempers, which carried off so many as hindered  
 the culture of the lands, so that a dearth soon  
 ensued.

The people offer the dictatorship to Augustus, who refuses it.

The people were not satisfied to ascribe these misfortunes to the anger of the gods, but, ever superstitious, pretended to guess the cause, which was, that Augustus held no magistracy that year. To remedy this inconvenience, source of so many misfortunes, the mob got together, and insisted on his being named dictator. The senate was then assembled; thither the mob ran; and when the senators refused to come into their measures, because they knew better what the emperor's intentions were, they grew outrageous, and threatened to set fire to the senate-house. The senate was forced to yield, and to name Augustus dictator. The mob, having got the better, ran to present the four and twenty fasces to the new dictator. Augustus persisted in refusing so odious a title, which, in fact, could add nothing to the power he was already in possession of. He would not however exert his authority to stop the impetuosity of the mob, but rather chose to have recourse to entreaties, and kneeling down on one knee, tore his garment before, and presented his bare neck, signifying he would rather have a dagger struck into his throat than be made dictator.

*S. et. Aug.  
 27.*

However,

However, to give the crowd some satisfaction, A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. he accepted the superintendance of provisions, He accepts the superintendance of provisions. which was offered him at the same time, on the same footing Pompey had had it before. As the extensive business of the empire could not allow him to enter into a detail of this kind, he ordered two ancient prætors to be chosen every year, who, under his authority, should take care Rome was properly supplied with provisions, and corn duly distributed to the poor citizens.

The censorship was likewise offered Augustus He refuses the censorship, and has censory created. for life, but in consequence of the system of apparent modesty he had before laid down, he refused that dignity: he even went farther, and caused Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus to be created censors.

Dion Cassius observes that of these two censors, the first had been proscribed (doubtless Perizon. Adimadu. Hist. c. 3. with his father L. Paulus, brother to Lepidus the Triumvir) and the other was brother to a man proscribed, Plotus, whose death has been mentioned in the history of the Republic.

We find in Velleius a more interesting observation on their characters. He says, \* their Character of the two censors. magistracy was carried on in discord; that they gained no honour, nor the republic any advantage by it. Paulus had not the firmness requisite in a censor, nor Plancus the morals: one wanted the strength necessary to bear such an

\* *Censura Planci & Pauli, nota inter discordiam, neque sui honori, neque Reipublice usui fuit: quam alteri vix Censoris, alteri vita detest, Paulus vix posset implere Censuram, Plancus timere deberet, ne quidquam obijcere posset adolescentibus, aut obijcientes audire, quod non agerentur nex.* *Vell. II. 95.*

A.R. 730. an office, and the other had reason to fear he  
 bef. C. 22. could not reproach the young people, nor hear  
 them reproached with any thing disorderly in  
 their conduct, but what might be retorted on  
 himself, old as he was. And indeed he was so  
 little respected, that L. Domitius, a simple  
*Suet. Ner.* edile, happening to meet him, made the censor  
 4. give him the wall.

The edile was audacious: but never did  
 censor more richly deserve an affront. To the  
 shameful depravity of his morals, Plancus add-  
 ed, as has been elsewhere observed, all the ser-  
 vility of the most abject flatterer: he even glo-  
 ried in it, and would say, \* it was wrong to  
 flatter artfully or indirectly. "Your boldness  
 "in telling a lie, said he, can be of no service to  
 "you, if it be not perceived: a flatterer never  
 "succeeds better than when he is caught in  
 "the fact, and especially if he has been reprimanded  
 "for it, and forced to blush." He was a good judge  
 of men, who in general are not very nice about  
 what praises are lavished on them. But a man must  
 surely have lost all sense of shame, who can make  
 this principle the rule of his own conduct and of  
 others.

This was  
 the last  
 censorship  
 held by two  
 private  
 men.

The censors I have been speaking of were  
 the two last private men who held that magi-  
 stracy at the same time: after them, we either  
 hear no more of it in the republic, or it re-  
 mained affected to the emperors, who however  
 on some occasions, but very seldom, were pleased  
 to take a private man for their colleague. But,  
 without

\* Plancus aiebet non esse occultè, nec ex dissimulato blandiendum. Perit, inquit, proecri, si latet. Plurimum adulator, qui non deprehensus est, proficit; plus etiam si objugatus est, si contubuit. *Sen. Nat. Quest. iv. 1.*

without assuming the title, they had all the power, as superintendants and reformers of the laws and manners. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Augustus, at the time I am speaking of, Augustus makes up for the want of capacity in the censors Paulus and Plancus. availed himself of that power, to make up for the incapacity of the censors he had put in place. He introduced several reforms tending to the public good and tranquillity: he subjected to stricter rules, or even abolished entirely, all associations of the bodies of artisans, which had so often been made a handle of to form seditious cabals and dangerous factions: he moderated the expences of shews and games, limiting what sum the prætors should be allowed to expend, and assigning them out of the public funds wherewith to defray the extraordinary charges: he forbid even magistrates giving combats of gladiators without special leave obtained from the senate, and that not oftener than twice a year, nor more than sixty couple at a time: a regulation which shews to what height abuses of that kind were carried. He forbid sons and grandsons of senators, Roman knights, and women of quality, the indecent liberty of performing on the stage, though he had hitherto tolerated and even authorised it on some occasions. And as Egnatius Rufus, when edile, had given himself great airs in boasting that with his own slaves he had stopped several fires, Augustus, to take away all pretence from such as should be inclined to imitate the rashness of that young man, assigned the Curule Ediles six hundred slaves, to be always ready at their orders whenever a fire should break out in any part of the city.

A.R. 730. Thus did he support the character of head of  
 the empire and reformer of the public, whilst  
 his moderation in private life was such as al-  
 most confounded him with the common people.

At meetings for elections of magistrates, he,  
 in person, solicited in favour of those he in-  
 terested himself for, and gave his vote in his  
 district like a private man.

He often appeared before the courts of jus-  
 tice as witness, answered the magistrates inter-  
 rogatories, would bear to be refuted, sometimes  
 even with sharpness. Dion Cassius mentions  
 on this occasion a thing that happened in the  
 year we are now treating of.

One M. Primus being accused of having, of  
 his own private authority, made war against  
 the Odrysi, a people of Thrace, pleaded the  
 emperor's orders. Augustus, of his own ac-  
 cord, went to the court, and being asked by  
 the prætor, answered that he gave Primus no  
 such orders. Licinius Muræna, advocate for  
 the accused, on this took up Augustus with  
 great warmth and haughtiness, and among  
 other disobliging things, *What business have you  
 here?* said he, *What have you to do with this  
 affair?* *The public interest,* answered Augustus  
 mildly, *which it is not lawful for me to neglect.* It  
 was plain enough what he thought of Primus;  
 yet several of the judges were of opinion to  
 acquit him.

He observed most punctually the ties and  
 duties of private friendship; visited his friends  
 in their sickness, or when extraordinary events  
 happened in their families, such as marriages,  
 their childrens taking the virile robe, and other  
 things of that nature: nor did he leave that  
 custom



custom till very late, and after having been much pressed in the crowd one day at a wedding. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

He seldom refused an invitation to dinner from any body: one day being invited to a very bad dinner, and ill dressed, all he said at going away to him that had given this bad repast, was, "I did not think we had been so intimate." Macrob. Sat. II. 4.

If any of his friends had a suit depending, he would solicit for them, and be present at the judgment. He even gave himself that trouble for an old soldier, who had spoken to him with a liberty another would have been offended at. The soldier having a law-suit, desired the emperor to be present at the decision of it: Augustus told him he was too busy, and named one of his friends to be there for him. *Caesar*, said the soldier, *when there was occasion to fight for you I went myself, and did not send another for me.* Augustus, instead of being angry, acquiesced under so strong a remonstrance, and went in person to the court, to shew by his presence he interested himself in the soldier's cause. Macrob. ibid.

Though he bestowed much on his friends, yet he did not pretend to raise them above the laws, nor to strain justice in their favour. Nonius Asprenas, who was greatly attached to him, being accused of poison by Cassius Severus, Augustus consulted the senate what was to be done, being apprehensive, said he, that if he backed Nonius with his recommendation, he might seem to screen a man accused from the rigour of the laws; and if he did not, it might be thought he abandoned a friend, and him-

A.R. 730. self condemned him beforehand. By advice of  
 bef. C. 22. the senators he took a middle way: he was  
 present at the judgment, but said nothing; and  
 solicited in favour of Nonius by his presence  
 only. But even this circumspection could not  
 screen him from the accuser's reproaches, who  
 Plin. xxxv.  
 2. being a man of a violent temper, and ungo-  
 verned tongue, complained bitterly that the  
 emperor's presence saved a criminal deserving  
 the greatest punishments.

Macrob.  
 Sat. II. 4.

The intances of his moderation towards such  
 as behaved disrespectfully towards him, or at-  
 tacked him in their discourses, or in libels, are  
 infinite. Being disturbed every night by the  
 melancholy noise of an owl at a country house  
 where he chanced to be, he wished to get rid  
 of it. A soldier happened to take the bird  
 alive, and brought it in hopes of a great re-  
 ward. Augustus ordered him a thousand ses-  
 terces (about eight pounds.) The soldier, who  
 expected much more, let the bird go, saying,  
*I had rather it should live; yet this insolence*  
*went unpunished.*

S'm. d. R.  
 "cf. III. 27.

Augustus was equally mild in things of  
 greater moment. Being about to take a jour-  
 ney, a senator, named Rufus, said at an en-  
 tertainment, he wished the emperor might  
 never return; and joking about the number of  
 victims that used to be sacrificed by way of  
 thanks for his return after a long absence, ad-  
 ded, that all the bulls and calves offered up the  
 same prayers that he did. His words were not  
 lost, but carefully treasured up by some of the  
 guests. The next day one of Rufus's slaves  
 reminded his master of what he had said in his  
 drink, and advised him to go to the emperor and  
 accuse

accuse himself, before any body else could have time to do it. Rufus followed his advice, and running to the palace, presented himself before Augustus, saying some frantic fit had certainly turned his brain at that time: swore he beseeched the gods to let his rash vow light on his own head, and on his childrens, and praying the emperor to forgive him. Augustus consented. "Caesar, said Rufus, no body will believe you have restored me to your friendship, unless you give me a gratification;" and asked a sum that would have been no small gift if Augustus had really been to reward him. The Prince granted it, adding only with a smile, "For my own sake I will take care not to be angry with you another time."

Augustus however did not always slight the odious imputations by which some attempted to blacken him: his care for his reputation induced him to refute them, either in discourses pronounced in the Senate, or by declarations published in his name; but he knew not what it was to take revenge for them: his maxim on those occasions I shall deliver in his own words. Tiberius, who was of a very different character, exhorted him in his letters to revenge himself for an insult of that kind: Augustus answered him, "My dear Tiberius,\* do not give way too much to the vivacity of your age, and be not so angry with those who speak ill of me: it is enough to prevent their doing us any."

We

\* *Ætati tuæ, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere, & nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me malè loquatur. Satis est enim si hoc habemus ne quis nobis malè facere possit. Suet. Aug. c. 31.*

A. R. 730. We have already had a proof of his clemency  
 bef. C. 22. and generosity with regard to the memory of  
 Brutus, the greatest enemy he ever had. History affords us a second.

*Plutarch.*  
*Brut.*

Being at Milan he observed a statue of Brutus, erected by the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, as a monument of their gratitude towards the mildest and most just of governors: he passed by it, then stopping and assuming a stern look and tone of voice, taxed the chief men of the city with harbouring among them one of his greatest enemies. The Gauls, afraid, try to justify themselves and deny the fact. *What!* says he, turning round, and pointing to the statue of Brutus, *is not that the enemy of my name and family?* Then, seeing them confused and silent, he smiled, and with a gracious look commended their faithful attachment to their friends, even in their misfortunes, and let the statue remain.

*Macrob.*  
*Sat. II. 4.*

He treated with the same equity the memories of all the old defenders of the Roman liberty. One thinking to please by blaming in his presence Cato, accused that rigid republican of being intractably obstinate. "I would have you to know, said Augustus, that whoever opposes a change in the established form of government, is a good citizen and an honest man." Words full of dignity and of sense, by which he did Cato justice, and prevented the bad consequences that might be drawn from his example.

Virgil and Horace were sensible therefore they run no risk of losing his favour by praising

\* *Quisquis presentem statum civitatis immutari non vult & civis & vir bonus est.*

\* praising Cato as they have done in their works. Livy had heaped encomiums on Pompey in his history; Augustus only laughed at it, and would say, that illustrious writer was a partisan of Pompey's: but it did not lessen his regard for him.

A. R. 730.  
bef. C. 22.  
Tac. Ann.  
IV. 34.

With so much affability and popularity his great regard for the senators is not to be wondered at. He dispensed them from all troublesome ceremonials, and would not let them come to receive him at his palace, to wait on and conduct him from thence to the senate: he received their compliments in the senate-house, and returned their salutes going in and coming out, calling them by their names. But it was not the senators only and people of distinction that he treated with this mildness and affability; he permitted the people in general to pay their court to him, and was accessible even to the lowest of the citizens, receiving their petitions with such good nature as encouraged even those whom respect made timid and bashful.

He would have every one enjoy his rights, and rather chose to make the square he built in Rome less, than to force the owners of the houses he wanted to make it larger to sell them.

The title of *lord* and *master* was always an object of detestation with him, because it was relative to the name of *slave*. Being one day at a play, in which part of a verse was repeated,

\* Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem. VIRG. *Æn.* VIII. 570.

Et cuncta terrarum subacta  
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

HOR. *Od.* II. 1.

A.R. 730. signifying, *O the good master, O the master full*  
 bof C. 2. of *equity*, all the people turning towards him  
 with applause, applied those words to him. Augustus, with a look and gesture full of indignation, instantly rejected the low flattery, and the next day severely reprimanded the people by an order posted up in the Forum. From that time he would not allow his children nor grand children ever to give him that appellation, neither seriously, nor even in play: and forbid them to use among themselves any of those insignificant softnesses that a servile and mistaken politeness was beginning to introduce.

His successors were not so difficult: the bad ones, Tiberius excepted, not content with the name of *master*, affected even that of *god*; and at last the good ones suffered a title to be given them that custom had established. Pliny, in all his letters to Trajan, never calls him any thing but *domine, lord, master*.

If Augustus, for political reasons elsewhere explained, suffered divine honours to be paid him in the provinces, he was not fond of it, and would often laugh at them. The people of Tarragon coming to acquaint him, as of a fortunate and happy omen, that a palm-tree had sprung up on the altar raised to him in their city, "I see by that, answered he, smiling, how careful you are to burn incense on  
 " my altar."

By the instances we have related, and the circumstances of some of them, not quite conformable to the dignity of sovereign majesty, may be seen how true is what we have laid down concerning the nature of the authority Augustus was invested with. It is plain he did

not

not pretend himself to be sovereign, and that he never was more than first magistrate and chief of the republic. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

So mild and equitable a government was not however without its conspiracies: so much is novelty in things of that moment odious in itself, and never fails to draw dangers at least upon its authors. Several conspiracies were Conspiracy of Fannius Cæpio and Murræna discovered and punished.

formed against Augustus, during the course of his reign. That I am now going to speak of, because it happened under the consulship of Marcellus and Arruntius, was broached by Fannius Cæpio, whom we know nothing more of, unless it be that Velleius describes him as a bad man, and fit for such a plot: of his accomplices, history takes notice only of Licinius Murræna, of whom we made mention, speaking of the judgment of M. Primus, and who, though in other respects he had tolerable good qualities, ruined himself by the intemperance of his tongue and character. Vell. II. 91.

Their bad designs were discovered by one Castricius: but Mecænas, who was too fond of his wife Terentia, sister to Murræna, could not keep the secret from her, and on the intimation she gave her brother, the guilty fled. Suet. Aug. c. 66.

They were proceeded against for contumacy; and Tiberius undertaking to be their accuser, and having prosecuted them as guilty of high treason, they were condemned, though absent. Proculeius, brother to Murræna, though greatly esteemed by Augustus, and renowned for his love towards his brothers, could not, with all his credit, obtain pardon in an affair where the safety of the prince's person was concerned. Suet. Tib. c. 8.

The

A. R. 730. The Roman laws punished the greatest crimes  
 bef. C. 2. only with banishment; but the emperor's military power prevented the criminals profiting by the excessive indulgence of the laws: they were discovered in their places of retreat, and put to death.

*Strabo l. xii.* Their crime, however, was fatal to none but themselves. The philosopher Athenæus, friend to Muræna, fugitive with him, and taken at the same time, had only the trouble of justifying himself; and having proved his innocence, was left at peace and freedom.

*Bold action of Capito the father.* Capito's father, on this occasion of the death of his son, did a remarkable act of justice, which afforded Augustus an opportunity of shewing all his moderation. Of two slaves belonging to the criminal, one had defended his master against the soldiers that seized him; the other had betrayed him. The father rewarded the faithful slave by setting him at liberty, but had the traitor led through the streets with a label expressing his crime, and then crucified. Augustus shewed no dissatisfaction at this proceeding: he excused the father's love, and did not think the son's crime ought to stifle the sentiments of nature in the father, nor the liberty of shewing them.

*Law to condemn persons accused who should not appear.* Some of the judges voted to acquit the accused. It is not said that Augustus was displeased at it; but he took this opportunity to make a useful and just regulation. It seems the Roman tribunals had no fixed method of proceeding against such as, conscious of their crimes, withdrew themselves to avoid judgment,



ment, and that even the absence \* of the accused was thought a favourable circumstance. This was an abuse tending to screen criminals from the severity of the law. Augustus remedied that inconvenience by a law wherein it was enacted, that, in such cases, the judges should give their opinions verbally, and not by ballot; and that they should all pronounce condemnation against the accused not appearing.

In making this law, it is plain Augustus had some eye to himself; but still the thing was good and useful in itself. It would not be so easy to justify the step he took in favour of Castricius, by whom he had been informed of the conspiracy of Cæpio and Muræna. Castricius being afterwards accused, Augustus went to the place where judgment was to be given, and, in presence of the judges, so far prevailed on the accuser that he persuaded him to desist; no body more appearing against him, he escaped.

Rome being quite at peace, Augustus undertook a great journey, resolving to visit all the eastern part of the empire. He was doubtless glad of an opportunity of exercising there in person the supreme authority that had been given him; and justly imagined the presence of the prince would contribute greatly to settle things on a solid and peaceable foundation.

But he was hardly got to Sicily, when he found a necessity of turning back his attention to Rome, where troubles were arising on account of the election of magistrates. That was almost the only share of public power that had been

A. R. 730.  
bef. C. 22.

The discoverer of the conspiracy is accused. Augustus saves him.

He undertakes a journey to the east. Dio.

Troubles in Rome on account of the election of consuls.

\* The case of the accusation of Sthenius, mentioned Tom. XI. of the Roman History, l. xxxv. § 3. seems to authorize this sentiment.

A. R. 730. been left the people, and they could not make  
 bef. C. 22. a proper use even of that little: a manifest  
 proof of the necessity of a government under  
 one. The mob was obstinately bent on reser-  
 ving a consul's place for Augustus, and giving  
 Lollius the other; pretended the election was  
 finished. When Augustus signified his inten-  
 tions not to accept the consulship, new troubles  
 arose, spirited up by the candidates for the  
 place he left vacant, Q. Lepidus, and L. Si-  
 lanus. The sedition went so far, that several  
 were of opinion Augustus must return to Rome  
 to suppress it. He chose rather to send for the  
 two rival candidates, and after reprimanding  
 them severely, sent them back, forbidding them  
 to be present in the Campus Martius when the  
 people were assembled for the election. They  
 caballed, however, by means of their friends,  
 but after a strong contest Q. Lepidus was  
 named consul.

A. R. 731. M. LOLLIUS.  
 bef. C. 21. Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Augustus  
 recalls A-  
 grippa, and  
 makes him  
 his son-in-  
 law.

**T**HIS event made Augustus sensible of the  
 necessity of having a man of weight and  
 judgment to keep Rome in order during his  
 absence; wherefore he took this opportunity to  
 recall Agrippa. At the same time he chose to  
 bestow a new honour on him, and unite him  
 nearly to his own person, by giving him in  
 marriage his daughter, widow of Marcellus.  
 He was induced to this by Mecenas, who be-  
 ing consulted on this occasion, answered in these  
 very words: " You have made Agrippa so  
 great, that you must of necessity either kill  
 " him

P. of. An.  
 20.

“him, or make him your son-in-law” Octa-<sup>A.R. 731.</sup>  
via herself, according to Plutarch, influenced <sup>bef. C. 21.</sup>  
Augustus in this determination, though her  
daughter Marcella was actually married to A-  
grippa; but she gave up so great an interest to  
the good of the empire. Agrippa was accord-  
ingly sent for, and having waited on the em-  
peror to receive his orders, made the best of his  
way to Rome; where, after having separated  
from Marcella, who married Julius Antony,  
he contracted with Julia \* a marriage as disho-  
nourable as it was brilliant, as unhappy as it  
was fruitful.

Agrippa, in what concerned the good order  
and peace of Rome, answered perfectly the  
emperor's desires and intentions. His rank  
and dignities made him respected, and his su-  
perior talents added new lustre to his greatness.  
All was quiet under his equally firm and mild  
administration, and Rome hardly perceived Au-  
gustus was absent.

Wherever that prince went, to use Velleius's <sup>After visit-</sup>  
expression, \* he carried with him the sweets and <sup>ing Italy</sup>  
advantages of the peace he was author of; yet <sup>and Greece,</sup>  
without neglecting a proper severity when judg- <sup>he spends</sup>  
ed necessary. But to restrain licentiousness, <sup>the winter</sup>  
and punish crimes, constitutes a great part of <sup>at Samos.</sup>  
that good order which is the fruit of peace.

He granted Syracuse, and some other towns  
in Sicily, the privileges of Roman colonies. In  
Greece he enlarged the Lacedemonian domini-  
ons, by adding to them the island of Cythera,

to

\* Juliam duxit uxorem, feminam neque sibi, neque republi-  
cæ felicis uteri. *Vell. II. 93.*

† Circumferens terrarum Orbi præsentia sua pacis suæ bonæ.  
*Vell. II. 92.*

A. R. 731. to make them amends for their former hospi-  
 bef. C. 21. tality towards Livia, when a fugitive there in  
 the time of Perousa's war. The Athenians,  
 on the contrary, who had servilely flattered An-  
 tony and Cleopatra, met a punishment due to  
 their eternal proneness to that low vice. Au-  
 gustus retrenched from their little state the  
 island of Ægina and town of Eratria, and for-  
 bid them selling, as they had used to do, the  
 rights of freedom of their city.

He afterwards went to Samos to spend the  
 winter: there he received the ambassadors of  
 Candaces, queen of Æthiopia, before men-  
 tioned.

At Rome the people proceeded quietly to  
 elect Apuleius and Silius for their consuls.

A. R. 732. M. APULEIUS.  
 bef. C. 20. M. SILIUS NERVA.

He visits  
 the provin-  
 ces of Asia  
 Minor, and  
 goes to Sy-  
 ria.

THE next spring Augustus continued his  
 journey, and visited Asia, properly called,  
 and Bithynia. Though these provinces, as well  
 as Greece, were in the people's department, the  
 emperor nevertheless exercised his authority:  
 we have already seen how he caused the senate  
 to give him, in whatever province he should be,  
 a superior command over the actual governors.

In consequence of this, he acted every where  
 as supreme arbitrator; dispensed rewards and  
 punishments; granted immunities to some, and  
 imposed taxes on others. Those who felt his  
 liberalities were the inhabitants of Tralles, of  
 Laodicea in Phrygia, of Thyatira and of Chio,  
 who had suffered greatly by dreadful earth-  
 quakes. But he deprived the people of Cy-  
 zicum

zicum of their liberty; that is to say, he took from them the right of governing by their own laws and magistrates, and subjected them to a prefect, or commander of his own naming; because, in a popular tumult, they had used some Roman citizens extremely ill, whipping them with rods, and even putting some to death. In Syria he practised the like severity on the Tyrians and Sidonians, who made no other use of their liberty than to be seditious and tumultuous.

Augustus's journey into Syria made Phraates uneasy: when he saw the emperor so near his territories, he was greatly apprehensive a war was designed against him. He then thought it time to fulfil the conditions of the treaty lately concluded with Augustus, which till then he seemed to have quite forgot: he therefore sent back the standards and Roman prisoners, unfortunate remains of Crassus's disaster and Antony's flight. Tiberius was charged with the honourable commission of receiving them from the ambassadors of the king of Parthia.

Then it was that Augustus gained a glory preferable, in his esteem, to any thing acquired by force of arms. It was in effect truly great, by the sole terror of his name to make the only rival power of Rome submit to, and pay her homage, and acknowledge themselves, if not subject, at least inferior. He had great reason to pride himself on having washed out the very last marks of those stains of disgrace that for forty years past had sullied the glory of the Roman name. That honour had been ardently wished by the dictator Cæsar, and by Antony. What death prevented Cæsar's executing by force

A.R. 732.  
bef. C. 20.

Standards  
and Roman  
prisoners  
restored by  
Phraates.

Suet. Tib.  
c. 9.

force

A.R. 732. force of arms, and what Antony succeeded so  
 bef. C. 20. badly in, that, instead of wiping off the stain,  
 he added to it; that Augustus accomplished  
 without drawing a sword; he had only to shew  
 himself.

Nor were the utmost demonstrations of public joy and admiration wanting to celebrate this exploit; thanks returned the gods, ovation decreed Augustus, triumphal arch erected to his honour, and medals struck to perpetuate the memory of so glorious an event. Augustus ordered the standards recovered from the Parthians to be deposited in the temple of Mars the avenger, built by him as a monument of his victory at Philippi: and on this occasion, being a public satisfaction in which the whole nation was interested, he \* ratified and confirmed the surname of *avenger*, which he had before given that God, in memory of the revenge he had taken on the murderers of Cæsar.

*Hor. Od.*  
*III. 5.*

It cannot after that be wondered, that the great poets of the Augustan age, have vied with each other in celebrating what was the object of a glory so dear to their prince. Horace consecrated to it a most magnificent Ode, and in many parts of his works has missed no opportunity, no more than Virgil, Ovid and Propertius, to record the remembrance of it.

He gives<sup>24</sup>  
 hostages  
 his four  
 sons, with  
 their wives  
 and children.

Phraates took another step still more submissive than the restitution of the Roman standards and prisoners. He gave Augustus, as hostages, his four sons, with their wives and children: but his design in so doing was to provide for his own safety, much more than to shew any

\* Rite Deo templumque d. tum nomenque, bis ulto. *Ovid. Fast*  
*l. v. l. 595.*

any deference or submission to the Roman power. Hated and detested by his subjects, and conscious he deserved it for his many cruelties, he looked upon his children as his rivals, and ever dreaded the Parthians might set one of them on the throne: whereas, by removing them at a distance, he no longer feared any revolution, knowing how much his subjects were attached to the blood of the Arsacidæ. The young princes were royally treated and maintained in Rome: and under Tiberius we shall see some of them appear again on the stage, and dispute the throne of Parthia.

The empire comprehended several princes and nations, not subject, but allied to the Romans; and who enjoyed their little territories under the protection of those lords of the universe. Augustus, guided by a spirit of equity and peace, thought not of crushing those weak states that could give him no umbrage: he left them to govern by their own laws. In kingdoms he generally allowed the children to succeed their fathers, but would not let them grow greater, unless by his liberalities. So Herod received from him a gift of the little territory of one Zenodorus, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the king of Judea; and Herod, through an excess of impiety, the more unpardonable in him, as he knew the true God, built a temple to his benefactor in the new canton he had acquired. Some years before, Juba, husband to Cleopatra, daughter of Antony, had a great part of Mauritania given him: on the other hand, Amyntas, king of the Galatians, dying; Augustus, for what reason I know not, (for history does not say

*Augustus's moderation towards the kings and people under the protection of the Roman empire.*

A.R. 732. would not let his children succeed him, but  
 bef. C. 20. reduced Galatia into a Roman province.

He sets Ti-  
 granes on  
 the throne  
 of Arme-  
 ni.

Armenia, a kingdom of far greater power, and more illustrious than those I have been speaking of, and likewise less dependant on the Romans, received, however, a king from the hand of Augustus, after peace had been ratified and settled with Phraates.

Artaxias, son of Artabazes, dethroned and put to death by Antony, reigned then in Armenia. Born an enemy to the Romans, he had maintained himself with the help of the Parthian power. That support being taken from him, by Phraates's reconciliation to Augustus, factions and seditions arose against him, and several of the grandees of his kingdom declared his brother Tigranes should be their king. Tigranes was then at Rome, whither he had been carried from Alexandria, where he was made captive on the death of Antony. Augustus might easily have taken advantage of these dissensions to seize upon Armenia; but he was a stranger to the rage of conquest, and only proposed to himself to give them a king that was a friend to Rome. However, as there was reason to think force of arms would be requisite to succeed in this, Tiberius was charged with the expedition: things took another turn, and there was no occasion for war. Artaxias being killed by his relations, Tiberius had only to put Tigranes in possession of the vacant throne. The Armenian prince did not long enjoy this favour of fortune.

Tiberius  
 begins to  
 reign.

Though the establishing Tigranes on the throne of Armenia had been effected without war, yet occasion was taken from thence to decree in the

name



name of Tiberius, supplications, or solemn thanks to be returned the gods. This first military honour roused the courage of Augustus's young son-in-law, whose expectations had been raised to a great pitch before that, by a pretended prodigy, which Suetonius and Dio are very careful to record. They say that whilst he was crossing the plains of Philippi, the fire kindled of itself on an altar formerly consecrated there by the victorious legions: but his mother's ambition, and her influence over Augustus, were a much surer omen: she then obtained for her son the command of Syria, and all the provinces of the East, which Augustus left under his orders when he returned from Samos.

A. R. 732.  
bef. C. 20.

Dio. l. xiv.  
& Suet.  
Tib. 14.

Vell. II. 94.

But a great obstacle to the views of Livia and Tiberius happened this year, by the birth of a son to Agrippa and Julia, who was named Caius. This birth was celebrated by public rejoicings, and a festival established to perpetuity.

Birth of  
Caius,  
grandson to  
Augustus.  
Dio.

Augustus passed a second winter at Samos: and that the inhabitants of that island might feel the good effects of his stay among them, he granted them the liberty and use of their own laws. He there received a famous embassy from Paudion and Porus, kings of the Indies. The whole world paid homage to his greatness; the most barbarous nations, the Scythians and Sarmatians, sought his friendship: but nothing of this kind was so remarkable as the Indian embassy I am speaking of. The design of it was to conclude a treaty of alliance already began by other ambassadors who some years before went to meet Augustus at Tarragon

Indian ambassadors  
received by  
Augustus  
at Samos.

Strabo, l. xv.  
Flor. xv. 12.  
Genes. i. 21.

Strabo 5  
Dio.

A.R. 732. in Spain. Only three of those ambassadors  
 bef. C. 20. came to Samos, several of their companions  
 having died, as they said, through fatigue in a  
 journey of near four years duration. They pre-  
 sented Augustus a letter wrote in Greek by  
 Porus, who, in the pompous style of the eastern  
 people, boasted his command over six hundred  
 kings; but yet expressed the highest value for  
 Augustus's friendship, promising him a passage  
 through his dominions, and assistance in all  
 things licit and reasonable.

They had presents to offer, which were car-  
 ried or conducted into the emperor's presence  
 by eight slaves naked from the waist upwards,  
 and perfumed with spices. These presents con-  
 sisted in pearls, jewels, elephants, and several  
 extraordinary curiosities. There was a man  
 without arms, who with his feet would draw a  
 bow and shoot the arrow; sound a trumpet,  
 and in short, do almost every thing others can  
 with the help of their hands. There were tigers,  
 an animal the Romans had never seen, nor, as  
 Dion Cassius thinks, the Greeks: vipers of a  
 prodigious size: a serpent twelve cubits long:  
 a river turtle three cubits long, and a partridge  
 bigger than a vulture.

An India  
 philosopher  
 burns him-  
 self in his  
 presence.

With the Indian ambassadors came a philo-  
 sopher of the same nation, who renewed in Au-  
 gustus's presence the same mad and furious  
 spectacle that Calanus had formerly done before  
 Alexander. He accompanied the emperor to  
 Athens; and there, having first obtained leave  
 to be initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, though  
 out of the time prescribed for that ceremony,  
 he declared, that having to that hour enjoyed  
 a constant series of prosperity, he would no  
 longer

longer be exposed to the vicissitudes of human things, nor the caprices of fortune, but would prevent them by a voluntary death. He therefore caused a pile to be erected, on which, being rubbed with oil, he with a smiling countenance jumped naked, and was consumed by the flames; thus purchasing, at the expence of his life, the admiration of the vulgar, and the contempt of men of sense. An epitaph to this purport was put on his tomb: *Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian of Bergosa\**; who, according to the ancient custom of his country, killed himself.

\* This place is not known: if it be the same with *Bryvcaza*, mentioned by Ptolemy, we may place its situation near the gulph of Cambaia.

## S E C T. III.

*AUGUSTUS* superintendant of the highways. Golden Milliarey. Disturbances in Rome on account of the election of Consuls. The Consul Sentius's resolution. Augustus's authority quells the sedition. Honours decreed Augustus. His modesty. Honour and privileges granted Tiberius and Drusus. Augustus resumes the reform he had began. Agrippa subdues the Cantabrians. Agrippa declines the triumph. Triumph of Balbus the younger. Virgil's death. Agrippa receives the power of Tribune. New review of the Senate, which is reduced to six hundred. Freedom and boldness of Labeo. Augustus's care to humble Lapidus. Conspiracy and death of Egnatius Rufus. Regulations concerning the fortunes Senators were to be possessed of. Augustus's liberality towards several who had not a sufficient fortune. Law against bribery. Licentiousness and depravity of morals. Augustus sets the example. Law concerning marriages. Artful complaints of several Senators. Law concerning adultery. Sumptuary law. Corn distributed, and shows exhibited free. Saying of Pylades the Pantomime to Augustus. Game of Troy. Augustus's firmness with regard to the people. Divers regulations. Birth of Lucius son of Agrippa. Augustus adopts his grandsons. Secular games. Augustus's care to prevent disorders at the games and shows. Motions of the Germans. Augustus's journey to Gaul. Messala, then Statilius Taurus, Praefects of Rome. Prayers for Augustus's return. Ode of Horace

on that subject. The Intendant Licinius oppresses the Gauls cruelly. He purchases his pardon by giving up to Augustus the treasures he had amassed there. Monstrous inhumanity of the freeman Vedius Pollio. Dying, he makes Augustus his heir. Drusus's expedition against the Rheti. Tiberius and Drusus together subdue the Rheti and Vindelici. Colonies established by Augustus in Gaul and Spain. Foundation of the school of Autun. Description of the Consul Lentulus. The same Ediles whose nomination had been inauspicious are re-elected. Portico of Paulus burnt and rebuilt. Agrippa's goodness and equity towards the Jews. Disturbances in the Bosphorus appeased by Agrippa. He refuses the triumph, which from that time was reserved for the Emperors. Augustus returns to Rome. Honours decreed him, which he refuses. He reviews the Senate, and retains several members ready to leave it. His regard for the nobility, and respect for the memory of the great men of the old Republic. Examples of Augustus's moderation. Reflection on the change of Augustus's conduct. He is made High Priest. Books of Divination suppressed. Theatre of Balbus. New city of Cadiz built by him. Agrippa's death. His character. His posterity. Tiberius becomes son-in-law to Augustus. He subdues the Pannonians.

**W**HILST Augustus was absent from Rome the senate had named him A. R. 712. bef. C. 20. perintendent of the highways in Italy. He Augustus superintendent of the highways. performed the functions of that office by the ministry of two old prætors, whom he appointed his lieutenants in that branch, and who,

A.R. 732. who, under his authority, made the celebrated  
 bef. C. 20. golden *Military*, which was a column placed  
 at the head or entrance of the forum, from  
 whence all the great roads of the empire were  
 reckoned, as is known, by miles.

Distur-  
 bances in  
 Rome on  
 account of  
 the election  
 of consuls.

Augustus was drawing towards Rome, and  
 it was time he should be there. Agrippa, so  
 soon as he had settled the most urgent affairs  
 of the city, went to Gaul, where some com-  
 motions had arose, and from thence to Spain,  
 to subdue the Catabrians, who had again re-  
 volted. The city of Rome being by this  
 means without a head able to keep the people  
 in awe, fresh disturbances broke out on account  
 of the elections of consuls. The people obsti-  
 nately persisted in their whim of making Au-  
 gustus consul, and would name but one, Sen-  
 tius Saturninus, who therefore alone took pos-  
 session of the consulship the first of January.

### C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

A.R. 732  
 bef. C. 10.  
 The consul  
 Sentius  
 resolution.

**S**ENTIUS had courage and resolution, and  
 seeing himself solely vested with the autho-  
 rity of consul, maintained the weight of that  
 office with a dignity becoming the old repub-  
 lican times. He detected and punished the  
 frauds of those concerned in the managing of  
 finances, and brought back to the public trea-  
 sure sums that had been secreted from it. But  
 above all he shewed himself a great magistrate  
 in all nominations to employments. He re-  
 jected unworthy subjects that offered themselves  
 for quarters, forbidding them to appear among  
 the candidates, and threatening to make them  
 feel

feel what a consul's power was if they dared shew themselves in the Campus Martius. A.R. 733.  
bef. C. 19.

But all his firmness and resolution were necessary when the election of his colleague was to be proceeded in: for Augustus persisting in his refusal, Egnatius Rufus, the rash youth whose insolence we have before mentioned, declared himself a candidate; and puffed up with the favour of the people, who had raised him at once from edile to prætor, without going through the intermediate degrees, he now pretended to carry the consulship, contrary to the known intentions of the emperor, and to make it a means, when attained, to disturb the repose of the republic. Sentius ordered him to withdraw, which Egnatius refusing to do, it came to a downright sedition, and blood was spilt, and some men killed. The senate would have given the consul a guard, but Sentius, full of courage, thought himself sufficiently armed by the legal authority he was invested with; and declared, that even though Egnatius should have a majority of votes, he would not declare him elected.

The storm was however too violent to be quite appeased by Sentius alone. There was a necessity of having recourse to Augustus, to whom the senate sent two of their members as deputies. The emperor on this occasion was not so reserved as he had been two years before, for he now would not let the people name a consul for that year, but took upon him to do it himself: and having resolved in favour of one of the senate's two deputies, Q. Lucretius, who had formerly been proscribed, he appointed and sent

Augustus's  
authority  
appeases  
the sedi-  
tion.

A.R. 733. sent him back consul to Rome, and soon after bef. C. 19. followed himself.

C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Q. LUCRETIUS.

Honours  
decreed  
Augustus.  
His modesty.

AS he drew near the city, the senate was busied in consulting how to decree him all sorts of honours, in acknowledgment for the wise regulations he had made in all the provinces where he had been. He would accept but one of those honours, which was an altar consecrated to *Fortune returned*, FORTUNÆ REDUCI, and an anniversary festival on the day of his return. It was intended to meet him without the gates, and all the orders were already in motion, when, chusing rather to save the citizens that trouble and fatigue, than to enjoy the pomp of it, he entered the city in the night time, as he always chose to do, whenever public entries were intended him.

Art. Aug.  
63.

Honours  
and privileges  
granted  
Tiberius  
and  
Drusus.

The next day coming to the senate he desired for Tiberius, whom he had left in Syria, the ornaments of prætor (for the Romans began to be used to distinguish between the privileges and decorations of offices and the offices themselves) and for Drusus, brother to Tiberius, the same dispensation that had been granted his elder brother, enabling him to be a magistrate five years before the age appointed by law.

Augustus  
restores  
the reform  
he had be-  
gan.

Hitherto Augustus had been able only to trace as it were the outlines of the reform he intended to make in the state: the disorders the civil war had given rise to had taken too deep root to be cured at once: too violent remedies might have increased the evil: he therefore resolved



solved now to resume the great work he had began, and with that view caused himself to be continued for five years præfect of the laws and manners, with the power of consul for his life, and all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity, together with the precedence over all consuls in actual employ : so that without being either consul or censor, he enjoyed all the privileges belonging to those great offices.

To render the discharge thereof the more easy to him, the senators shewed a readiness to swear beforehand to observe whatever laws he should make ; but he dispensed them from that oath, rightly judging, that if those laws suited them, they would be ready enough of themselves to put them in practice ; but that, if they should chance to displease, no oath would prevent their shaking off the yoke.

Agrippa was a second he could not do without in this important operation : but that great man, equally qualified for war or peace, was now busied in reducing the Cantabrians, who kept him fully employed. He effected it, however, as much by his resolution in maintaining a proper discipline among his troops, as by his valour and dexterity against the enemy : for the Roman soldiers, fatigued and disheartened, marched but unwillingly against barbarians whose fierceness was indomptable : they fought but weakly, and met with some repulses. Agrippa punished the guilty with ignominy : he took the name of *Augusta* from a whole legion that had not behaved well. In a word, having taught his troops to fear their general more than the enemy, he at last completed the reduction of the Cantabrians ; and having forced them

A.R.702.  
bef.C.19.

Agrippa  
reduces the  
Cantabri-  
ans.

A.R. 733. them to quit their mountains and come down  
 b.c. C. 19. into the plain, subdued them so effectually,  
 that they never attempted to revolt again, but  
 quietly submitted to the Roman yoke.

Agrippa  
 declines  
 the tri-  
 umph.

This exploit was great, and deserved the  
 most brilliant rewards: but Agrippa, as com-  
 plete a courtier as he was a general, and always  
 careful to keep within the bounds of a simple  
 lieutenant, who ought to ascribe every thing  
 to his chief, sent an account of his success,  
 not to the senate, but to the emperor, and would  
 not accept the triumph that was decreed him.

Suet. Aug.  
 74.

This modesty was not imitated by every one  
 that had the command of an army: Several  
 asked and obtained the honours of triumph only  
 for taking some little paltry town, or stopping  
 the inroads of a few banditti: for Augustus,  
 as before said, was very liberal of military re-  
 wards, and, according to Suetonius, granted  
 triumphal honours to above thirty generals. It  
 is however certain, that Agrippa, in this refu-  
 sal, suited himself to the prince's secret inten-  
 tions, which he was better acquainted with than  
 any man, as will appear by the sequel.

Triumph  
 of Balbus  
 the young-  
 er.

It would not be just to confound L. Balbus  
 with those that obtained the honours of tri-  
 umph for trifling exploits. He had conquered  
 the Garamanti, a people of Africa, who had  
 never felt the Roman arms; and in the cere-  
 mony of his triumph appeared a long file of  
 barbarous names, people, towns, and moun-  
 tains, till then unknown, subdued by him.  
 The triumpher himself was not less remarkable.  
 Born at Cadiz, and having obtained the right  
 of Roman citizen, only by a benediction from  
 Pompey, he was the only person of distinction  
 that

that had ever triumphed in Rome: but his uncle, who before that had been consul, had paved the way for him. A.R. 733.  
bef. C. 19.

The year of whose events I am now closing the account, may be looked upon as fatal to poetry and to learning, since it was at this time that Virgil died, before he could put the finishing hand to his *Eneid*. He had retired into Greece, hoping there to enjoy the tranquillity necessary to polish his poem, and finish it to his own satisfaction. Augustus going to Athens at that time, the poet waited on him, and probably was prevailed on by the emperor to return to Italy with him. He was ill when he embarked, and the voyage encreasing his disorder, he died almost on his arrival at Brundisium, little more than fifty years old.

His epitaph, \* written by himself, if we are to credit the author of his life, contains in two lines his birth, death, burial, and an indication of his works. "Mantua bore me, Brundisium ended my days, my ashes rest in Naples. I sung of shepherds, fields and heroes."

It has been asserted, that when dying he would have burnt his *Eneid*, and that he even ordered it to be done by his will. He had so high an idea of perfection, that a poem, which has always been admired as one of the completest productions of the human brain, did not to him seem worthy to be transmitted to posterity. Augustus, † notwithstanding the respect due to the last desires of a testator, prevented

\* Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope, Cuius in partibus ossa, duces.

† Divus Augustus carmina Virgillii cremari contra testamenti ejus reverentiam voluit: majusque ita vati testimonium contigit, quam si ipse sua probavisset. PLIN.

A.R. 733. vented the execution of that rigorous order ;  
 bef. C. 19. and the work obtained by that means an ap-  
 probation more honourable than that of its own  
 author would have been. Varius and Tucca,  
 both great poets, and Virgil's friends, were  
 ordered by the emperor to revise the *Æneid*,  
 with leave to strike out what they thought pro-  
 per, but not to add.

Virgil appointed Augustus and Mænas,  
 with a half brother he had, to be his heirs.  
 To name the prince in his will was a way of  
 paying his court to him, and Augustus always  
 took it kindly from such as he had treated on  
 the footing of friends. This custom grew  
 more in use under the succeeding emperors,  
 and became a part of the universally reigning  
 adulation.

A.R. 734. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
 bef. C. 18. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Agrippa  
 receives  
 the power  
 of tribune.

**A**GRIPPA on his return to Rome from his  
 expedition against the Cantabrians re-  
 ceived the reward of his modesty : he had de-  
 clined the triumph, and was now made Au-  
 gustus's colleague as tribune, which was con-  
 ferred on him for five years. This title was  
 one of the essential characteristics of the su-  
 preme authority ; and if Agrippa was invested  
 with it but for five years, Augustus, who had  
 undertaken for ten years, as we have already  
 said, the command of the armies and admini-  
 stration of the provinces, when that power was  
 ready to expire, had it continued to him only  
 for five years : so that he treated Agrippa al-  
 most as himself, being willing to let people  
 think.

think, that at the end of the five years they would each of them surrender up to the republic the power they had from it. A. R. 734.  
bcf. C. 18.

Augustus, after taking the precaution of associating Agrippa with him in the power of tribune, and to shew an avenger ready against whoever should dare to think of attempting his life, set to work about the reform he had begun in the senate, which, notwithstanding what had been retrenched in a first review, still contained several members no ways fit or able to do honour to that great body: for Augustus did not want to exclude those only whose audacious assurance he disliked; but fulsome \* flattery displeased him full as much, not to speak of the corrupt morals and low birth of many. He even thought that company in general too numerous, and wished he could reduce it to its old number of three hundred. He used to say he should think himself happy if Rome and Italy could furnish him three hundred men worthy to be members of the public council of the empire. But perceiving the senators were much alarmed at the thoughts of so great a diminution of their number, he judged it most prudent not to reduce them below six hundred, which had been their number in the best times of the republic.

His plan being settled, he attempted to put it into execution by a method in which himself could run no great risk: and in imitation of what was sometimes practised in the militia, left to the senators themselves the choice of their brother senators. He first named thirty, chosen

\* *Cui mādē si pulvere, recedat ut unūque titur.* HOR. Sat. II. 1.

New review of the senate which is reduced to six hundred.

A.R. 734. chosen on oath, out of the most worthy: those  
 bel. C. 18. thirty, having taken the same oath, were to  
 choose each five, none of which might be their  
 relations, and those five to draw lots which of  
 them should be the senator. The new elected  
 thirty were to repeat the same operation, and  
 so on till they were six hundred. But tricks  
 were played and difficulties arose that gave  
 Augustus such disgust, as prevented his pur-  
 suing a system so advantageous in appearance.

Freedom  
 and bold-  
 ness of Lar-  
 beo.

So, for example, he met with a mortifica-  
 tion from Antistius Labeo, who put Lepidus,  
 the old triumvir, at the head of the five he  
 chose. Augustus could not contain himself on  
 this occasion, but accused Labeo of being per-  
 jured, and asked him with indignation, whether,  
 agreeable to the oath he had taken, he did not  
 know any one more worthy? Labeo answered  
 calmly, that every one had his own way of  
 thinking; “and after all, added he, what fault,  
 “can you find with me, for thinking worthy  
 “the rank of senator the man whom you suffer  
 “to enjoy the high-priesthood?” This answer  
 stopped Augustus’s mouth; but one may ima-  
 gine did not satisfy him.

Labeo had a republican spirit: he had in-  
 herited those sentiments from his father; who  
 having fought in the plains of Philippi in de-  
 fence of liberty, when he saw the battle lost,  
 made one of his slaves kill him. The son,  
 brought up in the same principles, always pre-  
 served a great haughtiness. Augustus having  
 expressed some uneasiness, on account of the  
 great number of in-decontents this review of the  
 senate had made, somebody proposed that the  
 senators should form a guard about his person.

“J

“ I am apt to sleep, answered Labeo roughly, A.R. 734.  
bef. C. 14.  
“ I should be but a bad guard.”

Such speeches, to which his whole conduct answered, were not the most fit to acquire the prince's good graces; and in consequence of it, though a man of great merit, and an excellent Civilian, he never could arrive at being consul. Augustus, on the contrary, studied to heap honours on Ateius Capito, Labeo's rival in the law, but who knew better how to suit himself to the times.

The expedient of leaving to the senators own Tac. Ann.  
III. 72. decision the choice of those that were to compose that illustrious body, not having succeeded to Augustus's desire, he undertook to finish that work himself with Agrippa's assistance, and accordingly named members to fill the vacant places. But though all possible care was taken, he could not avoid giving just reason to some to be dissatisfied. Livineius Regulus complained in open senate that he was excluded, whilst his son and many others, to whom he thought himself no ways inferior, were admitted. He enumerated his campaigns, and with indignation tore open his garment, to shew the honourable scars of wounds received in his breast. Arunculeius Pustus begged he might have leave to resign his place to his father, who had been struck off the list. On these and other remonstrances of the same nature, Augustus revised his work, and made some alterations.

This condescension encouraged many others to complain, hoping to meet with a like success; but all things must have an end. To those whose remonstrances seemed of weight, Augustus granted the honorary privileges of  
Vol. I. I senators,

A. R. 734. senators, and permitted them to stand for  
 106. C. 18. offices that might bring them into the senate.  
 Some took advantage of this opening, of which  
 there had been frequent examples under the  
 republic. Others spent their lives in a middle  
 station, between the rank of senator and the sta-  
 tion of private citizen.

Augustus's  
 care to  
 humble  
 Lepidus.

In all this operation of Augustus relating to  
 the senate, nothing has hitherto occurred but  
 what was laudable. His behaviour towards  
 Lepidus will hardly bear the same judgment.  
 That triumvir, when disposed, chose to live  
 in the country, to conceal the shame of his fall.  
 Augustus, probably piqued at his being conti-  
 nued a senator against his will, forced him to  
 reside in Rome and assist in the senate, that he  
 might there undergo a thousand marks of con-  
 tempt; and himself affected not to ask his  
 opinion, nor let him speak, till all others of  
 consular dignity had done. There was some-  
 thing very low in this revenge. It would have  
 been much more becoming the master of the  
 world, to let an enemy, from whom he had no-  
 thing more to fear, spend the remainder of his  
 days in the obscure retreat himself had pitched  
 upon.

Conspiracy  
 and death  
 of Egna-  
 tius Rufus.  
 106. C. 18.

Several of the malecontents were suspected of  
 having bad designs against Augustus and A-  
 grippa. It was probably at this time that Eg-  
 natius Rufus crowned by his conspiracy all the  
 mad enterprises by which he had signalized his  
 rashness. He was discovered and put to death  
 with his accomplices: so Velleius says. Dion  
 Cassius, who, without naming Egnatius, seems to  
 speak of the same event, does not say whether  
 the crime was real or supposed: he only ob-

erves



serves that it is difficult for private men to penetrate the mysteries of state; and does not pretend to answer for any facts, but such as were manifestly public.

Among those whom Augustus continued in the senate, or on whom he conferred the rank of senator, were many who did not possess so great a fortune as that dignity, according to the ancient laws, required. The civil wars had ruined many families, and particularly the nobility, who, by being at the head of factions, are always most exposed to the disasters that ever will attend them. Augustus considered this inconvenience, which was general; and at first reduced the sum to half, viz. to \* four hundred thousand sesterces, the sum anciently fixed to qualify any one for the rank of senator. But afterwards as peace and tranquillity began to repair the shattered fortunes of the citizens, he brought it up to the old taxation, and even went beyond it; and instead of † eight hundred thousand sesterces, would have every senator be † worth a million; and at last twelve hundred thousand§.

These regulations were very proper. Men in general are of opinion, that dignities ought to be supported by riches; but, lest poverty should exclude from the senate any who, in all other respects, were perfectly qualified to be an honour to that body, and of use to the republic, Augustus was at all times ready to assist such as were in that situation, and by his liberalities made up their deficiency of fortune.

After this nice and important operation of reforming the Senate, Augustus took into consideration

A. R. 734.  
bcf. C. 18.

Regulations concerning the fortunes of senators were to be possessed of.

\* About  
£.3000.

† £.6000.  
‡ £.8000.  
§ £.9600.

Augustus's liberality towards several who had not a sufficient fortune. See, Aug. 11.

A.R. 734. sideration some general abuses, which he en-  
 bef. C. 18. deavoured to remedy by enacting wise laws.

Law  
 against  
 bribery.

Bribery was carried to a prodigious height towards the latter end of the republic, and was thought to have been the chief cause of those factions that were the ruin of liberty. There was less of it indeed since the form of government had been changed, and the prince's authority had so great influence in the distribution of all offices, that it was of little use to buy the votes of the citizens. But somewhat of that old vice yet remained, and bribery was still practised privately. As the evil was not so great as it had been, it did not require so violent a remedy. Augustus on this occasion, enacted a law much less severe than the old one; only ordering that such as were convicted of practising bribery, to obtain any post or employment should be excluded for five years.

Licentiousness  
 and depravity  
 of morals.

The depravity of morals, frequent adulteries, and scandalous celibacy, fruits of luxury and sources of libertinism, were the disorders most difficult to extirpate. Riches and prosperity first brought them into Rome; the continual vicissitudes of public events gave them an opportunity to take deep root; and the licentiousness ever attending war was an encouragement to shew themselves more boldly. The ease and plenty that flowed from the tranquillity of the state, fed and nourished them.

Every body complained, even those whose morals were least severe. Horace says\*,

Fruitful of crimes, this age first stain'd  
 Their hapless offspring, and profan'd

The

\* *Fecunda culpa secula, nuptias  
 Primum inquinaveris, & genus, & domos:*

The nuptial bed, from whence the woes,  
Which various and unnumber'd rose  
From this polluted fountain head,  
O'er Rome, and o'er the nations spread.

A. R. 734.  
b. f. C. 18.

With plying limbs the ripen'd maid  
Now joys to learn the wanton trade  
Of dance indecent, and to prove  
The pleasures of forbidden love :  
But soon amid the bridal feast  
Boldly she courts her husband's guest ;  
Her love no nice distinction knows,  
But round the wand'ring pleasure throws,  
Careless to hide the bold delight  
In darkness, and the shades of night.

FRANCES'S *Trans.*

It but ill became Augustus, who was himself  
a public example to the contrary, to assume the  
character of reformer of those disorders. It was  
well known he had criminal commerce with several  
women : his friends could not but own  
it ; though they endeavoured to excuse him,  
under the frivolous pretence, that it was not  
from a spirit of debauchery, but for the interest  
of the state he did it, with a view to find out  
what plots or cabals might be secretly carried  
on. And, indeed, conscious to himself of the  
indecencies he might be taxed with, should he  
attack this corruption of morals by severe laws,  
whilst his own conduct seemed to authorize it,

Augustus  
set the ex-  
ample.  
Suet. Aug.  
69.

I 3

he

Hæc fonte derivata clades,  
In patriam, populumque fluxit.  
Motus deceri gaudet Ionicus.  
Matura virgo, & fugitur actibus  
Iam nunc, & incestos amores  
De tesoro meditatatur ungui.

Hor. *Od.* III. 4.

A.R. 34 he at that time went no farther than what re-  
 bef. C. 18. lated to celibacy, a state hurtful to the republic, as it prevented an increase of citizens, at a time when there was great need of them, to replace those the civil wars had carried off.

Law concerning marriages. *Suet. Aug. 34. & Dio.*  
 Celibacy had been always thought dishonourable among the Romans, and was subject to a pecuniary tax. Augustus increased that tax, and likewise granted certain rewards and privileges to such as married and had several children; as Caesar had done after the African war. To render marriages more easy, he allowed all who were not senators, or sons of senators, to marry free women, without prejudice either to the parties contracting, or their children, by the inequality of such alliances. And, as many, to avoid the penalties at all times imposed on celibacy, would marry young children, he forbid any contract being made with a girl under ten years old; so that the marriage might be celebrated within two years at most after the contract. He likewise put a stop to the too great facility of divorces, by which dissensions and disturbances were occasioned in many families; and inflicted punishments on divorces made without sufficient cause.

Artful complaints of several senators.  
 He met with great difficulties in establishing these laws, so prevalent was the general licentiousness and the convenience of celibacy, which though far from a state of chastity, yet was not clogged with the cares attending a family and the education of children. In vain did Augustus alledge the maxims of antiquity; in vain, to enforce his precepts, did he cause to be read in the senate an harangue of the censor Metullus Macedonicus, exhorting every citizen to marry: he could not bring over men in whom

See *Hist. of the Republ.*  
 7  
 XXXVIII. §.

whom the spirit of libertinism had got the better of reason. Some of the senators, to embarrass the too rigid legislator, by hinting at the contradiction between his own morals and his laws, observed, that one of the greatest bars to marriage, was the loose conduct of women and young folks; and that that must be the first thing remedied, if it was intended to strike at the root of the evil.

Augustus readily comprehended the secret meaning of those malicious remonstrances, and endeavoured to elude them by saying, he had settled the most important points; but that it was not possible to remedy every thing equally well. It was still insisted on; and he defended himself by saying, "It is your own business, gentlemen, to regulate your families at home, and to give your wives proper advice, as I do." Still the refractory ones would not give it up, but desired to know what might be that proper advice he was pleased to give Livia, from which she profited so much: upon this he was forced to enter into a detail of women's dress; the decorum they ought to observe when they appeared in public; what company it was proper for them to see; and so on. Dion Cassius says nothing more: but it is certain from Suetonius, and from the Roman law, that Augustus made a law against adultery; and it may be imagined the importunities I have been speaking of, in some measure compelled him to do it.

We cannot be certain what was the exact tenor of that law: severe or not, it does not appear that Augustus was over careful to see it strictly observed. A young man being accused

A. R. 734. before him, of having married a woman with  
 bef. C. 16. whom he had before lived in a state of adultery,

Augustus was puzzled, daring neither to acquit or punish the criminal. He evaded the difficulty by saying, "the licentiousness of past times has given rise to such disorders: let us forget the past, added he, and take the best measures we can for what is to come."

But still he never lost sight of that object celibacy; and though he could not then, on account of the difficulties that arose, complete what he intended on that head, yet he returned to it, and at length completed his work by the famous law *Papia Poppæa*, of which we shall speak in its proper place.

Sumptuary  
 law.

See Rom.  
 Hist. T.  
 VIII. l.  
 XXXII. §.  
 11.

The luxury of tables, usual concomitant of a licentiousness of manners, had formerly given rise to many sumptuary laws; but stronger still than all the laws, it was now carried to an intolerable excess. Augustus endeavoured to curb it by a new one, fixing the expence of a meal on common days at two hundred sesterces, (thirty-two shillings) on holydays three hundred, (forty-eight shillings) and for a wedding a thousand (eight pounds of our money). This law, less severe than the old ones, was somewhat favourable to the vice of the times, but still would not do. Aulus Gellius quotes a regulation of Augustus, or Tiberius, allowing as far as two thousand sesterces to be spent for a meal.

Corn dis-  
 tributed,  
 and shews  
 exhibited  
 gratis.

See

All these regulations indisposed in some measure the minds of many against the emperor, who thought proper to palliate what seemed displeasing in the severity of his laws, by some acts of popular indulgence. Free gifts of corn,

and

and shews exhibited gratis, were things that A. R. 734. always took with the multitude: for the first, bc. C. 18. Augustus settled a regular order, and appointed some of the ancient prætors to see it properly done; and, with regard to the second, he allowed the prætors in office to add to the magnificence of shews and games, by expending on them three times as much as they received from the public treasure.

He was particularly attentive to amuse the people by all kinds of theatrical performances, Suet. Aug. 43-45. so long as he lived. It is true, he liked them himself: he would spend hours together there, and sometimes whole days, as intent on what was doing as the idlest man amongst them could be: he chose not to make himself singular, and to avoid what had been blamed in his father Caesar the dictator, who, during those representations, the futility of which could afford no great satisfaction to a mind like his, would read his letters, make notes, and answer petitions he had received. Augustus \* thought it more popular to do like the rest of the spectators; nor did he disown that the performances themselves took up most of his attention.

His motive for increasing those kind of amusements was undoubtedly of a more serious nature. He was willing to feed the curiosity of an uneasy people, and turn their vivacity towards objects of no importance that might attract and satisfy their desires, and make them forget all affairs of state, in which they had formerly had so great a share.

That

\* *Civile rebatur miscere voluptatibus vulgi. Tac. Ann. I. 54.*

A.R. 734. That was the meaning of a very judicious  
 be. C. 18. saying of a man of a frivolous profession, Py-  
 Saying of Pylades the Pantomime to Augustus. lades the Pantomime. Pylades and Bathyllus  
 were rivals, and shared the applause and favour  
 of the multitude, who would contend for the  
 superior excellence of one or the other of them,  
 with as much warmth as ever they did for  
 Cæsar and Pompey in the time of the repub-  
 lic. The actors grew proud upon it; and  
 Pylades being one day hissed by one of the  
 spectators, pointed at him, to shew those of his  
 own party on whom to revenge the affront  
 offered him. The emperor chastised the pan-  
 tomime's insolence, by ordering him to leave  
 the city and Italy; but was soon prevailed on  
 by the peoples desires to let him return. When  
 Pylades appeared before Augustus, the prince  
 recommended to him to behave better for the  
 future, and not to attempt to make any more  
 parties or factions. "Cæsar, said the player,  
 "it is of service to you to have the people  
 "busied about Bathyllus and me."

*Dis.*

*Stat.*

Augustus knew it well; and for that reason,  
 whilst he reigned, was lavish of all kinds of  
 theatrical amusements, plays in Greek and La-  
 tin, courses in the circus, combats of gladi-  
 ators and wrestlers, curiosities from foreign  
 countries: and he was careful to keep up a  
 spirit of emulation, by giving rewards to the  
 players or combatants that distinguished them-  
 selves.

*Game of  
 Troy.*

It has been observed in the history of the  
 republic, that Augustus was particularly fond  
 of the game of Troy, in which the young no-  
 bility exercised themselves in running horses,  
 and in caraeoles performed with great agility  
 and



and address. This diversion was liable to accidents: and the son of Nonius Asprænas having hurt himself, Augustus, by way of amends, made him a present of a golden gorget, and was not displeas'd at the young man's assuming on this occasion the surname of *Torquatus*, which had been given many ages before to the family of Manlius \* for a much more glorious cause. But another accident of the same nature happening to Eserninus, grandson to Pollio, the latter complain'd bitterly of it in the senate, and with great haughtiness; for which reason Augustus thought proper to give over a diversion so dangerous, and productive of events so disagreeable to him.

Though Augustus was highly pleas'd with gaining the love and affection of the people, yet he would not for that reason forego the least part of that dignity and firmness that became his rank. So, though he knew how excessively fond the multitude was of the distributions of corn, first began under the republic, and continued by him, yet he had thoughts of suppressing them, being sensible they encouraged idleness, and by affording too easy a means of subsistence, prevented many from cultivating their lands: and he would have put that design into execution, had he not fear'd some one might revive that custom after him, from the same motive that first occasioned it, a mean flattery towards the people.

Wine happening to be scarce and dear one year †, the people complain'd and grew noisy.

“ What

† *Querentem de inopia & caritate vini populum severissimè increpavit voce: Satis provisum à genero suo Agrippa, perduci pluribus aquis, ut homines sitirent.* Suet. Aug. c. 42.

A. R. 734.  
bef. C. 18.

\* See Rom.  
Hist. T. III.  
l. viii. § 1.

Augustus's  
firmness  
with regard  
to the peo-  
ple.  
Suet. Aug.

A. R. 734. "What are you afraid of? said the emperor  
 b. C. 18. "to them; my son-in-law Agrippa has taken  
 "care you shall not want drink." Alluding  
 to the water Agrippa had brought into Rome  
 by aqueducts, and particularly to that called  
 the *Virgin Water*, still subsisting and known by  
 the name of *Treia*.

But to return to the order of time, which  
 brings me to the consulship of Furnius and  
 Silanus.

A. R. 735. C. FURNIUS.

A. C. 17. C. JUNIUS SILANUS.

Divers re-  
 gulations.  
*Dis.*

**U**NDER these consuls Augustus prosecuted  
 his plan of reformation, and made or re-  
 vived several useful regulations.

By a law formerly made by Cincius, tribune  
 of the people, lawyers were forbid to receive  
 either money or presents from their clients.  
 Augustus put that law in force, and added a  
 clause, subjecting such as broke it to forfeiture  
 of four times what they should have received.

He forbid Judges paying any visits during  
 the year they were in office.

Finding the senators remiss in attending the  
 meetings of that body, he increased the forfeit  
 to which absent members had always been  
 liable.

Birth of  
 Lucius son  
 of Agrippa.

Whilst he was thus employed in whatever  
 might be advantageous to the state, his own  
 family increased and acquired a new prop, by  
 the birth of a second son to Agrippa and Julia,  
 who was named Lucius. Augustus, to whom  
 it was of consequence to shew the public suc-  
 cessors destined to inherit his authority, hastened

Augustus  
 adopts his  
 grandchild.  
*Dis.*

to adopt his grandchildren, though the eldest A R. 135.  
 could not be more than three years old, and the bef. C. 17.  
 youngest was but just born. In this adoption he Suet. Aug.  
 adhered closely to the most solemn formularies 64.  
 of the Roman law, and insisted on Agrippa  
 their father's making over to him, by a kind  
 of sale, his right to the children. He gave  
 them his name, so that they were called Caius  
 Caesar and Lucius Caesar.

This year he celebrated the secular games, Secular  
 which can no otherwise interest us now but on games.  
 account of the fine poem written by Horace on  
 that subject, and sung by a double chorus, the  
 one of boys and the other of young girls. What  
 is most curious relating to those games may be l. xii. § 1.  
 found in Mr Rollin's short dissertation in the towards the  
 fourth volume of his Roman history. end.

I shall only take notice here of Augustus's Augustus's  
 great care to prevent all occasions of disorder, care to pre-  
 by forbidding the young people of either sex vent disor-  
 to go alone to any performance during the three ders at the  
 nights this festival lasted, but to be in company games.  
 of some relation of years of maturity. He took Suet. Aug.  
 the same care at all public shews, where he 31-34  
 thought the morals of youth might be in any  
 danger; and if he did not carry it so far as to  
 forbid all young people from being present, at  
 least a part of the amphitheatre was particularly  
 destined for them, and there they were seated  
 under the eye of their parents or tutors. For  
 the same reason the men and women had diffe-  
 rent places assigned them at shews and combats  
 of gladiators, and no women were allowed to  
 see the wrestling matches. He would have  
 done better still had he obliged the combatants  
 to respect, as was formerly done, the laws of  
 natural

A.R. 735. natural modesty, and not to appear quite naked  
 bef. C. 17. before the spectators

The next year had for consuls two men of most illustrious names, Domitius and Scipio: the former son-in-law to Octavia, and grandfather to the emperor Nero: the latter too was nearly related to Augustus, being son of Scribonia, and consequently half brother to Julia.

A.R. 736. L. DOMITIUS ALENOBAREUS.  
 bef. C. 16. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Motions of  
 the Ger-  
 mans.  
 Augustus's  
 Journey to  
 Gaul.  
*Qu.*

THE motions of the Germans determined Augustus to take a journey into Gaul this year. Those motions, of which I shall give elsewhere what imperfect account is to be found in the writings of the ancients, were the beginning of a war that became very important, and, properly speaking, the only \* considerable one that happened under Augustus: for that prince, a lover of peace, by keeping the Romans quiet, made the whole universe enjoy a happy tranquillity: a plain proof that Rome itself ought to be accused of those perpetual wars, which, from its very birth, had at one time or other set it at enmity with every nation of the known world. The ambition of the Roman people, and of their generals, fond of distinguishing themselves by great exploits, and of meriting the honours of triumph, often provoked them to seek war where otherwise it would not have been. The truth of this observation will be more and more confirmed by the  
 continued

\* By this I mean the war against the Germans and Panonians: they were the same for some time, and the one was the rise and support of the other.

continued calm under the succeeding emperors, who though widely different from Augustus in other respects, yet resembled him in his indifference for making conquests: and the repose they delighted in was the repose of the whole world. A. R. 736.  
bef C. 16.

Not but even in Augustus's time some barbarous nations, merely from their natural ferocity, did sometimes take up arms; but those disturbances were generally ended as soon as begun; and the reader will excuse my not taking notice of those trifling wars in which nothing happened either memorable or useful to be known. In that I conform myself to the maxim of the prince himself whose history I am writing. When Augustus read \* either the Greek or Latin authors, he would dwell chiefly on what might be a lesson or example to him, either in the administration of state affairs, or in his own private conduct. The rest seemed little worth his attention.

Politicians imputed his journey to Gaul to other particular views, besides the German war. Some thought, that after the laws he had just made, the difficulty of making people observe them, the murmurs excited by attempting to put them in execution with severity, the shame he would incur by receding from that severity on certain occasions in favour of particular persons, all these things embarrassed him, and a little absence seemed a proper remedy: in that imitating Solon, who after giving laws to Athens, departed from it and travelled ten years.

A

\* In evolvendis utriusque lingue auctoribus, nihil æquè sectabatur, quàm præcepta & exempla publicè vel privatim salubria. *Suet. Aug.* 89.

A.R. 736. A third motive not very honourable was im-  
 puted to him, according to Dion Cassius: I  
 mean his amours with Terentia, wife to Mecæ-  
 nus, of which there was much talk in Rome.  
 But was it a way to silence such reports, if he  
 took that lady with him, as Dion says he did?

Messala,  
 then Sta-  
 tilius Tau-  
 rus, Prae-  
 fect of  
 Rome.

*Tac. Ann.*  
 vi. ii.  
*Eccl.*  
*astron.*

However that may be, Mecænas was of the  
 journey, and Agrippa was ordered into Syria,  
 from whence Tiberias was returned: Augustus  
 was consequently obliged to look out for one  
 in whom he could confide, to govern the city  
 in his absence. He first thought of Messala,  
 whose birth, virtue, parts, and attachment to  
 the emperor, rendered him extremely well  
 qualified for that trust: but naturally mild,  
 brought up in republican maxims, and a great  
 respecter of the laws, he did not think himself  
 fit to hold a despotic authority, and which,  
 though civil, was carried on in a manner almost  
 military. He resigned it after a few days, and  
 Augustus appointed to succeed him Statilius  
 Taurus on whom he had already conferred the  
 consular dignity and triumphal honours; he  
 had been brought up in arms, and owing all  
 his fortune to the new government, had learned  
 to acknowledge hardly any other law but the  
 prince's will. Taurus possessed that great post  
 till his death, and behaved in it to the satis-  
 faction of the prince that gave it him.

Prayers for  
 Augustus's  
 return.

Augustus was no sooner gone, but some pre-  
 tended prodigies happened in Rome, on ac-  
 count of which the senate ordered public pray-  
 ers to be put up for his happy return; as if  
 his presence was to be their safeguard against  
 all the evils heaven threatened them with.  
 However, the affairs of Gaul, and the distur-  
 bances

ances apprehended from the Germans, detained A.R. 736.  
 him all that year and the two following: and bas. C. 16.  
 it is perhaps to this his delay, longer than was  
 expected, that we are to ascribe that pretty  
 tender ode \* Horace thus addresses him.

Propitious to the sons of earth  
 (Best guardian of the Roman state)

The heavenly powers beheld thy birth,

And form'd thee glorious, good and great:

Rome and her holy fathers cry, thy stay  
 Was promis'd short, ah! wherefore this delay?

Come then, auspicious prince, and bring,

To thy long gloomy country, light,

For in thy countenance the spring

Shines forth to cheer thy people's sight;

Then hasten thy return, for, thou away,

Nor lustre has the sun, nor joy the day.

As a fond mother views with fear

The terrors of the rolling main,

While envious winds, beyond his year,

From his lov'd home her son detain;

To

\* *Divis orbe bonis, optime Romule  
 Custos gentis, abes jam nimiam diu  
 Matrum reditum pollicitus Patrum  
 Sancto concilio, redi.  
 Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patria.  
 Iustar veris enim vultus ubi tuus  
 Affabit populo, gratior ite dies,  
 Et soles meliôis nitent,  
 Ut aster juvenem, quem notus invidis  
 Flatu Carpathii trans maris æquora  
 Cunctantem spatio longius anno  
 Dulci distinet à dimo,  
 Vagos omnibusque & precibus vocat,  
 Curvo nec fœdum litore dimoveat:  
 Sic desideris icta fidelibus  
 Quaerit Patria Civitatem.*

*Hor. Od. 1v. 5.*

A.R. 736. To the good gods with fervent prayer she cries,  
 bef. C. 16. And catches every omen as it flies;

Anxious she listens to the roar  
 Of winds that loudly sweep the sky;  
 Nor fearful from the winding shore,  
 Can ever turn her longing eye;  
 Smit with as faithful and as fond desires,  
 Impatient Rome her absent lord requires.

FRANCIS'S *Trans.*

A.R. 737. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS LIBO.  
 bef. C. 15. L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

The intendant  
 Licinius  
 oppresses  
 the Gauls  
 cruelly.  
*Dis.*

**I**N Gaul Augustus received great complaints against the intendant he had appointed to levy the tributes and imposts. His name was Licinius, by birth a Gaul, formerly a slave to Caesar; but having obtained his freedom, had gained the confidence of Augustus his patron, so far as to obtain an employment that made all Gaul in a manner dependant on him. The credit and power freemen acquired in the empire, was one of the consequences of the change of government.

This man still retaining, in his new condition, all the meanness of sentiment of his first state, and intoxicated by a fortune he was not born to possess, abused most insolently the power he was vested in. He took a malicious pleasure in humiliating and crushing those in whose presence he would before have trembled, and wearied out the Gauls in general by the most horrid oppressions. Dion Cassius mentions an example of it. As the tributes were levied and paid by months, this wretch, taking advantage of the new names given to two months of the year, July and August,



August, made a year of fourteen months, and levied fourteen contributions instead of twelve. A.R. 737. bef. C. 15.

Augustus was moved at the complaints that reached him on all sides against his intendant, and ashamed to have employed such a minister. Every thing threatened Licinius with approaching ruin, and it was thought he could not possibly escape punishment. But the tyrannical oppressor had recourse to an expedient often successfully practised on such like occasions. Taking the prince into the place where his treasure was, and shewing him vast heaps of gold and silver, "Behold, said he, what I have collected for you, at the hazard of becoming myself the victim of the public hatred. I thought it was doing you a service to strip the Gauls of their riches, that they might not make use of them to revolt against you. Take this gold and silver: I never designed it for any other purpose than to put it into your hands." Augustus was weak enough to be dazzled by so rich a booty: interest got the better of justice; and the fruit of Licinius's crimes procured his pardon.

Licinius deserves to have here for companion a man like him as to fortune and riches, but beyond him in inhumanity. Vedius Pollio, originally a slave, made free, and afterwards by dint of money made a Roman knight, carried luxury to its greatest height: but what makes him odious above all, was the monstrous cruelty with which he used his slaves. He kept lampreys in a pond, where he fed them with human flesh; and the ordinary punishment inflicted on his slaves, often for trivial faults, was to have them thrown, hands and legs tied together.

He purchases his pardon by giving up to Augustus the treasures he had amassed there.

Monstrous inhumanity of Vedius Pollio, a freeman.

Tac. Ann. l. 10.

A.R. 737. together, into the pond, to feed those voracious  
 bef. C. 15. animals.

*Sen. de Clem. l. 18 & de Ira III. 10. § D14.* That barbarous wretch was however numbered among Augustus's friends, to whom no great honour could result from such a connection. One day that the emperor dined at his house, a slave happening to break a crystal vase, was immediately condemned to be thrown to the lampreys. The poor fellow threw himself at Augustus's feet, imploring not life, but a death less horrid. Augustus interceded for him; but such was Vedius's insolence, that he refused the prince's request. Augustus, on this, ordered all the crystal vases that were spread on the beuffet to be brought, and himself broke them all directly. A lesson so well timed, mortified Vedius, and saved the slave.

*Dying he makes Augustus his heir.*

Vedius died in the consulship of Libo and Piso: dying, he appointed Augustus his heir. Among other things he left him the famous country seat called \* Pausilype, near Naples. By his will he directed the emperor to build some public monument. Augustus caused Vedius's house in Rome to be pulled down, and in the place where it stood erected a portico which he called, not after the name of Vedius, but of Livia. Was it becoming Augustus to be heir to a man, whose very name he endeavoured to bury in oblivion?

*Drusus's expedition against the Rheti.*

The Rhети, originally a Tuscan people, but for some centuries settled in the mountainous parts of the Alps, inhabiting pretty nearly the country where the Grisons now dwell, made inroads sometimes into Gaul, and sometimes into Italy.

\* A Greek word, signifying ease, *remissio curatum*: from *ωχρα*, *funo*, and *ἀπτα* *dolor* or *cura*.

Italy. They were extremely fierce and uncultivated: instead of the suavity of manners of the learned nation they were a colony of, they had adopted all the ferocity of a savage climate, such as that they were transplanted into naturally inspires; and by their intercourse with barbarians, were become barbarians themselves. In their incursions they destroyed all the males they found, searching for them even in their mother's wombs, their priests pretending to tell by indications, as cruel as they were uncertain, whether the child was male or female.

Drusus, the youngest of Augustus's sons-in-law, was sent to reduce those barbarians to order; and gave on this occasion the first proofs of his talents for war, and the command of armies. The advantages he gained were thought deserving the ornaments of prætor, besides a monument of another kind not less glorious and more durable, I mean a very fine Ode of Horace, in which the poet records in the sublimest manner the exploits of that young warrior. He takes care however to give Augustus the greatest share of the honour\*, by whose lessons and examples Drusus was formed, and rendered fit to † wield the thunder of Jove.

The Rheti repulsed and beat, but not subdued, called in their neighbours, the Vindelici, to their assistance. The war becoming thus more considerable, and the danger greater, Augustus thought proper to give Drusus an assistant and colleague, and sent him his elder brother

Tiberius  
and Drusus  
together  
subdue the  
Rheti and  
Vindelici

\* *Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles  
Nutrita fustis sub penetralibus  
Pueri, quid Augusti paternus*

*In pueris animus Nerones.* Hor. *Od.* IV. †

† *Qualem rariore a fulminis alitem.* Hor.

A.R. 737. ther Tiberius, who till then had staid with him  
 bef. C. 15. in Gaul. The two brothers separated, and entering the barbarians territories in different parts, forced their castles \*, built on the tops of inaccessible mountains, and gave them several battles; one of which, gained by Tiberius, was so considerable, as obliged that † bold people, fonder of liberty than of life, to submit at last to the yoke. To accustom them to bear it by civilizing them, they were taken from their mountains, (of which custom we have already seen some examples) settled in the plains, and the country became quiet and peaceable. Two colonies were founded to preserve tranquillity, Drusomagus \*, in the territory of the Rheti, and Augusta, now Augsburg, in the dominions of the Vindelici. This second expedition was likewise celebrated by Horace still with the same care to make Augustus's praises prevail over those of the two victorious generals.

\* Mem-  
 oirages de  
 Suabia, ou  
 voyant de  
 La Marti-  
 niere.

Colonies  
 established  
 by Augus-  
 tus in Gaul  
 and Spain.

The reader must perceive, and I fear I shall make him but too sensible of it, that history grows dry, and little interesting for want of materials from proper hands: so that all we have to say of what Augustus did in Gaul, a few orders relating to the German war, of which we shall speak hereafter, excepted, must be reduced to the establishment of some colonies, most of which took his name, intermixed it with their ancient names. He founded some in Spain and others in Gaul. The most renowned is *Augustodunum*, Autun, the same with *Bibroctes*, capital of the Eduans.

The

ALBILVS IMPOSITAS TREMENDIS. HOR. *Od.* IV. 13.  
 † DEVOTA MORTI PECTORA LIBERE. HOR. *ibid.*

The Eduans were the oldest allies the Romans had among the Gauls: that was probably the motive that determined Augustus to make their capital the seat of letters, the Athens of Gaul. He established a school, and professors of eloquence and literature, in order to procure the Gauls the only advantage they wanted, learning. The emperor was himself a man of letters. But there is room to think policy had its share in this: he was thoroughly sensible how far learning contributes to soften the manners of men, and render them more docile and tractable, and more susceptible of impressions of submission and obedience. His views succeeded. The Gauls acquired the manners of the Romans at the same time as they learnt their knowledge. They not only remained peaceable, but grew affectionate to the empire: and to this the school of Autun contributed not a little. It still flourished three ages after, under Constantine and his children.

A.R. 737.  
 bef. C. 15.  
 Founda-  
 tion of the  
 school of  
 Autun.

This year Augustus restored the inhabitants of Cizicum to the liberty he had deprived them of six years before.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS AUGUR.

A.R. 738.  
 bef. C. 14.

OF the two consuls for the year of Rome 738, Crassus and Lentulus, the first was grandson to the famous Crassus; the other, heir to a name likewise illustrious, is hardly known to us personally, otherwise than by a passage in Seneca, which does not give us a very high idea of him. He was in the same situation as many other of the nobility, im-

Description of the consul Lentulus.  
*Sen. de Es.*  
 lib. 11. 37.

perished

A.R. 735. verished by the civil wars; and without parts  
 bef. C. 14. or talents presented himself to \* Augustus, with  
 the sole recommendation of being descended  
 from an ancient and noble family, but poor.  
 Augustus loaded him with wealth, and Len-  
 tulus being covetous, managed so as soon to  
 find himself possessed, or, to speak more pro-  
 perly, keeper of four hundred millions of se-  
 sterces. What was very remarkable is, that he  
 did not think himself much obliged to Augus-  
 tus; but having a great opinion of his own  
 genius for eloquence, complained the emperor  
 had done him more hurt by taking him from  
 his studies, than good by his liberalities: yet  
 he was so dull and heavy, that, † covetous as he  
 was, says Seneca, one might sooner have got  
 money out of him than words: so that † had  
 he done himself justice, he would have thought  
 Augustus did him a double service, in taking  
 him from a study in which he could have gain-  
 ed nothing but the laughter and derision of the  
 public. His riches, amassed with so much care,  
 cost him his life under Tiberius.

Three  
 millions two  
 hundred  
 thousand  
 pounds.

Suet. Tib.  
 c. 49.

The same  
 Ediles  
 whose no-  
 mination  
 had been  
 paupers.  
 sup are re-  
 elected.  
 Dio.

Rome affords this year but two events, and  
 those of no great importance.

Some inauspicious omen was thought to have  
 happened in the nomination of curule ediles.  
 The election was begun again according to cus-  
 tom; but what there had been no example of  
 before, the same persons whose nomination had  
 been thought bad were again elected.

tion

\* Ad Augustum attulerat nobilitatem sub onere paupertatis  
 laborantem

† Quam esset avarissimus, minus citius emitebat quam  
 verba.

‡ At illi inter alia hoc quoque divus Augustus praestiterat,  
 quod illum derisu & labore irrito liberaverat.

tion this event only to shew, that old customs were pretty easily broke through, at the same time that respect seemed to be paid them to a certain degree.

The portico of Paulus, a magnificent structure, of which notice has been taken in the history of the republic, was burnt this year. The fortunes of its founder's descendants having been greatly impaired by the revolutions of the state, they could not afford the expence of rebuilding it: Augustus, at the head of their friends, undertook it; and very modestly would have its old name given the new portico, without making any mention of those that rebuilt it.

In the east, Agrippa maintained his character of wisdom and valour. We learn from Josephus his equity and goodness towards the Jews, and may judge by that, how he behaved towards the other people, subject to, or protected by the Romans.

Herod, who together with great vices had likewise great talents, acquired Agrippa's friendship. On this account the Roman granted his protection to the Jews of Asia Minor, whom the Greeks were continually vexing and tormenting, out of hatred to a people, the singularity of whose religion seemed to condemn theirs. Agrippa continued the Jews in their possession of the rights of citizens of the places where they were settled: forbid molesting them in the exercise of their religion, and would not suffer them to be forced to appear before any tribunals on their holy days. He granted them leave to send to Jerusalem what sums of money, they, out of devotion, wanted to remit

to

A.R. 758.  
bet. C. 14.Portico of  
Paulus  
burnt and  
rebuilt.Agrippa's  
wisdom  
and equity  
towards  
the Jews.Joseph. An-  
tiqu. xvi. 2.  
J. 4. §. 10.

A.R. 738. to the holy city. He went to Jerusalem him-  
 bel. C. 14. self, where he was magnificently received by  
 Herod, and there politely offered up a solemn  
 sacrifice to God.

Disturbances in the  
 Bosphorus  
 appeased  
 by Agrippa.  
*Diog. and  
 Lucian.  
 Macrobi.*

Disturbances in the Cimmerian Bosphorus afforded Agrippa an opportunity to exercise a little his warlike talents. One Scribonius pretended to be grandson to Mithridates, how I know not, being difficult to comprehend how a Roman name should be allied to that descent. However that may be, he claimed the kingdom of Bosphorus against Asandres, who had usurped it over Pharnaces, as has been said in the history of the republic. Asandres, to colour his usurpation, married the daughter of him he had de-throned, and upwards of ninety years old enjoyed his little dominions in peace, when dreading the consequences of Scribonius's enterprize, he killed himself. Polemon, king of Pontus, was preparing, by Agrippa's order, to attack Scribonius, but the people of Bosphorus killing him themselves, saved the trouble of that war. They remained however in arms, to avoid becoming subjects to Polemon. Agrippa went to Sinope, from whence the terror of his name and of the Roman power so intimidated the Bosphorans that they resisted no longer. They submitted, and Agrippa having made Polemon marry the widow of Asandres, gave him Bosphorus in consideration of his marriage with the heiress of Mithridates and Pharnaces.

He refused  
 the tri-  
 umph,  
 which from  
 that time  
 was serv-  
 ed to the  
 emperors.  
*Diog.*

He behaved on this occasion with his usual modesty, not writing to the senate an account of this exploit, but sending it to Augustus, who caused a triumph to be decreed him. Agrippa, ever stedfast to his maxims, refused that honour,



nour, and his example became a law. From that time the Roman generals received only the ornaments of triumph, that is, the tunic embroidered with palms, the purple robe likewise embroidered, the crown of gold and sceptre: the pomp and pageantry of triumph was reserved to the emperors and their children.

Tiberius, who, by his birth, and as son-in-law to Augustus, had a right to be consul, likewise deserved it by his services. He was named to that office for the year following, and had for colleague Varus, too well known afterwards by his disaster in Germany.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

P. Q. INTILIUS VARUS.

A.R. 739.

bef. C. 13.

UNDER these consuls Augustus returned to Rome, leaving Drusus in Gaul to finish the numbering of the people, and check the incursions of the Germans.

The reader may remember how Horace expressed the public sorrow for Augustus's absence. At his return every thing passed just as before on the like occasion: the greatest effusion of joy from the senate and people; reserve and modesty in the emperor. The senate had ordered an altar to be erected in the place destined for their assemblies, to thank the gods for the prince's return; and that the day on which he made his entry should be a day of general pardon to all criminals that should apply to him. Augustus refused these immoderate honours, and chose, as was his custom, to enter the city at night, to avoid the concourse

Augustus returns to Rome.

Honours decreed him, which he refuses.

Suet. Aug.

c. 53.

Dio.

of

A. R. 739.  
 bef. C. 11.

of all the orders who were preparing to go out to meet him. Next day he received the compliments of the people in his palace; after which he went to the capitol, and offered up to Jupiter the laurels his fasces were crowned with. From thence he repaired to the senate, to give an account, as the old Roman generals used to do, of his management of the public affairs in the province where he had been: only, as he had got a cold, instead of speaking himself, he made his quæstor read the memorial that had been drawn up by his order.

Here reviews  
 the senate,  
 and reflects  
 several  
 members  
 ready to  
 leave it.

The senate's power had dwindled away so much, that there was no longer that desire to be a member of it that had formerly animated the chief citizens. Sons and grandsons of senators finding they succeeded only to their father's titles, and not to their credit, were disgusted with an honour, before in the greatest request. They would either not offer themselves to be admitted into the senate, or would even withdraw from it; some alledging want of parts, others pretending illness, others forming different excuses.

Augustus, who wanted to keep up an outward shew of dignity in this first body of the republic, thought it would be imprudent to suffer members, descended from ancient and illustrious families, to leave it, and be succeeded by men of a modern date, who would but ill support the splendour of that rank. He would himself inquire into the reality of the motives that made several absent themselves; and to that end passed all the senators in review, examining with his own eyes the condition of those that pretended a bad state of health for  
 their

their excuse; requiring from such as pleaded A. R. 739. want of sufficient fortune, a declaration of what bef. C. 13. they were worth, attested by oath, and certified by witnesses, who were likewise to swear to the truth of it. He also retained a great many members in the senate, supplying their wants by his own liberalities, when those wants did not proceed from bad conduct; and would admit of no excuse but real infirmities, or bodily impediments.

He professed a great regard for the nobility; and next the gods \* the first object of his veneration was, those excellent men, whose virtues had rose Rome from such small beginnings to the summit of greatness. For this reason he repaired, or rebuilt, the monuments destined to transmit the memory of each of them to posterity, preserving, as I have before said, their names, and the old inscriptions; and consecrated the statues of all the great Roman leaders in the two porticos of the public square he built. This last thought † was fine, and the end the prince proposed by it was still more noble. He published a declaration, in which he protested that his design in collecting the representations of all the great men Rome had produced, and putting them together in the same place, was to shew the citizens by what models he and his successors were to be examined and judged. Pompey was not ex-  
cepted

\* Proximum à diis immortalibus honorem memorie decem præstitit, qui Imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximo reddidissent. *Suet. Aug. 31.*

† Profectus est idcirco, commentum idcirco, ut illorum velut ad exemplar & ipsa dum viveret, & in sequentium ætatum principum erigerentur † olivibus. *Suet. Ibid.*

A.R. 739.  
bef. C. 13.

cepted from this homage Augustus paid to virtue. He did not think proper indeed to leave the statue of his rival in the senate-hall where Cæsar had been killed; but still less did he think himself at liberty to destroy it: wherefore he placed it under a marble arch fronting the theatre Pompey himself had built.

Examples  
of Augustus's  
moderation.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
*40. & Dio.*

The same reason and moderation was conspicuous in all he did. Recommending his children to the people, he always added this condition, *if they deserve it*. He found fault with their puffing up, by premature honours, the heart of his adopted son Caius Cæsar, who, though but a child, already shewed a great deal of pride and haughtiness. Tiberius having seated Caius next him, at the games he gave to celebrate Augustus's return, was reprimanded for it, as were the people for rising to salute Caius, and flattering him by repeated acclamations.

*Suet. Aug.*  
34.

In the senate he would bear, not only not to have his opinion followed, but even to have it strongly opposed; nor would he be angry at being told, on some occasions, that senators ought to be at liberty to speak freely in the affairs of the republic.

*Mureth.*  
*Sat. II. 4.*

He received with extreme mildness the bold remonstrances of a Roman knight, of whom he had made some complaints, that proved groundless. Augustus accused him of having impaired his fortune: the knight proved, that on the contrary, he had added to it. The emperor then attacked him on another score, alledging his disobedience to the laws, in being a bachelor: the knight answered he was married,

ried, and had three children, adding, \* “ An-  
 “ other time, Cæsar, when you would have in-  
 “ formations against honest men, employ ho-  
 “ nest men to procure them.” Augustus was  
 silent, and sensible he was in the wrong.

Sisenna, being reproached in full senate with  
 his wife’s bad conduct, did not scruple to ad-  
 dress himself to Augustus, telling him, it was  
 with his consent, and by his advice, he married  
 her. The emperor was piqued; and being  
 naturally hot, perceiving indignation kindle  
 within him, of which he feared not to be mas-  
 ter, he rose from his place, went out of the se-  
 nate, and came back a few moments after;  
 chusing rather, as he owned to his friends, to  
 be guilty of ill manners, than to run the hazard  
 of being carried too far by passion.

One may see how well he had profited by the  
 lesson Athenodorus of Tarsus had given him.

When that philosopher was taking his leave,  
 the emperor desired he would leave him some  
 piece of useful advice. “ Cæsar, said Atheno-  
 “ dorus to him, when you find anger rising in  
 “ you, repeat the twenty-four letters of the  
 “ alphabet, before you speak or act.” Au-  
 gustus thanked the philosopher for his advice;  
 and taking him by the hand, “ Stay with me,  
 “ said he, I still want your assistance.”

Every one knows the famous story of Me-  
 cænas, who seeing him ready to condemn se-  
 veral persons to death, and not being able to  
 get up to him, wrote on his tables these two  
 words, *Surge carnifer*, “ Get up, executioner,”  
 and threw them to him. Augustus recovering  
 himself

\* Posthac, Cæsar, quum de honestis hominibus inquiris, he-  
 nestis mandato.

A.R. 739. himself by this strong remonstrance, broke up  
 461. C. 13. the sitting, and departed with a docility as  
 much to be admired, as the liberty his friend  
 had taken.

Ever moderate and patient in what concerned himself, Augustus would not deviate from the same principles, where those he loved was concerned. A person accused, was protected by Mecenas and Apuleius; the one minister to the emperor, the other related to him. The accuser having, without any cause, uttered many invectives against the protectors of the man he was prosecuting, Augustus, who was informed of it, came into court; and seating himself, only said, he did not like to hear his friends and relations abused: then withdrew.

Reflection  
 on the  
 change in  
 Augustus's  
 conduct.

Who would think a man of such amiable mildness and moderation had in his youth shed seas of blood, and was distinguished by his cruelty amidst the most cruel of men? This change in Augustus is one of the most extraordinary events recorded in history. Is it not difficult to find examples of a good nature and happy disposition spoiled by too much good fortune, and especially by an unlimited power; but to find bad ones mended by it is extremely rare.

Can we even believe this apparant change in Augustus to have been real, unfeigned, and proceeding from a sincere love of virtue? His cunning artful temper, deep hypocrisy and dissimulation, would give one room to suspect this outside show. The ambition of reigning seems to me to account for both his virtues and his vices. Crimes were necessary to attain that period, and he committed them: when attained,

attained, virtue became useful to secure the enjoyment of it, and he practised it.

A.R. 739.  
bef. C. 13.

However, if his goodness did not make him perfect, it was at least beneficial to others; and from the time he became master of the empire, he may boldly be proposed as a model and example to all the princes of the world.

The place of high priest being at last vacant by the death of Lepidus, under the consuls Tiberius and Varus, Augustus added that title to all those he already had, and so united in himself the sacred, civil, and military powers.

He is made high priest. Books of divination suppressed. Suet. Aug. c. 31.

The first use he made of this new authority was to take from the people all aliments of superstition, fit only to create uneasinesses and disturbance. By his order an exact search was made after all books of divination, and pretended oracles, that were handed about among the citizens; and upwards of two thousand were seized and burnt. Every man was forbid to keep any book of that kind above so many days: such as had them in their custody were to carry them to the prætor of the city, to be examined by the college of fifteen. The books of the sybils alone were preserved, and only such of them as were thought proper: and as the copies of them were spoiled through age, Augustus ordered the priests, who had the keeping of them, to transcribe them with their own hands, that so the profane vulgar might not be acquainted with them. The new copies were locked up by his order in gilt cases, and placed under the statue of Apollo.

Tac. Ann. vi. 12.

Dis.

We have already observed, that Augustus was pleased to see the chief of the citizens distinguished

theatre of Ballus.

A.R. 739. distinguish themselves by expences that tended  
 to public utility or ornament: Balbus cele-  
 brated this year the dedication of a theatre he  
 had built at his own charge, which was called  
 after his name. He received not only the ap-  
 plauses of the people, but likewise the honour,  
 granted him by Tiberius, then consul, of giving  
 his opinion first in the senate. Just estima-  
 tors of things will however set a greater value  
 on another monument of Balbus's magnifi-  
 cence: He was originally of Cadiz, and built  
 his countrymen a new city near the old one,  
 which was very small; with an arsenal on the  
 continent, over-against the island on which the  
 city is situated: nor could he make a more no-  
 ble use of the immense riches he and his uncle  
 had acquired by their attachment to the family  
 of the Cæsars.

br. C. 13.  
 New city  
 of Cadiz  
 built by  
 him.  
 Dio.

Agrippa's  
 death.  
 Dio.

Agrippa received, on his return to Rome  
 from the eastern provinces, a fresh proof of  
 Augustus's affection and esteem, being conti-  
 nued in the power of tribune for five years  
 more. Agrippa's greatness seemed to increase  
 and gather strength every day; but it was of  
 short duration: the end of his prosperity and  
 life was near: for being sent directly against  
 the Pannonians \*, who had taken arms, and  
 having pacified the country by his bare pre-  
 sence, on his return to Italy he was seized in  
 Campania with an acute disorder, which carried  
 him off in a short time. He died under the  
 consulship of Messala Barbatius and Sulpicius  
 Quirinius.

M. VALERIUS

\* The present Hungary answers in a great measure to the  
 ancient Pannonia.



M. VALERIUS MESSALA BARBATUS.

A.R. 740.

P. SULPICIUS QUIRINIUS.

bef. C. 12.

THE moment Augustus was informed of Agrippa's illness, he set out from Rome to visit him, but learnt his death on the road. All he could do for so good and faithful a friend, to whom he owed so much, was to honour his memory by magnificent obsequies, at which himself pronounced the funeral oration: and as he had united him living to his person and family, so he would let Agrippa when dead have no other tomb but that destined for himself.

Agrippa was beyond dispute the first man of his age; great in peace, and great in war; equally illustrious in battle by sea or land. It was he that conquered Pompey; and the gain of the battle of Actium was chiefly owing to him. Gaul, Spain, the East, the countries bordering on the Rhine and Danube, always saw him prosperous and triumphant. He wanted nothing but able historians to give a just and proper account of his exploits and military conduct. In peace, ever studying the public good, full of great and noble designs, he made his name immortal by works far beyond what was ever done by a private man. Qualified to hold the first rank in a republic, he held the second under Augustus, whose son-in-law, colleague, and intended successor he became, merely by dint of his own merit.

The strictness of their friendship reflects an equal honour on both. Agrippa obtained the prince's favour without meanness; and Au-

A.R. 740. Augustus raised his friend to an equality almost  
bef. C. 12. with himself, and yet was not jealous of him.  
One only cloud darkens for a time the perfection  
of their union; and even then both may be ex-  
cused. It is not to be wondered at, that Au-  
gustus should prefer his nephew to his friend;  
nor can Agrippa be blamed, if in an infant  
government, the succession of which was not  
yet settled, he felt some reluctance at giving  
up a rank he was in actual possession of.

Friend to the prince, Agrippa was equally  
beloved by the people, and that love was ac-  
quired by honest and open means, without  
ostentation, without ambitious views. If he  
sought the love of the people, it was only as a  
means to secure and establish firmly the power  
of the prince; and the use he made of the  
prince's favour was to procure happiness to the  
people. As a last proof of his public spirit and  
magnificence, dying, he left the people the gar-  
dens and baths, called by his name, for their  
free use. In other things Augustus seems to  
have been his chief heir, and in particular in-  
herited the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which  
belonged to Agrippa, by what title is not known.

Whatever grief Augustus might feel for the  
loss of such a friend, he bore the misfortune  
with courage. He was universally regretted;  
and some public rejoicings happening, accord-  
ing to the time before fixed, to be soon after  
Agrippa's funeral, the senators would neither  
celebrate those festivals, nor be present at the  
game and shews that composed a part of them.  
Augustus went himself, and presided over the  
combats

combats of gladiators, and by that means brought things back into their former course. A. R. 740. bef. C. 12.

Agrippa had six children by two wives. By Attica, daughter of Atticus, he had Vipsania, who was married to Tiberius, and became mother of Drusus, only son to that emperor. By Julia, daughter to Augustus, Agrippa had three sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsars, and Agrippa, who being born after his father's death, was for that reason called Agrippa Posthumus: two daughters, Julia, who followed her mother's bad example; and Agrippina, married to Germanicus, the only one of Agrippa's children that did not sully their father's glory. By His posterity.

Agrippa's death raised Tiberius a degree higher, and brought him nearer to Augustus, whose son-in-law he became. It was not from any inclination to him that Augustus was induced to make Tiberius one of his family, by giving him his daughter in marriage. It seems he did not like him at all, and was no ways deceived by his son-in-law's deep dissimulation. He considered of it a long time; thought of other matches for her, even Roman knights, and particularly Proenleius, who has been mentioned already more than once. But Augustus wanted a second, that might ease him of a part of the load of government, and especially what related to the wars against the barbarians. Drusus had the care of that against the Germans, in which he gained great glory, as we shall soon have occasion to see. At the same time the Pannonians learning Agrippa's death, began to stir again. Tiberius becomes son-in-law to Augustus. Suet. Aug. 83. Tac. Ann. iv. 39 & 40.

Under

A.R. 740. Under these circumstances, and Augustus's  
 bef.C. 12. grandsons, become his sons by adoption; being  
*Suet. Tib.* still very young, necessity, rather than choice,  
 21. determined Augustus to pitch upon Tiberius  
*Tac. Ann.* for his son-in-law and support. Tiberius on  
 I. 10. his side was fond of his wife Vipsania, then  
*Suet. Aug.* with child; and was well acquainted with  
 c. 3. § 76. Julia's dissolute life, by advances she had made  
 7. him. Ambition, however, got the better of  
 every other consideration. He repudiated the  
 wife he loved, to take one that deserved only  
 his contempt and hatred, but who paved the  
 way to empire for him.

He sub-  
 duces the  
 Pannoni-  
 ans.

Immediately after his marriage he was or-  
 dered to Pannonia, which he easily reduced to  
 obedience, with the assistance of the Scordisci,  
 a people bordering on the Pannonians, and like  
 them as to their arms and manner of fighting.  
 He disarmed the conquered, and sold most of  
 their youth to be carried into remote countries.  
 In consideration of these exploits the senate in-  
 tended to decree Tiberius a triumph; but Au-  
 gustus was more reserved, and granted him  
 only the ornaments of triumpher. Tiberius,  
 according to several authors quoted by Sueto-  
 nius, was the first to whom this new kind of  
 decoration, substituted by the emperors in lieu  
 of triumph, was given in form.

For the honour of letters, I cannot omit ob-  
 serving here, that C. Valgius, an illustrious  
 poet, celebrated by Horace and Tibullus, was  
 consul elect the year that Messala Barbatius and  
 Quirinius were consuls in ordinary.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
**ROMAN EMPERORS,**  
FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

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BOOK II.

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SECT. I.

DESCRIPTION of Germany. Boundaries and extent of Germany. Origin of the name of Germans. All the people of that name had one common origin. National air in their shapes and features. Their love of war. Inclination to idleness when not at war. Ceremony of arming a young man the first time. Numerous retinue of young men attending each of the nobles. No discipline in the German armies. No military skill. Their armour simple and light. Their horses and cavalry. Songs when going to battle. Their manner of fighting. Their gods. They built no temples. Their different kinds of divinations. Omens taken from their horses. Pretended prophetesses. *Veleda*. Tradition of the immortality of the soul. Government of the Germans. Kings, Generals.

generals. Assemblies in which great affairs were determined. Judgments, and punishments for crimes. Their manner of living in private. Their neglect to cultivate their lands. No land the property of any one in particular. Annual culture. Gold and silver of no estimation. Amber. Their food plain and simple. Are fond of wine. Daily occupations. Feastings. The most serious affairs were deliberated\* at them. Their hospitality. No cities. Towns. Houses not contiguous. Subterraneous caves. They remove with great ease. Dress. Marriages. Chastity of the women. Punishment for adultery. Unity of marriage among some people. Obligation to bring up all the children. No education. No marriages concluded in a hurry. No wills. Hereditary enmities, but not implacable. Public shews. Fond of playing at dice. Slaves. Freemen. No usury. Funerals. Remarks on some people of Germany. Sicambri. Usipii and Tenecteri. Brueteri. Catti. Cenci. Cheruci. Frisons. Suevi. German nations settled on this side the Rhine. Continual wars of the Germans with the Romans for five hundred years. Their motions after the invasion of the Cimbrians. Lollus defeated by the Sicambri. Augustus goes into Gaul, and on his return from thence leaves Drusus there. Drusus establishes peace in Gaul. Temple and altar of lions. Drusus marches against the Germans. Canal made by him to join the Rhine and Issel. He enters Germany by sea, and gains great advantages. Drusus's second campaign in Germany. Third. Fourth. His death, and funeral. Honours done his memory. His character. His marriage and children.

*children. Tiberius's ovation. He is sent into Germany. He settles peace there. Honours decreed Augustus for the conquests in Germany. General peace. Temple of Janus closed.*

### THE GERMAN WAR.

I HAVE already spoken more than once of Augustus's war with the Germans: but as it has hitherto afforded few events, waited for its becoming more interesting, before I would treat of it in particular. The year of Rome 720 was the beginning of these exploits in which Drusus deservedly acquired the glory and character of one of the greatest generals of the Augustan age. The subject would be very fertile, had there been historians of abilities equal to the events; or, at least, if those who did record them properly, had been transmitted to us. Before I collect and present the reader with what little we know on that subject, I think it may be proper to give here a short description of Germany, of the people that inhabited it, and of their ancient manners and customs. Tacitus, who wrote a treatise purposely on it, will be my chief guide. Cæsar has not given us such circumstantial accounts, nor could he. This vast region, into which he was the first Roman that entered, and that without penetrating far, was much less known in his time than in Tacitus's.

The boundaries of ancient Germany were not the same with those of the present empire of that name. It was divided from Gaul by the Rhine; from Rhetia and Pannonia by the Danube; from the Sarmati, on the east, by the Vistula.

*Descrip-  
tion of  
Germany.*

*Tac. Germ.  
Cæsar de  
Bell. Gall.  
iv. 1. §  
vi. 21.*

*Boundaries  
and extent  
of Ger-  
many.*

Vistula. Tacitus extends it north, as far as the Romans had then any knowledge of geography in that part of the globe, and includes in it the countries our geographers call Scandinavia. This immense tract of land contained a great number of different nations, some of the most remarkable of which will be taken notice of in the course of this work, with their most distinguishing characters. I shall begin with a description of ancient Germany in general.

Origin of  
the name  
German.

The name *Germans* was not the old primordial name of those people. It was given them by the Gauls bordering on the left side of the Rhine, who having experienced their valour, expressed by this name the terror caused by those *warlike men*: for that is the signification of the word \* *German*. The conquerors adopted a name that did them honour; and the Romans learning it from the Gauls, have made it famous, and perpetuated it.

All the  
people of  
that name  
had one  
common  
origin.

The Germans handed down strange stories of their origin, recorded in old songs; the only historical monuments known to the barbarians of all countries and all times. I shall pass them over in silence, and only observe, that, among so great a variety of people, the same common origin was plainly indicated by a set of features common to the whole nation, and peculiar to the Germans, so as to distinguish them from people of other countries; and their inclinations and way of living were as singular.

The

\* *German* is composed of *Gerra* and *Man*. *Gerra*, or *Guerra*, is a Celtic word, signifying War, and *Man* in German answers to our English word *Man*.



The Germans had blue eyes, and a fierce look; long hair of a light sandy colour; great bodies; vigorous for a short time, but unable to bear fatigue; hardened against cold by the rigour of their climate, and inured to hunger from the sterility of their country; owing, however, more to want of culture than to badness of soil; easily dejected by thirst or heat. There was a likeness or resemblance in them all, because their blood was pure and unmixed. Formidable in war, inhabiting a poor and dismal country, they possessed nothing that could induce strangers to traffic with them, and still less any thing fit to tempt them to settle there: and having no ambition themselves, either to grow rich or to enlarge their territory, they generally kept within the bounds of their own country.

National  
air in their  
shapes and  
features.

They were all fond of war, and loved it for itself: they sought neither riches, which they knew no use for, nor an ample dominion; their glory consisting in seeing vast solitudes around them; that being, in their opinion, a mark of superiority over the people they had driven thence, and a useful precaution to guard against the sudden incursions of their enemies. War pleased them as a scene of action, and the way to glory.

Their love  
of war.

The emulation, on this head, between the Gauls and Germans, was as old as the two nations: and Cæsar observes, the Gauls had had the advantage in the most distant times; for their colonies had forced their way into Germany, and by open force had taken several countries of which they kept possession. In after-times, the Gauls, grown more effeminate  
by

by their commerce with the Romans, by riches and luxury, became inferior to the Germans, whose hard, poor, and laborious way of life kept up their strength of body, and courage of mind. Thence came the German conquests on the left of the Rhine; but they could not penetrate into the heart of Gaul, being stopped and repulsed by the Roman arms. All they could do was to keep their ground on the borders, and that they did so well, that all the country from Basle down to the mouth of the Rhine was called Germany, and divided by Augustus into two provinces of that name, Upper and Lower Germany.

They were so passionately fond of war, that if any of the people chanced to be too long at peace, the youth of that district, full of impatience, unable to be at rest, and seeking renown and glory in the midst of danger, would either seek war with strangers, or attack their neighbours to keep themselves in employ: for with them, no idea of shame was annexed to plunder or robbery committed out of their own territory; on the contrary, it was thought a useful and honourable way of employing youth, and keeping them from indolence and inaction.

This fierce nation liked no occupation but war and arms: even \* hunting had but small charms in their eyes. As to agriculture, it was in their opinion an ignoble profession, of no other

Inclination  
to idleness  
when not  
at war.

\* I follow Tacitus. *Cæsar* (de B. G. vi. 21) makes the Germans equally fond of war and hunting. *Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit. These different accounts may be reconciled, if we suppose Cæsar speaks of the young men in particular, and Tacitus of those of riper years.*

other estimation than what absolute necessity made it. They thought it \* shameful to purchase with their sweat what they could acquire with their blood: so that when they were not at war, they were totally idle: to eat, drink, and sleep was their only business. The necessary care of household affairs was committed to the women, and old men, and other weaker part of the family: the more valiant and robust men thought it beneath them to have any thing to do. An odd contrast †, says Tacitus, in the character of these people, to hate rest, and yet love idleness.

Their arms were never laid aside in the most profound peace: whether public or private affairs were to be discussed, still they went armed.

When a young man was first armed, it was with great ceremony, and the approbation of the whole Canton. One of the chiefs, either the father, or some near relation, presented him at a general assembly; and with the consent of those present gave him a buckler and a lance. This ceremony, with them, answered the virile robe of the Romans: it was the first step a young man was to take on entering the world: before that, he belonged to his family; but after it was a member of the state.

Such as were distinguished by ancient nobility, or great services done by their forefathers, ranked at once from their younger years as chiefs or princes in the canton where they were born. The other young men attached themselves

\* *Pignus et ineratue culæ acquire, quod possis sine fine parare.* Tac. *Ger.* 11.

† *Mira de civitate natura, quam iidem homines sic amant, ut non et oderint partem.* Tac. *G.* 11. 15.

Ceremony of arming a young man the first time.

Numerous retinue of young men attending each of the nobles.

themselves to some brave and illustrious warrior, to whom they formed a retinue. It was no dishonour to be such a follower to a great man, and compose as it were a part of his household. This retinue was a military body, and had its different ranks of honour, which the chief gave to whom he liked best: a strong motive of emulation for those young people: as was likewise the ambition of the chiefs, who should have the finest and most numerous retinue. Their pride and strength consisted in it; and their greatest glory was to be surrounded by a troop of fine young fellows, their ornament in peace, and support in war. Their distinction in this would spread to neighbouring nations, and even draw embassies and presents from them; and would sometimes be sufficient to put an advantageous end to wars, merely by the terror it spread round about.

A retinue of such brave young men was in fact able to make their commander be respected. For as in fight it was shameful for the chief to be conquered by the superior valour of his enemy, so it was an equal reproach to his retinue not to equal their chief in courage: but above all, to return alive from an action, in which the chief had perished, was a stain never to be wiped off his followers. The first and chief article of their engagement was to defend him, to preserve him from danger, and do him honour by their brave actions. The chiefs fought for victory, the young people for their chiefs.

The

\* This kind of enlisting and devoting themselves was practised among all the Celtic people. The Spaniards used it, as we have observed in the History of the Roman Republic, speaking of Sertorius. T. x. p. 278.

The whole retinue was maintained by the chief, at whose house they were always sure to find a table plentifully, though not delicately, spread. This alone was a great expence: but besides that, there was a necessity of rewarding the bravery of his followers, and of shewing his magnificence by extraordinary gifts. War was the chief source where to provide for it; continual expeditions, incursions and plunders were to furnish out that great expence: the chief was likewise assisted by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of his canton, who made him presents of corn and cattle: a homage as useful as it was honourable to him that received it. But the most \* glorious and most valuable gifts were those that sometimes came from neighbouring nations, as I have just said, to chiefs of distinguished merit, whose reputation had reached remote parts. These gifts, the tributes of esteem and admiration paid to their valour, consisted in fine horses for the field, strong armour, harnesses, breast plates, &c. And of late, says Tacitus, we have taught them to receive money too.

All warlike merit among the Germans consisted in being brave; discipline, military skill, and proper kinds of armour, were things unknown to them: and indeed what discipline could there be in an army, the generals of which had no power to inflict any punishment? Their example was what the soldiers followed more than their command. When their valour was

No discipline in the German armies.

\* *Gaudent præcipuè finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo à singulis, sed publicè mittuntur. electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.*  
*Tac. Germ. 15.*

was conspicuous, when they were seen at the head of the ranks in the heat of battle, admiration then compelled obedience: but they had no right to put to death, to load with irons, or even to strike any soldier. The priests only had that power; nor did even they dare to inflict any rigours under the name of punishment, nor seem to act by the general's order. Jealous of their liberties, they would obey none but their gods. When a delinquent was to be punished, the priest put on the authority of a pretended divine inspiration, and vouched it to be the will of the god of war and battle.

Their manner of forming the several corps of which their armies were composed, greatly promoted their natural valour, but I doubt whether it could add to their discipline. They were not distributed into regiments by general officers, to station each man where the good of the service most required: all of the same family, or any way related, formed themselves into companies, squadron or battalions: their wives and children went with them to the wars. The cries of the one, and tears of the other, animated the combatants, and gave them new courage. They were the witnesses they most respected, the panegyrists whose praises they most valued. They ran to shew their wives and mothers the wounds they had received; nor were the women afraid to inspect those wounds, nor even to suck them clean. They carried them refreshments, and exhorted them in the midst of battle to behave bravely. They have often been seen to restore lost courage to the affrighted troops, and by their passionate and urgent entreaties rally them, and make them  
return

return again to the enemy; throwing themselves in the way of those that were flying from battle, and upbraiding them with the captivity into which they were going to betray them, describing it in the strongest and most pathetic manner. The reader may remember what the wives of the Teutons and Cimbrians did on a like occasion; and how, in the danger they were threatened with, they carried their courage even to fury.

All this was very proper to make them fight well, but not to make disciplined soldiers of them. These family associations, may be considered as so many bodies apart, by which the general interest was divided, and the harmony and concert of the whole obstructed. Each chief of a band had an authority inherent in his own person, no ways dependant on the commander in chief. A fortuitous concourse, the parts of which composed a whole.

I have already said the Germans had no military skill: that knowledge depends on reflections more profound, and on a greater number of arts than barbarians were ever masters of.

Their armour was very simple; few of them had either swords or long pikes; in general they used only javelins, the German name of which, *francu*, was adopted in the Latin tongue. They were armed with a short slender head of iron, and were used two ways, either to dart against the enemy at a distance, or in close fight. Their cavalry had no other offensive weapon: the foot soldiers, besides those javelins, had arrows, which they would shoot to a prodigious distance with vast strength. A

buckler was their only defence; helmets and cuirasses were hardly ever used by them. They generally fought half naked, or at most had but a loose kind of coat about them. Their standards were images of beasts, consecrated in their woods, from whence they took them when going to war.

Their horses and cavalry.

Their horses were not remarkable either for beauty or swiftness, but would bear a great deal of fatigue, being used to it by constant exercise: They were not managed: the Germans knew only how to drive them strait on, or make them wheel to the right so that following one another, they of course drew up in a circle. They rode them without any covering, thinking saddles so effeminate, shameful and unmanly, that they held in the highest contempt those that made use of them, and would never be afraid to attack them however superior their numbers might be. They would often light from their horses to fight, and leave them at a distance, having used them to stand still, and go back to them when they had occasion for them. This was but a bad way of fighting: in general the infantry was the great strength of their armies, for which reason they mixed foot with their horse: a custom mentioned and approved of by Cæsar, as I have elsewhere observed.

Songs when going to battle.

When going to battle they would rouse their courage by songs, in praise of their old heroes, and exhortations to invite them: at the same time they gathered from those songs an omen of the success of the battle: for according to the loudness and tone of the sound proceeding from



from that mixture of voices, they framed either fears or expectations of success. One may easily think such a noise could not be very harmonious: yet that uncouth sound, that hoarse murmur, increased and made still deeper by clapping their bucklers on purpose before their mouths, was what charmed their ears, and was thought a pre-sage of victory.

As brave as the Germans were, they did not pique themselves on keeping their ranks, or remaining firm in their posts: to give way, provided they returned to the attack, was no shame, but on the contrary a mark of intelligence and dexterity: the buckler however was not to be left in the enemy's power: that was with them, as with all the ancient, the greatest infamy. Those who suffered so dishonourable an affront could no longer be admitted to any religious ceremonies, nor any assemblies of the people; and several under those circumstances have ended their ignominy by a voluntary death.

Such were the Germans with regard to war; and I have begun this description of them with that, because war was their passion, their profession, and most distinguishing characteristic.

Their religion was very rude and undigested; according to Cæsar, they had hardly any at all, acknowledging no other gods than what they saw, the sun, the fire, and the moon: they offered no sacrifices, nor had any priests consecrated to them: but Cæsar seems not to have been exactly informed in this; and what may have led him into a mistake was, that in fact the Germans had no temples: thinking, with

Their number of fighting.

Their gods. They built no temples.

the Persians, that it is degrading the majesty of God to shut him up within the compass of a building, or cover him with a roof, or liken him to any human thing. Their religious ceremonies were performed in the thickest parts of their forests: silence and the shades of woods that formed their sanctuaries, filled them with a kind of religious terror, and their respect and veneration were so much the greater as no visible object struck their eyes.

But besides the divinities Cæsar mentions, which are beings subsisting in nature, the Germans worshipped, according to Tacitus, pretended gods, which they did not see, such as Mercury and Mars; and heroes deified, as Hercules. Even Isis, an Egyptian goddess, was honoured by the Suevi; nor can we account how this foreign cult could spread so far from its native place: only the form of a ship, in which they represented that divinity, seems to indicate that they had it from another country.

Mercury was the chief of their gods, and on certain days they sacrificed human victims to him: to Mars and Hercules they offered only blood of animals: the latter was with them, as with the Greeks and Romans, the god of valour; and when going to battle they sung his praises as the most valiant of heroes.

Their different kinds of divination. Omens taken from their horses.

Auspices and other kinds of divination could not fail to be in vogue with so ignorant a people. Chance, the flight of birds, their singing, were methods of inquiring into futurity, which they had in common with most other nations: but they had a kind of divination peculiar to themselves.

themselves, by omens taken from their horses. They kept in their sacred woods, at the public expence, white horses, that did no kind of work for the service of man: when they were to be consulted to know the will of the divinity, they were put to a sacred carr; the priest, and king or chief of the canton, walked by them as they went, and noted the snortings and neighings of those creatures as so many indications of the will of heaven. Of all their auspices this was most respected, and had the greatest sanction of applause from high and low. The priests pretended to nothing higher than being ministers of the gods, but their horses were their confidants and admitted into their secrets. One would be astonished how a superstition so absurd, so shameful to humanity, could ever take place, were it not that the most civilized nations afford so many examples equally gross and ridiculous.

The Germans had another way of prognosticating the event of important wars. They tried to take one of the enemy prisoner, and then made him fight one of their own men, each armed according to the custom of his country: the event of that single combat was a presage of the general success of the war. To this notion, equally practised by the Gauls, we may probably ascribe the combats in which T. Manlius, and M. Valerius signalized themselves, and acquired, one the surname of Torquatus, and the other that of Corvus.

The last instance Tacitus affords me of German superstition, is the opinion received among them, that there was in women something sacred,

Pretended  
prophets;  
Veleda

cred, divine, and fit to make them interpreters of the will of the gods. Some pretended prophetess always engrossed their confidence; and if the event happened luckily to agree with her answer, they instantly honoured her as a goddess; and that, from a real persuasion that she was such, and not after the Roman fashion, who paid divine honours to their emperors, whilst they well knew them to be but mere men, and often too the very worst of men.

*Tac. Hist.*  
iv. 61—65.

Tacitus brings us acquainted with one in particular who played those tricks in his time, and in the wars of Civilis against the Romans. Her name was Veleda; she was a virgin, and sovereign of a large territory among the Bructeri. She acted her part very dexterously, dwelling in a high tower, and granting nobody an easy access, with design to make herself the more respected. Those who came to consult her were not allowed to present their petitions themselves, but a relation of her's used to receive them, and brought back the prophetess's answer.

Tradition  
of the im-  
mortality  
of the soul.

I must not omit that this people, barbarous as they were, had a tradition of the immortality of the soul, and that they believed, as well as the Gauls, they should pass into a happier state after this life.

Govern-  
ment of the  
C. m. s.  
to the ge-  
neral.

I come now to their government, in the form of which their love of liberty and independance was strongly prevalent. Every thing was elective. \* They chose their kings, says Tacitus, from among their nobles, and their generals from

\* Regis ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. *Tac. Ge. vi. 7.*

from among their most valiant men. Cæsar will help us to explain and amend what seems wanting here. A people, composed of sundry cantons, had no common chief over them whilst at peace: each canton was ruled by its own magistrate, and those magistrates were probably what Tacitus calls kings. In war they all agreed, and chose a general to command the whole of their united forces.

We have seen how limited the power of those generals was in their armies. The kings or chief magistrates were not less cramped in civil affairs. Every thing was decided by plurality of voices. A council, composed of the chief citizens, settled all matters of less importance: such as were thought of more weight were laid before the assembly of the people.

Their general assemblies were held at stated times; and unless something very extraordinary and unforeseen happened, it was at the new and full moon; superstitiously thinking that the most lucky time. It was perhaps owing to this veneration for the moon, that the Germans as well as the Gauls reckoned by nights and not by days, as if night had been the principal part of the revolution of the four and twenty hours. Perhaps too this custom, practised by other nations, and particularly by the Hebrews, might take its rise from a more respectable cause, and originally proceed from the order of the creation, according to which, as the Scripture tells us, night preceded day.

It required some time to form these assemblies. Averse to all constraint, and perhaps naturally slow, the Germans had no notion of

being exact to their appointed times of meeting : two or three days were often spent in waiting for loiterers. When they thought themselves a sufficient number, every man took his place, armed according to custom ; and the priests, who on this occasion likewise had a coactive power, proclaimed silence. Then the king or chief of the canton, or some other of distinguished birth, age, bravery, or eloquence, spake, not \* to dictate the law, but to insinuate what he thought best to be done. If his opinion was not relished, the assembly signified their dislike by a murmur : if it pleased, their approbation was shewn by clashing their javelins. To applaud with their arms was, in the opinion of that warlike people, the greatest demonstration of satisfaction that could be given.

*Judgments  
and punish-  
ments for  
crimes.*

Criminal matters were likewise judged by this supreme tribunal : the punishments were different according to the nature of the crimes : traitors to their country and deserters were hung up on trees : cowards, such as had fled before the enemy, and those that had dishonoured themselves by their lascivious and lewd behaviour, were drowned under a hurdle in muddy water. The Germans † thought notorious crimes ought to have notorious punishments ; and shameful actions be buried in the deep.

Crimes that hurt only particular persons were not punished with near so much rigour. The criminal, even in cases of murder, was acquitted in

*Auctoritate audendi magis quam jubendi potestate.*  
*Tac. Germ. II.*

† *Diversita supplicii illic respicit, tanquam scelera ostendi oportet dum puniuntur, brevitas abscondi.* Tac. Germ. 1?

in consideration of a certain number of horses or cattle, more or less, according to the nature of the offence; and that fine or forfeiture was divided, one half to the king and public, and the other to the party injured, or the person who prosecuted the murderer. This excessive indulgence is still to be found in the laws of the Franks, Bourguignons, and other German people settled in Gaul; only with this difference, that money being then more common among them, penalties for mutilating, and even for murder, are taxed at a certain number of pieces of money.

There still remains to speak of the Germans Their manner of living in private. Their manner of living in private; of their possessions, domestic customs, amusements and diversions. We shall find them very barbarous in all these things, in a pure and uncivilised state of nature, such as may be expected from men governed only by the impression of their senses, and confined to the narrow circle of objects around them.

The country they inhabited was fruitful Their neglect to cultivate their lands. enough, except for such productions as required heat: and yet all Germany, so well peopled now, was then covered with woods and great lakes. The forest of Hercynia, so famous among the ancients, was, according to Cæsar, nine days journey over: for so the Germans used to reckon distances, having no itinerary measures. Its length was immense, extending cross all Germany from the Rhine to the Vistula, and that with many turnings and windings; so that the end of it had not yet been found, after sixty days march.

Thus

Thus did the inhabitants leave untill'd a country ready to enrich them, except a small part that necessity forced them to cultivate for corn. That was the only tribute they required from the earth: no gardens, no fruits, no care for meadows or pastures: so far from reaping the gifts of autumn, they had not even a name for that season: winter, spring, and summer, was the sole division of their year. Even what little land they did cultivate, they never desired to be owners of, but would let the first comer take it the next year, whilst they looked out for another spot to till, whenever their provisions began to grow scanty.

No land  
the property  
of any  
one in par-  
ticular.  
A rural  
culture.

This practice was not a bare custom introduced; it was a law which the magistrates took care to see observed: they alledged several reasons; for it, all arising from the same source, the love of war, and the advantages resulting from a plain poor way of life: they said that if their citizens were allowed to inherit possessions, they might grow fonder of agriculture than of arms: that they might want to increase those possessions, which would be an opening to the stronger to injure and oppress the weaker: that it might induce them to build with more care, and to grow more fond of the conveniences of life: that the love of money, source of quarrels and factions, might prevail in their hearts: in short, they alledged the advantage of keeping the common people the more easily within bounds, as they could not be dissatisfied with their lot, whilst they were on an equal footing with the greatest. This way of thinking, though condemned by the example of all  
civilize l



civilized nations, does not perhaps deserve all the contempt we load it with; at least it cannot but be allowed very proper to keep up a high courage, a hatred to tyranny, and a zeal for liberty.

Their whole riches consisted in small, lean, Gold and silver of no estimation. ill-looking cattle, of which they had great numbers. Either they had no gold nor silver, or they set no value on it. Tacitus says, that if they had any piece of plate, that had been given them in an embassy, or sent by some foreign prince, they thought no more of it than of their common earthen-ware. Those however that bordered on the Romans, valued gold and silver, on account of its usefulness in trade: that that was the only reason why they set any value at all on those metals, appears plainly from this; they liked silver money best, because it was most convenient to those that wanted to buy or sell only things of little value. In the inner part of Germany, their traffic was carried on with all the simplicity of ancient times, by exchange of merchandize.

Those who inhabited the coast of the Baltic Amb r. towards the Vistula (Tacitus calls them Estians) received a valuable present from the sea, which in other hands might have become a source of riches: I mean amber, which the Romans set a great value on. The sea throws up lumps of it on that coast, and the Estians had only the trouble to pick it up. They called it *Glessum*, (glass) in their language. It had been long neglected, as an excrement of the sea: the Roman luxury taught them to prize it. Finding it was in request, the barbarians gathered it up with

with more care ; but they brought it quite brute, and without any preparation, and were astonished at the prices they received for it.

In Tacitus's time the nature of amber was not known : he took it for a kind of gum, or rosin, that dropped from trees into the sea, and there hardened. Our modern naturalists have found it to be a bituminous substance formed in the veins of the earth, whence it passes into the sea, and there grows hard. Fossile amber is likewise found not only in Prussia, but in Provence, Italy and Sicily.

*Godfrey de  
Mat. Med.  
l. 1.*

*Their food  
plain and  
simple.  
Are fond of  
wine.*

Corn, as we have said, was a great part of the Germans food : to that they added milk and cheese, with the flesh of their own cattle, and what game they killed in hunting : without skill in cookery, without necessity, or knowledge of seasonings and ragouts, they eat merely to satisfy hunger : beer was their useful drink ; and Tacitus thinks wine was used only by those who living near the Rhine could come at it conveniently. But at the same time he observes how excessively fond they were of that liquor. If \* you indulge them in it, says he, if you will give them as much wine as they would have, those people, so difficult to conquer by arms, can never resist vice, and will be easily subdued. The Suevi, who possessed a great part of Germany, were sensible of the danger ; and to prevent it, and not be enervated by that bewitching drink, they would not, in Cæsar's time, suffer wine to be brought into their country.

**In**

\* Si indulgeris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiiis, quam armis vincuntur. *Tac. Germ. 23.*

In the German manner of spending their time, we must not expect to find any of the occupations in use with us. They had neither men of letters, nor artists, nor lawyers, nor merchants, nor any of those professions. They slept till day, then bathed, generally in a warm bath in Tacitus's time: an effeminacy they learned undoubtedly from the Romans, and which degenerated from the old German hardness. Cæsar says they used to bathe themselves in rivers, and we have elsewhere taken notice of their custom of plunging new-born children into the Rhine: after bathing, they eat something plain and simple, as all their food was: then went out, either about their business, or more usually to some feast, where they would drink to excess, none of them thinking it any shame to spend day and night in drinking. Intemperance often produced quarrels that did not end in words only: passionate, and always armed, they soon came to blows, and wounds and death often concluded a feast began with joy and merriment.

The most serious affairs were canvassed at these feasts; such as reconciling enemies, marriages, elections of their princes, and whatever related to peace or war. They thought no place fitter than table frankly to lay their hearts open, and to raise and elevate their minds to great and noble ideas. Naturally \* plain and ingenuous,

\* Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris, licentiâ loci. Ergo detecta & nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur. Et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt; constituunt, dum errare non possunt. *Tac. Germ. 22.*

genuous, void of duplicity and dissimulation, the gaiety and warmth attending a feast induced them to give a loose to their inmost thoughts. They met again next day, when, knowing each others sentiments, they coolly resumed the subject that had been debated the day before. Thus, in their opinion, they allotted to each thing its proper time; deliberating whilst they could not dissemble; and determining, when there was no longer any danger of mistaking.

Their hos-  
pitality.

No people ever carried hospitality to a greater height. To refuse ones house or table to any mortal living, was with the Germans, a crime of the blackest die, bordering on impiety. Every man was welcome, and treated in the best manner they could afford: when nothing more was left, the master of the house carried his guest to the next family, where, though no invitation had preceded, they were received with the same cordiality and hearty welcome: friends or strangers, they made no difference; their hospitality extended alike to all. If the stranger, when going away, asked for any thing he liked, it was customary to give it him; and if, on the other hand, there was any thing in his baggage that pleased them, they would ask it with the same simplicity. \* This reciprocal commerce of presents pleased them, but friendship or inclination had no share in it; no acknowledgment was expected in return for a gift, nor did the person who received it think him self under any obligation.

Germany,

\* *Grudent munerebus: sed nec data impunit, nec accepti obligantur.* Tac. *German.* 21.

Germany, now so full of fine cities, had not one at the time we are speaking of. Not that the Germans imitated entirely the wandering Scythian, whose dwelling place consists of the cart, in which he carries his family from one place to another. They had houses, and in some parts many of them together, so as to form a kind of little town: but even there we are not to suppose those houses contiguous and joining each other; every one was distinct and separate. Where a German met with a wood, a spring, or a field that pleased him, there he settled, and built himself a dwelling place, without stones or tiles; rough pieces of timber were sufficient for his purpose; studying neither beauty nor convenience in their houses; only some parts were covered with a. earth, says Tacitus, so neat and shining that it looked like painting. Was it not some kind of earth burnt of the nature of our earthen-ware? The Germans used likewise to dig caves under ground, and covered them with dung: thither they would retire from the extreme rigour of the cold; at the same time they served for magazines, in which their corn was laid up in safety, in case they were invaded by any enemy.

We see by this the Germans were not fixed to any particular spot to dwell in. No land the absolute property of any man; their houses uncouth, more properly deserving the name of huts; possessing nothing but their cattle; they, strictly speaking, were not fixed or attached to any thing: and, by this means, not only particular persons and families, but whole people, could remove with as much ease as a house

Keep

No cities.  
Towns.  
Houses not  
contiguous.  
Subterraneous  
caves.

They r. 7  
at ea-  
s. d. s.  
at ea-

keeper in London does from one street to another. For this reason it is not easy to assign the limits of the several German people or nations; they varied continually.

Dress.

The Germans were as simple in their dress as in every thing else: half naked, covered only with a kind of loose coat, fastened before with a clasp, or more generally with only a thorn: in that equipage they would sit whole days by the fire side: the richer sort dressed a little better; their cloaths were somewhat like those worn by us at present, that is, they sat close to the body, and shewed the shape. They likewise wore skins and fine furs, especially those that lived far up in the country in the more northern parts. The womens dress differed little from the mens, only it was generally made of flax, and ornamented with purple borders. They wore no sleeves, but went with their arms and breasts uncovered; a custom not quite agreeable to the virtue and modesty they professed on other occasions.

Marriages.  
Chastity of  
the women.

For the Germans were very chaste in marriage, and in that respect Tacitus thinks them deserving the highest praises: plurality of wives was unknown to them, unless it chanced to happen to some prince, whose alliance was strongly solicited and esteemed an honour. The husband gave the wife a dowry: but the presents he made her were not such as tended to encourage dress, luxury or delicacy: they consisted in a yoke of oxen, a horse with a bridle and bit, a buckler, a spear and a sword. In return, she brought her husband some piece of armour. This ceremony formed between them

them the strongest and most sacred tie: neither auspices, nor the God of Hymen, nor ceremonies of sacrifices, could be held in greater veneration by the Romans. \* The presents given by the husband were of such a nature as contained an important lesson for the wife: they taught her not to think herself, on account of her sex, dispensed from being bold and courageous, or exposing herself to danger; that in peace or war she was to share her husband's fate, and ought to have the same firmness and resolution; that she was to share fatigues and dangers with him, and be attached to him even to death. And accordingly these precious symbols were religiously preserved by the wife, that her daughters-in-law might one day receive them from the sons she hoped to bring up, and they transmit them in the same manner to their posterity.

The † conduct of the German women in their married state was agreeable to those strict and generous engagements: remote from all occasions of corruption, frequenting no public shews or plays, and unacquainted with the dissoluteness of feastings and pleasures, their chastity was inviolable. Neither men nor women had, with them, learnt the art of conveying

▪ Ne re mulier extra virtutum cognationes, extraque bel-  
lorum eius putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis ad-  
monetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam: idem  
in pace, idem in prælio paratam ausuramque. Hoc juncti  
hoves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data anima denunciant. Tac.  
*German.* 18.

† Septi pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illicebri  
nullis conviviorum irritationibus corrupte. Litterarum re-  
creta viri pariter ac femine ignorant. Tac. *German.* 19.

Punish-  
ment for  
adultery.

veying billet-doux, source of so many seductions. If, however, any one dishonoured herself by adultery, the punishment soon followed the crime, and the husband himself was both judge and avenger. In the presence of both families, he cut off his guilty wife's hair, stripped her, and turning her out of his house, drove her through the whole town: \* no remission, no indulgence on this score: neither beauty, nor youth, nor riches, could protect from the ignominy of punishment the woman that had forfeited her honour; nor could they procure her another husband: for, adds Tacitus, with a most remarkable gravity, no body in this country thinks vice a subject of laughter; not a reciprocally corrupt commerce, politeness and good breeding.

Unity of  
marriage  
among  
the peo-  
ple.

The law of conjugal fidelity was carried so far with some people of Germany, as to forbid all second marriages: a † woman never received a second time the title of spouse. As they had but one body and one life, so they had but one husband. This was intended as a means to prevent all idle wishes and expectations extending beyond the husband's life, the wife's fate being for ever fixed to him.

Whatever merit may be thought to be in the voluntary practice of this custom, yet it must

\* *Publicatae pudicitiae nulla venia. Non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia rilet, nec corrumpere & corrumpi seculum vocatur. Tac. Germ. 19.*

† *Tantum virgines nubunt, & cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus, unamque vitam: ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament. Ibid.*



must be allowed hard and unjust to make it an absolute necessity; the more so, as both sexes were not alike subject to it. The Heruli, according to Procopius, were still more rigid on this occasion, and barbarously cruel: the wife was obliged to strangle herself on her husband's grave, on pain of being reputed infamous, and dishonoured as long as she lived. Thus it is that men, and especially the uncivilised part of them, seldom know how to keep a just medium, even in good things.

The Germans, adhering to the laws of nature, thought it a most horrid crime either to limit themselves to a certain number of children, when they could have more, or to destroy any of those they had; so that, says Tacitus\*, morality had a greater influence over them, than the wisest laws over other people. We may add, that the Greek and Roman laws were in themselves vicious in that important point, allowing fathers to expose and even to kill their own children: alledging this false maxim, that he who gives life has a right to take it away. But God only gives life, and he alone can take it, without other reason than it is his will.

Hardly any but civilized nations have troubled themselves much about the education of their children. The German children used to run about naked, more dirty and misty than our beggar's children are. Their bodies gained by this neglect of their minds, and according

N 2

to

\* *Ubi ubi boni mores valet, quum alibi bone leges. Tac. Germ. I.*

to Cæsar's remark, as they were not obliged to learn any thing, but were left at full liberty to play and take what exercise they pleased, that was one of the principal causes of the extraordinary size, and robust vigour, that the southern people admired in them.

Every child was suckled by its own mother, and not left to a female slave or mercenary nurse: the master of the family's children were brought up with the children of his slaves, without any distinction. They tended flocks together, † and slept together on the bare earth; all was in common among them, till time, discovering their talents, shewed the difference of their origin.

No marriages concluded in a hurry.

Parents were never in a hurry to marry their children; by which means their marriages were more fruitful, and their offspring more vigorous.

No wills.

Sisters children were as much regarded by, and as dear to the uncle as his own; nay, from a peculiar singularity, he gave them a kind of preference: their own children were, however, heirs to their parents; or, for want of children, the next of kin inherited; brothers, uncles by the father's side and by the mother's. They never made any will. The more relations and allies a man had, the more he was respected in his

\* *Maximam partem lacte & pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus: quæ res & cibi genere & quotidiana exercitatione, & libertate vitæ (quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciunt) & vires alit, & inhumani corporum magnitudine efficit. Cas. de B. G. IV. 1.*

† *Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt: donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Tac. Germ. 20.*

his old age ; to be rich and without children, was not with the Germans, as with the Greeks and Romans, a thing that drew on a numerous tribe of gaping attendants.

Enmities as well as friendships were hereditary, but not implacable. I have already observed, that a certain number of cattle or horses would atone even for murder. This policy proceeded from a sensible motive. The public good requires that differences and enmities should be easy to make up among a free people, where they are most dangerous, and liable to be carried to the greatest heights.

Every nation has had its public shews to amuse the multitude at certain times. The Germans had but one sort of them, and that quite agreeable to their taste for arms. Young people, naked, leaped through heaps of lances and swords, the points of which were turned towards them, shewing thus their agility and dexterity, with the addition of grace acquired by exercise : the satisfaction of the spectator was the only salary for this hazardous diversion.

They were excessively fond of dice, so much, says Tacitus \* with astonishment, that they looked upon it as a serious affair ; would play with all the attention they were capable of ; and, when perfectly sober and cool, would carry it to the greatest height of madness, often staking their persons and liberty, when they had nothing more to lose and that throw lost, would quietly submit to slavery : and though younger and stronger than the winner, would suffer themselves,

\* *Alcam, quod mirere, soliti inter scrib evertent. Tr Gem, 24.*

themselves to be pinioned, led away, and sold. Such was their obstinacy in a vicious and blameable thing, which they honoured with the name of fidelity. Slaves of this kind were a shame to their masters, who for that reason were glad to get rid of them as soon as they could, and sold them to strangers to be carried into remote countries.

Slaves.  
Freemen.

Servitude was however much milder with them than among people more civilized: they did not make their slaves wait on them at home: their wives and children sufficed for whatever their plain way of life required. Each slave had his little settlement, and was like a farmer to his master, who required from him only such a quantity of corn, or cattle, or stuffs for cloathing. There seldom was occasion to punish any of them, because not living in the house, nor obliged to work much, they could not often commit faults. If the master chanced to kill one of them, it was through anger and passion, as he would have killed an enemy, with the difference of impunity only. The condition of their freemen was little superior to their slaves, except among such people as were governed by a king. In all countries the constant and visible fickleness of the lower class of people is a proof and an effect of the liberty of that nation.

No usury.

It will be readily concluded, that a people so indifferent about gold and silver, must be strangers to usury: the Germans wanted none of those laws, which so severely, and to so little purpose, forbid it in other countries. Ignorance was a stronger bar to injustice than any law.

The last act of human life was performed by <sup>Funerals.</sup> them with the same simplicity as all their other transactions: no sort of magnificence in their funerals. The Germans used to burn their dead bodies; and the only distinction allowed the most illustrious was, that their funeral piles were composed of particular woods: his arms, and sometimes his war horse, were burnt with the dead: their monuments were only little hillocks covered with turf; costly magnificent tombs were in their opinion fit only to crush the body buried under them: their \* tears were soon dried, but their sorrow was lasting. It was the business of women, they said, to cry and lament the dead; but of men, to remember them long.

Such is the idea that, after Tacitus, we may <sup>Remarks on some people of Germany.</sup> form of the manners and customs of the Germans in general. That illustrious author furnishes us further with some curious details relating to many of the people that inhabited that country. I shall at present mention only those whose valour gave the Romans exercise, and even occasioned great losses to them, during the period of which I am writing the history.

The Sicambri, chief authors of the war, are <sup>Sicambri.</sup> not taken notice of by Tacitus. When he wrote those people were no longer beyond the Rhine.

He speaks of the Usipii and Tencteri their <sup>Usipii and Tencteri.</sup> associates, but tells us nothing more of the former but barely their name. As to the Tencteri,

N 4

\* *Lamenta ac lacrymas cito, dolorem & tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.*  
Tac. Germ. 27.

teri, he praises the excellence of their cavalry. they shone and distinguished themselves from the rest of the Germans in that branch of the military profession; they had received it from their ancestors, and were desirous to transmit it to posterity: to manage a horse was their infant play, the object of their youthful emulation; nor would they give it over in their old age. Horses were the chief part of a child's inheritance, and belonged of right, not to the first born, but to the bravest and best warrior.

**Bructeri.** The Bructeri, who inhabited near the Ems, were a powerful and warlike nation: but before the time when Tacitus wrote, that is before Trajan's second consulship, they had been extirpated by their neighbours conspiring against them. The Chamavi and Angrivarii took their place.

*Tac. Germ.*  
37.

**Catti.** The Catti, who seem to be the same name and people with the present \* Hessians, are remarkable, among barbarians, for adding discipline to valour. They knew how to chuse good commanders, to obey their officers, keep their ranks, wait for opportunities, and take advantage of them; they could restrain an ill-timed impetuosity, fortify themselves with good intrenchments, defy the caprices of fortune, and confidently trust to their own valour. They were sensible of the superiority of the head over the arm, and depended on success more from their general's conduct than from the strength of his army. Other † Germans fought, the Catti made war.

\* *Catti*  
*Hessii.*

Then

† *Alios ad prælium ire vultas, Cattos ad bellum.* *Tac. Germ.* 30.

Their valour was very great, and what elsewhere was practised only by the bravest men, was an universal custom among the Catti. I mean, that so soon as they began to grow men, they let their beard and hair grow, vowing never to shave till they had killed an enemy. Thus their face was covered with tufts of hair spreading over it; nor would they, but with the price of their blood, and after gaining spoils from the enemy by their courage, shew their face fully, and shave the fore part of their head. Then only they thought they had discharged what they owed their parents for giving them life: nor did they till then think themselves worthy the glory of their family and country. Effeminate men and cowards were obliged to wear a rough head of hair, as a badge of want of courage.

Another custom of the same nature was, after their first proofs of valour, still to keep themselves in wind, and to spur them on to greater deeds, for the bravest among them to wear an iron ring, as an emblem of chains and captivity; likewise on the same condition not to leave it off till by the death of an enemy killed by them in fight, they acquired a right to be delivered from that badge of ignominy. Even old men would contract this engagement, and set the bravest youths an example of courage.

These old warriors carried beyond all measure their indifference for the conveniences of life, and a version to all care; without any fixed habitation, not giving themselves the trouble to cultivate a spot of ground, they went and  
lived

lived with the first family they found. Prodigally dissipating the property of another, neglecting their own, they looked upon it as a thing beneath them ever to conceive a thought that did not relate to war and arms. Decrepid old age, reducing them to an impossibility of continuing that hard way of life, could alone force them to leave it.

**Cauci.** I know not well how to define the Cauçi, who extended from the Ems to the Elb. I find two very different pictures of them, and both drawn by great masters, Pliny and Tacitus.

*Plin. xvi.*  
1.

Pliny represents the Cauçi as the most wretched people that can possibly be imagined. According to him, they lived in a low marshy country, that the sea threatened to overflow every instant: no land fit to cultivate, no hunting, no domestic animals: they subsisted wholly by fishing: their country quite naked, afforded them not even wood; so that they had nothing to make fire with but a bituminous mud, that they used to squeeze with their hands to dry, and was probably what we call *Turfs*.

Tacitus, without directly contradicting Pliny, gives a pompous character of the Cauçi. He calls them the \* most illustrious people of Germany,

\* *Populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis rignis aut latrocinis populantur. Idque precipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agant non per injurias aequantur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitu: plurimum virorum equorumque: & qui scientibus eadem fama.* Tac. *German.* 35.



many, powerful and numerous, maintaining their greatness by the love of justice; without avarice or ambition, quiet and peaceable among themselves, and separated from others, they sought not war, nor committed rapine or disorder: the more respected by their neighbours, as their power did not oppress any body, and as their superiority was not felt by any act of injustice. Nor was it effeminacy in them: they well knew how to use their arms and collect their troops when there was occasion for it. They were equally strong in horse and foot; but their moderation was such that they preferred quiet; and the wisdom of their conduct added to their glory and renown.

Two pictures so widely different can hardly be like the same original: nor do I see any means of reconciling Pliny and Tacitus, unless it be by supposing the former was acquainted only with the maritime Cauci, that is, with the least part of the country, which, according to Tacitus, extended a great way up within land.

The Cherusci are above all famous in history Cher. J. for their countryman and chief Arminius, that brave defender of the German liberty.

The Frisons still keep their old name, and Frison. nearly the same country they possessed anciently.

The Suevi held all the heart of Germany Suevi. from the Danube to the Baltic: they were a prodigiously numerous nation, subdivided into several people, and each people again into several cantons. I have observed elsewhere what Cæsar says of the Suevi. Tacitus is much more ample; but not to be tedious, I shall mention only two things.

The

The first is, their manner of dressing their hair; a trifling circumstance, were it not the characteristic that distinguished the Suevi from the other Germans; and among the Suevi themselves, the freeman from the slave. They let their hair grow long, and plaiting it, turned it up behind, rolling it round on the top of the head. The people of any distinction among them took some pains to have that roll and the plaiting very neat. That \* was the only part of dress they minded; a part, says Tacitus, not to be blamed, since their design in it was not to appear more amiable to the women, but more terrible to the enemy

The second singularity I shall mention relating to them is the cult some of the people of that nation, among other the Angles, paid to the earth. They thought that goddess paid men a visit now and then to inquire into their affairs. In an island in the ocean was a sacred wood, called the chaste wood; there was kept a carr covered and ornamented, which the priest only had a right to touch: this priest made the people believe he knew, by certain signs, the time when the goddess came to her sanctuary; and seating her in the carr, drawn by heifers, she was carried about the country with a deal of religious ceremony: holidays were kept on those occasions, and joy and festivity reigned in every place the goddess honoured with her presence. No wars, no arms to be seen, they were

\* *Ea cura formæ, sed innoxæ. Neque enim ut amarentur: in altitudinem quandam & terrorem aditus bella comiti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.* Tac. Germ. 48

were locked up carefully at those times; and then only it was that fierce people could like peace and tranquillity. When the priest judged the goddess began to grow weary of her mortal company, he carried her back to the wood, which was looked upon as her temple: then the carr, the stuffs it was covered with, and the goddess herself, said they, were washed in a lake a little distant. This part of the ceremony was performed by slaves, who instantly disappeared, swallowed up by the lake: A cruel artifice to conceal the priest's juggling, and to strike the people with a superstitious dread of the tremendous object of their worship, a sight of which was not to be obtained but by certain death.

I shall not enter into a farther detail of the people of Germany, but only add the names of the most celebrated German nations settled on this side the Rhine, which were the Nervi, † the people of Triers, the Tribocci, † the Vangions, the Nemetians, the Uvians, and the Batavians: and it is remarkable, that all these people thought it a great honour to be of German origin, and were particularly careful to distinguish themselves from the Gauls, in whom the mildness of the climate, Caesars conquests, and Roman customs introduced by the victors, had taken off the edge of that courage for which they esteemed the Germans so much.

The

\* *Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.* Tac. *GERM.* 40.

† Ströburg is the capital of the Tribocci; Worms of the Vangions; Spire of the Nemetians; Cologne of the Uvians. The Batavians inhabited an island down the Rhine of which Betaver or Betavium is a considerable part.

Continual wars of the Germans with the Romans for five hundred years.

The wars between the Romans and Germans began long before Drusus. Tacitus justly thinks<sup>a</sup> they commenced with the Cimbrian invasion; and observes, that of all the enemies Rome had to deal with, none ever hurt her so much as the Germans, nor defended their liberty with more obstinacy. In fact, from the irruption of the Cimbrians to the time when Tacitus wrote, which was two hundred years, Germany had not yet been entirely subdued.

Nor was it ever: on the contrary it became triumphant. From that country came, what Tacitus could neither foresee nor dread, the destroyers of the Roman empire, the Franks, Goths and Vandals: So that the war I am about to describe, already important in itself, becomes much more so when considered as part of a war that lasted five hundred years, and did not end but with the total subversion of the Roman power; establishing on its ruins, monarchies now subsisting in the finest parts of Europe. I am indebted for this thought to Bucherius<sup>b</sup>, whose erudition has escaped nothing relative to the wars of Germany.

<sup>a</sup> *Rachet. Belgium Romanum, Ezech. & Civ.*

<sup>b</sup> *Their motions after the invasion of the Cimbrians.*

After the example the Cimbrians had set, the Germans never gave up their design of passing the Rhine, and settling in richer and better countries than those they were in possession of. With this view Ariovistus first went into Gaul, and after him the Usipi and Teneteri. The bad success they met with, and Caesar's attack on Germany, might well check for a time, but never could extinguish the uneasiness and avidity of their countrymen. Ariippa was to stop their incursions, and in imitation of what Caesar had

had done, to keep them more effectually within bounds, by spreading terror in their own country, he passed the Rhine about the time of his first consulship. After that, whilst Octavius was at war with Antony, Carinnas conquered the Suevi, and merited triumphant honours for it. Some years after the battle of Actium, Vicinius avenged on some people of Germany, whose names we are not made acquainted with, the blood of some Roman traders they had massacred. In the year of Rome 733 Agrippa went again to Gaul, again molested by German incursions. He calmed all things, and then perhaps it was he permitted the Ubii to settle on the left side of the Rhine. Those people, formerly protected by Caesar against the Suevi, had from that time begun to like the Romans; and Agrippa depended so much on their fidelity, that he removed them into the empire, assigning them the guard of the Rhine, with orders to prevent the Germans passing it. The place where they settled encreased afterwards, and became a Roman colony, for many ages past known by the name of *Cologn*. Tiberius, who seems to have succeeded Agrippa, did nothing memorable; but the war began to grow serious under Lollius, in the year of Rome 736.

Lollius, praised by Horace, but with so little of that delicacy so remarkable in that great poet, that it seems rather a panegyric written by command, than what the writer really thought his due, was a\* man who concealed the

\* M. Lollio, homine in omni pecunia, quam recte fieri di cupidore, & inter summum vitiorum disimulacionem. *Tib. i. l. 9.*

*T. Ann.*  
*xiv. 27. A*  
*German. 28.*

*Suet. Tib.*  
*c. 9.*

*Hor. Ode*  
*iv. 9.*

*Florus de*  
*lib. 1. c. 27.*

the greatest vices under the most specious appearances, and was fonder of getting money than of doing his duty well. It is very probable that covetous general might attempt to practise unjust extortions on the German people Agrippa had just conquered, and on whom he doubtless imposed some slight tribute. Lollius sent Centurions beyond the Rhine, who committing violences, under pretence of levying the tribute, irritated the inhabitants, enemies to servitude; they seized and put them to death. Not satisfied with this revenge, the Sicambri, aided by their faithful allies the Usipii and Teneteri, passed the Rhine, ravaged places belonging to the empire, and surprised Lollius, as negligent in the performance of his duty, as he was active and vigilant in what concerned his interest. The Romans were put to flight, with more ignominy indeed than loss. The eagle of the fifth legion remained with the conquerors.

*Dio. l. l. iv.*

*Augustus goes into Gaul, and on his return from thence leaves Drusus there. Strab. l. vii.*

This disaster determined Augustus, as I before said in the first book, to go himself to Gaul. His presence, and the preparations Lollius made to retrieve his honour, soon restored tranquillity. The barbarians made peace, and repassed the Rhine, first giving hostages: a weak tie on people unused to pay any regard to the faith of treaties. When opportunity offered, neither their former engagements, nor even any consideration for their hostages, could restrain them; the only safe precaution against them, was always to mistrust them; and the only means the Romans had to guard against them, was to put it out of their power to do hurt.

hurt. Augustus staid near three years in Gaul, to secure the peace of that country, and when he left it, always apprehending the restless character of the Germans, Drusus remained behind him, who, young as he was, had given proofs of his superior talents for arms, in the war with the Rheti.

The emperor's departure was a signal to the Sicambri to renew their incursions: even Gaul was not quiet. The quit-rent and poll-tax, which Drusus was collecting by Augustus's order, made them sensible of their servitude; and not being as yet thoroughly formed to the yoke, they found in the assistance of the Germans a strong inducement to attempt to recover their liberty. The ferment seems to have been general in all Gaul, but the revolt broke out only in the two provinces bordering on the Rhine, called by Augustus the two Germanies.

Drusus's arms subdued the rebel towns; and this first success adding great weight to his authority, and stopping the progress of the revolt through the rest of Gaul, he took the opportunity of a festival to convene a general assembly of the nation, and endeavour to reconcile them entirely to the Roman domination.

The occasion of this festival was the dedication of a temple and altar which all Gaul had before these last troubles, been prevailed on to erect to Augustus, and which were then finished. Few monuments are more celebrated than this; it was built where the Saone and Rhone join, on the spot where the abbey of Ainti now is. Sixty provinces of Gaul were at the expense of it, and had set up sixty statues representing

them. It was a solemn homage paid by all Gaul to the Roman empire : its very situation spoke it such : for Lyons, a Roman colony, where the Romans struck gold and silver money with their own coin, and which was their general magazine in Gaul for provisions of all sorts, was, next to Narbonne, their second citadel in those fine provinces. The assembly Drusus had convened answered his wishes. A priest called, in Livy's Epitome, C. Julius Vercundaridubius, an Eduan, was appointed in honour of the new god. Games were to be celebrated every year round about the temple. With these affairs of less importance in appearance, Drusus knew how to mix others of a more serious nature ; and, either by his dexterity in practising on their minds, or by keeping the chiefs of the nations near him by way of hostages, he managed so well, that not only the Gauls did not revolt, but even cordially supplied him with necessaries towards the German war.

*Liv. Epit.  
cxxxvii.*

*Drusus  
marches  
against the  
Germans.  
Dc.*

For Drusus wisely first pacifying the province at home, next thought of turning his arms against the enemy abroad, and not satisfied with driving back the Germans, who were preparing to pass the Rhine, he crossed it himself, and attacked the Usipii and Sicambri in their own country, thus returning them the outrages they had so often committed on the Roman territories. He conquered the Marcomans too, who then lived on the borders of the Main, in the country now called the Circle of Franconia.

He



He did more : he resolved to enter Germany Canal by sea, at once to carry the war to the borders made by him to join the Rhine and Issel of the Ems and Weser, without harrassing his troops by a long and difficult march. It seems, as if he had long conceived that great design ; and, to facilitate the execution of it, made the canal that now communicates from the Rhine with the Issel, extending from the village of Iseleort to Doesbourg. This canal received a See Cel. Geograph. Ant. l. II. c. 3. and Let Martiniere's Dictionary articles Flevo, Flevum, Flevus. great part of the waters of the right branch of the Rhine, which by that means became much less considerable. But at the same time Drusus opened a third mouth for that river into the sea, mentioned by Pliny under the name of *Flevum Ostium*. The face of that country has been prodigiously altered since that time. The space that is now called the *Zuide* was then chiefly land, watered by the Rhine joined to the Issel, falling into a lake called *Flevis*, from whence disemboguing, and becoming a river again, it at last opened into the sea, probably at the place now called the *Uli*, between the isles of *Ulieland* and *Schelling*. The passage is but short from thence to the mouth of the Ems.

Drusus having prepared a fleet on the Rhine, He entered Germany by sea, and gained great advantage Gen. Su l. Claud. l. Du. fell down the river, then passed through his own canal, whence coming into the Issel, and following the route I have described, he was the first Roman that entered the German Ocean. His first care was to subdue or gain over the Frisians. He took possession of the isle of *Byrchanis*, now *Borckum*, near the mouth of the Ems ; then ascending that river, he conquered the Bructeri in a naval fight. He visited next

the Cauci, on the right hand of the Ems, but there he was in great danger: being unacquainted with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, his ships that had come up with the help of the high tide, were left dry when the tide went off. His new allies, the Frisons, helped him out of that difficulty.

Before he left the country he built a fort at the mouth of the Ems, on the left side, opposite the place where the town of Embden has been since built: and having brought back his fleet and army safely from thence, distributed his soldiers in winter quarters, and went to Rome to receive the honour of prætor, with the applauses justly due to his exploits. This first campaign of Drusus in Germany was when Messala and Quirinius were consuls.

A.R. 741. Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
 O.f.C. 11. PAULUS FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Drusus's  
 second  
 campaign  
 in Ger-  
 many.

**E**ARLY next spring Drusus repaired to his army, to prosecute the war against the Germans, who had been beaten, but not subdued. He passed the Rhine, and again engaged the same people, the Sicambri, Usipii, and Tencteri, whose zeal in defence of the common liberty was so great, that the Catti, refusing to join them, they resolved to force them to it, and accordingly entered their country. Whilst this was doing, the Sicambri had left their own country open and without defence. Drusus took advantage of the enemy's neglect, and throwing a bridge over the Lippe, carried war into the heart of the absent Sicambri's territories,  
 and

and from thence advanced towards the Che-<sup>A.R.741.</sup>rusci, and as far as the Vesper. Fear of want-<sup>bcf.C.11.</sup>ing provisions, and winter drawing near, prevented his passing that river.

He met with great difficulties in his march back : the people combining together harrassed him in his retreat, and after tiring him with several ambuscades, they at last pent him up in a deep narrow valley, where his own loss and that of his army seemed inevitable : the barbarians thought so, and that was what saved the Romans. The Sicambri and their allies, presumptuously thinking themselves sure of victory, attacked without any order, the Romans, whom they considered as an easy prey, but were repulsed with loss, and never after ventured too near the Romans, but followed them at a distance. To keep them within bounds, and preserve the advantages he had gained, Drusus built two forts in which he left garrison ; one where the Lippe and \* Aliso join, the other close to the Rhine in the country of the Catti. For these new successes the senate decreed Drusus the ornaments of triumph, the honour of ovation, and the power of proconsul, when his year of prætorship should expire.

The soldiers had given him the title of *Imperator*, or victorious general. But Augustus was more tenacious of that honour than of any other, triumph excepted †. Perhaps he was  
apprehensive

\* Alm, a little river that falls into the Lippe, not far from Paderborn.

† Augustus's conduct varied with regard to triumphs  
of

A.R. 741. apprehensive that title might make the commanders of his armies apt to forget they were only his lieutenants, and not generals in chief. Whatever ground there may be for this conjecture, which seems founded on facts, it is at least certain that when Augustus took himself the title of *Imperator*, for Tiberius's conquests over the Pannonians, and Drusus's in Germany, he would not permit either of them to assume it.

JULUS ANTONIUS.

A.R. 742.  
bef. C. 10.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.

Third.

OUR memorials are, as the reader may perceive, very short and barren on a subject where one would wish them ample: for the war in Germany under the consuls Julius Antonius and Q. Fabius, must have been considerable and dangerous, since Augustus thought it expedient for him to reside again in *Lionnese Gaul*, that he might be more at hand to direct the operations of the campaign, and to send Drusus what succours might be necessary. Yet the only particularity we know of it is, that the *Catti*, who till then had appeared well affected to the Romans, who had given them part of the *Sicambri's* territories, united this year with their countrymen: Drusus however maintained the superiority of the Roman arms over the German confederacy thus strengthened, and defeated the old rebels  
and

at first he granted it freely; but after Agrippa's refusal of it in the year of Rome 738, it was an honour reserved only to the emperors and princes of the imperial family.

and their new allies in several skirmishes. A.R.742.  
Livy's Epitomiser mentions two officers of the Nervi, Senectius and Anectius, who distinguished themselves under his command in this expedition; which shews that the Romans employed Gaulish troops against the Germans, as well as their own national forces. bef.C.10.

The year following Drusus was consul: but death put a stop to his growing honours and victrices.

NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS.  
T. QUINTIUS CRISPINUS.

A.R.749.  
bef. C. 9.

**T**HE Germans were not tired of the war, though always worsted; whilst their conqueror, animated with success, prosecuted his victories. This year, the last of his life, crossing the Catti's territories, he penetrated as far as the Suevi, who had formed a powerful army of their own troops, joined to the Cherusci and Sicambri. Those three people united thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had before-hand settled how the spoils of the conquered Romans were to be divided. Fourth. Dio. l. 1. v. The Cherusci were to have the horses, the Suevi the gold and silver, and the Sicambri the prisoners. Flor. iv. 12. But their idle expectations soon vanished: they were beaten, and themselves, with their horses, cattle, and gorgets, which they esteemed their most precious ornament, became a prey to Drusus and the Romans. Their wives had followed them to the war, as was their custom: and Orosius gives an instance of their ferocity Or. vi. 21 that strikes one with horror. He says, that for

A.. 743. want of javelins, or other weapons of that kind, bef. C. 9. they would tear their sucking children from the breast, and throw them at the enemy.

Drusus remaining master of the whole country, passed the Vesper and came near the Elbe. A pretended prodigy, if we believe Dion Cassius and Suetonius, prevented his passing that river. Those authors say, a phantom appeared to him in the likeness of a barbarian woman, and with a menacing voice, said, "Rash man! whither does thy inconsiderate ardour hurry thee! The fates forbid thy passing this river. Thy exploits and thy life must end here."

*Dion, &  
Suet. Claud.  
1.*

If there be any foundation for this story, and it be not a downright fable, proceeding from a love of the marvellous, especially in a circumstance so singular as that of a Roman army ready to cross the Elbe, it may be suspected that one of those German women pretending to be prophetesses acted this farce. But as it seems hardly probable that Drusus, who lived in a very enlightened age, and who was endowed with a great and noble soul, should be frightened by such a scarecrow; and as it is certain he did return without passing the Elbe, I think it most reasonable to ascribe his retreat to the illness or accident that caused his death.

*His death.* I say illness or accident, because his death is differently accounted for. Dion Cassius ascribes it to illness only. The epitome of Livy says he was killed by a fall from his horse. Suetonius informs us, that Augustus was by some suspected of having poisoned him; and the reasons alledged were these: Drusus was generous, popular, an enemy to tyranny, and never concealed

*Suet. Claud.  
1. §. 7th.  
50.*

concealed his design to re-establish the republican government in Rome, if it should ever be in his power. It is added, that he wrote to his brother Tiberius, with a view to engage him to join with him in measures to force Augustus to resign the supreme power, and that Tiberius was mean and treacherous enough to shew that letter to Augustus, who immediately recalled Drusus, and on his refusal to obey, caused him to be poisoned. Suetonius, who records this report, takes care likewise to refute it, and to that end alleges the singular fondness Augustus always shewed for this his amiable son-in-law, so far as to put him in his will equal with his own children, and to declare in the funeral oration he made for him, that all he wished for his two sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsars, was, that they might one day be like Drusus; and that he begged the gods might grant him a death as glorious as that of this young hero, buried in his triumphs. Besides, we have already observed in relation to suspicions of that kind when Marcellus died, that Tacitus, who spares no body, says positively \* Augustus never was cruel towards any part of his family, nor ever caused the death of any that belonged to him. Drusus's being poisoned is therefore a mere invention: if we are to determine what was the cause of his death, the authority of Livy's epitome seems preferable to Dion Cassius.

So soon as Augustus heard at Pavia, where he then was, the news of Drusus's accident, he immediately dispatched Tiberius, who was returned

\* In nullus unquam suorum necem duravit (Augustus.)  
*Tac. Ann. l. 6*

A.R. 748. turned from conquering the Pannonians, Dacians and Dalmatians. It were to be wished, for the honour of Tiberius, that his brotherly love had been as strong, as his diligence on this occasion was great and almost incredible. In a day and a night he travelled two hundred miles or sixty leagues of that country, with only one person to attend him : and that though he had the Alps and Rhine to cross, and all the road lay through barbarous countries, most of them either enemies or unwilling allies. He found Drusus still alive : and though near his end, he collected strength enough, to pay his brother the compliment of ordering his army out to receive him, and to pay him all the honours due to a superior in age and command. He expired soon after, regretted by the soldiers, and lamented by every Roman. The camp where he died, between the Rhine and the

\* *A. vici*  
*His falls in*  
*to the Elbe.*  
*His funeral.*  
*Friendham.*  
*Chap. 6, 7.*

\* Sala, was called the *wicked camp*.

His army, infinitely attached to him, wanted to keep his body, and bury him in a military manner on the very spot. It was not without difficulty that Tiberius, shewing the emperor's orders, stopped their impetuous zeal. Preparations were therefore made to conduct the body to Rome : first it was carried by centurions, on their shoulder, to the quarters of the legions next the Rhine, Tiberius on foot preceding the funeral pomp : from thence advancing towards Italy, the senators and magistrates of the towns they passed by, received him at the entrance of their territories, and conducted him to the next frontier. Augustus himself, in the  
 depth

*Th. Ann.*  
 (11)



depth of winter, went as far as Pavia to meet the corpse, and accompanied it to Rome. A.R. 7+3. bef. C. 9.

Nothing that magnificence or real grief could suggest was omitted to honour the hero. Two funeral orations were made, one by Tiberius in the public place, the other by Augustus in the Circus Flaminius without the city. The body was carried to the Campus Martius by Roman knights of the greatest distinction and sons of senators; and after being burnt there, the ashes were gathered up and placed in the Julian tomb. Augustus, not content to have pronounced his funeral encomium, wrote likewise his epitaph in verse, and the history of his life in prose. What pity a work so precious on every account should be lost!

The senate honoured the memory of Drusus with the most glorious decrees. The surname of Germanicus was given him, his children, and descendants. Statues were ordered to be erected to him in divers places; a triumphal arch of marble, with trophies, on the Via Appia, and a monument near the Rhine, made famous by his exploits. It was for a long time customary for the Roman legions to perform their exercise round this tomb: and even divine honours seem, according to the impious custom of those ages of flattery and error, to have been paid Drusus; for history mentions an altar erected to him in the country where he had signalized his valour. Honours done his memory. Tac. Ann. 11. 7.

Drusus \* deserved to be regretted by Augustus His character.

\* Druso Claudio, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalitatis recipit, vel industria perficit. Cuius

A.R. 743. stus and the Roman people, for he possessed all  
 bef. C. 9. the good and great qualities fit to acquire  
 esteem and affection. He perfected by study  
 the happy disposition he was born with : equally  
 fit to shine in peace or in war. A hero with-  
 out ostentation, affable with dignity, in the  
 common occurrences of life as amiable to all  
 who approached him, as he was terrible in arms  
 to nations invincible before him. His exploits  
 prove his capacity for command. His perso-  
 nal bravery went beyond what a general ought  
 to shew, for he would often in battle seek out  
 the German princes, and fight them hand to  
 hand, to gain the signal honour of the *Spolia  
 optima*.

The great works he did are proofs of the  
 wisdom and extent of his views. He built two  
 bridges over the Rhine, one at Bonn, the other  
 according to some at Mentz, with a fleet that  
 made the Romans masters of that great river :  
 he dug several canals, the most famous of which  
 is that I have already given a short description  
 of. Besides the forts already mentioned on the  
 Ems and Lippe, he built above fifty along the  
 borders of the Rhine, which probably were the  
 beginnings of several of the towns in those parts.

*For. i. 12.*

All these things duly considered, Drusus must  
 readily be allowed to have been the greatest Ro-  
 man general of his time : and no one after him  
 attained equal glory, nor deserves to be com-  
 pared with him, his son Germanicus excepted.  
 What adds to the admiration justly due to him,

is,

*Cujus ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civili-  
 bus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est. Morum certe dul-  
 cedo ac suavitas, & adversus, amicos æqua ac par sui sæti-  
 matio, inimitabilis fuisse dicitur. Fell. II. 97.*

is, that so many virtues, such great actions, A.R. 743. were not the fruit of ripe years or long experience. bef. C. 9. He was but thirty years old when he died.

Drusus was handsome in his person: the graces of the body were joined in him to the beauties of the mind. He married the younger Antonia, second daughter of Antony and Octavia, and had by her three children, Germanicus, whom I have just mentioned, Claudius, afterwards emperor, and Livia or Livilla, married to her cousin german, Drusus son of Tiberius. His marriage and children. Vell. 11. 97. Suet. Claud. 1.

I have mentioned the victories Tiberius gained over the Pannonians, Dacians, and Dalmatians, whilst his brother Drusus was at war with the Germans; and have said how by his first exploits he merited the ornaments of triumph: to those he added others, for which the honours of ovation were decreed him. Tiberius's ovation.

But more pressing cares, the death of Drusus, which was looked upon as a public calamity, and the long and mournful preparations for his funeral, had delayed a ceremony where joy only was to reign. When those duties, which were of right to take place of all other things, were over, Tiberius's ovation came next in turn. It was the more pompous and magnificent, as the same honour having likewise been decreed his brother, what had been prepared for both triumphs were put into one. Tiberius on this occasion gave an entertainment to the whole people, and to that end had tables spread in the capitol, and several other parts of the city; and at the same time his mother Livia, and Julia his wife, treated the ladies.

The

A. R. 743. The death of Drusus, interrupting his victories, had left the affairs of Germany in an unsettled and uncertain state. Tiberius was chosen to complete the work his brother had so gloriously began: Augustus had no one else in his family to whom he could trust a business of so great moment: he therefore sent him into Germany under the consulship of Asinius Gallus and Censorinus.

A. R. 744. C. ASINIUS GALLUS.  
 def. C. 9. C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

He settles  
 peace  
 there.

TIBERIUS'S instructions seem to have been rather to pacify matters than widen the breach: to establish peace and tranquillity, rather than to make conquests; a due regard still being had to the rights and majesty of the empire. L. Domitius, who, there is reason to think, commanded the army from Drusus's death till Tiberius came, had prided himself on passing the Elbe, and carrying the Roman arms into regions where they had not hitherto penetrated. He put this project in execution, and gained some advantages for which the ornaments of triumph were decreed him. But Augustus, whilst he rewarded his exploits, did not approve of his conduct. As a wise prince he was more studious how to govern well his vast dominions, than to encrease them beyond measure: he would readily have consented to let the Rhine be his boundary. As to the Elbe, he thought it no ways for the advantage of the Romans to go beyond it; being persuaded, that if the warlike nations that lived on the other

*Tac. Ann.*  
 iv. 44.

*Strabo, l.*  
 '11.

other side that river were once irritated and A.R. 744. roused, they could never enjoy in peace what bef. C. 8. they were in possession of on this side.

Tiberius was quite fit to enter into these views of Augustus. He was brave, but above all piqued himself on being prudent. History does not inform us whether he gave any battles, or whether after the losses of the Germans had already sustained, the terror of his name and arms were alone sufficient to reduce them. What seems certain is, that he forced part of the Suevi and Sicambri to submit, and trans-<sup>Tac. Ann. II. 26.</sup>ported forty thousand of them on this side the <sup>Strut. Aug. 21. & 744.</sup>Rhine. Such was the fierceness of those bar-<sup>8. Dio.</sup>barians, that many, especially their chiefs, not able to endure being so far distant from their own country, nor the kind of captivity they were kept in, chose rather to kill themselves. The Sicambri, who hitherto had made so much noise, seemed quite extinct after this transmigration, nor does their name appear again for a long time in the wars the Romans had in Germany.

This was already a great step towards securing the tranquillity of Drusus's conquests; but besides that another swarm of Suevi, the most <sup>v. n. II. 106.</sup>noted of which were the Marcomans, terrified by this disgrace of their countrymen, and fearing a like disaster for themselves, left the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and borders of the Mein, under the conduct of Marobduus, and took themselves into Bohemia. By this means all became calm between the Rhine and Elbe; all acknowledged the Roman laws. Tiberius, who had completed this great work, received <sup>D +</sup>

A.R. 744. at last with Augustus's leave the title of *Imperator* or victorious general, the honours of triumph, and a second consulship.

Honours decreed Augustus on account of the conquests in Germany. As he had acted only in quality of emperor's lieutenant, the triumph was due to Augustus by the laws of Rome: accordingly it was decreed him, but he would not accept it; content to have, with the title of *Imperator*, which he took on this occasion for the fourteenth time, a right to appropriate to himself the glory Tiberius had acquired under his auspices. Instead of the honour he refused, horse races were established to perpetuity in the circus on his birth-day; or rather, what had been introduced some years before by the voluntary zeal of the citizens and magistrates, was now authorised and confirmed by a decree.

Augustus had made it a rule not to triumph for victories he had not gained himself in person, in order doubtless to avoid the ridicule of a transcendant honour merited by another man's labours and danger. So ovation had been granted Drusus, as I have said, for his exploits against the Germans; but Augustus thought a simple modest entry, the most brilliant ornament of which was a laurel crown, which he deposited in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, sufficient for himself. His conduct was ever the same in like circumstances, and his example was followed by his successors. Every considerable advantage gained by their lieutenants over the enemy, gave them a right to deck themselves with the title of *Imperator*, but not to have a triumph decreed them.

Augustus's

Augustus's victories over the Germans procured him likewise the honour of enlarging the city: that was a privilege peculiar to such as had extended the frontiers of the empire. A.R. 744.  
bef. C. 8.

Germany was pacified, and there remained neither war nor disturbance throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. The Dacians, Pannonians and Dalmatians, as I have already said, had been subdued by Tiberius. L. Piso had reduced the Thracians after a three years war, by which he merited the ornaments of triumph. The Parthians respected the Roman grandeur, and thought themselves happy not to be attacked. Thus Augustus reaping from this universal peace, the sweetest fruits of his labours, and of the wisdom of his government, closed a third time the temple of Janus, which remained shut about twelve years. It pleased God that even a temporal peace should announce the speedy birth \* of him who was to bring from heaven true peace upon earth. General  
Peace.  
Temple of  
Janus shut.  
Oraz. vi  
22.

\* *There remains but four years to the true date of the birth of Jesus Christ, though the common era is eight years later.*

## S E C T. II.

*OTHER events of the same years. The office of tribune disdained. Augustus's orders to prevent its remaining vacant. Regulations concerning the discipline of the senate. New prerogatives granted the Prætors. Method practised to prevent bribery. Augustus finds means to elude a law he dared not avowish. He proceeds with great moderation in all these new regulations. Other examples of his moderation and mildness. His orders relating to aqueducts and conduits. To prevent fires. Watch. His care to ease the subjects of the empire. His goodness towards private persons. His clemency in the trial of a son that had attempted to kill his father. Marks of public affection towards Augustus. The title of Father of his Country is given him. He is a fourth time continued in the imperial power. Dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus. The priesthood of Jupiter re-established. Octavia dies after twelve years inconsolable mourning for the death of her son Marcellus. Livia bears with courage the loss of her son Drusus. Mecænas's death. His credit was grown less. His foible for his wife Terentia. His effeminacy. His stile affected. Verses, in which he expresses an extreme fondness of life. His good qualities. Hot baths not known before him. Some think him author of the art of shorthand writing. His will, in which he recommends Horace to Augustus. Augustus's kind familiarity*



familiarity with that poet. Horace's death. Order of the calendar restored. Tiberius triumphs. Beginning of the elevation of Caius and Lucius Cæsars, adoptive sons to Augustus. Tiberius is made tribune and retires to Rhodes. Caius Cæsar takes the virile robe; is appointed Consul, and receives the title of Prince of the Youth. Birth of J. C. Herod's death. Lucius Cæsar takes the virile robe, and receives the same honours as his brother. Games and shows. Creation of two commanders of the Prætorian guards. Augustus is made acquainted with his daughter Julia's loose conduct. He confines her to the island of Pandataria, and punishes her corrupters by death or banishment. Commotions in Armenia. Caius Cæsar is sent into the east to pacify them. The Parthians, who protected Armenia, make their peace. Interview of the king of Parthia and Caius. Disgrace and death of Lollius. Alfenus's extraordinary fortune. Caius enters Armenia. Is wounded. Dies. Death of his brother Lucius. Tiberius's abode in Rhodes. He behaves there in a low and abject manner. With great difficulty obtains leave to return to Rome. His confidence in Thrasyllus the astrologer. At Rome he lives like a private man. He is adopted by Augustus, who thinks he makes a good choice. Augustus adopts at the same time Agrippa Posthumus, and makes Tiberius adopt Germanicus. Abdication and exile of Agrippa Posthumus. Loose conduct of Julia, Augustus's grand-daughter, and her banishment. Tiberius again receives the power of tribune. New review of the senate. The inhabitants of Italy numbered Augustus pardons

*dons Cinna. Famine in Rome. Daughters of freemen declared capable of being chosen Vestals. Divers commotions. Rewards for soldiers and officers increased; and likewise their time of service. Number of troops maintained by Augustus. Military treasury established. Anger of the mob appeased by the return of plenty; and by the honours paid to the memory of Drusus. Death of Pollio. Particularities relating to him. Asinius Gallus his son. The pains he took to form his grandson Marcellus Æsernius for eloquence. Death of Messala. His two sons. Archelaus, son of Herod is deposed, and Judæa becomes a Roman province.*

Other events of the same years.

**I**N the years I have run over, history affords us no events more memorable than those of the German war; and if the account of them has been so dry and succinct, it is not that they are not great and important in themselves, but because writers have been wanting to record them. I must now resume transactions of another nature, which I have been obliged to postpone. I shall begin with orders and regulations made by Augustus relating to the home government of the republic; nor shall I fear being thought too prolix, for every thing becomes interesting in a change of government.

The method I follow is, I grant, of less help to the memory to fix the date of each event; but besides being authorised by the example of Mr Rollin, my master, and by many other illustrious historians, I apprehend it is on the whole not the least useful, nor the least agreeable

able to the generality of readers. The parts which, scattered up and down, would not strike, when collected, form a whole that may attract attention: and the character of a prince, and his views, are best seen by taking his constitutions and laws collectively together.

I have already observed that some offices remained sometimes vacant, and were in danger of being extinct for want of candidates to fill them up. The tribuneship was in that case. It often happened that senators, who only could aspire to that office in virtue of a law made by Sylla, disdained that magistracy once so dreaded, but no more than an empty shadow since the emperor had been vested in the powers belonging to it. Augustus, desirous to keep up all the outside shew of ancient forms, thought proper to remedy this inconvenienc; and when there were not senators enough to compose the number of candidates for tribunes, he ordered that the people should chuse for the vacancies, Roman knights, among such as were worth a million of sesterces: with leave to such as should be so chosen, to remain in the order of senators after the expiration of their year of tribune, or to return to the knights if they preferred it.

He at all times paid the greatest attention to whatever concerned the discipline of the senate; and, either by making new regulations, or reviving old ones, studied to maintain a just dignity and decency in that first body of the republic. He began, as we have seen, by reforming the most important articles, and constantly continued to add whatever he thought most proper to complete that work.

The office of tribune disdained. Augustus's orders to prevent its remaining vacant. *Dio. l. LIV. §. Sect. Aug. 40.*

A.R. 740

Regulations concerning the discipline of the senate.

*Suet. Aug.*  
35.

Thus he instituted, at all meetings of the senate, a ceremony purely religious, which was, that every senator on coming in, before he took his seat, should offer up incense and wine to the God in whose temple the assembly was held.

He required the senators to be attentive to what was deliberating: and to that end, when any important affair was in agitation, he asked their opinions, not in the usual order, but singling them out as it were by chance, so that every one was obliged to attend to what was proposed, not knowing but he might be the first called upon to speak to it, and not come off by barely saying yea or nay after another.

*Dio. l. LV.*

Nor did he less require assiduity and constant attendance: it always had been an essential part of the duty of a senator, and such as absented themselves without sufficient cause were liable to a fine. Augustus made that fine greater and as the great number of absentees often procured impunity, he ordered in that case they should draw lots, and one out of five paid the penalty ordered by law. Nor could any member be absent without being missed; for a list of the names of all the members was hung up at the door of the senate-house.

*Dio. l. LIV.*  
& LV.

The number of senators required to make a *senatus consultum*, that is, to form a decree or resolution of the senate, was fixed at four hundred at least, and that number increased according to the nature of the business to be done. The account was taken by Augustus, agreeable to the ancient custom. If the meeting did not consist of the number prescribed, the opinion  
of

of the plurality was registred, but still was of no force as a law, till ratified by a subsequent meeting sufficiently numerous.

All this order was very fine, but it was a kind of restraint upon the senators. Augustus considering the nicety of the times, and perhaps too the interest of his own authority, appointed the meetings of the senate not so often: he fixed them at two a month regularly, the day of the calends and that of the ides; except the ides of March, the day Cæsar was killed, and for that reason an unfortunate inauspicious day. The senate might have extraordinary meetings too on other days, if any thing urgent happened: but doubtless that was very seldom, after all authority was centered in one.

Augustus likewise granted the senators a vacation of two months, September and October. During that time the senate was reduced to what we should call a committee, being less numerous, composed only of a hundred members chosen by lot.

He granted the prætors a new prerogative, which was a right to propose in the senate a subject to be deliberated on. They had had no occasion to desire that privilege in the time of the old republic, because the consuls being then often obliged to be out of Rome on business of the state, the prætors took their places of course, and not only proposed affairs in the senate, but presided there. Under the new government the consuls always resided in Rome, and consequently the prætors had no function in the senate; which hurt them so much the

*New prerogative granted the prætors. Dio.*

more, as the tribunes, a magistracy inferior to theirs in point of dignity, enjoyed a prerogative they were deprived of. They represented this to Augustus, who thought their request just, and granted it.

Method  
practiced to  
prevent  
bribery.  
See Hist.  
of the Rom.  
R. p. Tom.  
xiii. p.  
86.

Bribery to come at offices had not yet been entirely rooted out, neither by the change in the state, nor the laws Augustus had made against that abuse. In the year of Rome 714 he tried a method, which a passage in Cato's life most probably suggested him the thought of. Every candidate was to deposit a sum of money in his hands, to be forfeited in case they were convicted of illicit liberalities. This medium betwixt a mean connivance, and a rigour that would have branded great names, was extremely applauded.

Augustus  
finds means  
to elude a  
law he dar-  
ed not a-  
bolish.

The case was otherwise with regard to a subtilty he imagined to elude a law that forbid putting slaves to the torture in criminal processes against their master: this law did not please him, rightly judging it tended to favour secret plottings and conspiracies, the only danger he then had to fear. He therefore caused it to be enacted, that the slaves of persons accused of crimes against the state, might be sold to the republic or the emperor, by which means they were no longer screened from being put to the torture, to make them confess what was wanted to be known. This was a palpable subterfuge, which preserving the letter of the law, utterly destroyed its real intent. Many complained of the enormous abuse of putting the lives of masters thus into the power of their slaves. The most moderate excused the emperor's taking this

this precaution, as being necessary for the safety of his own person.

What well deserves to be observed in all these new regulations is, that Augustus did not proceed in them with an absolute authority, nor in any imperious manner. Before they were passed he submitted them to the senate's examination, ordering them to be fixed up in the senate-house, that every senator might read and consider them, and speak his mind freely. This moderation did not prevent his gaining his end, but carried him to it so much the more surely as the method was mild; and by gaining their hearts, secured their compliance.

Thus did he keep that wise medium so difficult to preserve with sovereign power: for it is above all things necessary, says Plutarch \*, for a prince to maintain and keep up the authority of command. But that authority is not less maintained by abstaining from what does not appertain to it, than by exerting its legal rights. He that softens, or carries a thing too far, is properly speaking no longer a prince, but becomes either a flatterer of the people, or a despotic master; and consequently must be either despised or hated.

These maxims were the soul of all Augustus's conduct: he was prince in what concerned the public good, and a private man in what related to himself personally. A tax be-

Other examples of his moderation and mildness. *Diog. l. lxxv. § Suet. Aug. 53—54.*

\* Διὸ γὰρ τὸν ἀρχόντα σαφὲν πρῶτον αὐτὸν τὰν ἀρχὴν, σαφίται δὲ καὶ ἦν ἀπικρατεῖα ἢ μὴ προσηκόντος ἢ περιουσίας τῆ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ δ' αἰδέσθαι. ἢ κατελεῖν, ἢ μὴ ἔχειν ἢ εὐλογεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸν τὸ μισθὸν ἢ κατὰ τὸν τοῖς ἀρχόντοις. *Plut. in compar. Theophr. & Rom. vi.*

ing to be levied by his orders, and under his authority, he gave in a declaration of what he was worth, just as if he had been a private citizen.

The senate and people wanting to erect statues to him, and having taxed themselves to raise the necessary sum for that purpose, he accepted the present, but changed the design it was intended for, and instead of statues representing himself, he erected others to the public welfare, to concord, and to peace: he even caused the silver statues he had formerly permitted to be made of him to be melted down, and bought tripods of gold for the temple of Apollo Palatine with the money they sold for.

Such were the uses he made of the presents he often received either from bodies of men or from private persons: for there was, if I may be allowed the expression, an open commerce of liberalities between him and all the citizens. At every beginning of the year he received gifts from whoever brought them, and returned others, just as relations and friends do among one another. The whole state seemed to be his family: and with what was thus given him he bought fine statues to adorn the squares and streets of the city.

*Dio & Suet.  
Aug. 91.*

I cannot here avoid mentioning a custom he had to turn beggar one day every year, holding out his hand, and receiving the little bits of money the common people gave him. It was in consequence of a dream that he imposed on himself this odd and superstitious task, which shews the greatest genius's have their foibles, and almost always pay in one shape or other the tribute of humanity.

Care



Cares more worthy him were those he took to provide for the convenience and safety of the city. He made the celebrated Messala superintendant of the aqueducts and public conduits; and appointed magistrates and officers under him, each of which had his prerogatives and functions. For laborious and servile tasks he gave the republic a numerous company of slaves, brought up to those kind of works, and bequeathed to the emperor by Agrippa.

Rome had always been subject to fires, as appears by Livy's history and many other authorities. In the year of Rome 745, under Tiberius's second consulship, a very great one broke out, and burnt several houses. It was not occasioned by accident, but by a piece of fraud in the proprietors of those houses; who, having ran themselves in debt, set fire to their houses themselves to excite the compassion of the public, expecting to receive in charitable contributions enough, not only to pay for the buildings, but to enrich themselves into the bargain. Their artifice was discovered, and they were justly thought undeserving relief.

But it was a warning to Augustus to take such measures as might prevent for the future so dangerous an evil, even though fraud should have no share in it; and to make proper regulations in a thing of that importance. He divided the city into fourteen quarters, over each of which one of the annual magistrates, prætors, tribunes or ediles, was to preside. The commissaries, before appointed with a right of inspection over a certain number of streets, were subordinate to these magistrates; and at the same

His orders relating to aqueducts and conduits. *Frontin. de Aqueduct.*

To prevent fires. *Dio. l. LV. § Suet. Aug. 30.*

same time received a power and jurisdiction over the slaves, who till then had been under the controul of the ediles, only, when their assistance was wanted to extinguish a fire.

Patrole.

These measures not proving sufficient, and fires still happening frequently, Augustus, twelve years after, formed a patrole, composed of seven cohorts, enlisting in this kind of militia none but freemen, and giving them a commander in chief, chosen out of the order of knights. This patrole went their rounds regularly every night, and were a safeguard to the citizens, not only against fire, but likewise against robberies and murders. Every one was sensible of the usefulness of this institution, which instead of lasting for a time only, according to Augustus's first plan, became perpetual. It even became an illustrious body. When Dion Cassius wrote, free-born citizens made no scruple to enter into it, and they had a regular pay, and guard-rooms in the city. The commander of the patrole is mentioned in the Roman law, and his functions and prerogatives are described there.

His care to ease the subjects of the empire.  
Dio. l. LIV.

Augustus's care to ease the subjects of the empire deserves great praise too. We may judge of it by an instance Dion Cassius mentions in the year of Rome 740. Asia having suffered greatly by terrible earthquakes, Augustus paid their tribute out of his own money, sending to the public treasure the sum that tribute would have amounted to. It is true this payment, made out of the prince's coffers to the treasury of the republic, was a kind of joke, the emperor having equally the command

mand of both. However, the province of Asia was not less really exempted from a year's tribute.

I have spoken elsewhere of that ease and agreeable familiarity with which Augustus treated his friends, and acquitted himself of the duties of civil society. His goodness extended even to those he knew hardly any thing of. Being told that a senator called Gallus Tetricius, with whom he had never had but a very slight connection, was excessively afflicted, at having lost his sight suddenly, and had resolved to starve himself; he went to see him, and by comforting and exhorting, prevailed on him to lay aside that dreadful resolution.

His charming ease and clemency shine still more in an instance preserved by Seneca. T. Arius, a rich man, (that is all we know of him\*) discovering his son had intended to kill him, resolved to judge the criminal himself; and to proceed with more solemnity, erected in his own house a domestic tribunal composed of his friends. Augustus was invited, went, and took place as counsellor and assistant judge for Arius. He did not say, as Seneca observes, "It is Arius's place to come to my palace;" for that would have been divesting the father of his right, and taking cognizance of the affair to himself. The fact being proved, and judgment to be pronounced, Augustus took

\* Unless T. Arius be the same with one L. Tarius Rufus, mentioned by Pliny, l. xviii. c. 6. who from the low birth raised himself by his merit and Augustus's favour to the highest honours and the consulship. T. Arius and Tarius may easily be the same name wrote differently by an inadvertant copyist.

took particular care the votes should be unbiassed; and being sensible his opinion, if known, would influence the rest, he proposed each should give his opinion in writing, and not verbally: after that, he took a very singular precaution to avoid all suspicion of being any ways governed by interest. He did not doubt but Arius would, as was the general custom of that time, make him his sole heir, after his son's condemnation. Arius's inheritance, however considerable it might be, was not an object worth Augustus's minding: but he likewise knew princes, above all men, should be extremely cautious and tender of their reputation; and carrying his delicacy on that head even to a scruple, before the billets were opened, he solemnly protested he never would accept of any gift or legacy at any time left him by Arius's will. In the sentence he inclined as much as possible to lenity, considering not what punishment the crime deserved, but who the prosecutor was: thinking besides, that the prince's presence ought always to be accompanied with favour and indulgence, he thought banishment a sufficient punishment for the intended guilt of a raw young lad, enticed and urged on by others, and who trembling and disconcerted, when only preparing to commit the crime, had even in that shewn his remorse, and given room to hope the sentiments of nature were not quite stifled in his heart. Arius readily approved of his lesson of clemency given him by his emperor: he procured his son a commodious exile, sending him to Marseilles, where he allowed him by way of pension the same sum

he before used to give him for his yearly expences.

So many virtues shining in Augustus, so many benefactions spread by him all around, plainly prove it was not flattery, but gratitude, that engaged every order of the state, every company, as well as private persons, citizens, king's allies, and subjects of the empire, to vie with each other who most should celebrate and honour the author of their common felicity : and all their expressions of acknowledgment would have been quite laudable, had they kept within due bounds ; and had not the then prevailing impiety induced them to carry them sometimes even to idolatry. Suetonius has collected into one view, according to his usual custom, all that relates to those demonstrations of the public love for Augustus, in which I shall only copy him.

That author declares he takes no notice of the decrees of the senate, because they may be suspected not to have been quite free acts. But the Roman Knights voluntarily celebrated every year Augustus's birth-day, by a festival that lasted two days. All the orders, on a certain day every year, in consequence of a vow they had made for his preservation, went, and threw their offerings into the lake Curtius : a piece of superstition of which we find examples in every pagan country. His palace having been burnt, the veterans, the bodies of Judges or Registers, the different tribes, and even private men, hurried to carry him money to help to rebuild it. whil t, pleas'd with their good will, to shew them how much he was sensible of it and at

the

the same time not to put them to expence, reaching his hand to each heap, he took as it were an acknowledgment, but not above a farthing from each. I have had occasion more than once to speak of the rejoicings made for his return to Rome, especially if he had been absent some time. It was on one of those occasions that the Augustalia festival was instituted, which still subsisted in Dion Cassius's time. But nothing can be finer nor more moving than what passed when the title of father of the country was given him.

The title of Father of the Country is given him.

It was by a sudden and universal consent of the whole nation, that name, so glorious when so justly deserved, was given him. The people began first, and whilst Augustus was at Antium, sent a solemn deputation there to offer it him. That offer not being accepted, the whole people repeated it some time after with an unanimous acclamation, just as the emperor was going into the theatre. In short, the senators having consulted among themselves, Messala spoke in the name of all, and in full senate said, "Cæsar\* Augustus, † The Senate and Roman people, wishing all happiness and prosperity to you and your family (for that wish includes the lasting happiness of the Republic)

\* Quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domique tue, Cæsar Auguste, (sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem Itipublicæ - - - precari existimamus) Senatus te consentien<sup>o</sup> cum populo Romano consulat PATRI & PATREM.

† It was customary at new institutions, creations of magistrates, and on other such like occasions, first to form wishes for the prosperity of the nation and the whole state. Messala pays Augustus a very pretty compliment here, in praying only for his prosperity, that of the empire being of course included in it.

“ Republic) with one voice salute you Father  
 “ of your country.” Those were the very  
 words, simple and full of energy, made use of  
 by messala. Augustus \* was moved even to  
 tears, and answered, “ Having now reached,  
 “ gentlemen, the utmost height of my wishes,  
 “ what more can I ask from the immortal  
 “ gods, but that you may have for me, till  
 “ the last moment of my life, the sentiments  
 “ you now express ? ” Augustus was very  
 right, and that day was certainly the most  
 glorious of his life. Can any triumph, be it  
 ever so pompous, be compared to this tender  
 and lively expression of public love and affec-  
 tion ? I appeal to whoever has bowels, and can  
 feel.

Fathers of families would order by their wills  
 their bodies to be carried, after their death to  
 the capitol, and sacrifices to be there offered  
 up in their names to discharge their vows, if  
 dying they left Augustus alive. Several cities  
 altered the beginning of their year in honour to  
 him, reckoning the first day that on which he  
 visited them. In the provinces, besides tem-  
 ples and altars erected to him, games were in-  
 stituted to celebrate the glory of his name every  
 five years. Kings, allies of the Empire, most  
 of them founded in their dominions cities that  
 they named Cæsareus. The most famous with  
 regard to us is Cæsarea in Palestine, built by

VOL. I.

Q

Herod,

\* Cui lacrymans respondit Augustus his verbis - - -  
 Compositus factus votorum meorum, P. C. quid habeo aliud  
 deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum  
 ad ultimum vite finem mihi perferre liceat ? *Suet. Aug.* 58

Herod, the dedication of which that prince, who was neither Jew nor Gentile, but whatever best suited his turn, solemnized by games, attended with all the superstitions of Paganism.

He is a  
fourth time  
continued  
in the Im-  
perial  
power.  
*Ulv. l. xv.*

Amidst these applauses of the whole universe, Augustus received a fourth prorogation of the imperial power, which he at first had feigned to accept, as we have seen, only for ten years. The second prorogation in 734 was limited to a shorter time, being only for five years; and that was followed by \* another of the same duration. The twenty years being expired, he again pretended a desire to resign, but however let them once more prevail on him to bear ten years longer a burden so sweet to his ambition, and which after all it was for the benefit of mankind he should bear. This happened under the consulship of Asinius Gallus and Marcius; and that date brings us back to the order of time. But before we enter upon it, I must give the reader an account of some things I have not yet had an opportunity to mention.

Dedication  
of the the-  
atre of  
Marcellus.  
*Friusum,  
cxxxvii.  
14.*

The first is the dedication of Marcellus's theatre, a vast building, large enough to contain thirty thousand spectators. It was a new embellishment to Rome, and a monument consecrated by Augustus to the memory of a nephew infinitely dear to him. The dedication of this theatre was celebrated the year 741 of Rome

\* It has been said that under the year of Rome 749, Augustus caused Agrippa to be continued in the power of tribune, which had been given him for five years. It was doubtless at the same time that he caused himself to be again continued in the imperial power, the five years of which expired at the same time as Agrippa's tribuneship.



Rome by magnificent games and shews, in which, among other things, six hundred panthers were hunted to death. What they called the game of Troy was likewise performed, and Caius Cæsar, the emperor's son, was one of the actors.

Augustus was fond of antiquity from principle and taste, and prided himself on being thought a lover and restorer of the old customs and ceremonies. In consequence of that way of thinking, he was glad of an opportunity to revive the priesthood of Jupiter, that had been vacant seventy-seven years: the last who had that title, Merula \*, having been reduced by Cinna to the necessity of killing himself, Cæsar, then very young, was named to that office. Sylla prevented his taking possession of it, stript him of his right, and no body had been appointed in his place. The senate and chiefs of the republic had other things to think of during the civil wars and intestine commotions of the state. Augustus having at length made a calm succeed those storms, thought it would be an honour to his government to rescue from oblivion a priesthood instituted by Numa, to which great privileges were annexed, and the want of which seemed to make religion lose a part of its splendour.

This year death deprived Augustus of his sister Octavia; though he had in some measure lost her twelve years before, by the melancholy and inconsolable mourning in which she passed all the time she out-lived her son Marcellus. This lady, in every respect deserving the highest praises, carried her grief for the loss

The priesthood of Jupiter re-established.

Dio. l. LIV.

\* See Hist. of the Rom. Rep. T. x. p. 48.

Octavia dies after twelve years in inconsolable mourning in the death of her son Marcellus. S. N. C. 101 of 1 Mo. 2.

of her son to an inexcusable excess. From that \* moment she never ceased to bewail and lament; obstinately refusing to hear any thing that could be said to mitigate her sorrow: she would not even let any body attempt to comfort her. Wholly intent on that one thought, and suffering her mind to dwell on no other object, she glutted herself with tears. She would have no picture, no representation of a son so tenderly beloved, nor suffer any one even to mention his name in her hearing. She hated all mothers: but jealousy made her furious above all against Livia whose sons seemed destined to inherit the fortune Marcellus would have had. Delighting in nothing but solitude and darkness, she seemed as if dazzled by the too great lustre that environed her brother, and far from seeking comfort from him, hid, and as it were buried herself to avoid him. Though she saw around her three † daughters married, and several grand-children, yet she persisted

\* Nullum finem, per omne vitæ suæ tempus, flendi gemendique fecit: nec ullas admisit voces salutare aliquid afferentes. Intenta in unam rem, & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere. . . . Nullam habere imaginem carissimi filii voluit, nullam sibi fieri de illo mentionem. Oderat omnes matres, & in Liviam maximè furebat: quia videbatur ad illius filium transisse sibi promissa felicitas. Tenebris & solitudini familiarissima, ne ad fratrem quidem respiciens . . . & ipsam magnitudinis fraternæ nimis circumlucentem fortunam exosa, defudit se & abdidit. Assidentibus liberis, nepotibus, lugubrem vestem non disposuit: non sine contumelia omnium suorum, quibus salvæ orba sibi videbatur. *Sen. Consol. ad Marc. c. 2.*

† *Marcella, married to Julius Antonius; and the two Antonias, one married to L. Domitius, and the other to Drusus.*

persisted to wear mourning all her life, still looking on herself as childless in the midst of so numerous and flourishing a family. In that manner did she live twelve years, as I have said, and death only could end her affliction.

Augustus, who had always loved his sister tenderly, rendered her all the honours imaginable after her death. He pronounced her funeral oration in the temple built in honour of Cæsar: and Drusus, then alive, pronounced another from the tribunal for harangues. Octavia's three sons-in-law, Drusus, Domitius, and Julius Antonius, bore her body to the field of Mars, where the funeral ceremony was performed. The senate honoured her memory by such decrees, that Augustus thought it incumbent on him to put a stop to them. He had built in his sister's life-time a monument to perpetuate her name, of which I have spoken elsewhere, Octavia's Portico.

*Hist. of  
the Rom.  
Rep. T. xv.  
p. 367.*

Livia behaved very differently from Octavia under the very same circumstance, the loss of her son Drusus, which happened soon after, as I have said. She wept for her son's death, but without being troublesome to any body; above all avoiding to add to the grief of Augustus, already sufficiently afflicted. She accepted the honours offered to alleviate her sorrows, statues, and the privileges † of mothers of three children.

*Livia bears  
with courage  
the  
loss of her  
son Drusus.  
Sen. Consul  
ad Marc.  
3 & 4.*

Q 3

children

† Augustus's laws, in order to increase the number of citizens, granted several privileges to fathers and mothers of three children; such as, being exempt from certain taxes levied upon collateral inheritances: the advantage of having the preference in nominations to employments and offices, and other such like.

children: and whilst she lived, never ceased to celebrate the praises of Drusus, calling to mind the image and remembrance of him on all occasions; liking to speak of him, and delighting to hear others praise him. Livia had courage and elevation of mind, and her grief was certainly more reasonable than Octavia's.

A. R. 744.  
bef. C. 8.

The death of Mæcenas, under the consuls Asinius Gallus and Marcus Censorinus, was a new affliction to Augustus. Though this old confidant and minister had lost somewhat of his credit in latter times, yet Augustus was too

Mæcenas's death. His credit was grown less. Dio. l. LV.

well acquainted with his merit, and piqued himself on too much constancy in his friendships, not to regret the companion of all his great undertakings. Of this he gave a proof five years afterwards, when being at last made acquainted with his daughter Julia's dissolute conduct, and in the first heat of passion having made it public, he afterwards repented it; being sensible what a reflection it was on himself to have exposed in that manner his daughter, and the shame of his family. "Ah!" said he, this would not have happened, if Agrippa or Mæcenas had been alive."

The coldness between Augustus and Mæcenas is ascribed to a cause very shameful for that great emperor, his criminal commerce with Terentia, his minister's wife. What gives me room to form some doubt of this, is Tacitus's silence, who, speaking of the decay of Mæcenas's credit, seeks the cause of it in

a

\* *Horum nihil mihi accidisset, si aut Agrippa aut Mæcenas vixisset. Sen. de Benef. vi. 32.*

a \* kind of fatality, or in the disgust at length A. R. 744.  
 conceived, either by the master when he has bcf. C. 8.  
 given all, or by the minister when nothing more  
 remains for him to acquire. If Tacitus had  
 thought there was any truth in the report of  
 Augustus's intrigue with Terentia, he certainly  
 would not have omitted it. Perhaps Dion  
 Cassius trusted too much to common fame.

It is true Mecænas was all his life the dupe His foible  
 of his passion for Terentia, a capricious fantas- for his wife  
 tical woman, whose humours gave him perpet- Terentia.  
 ual uneasiness, quarrelling with each other  
 and being reconciled every day, putting her  
 away one moment, and taking her again the  
 next; so that he was † married a thousand  
 times, says Seneca, and never had but one wife.

These continual wrangles could not but hurt  
 the health of a man, born with a weakly con-  
 stitution, and who by his effeminate way of life  
 had increased his natural delicacy and tender- Sm. de  
 ness. He did not sleep, and used every Proid. c. 3.  
 method to lull himself to rest: he tried wine; the  
 murmuring of a cascade, or concerts of music  
 in an apartment remote from that where he  
 lay, that the harmony of the instruments,  
 softened by the distance, might strike his ear  
 with a pleasing melody, fit to procure him an  
 agreeable repose: but all was in vain: the in-  
 ward trouble of his mind prevented the effect  
 of those expensive outward helps.

Q 4

Such

\* *Fato potentie raro sempiternæ: an satias caput, aut il-  
 los, quum omni tribuerunt: aut hos, quum jam nihil reli-  
 quum est quod cupiant. Tac. Ann. III. 30.*

† *Qui uxorem millies duxit, quum unam habuerit. Sen-  
 ep. 114.*

A.R. 744. Such was the weakness of that great genius, bef. C. 6. full of vigour for business, but in his private conduct and domestic affairs indolent to an incredible degree. Nor did he dissemble it; but, on the contrary, made a public shew of his effeminacy. He never wore a girdle; and even when, in Augustus's absence, he acted as chief and supreme commander, the officer who came to receive orders from him would find him in a loose gown hanging down to his heels. At times and places where the greatest decency was required, at assemblies, on the tribunal for harangues, he would appear with a kind of hood over his head, so shaped that both his ears might be seen. Amidst the horrors of civil wars, whilst the whole city was in a tumult, and every man armed, Mæcenas's train was two eunuchs walking by his side.

His stile affected.

This effeminacy of manners inevitably tainted his stile. There were, in Seneca's time, several works of his in prose and verse. A fine and great genius plainly appeared in them, but spoilt by a taste depraved and corrupted by delicacy and voluptuousness. They were full of affected turns: a disagreeable construction of words capriciously put together; a visible affectation to avoid the common and usual ways of expression; periods wound up, not with that harmony that delights the ear, but with studied dissonances, fitter to stun and amaze.

Noble and elevated sentences, which constitute the chief beauty of a work, are incompatible with such a stile: we may judge therefore they could hardly prevail in Mæcenas's writings;

Verses in which he expresses an extreme fondness of

illu.

writings ; and without being suicide mad, like A.R. 744. Seneca : one cannot, in my opinion, but think <sup>A. C. 8.</sup> with him, such a fondness of life as Mæcenas <sup>Sen. 7p. 101.</sup> expresses in the following \* lines, deserving of contempt.

*Debilem facito manu,  
Debilem pede, coxa,  
Tuber adstue gibberum,  
Lubricos quate dentes,  
Vita dum superest, bene est.  
Hanc, mihi vel acuta  
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.*

This was a very wrong way of thinking : but whoever is acquainted with man cannot be ignorant how much he is made up of inconsistencies, nor to what degree weaknesses, really deserving pity, may be joined to talents that must command the highest admiration. Mæcenas, notwithstanding so many defects in his <sup>His good qualities.</sup> character and conduct, was nevertheless a very great genius, an able minister, and what is more, a faithful friend to his prince, to whom he would speak with the greatest freedom, not fearing to represent to him sometimes truths even disagreeable. His love for learning, and the patronage he granted such as excelled in it, have at all times secured him the praises of the favourites of the Muses. But what ought above all to gain him esteem and even affection, is, that he was mild and humane ; that he never made

\* The literal translation runs thus : " Let me be lame of hands, feet, and thighs, hump-backed, my teeth loose, if I live, I am content : even if impaled, let me but live, it is all I wish."

A.R. 744. made an ill use of the despotic power with  
 bef. C. 8. which he was entrusted several years ; that in  
 a bloody age he was not fond of blood ; and  
 often, by his wise counsels and strong remon-  
 strances, even put a stop to the bent Augustus  
 had towards cruelty in his youth. It is down-  
 right ill humour in Seneca to refuse him the  
 praises he deserves on this account, and to have,  
 by a malignant interpretation, called his \* mild-  
 ness weakness ; and said he was pusillanimous,  
 not humane. Mecænas was a man of strong  
 parts ; and if generosity and good-nature had  
 not kept him from extremes, he had all that  
 was necessary to carry a man the greatest  
 lengths.

Hot-baths  
 not known  
 before him.  
 Some think  
 him author  
 of the art  
 of short-  
 hand writ-  
 ing.  
 Dio.

Dion Caius makes him author of the first  
 hot-baths that were built in Rome ; and this  
 piece of delicacy, unknown to the ancients, suits  
 very well the effeminate character of Mecænas.  
 Another invention more estimable, which the  
 same historian ascribes to him, is the use of  
 characters, by the ancients called *notæ*, by the  
 help of which they wrote as fast as a man can  
 speak ; so that the discourses or harangues of  
 orators might be faithfully collected as they  
 pronounced them. Tiro, Cicero's freeman, is  
 generally thought to have been the inventor of  
 this useful and ingenious art. Perhaps Mecæ-  
 nas, or some of his freemen, might perfect what  
 Tiro first thought of.

His will, in  
 which he  
 recom-  
 mend: Ho-  
 race to Au-  
 gustus.

Mecænas, by his will, appointed Augustus  
 his heir, and executor for the legacies he left  
 his friends. It is no small honour to Horace

to

\* Appæet mollem fuisse, non mitem.



to have been recommended to the emperor by A.R.744. a person of that distinction, in these words: bef. C. 8.  
 “ \*Be mindful of Horace as of myself.” Great men in those days treated men of letters of superior merit on the footing of friends, and allowed them to do the same reciprocally, as appears from Horace’s works.

The emperor himself did not think it beneath him to be familiar with Horace, who, it must be owned, to his talent for poetry added all the accomplishments of a fine gentleman. Augustus would joke with him in his letters almost as if he had been his equal. He offered to make him his secretary, and admit him to his own table; but Horace preferring liberty to all other considerations, refused it; nor was the emperor in the least displeased: for writing to him some time after, he says, “ Siptimus will tell you in what manner I have spoken of you to him: for † if you are proud enough, to slight my friendship, it does not follow that I must shew the same pride towards you.”

He obligingly complains in the same familiar joking strain, that Horace had not inscribed any of his poetry to him. “ I ‡ would have you to know, says he, I am angry with you that you don’t converse with me in most of your works: are you afraid posterity may think it was a shame to you to have been  
 “ ranked

\* Horatii Flacci, ut mei, memor esto. *Auct. vit. Hor.*

† Neque si tu superbus amicitiam nostra msprevisti, ideo nos quoque *ἀνδραγαθηφαιήμων.* *Auct. vit. Hor.*

‡ Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque . . . . . scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros tibi infame sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse.

A. R. 744. "ranked among my friends?" It was in consequence of this reproach that Horace composed and inscribed to him the first epistle of his second book.

I thought these particularities concerning Horace the more proper to be mentioned here, as I shall not have occasion to speak of him any more. He died the same year as Mecænas, and most\* probably a little before that illustrious friend, as he had wished to do†. His being mentioned in Mecænas's will only proves that will to have been made before Horace's death, and that the testator would not be at the trouble of altering it. Horace's illness was so sudden and violent that he had not time to make a will: all he could do was to say verbally he made Augustus his heir.

Horace's death.  
\* F. Sannodon in his life of Horace is of this opinion.  
† Hor. Od. II. 17.

Order of the calendar restored.  
Solin. c. 3.  
Macrobi. Sat. l. 14.

I have nothing more to mention relating to the year of Rome 744, except the restoration of the order Cæsar first introduced into the calendar, which was again grown faulty through the ignorance of the pontifs: for instead of inserting the bissextile day after a revolution of four years, and at the beginning of the fifth, the pontifs had done it at the beginning of every fourth year: so that in the space of thirty-six years, the last of which was the year 743, they had inserted twelve instead of nine intercalary days. The mistake being perceived, Augustus corrected it, by ordering there should be no intercalation for twelve complete years to come, to be reckoned from the year 743, which was bissextile.

By

‡ The year of Rome 743 was the thirty-seventh since the reformation of the calendar; and the twelfth intercalary day.

By this means the three days that had been added too much were absorbed, and the calendar went regularly on as settled by Cæsar, making the year 759 the first bissextile after this interruption\*. To prevent any farther mistakes of that kind, Augustus caused the order of the calendar to be engraved on a plate of brass.

T. CLAUDIUS NERO II.  
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A.R. 745.  
bef. C. 7.

**T**IBERIUS triumphed the same day that he took possession of his second consulship, as Marius and L. Antonius had done before. Soon after he set out for Germany, where an insurrection was apprehended, though nothing remarkable did happen.

Votive games were celebrated this year, to return thanks for Augustus's happy return; and funeral games in honour of Agrippa. I shall not dwell on those trivial circumstances.

This

day fell in the month of February that year, according to the Puffis erroneous calculations. Twelve whole years were necessary to absorb those three superfluous days; and after that, four years more, before another intercalary day could take place: consequently the year 759 was to be the next bissextile year.

\* Censorinus, *de die natali*, c. 22. Dion Cassius and Suetonius say it was in this year 744 the name of the month *Septilis* was changed to *Augustus*. I have placed it twenty years sooner, for which I have the authority of Livy's Epitome, which I take to be the same as the authority of Livy himself. This difference may be reconciled by supposing, with Frienshemius, the new name was not yet generally used, but was ordered to be so by a new law made this year.

A. R. 745. This year was finished a vast building, the  
 bef. C. 7. largest, according to Dion Cassius, that ever  
 was closed under one roof : and such, that when  
 destroyed by age, no body was able to repair  
 it, so that it was quite open in that historian's  
 time. This building, called *Distribitorium*, was  
 begun by Agrippa, and finished by Augustus.  
 What use it was intended for it is not well  
 known ; possibly because it was not destined to  
 any in particular, but might in great heats or  
 cold, or when it rained, serve for numerous  
 meetings, instead of their other places that  
 were uncovered.

A. R. 746. D. LÆLIUS BALBUS.  
 bef. C. 6. C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

Beginning  
 of the ele-  
 vation of  
 Caius and  
 Lucius, Cæ-  
 sar's adop-  
 tive sons to  
 Augustus.

AS Augustus's sons grew up, they gave  
 him a pleasure which began to be mixed  
 with some uneasiness. It was a great satisfac-  
 tion to him to see those props of his family and  
 power gather strength : but the young princes,  
 accustomed to grandeur from the hour of their  
 birth, who had never seen the old form of go-  
 vernment, nor the republican equality, and  
 were doubtless continually surrounded by a  
 crowd of flatterers, did not shew so much mild-  
 ness and moderation as Augustus would have  
 wished to find in them. Effeminacy, ostentation,  
 and pride had already taken possession of them ;  
 and the honours their emperor and adoptive  
 father bestowed on them, did not satisfy their  
 growing ambition.

Two years before he distributed gratifications  
 to the legions in Germany, in the name of  
 C. Cæsar,

C. Cæsar, his eldest son, who then twelve years old was making his first campaign under Tiberius. A. R. 746. bef. C. 6. Next year he made him preside over the games in the absence of Tiberius, who was returned to Germany. His design in shewing him thus, was to induce the citizens and soldiers to like him; to advance him degrees, and in short to conduct the plan of his elevation so dexterously, that whilst he was preparing the road for him to the highest honour, he might not have room to accuse himself of having precipitated matters, nor pulled up his young courage too much.

The audaciousness of Caius Cæsar and his brother Lucius was already so great they could not brook delay. This year 746, Lucius, not yet quite eleven years old, came of his own accord to the theatre, to challenge as it were the applauses of the nobility and multitude assembled there to see the games; and emboldened by the success he met with, ventured to solicit the consulship for his brother, only fourteen years old, and still in his infant's dress. Augustus expressed great indignation, more than he really felt. "The gods forbid, cried he, that ever the republic should be reduced to the necessity in which I saw it in my youth, to be forced to chuse a consul under twenty years old!" Words full of artifice and dissimulation, by which at the same time that he condemned the childrens rashness, he insinuated his design to make them consuls at the age of twenty. The people pressed hard, but Augustus thought what he had said a sufficient opening, and answered them with this  
severe

A.R. 746. severe rebuke : “ To possess that high post,  
 but. C. 6. “ said he, a man ought to be able to avoid  
 “ committing any fault himself, and to resist  
 “ the turbulent desires of the multitude.” He  
 therefore would not yield as to the consulship :  
 but made Caius a pontif, with a right to be  
 present in the senate, and to rank with the se-  
 nator’s either at public diversions or at festivals.  
 At the same time, as if he intended to shew  
 that young prince a rival that might keep him  
 in awe, he gave Tiberius the power of tri-  
 bune for five years, with orders to go and pa-  
 cify the troubles that were breaking out in Ar-  
 menia.

*Inscrip. ap.  
 Pij. . . . .  
 an. 748.*

*Tiberius is  
 made tri-  
 bune, and  
 retires to  
 Rhodes.*

The effect of this was what generally is the  
 consequence of a conduct of this kind : the son  
 and son-in-law were both dissatisfied with what  
 Augustus had done. Caius was piqued to see  
 Tiberius put in competition with him : and  
 Tiberius, who was very quick-sighted, easily  
 perceived he was only made use of as a phantom  
 to fright a child ; and that he should be dis-  
 carded as soon as Caius should attain the age  
 Augustus wanted him to be of. It is even pro-  
 bable that he looked on his commission to go  
 to Armenia as an honourable exile ; and there-  
 fore resolving to banish himself in earnest, sud-  
 denly desired leave to retire. Perhaps too, he  
 might have another reason for it, I mean his  
 wife Julia’s disorderly conduct, which he could  
 neither bear with nor prevent : but the chief  
 and real motive was undoubtedly what I first  
 said : the same that had before determined  
 Agrippa to retire to Mitylenum, when he saw  
 the elevation of Marcellus.

Augustus

Augustus was equally surprised and offended at this rough way of proceeding, which discovered his policy too plainly, and deprived him of a support he thought necessary, at least for a time: he left nothing untried to make Tiberius change his mind, and insisted the more strongly, as all the reasons the latter made use of were visibly nought but pretences. In the flower of his age, full of health and vigour, he alledged want of rest, and a dislike to honours and a public life. Augustus went so far as to complain to the senate that his son-in-law forsook him: Livia condescended to entreaties and humble supplications: but Tiberius had inherited all the obstinacy of the Claudii: he was inflexible; and even abstained from eating four days to extort the permission that was refused him. Augustus then consented at last to his departure; and Tiberius, leaving his wife and son at Rome, immediately set out for Ostium, attended by a great number of persons who conducted him out of compliment, and to whom he said not one civil word.

He took shipping directly; but as he sailed along the coast of Campania, hearing Augustus was a little out of order, slackened his course: being, however, farther informed there was no occasion for his delays, he was in such a violent hurry to get on, that even the badness of the weather could not stop him; nor was it without danger he arrived at Rhodes, a place he had formerly liked when he passed through it on his return from Armenia. There he had ample leisure to repent having taken so hasty a resolution, and to grow weary of his retirement, which lasted seven years.

HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

218

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XII.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

A. R. 747.  
bef. C. 5.

Caius Cæsar takes the virile robe.  
Din. Aug. 26.

**A**UGUSTUS seemed to have quite renounced the consulship, which had been several times offered him, and he had constantly refused. After an interval of seventeen years, he chose to be adorned with it again, not on his own account, but for the sake of his son Caius, who being then entering into his fifteenth year, was going to put on the virile robe.

That ceremony was performed with great pomp by the Romans. The father, attended by the relations and friends of the family, conducted his son to the Capitol, there to pay the gods homage of the first fruits of the finest age of human life. From thence the young man, having changed his robe edged with purple for a plain one, was conducted by the same company to the public place, to signify his being initiated in the administration both of public and private affairs, in which he acquired from that moment a right to take part.

Augustus being to go through that ceremony for his eldest son, thought it would be more pompous if done whilst he was consul. The consulship had still lustre enough to add, if not power, yet a kind of splendour to the imperial dignity.

is appointed consul, and receives the title of prince of the youth.

As soon as Caius had taken the virile robe, the senate and people had named him consul, to enter on the functions of that post in five years; and the Roman knights presenting him with

silver



silver lances, gave him the new, and till then unheard of title of PRINCE OF THE YOUTH. A.R. 747. Oct. C. 5. Augustus seemed to yield with reluctance \* to these premature honours, though in fact he desired nothing more earnestly. Augustus's twelfth consulship affords no other event.

But if the Roman history be barren this year, the history of religion is in return abundantly rich, and affords us the greatest event that ever was; the birth of the Redeemer promised to men, and expected for four thousand years; of the Son of God who came to restore our nature by taking it upon himself, and to open us the way to eternal happiness. Augustus, without knowing, it, concurred in the execution of the designs of providence in favour of man, by the number of the people he had ordered three years before, and which was executing in Judæa at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, which happened the 25th of December of this year. Quintus, mentioned by St. Luke, speaking of this numbering of the people, is P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who was consul in the year of Rome 740, an illustrious person, of whom we shall have farther occasion to speak.

R 2

C. CAL-

\* Caius & Lucium Princeps, et Jure utis appellati, de tinnari consules, specie recedantibus fugiantium cupiverat Tac. Ann. I. 3.

† I have already observed, that, according to the best chronologies, J. C. was born four years before the Christian era now in use; and if we would be more exact, the years of Christ should be dated from the 25th of December, and not the 1st of January.

A. R. 746. C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.  
 bef. C. 4. L. PASSIENUS RUFUS.

Death of  
 Herod.

THE year in which Sabinus and Passienus were consuls, is only memorable by the death of Herod, who, after shedding the blood of his wife and three sons, and crowned his crimes by a design to kill the new born Messiah, at length expired in the racking pains of an illness in which the hand of God was visible.

Joseph.  
 Antiq. xv.  
 xvi. &  
 xvii. & de  
 Bel. Jud. l.  
 Macrobi.  
 Sat. II. 4.

Josephus gives us an account of the tragical scenes that inhuman prince perpetrated in his own family, which made Augustus say he would rather be Herod's hog than his son. By his will, which was not to take place unless ratified by the emperor, he divided his dominions among his three remaining sons, leaving to Archelaus, Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria; to Philip, Trachonitum, and some other little countries; and to Herod, Antipas, Gallilee and Perea. Augustus confirmed the will, only refusing Archelaus the title of king, which his father had enjoyed, and giving him that of *Ethnarch*, a Greek word, which signifies *Prince of a nation*.

The Roman history, still barren, partly in consequence of the profound peace that then reigned over the world, and partly for want of records, gives us for the year following only the names of the consuls Lentulus and Messalinus.

L. COR-

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
M. VALERIUS MESSALINUS.

A.R. 749.  
bef. C. 3.

THE second of these two consuls is better known to us than the first: he was son to the orator Messala, and according to Tacitus, had inherited part of his father's eloquence. Tac. Ann. III. 34.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XIII. A.R. 750.  
bef. C. 2.  
C. CANINIUS GALLUS.

AUGUSTUS treated his two adoptive sons with a perfect equality: for which reason Lucius, the youngest of the two, having attained the age at which his brother had taken the virile robe, the emperor repeated for him all he had done for Caius. He again was consul for the thirteenth and last time, to give him the virile robe with greater solemnity. He permitted, or rather managed so, that the honours which his brother had enjoyed, were given him: and particularly the title of prince of the youth, and to be put in nomination to hold the consulship five years after. Thus did he increase his supports, perhaps with a view to make them counterbalance each other: but most certainly in expectation of finding a resource in one, if the other failed. Lucius Cæsar takes the virile robe, and receives the same honours with his brother. Dio. § 34. 1. Ann. 24.

Distributions of corn and money, feasts, games and shews, were, as I have observed, the baits with which Augustus secured the love of the people. All these were employed this year, and

A.R. 750. and the reader will, I believe, readily pardon  
*bes. C. 2.* my not entering into a minute detail of them, though I cannot omit mentioning two things remarkably singular and magnificent. Augustus caused the Circus Flaminius to be filled with water, and thirty-six live crocodiles to be put into it, which were killed by men used to fight those animals. He likewise presented the people with the representation of a naval fight, in a basin dug on purpose eighteen hundred feet long by two hundred wide; so that above thirty ships of war could tack about, and perform all the motions of a battle.

*L. 19. An-  
 29.*

*Creation of  
 two com-  
 manders of  
 the Praeto-  
 rian  
 guards.  
 Dio.  
 Tac. Ann.  
 iv. 5.*

*Dio. l. lxxi.  
 9. Orat.  
 Marc. ii.*

Augustus instituted this year two commanders of the Praetorian cohorts, chosen out of the order of knights. These cohorts, destined to be the emperor's guard, composed at that time a numerous body. There were nine or ten of them, each cohort consisting of a thousand chosen men, levied in the countries nearest Rome, in Etruria, Umbria, and Latium. They had hitherto had no other commander in chief than the emperor himself, but had been commanded by their particular praefects, who received their orders directly from the prince. Augustus probably thought to ease himself by appointing general commanders, to whom he could trust the detail of matters. He chose them from among the order of knights, rather than out of the senate, for political reasons without doubt, and not to trust a command of such importance to men already powerful in themselves: he created two of those commanders, that they might be a check on each other. What he foresaw, and strove to prevent, happened.

pened. Those commanders, not much thought of at first, became in time the first officers of the empire, and often formidable to the emperors themselves. A.R. 750.  
bef. C. 2.

Tacitus in his republican stile says, \* Augustus's domestic ills revenged the republic of the too great ascendant he had gained over it. It was in the year I am now writing of, that those misfortunes first broke out, and that prince, in the midst of his glory, was covered with a public shame by the lewdness of his daughter Julia, to which he had been a stranger till then. Augustus is made acquainted with his daughter Julia's loose conduct.

Nor was he less apprehensive of any thing than of that, trusting to the good education he had given her: for he had taken particular care to bring her up well, giving her virtuous attendants, who never left her alone and what may seem incredible to us, who kept day by day an exact account of all she said or did. She had been taught to work in wool, an old custom among the Roman ladies, and which he was so careful to keep up in his family, that most of the cloaths he wore were spun by his daughter, wife, and sister. Above all he was extremely cautious, not to let Julia have any connection with strangers; so much that being informed a handsome young man had paid her a visit at Baiæ, Augustus wrote him a letter full of reproaches, taxing him with indiscretion and want of reserve. Suet. Aug. 64.  
Id. ib. 75.

Julia's nature, inclined to vice and dissoluteness, got the better of all paternal care. Freed

R. 1

from

\* Ut valida divo Augusto in republicam fortuna, ita domi inuicoperna fuit. Tac. Ann. III. 24.

A.R. 750. from all restraint by her age, and by having  
 bef. C. 2. changed her state from the time of her marriage  
 with Agrippa, she gave a loose to wantonness;  
 and continued that life with still greater licen-  
 tiousness after she was wife to Tiberius, whom  
 she despised.

*Macrob.*  
*Sat. II. 3.*  
*Tac. Ann.*  
*I. 62.*

What seems to me very remarkable is, that that princess, who gave into the greatest excess of debauchery, was in other respects possessed of amiable qualities: she was graceful, mild, polite, and her mind cultivated by study and a knowledge of polite literature: advantages designed by their nature to help and embellish virtue, but too apt to be allurements to vice.

Augustus, who was so well informed of all that passed in the remotest corners of the empire, was a long time ignorant of what was done in his own house, and by his own daughter. The company he sometimes saw about her might however have given him some suspicion: and it is said, that one day, whilst he was at the theatre, Livia coming in with the gravest and most virtuous persons of Rome about her, and Julia with a parcel of young fops, the emperor immediately wrote a word of advice and sent it his daughter, pointing out the difference between their two trains, and the indecency of hers. Her behaviour, too free and airy, her affectation in dress, and her profusions, greatly displeased Augustus: but a father is apt to flatter himself: he could suspect no crime where he saw none, and excusing a gaiety he thought innocent, would say to his friends, he had two tender daughters to whom he was forced to make some allowances, the republic and Julia.

The

The guilty princess took care herself to open A. R. 750.  
his eyes. Julia, thinking vice lost its relish bef. C. 2.  
when not made public, and notoriously scandalous, carried her licentiousness so far as to chuse the forum, and tribune for harangues, for the scenes of her nocturnal parties of debauch, and by her undoubted impudence managed so that her father was at last apprised of it.

Augustus was penetrated with shame and He confines her to the Island of Pandataria, and punishes her corrupters with death or banishment.  
grief; and having no longer, as we have already said, neither Agrippa nor Mæcenas, whose salutary counsels might have calmed him, he gave an entire loose to the sentiments that overwhelmed him. For several days he kept close to his palace and would see no body. He considered whether or no he should put to death so criminal a daughter; but at last determining Suet. Aug. 65. to banish her, himself accused her before the senate, not personally indeed, for that he could not have done without blushing, but by a memorial which his quæstor read in his name and on his behalf.

The result was, that after declaring her divorced from Tiberius, who readily confirmed it, she was banished to the little isle of \* Pandataria on the coast of Campania: there she was forbid all delicacies in dress or food, and even the use of wine. No person whatever, slave or freeman, was allowed to visit her without Augustus's express leave, and a description was sent him of whoever enquired for her. He did not however refuse her the comfort of having her mother Scribonia, who went with her to her exile. In every thing else Augustus was inexorable Id. 76. 11. \* Now call'd the Island of St. Maria.

A.R.750. orable with regard to Julia. The only favour  
 bef. C. 2. he granted her, after five years, was leave to re-  
 move to Rhegum on the continent; but never  
 would think of recalling her. Liberius begged  
 it by letter; but it was not difficult to refuse  
 entreaties made more out of form and a kind  
 of decorum, than with a desire to have them  
 granted. The people pressed him several times  
 on that subject, and with great earnestness, still  
 to no purpose; all the answer Augustus would  
 give was, to wish them wives and daughters  
 like Julia. Being told that a woman who at-  
 tended his daughter, and had been an instru-  
 ment and accomplice in her mistress's debauches,  
 had hanged herself to escape punishment, he  
 said he had rather be father to Phæbe (that was  
 her name) than to Julia.

This severity was perhaps what gave rise to  
 a most\* villainous report, imputing the pu-  
 nishment Augustus inflicted on his daughter to  
 an abominable and incestuous jealousy; a suspi-  
 cion that strikes one with horror, and which I  
 mention only to shew how far licentious writ-  
 ings and scandalous reports will dare to attack  
 even princes.

It may readily be imagined, that whilst he  
 used his daughter with this severity, he could  
 not be disposed to treat her corrupters with le-  
 nity. The number of them was great, and  
 included people of all ranks, but particularly  
 some of the most illustrious in Rome: Julius  
 Antonius

• Vol. II.  
 101.

\* It was in consequence of that report that Calpurnia said,  
 his mother Agrippa was born of the incest of Augustus and  
 Julia. But what heed is to be given to what a madman,  
 like Calpurnia, might say?



Antonius, son of the Triumvir Mark Antony A.R. 750. and Fulvia, T. Quintius Crispinus, who had been consul some years before, a complete hypocrite, concealing the greatest vices under an appearance of austerity, Ap. Claudius, C. Sempronius Gracchus, and Scipio, who it is most likely was half brother to Julia. For Scribonia had been married to a Scipio, who was of consular dignity before she married Augustus.

The most guilty in the eyes of the angry prince was Julius Antonius, son of his enemy, indebted to his clemency, not only for life, but for numberless favours heaped upon him. Augustus had honoured him with the priesthood, the consulship, and in short with his own alliance, by giving him in marriage his niece Marcella, daughter of Octavia. In return for so many obligations, Julius was guilty of the blackest ingratitude, and was even accused of aspiring to the supreme power: If this last accusation especially was well proved, he undoubtedly deserved the death Augustus made him suffer. Others of less note underwent the same punishment, but the greatest part were only banished.

Vellius exalts on this occasion the goodness and indulgence of Augustus: Tacitus on the contrary accuses him of severity, and speaking very cavalierly of the crime for which they suffered; "a common<sup>d</sup> failing, says he, was exaggerated by the prince, and called by the

<sup>d</sup> Culpam inter vi- et in vulgata, proinde in le-  
gationem religionum a- vi tunc n-je latis app-ll.ada, cl-  
mentiam inopum etasque ip- i-ores egredie-nt u. Tu  
Ann. III. 24.

A.R.750. "most odious names of sacrilege and high treason." C. 2. "son, that he might have an opportunity to deviate from the clemency of our ancestors, and go beyond the severity of his own laws." These two judgments, so opposite to each other, are agreeable to the different characters of the two writers, of whom one was a low fawning flatterer, and the other has a manifest spiteful turn. To judge impartially, we shall perhaps not find in this case wherein to praise Augustus's clemency, nor wherewith to blame his severity: those whom he punished were highly guilty, nor did he spare them.

Commotions in Armenia.  
*Usser. Bucher. Belg Rom. Mem. de Tillam.*

Whilst this was doing in Rome, the disturbances in Armenia, which had been the reason or pretence for ordering Tiberius into the east, increased daily, and required the emperor's serious attention. Tiberius, instead of going to Armenia, having retired to Rhodes in the manner I have said, the evil, which he perhaps might have remedied, was grown worse, and threatened an open rupture and war with the Parthians. We have but little knowledge of the cause of those disturbances; what we do know amounts nearly to this.

*Tac. Ann.*  
 II. 3.

Tigranes, placed on the throne of Armenia by Augustus, in the room of Artaxias, dying soon after, and his children, that is to say his son and daughter, who succeeded him, and married each other, according to the incestuous custom of the eastern people, reigning but a short time, the Roman emperor again disposed of that crown, and gave it to Artabases or Artavasdes. The Parthians did not like to see a kingdom bordering on their own dependent

dant on Rome, and they certainly promoted the sedition that was formed against Artabases, who was driven out of his kingdom, and the Romans who supported him worsted: whilst the Armenians chusing another \* Tigranes for their king, the Parthians took up arms to maintain him on the throne.

This event made Augustus really uneasy, it being a maxim with him never to disturb the peace of nations bordering on the empire, but at the same time never to receive an insult from them, and always to keep a superiority and pre-eminence over them. Provoked by the Parthians, he was under a necessity of chastising their audaciousness: the choice of a general perplexed him. Himself upwards of sixty years old, and for a long time past disused to command armies in person, he did not see among the nobility any one on whom he could rely, so far as to trust him with a power of which it was easy to make an ill use. He did not chuse to go out of his own family, and therefore resolved to send his son Caius into Armenia with the authority of pro-consul: he being then but in his nineteenth year, Augustus sent with him, by way of director, M. Lollius, the same whose bad success in Germany I have spoken of, a cunning man, and one who, if he had not military talents, which he does not seem to have possessed to any great degree, had at least the art of pleasing his master, and knew how to deceive by a specious outside.

Caius

\* Perhaps a son of the first Tigranes, dethroned and afterwards recalled by that uneasy people.

Caius C. is sent into the east to ap. peace them.

A.R. 750. Caius set out towards the end of this year, bef. C. 2. or the beginning of the next: Augustus took leave of him with this remarkable expression: *Plut. de* "I wish you, my son, the valour of Scipio," *Fort. Rom.* "the love of the people to the degree Pompey had it, and my fortune." This wish was far from being accomplished.

A.R. 751. COSSUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
bef. C. 1. L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

THERE was no great danger in the expedition Caius was ordered upon: Augustus did not desire war unless it became necessary, and the Parthians feared it, knowing how unequal their troops were to the Romans.

The Parthians who protected Armenia make their peace.

Phraataces or Phraates then sat on the throne of the Arsacidæ: he ascended it by killing his own father, revenging in that manner one parricide by another, and turning against old Phraates the example he had set him his son. The new king of Parthia was not at all alarmed at first by the preparations the Romans made against him, but on the contrary expressed great haughtiness, whilst the danger was but at a distance. He had wrote Augustus a letter, concerning some differences between the two empires, and Augustus in his answer not giving him the title of king, he replied in the same stile, calling the emperor only by his name Cæsar, whilst he stiled himself king of kings. But when he found Caius was come as far as Syria he changed his note, and desired to know on what terms he could regain his friendship.

Whilst

Whilst these negotiations were carrying on, A.R. 751. Caius advanced; and having taken possession <sup>bef. C. 1.</sup> of the consulship, to which he had been named five years before, he marched against the Parthians, traversing the borders of Arabia.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

A.R. 752.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

A. C. 1.

**C**AIUS passed the whole year of his consulship, which was the first of the Christian æra, out of the Empire, making war against the Parthians. We have no particular account of this expedition, the exploits of which cannot have been very considerable. It seems to have been ended by Augustus's answer to Phrautes, wherein he required nothing more than that he should not meddle with the affairs of Armenia. Besides the disproportion of forces, the king of Parthia was afraid of his own subjects, to whom his cruelties had made him odious: so that peace was not only advantageous but necessary to him, and he readily submitted to the law Augustus prescribed him.

P. VINICIUS.

A.R. 753.

P. ALFÆNUS VARUS.

A. C. 2.

**U**NDER the consuls Vinicius and Alfenus <sup>Interview of the king of Parthia and Caius. Pell. II. 101.</sup> peace was entirely concluded between the Romans and Parthians, in a most solemn manner, by an interview between Phrautes and Caius in an Island of the Euphrates. After all was settled they treated each other, first Caius on the Roman side, and then Phrautes on the Parthian:

A.R. 753. Parthian : so Velleius says, who then served in A. C. 1. Caius's army ; and by that expression it appears the Euphrates was the boundary of the two empires, and that things had been brought back to the point where Pompey had fixed them.

Disgrace  
and death  
of Lollius.

The interview I am speaking of was fatal to Lollius. The Parthian king unmasked him before Caius, and discovered to the young prince \* the perfidious counsels of his false and treacherous heart. This is all Velleius has been pleased to tell us on that subject, well known in his time, but which he might foresee would soon be forgot. Perhaps he understood by that

Plin. IX. 35.

vague expression, Lollius's connexion with all the kings of the east whom he had laid under contributions, and from whom he received immense presents. What we know more is, that he endeavoured to set Caius against Tiberius. He was a cunning covetous cheat, had made his own family immensely rich by plunder and extortion, heaping shame on himself, and bringing the greatest misfortunes on his own head : for he was disgraced by Caius, and a few days after died so suddenly, that there is room to think he destroyed himself. Pliny says positively he poisoned himself.

Suet. Tib.  
12.

The fortune of one of the two consuls for this year was too extraordinary not to be taken notice of. Alfenus was born at Cremona, of very low extraction ; for Horace reproaches him with having been a shoemaker. His talents were greatly superior to that ignoble profession. Animated by an inward sentiment that told him he

Alfenus's  
extraordi-  
nary for-  
tune.

Hor. Sat. I.  
3. y. ubi ref.  
Suet.

P. Com. de  
Orig. Jur.

\* *Perfidus, ac plena versuti & subdoli animi consilia.* Tell

he was born for something greater, he threw aside his paring-knife, and applied himself to the study of the law under the famous Ser. Sulpicius: in this he excelled to such a degree, that he soon overcame the obstacles the obscurity of his birth threw in his way, and by his merit attained the first dignity in the empire.

The consuls for the next year were,

L. ÆLIUS LAMIA.  
M. SERVILIUS.

A.R. 754.  
A. C. 2.

**T**IGRANES, who had been supported on the throne of Armenia wholly by the help of the Parthians, no sooner saw himself forsaken by his protectors, but finding it impossible for him alone to resist the Roman power, he had recourse to entreaties: and as Artabazes, whom he had dethroned, was dead, and there was no other competitor, he thought he might obtain leave to keep the crown. Augustus, to whom he made direct application, referred him to Caius.

The young prince's determination was not in his favour: it was therefore to be decided by arms, and Caius entered Armenia in a hostile manner. He met at first with pretty good success; but rashly engaging in a conference with perfidious enemies, he became the victim of his credulity, and received a considerable wound, the consequence of which proved fatal. He performed however the purport of his commission; and in the room of Tigranes, of whom we hear nothing more in history.

A. R. 754. made Ariobarzanes, a Mede by origin, king of  
A. C. 3. the Armenians.

*He dies.* He then returned to the Roman territories, but not in the condition he left them. His wound had affected his mind as well as his body; and out of a capricious humour, which the flatterers about him encouraged, he resolved absolutely to remain in those distant parts, and never to return to Rome. Augustus was obliged to exert all his authority to make him break through that resolution; and Caius at length set out, but died at Limyrum in Lycia the beginning of the next year.

*Death of his brother Lucius.* His brother Lucius died eighteen months before at Marseilles, as he was going to Spain, with a command of the same nature with that Caius had in the east.

*Suet. Aug. 61, 63.* Thus vanished all the expectations Augustus had formed from two young princes who were to inherit his power and name. With that view he had brought them up with infinite care, taking the trouble to be himself their master in the elements of learning, and the art of writing in abbreviations. Above all, he endeavoured to teach them to imitate his handwriting, intending without doubt to employ them as secretaries in nice and important affairs. He avoided giving them an effeminate or ostentatious education: when they ate with him, they did not lie down, but sat at the end of the table. He never lost sight of them: and whenever he travelled, would have them go before him, either in a litter or on horseback. To prevent the pride their birth and the high station for which they were destined might inspire them



them with, he made them go through a course A. R. 754.  
of instruction in common with other children. A. C. 3.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian, was pitched upon for that purpose; but not to give Suet. de illust. Gramm. them private lessons; for his whole school was transferred to the palace, and the emperor's sons were instructed in common with citizens children. All those cares did not answer Augustus's expectations, as we have seen: yet he was sensibly afflicted at their loss, the more so, as he had then no resource left but Tiberius, whom he did not love, and who was in fact the least amiable of men.

An accident so melancholy for Augustus, and so advantageous to Tiberius, made some suspect Livia of having procured by secret means the death of the two *Cæsars*. I can neither omit mentioning this suspicion because it Tac. Ann is recorded by antiquity; nor affirm it grounded, l. 3. as we have no proof.

SEX. ÆLIUS CATUS.

C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

A. R. 755

A. C. 4

**T**IBERIUS was returned to Rome when Caius *Cæsar* died. The reader may not be displeas'd to find here some account of his way of life in the isle of Rhodes, and of the manner in which he was recalled.

He led a life there quite agreeable to the Tiberius about 10 presence he had made use of to obtain leave to Book . retire. As he had said he wanted tranquillity Suet. 79 11-15 and repose, he gave himself entirely up to it. He took a small house in the town, and another not much larger in the country. He

A. R. 755. walked about in their places of exercise, and  
 A. C. 4. visited the public schools, without any retinue  
 of lictors or ushers, but like a private man;  
 and behaved to the burghers of Rhodes almost  
 as if they had been his equals.

One day, planning out what he intended to do that day, he said he would see all the sick people of the town. His servants, mistaking his meaning, ordered all the sick to be brought under a portico, and ranged in classes according to their different disorders. Tiberius, whose design was to go from house to house, was greatly surprised to see them all collected together, and sorry for the trouble they had been put to. He visited them all one after another, making many excuses, even to the poorest, and to those he did not know at all.

He never exerted his authority of tribune but once, and that was on no very important occasion. As he attended constantly the lessons of the professors of eloquence and philosophy, two rhetors or sophists happened to have a dispute in his presence, in which he interfered and spoke his mind. The disputant whose opinion he had declared himself against, attacked him roughly and without any respect, telling him he was partial. Tiberius said nothing, but went home, and returning with his lictors, seated himself on the tribunal, where the petulant sophist was cited to appear, and was by his order committed to prison.

The five years he was tribune were spent in this manner: that time expired, he at length owned the real motive of his retreat, giving it however such colours as he thought proper  
 and

and most favourable for him. He declared his design was to prevent all suspicion of any attempt to rival Caius and Lucius Cæsars; adding, that as that danger was now over, those young princes being grown up, and fit to hold the second rank, which was their right, he desired leave to return to Rome and to his family, being tired of so long an absence from them. Augustus flatly denied his request, at the same time exhorting him to forget his family he had been in such a hurry to leave; so that Tiberius was forced to stay at Rhodes; and all he could obtain through the credit and earnest solicitations of his mother Livia, was to be made Augustus's lieutenant; a title that concealed the shame of his involuntary stay there.

From that time he lived there not only as a private man, but in a much lower and more abject condition. He removed from the sea-side, and went farther up in the country, to avoid being visited by the magistrats and general officers, none of whom passed near Rhodes without coming to pay their respects to him. His fears were increased by Caius Cæsar's journey to the east. Tiberius going to the isle of \* Chios to pay his respects to him, soon found the young prince had been prejudiced against him by Lollius. What is more, he was suspected of having tampered with some centurions that had been long attached to him, and to have endeavoured by their means to create dissensions among the soldiers. Augustus wrote to him about it, and Tiberius desired,

S 3

that,

\* Suetonius says Samos. The difference is not important

A.R. 755. that, for his justification, somebody, no matter  
 A. C. 4. of what rank or condition, might be set over  
 him to watch his conduct, and give an account  
 of every step he took. So great were his ap-  
 prehensions, that he avoided with the utmost  
 scruple every thing that could give umbrage,  
 renouncing even the exercises of riding and of  
 arms, and putting on a Greek dress instead of  
 the toga.

He spent near two years in this melancholy  
 situation, every day more and more exposed  
 to hatred and contempt, of which he received  
 some proofs from Archelaus, King of Cappa-  
 docia, who afterwards had sufficient reason to  
 repent it. The people of Nismes pulled down  
 his statues; in short, at a feast where all were  
 very merry, somebody offered to go imme-  
 diately to Rhodes, if Caius liked it, and bring  
 him back the exile's head; for so Tiberius was  
 called at that court.

With great  
 difficulty  
 he obtains  
 leave to re-  
 turn to  
 Rome.

The danger increased, and Tiberius grew  
 more urgent to be recalled: Livia joined with  
 him; but still Augustus would not consent,  
 till he had first consulted his son Caius. Luckily  
 for Tiberius, the young prince was then un-  
 deceived with regard to Lollius, and conse-  
 quently more favourably disposed towards him:  
 he therefore consented, and Tiberius had leave  
 to return to Rome, but on this express condi-  
 tion, that he should live there as a private man,  
 and not meddle in any shape with what con-  
 cerned the government.

Appearances, we see, were not very brilliant,  
 and by no means promised that elevation he  
 soon after attained. He returned, however, if  
 we

we believe Suetonius, full of great hopes, chiefly A. R. 755.  
 founded on the predictions of the Astrologer A. C. 4.  
 Thrasyllus, who had been with him during his  
 abode in Rhodes. Before he would put any  
 confidence in Thrasyllus, he put him to a trial His confi-  
 in which several had miscarried and fallen vic- dence in  
 tims to: for Tiberius, devoured by ambition the astrolo-  
 in his retirement, and keeping his eye still fixed ger Thra-  
 on the empire, betwixt which and him he saw syllus.  
 but two lives, was fond of consulting those im-  
 postors that pretend to a knowledge of futurity,  
 and whose only skill consists in cunning and  
 juggling tricks. Those kind of operations are al-  
 ways done very mysteriously; and Tiberius  
 used to set about it in the following manner:

He had a house built on a steep rock close Tac. Ann.  
 to the sea. One of his freemen, the only per- l. 21.  
 son in the secret, an illiterate fellow, but very  
 strong, conducted the astrologer through steep  
 and difficult paths to a centry-box quite on the  
 top of the house: and if Tiberius suspected  
 fraud or falsity in what the conjurer had told  
 him, his freeman threw him into the sea that  
 beat against the rocks, by that means burying  
 him and his master's secrets together.

Thrasyllus being conducted to this place,  
 had the good fortune to please Tiberius, by  
 promising him the empire, and by the ingenious  
 turn he gave every thing he said. Tiberius,  
 struck with it, asked him whether he could  
 draw his own horoscope; and if, by comparing  
 the time of his birth with the present state of  
 the heavens, he could tell what he was at that  
 instant to fear or hope for. The astrologer,  
 without doubt apprised of the fate of his pre-  
 decessors,

A. R. 755. decessors, looks at the stars, and shudders: the

A. C. 4. more he considers them the more he trembles, and at length cries out, he is threatened with a great and imminent peril. Tiberius, convinced of his skill by this experiment, which appeared to him beyond all equivocation, embraced and comforted him, and from that hour made him one of his most intimate friends. Nay, not satisfied with consulting him, and listening with docility and confidence to his answers, which he thought oracles, he resolved to learn that fine science himself. He had all the leisure he could wish at Rhodes to receive lessons from Thrasyllus, and profited by them so far as to pass for having foretold things verified by the event.

At Rome  
he lives  
like a private man.  
*Suet.*

On his return to Rome, he gave his son Drusus the virile robe, and the house he lived in, formerly Pompey's, and went himself to live at Mecenas's house in the Esquilie. There he remained quiet and without employment till the death of Caius, not meddling in any public affairs, but behaving quite like a private man.

*Tillemant.*  
*Aug. c. 12.*

This obscure inactivity lasted near two years longer. He returned to Rome in the month of July of the year in which Vinicius and Alfenus were consuls. Caius Caesar died the twenty-first of February in the year we are now treating of, and the twenty-seventh of June following Tiberius was adopted by Augustus.

He is adopted by  
Augustus, who thinks  
he makes  
a good  
choice.

In adopting him, Augustus solemnly declared the good and service of the republic were the motives that induced him to take that step; and there was a great deal of truth in that declaration, so honourable to Tiberius.

Augustus

Augustus found he had a capacity for war, re-  
 solution to maintain proper discipline, great  
 penetration, and the talent of knowing men,  
 and what they were fit for. These were great  
 parts, and seemed to promise happiness to the  
 state under the government of such a prince.

I therefore think the report then spread, of  
 Augustus's chusing him for his successor, that  
 he himself might be the more regretted, must  
 be looked upon as a senseless calumny. In  
 the first place, Augustus's government, to be  
 esteemed and loved, did not want to be com-  
 pared with that of a bad prince. But, what is  
 more, it is clear from facts that Augustus did  
 not think of Tiberius till he had no other re-  
 source left. Marcellus, Agrippa, the two Cæ-  
 sars his sons by adoption, were all dead. He  
 cannot therefore, properly speaking, be said to  
 have chosen him, but rather to have received  
 him as it were from the hand of chance; nor  
 did he think he received a bad present.

Not but that he perceived, through all his  
 good qualities, bad ones that shocked him: a  
 savage roughness so displeasing, that if Tibe-  
 rius chanced to come in whilst he was talking  
 of any thing gay or merry, he immediately  
 changed the subject: a dull slowness, that af-  
 fected even his speech, and made it heavy;  
 which made Augustus say one day, \* "How  
 " I pity the fate of the Roman people, that  
 " they must fall under this heavy jaw-bone!"  
 Above all, his dissimulation was so profound,  
 that there was room to fear the virtues Tibe-  
 rius

\* *Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis max-  
 illis erit!* Suet.

A. R. 755. rious shewed were but vices masked. Augustus  
 A. C. 4. was so sensible of these defects, that he hinted  
 at them in the senate, when he desired the  
 power of tribune for Tiberius, soon after he  
 had adopted him. In the \* discourse he read,  
 as usual with him, he dropped some ambiguous  
 words concerning certain singularities in Ti-  
 berius's appearance and conduct, and made  
 such malicious excuses for them, as really  
 amounted to reproaches. In his will, he said,  
 † he had adopted Tiberius, because cruel fate  
 had robbed him of his sons Caius and Lucius  
 Cæsars; which was saying pretty plainly, he  
 took him for want of a better. In short, it is  
 assured that, before he came to that resolution,  
 he had cast his eye on Germanicus, son of  
 Drusus, and grandson to his sister Octavia; a  
 youth of a most amiable disposition, esteemed  
 and beloved by the whole nation. But besides  
 that Livia, who had very great influence over  
 him, dissuaded him from it, it must be granted  
 it would have been hard to prefer the nephew,  
 son of a younger branch, before the uncle who  
 was the elder branch of the family; and a young  
 man of nineteen, before a man of ripe years,  
 who had given proofs of his capacity in com-  
 mands of great importance.

*Tac. Ann.*  
*iv. 57.*

From all this I think it results, that Au-  
 gustus thought he could not do better, as  
 things were circumstanced, than to make Ti-  
 berius

\* *Quædam de habitu cultuque & institutis ejus jecerat, quæ velut excusando exprobraret. Tac. Ann. l. 10.*

† *Quoniam sinistra fortuna Caium & Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberium Cæsar mihi ex parte dimidia & sextante hæres esto. Suet. Tib. 23.*



berius his successor ; and not being able to find what he would have wished for, was content to do as well as he could. It may even be said, that as long as he lived, he had reason to applaud his choice ; and that his regard for Tiberius, which for a long time had not been without a mixture of antipathy, grew stronger and more sincere, in proportion as he found him answer his intentions.

In his private life, Tiberius behaved with the greatest modesty : from the time of his adoption he was, as the son of a family, submissive to paternal authority ; so that considering himself as proprietor of nothing, he made no gifts, freed no slaves, and if any legacy was left, or inheritance fell to him, he did not receive it but with Augustus's leave, which he first asked. In public employments we shall see him become really the support of the empire.

Augustus, however, in adopting him, did not intend all his hopes should center there. At the same time he adopted Agrippa Posthumus, the last of his grand-children ; and though Tiberius had a son, as I have said, already come to man's estate, the Emperor obliged him to adopt his nephew Germanicus. Thus Augustus's succession was well established on many props.

As to Tiberius, nothing could give him umbrage but Agrippa's adoption : for Germanicus, by becoming his son, had no right to the Empire till after him. This only rival, Agrippa Posthumus, soon took care to deliver Tiberius from all uneasiness. He was of a fierce savage disposition ; his only merit

great

A. R. 755.  
A. C. 4.

Suet. Tib.  
13.

Augustus  
adopts at  
the same  
time A-  
grippa  
Posthu-  
mus, and  
makes Ti-  
berius  
adopt Ger-  
manicus.  
Suet. Aug.  
lib. 5. Tit.  
13.

Abjection,  
and exile  
of Agrippa  
Posthu-  
mus.

Tac. Ann.  
1. 3.  
Suet. Aug.  
65, 66

A. R. 755. great strength of body, which he exerted bra-  
 A. C. 4. tally : no elevation of mind, no dignity of  
 sentiments ; no taste for any polite qualifica-  
 tion : fishing was his chief occupation, and he  
 Dio. prided himself so much on that exercise, that  
 he gave himself the name of Neptune. Indis-  
 creet and rash to excess, he railed against Livia,  
 accusing her of want of natural affection towards  
 him : he attacked the Emperor himself, as  
 having wronged him of his father's inheritance.  
 Augustus, ashamed to have a son and heir so  
 little worthy him, and soured by Livia's com-  
 plaints, annulled his adoption of Agrippa, and  
 banished him to Sorrento on the coast of Cam-  
 pania. This punishment, instead of making  
 the young prince more mild and tractable, only  
 increased his fury ; which made Augustus re-  
 solve to send him to the isle of Planasia,\* where  
 he was kept close prisoner. He even had him  
 banished in form by a decree of the senate, to  
 cut off all hopes of return.

\* *Now Pin-  
 nona, on the  
 south of the  
 gulf of the  
 Elbe.*

*Loose con-  
 duct of  
 Julia Au-  
 gustus's  
 grand-  
 daughter,  
 and her hu-  
 miliation.*

† *Trimiti,  
 in the Golph  
 of Venice.  
 Tac. Ann.  
 xv. 71.  
 Strab.*

Agrippa Posthumus's bad disposition was one  
 of the greatest griefs Augustus ever felt : and  
 to sum up here what relates to his domestic mis-  
 fortunes, I shall add that Julia, the eldest of  
 his grand-daughters, married to L. Paulus,  
 copied her mother's lewdness, and forced her  
 grand-father to treat her with the same rigour.  
 He banished her to the isle of Trimitum †,  
 not far from the coast of Apulia, and forbid  
 bringing up the son she was delivered of after  
 her condemnation, thinking it spurious.

The two Julias and Agrippa Posthumus en-  
 bittered all the happiness of Augustus : he used  
 to call them his three *cankers*, his three *abscesses* :  
 he



A. R. 755. nate, to which end he chose three of the most  
 A. C. 4. illustrious members of that body, with the title  
 of Inquisitors or Examiners : and on that occasion again exerted his usual liberality, both to keep, and to bring into the senate, such as by their birth ought to be there, but who were excluded as not being rich enough. He likewise numbered the inhabitants of Italy, reckoning only such as were worth the value of two hundred thousand sesterces (£. 1600 of our money) and upwards, being willing to save the poor the trouble of a declaration of what they possessed, which could be of no use to the state. Dion Cassius mentions another regulation of Augustus relating to freedoms, a thing of great consequence in the Roman republic, where slaves made free by Romans acquired the privileges of citizens. That law fixed the age slaves were to be of to be made free ; and their masters, before they could set them at liberty. It contained also some other regulations which that historiian mentions but in a vague manner.

Augustus  
 pardons  
 Cinna.  
*Dis. & Sen.  
 de Clem.  
 l. 9.*

But of all the occurrences of this year, the most glorious for Augustus was the pardon he granted Cinna. This action has been greatly celebrated, and is the subject of one of the finest tragedies the French can boast of. I shall relate it in Seneca's words.

Cinna, grandson to Pompey, but a man of small merit, was accused before Augustus of being chief of a conspiracy formed against him. One of the accomplices was the informer, who specified the time, the place, and measures taken to kill the emperor, whilst he should be  
 offering

offering up a sacrifice ; so that the crime was A. R. 755.  
 proved beyond all doubt. Augustus resolved A. C. 4.  
 to do justice on the perfidious Cinna, and to  
 that purpose called a council of his friends the  
 next day.

The night that intervened brought with it  
 reflections that threw him into a violent agita-  
 tion, for he could not without a kind of hor-  
 ror think on the necessity of condemning a ci-  
 tizen of the first rank, and who till that time,  
 had been without blame. He could \* no longer  
 resolve to order the death of a criminal ; he,  
 who formerly at supper with Antony had dic-  
 tated the edict of proscription. With repeated  
 sighs he talked to himself, venting the different  
 thoughts that agitated his mind, and combated  
 each other. " What then, said he sometimes,  
 " shall I let my assassin live easy and quiet, and  
 " take all the grief to myself? After so many  
 " civil wars have respected my days, after  
 " escaping so many dangers in battle by land  
 " and sea, a traitor would butcher me at the foot  
 " of the altars ; and shall I not make him suffer  
 " the punishment he so justly deserves ?"

There he would stop ; and after a short pause  
 again would break out, examining and judging  
 himself with more severity than he did Cinna.  
 " If thy death, said he, with indignation to  
 " himself, be the object of so many citizens  
 " vows, art thou fit to live? When will there  
 " be an end of punishments? When wilt thou  
 " have done shedding blood? Thy head stands  
 " exposed

\* Jam unum hominem occidere non poterat : cum M.  
 Antonio proscriptionis edictum inter cœnam dicitur

A. R. 755. "exposed as a mark to the young nobility, to  
 A. C. 4. "immortalise themselves by killing thee. No,  
 "life is not worth preserving at that price, if  
 "so many others must perish to save thee."

Livia overheard all he said, and saw his agitation: at length interrupting him, "Will  
 "you, said she, hear a woman's advice? Imitate the physicians, who, when the usual remedies do not succeed, try their contraries. Hitherto you have gained nothing by severity. A conspiracy punished has only produced a new one. Salvidianus was followed by young Lepidus, Lepidus by Muræna and Cæpio, and they again by Egnatius: I could name more. Try now what clemency will do. Pardon Cinna. His design is discovered; \* he can no longer hurt you: and your lenity to him may be of service to your reputation."

Augustus was highly pleased to find one that helped and encouraged him to take a resolution his inclination already led him to. He thanked Livia, sent his friends word not to come, and taking Cinna alone, ordered everybody out of the room; then bidding him sit down, spoke to him thus: "I desire, in the first place, you will not interrupt me in what I am going to say; that you will hear me out, before you attempt to answer: when I have done, you shall be at liberty to reply, I found you, Cinna, in my enemy's camp: your very engagements against me were not the effect of a choice that might change, but the consequence"

\* Jam nocere ne potest; prodesse famæ tuæ potest.

“ quence of your birth. Under those circum- A. R. 755.  
 “ stances I spared your life: I restored you your A. C. 4.  
 “ patrimony. You are now in so rich, so  
 “ flourishing a situation, that even conquerors  
 “ envy the condition of the conquered. You  
 “ desired to be made a priest: I made you  
 “ one, preferring you to competitors whose fa-  
 “ thers fought for me: and yet after heaping  
 “ on you so many favours, you would assas-  
 “ sinate me.”

Cinna, at that word, exclaimed such mad-  
 ness had never entered his thoughts. “ You  
 “ do not keep your word, said Augustus; our  
 “ agreement was, you should not interrupt me.  
 “ Yes, Cinna, I again say you would assassinate  
 “ me.” He then proceeded to relate all the  
 circumstances, all the preparatives, named his  
 accomplices, and particularly him that was to  
 strike the first blow: then, perceiving Cinna  
 was silent, not in virtue of their convention,  
 but through surprise, terror, and the reproaches  
 of his own conscience, he added, “ What mo-  
 “ tive could induce you to form such a design?  
 “ Is it that you want my place? The Roman  
 “ people are indeed greatly to be pitied, if I  
 “ am the only bar that prevents your reigning  
 “ over them; you, who cannot govern your  
 “ own house; who but lately were worsted by  
 “ the credit of a freeman, in an affair you had  
 “ at heart; you who find nothing easy, unless  
 “ it be to form conspiracies against your prince  
 “ and benefactor. Let us see, let us examine,  
 “ whether I am in fact the only one that  
 “ curbs your ambitious projects? Think you  
 “ a Paulus, a Fabius Maximus, a Cossus, a  
 Vol. I. T Servilius

A. R. 755. " Servilius, and so many other nobles, who do  
 A. C. 4. " not deck themselves out with empty titles,  
 " but return their ancestors the honour they  
 " received from them ; think you they will  
 " ever be brought to submit to your rule ?"

Augustus continued speaking to him in this manner upwards of two hours, purposely prolonging the only revenge he intended to take on the criminal : he concluded with saying,  
 " A \* second time, Cinna, I give you your life :  
 " I spared you though you was my enemy : I  
 " now forgive you, though to that name you  
 " have added those of traitor and parricide.  
 " Let us from this day begin to be sincerely  
 " friends. Let us vie with each other ; I, to  
 " support the good I have done you ; you, to  
 " make a suitable return : Let us try to make  
 " it a doubt, whether I am most generous, or  
 " you most grateful."

To this noble language he added deeds : the next year he made Cinna consul, obligingly complaining he had been too timid in not asking it. Cinna, on his side gave proofs of his sensibility, and of a good heart. He became a faithful friend to the prince to whom he twice owed his life, and dying made Augustus his sole heir. That was not the only, nor the greatest advantage Augustus reaped from his clemency on that occasion : he so effectually gained the heart of every one by it, that no conspiracy was ever more attempted against him.

Before

\* Vitam tibi, Cinna, iterum do, prius hosti, nunc insidiatore & parricide. Ex hodierno die inter nos amicitia incipit : ostendamus utrum ego meliore fide vitam tibi desiderem, an tu detes.



Before I enter upon the wars which Tiberius carried on with great glory and success in Germany and Pannonia, I shall mention here some things, which, as they have no connection with them, would only interrupt the thread of my narration, the more disagreeably, as, for want of materials, it will be but succinct.

Under the year of Rome 756 Dion Cassius Dia. mentions violent earthquakes; an inundation of the Tiber, which broke down a bridge, and overflowed the city, so that boats sailed through the streets for seven days; an eclipse of the sun, and the beginning of a famine that lasted all famine in the next year, and was very great, as may be Rome. judged by the extraordinary precautions taken on that account: for the gladiators, the slaves that were brought thither from all parts for Suet. Aug. 47. sale, and all strangers, physicians and professors of the polite arts excepted, were removed eighty miles distant from Rome. Augustus and most of the nobility sent part of their servants and attendants to their country seats. The senators had leave to be absent, and go where they pleased and that the course of business might not be interrupted by the smallness of the number to which the senate probably was reduced, it was agreed that such as did meet should have the same power as the whole body, and might, though a less number than the laws directed, form a committee and enact laws. Augustus appointed persons who had gone through the office of consul, to be inspectors over corn and bread, and settle their prices. He doubled the distributinos he used to make regularly to two hundred thousand citizens' and, to prevent a

*Lupic. Augur  
Dio.* useless consumption, forbid their keeping his birth-day with public rejoicings and festivals, as had been customary to do. The evil must have been great to require such remedies.

*Daughters  
of freemen  
declared ca-  
pable of be-  
ing chosen  
Vestals.* Though the vestals were but six in number, it had for some time past been difficult to make up even that. Fathers did not chuse to engage their daughters in a forced state of virginity, attended with such dreadful punishment, if violated. Augustus, who was strongly attached to ancient customs, and especially in religious matters, was concerned to see the vestal order fall into disrepute; and one day protested with an oath, that if any one of his grand-daughters had been of a proper age (for no vestals were received under six, nor above ten years old) he would have offered her with pleasure. Julia would have made an odd vestal. As the emperor's representations on that head did not alter the ways of thinking of fathers of children, it was thought necessary to enact, in this same year 756, that daughters of freemen might be admitted into that order, which hitherto had been filled only by persons of the greatest nobility.

*Divers  
conmo-  
tions.*

There were at that time divers warlike commotions in several parts of the empire. Not only the Germans, as I have said, had taken up arms again, but Sardinia was infested with incursions of robbers. The Isauri, a mountainous people, accustomed to rapine and plunder, disturbed their neighbours, and it was necessary to send troops to subdue and keep them in order: the Cetuli, endeavouring to make themselves independant of King Juba, raised

a war in form, in which Cossus Cornelius Lentulus merited the honours of triumph, and the surname of Getulicus.

The soldiers, knowing there was no doing <sup>Rewards for officers and soldiers</sup> without them under these circumstances, took <sup>increased as likewise their time of service.</sup> advantage of the opportunity to make their condition better. They complained of the smallness of the rewards that were given them; for instead of the \* lands their generals used formerly to allot them to settle on, it had been enacted seventeen years before, that when their time of service was expired, which was twelve years for the prætorian guards, and sixteen for soldiers of the Legions, they should have a sum of money; nor was that considerable. This regulation was highly pleasing to the people, because it freed them from all apprehensions of those cruel and tyrannical distributions of lands, which had occasioned so many disturbances in Italy. The troops were at first pretty well satisfied with it, but at the time I am speaking of murmuring greatly, so much that Augustus thought it deserving his attention, and that it was proper to satisfy them to a certain degree. He increased the gratification that was allowed them, making it † twenty † L. 100 thousand sesterces for the soldiers of the prætorian guards, and † twelve thousand for those † L. 50 of the legions. But then he prolonged their

T 3 . . . . . time

\* Tacitus speaks, however, of those distributions of lands, (An. I. 17.) as still in use under Tiberius. This contradiction between Tacitus and Dion Cassius, has been taken notice of by Lipsius. (Excurs. C. in Tac. I.) who has not undertaken to reconcile them. What a man of his learning could not do, I shall not attempt.

time of service too, fixing that at sixteen years for the prætorians, and twenty for the others.

Number of  
troops  
maintained  
by Augustus.  
*Dio. l. l.v.*  
*Tac. Ann.*  
*iv. 5.*

This was an immense expense that Augustus undertook: and that the reader may be able to form some idea of it, it may be proper to let him see how many troops he maintained in time of peace. Twenty-three, and sometimes twenty-five legions, and about the same number of auxiliary troops, foreigners, that is to say, soldiers who were not Roman citizens: ten prætorian cohorts, making ten thousand men: six thousand men, in three cohorts, to guard the city a body of Batavian horse, then in great repute: Those they called *Evocati*, that is to say, old soldiers, still vigorous and fond of their trade, remained in the service with distinguishing privileges: besides all this, two fleets, one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The pay of all these different troops could not but amount to a vast sum. We know the pay of every soldier of the legions was ten \* As a day, and the prætorians two † denarii. Add to this the recompences we have just spoken of. To answer these expences, Augustus resolved to appropriate a fund for the troops, or, which is the same thing, to establish a military chest, or treasury.

*Tac. Ann.*  
*l. 17.*

Military  
treasury  
established.  
*Dio.*

He carried this scheme into execution with his wonted prudence and circumspection. He represented to the senate the necessities of the state

\* About eight pence.

† About sixteen pence, it was the full denarius of ten pence.

state, and of a settled fund to pay and reward the troops. He declared he would make the first advantages, and in effect gave in his own name, and in Tiberius's, large sums, which were the first fund of the military chest he was forming. He received likewise for the same use free gifts from kings and nations their allies; but would take none from private Romans, intending to lay a tax on them for that purpose, which made him think it would not look so well to receive voluntary contributions first, and afterwards made them pay again. He named three administrators or treasurers for this fund: they were chosen among the ancient praetors, and were to be three years in office.

The establishment being made, it was necessary to support it too: a continual expence plainly required a fund in proportion. Augustus desired the senators would each of them think of the means least burthensome to the public, and bring him their plans to examine. He had already resolved what to do, but was desirous to bring them into it by gentle methods. When their schemes were brought him, he pointed out inconveniencies in each, and said he would keep to that he had found among his father Caesar's papers, which was to take the twentieth part of all collateral inheritances and legacies that were not left to near relations or poor. This was no more than reviving an old custom that had been disused; the thing passed, though not without some murmuring among the people, who suffering already by the

scarcity of all provisions, thought this new impost very hard.

Anger of the mob appeased by the return of plenty.

The mob, angry for the reasons I have mentioned, seemed to threaten some disturbance. They talked loudly against the government, and seditious writings were dispersed through the city, and posted up in the night. All this uproars ceased with the scarcity, the real cause of it; and plenty no sooner returned to Rome, but calm and tranquillity immediately followed.

And by the honours paid to the memory of Drusus.

The honours at the same time paid to the memory of Drusus, extremely beloved by the people, likewise helped to pacify them. Germanicus and Claudius, both sons of Drusus, gave combats of gladiators in honour of their father: and Tiberius having dedicated a temple to Castor and Pollux, inscribed his brother's name with his own on the frontispiece.

Death of Pollio. Particularities relating to him. *Eurh. Chron.*

About this time died at his country house at Tusculum the celebrated Pollio, aged eighty. He lived in a quite private manner from the time that, tired with the licentious follies and arrogance of Cleopatra, he had detached himself from Antony; would take no part in the war between Antony and Octavius, as I have before said; and when that was ended, Augustus, sole master of the Empire, did not chuse to employ Pollio much, esteeming him more than he loved him, on account of his pride and haughtiness of temper. He had wrote some satirical lines against him in his youth, but Pollio was wise enough not to answer them, saying, \* " He would not write against a man  
" that

\*. At ego taceo: non est enim facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere. *Macrob. Sat. II. 4.*

“that could proscribe.” But he never could stoop low enough to be a courtier: all his actions savoured of the old republican liberty; and the two Seneca’s have recorded things of him very singular, and which give us room to admire Augustus’s patience and moderation.

Timagenes, a celebrated rhetorician, had gained the Emperor’s friendship by the agreeableness of his conversation, but knew not how to preserve it: he had the dangerous knack of back-biting with a great deal of wit, and displayed that talent at the expence of Augustus, Livia, and the whole family of the Cæsars. Witticisms that attack the great are never lost: the air of liberty and boldness they are spoken with stamps a value on them, and makes them run from mouth to mouth. Augustus, angry at the liberty he had taken, forbid Timagenes the entrance of his palace. That man, sprung from nothing, and who had been a slave a long time, had the insolence to bravo the emperor: \* he affected to put himself as it were on a level with him, and returning enmity for enmity, threw into the fire the history he had wrote of that prince, as if to revenge himself for Augustus’s refusing to admit him into his palace, by depriving him of the fruits of his pen and parts.

Notwithstanding this disgrace, Timagenes was not the less well received in any house in  
Rome :

\* Usque eo utramque fortunam contempsit, & in qua erat. & in qua fuerat, ut quum illi multis de causis irritus Cæsar interdixisset domo suâ, comburent hi torios rerum ab illo gestarum, quasi & ipse illi ingenio suo interdiceret. *Sen. Controv. V. 54.*

Rome : but Pollio distinguished himself by giving him a lodging in his ; which was the more remarkable in him, as he had till then despised that backbiting Sophist ; so that Augustus's dislike seemed to have given birth to Pollio's regard for him. The prince took very patiently both Timagenes's insolence and Pollio's wrong-headedness ; only one day he said to the latter, " you keep a wild beast in your house." Pollio was going to excuse himself ; but Augustus interrupting him, " Enjoy joy, said he, my dear Pollio, enjoy the sweets of such a guest." And on Pollio's offering to turn him out, if the Emperor desired it. " How should I desire it, said Augustus, when it was I that made you friends ?" An expression of smartness and of mildness at the same time ; by which Augustus shewed he was sensible how much Pollio was in the wrong, but that he excused it.

*Sen. Ex-  
cerpt. Con-  
tron. l. iv.*

Pollio was the same in all his actions. Augustus hearing he had given a great entertainment whilst the news of Caius Cæsar's death was quite recent, wrote to him, complaining of it in a friendly manner. " You know, said he, how much I love you ; I wonder you should be so little concerned at my affliction ?" Pollio answered him, " I supped in company the very day I lost my son Herius. Has any one a right to require greater grief from a friend than from a father ?"

What he said was true : his strength and courage of mind resisted every blow of fate. Four days after the death of his son he pronounced a declamation according to his usual custom,



custom, of which I shall speak presently. It was observed that his voice and action were more animated than usual. One might \* perceive how he struggled to surmount a sentiment that touched his very soul, but of which he got the better.

Such strength of mind is undoubtedly laudable: but the severity and height he carried it to on some occasions, had need to be compensated by the great talents he was master of in other respects. He was a good warrior, and had merited triumphal honours. Horace calls him the oracle of the senate. As to learning and the polite arts, he was thoroughly versed in them, and excelled, as I have said elsewhere, in every branch, eloquence, poetry and history. But he shone most as an orator, and has been ranked among the best models that are to be found of true Latin eloquence.

He studied it closely; declaimed often: nay he was the first that brought up the custom of declaiming publicly before an audience. He observed however on those occasions the dignity of his rank, and leaving to rhetoricians by profession the shew of a crowd of people of all sorts to hear their speeches, he invited only a few friends to his.

Seneca the elder accuses him of being jealous of Cicero's reputation, and maliciously inclined to depreciate him. Yet Pollio did him justice in his histories, of which Seneca himself has preserved a fragment that does honour to the

\* Ut apparet hominis naturam contumacem cum fortuna  
ua rixari.

the memory of that great man. It is true he did not like to hear the merit of other orators lessened to add to Cicero's; and so far he was right. One Sextilius Hæna reading at Messala's house a poem he had wrote on Cicero's death, beginning with this line :

*Defendus Cicero est, Latineque silentia lingua.*

“ Let us mourn the death of Cicero, and the silence it imposes on Latin eloquence.” Pollio, who was present, starting up, and addressing himself to Messala, a no less celebrated orator than himself, “ You may do, said he, as you please in your own house : but for my part I shall not stay to hear a man that says I am dumb ;” and immediately went away.

*Sen. de  
Tranquil.  
animi, c.  
ult.*

It has been remarked that Pollio never studied after the tenth hour of the day. Nothing could detain him after that time : He would not even read any letters that were brought him, for fear of finding something to set his mind to work. The two hours that remained before sun-set, and the rest of the evening, were fixed and invariably settled, to unbend his mind from the fatigues of the day.

*Asinius  
Gallus his  
son. Tac.  
Ann. l. 12.*

He left an illustrious son, Asinius Gallus, whose eloquence and splendour of life was answerable to his father's, whose high spirit he likewise inherited. He was consul in the year of Rome 744. He married Vipsunia, repudiated by Tiberius, so that his sons were brothers to that Emperor's son. This alliance proved no protection to him, but was rather  
one

one of the reasons why Tiberius hated him ; to which hatred he at length fell a victim, as we shall see in its proper place.

A daughter of Pollio's had a son called Mar-  
 cellus Æsernius, whom he took great plea-  
 sure in bringing up, finding in him such a turn  
 for eloquence, that he looked on him as his heir  
 in that respect. Antiquity does not afford a  
 finer example of paternal care in the education  
 of a child. Pollio set his grandson themes  
 for declamation : and when his discourse was  
 finished, the youth recited it to his grandfather,  
 who would correct the work with as much care  
 as a good professor of rhetoric could do, point-  
 ing out where he had omitted any thing, and  
 supplying the deficiency : telling him what was  
 faulty, and correcting it. He would then plead  
 himself the cause of the adverse party. Pollio's  
 cares were not thrown away, for Marcellus  
 Æsernius was \* reckoned among the good ora-  
 tors. But he can hardly have lived long, since  
 his name is not mentioned in the consular an-  
 nals, nor does history say much of him.

Messala, of whom I have just spoken, did  
 not long survive Pollio. He was of a very  
 different character, as mild and amiable, as the  
 other was hot and violent. The sweetness of  
 Messala's temper influenced even his stile, which  
 had more of grace than energy in it. He is  
 likewise reckoned among the best Latin ora-  
 tors. But that great genius, cultivated and  
 adorned by vast acquired knowledge, suffered  
 a decay very humiliating to human nature. He  
 had always been of a very tender constitution,  
 but his memory failed him entirely two years  
 before

The pains  
he took to  
form his  
grandson  
Marcellus  
Æsernius  
for elo-  
quence.

See Ex-  
cerpt. Con-  
trou. l. xv.

\* See l. v. of  
this work.

Death of  
Messala.  
Euseb.  
Chron.  
Quint' l. x.

pp. n. l. vi.

before his death, so that he could not form a connected phrase, nor at last remember even his own name. The talents of the mind are no more ours than bodily health, or the gifts of fortune: all equally depend on the supreme will.

His two  
sons. *Ovid*  
*de Ponto*,  
iv. 16.  
*Plin.* x. 22.

I find Messala left two sons, both named Messalinus. The first was consul in the year 749, the other, who to his own name added that of Cotta, taken from his mother's ancestors, is often mentioned by Tacitus: unworthy son of a good father; a low flatterer of the great and powerful, and a cruel oppressor of the weak; plunged in debauchery, and whose life affords nothing memorable, unless it be the invention of a new ragout, with which he enriched the Roman cookery.

Archelaus,  
son of He-  
rod, is de-  
posed, and  
Judea be-  
comes a  
Roman  
province.  
*Joseph. An-  
tiq.* l. xvii.  
*de B.*  
*Jud.* 11.

I shall conclude this book with an event relating to Judea, but interesting to us on account of its connection with the history of our religion. Archelaus, son of Herod, seems to have had all his father's vices, without any of his great qualities. Immediately after Herod's death he shewed his disposition to cruelty and tyranny, and forced the Jews to complain against him, and desire Augustus would not leave them under a master justly odious to them, but take them under the immediate protection of the Roman Empire. Augustus paid little regard to their request at that time; but confirming Herod's will, gave Archelaus Judea and Samaria in consequence of it; though only with the title of Ethnarch, as I before observed; leaving him in hopes of having that of king, in case he governed well.

Archelaus

Archelaus was of a violent temper, and the Jews were uneasy and turbulent. After nine years their complaints were renewed and laid before Augustus, on whom they made a greater impression that time. The Emperor, without vouchsafing to write to Archelaus, ordered the Jewish agent at his court to go to Judea, and bring his master to Rome. Archelaus was indulging himself at table when his agent brought the severe and unexpected order, which he was forced to obey immediately. The accusers and accused were heard, and Archelaus was *dis* condemned, his government taken from him, and himself banished to Vienna on the Rhone. Judea and Samaria by that means became immediately dependant on the Romans, and were from that time governed by an intendant sent by the Emperor, and under the controul of the governor of Syria. The Jews then lost, in the finest part, and in the capital of their country, even the very shadow of public power, having no longer so much as their own particular princes to govern them. This change happened in the year of Rome 759, and the eighth of the Christian vulgar æra. Coponius was the first intendant sent by Augustus to govern Judea.





of the women shut up in the town of *Arduba*. *Baton*, the *Dalmatian*, surrenders. His answer to *Tiberius*. Importance of this war. *Augustus's* care to please the people. *Tiberius's* conduct in this war praised. His victory great and opportune. Honours decreed him. Honours and privileges granted *Germanicus*, and *Drusus*, son of *Tiberius*. *Varus* governor of *Germany*. His character and conduct. Character and conduct of *Arminius*, chief of the revolted  *Germans*. Bloody defeat of the *Romans*. Insolence and cruelty of *Arminius* after the victory. *Augustus's* grief. Terror in *Rome*. *Tiberius* is appointed to oppose the *Germans*. He behaves like a great and experienced general. He crosses the *Rhine* and lays the country waste. He does the same next year. *Augustus* is fully satisfied with his conduct. Expresses great kindness towards him. He gives him a power equal to his own. Triumph of *Tiberius*. Eight Legions on the *Rhine*. The command of them is given *Germanicus*. *Augustus* labours to the end of his life, allowing himself only some relaxation. He causes the same power to be given his *Privy Council* that the *Senate* had. He weakens the little power that still remained with the people. His zeal to abolish celibacy. The law *Papia Poppæa*. Law against *Diviners* and *Astrologers* revived. Punishment of authors of defamatory libels. Banishment of *Cassius Severus*. Law to make the condition of exiles harder. Regulations concerning the encomiums governors of provinces made the people give them. He takes off the injunction he had laid on *Knights* not to fight as *Gladiators*. Augustus



*gustus grows infirm. Uncasiness of the Romans: Livia is suspected of having poisoned Augustus. Uncertainty of what was reported on that subject. Augustus conducts Tiberius, who was going to Illyria, as far as Beneventum; and though very ill, amuses himself much in that journey. He is stopped at Nola by the violence of his disorder. Tiberius returns. Augustus dies. His age. Duration of his reign.*

**T**HE General Peace, attested by closing <sup>Temple of</sup> the temple of Janus eight years before <sup>Janus</sup> opened the vulgar Christian æra, and four years before <sup>again on</sup> the true date of the birth of Christ, had suf- <sup>account of</sup> fered some slight interruption, but so remote <sup>the Ger-</sup> from the centre of the empire, and attended with <sup>man war.</sup> so little danger, that Augustus did not think it a sufficient cause to acknowledge, when he opened the temple of Janus again, that the peace, his work, and in which he gloried, was broke.

Among these slight commotions, I reckon <sup>R. II</sup> those of the \* Germans, during the year 752 <sup>106</sup> of Rome, and the two following. They were easily quelled by M. Vinicius, who in consequence obtained the honours of triumph. But in the year of Rome 755 the war became serious, and Tiberius was sent into Germany immediately after his adoption. It can hardly be

\* Velleius, speaking of these commotions, makes use of a very emphatical expression; *immensum exarcebat bellum*, says he; but he is a flatterer, and wants to extol Vinicius's exploits, to whom he dedicates his work. We have already spoken, after Dion Cassius, in the year of Rome 727. of some little fruits of that war which Vinicius fought against the Germans

be doubted but that the temple of Janus was then opened again, nor was it shut any more during the reign and life of Augustus. The German war, a little calmed at the end of two years, was immediately followed by one with the Pannonians; and just as this last was ended, the other, which had only subsided for a time, broke out again with more fury than ever, and raged with great violence till the beginning of Tiberius's reign. I will endeavour to give an account of those events.

A. R. 755.    SEX. ÆLIUS CATUS.  
A. C. 4.     C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Tiberius sent against the Germans, gains great advantages over them.  
*Din. l. LV.  
Suet. Tib.  
c. 16.  
Vell.*

**T**IBERIUS, immediately after Augustus had adopted him, being ordered to go and pacify Germany, left Rome when the season was pretty far advanced; for he was adopted towards the end of June. He did not lose a moment's time, but with all expedition entered the enemy's country; and backed by Sentius Saturninus, a man of years and experience, father to the consul of that name for this year, gained great advantages. He scoured all the Lower Rhine, subduing the \* Caninetali, the Attuarii, and the Bructeri. He passed the Weser, and made the Cherusei submit to their duty. All these expeditions prolonged the campaign till December. Tiberius settled his winter quarters beyond the Rhine near the head of the Lippe, in order to be in readiness to pursue

\* A people inhabiting part of the island of the Batavians. The Attuarii lived on the borders of the Lippe; the Bructeri between the Rhine and the river Ems.

pursue his operations early the next year. Himself went to Rome for the rest of the winter, not chusing to run the hazards of too long an absence, which might afford opportunities of prejudicing and supplanting him in the esteem of Augustus, on whose affection he did not greatly rely.

CN. CORNELIUS CINNA MAGNUS.  
J. VALERIUS MESSALA VOLUSUS.

A. R. 754.  
A. C. 5.

**E**ARLY in the spring Tiberius returned to Germany, and prosecuted the war with great vigour both by sea and land. He penetrated into the heart of the country with his legions; subdued the Cauci, and the haughty Lombards, who then inhabited the Marche of Brandebourg, on each side the Elbe. At the same time that he arrived on the borders of that river, his fleet, which had sailed round the coasts of Germany, entered its mouth, bringing his army all sorts of provisions and refreshments.

These exploits do not seem to have cost Tiberius either great efforts or great peril. Velleius, who at that time served under him, and who swells his narrative with the most pompous expressions he could think of, owns that in all this expedition there was but one battle, in which the Barbarians, attempting to surprize the Roman army, were repulsed and cut to pieces. If then the Germans humbly sued for peace, their submission must have been owing to the terror they were struck with at seeing such a prodigious force brought into their country,

Extends  
his con-  
quests to  
the Elbe.

The Ger-  
mans sue  
for peace,  
and obtain  
it.

country, and by the formidable appearance of a land army and a fleet combined. Tiberius granted them the peace they desired, and gained a second time the glory of reducing the whole country from the Rhine to the Elbe, to acknowledge, in appearance at least, and for a time, the Roman laws. Augustus took on this occasion the title of *Imperator* for the fifteenth time, and permitted Tiberius to take it the fourth. Sentius Saturninus received the ornaments of triumph.

*Bucher.*  
*Belg. Rom.*  
*lib. II. c. 10.*

A. R. 757. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
A. C. 6. L. ARRUNTIUS.

Power of  
Mar. bo-  
duus, king  
of the Mar-  
comans.  
*Vell. II.*  
108.

*Strab. l. VII.*

**A**FTER subduing a considerable part of Germany in two campaigns, Tiberius proposed to extend his conquests and the Roman dominion, by attacking Maroboduus, king of the Marcomans. That prince, by birth a barbarian\*, but by no means such in his conduct, and the qualifications of his mind, had formed himself a powerful kingdom, less by his courage, though that was great, than by a well-concerted and well-followed policy, always properly governing and directing every action of his towards the object to which his ambition aspired. Born on the borders of the Mein, of one of the most illustrious families of the Marcomans, his person and exalted sentiments were answerable to the nobility of his extraction. To these he added the acquired accomplishments of his mind, having spent his youth at Rome, where Augustus loaded him with favours.

\* *Natione magis quam ratione barbarus.*

vours. When returned to his own country, he <sup>A. R. 757.</sup> gained the esteem and admiration of his coun- <sup>A. C. 6.</sup> trymen to that degree, that they soon made him their chief. But what he aimed at was to be a <sup>Vel.</sup> great king: and the Romans, whose power was more and more established by Drusus's victories in the western parts of Germany, were troublesome neighbours, that hindered him from extending himself. He resolved to remove from them; and in consequence of that resolution, prevailed on the Marcomans, as I have before said, and on some others of the Suevi, to leave their native country, threatened with servitude: and with that numerous and formidable colony he removed into Bohemia, of which he took possession by dint of arms. From thence, as from a center, he spread himself around, made conquests over the neighbouring people, and in a few years formed himself an extensive territory, which he governed with the title and power of king. He had a guard for his person, and maintained seventy thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horse; all brave troops, which he took care to discipline after the Roman manner.

With such forces, and bordering almost on Italy, from which his frontiers were not above two hundred miles distant, the Romans might well be a little jealous of him; and though Tiberius undoubtedly exaggerated, when, several years afterwards, speaking of him in the senate, he said, that \* neither Philip had been an enemy

U 4 .

more

\* Non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendus fuisse. *Tac. Ann.* II. 62.

A.R.757. more to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus and Antiochus by Rome, than was Maroboduus. This however at least is very certain, that if the Romans, at the height of power and greatness to which they were arrived, could have reason to fear any thing, it was the power of Maroboduus.

Nor was his behaviour towards them calculated to diminish their apprehensions. He did not make war against them, but plainly shewed, that in case they attacked him, he wanted neither means nor resolution to defend himself. By his ambassadors that he sent to Augustus and to Tiberius, sometimes he would speak the language of a suppliant, and at others that of an equal. Private persons, or whole nations that withdrew themselves from the Roman subjection, found a sure assylum with him. In a word, \* all his actions seemed plainly to tell those haughty masters of the universe, that they had a rival, whom political reasons only prevented from declaring himself their enemy.

Tiberius prepares to attack him.

The Roman pride could not bear that any one should not be subject to them; for which reason Tiberius settled his plan of operations, resolving to make him bend, and submit to their laws. His design was to attack him in two places. Sentius Saturninus was ordered to cross the country of the Catti, and open himself a passage through the Hercynian forest, so to enter Bohemia at the west; whilst he, with another army assembled at Carnuntum, † then

\* Totum ex male dissimulato agebat œmulum. *Vell.*

† Carnuntum has long been ruined. Its remains are to be sought

a town of great importance on the Danube, should form his attack on the south side. A. R. 757.  
A. C. 6.

Maroboduus was undone, could this scheme have been put in execution. Already Tiberius on one side, and Saturninus on the other, were but five days march distant from the enemy: when a sudden revolt of the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and all the people of those countries, obliged the Romans to think of preventing more urgent dangers. It would have been \* imprudent in them to penetrate into Bohemia, and leave Italy exposed to the depredations of these formidable neighbours. A necessary care was preferred to a motive merely of glory: and Tiberius, concluding a treaty with Maroboduus, who was no ways averse to it, turned his arms against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Is prevent ed by the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians.  
Tac. Ann. 11. 46.

The revolt began in Dalmatia, a province till then peaceable, and for that reason put in the senate's department: but afterwards suffering but impatiently that tributes and taxes should be levied on them, they grew tumultuous, and in the year of Rome 741 Augustus took the administration of that province to himself. Tiberius soon reduced them to order: but the exactions still subsisting, and the Dalmatians still preserving rancour in their hearts, took the opportunity the preparations for war against Maroboduus offered them. For Tiberius, in order to form the army assembled at Carnuntum, Dia. l. 117.  
Dia. l. 17.  
& Vell. 11.

*sought for, according to Cellarius, near Hainbourg, below Vienna, and above Presbourg.*

\* Tum necessaria gloriæ præposita: neque tutum virum, abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuum tam vicino hosti relinquere Italiam. Vell.

A.R. 757. Carnuntum, had drawn the Roman troops out of Dalmatia and Pannonia; and Valerius Messalinus, Governor of those two provinces, was gone in person to join him with the greatest part of his forces. Men too were levied among the Dalmatians, which opened their eyes and made them sensible of their own strength, in a numerous and flourishing train of youth. Under these circumstances, encouraged and headed by one baton, they attempted to shake off the yoke, and instead of joining Tiberius's army, as they were ordered, fell on the Romans that were left in their country, and killed a great number of them. That was the signal of the revolt, which the Pannonians immediately joined, under the command of another baton.

Strength  
and designs  
of the re-  
bels.

Never did fire spread with such violence and rapidity. In a very short time the rebels were in arms, to the number of two hundred thousand foot and eight thousand horse. Judiciously dividing their strength, one part was to attempt a passage into Italy, between Nauportum\* and Trieste, another over-ran Macedonia, whilst a third remained in the country to defend it. In the first heat of this sudden revolt all the Roman citizens and traders spread up and down the country, were murdered or made slaves, the garrisons cut to pieces, and the posts they held, taken. The towns of Sirmich and Salona, being in a condition to defend themselves, resisted, and were besieged, one by the Pannonians, the other by the Dalmatians.

\* Ober Lau-  
bach.

Alarm in  
Rome.

The alarm reached Rome: Augustus's resolution was shaken: he was heard to say that, unless



unless care was taken, the enemy might in ten A.R. 757. days be seen before the walls of the capital of A. C. 6. the empire. Troops were raised in haste : veteran soldiers were called back to their standards from all quarters : the richest citizens, and even the ladies, were ordered, according to their faculties, to send their strongest and ablest slaves to be made free and enlisted. The senators and Roman knights all offered their services, and many of them went to serve in person. But these succours were slow and distant.

Cecina Severus, who commanded in Mæsia \* Tiberius undertakes the conduct of that war, and manages it with great prudence. was first there, and made the Paunonians raise the siege of Sirmich. Next came Messalinus, detached by Tiberius, and he marched against Baton the Dalmatian, who had likewise been obliged to leave Salona, by a wound he received before that place. The two armies met, and the Barbarian had some advantage. But soon after falling into an ambush, he was heartily beaten by Messalinus, who merited by that exploit the ornaments of triumph. At last Tiberius came, and took the general conduct of the war, which he directed agreeable to his usual maxims, relying more on prudence than on strength, and endeavouring to distress the enemy by want, rather than expose himself to their impetuous fury.

Not but that he had a powerful army under Suet. Tib 16. his command ; fifteen legions, and as many auxiliary troops ; among whom Rhymetalees and Rhascuporis, two brothers, kings of Thrace, distinguished

\* Mæsia reached from where the Save and Danube join, to the Pontus Euxinus.

A.R. 757. distinguished themselves. But he \* wanted to  
 A. C. 6. save his soldiers, and never would be tempted by  
 any opportunity, however favourable, to fight the  
 enemy, if it was like to cost him much bloodshed.  
 The safest always appeared to him the most glo-  
 rious means: he studied rather to fulfil the duty  
 of his commission, than to acquire a brilliant  
 reputation by it: the desires of his troops never  
 were the rule of his conduct: the wisdom of the  
 general was, in his opinion, to direct the motions  
 of the soldier, whose duty it was to obey.

I say this after Velleius, who I think may be  
 credited on this occasion, what he relates being  
 agreeable to the character of Tiberius, and  
 moreover proved by facts. The last words of  
 that historian, which I have made use of, give  
 us to understand, that Tiberius's slowness was  
 not always approved by his army. Augustus  
 himself was not quite pleased with it at first,  
 and began to suspect Tiberius wanted to spin  
 out the war, to keep the command in his own  
 hands. In order therefore to make him exert  
 himself, he sent him the next year Germanicus,  
 then quæstor, at the head of what troops had  
 been raised in Rome and Italy. He depended  
 on the activity of that young prince, then in the  
 flower and vigour of life, and on the integrity  
 of

*Augustus  
 sends Ger-  
 manicus to  
 him.*

\* Nunquam (Tiberio) adeo ulla opportuna visa est victoriæ  
 occasio, quam damno amissi pensaret militis; semperque vitium  
 est gloriosum, quod evet tutissimum, & antè conscientiam, quam  
 famæ, consultum, nec unquam consilia ducis iudicio exercitus  
 vel exercitus providentiâ ducis rectus est. *l'ell. II. 115.*

of his heart, open, generous, and incapable of harbouring a thought contrary to his duty.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

A. R. 752.

A. LICINIUS NERVA SILIANUS.

A. C. 7.

**U**NDER the consuls Metellus Creticus and Nerva Silianus, the rashness of two lieutenant-generals, and the loss sustained by it, justified Tiberius's circumspection.

The Romans sustain a loss by the rashness of two lieutenant-generals.

Cecina Severus, who had been obliged to return to Mæsia, to secure that province from the incursions of the Dacians and Sarmatians, marched back this year against the Pannonians, accompanied with Plautus Sylvanus, who had brought him a strong reinforcement from beyond sea. The body commanded by those two generals consisted of five legions, besides auxiliary troops, the number of which we are ignorant of, being only told that Rhymatalees's Thracian cavalry was amongst them. They marched without any precaution, thinking the enemy at a great distance; when at once they were all surrounded, every thing gave way, and was in confusion the legions excepted: their valour remedied the imprudence of their generals, and stopped the rout: they stood firm at first, then advancing on the enemy, broke them, and gained a complete victory. But it was a bloody one; not only a great number of soldiers, but several officers of distinction perished.

(1)

\* So Velleius expresses it, ex transmarinis provinciis, by which I understand Bithynia and part of Asia, properly call'd.

A.R. 758. On the contrary, Tiberius managed the war  
 A. C. 7. prudently against the rebels he was to oppose,  
 Tiberius and cutting off their supplies of provisions, and  
 distresses driving them from their posts, reduced them  
 the enemy by want. to greater distress than they could bear, nor  
 dared they accept the battle he offered them.  
 They left the flat country, and retreated to a  
 mountain, where they intrenched themselves.

Germanicus on his side conquered the Mazæ-  
 ans, a people of Dalmatia, in a pitched battle.

A.R. 759. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

A. C. 8. SEX. NONIUS QUINTILIANUS.

The Pan-  
 nonians  
 submit.

THE third year of the war, Tiberius be-  
 gan to reap the fruits of his good conduct.  
 The rebels, ruined and consumed by hunger,  
 and worn out with sicknesses, consequent on  
 misery and badness of food, desired peace; and  
 would all have submitted, had they not been  
 prevented by the authors of the revolt, who  
 feared the Romans would grant them no quar-  
 ter. At length the Pannonians left them, and  
 all their young men assembling near the river  
 Bathinus, laid down their arms, and threw  
 themselves at the conqueror's feet. Of their  
 two chiefs, Baton and Pinnes, one had been  
 made prisoner in some action, of which we have  
 no account; the other surrendered himself.  
 Thus Pannonia was pacified, and there re-  
 mained only the Dalmatians to deal with, who,  
 as they had been the first to revolt, so were they  
 the most obstinate in rebellion. Another cam-  
 paign was therefore necessary to put a final end  
 to the war.

Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

A.R. 760.

C. POPPÆUS SABINUS.

A. C. 9.

**T**HIS last campaign was not the least la-<sup>The Dal-</sup>borious. Tiberius having divided his <sup>mation were</sup> troops into three bodies, one of which was <sup>subdued by</sup> commanded by Lepidus, and another by Sila-<sup>force.</sup>nus\*, put himself with Germanicus at the head <sup>Fell. II.</sup> of the third; and with these three armies over-<sup>114. Dio l.</sup>run all Dalmatia, wasting, burning and plundering every thing: so that the Dalmatians had no resource left but to shut themselves up in two towns they had remaining. Andetrium near Salona, and Arduba. The first of these was besieged by Tiberius, and the other by Germanicus.

The siege of Andetrium proved a difficult and troublesome operation: the besieged were so obstinate, that though Baton, their chief, seeing no hopes, had left them and fled away, they still defended themselves; nor could be mastered but by forcing them sword in hand.

Arduba would not have cost Germanicus less trouble, if the besieged had not quarrelled among themselves. There was a great number of deserters in the town, who knowing they had no favour to expect from the Romans, resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and die in the breach: the natives of the place were,

ON

\* So Dion Cassius names that lieutenant of Tiberius. One would be apt to think there is some little mistake in the name, and that it should be Silvanus, or Sylvanus, of whom we spoke before, and who, according to Pighius, merited the honours of triumph in this war.

A.R. 760. on the contrary, inclined to surrender: from  
 A. C. 9. words they came to a battle in form: but what  
 was very singular, is, that the women, more ob-  
 stinate to defend their liberty than the men, de-  
 clared themselves in favour of the deserters, a-  
 gainst their husbands. The inhabitants got the  
 better, and opened their gates to the Romans.  
 The women, then quite frantic, did not hesitate  
 a moment betwixt death and slavery, but tak-  
 ing their children in their arms, threw themselves  
 with them, some into a fire they had made on  
 purpose, and others into the river that ran close  
 to the walls.

Fury and  
 despair of  
 the women  
 shut up in  
 the town of  
 Arduba.

Baton, the  
 Dalmatian,  
 survivor of  
 his answer  
 to Tiber-  
 rius.

That was the last exploit of this war. Baton,  
 the Dalmatian, who still had a handful of armed  
 men about him, dared no longer try his for-  
 tune, but offered Tiberius to surrender, if his  
 life, and the lives of his followers were granted.  
 His offer being agreed to, he appeared with a  
 noble courage before Tiberius's tribunal; and  
 being asked by him what were the motives of  
 his revolt, "Romans, to whom I speak, said he,  
 "it was your own fault: you send wolves, and  
 "not shepherds, to keep your flocks."

Import-  
 tance of  
 it in war.  
 Sect. 7th.  
 c. 16.

Thus ended the war with the Pannonians  
 and Dalmatians, which Suetonius calls the most  
 important and terrible the Romans had had  
 since the punic wars. That is saying a great  
 deal. The Cimbrians and Teutons certainly  
 threatened Rome with greater danger: but it is  
 likewise true, that the war we have been speak-  
 ing of, on account of the number and valour of  
 the enemy, and their proximity to Italy, might  
 give the Romans great uneasiness.

Augustus

Augustus was of that opinion. Though then A.R. 760.  
 seventy years old, he went to Rimini to be nearer A. C. 9.  
 the scene of action, and more at hand to be con- Div. l. xv.  
 sulted and give his orders. He likewise took Augustus's  
 a particular care to make easy the minds of the care to  
 people, easily frightened when once a terror sei- please the  
 zes them. He thought it a piece of policy, which people.  
 I can by no means approve of, to conform to the  
 superstitious prejudices of the vulgar in favour  
 of a woman, who having a knack of graving cer-  
 tain characters on her arm, pretended to be a  
 prophetess: as he saw the people wrapped up in  
 this woman, he affected to believe her himself, and  
 went through all the ceremonies she prescribed  
 for the prosperity of the Roman arms.

He thought it the more necessary to behave  
 with this circumspection, as the charges of the  
 war had obliged him to lay a new tax, consisting  
 of the fifteenth part of the price for which every  
 slave was sold. This was a charge that, added to  
 the twentieth part of all collateral inheritances,  
 lately imposed, to the scarcity of provisions that  
 still subsisted, and to the hardships and dangers  
 of the war, might irritate and alienate the people,  
 if Augustus had not taken care to humour  
 them, by a complaisance sometimes too far stretch-  
 ed.

The happy success of the war remedied all, Tiberius's  
 and Rome was indebted for it to Tiberius, conduct in  
 whose work this great victory was. the war  
Suetonius says, that when often exhorted by Augustus to  
 leave an undertaking that exposed him to too  
 many dangers, he always persisted not to give  
 it up till he had brought it to a prosperous

A.R. 760. end. In his conduct of this war he gave proofs  
 A. C. 9. of his prudence, activity, and, which is very remarkable in a character like his, of humanity and mildness. Velleius, an eye witness, assures us he took infinite care of the sick and wounded officers: his carriage and litter were for their use. On this occasion it may be observed, by the by, how little the Romans, even then, had given way to luxury in their military service; since in a great army there was no other carriage of ease, nor any other litter than what belonged to the prince, who was their general. Velleius adds, that Tiberius took upon himself to furnish every thing immediately necessary for the sick, physicians, surgeons, remedies, food proper for their situations, and in short bathing; all necessary utensils having been brought to the camp, by his order, merely for that purpose. As to himself, he was never seen but on horseback; he and all that were invited to his table ate sitting. Attentively careful to keep up a proper \* discipline, he avoided being too severe in it; chusing rather to advise or reprimand, than punish; conniving at many things, but cutting short when abuses were going too far, and might become contagious. What pity that a prince, so well acquainted with virtue, should ever have preferred vice and tyranny!

His victory  
 great and  
 opportune.  
*Suet. Tib.*  
 16, 17.

Tiberius's victory added a great extent of land to the Roman territories: it was what they called

\* Non sequentibus disciplinam, quatenus exemplo non necebitur, ignorit: ut dis-simulantis, aliqua inibentis. *Fel. II. 114.*



called Illyria, lying between Noricum and Italy, A. R. 760. the Danube and the Adriatic sea, Thrace and A. C. 9. Macedonia. And what made this victory of infinite value to Augustus and the whole nation was, the circumstance of Varus's unfortunate defeat in Germany, which happened just at the same time; so that it could not be doubted but the Germans after their conquest, would have joined their forces to those of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, if the latter had still been in arms.

A triumph was decreed Tiberius, who well <sup>deserved</sup> it: many other honours were added <sup>to</sup> it, and some in the senate proposed giving <sup>him</sup> some glorious surname, as the *Pannonian*, or the *Invincible*: others thinking it more honourable to celebrate a quality, of which he had indeed the outward appearance, but by no means the reality, surnamed him the *Pious*, meaning a son full of tender and respectful attachment to the emperor, his adoptive father. Augustus, who perhaps was not over fond of this ardent zeal to exalt Tiberius, would not let any new surname be given him: "That which is reserved for him after my death, said he, will be sufficient." He was in the right. the name *Augustus*, to which the supreme authority was annexed, easily obliterated all those vain titles of honour without power.

As to the triumph, Tiberius himself deferred it, on account of the deep mourning into which the recent defeat of Varus had thrown the whole city. He made his entry, however, in the robe *Prætexta* and laurel crown, and ascended a tribunal prepared for him in the  
Campus

A.R. 760. Campus Martius, round which all the senate  
A.C. 9. was ranged. There he seated himself at Augustus's side, between the two consuls; and after saluting the people who had flocked together to receive him, he was conducted in pomp to the capitol, and several other temples, where he returned thanks to the gods.

Honours and privileges granted to Germanicus. *Dio. l. LVI.* Germanicus who had seconded him perfectly well in the Pannonian war, and who was come himself to Rome to bring the news of his victory, obtained the ornaments of triumph and those of prætor; though he had been no more than quæstor: the right of speaking in the senate immediately after those of consular dignity, and a dispensation to be consul, before the age prescribed by law.

And Drusus, son of Tiberius. Privileges of the same kind, but of an inferior order, because he was younger, were granted Drusus, son of Tiberius: a right to sit in the senate, though he was not yet a senator, and the precedence before all old prætors after he should be quæstor.

*Suet. II. 119.* The Romans felt but little joy for the victory over the Pannonians and Dalmatians; so great was their consternation at Varus's defeat in Germany, the most bloody and compleat they had had since Crassus. P. Quintilius Varus, author of this cruel disgrace, to which himself fell a victim, seems to have been a man of no capacity; promoted to high posts more by favourable circumstances than his own merit. Born of a family made illustrious by the honours they had received, but of modern nobility; he was consul with Tiberius the year of Rome 730. He governed Syria after Sentius Saturninus.

*Suet. II. 117.*  
*Flor. iv. 12.*  
*Suet. Aug. 23.*  
*Dio. l. LVI.*

Saturninus, whom he likewise succeeded in the A. R. 760.  
government of Germany. He was of a mild A. C. 9.  
and peaceable disposition: his two great faults,  
and the chief causes of his loss were, credulity  
and love of money. Syria\* had felt his co-  
vetousness: he went there poor, and found the  
province rich; he returned rich himself, leaving  
the province poor. He had no great scope to  
satisfy that passion in Germany, then destitute  
of all that might encourage luxury or excite  
cupidity. Yet he plundered, as much as possible,  
those people, as poor as they were brave, and  
to whom exactions were doubly odious, both by  
the injury their slender fortunes sustained, and  
by their thinking it a badge of servitude that sul-  
lied their glory.

Whilst he thus irritated that bold, intractable  
people, he took no manner of care to guard  
against their resentment. He had taken it into  
his head to model and polish their manners,  
and to civilise, by laws, those whom arms could  
not subdue. With that view he treated Ger-  
many as a peaceable province, taking his cir-  
cuits, keeping his high days, and administering  
justice; as if his fasces and lictors could have  
imposed upon a people, who till then had hardly  
known any other law than that of the strongest.  
The idea of the sweets arising from a well re-  
gulated state did not touch the Germans: † on  
the contrary, says Florus, in his almost poetic  
style, penetrated with grief to see their arms  
X 3 out

\* Pecunie, quam non contemptor fuerit, Syria, cui profuerat,  
declaravit; quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem  
reliquit. *Vell.*

† Qui jam pridem ribigine oblitos enses, inertesque in-  
terrent equos. *Flor.*

A. R. 760. eat up with rust, and their horses languishing in  
 A. C. 9. inaction, they thought of nothing but revolting  
 against a government so little suitable to their  
 inclinations. Varus's supineness gave them great  
 room to hope for success. All they wanted was  
 a chief to direct the enterprise, and him they  
 found, such as they could wish.

Character  
 and conduct  
 of Armini-  
 us, chief of  
 the revolt-  
 ed Ger-  
 mans.

Arminius, a young nobleman of one of the  
 first families of the Cherusci, had every quali-  
 fication necessary to conduct a conspiracy. Per-  
 sonally brave\*, full of fire that sparkled in his  
 face and eyes, fruitful in resources, and besides  
 all that, dexterous, cunning; knowing how to  
 feign, or how to dissemble any thing: such a  
 man had great advantages over so negligent a  
 governor as Varus. His first care was to en-  
 courage and increase Varus's indolence, well  
 knowing that he is soonest overpowered who  
 fears least; and that an imprudent confi-  
 dence is often the source and occasion of the  
 most dreadful calamities. He had free access  
 to him, not only on account of his birth and  
 rank, but because he had till then seemed a  
 friend to the Romans, having served in their  
 armies, and behaved so well there as to be made  
 a Roman citizen, and a knight. Cultivating  
 these openings, he soon grew familiar with Va-  
 rus, entering into his ways of thinking, and  
 extolling the happiness of Germany, about to  
 acquire

Here receive  
 Varus.

\* *Juvenis genere nobilis,  
 manu fortis, sensu celer, ul-  
 tra barbarum promptus in-  
 genio, . . . adorem animi  
 vultu oculisque præferens  
 . . . segnitâ ducis in occa-*

*sionem sceleris unus est, haud  
 imprudenter speculatus, ne-  
 minem celsius opprimi, quam  
 qui nihil timeret; & frequen-  
 tissimum initium esse calami-  
 tis, securitatem. Vll.*

acquire by his means, a knowledge of law and justice; by which quarrels, before decided by arms, would be ended peaceably; in a word, barbarity would be banished, and politeness take the place of their rude and savage manners. To confirm these discourses he employed Germans, on whom he could depend, to pretend suits against one another; to lay them before Varus's tribunal, and receive his decision with thankfulness and satisfaction. The Roman was so dazzled by all these fine appearances \*, that he thought the people loved him, and looked upon himself rather as a magistrate in the midst of his fellow citizens, than as a general in a dangerous and suspected country.

In the mean time Arminius was forming his plan, and taking measures to surprize the too credulous Varus, and cut him and his legions in pieces. He had already made him weaken his army, by sending small detachments here and there, which he had procured Germans to ask for under different pretences, as to fund a post, stop inroads of robbers, and other things of that nature. When the time was come, the revolt broke out, by Arminius's secret orders, in the most remote cantons: and the few Romans that were dispersed up and down were soon killed. Varus marched against the rebels with three legions, and Arminius remained behind, under pretence of following him immediately with a strong reinforcement. His troops were in fact already assembled under their par-

X. 4

1001

\* Usque eò ut se prætozem huius exercitus prætoris esse se  
urbanum in foro jus dicere, &c.  
non in mediis Germaniæ suis

A. R. 760. ticular leaders, but with a very different view  
 A. C. 9. from what he pretended. He had nothing more to do but to unite them into one body, and put himself at their head: he soon came up with Varus in a narrow pass, surrounded by woods and mountains. There it was he had resolved to attack him.

Varus might still have escaped, had he vouchsafed to listen to an advice that came from so good a hand; it is inconceivable how he could slight it. Segestes, an illustrious German, a friend to Rome, and who had been made a Roman citizen by Augustus, having discovered a part at least of Arminius's plot, had more than once apprized Varus of it; and on a late occasion, when they were met all together at a feast, he told the Roman general the danger was near at hand, and advised him to arrest, himself, Arminius, and the chief accomplices, to prevent the blow, and afterwards more at leisure to examine, into the matter, and know the innocent from the guilty. Varus, from a blindness that does not seem natural, was obstinately bent on his own destruction. But it \* generally happens, says Velleius, that God, when he intends to alter the condition of men, perverts their councils; so that those who perish have the additional misfortune of seeming to have deserved their fate, and of being thought not less blamable than unfortunate.

The

\* Ita se res habet, ut plerumque Deus fortunam mutaturus consilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, id etiam merito accidisse videatur, & casus in culpam transcat.

The night next following that repast **Armi-** A.R. 700.  
**nius** put his design in execution. On a sud- A. C. 9.  
**den**, when the Romans least expected it, they Bloody de-  
 were attacked by the very troops they the even- fect of the  
 ing before thought their friends and allies. Romans.  
 Varus's legions were composed of excellent  
 soldiers, and might be esteemed the flower of  
 the Roman army for goodness of discipline,  
 bravery, and experience in the art of war. But  
 what can valour do against obstacles superior  
 to all human power! against surprize, the dead  
 of night, an unknown country, forests and bogs,  
 and a dreadful tempest at the same time com-  
 bining? The Romans, however, resisted with  
 courage, and after a considerable loss, being Tac. Ann.  
 forced at length to abandon their camp, which L. 61.  
 the Germans had got possession of, they re-  
 treated to a little eminence, where they began  
 to entrench themselves. That was but a weak  
 defence: the conquerors pursuing those feeble  
 remains, attacked them with redoubled fury. In  
 this second combat Varus was wounded, and  
 seeing no resource left, killed himself with his  
 own sword, following the example of his father,  
 who made one of his freemen kill him after the  
 battle of Philippi: and of his grandfather who  
 died in the same manner, though we cannot ex-  
 actly say on what occasion.

The death of their general entirely dis-  
 heartened the Romans. Reduced to a small  
 number, surrounded by the Barbarians, fa-  
 tigated by the difficulties of the place, taken as  
 it were in a trap, even if they could have forced  
 themselves a passage through the German ranks,  
 they could not hope to escape from their pur-  
 suit

A. R. 760. suit, through the vast extent they had to traverse  
 A. C. 9. of the enemy's country. The despair those brave men were overwhelmed with, made some kill themselves as Varus had done: others fighting with obstinacy, chose rather to die by the enemy's hand. The greater part, unable to resist such complicated ills, and encouraged by the example of an officer of distinction, named Ccionus, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. Numonius Vala, lieutenant to Varus, attempted to save himself with the cavalry: but being pursued and soon overtaken by the Germans, he met no better fate than the infantry he had forsaken; but perished, he, and all that were with him. Thus Varus's three legions were totally destroyed, the few that escaped being not worth noticing. Tacitus calls the place where the Romans suffered this bloody defeat *Tentoburgiensis saltus*, and is generally thought to be near *Dethmold*, in the county of Lippe, not far from the Vescr.

*Tac. Ann.*  
 I. 60.

Two legions left in the old camp, from which Varus set out to march against the rebels, would have been in danger of being likewise cut to pieces: but Asprænas, nephew and lieutenant to Varus, the moment he heard of his uncle's misfortune, marched those two legions, of which he had the command, out of the enemy's country with all expedition; and getting to the winter quarters the Romans had in lower Germany, he kept in order the people on that side of the Rhine, whose fidelity began to be shaken. This quick and happy retreat would have done him honour, as things were circumstanced, had he not sullied it by a low and unjust.



just avarice. Velleius says he was accused of A. R. 760. enriching himself with the spoils of the unfor- A. C. 9. tunate, appropriating to himself all the baggage he found in the old camp, left there by the three legions that perished with Varus.

Arminius made as bad a use of his victory <sup>Insolence and cruelty of Arminius after the victory. Tur. Ann.</sup> as an insolent Barbarian could well do. He caused a tribunal to be erected for himself, to the foot of which all the Roman prisoners were brought, loaded with chains. He condemned them all to die. The tribunes and centurions of the first companies were sacrificed as victims on altars built in the woods: the common soldiers, on the cross or gallows. A young Roman, of illustrious birth, Cælius Caldus, seeing to what end he was reserved, stretched out his chain, gave himself such a violent blow over the head, that it broke his skull: his brains and blood covered the ground, and he expired instantly. Above all, the Germans took a cruel pleasure in tormenting those that had been any ways employed or concerned in the odious jurisdiction Varus had exercised over them, putting out their eyes, and cutting off their hands. One had his tongue pulled out, and his mouth sewed up; after which the barbarian who performed that horrid operation, holding the tongue in his hand, cried out several times, "Cease thy hissing, Viper." Varus' body was hid and buried by the soldiers, to screen him from the insults of the barbarians: but it was found, taken up, and treated with the utmost ignominy; and when thought to have been long enough the inhuman sport and mockery, not only of the lower class, but even

A.R. 760. of some of their chiefs, and among others of, &  
 A. C. 9. nephew of Segestes, his head was cut off and sent  
*Tac. Ann.* to Maroboduus, who conveyed it to Rome, where  
 L. 71. it was interred.

The standards of the legions, and two of their eagles, fell into the enemy's hands; and these objects of religious veneration among the Romans, were treated with the greatest mockery and outrage by Arminius. The third eagle was saved by the courage and presence of mind of him that bore it: seeing all was lost, he snatched it from the top of the pike it was supported by, and tucked it under his belt, fled into a bog, where he escaped the enemy.

*Tac. Ann.*  
 L. 61.  
*Flor.*

*Tac.*

The Germans left the field of battle strewed with the bloody marks of their victory: I mean the dead bodies of men and horses, broken swords, pikes and javelins; a great number of heads stuck up on trunks of trees, and the instruments they had made use of to torture and put to death their unfortunate prisoners.

*Augustus's grief.*  
 Terror in Rome.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
 23.

I have already said the grief for this disaster was extreme in Rome. Augustus set the example: perhaps he carried it too far, and did not sufficiently attend to the majesty of his rank, or the obligation a prince lies under to comfort his people in times of calamity, by a serene and composed countenance, which, without dissembling his griefs, may shew he does not think them past remedy. Augustus not only put on mourning, and let his beard and hair grow, but would often cry out in an agony, "Return me my Legions, Varus." I cannot believe what Suetonius adds, that he carried things to such excess of phrensy as to beat his head

head against the walls. His affliction was not A. R. 700.  
 short lived : so long as he lived, the day of A. C. 9.  
 Varus's defeat was to him a day of annual sor-  
 row and bitterness.

The terror of the Romans was at first equal Pro. 4  
 to their grief : they imagined the Germans re. dly Sut.  
 to cross the Rhine and over-run Gaul, or even  
 to penetrate into Italy, and set themselves down  
 before the walls of Rome. Augustus appointed  
 a guard to mount in the city, and broke a com-  
 pany of German guards he had. Their fears  
 vanished by degrees : they learnt that Gaul re-  
 mained in a state of peace ; that the borders of  
 the Rhine on their side were well defended ; and  
 that the only thing the Germans had attempted  
 since their victory was the siege of the fortress  
 of Aliso \*, the garrison of which, after making  
 a brave defence, being able to hold out no  
 longer, made a vigorous sally, sword in hand,  
 and opened themselves a passage to join the  
 Roman legions. Besides, winter † drew near,  
 and of necessity brought on a suspension of ac-  
 tion.

The Romans had then time to consider more  
 fully by what means to repair the loss they had  
 sustained in Germany, and resolved to send  
 fresh troops on the Rhine. The difficulty was  
 how to levy them. The people had by this  
 time got the better of their apprehensions of  
 an invasion ; but the dreadful impression of the  
 valour and fierceness of the Germans still re-  
 mained

\* A fort built by Demus near the river formerly called  
 Aliso, now Alm, that falls into the Lippe.

† Varus's defeat seems to have happened towards the end of  
 the year : Bucherius is of that opinion.

A. R. 760. mained, and no body would enlist to go and  
 A. C. 9. attack those formidable enemies in their own  
 country. Augustus was forced to use severity  
 with some of the most stubborn, as an example  
 to others, punishing them with forfeiture of  
 their effects, marks of ignominy, and even some  
 with death.

*Tiberius is appointed to oppose the Germans.* The choice of a general was the easiest part :  
 he could pitch on no other than Tiberius ; nor  
 was any one fitter for so difficult and dangerous  
 an expedition.

*Buchert. Belg. Rom.* Augustus likewise made use of religion as a  
 resource, and vowed the Great Games, with  
 this remarkable clause, used before in the Cim-  
 brian war, and in that of the allies ; SUPPOSING  
 THE REPUBLIC BE IN A BETTER SITUATION. Such  
 was the end of this year, which was the time  
 when Augustus discovered and punished the de-  
 baucheries of his grand-daughter Julia. Ovid,  
 who perhaps had some share in them, was banish-  
 ed, as every one knows, to Tomi in Scythia, on  
 the borders of the Pontus Euxinus.

A. R. 761. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
 A. C. 10. C. JUNIUS SILANUS.

*He behaves like a prudent and experienced general. See Tib. 16, 19.* **T**IBERIUS set out for Germany in the  
 spring, and behaved there in a manner  
 answerable to the great reputation he had al-  
 ready acquired. Being sensible the chief cause  
 of Varus's misfortune was owing to the rashness  
 and negligence of that imprudent general, he  
 thought it incumbent on him to be doubly vi-  
 gilant and circumspect. Hitherto it had been  
 his custom to consult nobody, but to follow  
 entirely

entirely his own opinions: he now took another method, held councils often, and did nothing without advising with the chief officers. To prevent luxury from creeping into the army, when he was preparing to cross the Rhine, he settled the number and nature of equipages each might have according to his rank; and that he might be sure his orders were strictly observed, he saw them executed himself, standing on the river side, and examining all the equipages as they went over. Himself set an example of the strict simplicity he prescribed to others; for while he was beyond the Rhine he never dined or supped but on the grass, and often passed the night without a tent. Every day he gave his orders regularly in writing for the next day, with an express injunction to whoever wanted to have any thing explained, to apply directly to himself, at whatever hour of the day or night it might be. He took care to see discipline exactly observed, and revived and put in force certain military punishments formerly used, but laid aside for some time; and branded with ignominy the commander of a legion for having sent some of his soldiers to hunt on the other side of the Rhine with one of his freemen.

An army so well governed had no need to fear being surprised by the barbarians. Tiberius was not satisfied with securing to the empire, according to the orders he had received, the possession of the Rhine; but judging that in order to take from the Germans all desire of passing into Gaul, it was necessary to carry the war into their own country, he entered it with

A. R. 761.

A. C. 10.

He crossed  
the Rhine,  
and laid  
the country  
waste.  
F. II. II  
ten, 121.  
/16.

A. R. 761. a great body of forces, and marching on in  
 A. C. 10. good order, and with all the precaution prudence could suggest, he over-ran the whole country, wasting and destroying their lands, burning their towns and villages, and putting to flight all he met. Having thus established again the reputation of the Roman arms, he conducted his Legions back to their winter quarters on this side the Rhine, without any loss.

A. R. 762. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. C. 11. T. STATILIUS TAURUS.

He does the same next year.

**U**NDER the Consuls Lepidus and Taurus he crossed the Rhine again, having Germanicus with him, and again ravaged the country as he had done the year before. The Germans owned themselves conquered by not appearing any where in a body. Arminius was sensible he had to deal with another kind of general than Varus.

Tiberius kept the field as long as the season would permit ; and having celebrated games there in honour of the emperor's birth day, as if he had been in a friendly country, he returned quietly to Gaul, sure of having accomplished Augustus's intentions, who never desired to extend his rule beyond the Rhine, looking on that river as a natural barrier between the Roman empire, and the savage nations beyond it.

Augustus is fully satisfied with his conduct

Nor can it be doubted how much Augustus was satisfied with Tiberius's conduct, when we read in Suetonius in what terms he wrote to him :

him : " My dear Tiberius \*, said he to him, A. R. 762.  
 " amidst so many difficulties, and whilst such A. C. 11.  
 " a general relaxation prevails among the mi-  
 " litary people, I think no one could ever have  
 " acted with more prudence than you have  
 " done. All that served under you do you  
 " that justice, and apply to you what Ænias  
 " said of the illustrious Fabius, that the vigi-  
 " lance of one man has restored the affairs of the  
 " republic."

Augustus, as I have said elsewhere, was not Ἐπισημοσ  
 at all disposed at first to like Tiberius : but ἔπειτα kind  
 charmed with the important services he had ἔπειτα words him  
 seen him render the Republic, he seems at last  
 to have had a sincere friendship for him. The  
 following expressions are equally full of tender-  
 ness and esteem. " † Whether I am abused  
 " with

\* Ego vero, mi Tiberi, gesseris, non existimo. Hi  
 inter tot rerum difficultates, quæquæ qui te unum ac ut om-  
 nes ex te natus vel unum illum in  
 prudentiâ gerere se, quàm tu

*Unus homo n. l. vigilando restituit rem.*

*Suet. Tib. 21.*

† Sive quid ac injit, do dius fidius Tu enim mecum de-  
 quo sit cogitandum diligentius, si levo; succurratque,  
 cito quid stum acher valeat, me.

*Τίνα δ' ἐπισημοσ, ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἀποδοῖσθε*

*"Ἀμφοτεροσθεν, ἔπειτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπειτα.*

Attenuatum te esse contin- perilitetur. Nihil interest  
 uatione laborum quam audio valenam ipse nec ne, si tu  
 & lego, Dii me pudent nisi modò valebis. Deum abs-  
 cohortescit corpus meum : cro ut te nobis concesserit,  
 teque rogo ut parcas tibi ; & valere nunc & semper pa-  
 no si te languere audierim- tiantur, si non populum R.  
 mus, & ego & mater tua ex- manuum patrum sunt. Sa-  
 spiremus, & de summa Im- *ibiâ.*  
 perii sui populus Romanus

A. C. 762. " with affairs that require serious attention, or  
 A. C. 11. " disturbed by any thing that vexes me, I re-  
 " gret the absence of my dear Tiberius, and  
 " call to mind what Homer makes Diomedes  
 " say of Ulysses ; *with such a second, I should*  
 " *hope to escape even from amidst a conflagration ;*  
 " *for he is a man of exquisite prudence.* When I  
 " hear how you are worn out by constant fatigue,  
 " may I perish if I do not shudder at it. I beg  
 " you will take care of myself, lest you should  
 " fall sick, your mother die with grief, and the  
 " Roman people be in danger of losing their  
 " Empire. It is of little consequence whether  
 " I am well or ill, provided you be well. I  
 " beseech the gods to spare you for our sakes,  
 " and to grant you now and always a perfect  
 " state of health, if they have not taken an aver-  
 " sion to the Roman people."

He gives  
 him a po-  
 wer equal  
 to his own.  
*Vell. II.*  
*121.*  
*Nert. Tib.*  
*21.*  
*Tac. Ann. I.*  
*3.*

Words were not all : Augustus shewed by  
 deeds his esteem for, and confidence in Tibe-  
 rius : for he made him almost his equal, and  
 his colleague : and at his request the consuls, in  
 virtue of a decree of the senate, passed a law,  
 which the people agreed to, enacting that Ti-  
 berius should have in all the provinces of the  
 emperor's department, and especially in the  
 army, the same power that Augustus himself  
 had. With this addition of power and dignity  
 Tiberius returned to Rome, to celebrate the  
 triumph that had been decreed him long before,  
 but had been postponed on account of Varus's  
 misfortune. He triumphed for the Illyrians  
 and Pannonians under the consulship of Ger-  
 manicus.

GER-



GERMANICUS CÆSAR.  
C. FONTEIUS CAPITO.

A. R. 763.  
A. C. 12.

**T**HE pomp of this triumph was magnificent. The principal chiefs of the conquered nations appeared in chains: the conqueror's lieutenants, who at his request had obtained the ornaments of triumphers, accompanied him, clothed in those splendid rewards of their services. Augustus presided over the ceremony, seated most probably on the tribunal for harangues: and when Tiberius reached the forum, before he turned towards the capitol, he descended from his carr, and kneeling down, paid homage of his glory to his father. He afterwards treated the people at a thousand tables, and gave them \* three hundred sesterces a man.

Triumph of Tiberius.  
\* 40 shillings.

Nothing memorable happened from the time Tiberius left Germany; but a perfect calm ensued till Augustus's death. The Romans however kept a great force on the Rhine, eight legions divided into two armies, occupied the two provinces of Belgic Gaul, called the upper and lower Germany. Germanicus, then about twenty-eight years old, on the expiration of his consulship, received the command of all those forces, the greatest that were then assembled in any one part of the empire: nor was less requisite to maintain on one hand peace and quiet in Gaul, and on the other to strike a terror into the Germans. The young prince began the functions of his employment by numbering the

Eight legions on the Rhine. The command of them is given Germanicus. Tac. Ann. l. 3 § 31, 6.

A. R. 763. Gauls, and was actually busy about it when Augustus died.

But before I speak of Augustus's death, it may be proper to take notice of the events of the latter part of his reign, that had no connection with the wars of Germany and Pannonia.

Augustus Though his constitution had always been very labours to tender, yet by the care he took of it, and especially by his great sobriety, he preserved strength his life, al- enough to the end of his days, not to linger out lowing himself on- an inactive old age. He afforded himself some ly some re- relaxation, but was never quite idle. laxation.

*Dio.*

At the age of seventy he began not to attend the meetings of the senate so assiduously, but would let that body determine several things in his absence, though probably not the most important: four years afterwards he laid aside the troublesome ceremonial of tumultuous salutations and public dinners. He desired the senators not to take any longer the trouble of coming regularly to pay their compliments to him at his palace, and to excuse him from meeting them when they dined in a body. In the year of Rome 764, in the month of September of which year he was to enter into the seventy-fifth year of his age, being able to go but seldom to the senate, he caused his privy council to be invested with the authority of the whole body.

He causes We have seen him, at the beginning of his the same administration, take fifteen counsellors, chosen power to be out of the senators, and changed every six given his privy-council that the months. That council decided only matters senate had. that required dispatch; and prepared such

as, being of greater moment, were to be laid before the whole senate. On the occasion A. R. 763. A. C. 12. when speaking of, Augustus took twenty counsellors instead of fifteen, and they were to serve a year. But the essential change was that first mentioned, and consists in this, that by a decree of the senate it was ordained, that whatever should be done or enacted by Augustus, assisted by Tiberius, the two consuls, his two grand-sons: Germanicus and Drusus, and the council of twenty, should have the same force as if done or enacted by the whole body of the senate. In fact, he exercised that authority before; but was glad to have a title in due form: and from that time governed the empire without hardly stirring from his room, and often even not out of his bed.

This decree was a notable diminution of the senate's prerogatives: Augustus weakened like- He weak- ens the senate's wise the people's power, soon to be annihilated the power that still remained with the people. by his successor. The year 758 of Rome, the meetings for electing magistrates having been disturbed by factions, the emperor himself named to all the offices: and the following years recommended to the people such as he chose to have employed, just as the Dictator Caesar had done.

His zeal to reform abuses was ever vigilant, nor did the wars prevent it; for they were Tiberius's care, and he managed them with judgment and success. Above all, he strove to abolish celibacy, which he had before attacked several times; but in despite of his orders was still prevalent in Rome: nay, people even dared to murmur loudly against the laws relating to it.

and in the year of Rome 760, at some games where the emperor was present, the Roman knights complained to him of the severity of the penalties on celibacy, and pressed him with great clamour to repeal them. To make them ashamed of their request, Augustus ordered Germanicus's children to be brought directly, who were pretty numerous, though the prince was but then in his twenty-fourth year: then taking some of the babes in his arms, and setting others on their father's knees, he shewed them to the knights, exhorting the Roman youth to follow that example.

*Suet. Aug.  
c. 34*

*Dio.* He went farther: some little time after he commanded the whole order of knights to appear before him, divided into two bodies, those that were married on one side, and such as were unmarried on the other. The latter being much more numerous than the former, he could not refrain from indignation. First, he bestowed great praises on those, who, by an honourable marriage, were bringing up citizens for the republic: then turning towards the batchelors, "If," said he, with great warmth, you pretend to follow the example of the vestals, live like them, and subject yourselves to the same punishment if you are not as strictly chaste." That was not the taste of these gentry, who had no dislike to marriage, but on account of the trouble of domestic affairs and the education of children: and liked to remain single that they might indulge their passions without controul.

Augustus was justly incensed at such a conduct; and far from repealing or mitigating the penalties he had before inflicted on it, added  
new

new ones, by a law enacted under the consuls Papius \* and Poppæus. A circumstance very singular, and which shews to what height the abuse Augustus wanted to remedy was grown, is, that those two consuls, by whom so severe a law against celibacy was carried through the senate, were neither of them married. The law was called from them *Papia Poppæa*, and is very famous in the body of Roman law. I shall leave, civilians, whose business it is, to explain at large, as much as they can, all the tenor of it: and shall only observe, that that law, according to Tacitus, had two objects; the one to punish celibacy, and the other to enrich the public treasure by forfeiture of all collateral inheritances and legacies that fell to citizens not married.

*Tac. Ann.*  
III. 25.

He revived in 762 the law against diviners and astrologers, those public pests, who by deceitful hopes and expectations excite the cupidity of men, and spread trouble and confusion alike in the state and in private families. To dissuade the people from it, he made use of a method more effectual than the laws; which was to express great contempt for it himself: and to shew how little he feared as to himself personally any predictions of astrologers, he published and posted up in Rome the theme of

*Law against diviners and astrologers revived.*  
*Dio.*

Y 4

his

\* These two consuls were substituted the first of July, in the room of those who began the year: their names at length were, M. Papius Mutilus Q. Poppæus Sæculus. The last of them is not to be confound-

ed with one of the consuls in ordinary for the same year, whose family-name was the same, but his praenomen and surname different. his name was C. Poppæus Sabitus.

his own nativity, that is to say, a state of the position of the stars at the instant of his birth.

Punishment of authors of defamatory libels. Banishment of Cassius Severus. Tac. Ann. l. 72. Quintil. x. 7

Authors of defamatory libels are another set of men noxious to society. Augustus's care to suppress them was owing chiefly to the excessive liberties of that kind taken by Cassius Severus, a celebrated orator, but who made an ill use of his wit and talents, by railing in his writings against every body of distinction in Rome, men and women. He was naturally of a caustic morose disposition; his stile strong and nervous; a pleasing turn of expression, but very bitter withal; and his discourse was less governed \* by sense and judgment, than by the overflowings of his gall. When he accused any one, it was easy to see, the pleasure of doing hurt was more his motive, than a desire to do justice. "† Great gods, said he, pleading "against Asprænas, I live, and in that life rejoice, that I now see Asprænas accused." An expression that Quintilian blames highly with great reason, as a characteristic of a malignant temper, fit only to indispose and alienate the minds of the judges. With a bad heart, and ill formed mind, he was worthy to be the first that corrupted the noble simplicity of the Latin eloquence, and the introductor and patriarch of depraved taste.

Anct. de Causis corrupt. log. 19. §

Tac. Ann. sv. 21.

Augustus had long borne with the insolence of that declaimer, the lowness of whose birth was equal to the petulance of his tongue, and who on some occasions had not spared even him

\* Plus stomacho quam consilio dedit. Quintil.

† Dii boni! vivo, &, quo me vivere juvet, Asprænatem reum video. Quintil. xi. 1.

him. When entreated to punish him, he answered, that in a city so full of vice, the liberty of satyrizing was a necessary evil. But Cassius growing bolder by impunity, and carrying the malignity of his revilings beyond all bounds, Augustus thought it incumbent on him to put a stop to it. He declared all authors of defamatory libels should be deemed guilty of high treason, and punished accordingly; an old law, which till then had been levelled only at actions detrimental to the state, such as seditions, treasons against the republic, and loss of battles by the general's fault. Augustus, by bringing within this law all writings or discourses injurious to another, did good; but that good became a source of injustice and tyrannical cruelties under his successors. Cassius, accused in virtue of this law, was tried by the senate in a body, who, after taking a solemn oath to do strict justice, condemned him to banishment in the isle of Crete.

A satyrical turn is a vice few can get the better of. Cassius continued to display, in his banishment, the dangerous talent that had brought that punishment on him; and we shall see how, by persisting in it, he added to his misfortunes under the reign of Tiberus.

I cannot say whether Augustus be to be blamed or praised for the additional rigour he inflicted on banished persons. It appears that, under the republican government, those who were interdicted fire and water, were at liberty to retire to what place they pleased. Augustus had already introduced the custom of fixing them sometimes to one particular place. But

being

*Suet. Aug.*  
*36. §. Dio.*  
*l. l.v.*

*Law to*  
*make the*  
*condition of*  
*exiles har-*  
*sher.*  
*Dio. l. l.vi.*

being apprised that several exiles made their punishment very light, either by the liberty they took of going to some distance from the place that was allotted them to be in, or by good living and other comforts of life, he had it enacted, that for the future such as should be interdicted fire and water, should be transported to \* islands at least fifty miles distant from the continent: and that no person in banishment should have more than twenty slaves, or possess more than the value of \* five hundred thousand scsterces.

\* £ 4000.

Regulation concerning the encomiums governors of provinces made the people give them.

A very wise regulation, and useful to the provinces, was that which Augustus made with regard to the encomiums the governors used to make the people they governed give them. After robbing and plundering them, they would often either extort by new vexations, decrees of approbation and thanks, or strive to gain them by a blameable indulgence: and those certificates of good behaviour were a means of defence to the guilty, in case they were accused of mal-administration at Rome. Augustus, who had the happiness of his subjects, and the honour of the empire at heart, desirous to prevent a fraud, that was an encouragement to injustice, and a rampart to those who had committed it; which rendered the government extremely odious, or on the contrary lessened its dignity:

\* *The islands of Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, and Sardinia, though not at the distance prescribed by law, yet were used as places of exile. Dion Cassius says, he cannot tell the reason of that exception. One may suppose the emperor's intent was, to reserve to himself a power, even by the law itself, of treating more gently such exiles as he should think proper to favour.*



dignity: for those reasons, forbid all cities and provinces to make any act or decree in favour of Roman magistrates, neither whilst they acted as magistrates, nor till sixty days after were expired.

Among so many abuses which Augustus laboured to root out, there was one that he thought himself obliged to give way to. He had forbid the Roman knights to fight as gladiators: but so strongly were they bent on those horrid combats, that the blemish annexed to it by law was despised. Augustus therefore chose rather to take off the prohibition, thinking a few examples of bloody deaths might have more effect than the fear of ignominy. He was mistaken. To give a loose to vice is a bad way of preventing it. The crowd of spectators drawn together by illustrious names, the authority of the magistrates who gave those games, together with the emperor's consent, were circumstances that increased and perpetuated the evil. We shall see, under succeeding emperors, not only knights, but senators, and even women, disdain both the shame and danger attending those combats, equally infamous and inhuman.

These are the most remarkable occurrences Augustus's civil government affords during the time Tiberius was busied in conducting the war against Pannonia and Germany.

Plancus and Silius were consuls for the year of Rome 764.

A.R. 764. L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

A. C. 13. C. SILIUS.

**U**NDER these consuls Augustus was again continued in the Imperial power for ten years longer, the last prorogation expiring the end of this year. He likewise caused Tiberius to be continued tribune, treating him in all respects as the person designed to succeed him. The year before, recommending Germanicus to the senate, he at the same time recommended the senate itself to Tiberius, as to the future head of the empire. He made him take, in the senate, in the council, and every where, the pre-eminence over the consuls; shared with him the functions of censor; and they finished jointly the numbering of the Roman people, who amounted to four millions, one hundred and thirty thousand citizens.

*Lapis Ancyranus.**Dio.*

Drusus, son of Tiberius, was likewise promoted by Augustus. He was quæstor in the year of Rome 762, five years before the age prescribed by law. This year, 764, he was appointed consul, to enter on the functions of that office three years after, with passing through the intermediate degrees of edile and prætor. Germanicus had enjoyed the same prerogatives. Thus Augustus, by heaping honours on Tiberius and his children, established on a firm foundation the rights and power of him he designed to be his successor. He did it just in time, for he died the next year, when two of his relations, Pompeius and Apulcius, were consuls.

SEX. POMPEIUS.

A.R. 765.

SEX. APULEIUS.

A. C. 14.

**A**UGUSTUS's great age, and his weakness, Augustus grows infirm. Un- easiness of the Romans. Tac. Ann. l. 4. had made the Romans very thoughtful for some time past; but their ideas were very different. Some flattered themselves with chimerical hope of seeing the old republican liberty restored: many feared a civil war, whilst others wished it: the greater number was very busy about the characters and dispositions of the masters they were like to have.

Agrippa Posthumus, whom they first thought of, as nearest of kin to the emperor, being his grandson \*, was of a savage disposition, and his temper soured still more by the ignominy of exile; nor had he the age and experience necessary to support the weight of government. Tiberius was quite ripe of years, for he was past fifty, and had given proofs of his capacity in war: but they feared in him the pride and ruggedness hereditary in the Claudian family, and observed he had already given several strong indications of cruelty, notwithstanding

\* *Trucem Agrippam, & ignominia accensum, non ætate, non experientia, tantæ molis parem. Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello: sed vetere atque invita Claudio familiæ superbia; multaque indicia severitatis, quam premantur, erumpere. Hunc & prima ad infantia educatum in domo regnatricis; congestos juveni consulatus, trium-*

*phos: ne iis quidem annis quibus Rhodi specie sceleris exsulem egerit, aliquid quædam iram, & simulationem, & secretas libidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri impotentia. Surviendum fœmine, duobusque in super adolescentibus, qui Republicanam interim premant, quandoque detrahant. Tac.*

**A. R. 765.** standing all his care to conceal it : they added, **A. C. 14.** that he had been brought up in the imperial family from his infancy ; that consulships and triumphs had prevented his wishes, even from his youth : that during the very years he had spent at Rhodes, masking a real banishment under the appearance of a voluntary retirement, his black thoughts had dwelt on nothing but vengeance, dissimulation, and secret debauchery : neither Livia, Germanicus, nor Drusus were forgot. *The despotic haughtiness of the mother, said they, joined to the vices of the son, will make us suffer all the rigours of servitude. We shall be slaves to a woman and to two ambitious youths, who will unite to crush the republic, and then divide, to tear it to pieces.*

Livia is suspected of having poisoned Augustus. Uncertainty of what was reported on that subject.

In the mean time Augustus's health grew visibly worse, and some suspected his wife to be the guilty cause ; as if there was need of poison to kill a man in his seventy-sixth year, and naturally of a very weak constitution. Dion Cassius says, but mentions it only as a bare report, that Livia, knowing Augustus was fond of figs, poisoned some whilst they hung on the tree ; and that gathering and eating the good ones herself, she gave the emperor the infected fruit.

As no crime is supposed to be committed gratis, reasons are assigned for Livia's doing this ; it is pretended she was alarmed on account of Tiberius's succession to the empire. It is very true, authors of great weight say, that towards the end of Augustus's life, his tenderness revived for his grandson Agrippa, a young prince, not amiable indeed, but who had been convicted

Plin. vii.  
43.  
Tac. Ann.  
l. 5.  
Plut. de  
Cicarrul.  
Dio.

convicted of no real crime: that Augustus A.R. 765. spoke of it to Fabius Maximus, complaining A. C. 14. of the necessity he was under to make his wife's son his heir, whilst there was one of his own blood living. What may give some room to doubt the truth of this story, is the addition of a circumstance no ways probable. Tacitus and Dion Cassius say, Augustus went with Fabius to the isle of Planasia, where his unfortunate grandson lived in exile; that the interview was very tender, and many tears shed on both sides; and that in consequence of it, Agrippa's friends hoped to see him return to his grandfather's palace. Who can believe Augustus could go from Rome to an island near Corsica, and Livia not know it? for, according to my authors, she never was informed of it but by an indiscretion of Fabius, who revealed the secret to his wife Marcia, and she told it Livia.

The inventors of this story, whoever they were, do not drop it here. Livia, say they, picked a quarrel with her husband Augustus for having concealed from her his designs in favour of Agrippa. "If you want, said she, to recall your grandson, why will you make me and all my family odious to him you design to be your successor?" Augustus was greatly concerned to find his secret discovered; and when Fabius came to salute him next morning, wishing him *a good day*, a familiar expression the Romans still made use of, even to their master; the emperor answered, "Farewell, Fabius." The indiscreet confidant understood perfectly well the meaning of that word, with which the ancients used to take their last  
leave.

A. R. 765. leave of the dead, after closing them up in the A. C. 14. tomb. Driven to despair, he immediately returned home, told his wife what had passed, and adding, he could not survive his breach of trust towards Augustus, killed himself. Marcia's grief was extreme at his funeral, exclaiming that she was the cause of her husband's death. Pliny closes this account by saying, Tiberius and Livia's designs gave Augustus great uneasiness.

The whole appears to me a very lame invention. Augustus makes a pitiful figure in it: the voyage to the isle of Planasia is visibly a fable, and Augustus's mistrust of Livia is fully refuted, as we shall soon see, by the dying words of that emperor. However, I submit both the fact and my reflections to the reader's judgment; abiding myself by what is certain and averred.

Augustus's illness began by a weakness of the stomach and bowels. It took him as he was conducting Tiberius part of the way towards Illyrium, whither he was sent, either, as Velleius says, to confirm peace in a country he had conquered, or, as Tacitus gives us to understand\*, that the provinces and troops might be accustomed to acknowledge him as successor to the empire.

Augustus went with him as far as Beneventum, and notwithstanding his illness, made it quite a journey of pleasure. He went along the delightful coast of Campania, and among the neighbouring islands. At Caprea he staid four

Augustus conducts Tiberius, who was going to Illyria, as far as Beneventum; and tho' very ill amuses himself much in that journey.

*Suet. Aug.*  
83, 100.  
*V. l. 11.*  
133. *Tac.*  
144. l. 3.

\* Omnes per excoitus ostentatur. *Tac.*

four days, tasting the sweets of repose and quiet, and enjoying all sorts of amusements. As he passed in sight of Puzzoli, and before the gulph that takes its name from that town, a ship from Alexandria arrived that moment. All the sailors made a kind of rejoicing for Augustus, dressing themselves in white garments, putting crowns on their heads, and burning incense: they loaded him with praises and blessings, crying out aloud, and repeating it several times, that they lived but through him; and to him they owed the safety of their navigation; that their liberty and fortunes were gifts due to his wisdom and goodness. These acclamations, so moving to a good Prince, rejoiced him much; and he gave every one that was with him forty pieces of gold, making them swear not to make any other use of that money, but to purchase goods out of the Alexandrian ship.

He took several little diversions of this kind during his stay in Caprea. Among other things, he gave his whole court Roman togas, and Greek mantles, on condition the Greeks should wear the toga, and the Romans the mantle: he was always present at the games and diversions of the young people of the island, which was a Greek colony, and still retained traces of its origin, in the manners and customs of the inhabitants. He treated too all the young people, permitting and even requiring them to divert themselves freely, and be under no restraint on account of his being there; the treat was concluded by setting them a scrambling for the victuals and deserts left on the

A. R. 765. tables. In short, every innocent diversion he  
 A. C. 14. could take was thought of, whether it were  
 that he found himself grow weaker, and was  
 willing to divert his illness, or that he only  
 followed the sweetness of his natural turn to  
 gaiety.

From Capræa he went to Naples, still more  
 indisposed. He was, however, desirous to see  
 the games instituted to his honour in that city  
 every five years, and staid from the beginning  
 to the end of them. Thence he continued his  
 journey as far as he had proposed to go, which  
 was to Beneventum, where Augustus took leave  
 of Tiberius.

He is stop-  
 ped at Nola  
 by the viol-  
 ence of his  
 disorder.  
 Tiberius  
 returns.

Whilst Augustus was returning towards  
 Rome, his illness increased daily, and at last  
 became so violent he could not go beyond Nola :  
 there he was forced to take to his bed. Livia  
 immediately dispatched a courier to her son,  
 who had hardly had time to reach Illyria. Ti-  
 berius returned with all expedition ; and, if we  
 believe Velleius and Suetonius, had a long and  
 serious conference with Augustus. Tacitus says  
 it is not certain whether he found him alive :  
 for all the roads were strictly guarded by Livia's  
 order, and no news transpired but such as she  
 pleased.

Augustus  
 dies.

Augustus was not long sick in bed, but  
 quietly expected death. The last day of his  
 life, after requiring whether the condition he  
 was in did not already begin to cause some dis-  
 turbance abroad, he ordered a looking-glass to  
 be brought him, his hair to be dressed, and  
 something to be done that his cheeks might not  
 appear



appear so much fallen in. Then \* calling in A. R. 765.  
 his friends, and seeing them round his bed, he A. C. 14.  
 asked them, whether they did not think he had  
 acted his part pretty well in the comedy of  
 human life, and immediately added in a Greek  
 verse, with which their plays were generally  
 ended; "Clap hands, and all applaud with joy."  
 After this comic farewell, he ordered every body  
 to go out, and died in Livia's arms, saying to her,  
 "Livia †, farewell, do not forget a husband who  
 "has loved you tenderly." He had always wished  
 to die a gentle death; and the same good fortune  
 he had had all his life, did not forsake him even  
 in death.

He died at Nola the nineteenth day of Au- His age.  
 gust, in the same chamber where his father  
 Octavius died. He was seventy-six years old,  
 wanting thirty-five days, being born the twenty-  
 second of September, in the year of Rome 689,  
 or rather, if we consider the year of confusion  
 that preceded the reformation of the Calendar  
 by Cæsar, which consisted of four hundred forty-  
 five days, we shall find he was somewhat more  
 than seventy-six when he died.

The duration of his power, if reckoned from Duration of  
 the time of the Triumvirate, of which he took his reign.  
 possession the twenty-seventh of November, in  
 the year of Rome, 709, was fifty-five years and

L 2

nine

\* *Amicos admissos per- transegitte, adjicit & claura-*  
*unctatus, Ecquid iis videre- lem,*  
*tur minum vitæ commodè*

Δοῖς καὶ φίλοι, ὡς πάντες ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρῆς κτυτῆ-σθε.

† Livia, conjugii nostri memor vive & vale

A. R. 765. nine months, less some days. If from the battle A. C. 14. of Actium, by which he became sole master of the world, that battle being fought the second of September 721, Augustus will then have enjoyed the sovereign power near forty-four years. But, as we have already observed, the true \* time of his being emperor was the seventh of January, in the year of his seventh consulship, which was the 725th of Rome; and, according to that, we may say he governed as prince and emperor forty years, seven months and thirteen days. All the rest was manifest usurpation and tyranny.

\* *That epoch is so fixed in an inscription found at Narbonne, and quoted by Lipsius in his Commentaries on Tacitus. l. I. c. 9.*

## S E C T. II.

*AUGUSTUS* the real founder of the Roman monarchy. View of his political and private conduct. His talents for war too much slighted by Antony. His maxim concerning hazardous wars. He was not greedy after conquests. His firmness in maintaining military discipline. The distinction he made between two kinds of rewards. His wisdom in his plan of government. His views for the public good included every part of the state. Splendor and decency restored the Senate. And the order of Knights. His behaviour towards the people a mixture of condescension and firmness. His care to preserve the Roman blood pure and without mixture : and decency even in dress. The city embellished. Italy restored to a flourishing condition. The provinces made happy. The kings, allies of the empire, protected. *Laus.* Roads. Posts and couriers. Administration of justice. He administers it himself. Lenity of his decisions. Want of sincerity and uprightness in the motives of such laudable actions. Augustus's private conduct. His incontinence. Lesson given him by Arthenodorus on that subject. Repast of the twelve Deities. Augustus's sobriety and frugality. His taste for simplicity in all his expences. His play, modest and noble. He was a good and faithful friend. A tender, but unfortunate father : a good brother, and a good husband. His indulgence without weakness towards his freemen and slaves. Protects learn-

## HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS.

*ing. Was himself a man of letters. His taste for a natural turn, and clearness of expression. He was weak enough to be superstitious. Prudence was his prevailing characteristic. His person.*

Augustus  
the real  
founder  
of the Ro-  
man mo-  
narchy.

**A**UGUSTUS was most certainly the author and founder of the monarchical government that subsisted in Rome after his time. The Dictator Cæsar had shewn him how to seizè on the sovereign power: but he was indebted to himself only for knowing how to make use of it, and for that wise medium, a mixture of monarchy and republic, which \* alone could suit men incapable of bearing, as Tacitus makes Galba say long after, either entire liberty or entire servitude. The length of his life afforded him the means of making his new plan of government take root; and by forty years quiet and peaceable possession, he gave it such strength and credit as made it last as long as the nation. Augustus's first successors were tyrants, who made an excessive abuse of their power, but yet without altering the foundation and essential constitution of the government; and plain traces of it still subsisted. down to the emperors that reigned at Constantinople.

We cannot, therefore, too thoroughly study the turn of mind and maxims of a prince, who was the original and model of all the Roman Emperors: a model copied by the good, and claimed even by the bad: for which reason I apprehend

\* Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tac. Hist. l. 16.*

apprehend I ought, even at the hazard of some repetitions, after presenting the reader with a view of the events of Augustus's reign in the order they happened as to time, resume the different parts of his political and private conduct, according to the nature of the objects to which they relate. We shall there see, not real virtues, (for how should they be expected from a cunning artful man, who laughed at every thing, and looked on human life only as a farce?) but actions and views laudable in themselves, and as useful to the state as they would have been estimable in the prince, had he joined to them a pure motive and upright intention.

I shall begin with war, which I own was not the part he excelled in; though I do not think myself obliged to understand according to the strict sense of the letter, as Abbé de St. Real has done, the bitter reproaches and injurious speeches, hatred and envy towards a too happy rival, dictated to Antony. For how can fear and cowardice in battle be allied to the most intrepid courage and undaunted resolution that ever man had in business? I can hardly think it possible to find a bolder undertaking than Octavius's was, when he set up for heir to Cæsar, and to be his avenger. After the bloody death of his great uncle, far from being disheartened by so dreadful a blow, then but a young man of nineteen, he ventured to take a name odious to the Republican party, and which even the friends to his family looked upon with a jealous eye. And this bold, this dangerous step he took of his own accord, not only with-  
out

out being encouraged by any, but even against the will of his mother and father-in-law, extremely alarmed at the danger he was running into. A coward soul never could be capable of such a resolution.

And where, after all, are the proofs of his want of courage in war? He was victorious in five civil wars, in which he was always at the head of his armies. In the war against the Dalmatians, which he conducted in person, he distinguished himself by his valour. If he did not meet the same success in the Cantabrian war, it may be imputed to his health, then in a deplorable state.

His maxim concerning hazardous wars. *Suet. Aug. 33.*

It is very true, he never was inclined to war, but when it was necessary: he was not for undertaking any, but where the advantages that probably might result from it, were considerably greater than the loss that might be feared; and used to compare \* those who made no difficulty of purchasing small advantages by running great risks, to a man fishing with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line chanced to break, was more than all the fish he could hope to catch, could make amends for.

It is likewise true, that he made more conquests abroad by his Lieutenants than himself. Agrippa entirely subdued the Cantabrians: Messala put the finishing hand to the peace of Aquitania, which Cæsar had not so far subdued but they attempted to stir again. Drusus and

\* *Minima commoda non minimo sectantes discrimine similes ac hat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cujus abrupti damnum nullâ capturâ pensari possent.*

and Tiberius conquered the Rheti and Vindelici. The same Drusus made himself famous by his great exploits in Germany; and the conquest of Illyria was the work of Tiberius.

Augustus's greatest glory, as to conquests, was, He was not to know how not to be greedy of them. He even laid down his way of thinking on that body of head as a maxim of state, and advised his suc- conquests. See. Ann. L. II. Div. cessors not to endeavour to extend the limits of an empire already too great, and which would be the more difficult to govern, the more it was enlarged.

" In all this I see proofs of prudence, and not of cowardice: but men always trying to find out some blemish in those they are forced to praise: and if a most consummate prudence forces them to pay an unwilling tribute of admiration, they have no other way to be revenged, but by imputing it to want of courage.

The strictness with which Augustus kept up the firm- the military discipline, ness in is another mark of a resolute and elevated soul. The reader may remember how, during the civil wars, allying address with ing mil- itary discip- line. how, during the civil wars, allying address with resolution, he stopped seditions, by so much the more dangerous, as the soldier knew perfectly well what reasons the general had for sparing him. From the time of his settling peace and good order in the empire, he behaved with more firmness towards the troops.

He granted leave of absence, but with great See. Aug difficulty: and even his lieutenants, that is to 24. 26. say, those who commanded his armies, did not find it easy to obtain leave to spend the winter in Rome. Whole cohorts that had fled from the enemy were severely punished by his order: and

and after decimating them, barley was given instead of wheat to such as fortune had favoured with life. Captains, as well as simple soldiers, were equally punished with death if they left their posts. For lighter faults, he revived certain old military punishments, that had been some time disused. When he harangued the soldiers, he did not call them *comrades*, according to the custom that then began to be introduced, and which afterwards prevailed, but only *soldiers*, as in the old Republican times; and would have his sons, and sons-in-law, do the same when they commanded the armies.

The distinction he made between two kinds of rewards.

He was cautious however not to carry his severities too far; and was much better pleased to reward than punish. He distinguished between those rewards. Such as carried with them a profit by a richness of the matter, as gorgets, bracelets of gold or silver, he gave liberally; but was very sparing of those that were purely honorary, as mural and civic crowns, and other such like. He would have them be first well merited; and favour or interest had no share in his distribution of them; for private soldiers often received those noble decorations from him. It was however so far his interest to keep well with the chief citizens of the Republic, that he sometimes thought it prudent to recede from the severity of his maxim with regard to triumphs. Suetonius says he granted them to above thirty generals, and the ornaments of triumph to a much greater number.

Suet. Aug. 24.

Such is, pretty nearly, the idea we may form to ourselves of Augustus's character and conduct, so far as they relate to war: but the wisdom



dom of that great Prince was most conspicuous in his civil government.

Nothing could be better concerted than the <sup>His wis-</sup> system he pursued to make his authority legal, <sup>dom in his</sup> which at first was only tyrannical. The precau- <sup>plan of go-</sup> tion he took to leave the senate and people a part <sup>vernment.</sup> of the public power, was well imagined to secure his own, doubtless not the least share. "

But if that \* mixt form of government was useful to the prince, it was not less so to the nation itself, who by it preserved the advantages of liberty, joined to tranquillity and good order : for the Romans, equally secured from the tumultuous licentiousness of a democracy, and the vexations of a tyrannical power, enjoyed a just degree of liberty under a monarchy they could fear nothing from, having a sovereign without being slaves ; and tasting the sweets of a popular state, without the deadly consequences of dissentions. In that light I now consider Augustus's government. I shall likewise consider the use that prince made of his authority, for the good of his subjects. I have already mentioned several things relating to that in different parts of this work. The reader may perhaps not be displeas'd to see the whole collected in one view.

I shall observe then, that after the civil wars, <sup>His views</sup> being sole head of the Republic, he set about <sup>for the pub-</sup> <sup>lic good in-</sup> <sup>cluded</sup> <sup>every part</sup> <sup>of the</sup>

\* Τὴν μοιρασίαν τῆ δημοκρα-  
 τία μίξας τὸν τε ἐλευθέρου σφισιν  
 ἐτήρησα, καὶ τὸ κοσμίον, τὸ, τε  
 ἀσφαλὲς προσηγορεύεται ὡς  
 ἔξω μιν τῆ δημοκρατικῆ θράσους,  
 ἴω δι τῶν τυραννικῶ ἰσθίων

ὄψας ἵπτι ἐλευθέρου, σωθῆναι καὶ πλεονε-  
 κίαν ἀποδοῦναι ἀλλοτρίῃ, ἢ ἐλευθ-  
 ροῦ, τε αἰνὸν δουλείας, καὶ δημοκρα-  
 τικῆς ἀεὶ δικαιοσύνης. 1) ο.  
 l. LXXI.

to govern it like a lawful prince : he found every part in the utmost confusion. The reform he made extended to every order, senate, knights, and people. He would have the city, Italy and the provinces, sensible how much their condition was better under his administration, and he succeeded perfectly in that great and noble plan.

Splendour  
and decency  
restored  
the Senate.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
37, 38.

I have said with what zeal and perseverance he laboured, notwithstanding difficulties and even dangers, to restore decency and splendour to the senate, abased by the great number and unworthiness of its members. He granted the children of senators new privileges, or confirmed them in their old. He made it his pleasure, and thought it his duty to advance them. In general he favoured the nobility. Far from being infected with that mean jealousy that often induces new sovereigns to study how to humble old families, and raise only their own creatures, Augustus, at the same time that he protected and rewarded merit, though without birth, was not at all terrified when he found it joined to nobility of blood. His liberalities revived and supported old families ready to drop and be extinguished through indigence : and the list of consuls under his reign is in general composed of the most illustrious names of the republic.

*Tac. Ann.*  
II. 37.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
11.

And the  
order of  
Knights.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
36, 39, 40.

The order of knights was called the nursery of the senate, and was the second rank in the state in point of dignity. Augustus, desirous to restore that order to its former lustre, reviewed it often, and revived the custom, long since laid aside, of the solemn pomp in which the knights, mounting the horses the republic

lic kept for them, clothed in purple robes, wearing an olive crown, and the badges of honour each had acquired in battle, marched in ceremony, composing a body of four or five thousand, from the temple of Mars or the temple of Honour, out at the gate Collina, to the temple of Castor in the Forum.

That indeed was a shew fit only to amuse the multitude: but Augustus had more solid views; for, making the senate appoint ten assessors, he obliged all the knights to give an account of their lives and conduct: of those in whom he found faults deserving reproof, some were condemned to judiciary penalties, others branded with ignominy; but most were quit for a severe reprimand: the mildest censure was giving them a billet, in which was wrote what was thought most reprehensible in them, and they were ordered to read it to themselves instantly, in the emperor's presence.

This severity towards the guilty was tempered by Augustus's indulgence towards those that the misfortunes of the times, more than their own faults, excluded from the order of knights. As several had been ruined by the civil wars, and were not possessed of the value of the four hundred thousand sesterces required by law, they could not rank with their old brother knights at public shews and entertainments. Augustus gave them leave to rank as before: and dispensed from the rigour of the law, those who themselves, or their fathers, had been worth the sum required to qualify them to be Roman knights.

As

His beha-  
viour to-  
wards the  
people a  
mixture of  
condescen-  
sion and  
firmness.

*Suet. Aug.*  
42.

45.

His care  
to preserve  
the Roman  
blood pure  
and with-  
out mix-  
ture.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
48.

As to what concerns the people, I have already observed what care Augustus took to amuse them with shews and diversions, and to gain their affection by gratifications either of corn or money. In that he consulted his own interest, but still with a view to the public welfare. At the same time that he secured by his liberalities the love of a restless multitude accustomed to live in the city at the expence of the republic, he took particular care to protect labourers and traders, the resource and support of the state. Nor did he so far indulge that multitude in their madness after shews and plays, as not to moderate a little the inhuman combats of gladiators: he would no longer suffer those unfortunate wretches to be forced to fight till one was dead, but was willing to leave them hopes of coming off from those bloody games without being obliged to kill or be killed.

So great was his zeal for the glory of the nation, that he was jealous of preserving the Roman blood pure and unmixed, by alliances with strangers or slaves; for which reason he was very reserved in granting the rights of burgess. Tiberius having asked it for a Greek that was attached to him, "I shall not grant what you desire, answered he, until I have been convinced from your own mouth of the justice of the reasons on which you ground your request." Livia wanted to obtain the same favour for a tributary Gaul. Augustus refused making him a burgess, but offered to exempt him from the tribute, chusing rather,  
said

said he, to lessen the revenue, than sully the splendor of the title of Roman citizen.

From time immemorial slaves made free by Roman citizens became citizens themselves. Augustus would not attempt to abolish a custom so long standing: but made it more difficult to free a slave by the condition and clauses he annexed to it; and moreover declared every slave who had been put in irons, or to the rack, for ever incapable of acquiring a right of burghessy in Rome, even though he should be made free in the fullest and most regular manner.

Decency even in the Roman dress was a thing that touched him nearly. He could not bear to see the toga fall into disrepute, for the common people had began hardly to wear it at all, and the better sort were got into a fashion of wearing over it a kind of surtout that hid it. Seeing one day a great many citizens together dressed in that manner, he repeated with indignation this line of Virgil:

*Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatum.*  
Æneid. l. 236.

And ordered the ediles not to suffer any citizen to appear either in the Circus or Forum dressed otherwise than the toga, without any other garment over it. Convenience prevailed over his prohibitions, and surtouts became the general fashion.

The city of Rome put on quite a new face under Augustus. The old Romans had studied more how to make it powerful by their conquests, than to embellish and adorn it. Augustus

*Suet. Aug.* gustus spared nothing to give it a magnificence  
20, 30. worthy the capital of the universe. A particular account of all the buildings he erected or repaired, either himself, or his friends, and other great men of Rome, after his example, and at his desire, would be tedious and but little interesting: and I have already mentioned the most famous.

*Plin.* But I cannot here omit the two obelisks he  
xxxvi. 9 & brought from Egypt, and set up, one in the  
10. great circus, and the other in the Campus Martius. On the top of the latter was a globe that served for a gnomon to a sun-dial, traced on the ground with wonderful art. The dial was of no use sixty years after, having probably been spoiled by some earthquake. The obelisk itself is no longer subsisting, or is buried under ruins. But the obelisk of the great circus was found, dug up, and placed by Sixtus Quintus before the church of St Mary *del popolo*. It is remarkable that those obelisks were erected by the ancient kings of Egypt, and consequently have lasted a prodigious time. "It became the Egyptians only, says M. Bossuet, to erect monuments to posterity. The Egyptian obelisks \* are even now, by their height and beauty, the chief ornament of Rome: and the Roman power despairing ever to equal them, thought it sufficient for their grandeur to borrow the monuments of their kings."

Augustus

\* Besides that we have been by Caligula's order, and erected speaking of, there is another by Sixtus Quintus in the great square of St Peter.

Augustus provided for the convenience of the inhabitants of Rome, by the water Agrippa brought into the city from all parts, at an immense expence : and for their safety, by the patroles or watch, he instituted both to prevent robberies and fires, to which Rome was very liable. The Tiber too was a dreadful scourge by its inundations ; Augustus caused the bed of that river to be cleansed and widened ; and, not satisfied with remedying the present evil, among other employments of his creating, <sup>Suet. Aug. 37.</sup> he appointed inspectors or supervisors over the bed of the Tiber, whose business it was to prevent as much as possible all inconveniencies, and to make the most of every advantage that river could afford the city. In short, that it might neither be over-burthened by the number, nor disturbed by the licentiousness of the soldiers, he would not let all his guards be quartered in it, but had only <sup>49.</sup> three cohorts, or three thousand men there at a time. The other cohorts were quartered in the neighbouring towns.

Italy flourished likewise by Augustus's care. <sup>Italy restored to its flourishing condition. Suet. Aug. 44.</sup> He peopled it anew with the help of twenty-eight colonies which he settled there. He adorned several cities with fine buildings, and assigned them public revenues for their common expences. As the inhabitants of all the towns of Italy were deemed citizens of Rome, he would have them enjoy the privileges of it, at least the heads of them, in all nominations to magistracies in Rome. When the time of meeting for elections drew near, the senators of colonies and corporation towns sent their votes sealed up, to Rome, and due regard was

Vol. I.                      A a                      paid

paid to them. Studious to support good families, and to encourage the increase of the people, he readily received into the cavalry lads born of honest parents, who brought a recommendation from the magistrates of their cantons: and in every town he passed through when he took his circuits, fathers of families that presented him several children of both sexes, received from him as many thousand sesterces as they had sons or daughters.

The provinces made happy.

I have already observed that the provinces \* thought themselves happy in the change of government under Augustus: instead of a multitude of masters they had but one. Formerly torn to pieces by factions of the great, a prey to the avarice of their governors, in vain they reclaimed the laws: the remedy they might have had from them was cut off by violence, bribery or interest. But now they were protected by the emperor, who made them taste the sweets of peace; kept within due bounds the governors he set over them; and gave the laws their full force.

Not. Aug. 47.

To these general and common benefits Augustus added particular ones for certain towns and provinces, according to the nature of their necessities. He eased such as were overloaded with public debts, under which they were sinking; or that had been afflicted by dearth or earthquakes. If any had deserved well from the republic,

\* Neque Provincie illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto Senatus populique Imperio ob certamina principum, &c avaritiam magistratuum: invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecuniâ turbabantur. Tac. Ann. l. 2.



public, he rewarded them, granting them either the privileges the Latins had enjoyed before they became Roman citizens, or even the right of burgesses. There was no one province of that vast empire which he did not visit, Sardinia and Africa excepted, and even there he did intend to go, after he had conquered Pompey, but was prevented by storms; and never had another opportunity, or motive, to take that voyage.

He considered the kings his allies as members, <sup>The kings, allow of the empire, protected. Such Aug. 46.</sup> in some measure, of the empire, and as deserving in that sense his care and protection. He studied to unite them by alliances, and to preserve peace in their families: Herod was a great example of it. He caused several of their children to be brought up with his own; and, where kings were minors, or their reason and intellects impaired by age, he appointed tutors and regents to assist them to govern their states.

Augustus's care and vigilance, as may be <sup>laws</sup> seen, extended to all. We have a further proof of it in the laws he enacted to regulate the manners of the people, and banish sundry abuses: in the care he took to connect and cement all the parts of that immense extent of territories and people under his government: to facilitate <sup>Roads</sup> their commerce, by making roads from the center of Rome to the extremities of the empire; one of the finest monuments of the Roman magnificence. The establishment of posts <sup>Posts and couriers.</sup> and couriers was likewise a useful thing, though <sup>No. 1. 40</sup> restrained to affairs of state, and the emperor's own use, who by that means was exactly informed of all that passed in the provinces. But

And

what

Admini-  
stration of  
justice.

what was by no means the least laudable part of Augustus's government, was the pains he took to have justice duly administered; a great and most essential duty in a sovereign.

*Suet. Aug*  
32, 33.

He increased the body of judges, and multiplied their days of sitting to expedite suits. He divided all the provinces between a certain number of persons of consular dignity, before whom an appeal should lie in all causes first judged in any particular province. He went farther; himself administered justice with a surprising assiduity, sitting often till night: even the illnesses he was often troubled with did not prevent him: he was carried to the tribunal in a litter, or heard and determined causes in his bed: whether at Rome, or on a journey, he still performed that function, and persisted in it to his greatest old age; for during the days that immediately preceded his last departure from Rome, he determined a great number of causes.

He admin-  
isters it  
himself.

Lenity of  
his deci-  
sions.  
*Suet. Aug*  
33.

To assiduity, Augustus joined lenity in his decisions, being sensible clemency always does honour to a prince, and that even criminals should find some advantage in being judged by their sovereign himself. Suetonius records two instances of it. A son was accused before him of parricide, and the crime was proved. Augustus was willing to spare him at least the horror of the punishment inflicted by law in such cases, which was to be put into a sack with a viper and a dog, and so thrown into the sea: but as none were condemned to that punishment but such as were convicted on their own confession, he examined the

the criminal in this manner: "Thou certainly couldst not kill thy father." On another occasion, where a forged will was the case, all that had signed as witnesses to make it valid, were liable to the punishment prescribed by law: however, Augustus made a distinction: and besides the billets for absolution and condemnation, he caused a third to be given those who sat as joint judges with him, to pardon such as should prove they had been induced to sign by fraud or error.

An administration so laudable in all its parts, <sup>Want of</sup> wanted nothing to make it perfect but noble <sup>sincerity</sup> and disinterested motives: but Augustus's cha- <sup>and up-</sup> racter was such a composition of disguise and <sup>rightness</sup> dissimulation, as gives us room to think the <sup>in the mo-</sup> good he did to others was purely for his own <sup>tives to</sup> sake: he knew how to give the finest turns to <sup>such laud-</sup> what in reality was calculated entirely for his <sup>able actions.</sup> own grandour and elevation; and with wonderful dexterity could put on the outside shew of virtues which in fact were not in him.

We have a remarkable instance of this in the strong expressions he constantly made use of whenever he pretended to want to abdicate the sovereign power, whilst at the same time it was the furthest from his thoughts. "Augustus, <sup>Sen de</sup> says Seneca, was always begging for repose, <sup>lib. 11 c.</sup> and leave to lay down the weight of govern- <sup>11. 2.</sup> ment: the drift of all his discourses was to wish for the sweets of retirement. In a letter he wrote the senate, promising his recess from business should not be an indulgence to idleness, nor degenerate from the glory of his former conduct, he adds these very words:

A a 3

I know

*\* I know these kind of projects are better done than talked of: but so earnestly do I wish for that state, that to comfort myself, than I cannot yet attain it, I have endeavoured to anticipate the enjoyment of it in thought.* Seneca relates this as spoken seriously and in earnest: and perhaps he thought it so. But if we appeal to facts, and observe, that after forty years enjoyment of the sovereign authority, Augustus, then seventy-five years old, still caused that power to be continued him for ten years more: if we reflect on the care he took always to have props to help to support his rule, and with that view promoted and raised to honours successively Marcellus, Agrippa, the two Caesars his sons by adoption, and last of all Tiberius; who but must see this fine talk was only hypocrisy; and that, to make use of his own expression, he acted a farce in that, as in every thing else.

Augustus's private conduct. His incontinence. *Suet Aug. 63. 69. 71.* Having considered Augustus as emperor, it remains to speak of his conduct in private life, in which we shall find great beauties, with only one blemish, his incontinence. Antony and others of his enemies accused him of not having been over chaste in his youth; but their accusations were destitute of proofs, and in Suetonius's opinion are refuted by the aversion he always expressed for those unnatural crimes, then so frequent among the Romans. With women indeed his incontinence is notorious and averred: even Livia was thought his confidante

<sup>a</sup> Sed ista fieri speciosius quam promitti possunt. Me tamen cupido temporis captivum mihi provexit, ut, quo iam rerum lætitia moratur adhuc præcipere aliquid voluptatis ex verborum dulcedine.

fidante in those affairs, and it has been said was complaisant enough to sick mistresses for him herself. It is remarkable, that even on those occasions, where pleasure is generally the object aimed at, Augustus could not lay aside his cunning and finesse, but would intrigue with other men's wives, on purpose to try to find out their husbands secrets, and discover if any plot or sedition was carrying on.

Zonaras, copying Dion Cassius as usual, says, Augustus was greatly reformed in that respect by a strong lesson from Athenodoros of Tarus, of whose freedom I have already given an instance that does equal honour to the philosopher and the emperor. That which I am going to mention is still more bold.

The women Augustus wanted to have, used to be brought in a close litter into his bed-chamber. Happening to take a liking to the wife of a particular friend of Athenodoros, he sent for her just when that philosopher chanced to be at his friend's house: the husband and wife were in the utmost consternation, but had not courage to refuse. The philosopher desired they would let him deliver them from the difficulty they were in; and dressing himself in the lady's clothes, when the litter came, got in instead of her, and was carried into the Emperor's chamber. Augustus lifting up the curtain was greatly surprised to see Athenodoros, whose virtue he respected, rush out with a naked sword in his hand: "How! Caesar, said the philosopher, are you not afraid this stratagem, which I make an innocent use of, may by some other be thought of to take away your life?"

“ life ?” Augustus put a favourable construction on Athenodorus’s freedom, and was warned, it is said, by the reproof. But if he did reform, it must have been very late, and when he was old ; for Suetonius, who excuses, and even praises him as much as he can, says nothing of that.

Repast of  
the twelve  
deities.  
70.

History does not tax him with any excess at table, one entertainment excepted ; which was called the Repast of the twelve Deities ; because the twelve guests that were invited, six men and six women, had decked themselves with the ornaments and attributes of the twelve principal deities of Olympus. Augustus, or rather Octavius, for this happened when he was young, represented Apollo : but his youth is a bad excuse for an impious and sacrilegious debauchery ; complained of with so much the more reason, as the city was at that very time afflicted with famine : and accordingly the mutinous mob cried out next day, “ The gods had eat up all the corn ; and that Octavius was indeed Apollo, “ but Apollo the executioner ;” for Apollo was worshipped under that odd name in one part of the city.

Augustus’s  
sobriety  
and temperance.  
72.  
74. 76. 77.

It is however agreed on all sides, that he may justly be proposed as a model of sobriety and temperance ; and by that means it was that, with a very puny constitution, he attained an age that the most robust do not very often reach. He eat little, and generally plain things : seldom drank more than a pint of wine at a meal, and generally speaking not so much. His table was plain and simple, except on holidays, or days of great ceremony. He invited his friends

friends and citizens of distinction every day, and always took care freedom and gaiety should crown the entertainment. Himself would eat very sparingly, and sometimes not at all, having no fixed hour for his meals, but taking them when his appetite served, and not else; so that his friends often sat down to table without him, and he dined or supped before or after them, as he thought it best suited his health.

The same simplicity prevailed in all his ex-<sup>His taste</sup>pences: part of his furniture was still remain-<sup>for simpli-</sup>ing in Suetonius's time, and that author pro-<sup>city in all</sup>tests they hardly equalled the elegance of what<sup>his expen-</sup>a rich private man would have had. He wore<sup>ces-</sup>no clothes, as I have before said, but what wore<sup>73.</sup>spun by his wife, sister, daughter, or grand-daughters. His palace in Rome was neither vast nor splendid: not a marble pillar, nor a piece<sup>72.</sup>of marble pavement was to be seen in it: for forty years that he lived in it, he kept the same apartment winter and summer. If he wanted to write or study, and not be interrupted, he had a closet above stairs to which he retired, or else went to some one of his freemen's that had a house in the suburbs; and when he was sick, which is very remarkable, he was carried to Mecænas's.

Great magnificent country-houses displeased him; and he ordered a very fine one, that his grand-daughter Julia had built at a vast expence, to be pulled down to the ground. His own were modest; he studied less to adorn them with pictures and statues, than to make them convenient and agreeable by portico's, groves, and walks. The halls and closets were

ornamented with natural curiosities or monuments of antiquity. Suetonius mentions as an example still subsisting at Capræa, when he wrote, the armour of ancient heroes, and vast bones of sea monsters, which the vulgar took for giants' bones.

His play  
modest and  
noble.  
Suet. Aug.  
71.

He has been taxed with being addicted to gaming; and we find in Suetonius a spiteful epigram alluding to it, and written at the time of the Sicilian war with Pompey. The purport of it is, \* “after being twice beat at sea, Octavius lost his fleet; not to be always on the losing side, but have a chance of being once conqueror, he now plays perpetually at dice.” Their criticisms on that score gave him no uneasiness; and it must be owned, nothing but the utmost ill-nature could find fault with his play; when he played it was for amusement only, and for very trifles, compared to his rank and fortune; and his behaviour was always noble and generous.

This plainly appears from some fragments of letters of his preserved by Suetonius, one of which I shall here give a translation of. It was to Tiberius he wrote in these terms: “My dear Tiberius, we have passed the feasts of Minerva very agreeably, for we have played every day, and pretty high: your brother was almost out of his wits. Upon the whole, however, he has not lost much: he set out badly, but by degrees licked himself whole. For my part I have lost twenty thousand sesterces;

\* Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,  
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.



“sterces; but that was owing to my being excessively liberal, as I always am; for if I had made them pay me exactly, and had kept what I gave away, I should have been fifty thousand sesterces gainer. But I don't repent it, for my generosity will make a god of me by and by.”

This simple narrative is a plain proof that even his play afforded Augustus opportunities of being generous: But another thing to be observed is, that according to their rate of gaming, to have won fifty thousand sesterces in the five days that the feasts of Minerva lasted, would have been thought great winning. Now fifty thousand sesterces are equal to four hundred pounds of our money. Such play could surely never hurt the finances of a Roman Emperor, nor ruin those that played with him.

One of Augustus's most estimable qualities, <sup>He was a good and faithful friend.</sup> was, that he was a good and faithful friend. He did not easily contract a friendship; but <sup>friend.</sup> once formed, he did not break it for slight <sup>Nov. Aug. ca.</sup> causes. Of all that had any share in his favour, we shall hardly find any but Salvidienus and Cornelius Gallus, whose end was bad; and they most justly drew it on themselves. As to the rest, he not only rewarded their virtues and services, but likewise excused their faults; and by so judicious a conduct deserved to have true friends: a happiness few Sovereigns can boast. The most illustrious of them were, as every one knows, Agrippa and Mecenas: great men, whose superior merit does honour to Augustus's discernment. If any cloud, any coolness, intervened between him and those two incomparable

rable friends, it must be imputed to the frailty of human virtue : but there never was any rupture between them.

As he loved sincerely, so he would be loved again ; and it was easy to perceive how sensible he was of every mark of affection or indifference from his friends. It was customary among the Romans; even more than it is with us, to leave by will something as a legacy to those they esteemed, at the same time mentioning them with esteem and affection. Augustus was always curious to see the wills of his friends, and would dissemble neither his pleasure nor dissatisfaction, according as he thought himself well or ill treated by them. Not that he was swayed by interest, for he never would receive a legacy left by one he did not know : and if the testator that made him a present left any children, Augustus always gave them immediately, if they were of age, the legacy that was left him : if they were not, he waited till they were, and then paid it them with the interest. It was friendship, it was the heart he wanted ; and surely such sentiments are most noble and generous.

A tender, but unfortunate father. A good brother, and a good husband.

His love towards his family and children was crossed by the premature death of some, and the unworthiness of others, perhaps of all. I except Agrippina, wife to Germanicus, who alone proved herself to be the worthy offspring of Augustus and Agrippa, and whom he settled in the greatest manner he could, so soon as he found circumstances would not permit him to make her husband Emperor. His inviolable friendship for Octavia, proves him a good brother :

ther : and in one sense it may be said he was but too good a husband, if it be true, that he let Livia get an entire ascendant over him. Grave historians assure us it was so ; but if they have no other proof than Tiberius's adoption, it is not conclusive ; for what Augustus did in that was not from choice, and Livia was less consulted in it than the situation of affairs, which would not admit of doing otherwise.

He was kind and indulgent towards his free-<sup>His indul-</sup>men and slaves, but without any weakness to-<sup>gence</sup>wards them ; and distinguished between par-<sup>without</sup>donable faults and such as it was necessary to <sup>weakness,</sup>make an example of. At a hunting match, <sup>towards his</sup>his intendant or steward, who chanced to be <sup>freemen</sup>next him, seeing a wild boar run furiously to-<sup>and slaves.</sup>wards them, hid himself behind the emperor, exposing him to the danger to save himself. Augustus imputed it to fear rather than any bad design, and laughed at an adventure in which, though he was in danger, his servant was innocent. On the other hand, a slave, that he was very fond of, being convicted of adultery with some ladies of distinction, he condemned him to die without pity. He ordered one of his secretary's legs to be broke, because he had taken five hundred denarii to shew a letter he was intrusted with. The preceptors and upper servants of his son Caius Cesar, having made an ill use of the opportunity the illness and death of that young prince afforded them, to tyrannise over the people, Augustus ordered the guilty to be thrown into the river with a stone tied round their necks.

Protects  
learning.  
*Suet. Aug.*  
69.

No one is ignorant to what degree he was a protector of learning, which attained under his reign the highest period the Romans ever carried it to. He thought it a capital duty to encourage talents: writers of a superior merit had a right to claim not only his favour, but his friendship; witness Virgil and Horace. He delighted in going to hear orators, poets, and historians, who, according to the custom of those days, rendered their works public, by reciting them before an audience assembled on purpose.

Was him-  
self a man  
of letters.  
81—86.

It is not to be wondered at that Augustus favoured learning: he was himself a man of letters: he was perfectly versed in the Sciences of the Greeks, though he was not so far master of their language as to write or speak it without some difficulty. From his youth he had applied himself greatly to the study of eloquence, and all his life was very nice in composing the discourses he was to pronounce either to the army, the senate, or the people. He succeeded in that study, and even Tacitus has praised his \* eloquence, as becoming an emperor. What is very singular is, that even the conversations of any importance he was to have, not only with those he saw but seldom, but even with Livia, he wrote down, and read that he might say just what he thought was proper to be said, and neither more nor less. His tone of voice was agreeable, probably owing to the natural formation of the organs; but he took care to keep them in due order, having

\* Augusto prompta ac profluens, quæ deceret Principi  
eloquentia fuit. *Tac. Ann. xiii. 3.*

a master of pronunciation, from whom he took lessons regularly.

He not only studied and polished what discourses, and harangues he was to make relating to business, but was an author too. Suetonius mentions of his writing, *An answer to the character of Cato by Brutus, Exhortations to philosophy, Memoirs of his own life*, which he carried no lower down than the Cantabrian war. He attempted poetry too; and in Suetonius's time there was a poem of his writing, the subject and title of which was *Sicily*; and a collection of *Epigrams*, most of which he wrote whilst in the bath. He began a tragedy of *Ajax*, but not pleased with his performance, suppressed it: some \* of his friends asking him what was become of his *Ajax*, "My *Ajax*, said he, has fallen on a sponge;" alluding to the story of *Ajax's* falling on his own sword.

Thus we see Augustus did not think it beneath the majesty of empire to become author. He was so far from blushing at it, that he read his answer to Brutus before a numerous assembly of his friends at his palace; and beginning to be tired with reading, for he was then old, made Tiberius read the rest.

His style was smooth, easy, and natural: he avoided all puerile or far-fetched thoughts, all affectation in the turn or disposition of his phrases, all words not in general use, and which if I may be allowed to use his own † expression, had

\* Quarentibus amicis, quidnam Ajax ageret, respondit, Ajaxcum sumi in spongiam incubuisse.

† Reconditorum verborum, ut ipse dicit, factoribus.

had a musty smell. His chief study, and which was ever that of the greatest masters of the art of speaking and writing, was perspicuity. He readily sacrificed a luxuriance of style to clearness of expression, and chose rather to use repetitions, and add prepositions where custom generally suppressed them, than to leave his meaning in the least obscure or doubtful.

Whatever deviated from nature in any shape, hurt the nicety and delicacy of his taste: and he blamed equally those who, running too much after ornaments and brilliancy of style, gave into puns or bombast; and those who, falling into the other extreme, were still enamoured with the rust of rude antiquity. He was continually rallying the soft and effeminate dress of Mæcenas's style, Tiberius's laboured phrases, and the sonorous empty pomp of Asiatic eloquence that Antony was delighted with. Writing to his grand-daughter Agrippina, after praising her wit, he adds, "but \* avoid affectation, which is always bad and displeasing."

He was weak enough to be superstitious.  
*Suet. Aug. 90. 93.*

With so much knowledge, and such great qualities, Augustus gave into all the superstitions of the vulgar. I do not speak here of his respect for the only religion he was acquainted with: that respect, mistaken as the object of it was, was still preferable to the overt impiety Epicurus's philosophy had infected the minds of so many illustrious Romans with. I shall not quarrel with him neither for his fear of thunder, so great as to hide himself in a vault or cellar till the storm was over: that infirmity was

\* Sed opus est dare operam, ne molesto scribas aut loquaris.

was excuseable on account of the accident that first caused it. Travelling one night in Spain, *Surt. Aug.* the thunder fell so near his litter, that it killed <sup>29.</sup> the slave who held the flambeau. But what one can hardly forgive him is, his weakness in believing in omens, in lucky and unlucky days, and in dreams. I shall mention but one instance.

In memory of the accident I have just spoken of, he built a temple on mount Capitolinus, and dedicated it to Jupiter the thunderer: thither he went regularly to pay homage to this god of his own creating. A temple to which the prince went, was soon frequented by the people; and on this occasion Augustus had a dream. He thought he saw Jupiter Capitolinus, who complained that his new, but bad neighbour, took off his worshippers from him, and dreamed he answered the uneasy angry god, that the thunderer was but ~~his~~ porter. *When a-* waked, he recollected this dream, and, to verify it, caused little bells to be fixed on the top of the temple of Jupiter the thunderer; bells being then generally used by porters, and put on doors.

So childish, so unmeaning a piece of devotion, ill became a prince like Augustus, who besides had had a thousand opportunities of being undeceived, with regard to the pretended miracles of the Pagan priests and their false deities. Pliny has preserved a fact curious enough of that kind.

The temple of the goddess Anaitis, greatly <sup>*Plin.*</sup> revered in Armenia, was plundered by the <sup>*XLVII.*</sup> Romans, when Antony made the fraudulent

conquest of that country: the statue of that goddess, which was of massy gold was carried off and broken to pieces. A report was spread, that the first man that had dared to lay his hand on the goddess, struck suddenly with an apoplexy, instantly dropt down dead. A long time after that, Augustus being at Bologna, supped with an old soldier that had left the service, who had had a share of that plunder; and being asked what truth there was in the report I have mentioned, "Caesar," answered the soldier, it is the goddess "Anaitis's leg you are eating for supper to night, and all I have in the world I owe to her."

This expression might have carried Augustus great lengths, had he been so disposed: but religion was in fact the least part of his care, only so far as it was subservient to his policy: and that indifference about the only thing truly interesting, was the foundation of his superstitious credulity, as it has been of impiety in many others.

Such are the chief outlines by which an idea may be formed of the mind and soul of that famous prince, the restorer of peace and good order in Rome, and the whole world; and that more deserving our praises than Caesar or Alexander for their warlike qualities and conquests. Of all his virtues, prudence, and the extent and solidity of his views, hold incontestably the first rank, and are his chief characteristics. But the reader will please to observe, it is Augustus I am speaking of, and not Octavius: they are two different men and every

Prudence  
was his pre-  
vailing char-  
acteristic.



every one knows that famous saying which contains a very just judgment of the whole life of that prince : “ He did so much mischief to the Roman republic, and to mankind, that he should never have been born ; and so much good, that he ought never to have died.”

If any one is desirous to know what his person was, he may find a full account of it in <sup>His person.</sup> <sup>Suet. Aug.</sup> <sub>79</sub> Suetonius, from whom I shall borrow only what follows. He was what is generally called a very handsome man, in every stage of his life ; but negligent of his person. No affectation, no fondness of dress. He regretted the time it cost to dress his hair, at which several slaves were busied at once, whilst he wrote or read. Mildness and serenity were pictured in his looks ; at the same time his eyes were so piercing they dazzled those he looked at. He was pleased, like Alexander, when any one looked down, not to meet his eyes. He was rather short ; but so well proportioned that he did not appear little, but by comparison, if a taller man stood next him. I have already said he was of a very tender constitution. What concerns his funeral, will, and apotheosis, belongs to the history of his successor.







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