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A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM ITS FOUNDATION

PREFACE.

It is well known that for the period of Roman history, which is of all its periods perhaps the most important—the first two centuries of the Empire—there exists no English handbook suitable for use in Universities and Schools. The consequence of this want in our educational course is that the knowledge of Roman history possessed by students, who are otherwise men of considerable attainments in classical literature, comes to a sudden end at the Battle of Actium. At least, their systematic knowledge ends there; of the subsequent history they know only isolated facts gathered at haphazard from Horace, Juvenal and Tacitus. This much-felt need will, it is hoped, be met by the present volume, which bridges the gap between the *Student's Rome* and the *Student's Gibbon*.

This work has been written directly from the original sources. But it is almost unnecessary to say that the author is under deep obligations to many modern guides. He is indebted above all to Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, and to the fifth volume of the same historian's *Römische Geschichte*. He must also acknowledge the constant aid which he has derived from Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Schiller's *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, and Herzog's *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*. Duruy's *History of Rome* has been occasionally useful. The lesser and more special books which have been consulted with advantage are too numerous to mention. Gardthausen's (as yet incomplete) work on *Augustus*, Lehmann's monograph on *Claudius*

(with invaluable genealogical tables), Schiller's large monograph on *Nero*, De la Berge and Dierauer on *Trajan*, Dürr on the journeys of *Hadrian*, Lacour-Gayet on *Antoninus Pius*, Hirschfeld's *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* are the most important. The assistance derived from Xenopol's paper on Trajan's Dacian wars in the *Revue historique* (xxxi., 1886) must be specially acknowledged. Of editions, the *Monumentum Ancyranum* by Mommsen, the *Annals* of Tacitus by Mr. Furneaux, the *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan* and Plutarch's *Lives of Galba and Otho* by Mr. Hardy, the *Satires of Juvenal* by Mr Mayor, the *Epigrams of Martial* by Friedländer, have been most helpful. The author has also had the advantage of the learning of Mr. L. C. Purser, whose great kindness in reading the proof-sheets with minute care cannot be sufficiently acknowledged.

It is hoped that the concluding chapter on *Roman Life and Manners* will be found useful. It is compiled from the materials furnished in Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*, various articles in the new edition of Sir W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and Mayor's *Juvenal*. It has been thought advisable to make copious quotations from, and references to, Horace, Juvenal, and Martial a special feature of this chapter, in order to bring the study of those authors more immediately in touch with the period to which they belong.

The constitutional theory and history of the Principate have been investigated with such striking results in recent years by the elaborate researches of Mommsen and his school in Germany, that the author felt himself called upon to treat this side of imperial history as fully as the compass of a handbook seemed to admit. It is a subject which cannot be otherwise than difficult; but in order to read the history of the Empire intelligently, it is indispensable to master at the outset the constitutional principles, to which Chapters II. and III. are devoted.

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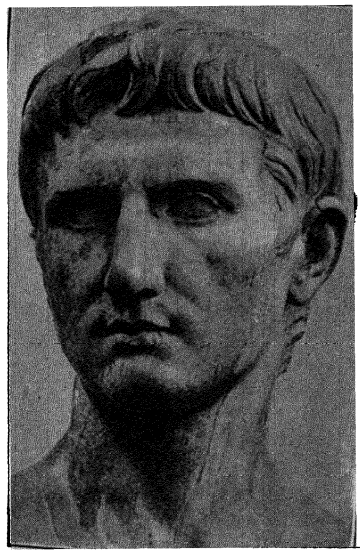
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.



Augustus.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE PRINCIPATE.

§ 1. Cæsar. § 2. Agrippa and Mæcenas. § 3. Cæsar's treatment of Egypt. The Egyptian booty. Settlement of the veterans in Italy. Reorganisation of legions. § 4. Cæsar in the East. His return to Italy. Conspiracy of Lepidus. Decrees in honour of Cæsar. His triumphs over (1) Dalmatia and Pannonia, (2) Asia, (3) Egypt. Closing of the Temple of Janus. § 5. Cæsar's position as triumvir. He resigns the triumvirate (27 B.C.).

§ 1. C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the triumvir and the founder of the Roman Empire, was the grandnephew * of C. Julius Cæsar, the dictator, his

* His mother Atia was the daughter of Julia, the dictator's sister.

adoptive father. Originally named, like his true father, C. Octavius,* he entered the Julian family after the dictator's death, and, according to the usual practice of adopted sons, called himself C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. But the name Octavianus soon fell into disuse, and by his contemporaries he was commonly spoken of as Cæsar, just as Scipio Æmilianus was commonly called Scipio.

The victory of Actium (Sept. 2, 31 B.C.), and the death of Marcus Antonius (Aug. 1, 30 B.C.) placed the supreme power in the hands of Cæsar, for so we may best call him until he becomes Augustus. The Roman world lay at his feet and he had no rival. He was not a man of genius and his success had perhaps been chiefly due to his imperturbable self-control. He was no general; he was hardly a soldier, though not devoid of personal courage, as he had shown in his campaign in Illyricum. As a statesman he was able, but not creative or original, and he would never have succeeded in forming a permanent constitution but for the example of the great dictator. In temper he was cool, without ardour or enthusiasm. His mind was logical and he aimed at precision in thought and expression. His culture was wide, if superficial; his knowledge of Greek imperfect. In literary style he affected simplicity and correctness; and he was an acute critic. Like many educated men of his time, he was not free from superstition. His habits were always simple, his food plain, and his surroundings modest. His family affections were strong and sometimes misled him into weakness. His presence was imposing, though he was not tall, and his features were marked by symmetrical beauty; but the pallor of his complexion showed that his health was naturally delicate. It was due to his self-control and his simple manner of life that he lived to be an old man.

§ 2. The successes of Cæsar had not been achieved without the aid of others. Two remarkable men, devoted to his interests, stood by him faithfully throughout the civil wars, and helped him by their counsels and their labours. These were M. Vipsanius Agrippa and C. Cilnius Mæcenas. As they helped him not only to win the empire, but also to wield it after he had won it, it is necessary to know what manner of men they were.

Of Agrippa we know strangely little considering the prominent position he occupied for a long and important period, and the part he played in the history of the world. From youth up he had been the companion of Cæsar, and he was always content to take the second place. His military ability stood Cæsar in good stead, notably in the war with Sextus Pompeius, and on the day of Actium. He had first distinguished himself at the siege of Perusia

* Thurinus is said to have been given him as a cognomen.

(41 B.C), and, subsequently, his victories over the Germans beyond the Rhine established his military fame. His success was due to his own energy, for he had no interest, and, belonging to an obscure *gens*, he was regarded by the nobility as an upstart. He was not, perhaps, a man of culture, but his tastes were liberal. His interest in architecture was signalised by many useful buildings; and Gaul owed him a great debt for the roads which he constructed in that country. In appearance he is said to have been stern and rugged; in temper he was reserved and proud. He was ambitious, but only for the second place; yet he was the one man who might have been a successful rival of his master.

Mæcenas resembled Agrippa in his unselfish loyalty to Cæsar; but his character was very different. Like Agrippa, he did not aspire to become the peer of their common master; but while the heart of Agrippa was set on being acknowledged as second, Mæcenas preferred to have no recognised position. Agrippa's excellence was in the craft of war; while Mæcenas cultivated the arts of peace. Agrippa had forwarded the cause of Cæsar by his generalship; Mæcenas aided him by diplomacy. It will be remembered how the latter negotiated the treaties of Brundusium and Misenum. During the campaigns which demanded the presence of Cæsar, Mæcenas conducted the administration of affairs in Italy and watched over the interests of the absent triumvir. Until his death, (8 B.C.) he continued to be the trusted friend and adviser, in fact, the *alter ego* of Cæsar; and he had probably no small share in making the constitution of the Empire. But he always kept himself in the background. He was content with the real power which he enjoyed by his immense influence with Cæsar; he despised offices and honours. It is characteristic of the man that he refused to pass from the equestrian into the senatorial order. He could indeed afford to look down upon many of the nobles; for he came of an illustrious Etruscan race. In his tastes and manner of life he was unlike both Agrippa and Cæsar. He was neither rough nor simple. A refined voluptuary, he made an art of luxury; and it was quite consistent that ambition should have no place in his theory of life. When affairs called for energy and zeal, no one was more energetic and unresting than Mæcenas; but in hours of ease he almost went beyond the effeminacy of a woman.* Saturated with the best culture of his day, he took an enlightened interest in literature. Of the circle of men of letters which he formed around himself there will be an occasion to speak in a future chapter.

* This is the expression of Velleius Paterculus: *otio ac mollitiis pæne ultra feminam fluens.*

Such were the men who helped Cæsar to win the first place in the state; and who, when he had become the ruler of the world, devoted themselves to his service without rivalry or jealousy. Agrippa became consul for the second time in 28 B.C., with the triumvir for his colleague; and his friendship with Cæsar was soon cemented by a new tie. He married Marcella, the daughter of Octavia, Cæsar's sister, by her first husband, C. Marcellus.*

§ 3. The battle of Actium decided between Antonius and Cæsar. But it also decided a still greater question. It decided between the East and the West. For the Roman world had been seriously threatened by the danger of an Oriental despotism. The policy of Antonius in the East, his connection with Cleopatra, the idea of making Alexandria a second Rome, show that if things had turned out otherwise at Actium, Egypt would have obtained an undue preponderance in the Roman State, and the empire might have been founded in the form of an Eastern monarchy. Cæsar recognised the significance of Egypt, and took measures to prevent future danger from that quarter. It was of course out of the question to allow the dynasty of Greek kings to continue. But instead of forming a new province, Cæsar treated the land as if he were, by the right of conquest, the successor of Cleopatra, and of Ptolemy Cæsarion, whom he had put to death. He did not, indeed, assume the title of king, but he appointed a prefect, who was responsible to himself alone, and was in every sense a viceroy; and, as the lord of the country, he enacted that no Roman senator should visit it without his special permission. The first prefect of Egypt was C. Cornelius Gallus, with whose help Cæsar had captured Alexandria. The inhabitants of Egypt were debarred from the prospect of becoming Roman citizens, and no local government was granted to the cities.†

The treasures of Cleopatra enabled Cæsar to discharge many pressing obligations. He was able to pay back the loans which he had incurred in the civil wars. He was able also to give large donatives to the soldiers and the populace of Rome. The abundance of money which the conquest of Egypt suddenly poured upon Western Europe helped in no small measure to establish a new period of prosperity. After many dreary years of domestic war and financial difficulties, men now saw a prospect of peace and plenty.

But, above all, the booty of Egypt enabled Cæsar to satisfy the demands of 120,000 veterans. Immediately after Actium he had discharged all the soldiers who had served their time, but without

* Octavia's second husband was M. Antonius.

† See below, Chap. VII. § 8.

giving them the rewards which they had been led to expect. These veterans belonged both to Cæsar's own army and to that of Antonius which had capitulated. Seeing that they would be of little importance after the conclusion of the civil wars, they made a stand as soon as they reached Italy, and demanded that their claims should be instantly satisfied. Agrippa, who had returned with the troops, and Mæcenas, to whom Cæsar had entrusted the administration of Italy, were unable to pacify the soldiers, and it was found necessary to send for Cæsar himself, who was wintering in Samos. The voyage was dangerous at that season of the year, but Cæsar, after experiencing two severe storms, in which some of his ships were lost, reached Brundusium safely. He succeeded in satisfying the veterans, some with grants of land, others with money; but his funds were quite insufficient to meet the claims of all, and he had to put off many with promises. He thus gained time until the immense Egyptian booty gave him means to fulfil his obligations.

The greater number of the veterans were of Italian origin, and wished to receive land in their native country. As most of the Italians had supported the cause of Cæsar, it was impossible to do on a large scale what had been done ten years before, and eject proprietors to make room for the soldiers. But the veterans of Antonius, who had on that occasion been settled in the districts of Ravenna, Bononia, Capua, &c., and sympathized with his cause, were now forcibly turned out of the holdings which they had forcibly acquired. They were, however—unlike the original proprietors—compensated by assignments of land in the provinces, especially in the East, where the civil war had depopulated many districts. But the land thus made available was not nearly enough, and Cæsar was obliged to purchase the rest. In B.C. 30 and B.C. 14, he spent no less than 600 million sesterces (about £5,000,000) in buying Italian farms for his veterans. We find traces of these settlements in various parts of Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Ateste (Este). After the conquest of Egypt, the Antonian troops were transferred to the south of Gaul, and settled there in colonies possessing *ius Latinum*, for example, in Nemausus (Nîmes).

The wholesale discharge of veterans, as well as the losses sustained in the wars, rendered a reorganisation of the legions necessary. The plan was adopted of uniting those legions which had been greatly reduced in number with others which had been similarly diminished, and thus forming new "double-legions," as they were called by the distinguishing title of *Gemina*. Thus were formed the Thirteenth Gemina, the Fourteenth Gemina, &c.

§ 4. The greater part of the year following the death of Cleo-

patra (Aug., B.C. 30) was occupied by Cæsar in ordering the affairs of the Asiatic provinces and dependent kingdoms. Herod of Judea was rewarded for his valuable services by an extension of his territory, and several changes were made in regard to the petty principalities of Asia Minor.* There was probably some expectation at Rome that Cæsar, in the flush of his success, would attempt to try conclusions with the Parthian Empire, and retrieve the defeat of Carrhae, before he returned to Italy. Virgil addresses him at this time in high-flown language, as if he were the arbiter of peace and war in Asia,† as far as the Indies. But Cæsar deferred the settlement of the Parthian question.

In the summer of 29 B.C. he returned to Italy, where he was greeted by the senate and the people with an enthusiasm which was certainly not feigned. There was a general feeling of relief at the end of the civil wars, and men heartily welcomed Cæsar as a deliverer and restorer of peace. The only note of opposition had come from a son of M. Æmilius Lepidus, the triumvir. The father lived in peaceful retirement at Circeii, but the son was rash and ambitious, and formed the plan of murdering Cæsar on his return. He did not take his father into the secret, but his mother Junia, a sister of Brutus, was privy to it. Mæcenas discovered the conspiracy in good time, and promptly arrested Junia and her son. Young Lepidus was immediately despatched to Cæsar in the East, and was there executed. But this incident was of little consequence; Cæsar's position was perfectly safe. The honours which were paid to him would have been accorded with an equal show of enthusiasm to Antonius, if fortune had declared herself for him; but there is little doubt that Cæsar was more acceptable. The senate decreed that his birthday should be included among the public holidays, and it was afterwards regularly celebrated by races. His name was mentioned along with the gods in the *Carmen Saliare*, and it is probable that, if he had really wished it, divine honours would have been decreed to him in Rome, such as were paid to him in Egypt, where he stepped into the place of the Ptolemies, and in Asia Minor, where he assumed the privileges of the Attalids. But though he had become a god in the East, Cæsar wished to remain a man in Rome.‡ He already possessed the tribunician power§ for life; but it was now

* For these changes, see below, Chap. VII. § 5.

† *Georgics*, iii. 170:

Maxime Cæsar
Qui nunc extremis Asiæ iam victor in oris
Inbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.

‡ For his worship, subsequently established, in the western provinces, see below, Chap. VI. §§ 5 and 6.

§ The *potestas* or magisterial power which belonged to a tribune of the plebs involved the following important rights: (1) the power of summoning the plebs

granted again in an extended form. It was also decreed that every fourth anniversary of his victory should be commemorated by games (*ludi Actiaci*); and that the rostra and trophies of the captured ships should adorn the temple of the divine Julius. Triumphal arches were to be erected in the Roman Forum and at Brundusium, to celebrate the victor's return to Italy; and a sacrifice of thanksgiving was offered to the gods by the senate and people, and by every private person.

The triumph of Cæsar lasted three days (Aug. 13, 14, 15). The soldiers who had been disbanded returned to their standards in order to take part in it, and all the troops which had shared in his victories were concentrated close to Rome. Each soldier received 1000 sesterces (about £8) as a triumphal gift; and the Roman populace also received 400 sesterces a head. The triumph represented victories over the three known continents. The first days were devoted to the celebration of conquests in Europe; the subjugation of Pannonia and Dalmatia, and some successes won in Gaul over rebellious tribes by C. Carrinas during Cæsar's absence in the East. The triumph for Actium, which took place on the second day, represented a victory over the forces of Asia. The trophies were far more splendid than those won from the poor princes of Illyricum. The poet Propertius describes how he saw "the necks of kings bound with golden chains, and the fleet of Actium sailing up the Via Sacra." Among the kings were Alexander of Emesa, whom Cæsar had deposed after the battle, and Adiatorix, a Galatian prince, who before the battle had massacred all the Romans he could lay hands on. Both these captives were executed after the triumph. But the third day, which saw the triumph over Africa, was much the most brilliant. Cleopatra had, by destroying herself, avoided the shame of adorning her conqueror's triumphal car, but a statue of her was carried in her stead, and her two young children, Alexander and Cleopatra, represented the fallen house of Egyptian royalty. Images of the Nile and Egypt were also carried in the triumphal procession, and the richest spoils, with

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even against the will of the patrician magistrates, and making resolutions in the assemblies of the tribes; (2) the power of hindering the proceedings of other magistrates, in case he was appealed to for help, within the first milestone from the city; (3) the right of interceding against decrees of the senate and against the acts of other magistrates; (4) the right of *coercitio*—that is, of suppressing and punishing any person who attempted to hinder him in his acts, or who insulted him in any way. The tribunician *potestas* was hallowed by religious sanctity (*sacrosancta*); the tribune's person was inviolable. As there was no means of opposing it except by the intercession of another tribune, or by an appeal (*provocatio*) to the *comitia centuriata* or *tributa*, it became the strongest kind of power in the constitution, and was adopted by the Cæsars, both dictator and triumvir, as a support of their position.

quantities of gold and silver coins, were exhibited to the gaze of the people. The result of the great influx of money into Italy was that the rate of interest fell from 12 to 4 per cent. In one respect the order of Cæsar's triumph departed from the traditional custom. His fellow-consul M. Valerius Messalla Potitus, and the other senators who took part in the triumph, instead of heading the procession and guiding the triumphator into the city, according to usage, were placed last of all. This innovation was significant of the coming monarchy.

On this occasion the buildings, which Julius Cæsar had designed and begun, and which had been completed since his death, were dedicated, and his own temple was consecrated by his son with special solemnity. The game of "Troy" was represented in the Circus Maximus by boys of noble family, divided into two parties, of which one was commanded by Cæsar's stepson, Tiberius Nero, the future Emperor. A statue of Victory was set up in the Senate-house. The occasion was further celebrated by games and gladiatorial combats, in which a Roman senator did not disdain to take part.

But these festivities were less significant for the inauguration of a new period than the solemn closing of the temple of Janus, which had been ordained by the senate, probably early in the same year (Jan. 11). The ceremonies instituted for such an occasion by King Numa had not been witnessed for more than two hundred years, for the last occasion on which the gates of Janus had been shut was at the conclusion of the First Punic War. Strictly speaking, peace was not yet established in every corner of the Roman realm. There were hostilities still going on against mountain tribes in northern Spain, and on the German frontier. But these were small matters, mere child's play, which shrank to complete insignificance by the side of the Civil War which had been distracting the Roman world for the last twenty years. Peace (the famous *pax Romana*) had in every sense come at length, and it was fitting that the doors of war should be closed at the beginning of an empire, of which the saying that "Empire is peace," * was pre-eminently true.

§ 5. The powers which Cæsar possessed as a triumvir were unconstitutional, and were, by their nature, intended to be only temporary. Besides the ordinary *imperium domi* of a consul and an extraordinary imperium (*militiæ*) in the provinces, the triumvir had the power of making laws and of appointing magistrates, which constitutionally belonged to the comitia of the people. When peace was restored to the world, it might be expected that Cæsar would at once restore to the people the functions which had been made over to him

* "L'Empire, c'est la paix," a saying of the third Napoleon.

for a time. It was quite out of the question to restore the state of things which had existed before the elevation of Cæsar, the Dictator. The rule of the senate had been proved to be corrupt and incompetent, and annual magistrates were powerless in the face of a body whose members held their seats for life. The only way out of the difficulty was to place the reins of government in the hands of one man. This had been done directly in the case of Cæsar the father; and it had been the indirect result of the triumvirate in the case of Cæsar the son. But the latter resolved to establish his supremacy on a constitutional basis, and harmonize his sovranty with republican institutions. A dictatorship could be created only to meet some special crisis; and a "triumvir to constitute the state" was clearly absurd when the state had once been "constituted." Neither the office of a dictator nor the powers of the triumvirate were theoretically suitable to form the foundation of a permanent government; and the logically-minded Cæsar was not likely to leave the constitutional shape of his rule undefined or to be content with an inconsistent theory.

He did not, however, at once lay down the triumviral powers which had been conferred on him by the Lex Titia (43 B.C.). For a year and a half after his triumph he seems to have remained a triumvir—or at least in possession of the powers which belonged to him as triumvir—but it is not clear how far during that time he made use of those unconstitutional rights. He was consul for the fifth time in 29 B.C. and again in 28 B.C., and it is probable that he acted during these years by his rights as consul, as far as possible, and not by his rights as triumvir. There was, however, much to be done in Rome and in Italy, that might truly come under the name of "constituting the state." Two of the most important measures carried out in these years were the increase of the patriciate and the reform of the senate. In 30 B.C. a law (*Lex Sænia*) was passed, enabling Cæsar to replenish the exhausted patrician class by the admission of new families; and he carried out this measure in the following year. In 28 B.C. he exercised the functions of the censorship, in conjunction with Agrippa, who was his colleague in the consulship. They not only held a census, but performed a purgation of the senate, and introduced some reforms in its constitution.* Cæsar also caused all the measures which had been taken during the civil wars to be repealed; but the compass and the effect of this act are not quite clear (28 B.C.). In the same year he marked his intention to return to the constitutional forms of the republic by changing the consular fasces, according to custom, with his colleague Agrippa, and thus acknow-

* See below, Chap. III. § 3.

ledging his fellow-consul to be his equal. He also began to restore the administration of the provinces to the senate.

In 27 B.C. Cæsar assumed the consulate for the seventh time, and Agrippa was again his colleague. It seems that he had already partly divested himself of his extraordinary powers,* but the time had at length come to lay them down altogether, though only to receive equivalent power again in a different and more constitutional form. On January 13 he resigned in the senate his office as triumvir and his proconsular imperium, and for a moment the statement of a contemporary writer was literally true, that "the ancient form of the republic was recalled." † And thus Cæsar could be described on coins as "Vindicator of the liberty of the Roman people" (*libertatis P. R. vindex*). In the next chapter we shall see in what shape Cæsar and his councillors, while they nominally restored the republic, really inaugurated an empire which was destined to last well-nigh fifteen hundred years.

* In his *Res Gestæ* Augustus describes his restoration of the Republic as follows. "In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished the civil wars, having by universal consent become lord of all, I transferred the republic from my power into the hands of the senate and the Roman people." See Note A. at end of following chapter.

† In the speech which Dion Cassius puts into his mouth on this occasion, Cæsar says, "I restore to you the armies and the provinces, the revenues and the laws" (55. 9).

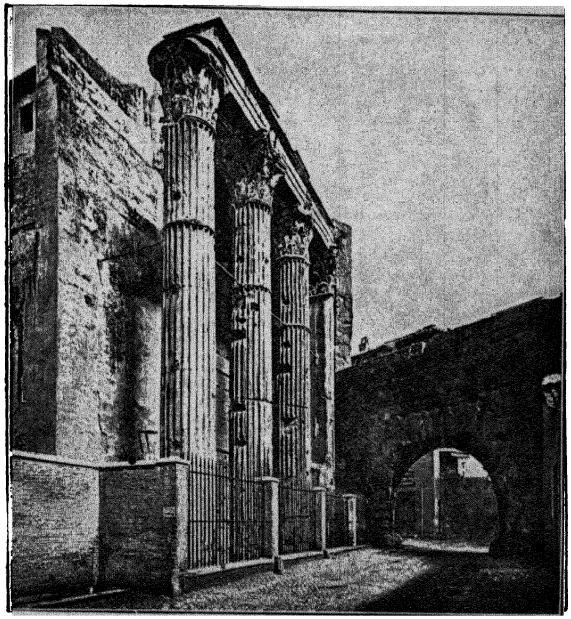
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE DEFINITION OF CÆSAR'S POWER IN 29 AND 28 B.C.

The difficult question as to the legal position of Cæsar after his triumph, and the powers which he held between his return to Rome and January 13, 27 B.C., has been fully discussed by Herzog (*Geschichte und System der romischen Staatsverfassung*, ii. p. 130 *sqq.*). He rejects the idea, which one would at first sight infer from the statements of our authorities, that Cæsar simply retained the powers given him by the Lex Titia, and thinks that if he had done so it would have seemed a usurpation. (He rightly dismisses the view of Dion, that the census was performed by virtue of the inherited title Imperator, and the divergent statement of Suetonius, that it was by virtue of a perpetual *morum legumque regimen*, specially conferred on him. Augustus himself expressly states in his Res Gestæ that this *regimen* of manners and laws had been offered to him, but refused.) His own view is that after the civil war, in 29 B.C., the extraordinary powers, which Cæsar held by the Lex Titia, were legalised by a new formal act—a law defining his *imperium consulare*, both as extending over the provinces and the armies, and as *constitutive*, with inclusion of the censorial functions. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence for this combination, which chiefly rests on the expression of Augustus (*Res Gestæ*, 6. 13), *per consensum univer[sorum [potitus rerum omn]ium*. But whether there was a new *lex* or not, the powers of Cæsar in these years were the same as those which he possessed as triumvir before 29 B.C.

In regard to the censorial functions which he is said by Dion to have exercised in 29 B.C., and which he states himself he exercised in 28 B.C., there is some difficulty. Herzog thinks he cannot have

done this as consul; for a census did not usually extend over two consular years; and, moreover, Agrippa, who was his colleague in the census (Dion, 52. 42), was not his colleague in the consulate in 29 B.C. It seems most simple to suppose that Dion made a mistake about the date, and that both the census and the purification of the senate were carried out in 28 B.C. by the consuls in virtue of the censorial power, which in the ancient republic was part of the consular office.



Temple of Mars Ultor.

Augustus crowned (from the Vienna Cameo).

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPATE.

§ 1. The new constitution of Augustus: its first and its final form. § 2. The title *princeps*. § 3. Constitutional theory of the Principate. Consecration. No designation. The Principate elective, not hereditary. Mode of election. § 4. Honorary titles. The Princeps has neither censorial nor consular power. § 5. Style of the imperial name. *Imperator. Cæsar. Augustus.* § 6. Insignia and privileges of the Princeps. *Amici Cæsaris. Comites.*

§ 1. THE task which devolved upon Cæsar when he had resigned the triumvirate and the proconsular power which had been conferred on him in 43 B.C., was to restore the republic and yet place its administration in the hands of one man, to disguise the monarchy, which he already possessed, under a constitutional form, to be a second Romulus without being a king. He still held the tribunician power which had been given him for life in 36 B.C.

On January 16, in the year of the city 727, three days after Cæsar had laid down his extraordinary powers, the Roman Empire formally began. Munatius Plancus on that day proposed in the senate that the surname *Augustus* should be conferred on Cæsar in recognition of his services to the state. This name did not bestow any

political power, but it became perhaps the most distinctive and significant name of the Emperor. It suggested religious sanctity and surrounded the son of the deified Julius with a halo of consecration. The actual power on which the Empire rested, the *imperium proconsulare*, was conferred upon,* or rather renewed for, Augustus (so we may now call him) for a period of ten years, but renewable after that period. This imperium was of the same kind as that which had been given to Pompeius by the Gabinian and Manilian laws. The Imperator had an exclusive command over the armies and fleet of the republic, and his "province" included all the most important frontier provinces. But this imperium was essentially military; and Rome and Italy were excluded from its sphere. It was therefore insufficient by itself to establish a sovranty, which was to be practically a restoration of royalty, while it pretended to preserve the republican constitution. The idea of Augustus, from which his new constitution derived its special character, was to supplement and reinforce the imperium by one of the higher magistracies.

His first plan was to combine the proconsular imperium with the consulship.† He was consul in 27 B.C., and he caused himself to be re-elected to that magistracy each year for the four following years. The consular imperium, which he thus possessed, gave him not only a *locus standi* in Rome and Italy, but also affected his position in the provinces. For if he only held the proconsular imperium he was merely on a level legally with other proconsular governors, although his "province" was far larger than theirs. But as consul, his imperium ranked as superior (*maius*) over that of the proconsuls. He found, however, that there were drawbacks to this plan. As consul he had a colleague, whose power was legally equal; and this position was clearly awkward for the head of the state. Moreover, if one consul was perpetual, the number of persons elected to the consulship must be smaller; and consequently there would be fewer men available for those offices which were only filled by men of consular rank. The consuls too were regarded as in a certain way representative of the senate; and the Emperor, the child of the democracy, might prefer to be regarded as representative of the people. His thoughts therefore turned to the tribunate, which was specially the magistracy of the people. But it would have been more awkward to found

* But see Note B. at end of this chapter.

† It is not known whether the imperium was renewed for Cæsar on the same day on which he restored the republic (January 13) or on January 16, when he received the name Augustus. Ovid records the whole under January 13, in *Fasti*, i. 589.

Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro
Et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus.

supremacy in civil affairs on the authority of one of ten tribunes than on the powers of one of two consuls. Accordingly Augustus fell back on the *tribunicia potestas*, which he had retained, but so far seems to have made little use of.

In 23 B.C. he gave up his first tentative plan and made the *tribunicia potestas*, instead of the consulship, which he resigned on June 27, the second pillar of his power. The tribunician power was his for life, but he now made it annual as well as perpetual, and dated from this year the years of his reign. Thus in a very narrow sense the Empire might be said to have begun in 23 B.C.; in that year at least the constitution of Augustus received its final form. After this year, his eleventh consulship, Augustus held that office only twice (5 and 2 B.C.). Subsequent Emperors generally assumed it more than once; but it was rather a distinction for the colleague than an advantage for the Emperor.

But the *tribunicia potestas* alone was not a sufficient substitute for the *consulare imperium* which Augustus had surrendered by resigning the consulate. Accordingly a series of privileges and rights were conferred upon him by special acts in 23 B.C. and the following years. He received the right of convening the senate when he chose,* and of proposing the first motion at its meetings (*ius primæ relationis*). His proconsular imperium was defined as "superior" (*maius*) to that of other proconsuls. He received the right of the twelve fasces in Rome, and of sitting between the consuls, and thus he was equalised with the consuls in external dignity (19 B.C.). He probably received too the *ius edicendi*, that is, the power of issuing magisterial edicts.† These rights, conferred upon Augustus by separate acts, were afterwards drawn up in a single form of law, by which the senate and people conferred them on each succeeding Emperor. Thus the constitutional position of the Emperor rested on three bases: the proconsular imperium, the tribunician potestas, and a special law of investiture with certain other prerogatives.

§ 2. The title *imperator* expressed only the proconsular and military power of the Emperor. The one word which could have expressed the sum of all his functions as head of the state,—*rex*—was just the title which Augustus would on no account have assumed; for by doing so he would have thrown off the republican disguise which was essential to his position. The key to the Empire, as Augustus constituted it, is that the Emperor was a magistrate, not a monarch. But a word was wanted, which, without emphasizing any special side of the Emperor's power should

* This right, however, might have been derived from the tribunician power.

† Perhaps in 19 B.C. (Herzog).

indicate his supreme authority in the republic. Augustus chose the name *princeps* * to do this informal duty. The name meant "the first citizen in the state"—*princeps civitatis*—and thus implied at once supremacy and equality, quite in accordance with the spirit of Augustus' constitution; but did not suggest any definite functions. It was purely a name of courtesy. It must be carefully distinguished from the title *princeps senatus*. The senator who was first on the list of the conscript fathers, and had a right to be asked his opinion first, was called *princeps senatus;* and that position had been assigned to Augustus in 28 B.C. But when he or others spoke or wrote of the *princeps*, they did not mean "prince of the senate," but "prince of the Roman citizens." The Empire as constituted by Augustus is often called the Principate, as opposed to the absolute monarchy into which it developed at a later stage.† The Principate is in fact a stage of the Empire; and it might be said that while Augustus founded the Principate, Julius was the true founder of the Empire.

§ 3. According to constitutional theory, the state was still governed under the Principate by the senate and the people. The people delegated most of its functions to one man, so that the government was divided between the senate and the man who represented the people. In the course of time the republican forms of the constitution and the magisterial character of the Emperor gradually disappeared; but at first they were clearly marked and strictly maintained. The senate possessed some real power; assemblies of the people were held; consuls, prætors, tribunes, and the other magistrates were elected as usual. The Principate was not formally a monarchy, but rather a "dyarchy," as German writers have called it; the Princeps and the senate together ruled the state. But the fellowship was an unequal one, for the Emperor, as supreme commander of the armies, had the actual power. The dyarchy is a transparent fiction. The chief feature of the constitutional history of the first three centuries of the Empire is the decline of the authority of the senate and the corresponding growth of the powers of the Princeps, until finally he becomes an absolute monarch. When this comes to pass, the Empire can no longer be described as the Principate.

* Cp. Horace, *Odes*, i. 2. 50: Hic ames dici pater atque princeps. In the Eastern provinces, *princeps* was translated by ἡγεμών. But the Emperor was commonly called βασιλεύς—a title which finally became restricted to Roman Emperors and Persian kings. *Augustus* was rendered in Greek by Σεβαστός.

† Ovid, in a well-known line, distinguishes the Princeps from the Rex (*Fasti*, 2, 142): "*tu* (Romulus) *domini* nomen, *principis ille* (Augustus) tenet." Augustus disliked to be addressed as *dominus*. On the title Princeps, see Note C. at end of chapter.

The Princeps was a magistrate. His powers were entrusted to him by the people, and his position was based on the sovranty of the people. Like any other citizen he was bound by the laws, and if for any purpose he needed a dispensation from any law, he had to receive such dispensation from the senate. He could not be the object of a criminal prosecution; this, however, was no special privilege, but merely an application of the general rule that no magistrate, while he is in office, can be called to account by any one except a superior magistrate. Hence the Princeps, who held office for life and had no superior, was necessarily exempted from criminal prosecution. If, however, he abdicated or were deposed, he might be tried in the criminal courts. And as Roman Law permitted processes against the dead, it often happened that a Princeps was tried in the senate after his death, and his memory condemned to dishonour, or his acts rescinded. The heavier sentence deprived him of the honour of a public funeral and abolished the statues and monuments erected in his name; while the lighter sentence removed his name from those Emperors, to whose acts the magistrates swore when they entered on their office. When a Princeps was not condemned, and when his acts were recognised as valid, he received the honour of consecration.

The claim to consecration after death was a significant characteristic of the Principate, derived from Cæsar the Dictator. He had permitted himself to be worshipped as a god during his lifetime; and though no building was set apart for his worship, his statue was set up in the temples of the gods, and he had a flamen of his own. After his death he was numbered, by a decree of the senate and Roman people, among the gods of the Roman state, under the name of *divus Julius*. His adopted son did not venture to accept divine worship at Rome during his lifetime; * he was content to be the son of a god, *divi filius*, and to receive the name Augustus, which implied a certain consecration. But like Romulus, to whom he was fond of comparing himself, he was elevated to the rank of the gods after his death. It is worth observing how Augustus softened down the bolder designs of Cæsar in this as in other respects. Cæsar would have restored royalty without disguise; Augustus substituted the *princeps* for the *rex*. In Rome, Cæsar was a god during his lifetime; Augustus the son of a god when he lived, a god only after death.

* The *genius Augusti* was worshipped at street altars in Rome, and he was associated with the Lares; cp. Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5. 34: Et Laribus tuum miscet numen. See above, Chap. I. § 4, as to the *Carmen Saliare*. Contemporary poets did not scruple to speak of Augustus as a god. Thus Horace writes (*Odes*, iii. 5. 2): Præsens divus habebitur Augustus; and in another place (*Epist.*, ii. 1. 15) speaks of the divine honours offered to him: Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores.

In one important respect the Principate differed from other magistracies. There was no such thing as designation. The successor to the post could not be appointed until the post was vacant. Hence it follows that, on the death of an Emperor, the Empire ceased to exist until the election of his successor; the republic was in the hands of the senate and the people during the interim, and the initiative devolved upon the consuls. The principle "The king is dead, long live the king," had no application in the Roman Empire.

As a magistracy, the Principate was elective and not hereditary. It might be conferred on any citizen by the will of the sovran people; and even women and children were not disqualified by their sex and age, as in the case of other magistracies. Two, or rather three, acts were necessary for the creation of the Princeps. He first received the proconsular imperium and along with it the name Augustus; subsequently the tribunician power; and also other rights defined by the special Law *de imperio*. But it must be clearly understood, that his position as Princeps really depended upon the proconsular imperium, which gave him exclusive command of all the soldiers of the state. Once he receives it, he is Emperor; the acquisition of the tribunician power is a consequence of the acquisition of the supreme power, but is not the supreme power itself. The day on which the imperium is conferred (*dies imperii*) marks the beginning of a new reign.

It is important to observe how the proconsular power was conferred on the Princeps. It was, theoretically, delegated by the sovran people, but was never bestowed or confirmed by the people meeting in the comitia. It was always conferred by the senate, which was supposed to act for the people.* When the title Imperator was first conferred by the soldiers, it required the formal confirmation of the senate, and until the confirmation took place the candidate selected by the soldiers was a usurper. On the other hand the Imperator named by the senate, although legitimate, had no chance of maintaining his position unless he were also recognised by the soldiers.

The position of the new Princeps was fully established when he was acknowledged by both the senate and the army. After Augustus, the proconsular power of the Princeps was perpetual, and it was free from annuity in any form.

The tribunician power, on the other hand, was conferred by the people meeting in comitia. It properly required two separate legal acts—a special law defining the powers to be conferred, and an election of the person on whom they should be conferred. But

* See Note E. at end of chapter.

these acts were combined in one; and a magistrate, probably one of the consuls, brought a rogation before the comitia, both defining the powers and nominating the person. The bill of course had to come before the senate first, and an interval known as the *trinum nundinum* elapsed between the decree of the senate and the comitia. Hence under the earlier Principate, when such forms were still observed, the assumption of the tribunician power takes place some time after the *dies imperii*. The tribunician power was conferred for perpetuity, but was formally assumed anew every year, so that the Princeps used to count the years of his reign as the years of his tribunician power.*

But though the Empire was thus elective, in reality the choice of the new Princeps depended on the senate or the army only in the case of revolutions. In settled times the Emperors chose their successors, and in their own lifetime caused the objects of their choice to be invested with some of the marks or functions of imperial dignity. It was but natural that each Emperor should try to secure the continuance of the Empire in his own family. If he had a son, he was sure to choose him as successor; if only a daughter, her husband or one of her children. If he had neither son nor daughter of his own, he usually adopted a near kinsman. Thus the Empire, though always theoretically elective, practically tended to become hereditary; and it came to be recognised that near kinship to an Emperor founded a reasonable claim to the succession. This feature was present from the very outset; for the founder of the Empire himself had first assumed his place on the political stage as the son and heir of Julius, and no one was more determined or strove harder to found a dynasty than Augustus.

§ 4. Augustus assumed other functions and titles (as well as the proconsular imperium and the tribunician potestas), but they had no place in the theory of the imperial constitution. He was named by the "senate, the knights and the people," *pater patriæ* (2 B.C.), and subsequent Emperors regularly received this title.† He was elected Pontifex Maximus by the people in 12 B.C. (March 6) after the death of Lepidus, who had been allowed to retain that office when he was deprived of his triumviral power. Henceforward the Chief Pontificate was always held by the Emperors, and formed

* The tribunician year of the Republic began on the 10th December; but the imperial tribunician year counted from the day on which it was bestowed, until the end of the first century A.D., when the old republican practice was introduced. The ordinary system of dating the year by the consuls (from Jan. 1) was so much more practical that it continued in general use.

† This title was first given to Cicero in the senate by Catulus. Cp. Juvenal, viii. 244: Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera duxit. But there is no historical connection between the imperial title and the compliment paid to Cicero. Livy ascribes the title to Romulus.

one of their standing titles. Augustus also belonged to other religious colleges. He was not only Pontifex; he was also a septemvir, a quindecimvir and an augur; he was enrolled among the *Fetiales*, the *Arvales* and the *Titii*.*

Augustus was not a censor, nor did he, as Emperor, possess the powers of the censor's office, although he sometimes temporarily assumed them. The reason why he refrained from assuming these powers permanently is obvious. It was his aim to preserve the form of a republic and to maintain the senate as an independent body. One of the chief functions of the censors was to revise the list of senators; they had the power of expunging members from that body and electing new ones. It is clear that if the Emperor possessed the rights of a censor, he would have direct control over the senate, and it would no longer be even nominally independent.

In 28 B.C., as we have seen, Augustus and Agrippa held a census as consuls, by virtue of the censorial power which originally belonged to the consular office. And on the two subsequent occasions on which Augustus held a census, once by himself (8 B.C.) and once in conjunction with Tiberius (14 A.D.), he did not assume the title of censor, but caused consular power to be conferred on him temporarily by the senate. In 22 B.C. the people proposed to bestow on Augustus the censorship for life, but he refused the offer, and caused Paullus Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus to be appointed censors. This was the last occasion on which two private citizens were colleagues in that office. Three times† it was proposed to Augustus to undertake as a perpetual office "the regulation of laws and manners" (*morum legumque regimen*), but he invariably refused. Such an institution would have been as openly subversive of republican government as royalty or the dictatorship. Nevertheless some of the functions of the censor, and especially the *census equitum*, seem from the very first to have fallen within the competence of the Princeps.

It should be specially observed that the Princeps did not possess consular power, as is sometimes erroneously stated. Occasionally it was decreed to him temporarily for a special purpose, but it did not belong to him as Princeps.‡

§ 5. While the Emperor avoided the names *rex* and *dictator*, he distinguished himself from ordinary citizens by a peculiar arrangement of his personal name. (1) All the Emperors from Augustus to Hadrian, with three exceptions,§ dropped the name of

* These lesser offices do not appear in his titles.

† 19, 18, and 11 B.C.

‡ See Note B. at end of chapter.

§ Claudius, Nero, and Vitellius.

their gens. (2) They never designated the tribe to which they belonged. (3) Most of them adopted the title *Imperator* as a prænomen. This designation had been first used as a constant title by Cæsar the Dictator, being placed immediately after his name and preceding all other titles. Thus it might have been regarded as a second cognomen; and the younger Cæsar claimed it as part of his father's name, and, to make this clear, adopted it as a prænomen instead of his own prænomen Gaius.

All the agnate descendants of the dictator bore the name Cæsar, which was a cognomen of the Julian gens. But when the house of the Julian Cæsars came to an end on the death of the Emperor Gaius, his successor Claudius assumed the cognomen Cæsar, and this example was followed by subsequent dynasties. Thus Cæsar came to be a conventional cognomen of the Emperor and his house.

Augustus was a title of honour; it did not, like imperator or consul, imply an office, and hence an Emperor's wife could receive the title *Augusta*. But it was not, like Cæsar, hereditary; it had to be conferred by the senate or people. At the same time it was distinctly a cognomen; and it has clung specially to him who first bore it as a personal name. It was always assumed by his successors along with the actual power; and it seemed to express that, while the various parts of the Emperor's power were in their nature collegial, there could yet only be one Emperor.

In much later times Augustus and Cæsar were distinguished as greater and lesser titles. The Emperor bore the name Augustus; while he whom the Emperor chose to succeed to the throne was a Cæsar. Moreover, there might be more than one Augustus, and more than one Cæsar.

We must carefully distinguish two different uses of Imperator in the titulary style of the Emperors. (1) As a designation of the proconsular imperium, it was placed, as we have already seen, before the name as a prænomen. (2) *Imp.* with a number, standing among the titles after the name, meant that he had been greeted as imperator so many times by the soldiers in consequence of victories. Yet the two uses were regarded as closely connected. For the investiture with the proconsular imperium was regarded as the first acquisition of the name Imperator, so that on the first victory after his accession the Emperor designated himself as *imperator* ii.

The order of names in the imperial style is worthy of notice.* In the case of the early Emperors, Cæsar comes after the name; for

* The full title of Augustus in the last year of his reign (14 A.D.) was as follows: Imp. Cæsar Divi F(ilius) Augustus, Pontif. Max., Cos. xiii., Imp. xx., Tribunic. Potestat. xxxvii., P(ater) P(atriæ).

example, Imp. Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus. With Vespasian begins a new style, in which Cæsar generally precedes the proper cognomen; thus, Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus. Augustus retained its place at the end.

§ 6. The Princeps had the right of appearing publicly at all seasons in the purple-edged toga of a magistrate. On the occasion of solemn festivals, he used to wear the purple gold-broidered toga, which was worn by victorious generals in triumphal procession. And although in Italy he did not possess the *imperium militiæ*, he had the right to wear the purple paludamentum (*purpura*) of the Imperator even in Rome, but this was a privilege of which early Emperors seldom availed themselves. The distinctive headdress of the Princeps was a laurel wreath. As Imperator he wore the sword; but the sceptre only in triumphal processions. Both in the senate-house and elsewhere, he sat on a *sella curulis;* and he was attended by twelve lictors, like the other chief magistrates. His safety was provided for by a bodyguard, generally consisting of German soldiers; and one cohort of the prætorian guards was constantly stationed at his palace.

Under the Republic the formula of public oaths was couched in the name of Jupiter and the Penates of the Roman people. Cæsar the Dictator added his own genius, and this fashion was followed under the Principate. The oath was framed in the name of Jupiter, those Emperors who had become divine after death, the genius of the reigning Emperor,* and the Penates. The Princeps also had the privilege of being included in the *vota* or prayers for the welfare of the state, which it was customary to offer up in the first month of every year.† And it was regarded as treason to encroach on either of these privileges—to swear by the genius, or offer public vows for the safety, of any other than the Emperor. After the battle of Actium, the birthday of Augustus had been elevated to a public feast; and hence it became the custom to celebrate publicly the birthday of every reigning Emperor, and also the day of his accession.

Like other men of distinction, the Princeps gave morning receptions, which, however, differed from those of private persons, in that every person who wished, provided he was of sufficiently high rank, was admitted. It was part of the policy of Augustus to treat men of his own rank as peers, and in social intercourse to

* For example, an oath in the reign of Domitian runs thus: *per Jovem et divom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom Vespasianum Augustum et divom Titum Augustum et genium imp. Cæsaris Domitiani Augusti deosque Penates.* The Greek word corresponding to *genius* is τύχη.

† The day was finally fixed as January 3.

behave merely as an aristocrat among fellow-aristocrats. There was formally no such thing as court etiquette, and the Emperor's Palatium was merely a private house. But the political difference which set the Princeps above all his fellow-citizens could not fail to have its social consequences, however much Augustus wished to seem a peer among peers. Those persons, whom Augustus admitted to the honour of his friendship—and they belonged chiefly to the senatorial, in a few cases to the equestrian ranks—came to form a distinct, though not officially recognised, body under the name *amici Cæsaris*, "friends of Cæsar." From this circle he selected his *comites* or "companions," the retinue which accompanied him when he travelled in the provinces. The *amici* were expected to attend the morning receptions, and were greeted with a kiss. They wore a ring with the image of the Emperor. They were received in some order of precedence; and gradually they came to be divided into classes, according to their intimacy with the Emperor; and admission into the circle of *amici* became a formal act. To lose the position of a "friend" of Cæsar entailed consequences equivalent to exile. Invitations to dine with the Emperor were also probably limited to the *amici*. Thus at the very beginning of the Principate there were the elements of the elaborate system of court ceremonial which was developed in later centuries. The position of the *comites* was more definitely marked out. They received allowances, and had special quarters in the camp. They had also precedence over provincial governors. The distinction of having been a *comes* of Cæsar is often mentioned on inscriptions among official honours.

It was not lawful under the free commonwealth to set up in any public place the image of a living man. The image of the Princeps might be set up anywhere; and there were two cases in which it was obligatory that it should appear, namely in military shrines, along with the eagle and the standards, and on coins. Sometimes it appeared on the standards themselves. In regard to coinage, Augustus held fast the royal privilege which had been accorded by the senate to Cæsar (in 44 B.C.); and the right of being represented on the money of the realm was exclusively reserved for the Emperor, or those members of the imperial house on whom he might choose to confer it.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—THE RESIGNATION OF THE TRIUMVIRATE.

If we had not the statement of Augustus himself (in the words quoted in note, p. 10), we should have supposed, from the statements of other writers, that the surrender of all his extraordinary powers took place on Jan. 13, B.C. 27. But as he expressly says, "in my sixth and seventh consulships," the act of 27 B.C. can have only been partial, and must have been preceded by another act of partial surrender in 28 B.C. Herzog seems to think that in mentioning his sixth consulship Augustus is only thinking of his revival of the form of exchanging fasces with the other consul. It might also be suggested that he meant the annulling of the arbitrary acts of the triumvirate. Mommsen discusses the question in his edition of the *Res Gestæ*, and calls attention (p. 149) to the evidence of a coin (Eckhel, 6, 83) that Augustus had begun the restoration of the provinces (had actually restored Asia) to the senate in 28 B.C. Perhaps this fact is sufficient to explain the Emperor's language. But one might venture to conjecture that in 28 B.C. Augustus resigned the *constitutive* powers which belonged to him as triumvir—this act might have been marked, among other things, by the exchange of the fasces—but retained the proconsular imperium; and that the act of 27 B.C. was the surrender of that imperium only. The formal statement of Augustus seems to imply two definite acts.

B.—THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE PRINCIPATE (27-23 B.C.).

The question arises, of what elements did the Principate consist in its first preliminary stage between 27 and 23 B.C.? It is generally agreed that the proconsular imperium was the most important element then as later. We know also that the consulate played a chief part in the constitutional position of Augustus at this time; for, besides the fact of the iteration of the consulate each year, we have the express testimony of Tacitus (*Annals*, 1, 2: *posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens*). But it is not clear whether he based his civil position on the consulate alone. For it is conceivable that in these years too he may have made constitutional use of the *tribunicia potestas*, though not in the same measure in which he afterwards used it. Again, it is unknown whether he interpreted the power which he possessed as consul in the sense of the early Republic, as involving censorial power, or in the sense of the later Republic as not involving it. Thus there are several conceivable alternatives. The Principate, as constituted in 27 B.C., may have been based on

(1). The proconsular imperium, and consulate.

(2) The proconsular imperium, and consulate, and censorial power.

(3). The proconsular imperium, and consulate and tribunician power.

(4). The proconsular imperium, and consulate, and censorial power, and tribunician power.

If Augustus adopted either (2) or (4), he must have afterwards, by 23 B.C., seen that the assumption of censorial power made the formally independent position of the senate illusory, and accordingly abandoned it. On the whole it seems probable that he did not claim censorial power in these years, and that the *trib. pot.* was kept quite in the background. (See note at end of Chap. I.)

It is not superfluous to point out the old error—refuted by Mommsen and now generally abandoned—that Augustus possessed the *potestas consularis* for life, and that this was an integral part of the Principate. This mistake was due to Dion Cassius (liv. 10), who probably misinterpreted a decree which granted to Augustus the right of wearing the consular insignia, a totally different matter. Or the expression "consular power" may have been used by him to designate certain consular powers, which had been specially granted to Augustus, as the *ius edicendi*, the right of convening the senate, &c. The silence of the Monumentum Ancyranum, as Mommsen has pointed out, is conclusive, and no later Emperor ever claimed the *potestas consularis*.

The account given in this chapter of the Constitution of the Principate rests mainly

on the exposition in Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* (vol. ii.), but with some modifications. The views of Herzog (*Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, vol. ii.) have been carefully studied. A somewhat different, and perhaps simpler, reconstruction of the first form of the Principate has been expounded by Mr. H. F. Pelham (*Journal of Philology*, xvii., and article PRINCEPS in *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*), and must be set forth in his own words:

In January 27 B.C., "by a vote of the senate and people, he (Cæsar) was legally reinvested with the essential elements of his former authority. He was given a command, limited indeed both in area and duration, but which yet in both points was unprecedentedly wide. . . . But had Octavian rested content with this 'consulare imperium' alone, he would have been merely a powerful proconsul . . . He would have been only the equal and not the superior of the proconsular governors of the provinces not included within the area of his own imperium. Nor could the old difficulties arising from the separation between the chief military command abroad, and the highest magistracies at home, have failed to reappear. These disadvantages and difficulties Octavian escaped by retaining the consulship and wielding his imperium as consul. . . . It was a return, in a sense, to the practice of the early republic, when the consuls were at once the highest civil and the highest military authorities of the state." According to this view, the Principate was, in its first form, based entirely on the consulship. As to the arrangement of 23 B.C., Mr. Pelham proceeds:

"But in B.C. 23 a change was made which gave to the principate a somewhat different shape. . . . On June 27 in that year, Augustus laid down the consulship. . . . . His 'consulare imperium,' with its wide province, he still retained, but he now held it only *pro-consule*; and it therefore ceased at once to be valid in Rome and Italy, *i.e.* within the sphere assigned to the actual consuls. He further lost both the precedence (*maius imperium*) over all other magistrates and promagistrates which a consul enjoyed, and the various rights in connection with senate and assembly attached to the consulship. He had, lastly, no further claim to the consular dignity and insignia.' These losses were made good by a number of special measures; but unwilling to rest his position in Rome on the proconsular imperium, Augustus "brought forward into special prominence his *tribunicia potestas*. . . . As if to conceal the startling fact, that there was now in Rome, by the side of the annual consuls, a holder of consular imperium, fully their equal in rank and power at home, and vested besides with a wide command abroad, the *tribunicia potestas* was put forward as the outward sign and symbol at least in Rome, of the pre-eminence of the princeps."

C.—THE ORIGIN OF THE TITLE PRINCEPS.

It used to be thought that Princeps, as a name of the Emperor, meant *princeps senatus*. This view is now generally abandoned. It was shown very clearly by Mr. H. F. Pelham (*Journal of Philology*, viii. 322) that Princeps stands for Princeps Civitatis, a term which was applied by Cicero to Pompey. Princeps alone, was also applied by Cicero both to Pompey and to Cæsar (cp. *ad Att.*, 8. 9. 4, and *ad Fam.*, 6. 6. 5), and by Sallust to Pompey. This view is held by both Mommsen and Schiller.

Herzog, however (*Gesch. u. Syst. der röm. Staatsv.*, ii. 134), thinks that the imperial title *princeps* was originally derived from the formal title *princeps senatus* and gradually gained a wider sense. He compares the extension of the term *princeps iuventutis*, which from meaning merely the foremost of the knights came to have the secondary meaning of the "heir apparent" (for which see below, Chap. IV. § 6).

D.—THE LEX DE IMPERIO.

There is extant on a large bronze tablet, which Cola di Rienzi caused to be fixed up in the Church of St. John in the Lateran, part of a law conferring upon Vespasian certain sovran rights, which had been before conferred upon his predecessors. The statute was evidently drawn up according to a fixed formula, and is clearly an embodiment of the special measures which were passed in favour of Augustus in 23 B.C. and following years. This law is designated by jurists as the *lex de imperio* or the *lex regia*. Mommsen identifies it with the lex which

invested the Emperors with the *tribunicia potestas*, supposing that the sphere of that potestas was defined and extended by a number of special clauses. This seems very doubtful. As Herzog observes, it is hardly conceivable that a jurist would designate a law conferring *trib. pot.* (however amply extended) as a *lex de imperio*, as imperium and tribunician *potestas* are legally quite distinct conceptions. It seems far more likely that this lex vested the Princeps with a number of rights which were not given by his proconsular imperium and by his tribunician power (cp. Herzog, *op. cit.*, ii. 617–619; and Pelham, *Dict. Ant*, ii. 485).

The fragment of this highly important document (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vi. No. 930, p. 167) runs as follows:

"fœdusve cum quibus volet facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Iulio Cæsari Aug(usto Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Aug(usto) Germanico;

utique ei senatum habere, relationem facere, remittere, senatus consulta per relationem discessionemque facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Iulio Cæsari Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Claudio Cæsari Augusto Germanico;

utique, cum ex voluntate auctoritateve iussu mandatuve eius præsenteve eo senatus habebitur, omnium rerum ius perinde habeatur, servetur, ac si e lege senatus edictus esset habereturque;

utique quos magistratum, potestatem, imperium curationemve cuius rei petentes senatui populoque Romano commendaverit, quibusue suffragationem suam dederit, promiserit, eorum comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur;

utique ei fines pomerii proferre, promovere, cum ex re publica censebit esse, liceat ita uti licuit Ti(berio) Claudio Cæsari Aug(usto) Germanico;

utique, quæcumque ex usu reipublicæ, maiestate divinarum, huma[na]rum, publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit, ei agere, facere ius potestasque sit, ita uti divo Aug(usto) Tiberioque Iulio Cæsari Aug(usto) Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Aug(usto) Germanico fuit;

utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Aug(ustus) Tiberiusve Iulius Cæsar Augustus Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug(ustus) Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis imp(erator) Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit, quæque ex quaque lege, rogatione divum Aug(ustum) Tiberiumve Iulium Cæsarem Aug(ustum), Tiberiumve Claudium Cæsarem Aug(ustum) Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia imp(eratori) Cæsari Vespasiano Aug(usto) facere liceat;

utique quæ ante hanc legem rogatam acta, gesta decreta imperata ab imperatore Cæsare Vespasiano Aug(usto) iussu mandatuve eius a quoque sunt, ea perinde iusta rataq(ue) sint ac si populi plebisve iussu acta essent.

SANCTIO:

Si quis huiusce legis ergo adversus leges rogationes plebisve scita senatusve consulta fecit, fecerit, sive, quod eum ex lege rogatione plebisve scito s(enatus)ve c(onsulto) facere oportebit non fecerit huius legis ergo, id ei ne fraudi esto neve quit ob eam rem populo dare debeto, neve cui de ea re actio neve iudicatio esto neve quis de ea re apud [s]e agi sinito."

E.—THE ELECTION OF THE PRINCEPS.

In stating that the proconsular imperium was conferred exclusively by the senate, and could not be conferred by the army, I have adopted the view which is well defended by Herzog (*Gesch. und Syst. der röm. Staatsverfassung*, ii. 610, *sq.*). Mommsen's view, on the contrary, is that the imperium could legitimately be conferred either by the army or by the senate; in fact that the act merely consisted in the assumption of the title of Imperator by any person called upon to assume it by either the senate or the troops; the senate or troops being supposed equally to represent the people, and the election by the senate being merely preferred as more convenient and conducive to the interests of the commonwealth. But the evidence seems to show that the proclamation as Imperator and the assumption of that title constituted a distinct act from the acquisition of the proconsular imperium. When the soldiers proclaimed a commander Imperator,

he became thereby a candidate for the Empire; but he was not an Emperor, he was not a Princeps, until he received from the senate the proconsular imperium; and when the proconsular imperium was granted the tribunician power followed as a matter of course. (Cp. Plutarch, *Galba*, 10; Dion, 63. 25; Victor, *Cæs.* 37.)

Agrippa

Head of Livia (from the Museum at Naples).

CHAPTER III.

THE JOINT GOVERNMENT OF THE PRINCEPS AND SENATE.

§ 1. The proconsular imperium and the tribunician power. § 2. Political rights which remained to the people. § 3. Constitution of the senate. *Princeps senatus. Curator actorum senatus.* Senatorial committees. § 4. Character of the Dyarchy. § 5. Division of power between Emperor and senate: (1) administrative, (2) judicial, (3) in election of magistrates, (4) legislative (*senatusconsulta, edicta, acta*), (5) financial (taxes, coinage). The senate as an organ of the government, for publication. § 6. Magistracies under the Empire. § 7. The *ordo equester* as revised by Augustus: (1) its constitution, (2) mode of admission, (3) tenure for life, (4) the *equitum probatio*, (5) military organisation, (6) privileges of knights, (7) their service as officers, (8) their service on the judicial benches; the four *decuriæ* of *iudices*,

(9) division of offices in the state between knights and senators, (10) elevation of knights to the senate.

SECT. I.—POLITICAL POSITION OF THE PRINCEPS. THE PEOPLE.

§ 1. IN the last chapter it was shown how Augustus established the Principate, and we became acquainted with the constitutional theory of this new phase of the Roman republic, which was really a disguised monarchy. We also learned the titles and insignia which were the outward marks of the ambiguous position of the monarch who affected to be a private citizen. It remains now to examine more closely his political powers, and see how the government of the state was divided between the Princeps and the senate according to the system of Augustus.

The proconsular imperium of the Emperor differed from that of the ordinary proconsul in three ways. Firstly, the entire army stood under the direct command of the Emperor. Secondly, his imperium was not limited (except in the case of Augustus himself) to a special period. It was given for life. And thirdly, it not only extended directly over a far larger space—the Emperor's "province" including a multitude of important provinces—than that of an ordinary proconsul, but being *maius* or superior above that of all others, it could be applied in the senatorial provinces which they governed; and thus it really extended over the whole empire. As a consequence of his exclusive military command, it devolved upon the Emperor exclusively to pay the troops, to appoint officers, to release soldiers from service.* The soldiers took the military oath of obedience to him. He alone possessed the right of levying troops, and anyone who levied troops without an imperial command, committed an act of treason. He granted all military honours except triumphs and the triumphal ornaments. Moreover, while an ordinary proconsul lost his imperium on leaving his district, the Emperor lived in Rome without surrendering the imperium, although Rome and Italy were excepted from its operation. The Emperor possessed also supreme command at sea, and had the prætorian guards, formed of Italian volunteers, at his disposal, as a stationary garrison at Rome. In connection with the proconsular power is the sovran right which the Emperor possessed of making war and peace; but this was probably conferred upon Augustus by a special enactment, and was afterwards one of the prerogatives defined by the *Lex de imperio.*

The rights which the Princeps derived from the tribunician power, as such, were as follows: (1) He had the right to preside on

* Hence veterans were called in later times *veterani Augusti.*

the bench of the tribunes of the people. (2) He had the right of intercession,—which he often practised against decrees of the Senate. (3) He possessed the tribunician *coercitio*. His person was inviolable; and not only an injury, but any indignity in act or speech offered to him was punishable. (4) He had also the right to interfere for the prevention of abuses, and to protect the oppressed. (5) It is possible that his power to initiate legislation may partly come under this head.

Besides these powers springing from the tribunician *potestas*, the Princeps possessed, as we have seen, other prerogatives defined by the *Lex de imperio*.

§ 2. Though the sovran people was now represented by the Princeps, it had still some political duties to perform itself. The popular assemblies still met, elected magistrates, and made laws. The following points are to be observed.

(1) Augustus formally deprived the people of the judicial powers which had belonged to it.

(2) The comitia tributa continued to be a legislative assembly, and the right of making laws was never formally taken away from it. But by indirect means, as will presently be explained, legislation almost entirely passed into the hands of the Emperor; and after the reign of Tiberius laws were not made by the comitia. For a long time, however, the form of conferring the tribunician power in an assembly of the people, was maintained. The assembly for this purpose was called *comitia tribuniciæ potestatis*.

(3) The election of magistrates was the most important function of the popular assemblies under Augustus. Constitutionally, the consuls and prætors were elected in the comitia of the centuries, while the tribunes, ædiles and quæstors were chosen in the comitia of the tribes. But after the foundation of the Empire the distinction between the comitia centuriata and the comitia tributa seems to have disappeared; and it is only safe to speak generally of "an assembly of the people."

The chief function of the comitia curiata had been to pass *leges de imperio;* and there was room for it to exercise its powers on the five or six occasions on which the proconsular imperium was conferred on Augustus. But it is not clear whether on these occasions an assembly of the people was consulted at all; much less whether, if so, the assembly took the special form of a curiate assembly.

But whatever may have been the theory, and however tenderly republican forms were preserved by Augustus, the people practically lost all its political power. And this was quite right. In ancient times, before the introduction of representative government, popular

assemblies worked very well for governing a town and a small surrounding territory, but were quite unsuitable for directing or deciding the policy of a great empire. Moreover, with extended franchise, it was impossible that all those who were entitled to vote in the assemblies could avail themselves of the privilege; and, as a matter of fact, the comitia in the later republic were chiefly attended by the worst and least responsible voters, and were often the scenes of riot and bloodshed.

SECT. II.—THE PRINCEPS AND SENATE.

§ 3. The government of the Empire was divided between the Emperor and the senate, and the position of the senate was a very important one. Augustus made some changes in its constitution. The number of the senate had been raised by Julius Cæsar to nine hundred; Augustus reduced it again to six hundred. He also fixed the property qualification for senators at 1,000,000 sesterces (about £8,000). Those who had held the office of quæstor had, as under the Republic, the right of admission to the order, and the age was definitely fixed at twenty-five. The senatorial classes were still determined by official rank (consulars, prætorians, &c.). Thus the constitution of the senate formally depended on the people, as the people elected the magistrates. The influence of the Emperor, however, was exerted in two ways. (1) The Emperor was able to influence the election of magistrates in the popular assembly (see below, § 5 (2)), and (2) he could assume the powers of censor, and perform a *lectio senatus*. Augustus purified the senate on several occasions.* The censor, or he who possessed the censorial power, under the Principate—always (after 22 B.C.), though not necessarily, the Princeps himself with or without a colleague—could not only place by *adlectio* a non-senator in the senate; but could assign him a place in a rank higher than the lowest. In fact, adlection among the quæstorians (the lowest class) was uncommon; adlection either into the tribunician or into the prætorian class was the rule. Adlection into the highest rank of all, the *consulares*, was practised by Cæsar the Dictator, but not by Cæsar the first Princeps or any of his successors up to the third century. When it became usual, as it did before the death of Augustus, to elect half-yearly instead of annual consuls, the influence which the Emperor could exert at the elections gave him much of the power which Cæsar the Dictator exerted by *adlectio inter consulares*. A list of the senate was made up every year.

* See above, Chap. II. § 8.

The Emperor also exerted a great influence on the constitution of the senate in another way. Admission to the senate in the ordinary course depended on the quæstorship; and the quæstorship depended on the vigintivirate. The rule was that only those who belonged to the senatorial rank could be candidates for the vigintivirate. Here adlection could not come in; but the Emperor assumed the right of admitting as candidates for the vigintivirate persons outside the senatorial class, by bestowing upon them the *latus clavus*. Thus a young knight, not born of a senatorial family, might, by the Emperor's favour, enter on a senatorial career and become a member of the senate. The poet Ovid, who by birth belonged to the equestrian order, is a well-known example. The Emperor seems to have also had the power of granting a dispensation which allowed persons who had not been vigintiviri to become quæstors. It should be observed that in the senatorial career (*cursus honorum*) military service (generally for a year in one legion) was necessary. The usual steps were (1) vigintivirate, (2) military tribunate,* (3) quæstorship, (4) ædileship or tribunate, (5) prætorship, (6) consulate. Hence the vigintiviral offices are called by Ovid "the first offices of tender age." †

The Princeps was himself not only a senator, but the "Prince of the senate;" his name stood first on the list of senators, and he possessed the right of voting first. He did not, however, adopt *princeps senatus* as one of his titles, as it was his policy rather to distinguish himself from than to identify himself with the senate. Special clauses of the *lex de imperio* conferred upon him further rights in regard to the transactions of that body. He had the rights of summoning the senate—a right which he might have claimed by virtue of the tribunician power itself,—and of introducing bills (*relatio*) either orally or, in case of his absence, by writing, the proposal being couched in the form of an *oratio* (or *litteræ*) *ad senatum*. His tribunician power gave him the right, as we have already seen, of cancelling *senatusconsulta*. The reports of the transactions in the curia were always laid before Augustus when he was not present himself, and he appointed a special officer, as his representative, to see that the reports were drawn up in full and nothing important omitted. This officer was called *curator actorum* (or *ab actis*) *Senatus*.

Augustus introduced the practice of forming senatorial committees to consult beforehand, in conjunction with himself, on measures which were to come before the senate. They consisted of one magistrate from each college and fifteen senators chosen by lot every

* See below, § 7, (7).

† *Tristia*, v. 10. 33: Teneræ primos ætatis honores.

six months, and formed a sort of "cabinet council." In the last year of his life, when, owing to his weakness and advanced age, he could no longer appear in the curia, a small senate was empowered to meet in his house and pass resolutions in the name of the whole senate. This body consisted of his son, his two grandsons, the consuls in office and the consuls designate, twenty senators chosen for a year, and other senators whom the Emperor himself selected for each sitting. This political *consilium* was no part of the constitution, and was in fact, under the early Principate, only adopted by Augustus himself and his successor Tiberius. It must be carefully distinguished from the judicial *consilium*, which will be mentioned below.

§ 4. It has been already mentioned that the joint rule of the Empire by the Emperor and the senate is sometimes called a dyarchy. It was a dyarchy that might at any moment become openly, as it was virtually, a monarchy. For the Emperor possessed the actual power through his control of the army, and if he had chosen to exert force he might have destroyed the political existence of the senate. But the change of the dyarchy into a monarchy was wrought gradually, and was partly due to the incompetence of the senate, which invited the interference of the sovrans. The *maius imperium* was changed by degrees into the direct rule of those provinces which were not part of the Emperor's proconsular "province." But Augustus was thoroughly in earnest in giving to the senate a distinct political position and substantial powers. He carefully abstained from interfering in the provinces which were not within his imperium. He was a man of compromise, and the constitution which he framed was intended to be a compromise between the democratic monarchy, which as the son of Julius he really represented, and the aristocracy. He was anxious to wipe out the memory of the civil wars and to have it forgotten that he had been the champion of the democracy. While he continued to bear the name of the divine Julius, he seems not to have cared to dwell on the acts of the great Dictator; and it has often been noticed how rarely the poets of the Augustan age celebrate the praises of Julius Cæsar. We may safely say that no statesman has ever surpassed Augustus in the art of withholding from political facts their right names.

There are many points in the Augustan system which are not plain in their constitutional bearings. But the general lines are clear enough. The careful balancing between the rights and duties of the two political powers produced some artificial arrangements which could not last, and which were soon altered, either formally or tacitly, at the expense of the senate. But the main principle of

the system founded by Augustus—the fiction of the independent and co-ordinate government of the senate—was not entirely abandoned for three centuries.

§ 5. The division of the labours and privileges of government between the senate and the Emperor may be considered under five heads: administration, jurisdiction, election of magistrates, legislation, and finances.

(1) Most of the *administrative* functions, which the senate discharged under the Republic, especially in its later period, did not belong to that body by constitutional right, but were acquired at the expense of the supreme magistrates, to whom they truly belonged. Many of these powers were confirmed to it under the Empire.

a. The powers which the senate had exercised in the sphere of religion, such as the suppression of foreign or profane rites, it continued to exercise in the imperial period.

b. The rights of making war and peace, and negotiating with foreign powers, were taken away from the senate; but in unimportant cases the Emperor sometimes referred foreign embassies to that body.

c. The authority of the senate in the affairs of Italy continued unimpaired.

d. The affairs of Rome were at first entirely under the management of the senate, but the incompetent administration of that body soon demanded the intervention of the Emperor.

e. The provinces were divided into imperial and senatorial;* and the administration of the latter was in the hands of the senate. But the Emperor had certain powers in the senatorial provinces, as will be explained in a later chapter. On the other hand, the senate had a small hold on the imperial provinces (except Egypt), in so far as the Emperor appointed only senators as his governors.

(2) The senate, as the council of the chief magistrates, sometimes exercised *judicial* functions under the Republic, as for example in the case of the Bacchic orgies (186 B.C.). But such cases were only exceptional. Augustus made the senate a permanent court of justice, in which the consul acted as the presiding judge. This court could try all criminal cases; but in practice only important causes, in which people of high rank were involved, or in which no specific law was applicable, came before it. The Emperor could influence this court in two ways, (1) as he was himself a member of it, and (2) by the right of intercession, which he possessed in virtue of his tribunician power.

* See below. Chap. VI.

Besides the court of the consul, in which the senate acted as jury, there was the court of the Emperor. He could pass judgment without a jury, though he generally called in the aid of assessors, who were called his *consilium*, a distinct body from the political *consilium* mentioned above (§ 3). Every case might come before his court as before that of the senate. But practically he only tried cases of political importance or in which persons of high position were involved.

It lay in the nature of things that in these two new courts only special and important causes were tried. Ordinary processes in Rome and Italy were decided, as in former days, by the ordinary courts of the prætors (*quæstiones perpetuæ*), who still continued to exercise their judicial functions. But senators were now entirely excluded from the bench of *iudices*,* who appear to have been nominated by the Emperor.

In the provinces justice was administered by the governors, but they had no jurisdiction over Roman citizens, unless it was specially delegated to them by the Emperor. Roman citizens could always appeal from the provincial courts to the higher courts at Rome. The *appellatio* to the Princeps seems to have been made legal by a measure of 30 B.C. On the principle of the division of power between senate and Princeps, appeals from the decrees of the governors of senatorial provinces should have been exclusively directed to the senate. But on the strength of his *imperium maius* the Emperor often received appeals from senatorial as well as from imperial provinces. Appeal could only be made against the sentence of an official to whom judicial power had been delegated, it could not be made directly against a jury; but it could be made against the decree of the magistrate which appointed the jury.

(3) Under Augustus the senate had no voice in the *election of magistrates*. The Emperor was himself able to control the elections in the comitia in two ways. (1) He had the right to test the qualification of the candidates and conduct the proceedings of the election. This right regularly belonged to the consuls. But when Augustus set aside the consulate for the tribunician power in 23 B.C., it seems that he reserved this right by some special clause. He was thus able to publish a list of candidates, and so "nominate" those whom he wished to be elected. He used only to nominate as many as there were vacancies. (2) He had the right of commendation (*commendatio* or *suffragatio*). That is, he could name certain persons as suitable to fill certain offices; and these candidates recommended by the Emperor (*candidati principis*) were

* See below, § 7 (8).

returned as a matter of course. The highest office, however, the consulate * was excepted from the right of commendation.

(4) In regard to *legislation* the senate was theoretically in a better position under the Empire than under the Republic. Originally and strictly it had no power of legislation whatever. The decisions of the senate, embodied in *senatusconsulta*, did not constitutionally become law until they were approved and passed by an assembly of the people. But practically they came to have legal force. The confirmation of the people came to be a mere form, and sometimes the form was omitted. It is possible that it was omitted in the case of the decree which conferred the imperium on Augustus.

Under Augustus the senate became a legislative body and in this respect took the place of the assembly of the people. From it and in its name issued the laws (*senatusconsulta*) which the Emperors wished to enact; just as the laws (*leges*) proposed by the republican magistrates were made by the people.

The senate alone had the power of passing laws to dispense from the operation of other laws,† and the Emperor himself, who was bound by the laws like any other citizen, had to resort to it for this purpose. For example, in 24 B.C. a senatusconsultum freed Augustus from the Cincian law which fixed a maximum for donations. The special exception of particular persons from the law which defined a least age for holding the magistracies, was at first a prerogative of the senate, but the Princeps gradually usurped it. To the senate also belonged exclusively the right of decreeing a triumph, of consecrating or condemning the Princeps after death, and of licensing *collegia*.

The Princeps had no direct right to make laws, more than a consul or a tribune. Like these magistrates, he had by virtue of his tribunician power the right to propose or introduce a law at the comitia, for the people to pass. But this form of initiating legislation was little used, and was entirely given up by the successor of Augustus. It would seem that it did not harmonize with the monarchical essence of the Principate. It placed the Princeps on a level with the other magistrates, and perhaps it recognised too openly the sovran right of the people, which, in point of fact, the Emperor had usurped. But formally the Princeps had no right to make laws himself, and thus Augustus as Princeps was less powerful than Cæsar as triumvir. But the restraint was evaded in

* This is true, at all events, for the first two Emperors. Commendation for the consulate seems to have been introduced by the reign of Nero.

† This applies to the early period; but at the end of the first century A.D. we find the Emperors granting dispensations.

several ways, and as a matter of fact the Emperor was the law-giver. By special enactments he was authorised to grant to both corporations and individuals rights which were properly only conferred by the comitia. It was the Princeps who founded colonies and gave them Roman citizenship. It was he who bestowed upon a subject community the dignity of *ius Latinum* or a Latin community to full Roman citizenship. It was quite logical that these powers should be transferred to the Princeps, in his capacity of Imperator, as sovran over the provinces and dispenser of peace and war, and maker of treaties. He also used to define the local statutes for a new colony. He had the right to grant Roman citizenship to soldiers at all events, perhaps also to others.

Apart from these *leges datæ*, which were properly comitial laws, the most important mode of imperial legislation was by "constitutions," which did not require the assistance of either senate or comitia. These imperial measures took the form either of (1) edicts, which as a magistrate the Princeps was specially empowered to issue; or of (2) *acta* (*decreta* or *epistolæ*), decisions and regulations of the Emperor which primarily applied only to special cases, but were generalised and adopted as universally binding laws. The validity of the imperial *acta* was recognised in a special clause of the *lex de imperio*, and the oath taken by senators and magistrates included a recognition of their validity. But their validity ceased on the death of the Princeps, and this fact illustrates the important constitutional difference between the Principate and monarchy.

(5.) The *financial* system of the state was modified by the division of the government between the Emperor and the senate. There were now two treasuries instead of one. The old *ærarium Saturni* was retained by the senate. Under the Republic the *ærarium* was under the charge of the quæstors, but by Augustus the duty was transferred to two prætors, 23 B.C. (*prætores ærarii*). The Emperor's treasury was called the *fiscus*;* and from it he had to defray the costs of the provincial administration, the maintenance of the army and fleets, the corn-supply, &c. It is to be observed that provincial territory in the imperial provinces was now regarded as the property, not of the state, but of the Emperor; and therefore the proceeds derived from the land-taxes went into the fiscus. From a strictly legal point of view the fiscus was as much the private property of the Emperor as the personal property

* The name was probably not applied in this technical sense as early as Augustus. It perhaps was introduced about the time of Claudius, but it is convenient to anticipate the usage.

which he inherited (*patrimonium*) or acquired as a private citizen (*res privata*). But at first the latter was kept apart from the fiscus, which belonged to him in his political capacity. His personal property, however, soon became looked upon, not indeed as fiscal, but as in a certain sense imperial (crown-property, as we should say), and devolving by right on his successor.

The expenses which the *ærarium* was called upon to defray under the Principate were chiefly (1) public religious worship, (2) public festivals, (3) maintenance of public buildings, (4) occasional erection of new buildings, and (5) construction of public roads in Rome and Italy, to which, however, the fisc also contributed. Indeed it is impossible to distinguish accurately the division between the two treasuries.

In the senatorial provinces the taxes were at first collected on the farming system, which had prevailed under the Republic, but this system was abandoned before long, and finally the collection of the taxes in the senatorial as well as the imperial provinces was conducted by imperial officers. But the tendency was to consign the duty of collecting the taxes to the communities themselves, and in later times this became the system universally.*

In the arrangements for minting money also a division was made by Augustus between Emperor and senate. At first (27 B.C.) both senate and Emperor could issue gold and silver coinage, at the expense of the ærarium and the imperial treasury respectively. Copper coinage ceased altogether for a time. But when copper was again issued about twelve years later, a new arrangement was made. The Princeps reserved for himself exclusively the coining of gold and silver, and gave the coining of copper exclusively to the senate. This was an advantage for the senate and a serious limit on the power of the Princeps. For the exchange value of the copper always exceeded the value of the metal, and thus the senate had the power, which the Princeps did not possess, of issuing an unlimited quantity of credit-money. In later times we shall see that the Emperors could not resist the temptation of depreciating the value of silver and thus assuming the same privilege.

One of the most important functions of the senate under the Emperors was that it served as an organ of publication, and kept the public in communication with the government. The Emperor could communicate to the senate important events at home or abroad, and though these communications were not formally public,†

* For taxes and sources of state income see Note A. at end of chapter.

† The publication of the *acta senatus*, or proceedings of the senate, which seems to have been first introduced in 59 B.C., was abolished by Augustus. For the *acta diurna*, see Note B. at end of chapter.

they reached the public ear. It was usual for a new Princeps on his accession to lay before the senate a programme of his intended policy, and this was of course designed for the benefit of a much larger audience than that assembled in the Curia.

SECT. III.—THE PRINCEPS AND THE MAGISTRATES.

§ 6. We have seen that the republican magistrates continued to be elected under the Empire, and they were still supposed to exercise their functions independently. Under the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, they had been subject to the *maius imperium* of the dictator; but it was not so under the Principate. The Princeps has no *maius imperium* over them, as he has over the proconsul abroad. His power is only co-ordinate, but on the other hand it is quite independent.

The dignity of the consulate was maintained, and it was still a coveted post. Indeed new, though reflected, lustre seemed to be shed on the supreme magistracy by the fact that it was the only magistracy which the Princeps deigned occasionally to hold himself. To be the Emperor's colleague was a great distinction indeed. The consuls still gave their name to the year of their office, and they retained the right of conducting and controlling the elections in the popular assemblies. It has already been mentioned that a new senatorial court was instituted, in which they were the presiding judges. Augustus also assigned the consuls some new duties in civil jurisdiction. But he introduced the fashion of replacing the consuls who entered upon office in January by a new pair of *consules suffecti* at the end of six months. This custom, however, was not definitely legalised, and was sometimes not observed. In later times four-monthly consulates were introduced,* and later still two-monthly.†

The number of prætors had been increased to sixteen by Julius Cæsar. Augustus at first reduced the number to eight; he then added two *prætores ærarii*;‡ afterwards he increased them again to sixteen, but finally fixed the number at twelve. The chief duties of the prætors were, as before, judicial. But Augustus assigned to them the obligation of celebrating public games, which formerly had devolved upon the consuls and the ædiles.

A college of ten tribunes was still elected every year, but the office became unimportant, and the chief duties of a tribune were municipal.§ The ædiles also lost many of their functions.

* After Nero.
† By Hadrian.
‡ See above, § 5 (5).
§ But they still retained and sometimes exercised the *ius auxilii* and *intercessio*.

Augustus divided the city of Rome into fourteen regions, over each of which an overseer or prefect presided; these overseers were chosen from the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes.

The quæstorship was a more serious and laborious office. Sulla had fixed the number of quæstors at twenty; Julius Cæsar raised it to forty; Augustus reduced it again to twenty. Quæstors were assigned to the governors of senatorial provinces; the proconsul of Sicily had two. Two quæstors were at the disposal of the Emperor, to bear communications between him and the senate. The consuls had four quæstors, and these were two *quæstores urbani*.

This magistracy had an importance over and above its proper functions, in that it qualified for admission into the senate. Thus as long as the quæstors were elected by the comitia, the people had a direct voice in the formation of the senate; and thus, too, the Emperor, by his right of commendation already mentioned, exercised a great though indirect influence on the constitution of that body.

The vigintivirate was held before the quæstorship. It comprised four distinct boards: the *tresviri capitales*, on whom it devolved to execute capital sentences; the *tresviri monetales*, who presided at the mint; the *quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis*, officers who looked after the streets of Rome; and the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, who were now appointed to preside in the centumviral courts.

The Republican magistrates formed a civil service and executive for the senate. The Princeps had no such assistance at his disposal. As a magistrate, he was supposed, like a consul or a prætor, to do everything himself, The personal activity, which is presupposed on the part of the Princeps, is one of the features which distinguish the Principate from monarchy. It followed, as a consequence of this theory, that all the officials, who carried out the details of administration for which the Emperor was responsible, were not public officers, but the private servants of the Emperor. A freedman fulfilled duties which in a monarchy would devolve upon a secretary of state. The Emperor had theoretically a perfect right to have appointed, if he chose, freedmen, or citizens of any rank, as governors in the provinces which he was supposed to govern himself. It was due to the sound policy of Augustus and his self-control that he made it a strict rule, which his successors maintained, only to appoint senators, and in certain cases knights, to those posts. He also voluntarily defined the qualification of equestrian rank for the financial officers, *procuratores Augusti*, who represented him in the provinces.* But the position of the knights must be more fully explained.

* See below, § 7. (9), and Chap. VI., § 3.

SECT. IV—THE EQUITES.

§ 7. The equestrian order was reorganised by Augustus, and altered both in its constitution and in its political position.

(1) *Constitution.* In the early Republic the *equites* were the citizen cavalry, who were provided with horses for their military service at public cost. But in the later Republic there had come to be three classes of *equites;* those who were provided with public horses (*eques Romanus equo publico*), those who provided their own horses, and those who by estate or otherwise were qualified for cavalry service but did not serve. The two last classes were not in the strictest speech Roman knights, and they were abolished altogether by Augustus, who thus returned to the system of the early Republic. Henceforward every knight is an *eques Romanus equo publico*,* and the whole *ordo equester* consists of such.

(2) *Admission.* The Emperor himself assumed the right of granting the public horse which secured entry into the equestrian order. The chief qualifications were the equestrian census, free birth, soundness of body, good character, but the qualification of free birth was not strictly insisted on under the Empire, and freedmen were often raised to be knights. A senator's son necessarily became a knight by virtue of his birth, and thus for men born in senatorial rank, knighthood was a regular stage before entry into the senate. There was a special official department (*ad census equitum Romanorum*) for investigating the qualifications of those who were admitted into either of "the two orders," (*ordo uterque*) as the senate and the knights were called.

(3) *Life-tenure.* Another innovation of Augustus consisted in making the rank of knight tenable for life. Apart from degradation, as a punishment or as a consequence of the reduction of his income below the equestrian rating (400,000 sesterces), a knight does not cease to be a knight, unless he becomes a senator or enters legionary service. Legionary service was so attractive under the Empire that cases often occurred of knights surrendering their rank in order to become centurions.

(4) *Equitum probatio.* It was an old custom that the *equites Romani equo publico* should ride annually, on the Ides of July, in full military caparison from the Temple of Mars at the Porta Capena, first to the Forum to offer sacrifice there to their patron gods, Castor and Pollux, and then on to the Capitol. This procession,

* Often abbreviated to *equo publico.* Under the later Republic, when there were knights, who had their own horses, *equo publico* and *eques Romanus* were not synonymous in use.

called the *transvectio equitum* had fallen into disuse, and Augustus revived it and combined with it an *equitum probatio*, or "review of the knights." Sitting on horseback and ordered according to their *turmæ*, the knights passed before the Emperor, and the name of each was called aloud. The names of any whose behaviour had given cause for censure were passed over, and they were thus expelled from the order. Here the Emperor discharged duties which before the time of Sulla had been discharged by the censors. He was assisted by three or ten senators appointed for the purpose.

(5) *Organisation.* The equestrian order was divided into *turmæ*, six in number, each of which was commanded by one of the *seviri equitum Romanorum* (ἴλαρχοι). The *seviri* were nominated by the Emperor, and changed annually like the magistrates. They were obliged to exhibit games (*ludi sevirales*) every year. It is to be observed that the knights were not organised or treated as a political body, like the senate. They had no machinery for action; no common political initiative; no common purse.

(6) *Privileges.* In dress the Roman eques was distinguished by the military mantle called *trabea*, and the narrow purple stripe (*angustus clavus*) on the tunic. They also wore a gold ring, and this was considered so distinctively a badge of knighthood, that the bestowal of a gold ring by the Emperor became the form of bestowing knighthood. The children of a knight, like those of a senator, were entitled to wear the gold *bulla*. In the theatre special seats—"the fourteen rows"—were reserved for the knights, and Augustus (5 A.D.) assigned them special seats also at races in the Circus and at gladiatorial spectacles.

(7) *Service of the knights as officers.* The chief aim of Augustus in reorganising the knights was military. He desired to procure competent officers in the army, from which posts he excluded senators entirely. Men of senatorial rank, however, who, as has been already mentioned, became knights before they were old enough to enter the senate, regularly served a *militia*, as it was called. The officer-posts here referred to are the subordinate commands—not the supreme commands of legions—and are of three kinds: (*a*) *præfectura cohortis*, or command of an auxiliary cohort, (*b*) *tribunatus militum*, in a legion, (*c*) *præfectura alæ*, command of an auxiliary cavalry squadron. The Emperor, as the supreme military commander, made the appointments to these *militiæ equestres*. Service as officers seems to have been made obligatory on the knights by Augustus. As knights only could hold these posts, there was no system of regular promotion for soldiers into the officer class. But it often happened that soldiers who had distinguished themselves and had risen to the first rank of centurions—

who corresponded somewhat to our "non-commissioned officers" —received the *equus publicus* from the Emperor, and thus were able to become tribunes and præfects. As a rule the officers held their posts for several years, and it was considered a privilege to hold the *tribunatus semestris*, which could be laid down after six months.*

(8) *Service of knights as jurymen.* In 122 B.C., C. Gracchus had assigned the right of serving as *iudices* exclusively to the knights; forty years later (81 B.C.), Sulla restored it to the senate; then in 70 B.C., a compromise between the two orders was made by the law of L. Aurelius Cotta, whereby the list of jurymen was composed of three classes, called *decuriæ*, the first consisting entirely of senators, the second of knights *equo publico*, the third of *tribuni ærarii*. As the last class possessed the equestrian census and belonged to the equestrian order in the wide sense in which the term was then used, although they had not the *equus publicus*, this law of Cotta really gave the preponderance to the knights. The total number of *iudices* was 900, each class contributing 300. This arrangement lasted till 46 B.C., when Cæsar removed the *tribuni ærarii* from the third class and filled it with knights in the strict sense. Augustus excluded the senators altogether from service as *iudices*, and while he preserved the three *decuriæ* filled them with knights. But he added a fourth *decuria* for service in unimportant civil trials, consisting of men who possessed more than half the equestrian income (*ducenarii*). Only men of at least thirty years of age were placed on the list of *iudices*, and, in the time of Augustus, only citizens of Rome or Italy.

(9) *Employment of knights in state offices.* By reserving the posts of officers and *iudices* for the knights to the exclusion of the senators, Augustus was carrying out the design of C. Gracchus and giving the knights an important political position, so that they were in some measure co-ordinated with the senate as a factor in the state. But he went much further than this. He divided the offices of administration and the public posts between the senators and the knights. The general principle of division was that those spheres of administration, which were more closely connected with the Emperor personally, were given to knights. The legateships of legions, however, were reserved for senators; as also the governorships of those provinces which had been annexed under the republic. But new annexations, such as Egypt, Noricum, and Rætia, were entrusted to knights, and likewise the commands of new institutions, such as the fleet and the auxiliary troops. Financial offices, the collection of taxes, and

* See below, Chap. V. § 7.

those posts in Rome and Italy (to be mentioned in Chap. V.) which the Emperor took charge of, were also reserved for knights. The selection of the *procuratores Augusti*, or tax-officers, in the provinces from the knights alone was some compensation to them for the loss of the remunerative field which they had occupied under the Republic as *publicani*. As the taxes in the imperial provinces were no longer farmed, but directly levied from the provincials, the occupation of the knights as middlemen, by which they had been able to accumulate capital and so acquire political influence, was gone. Under the Principate they are an official class. Those knights who held high imperial offices were called *equites illustres*.

(10) *Elevation of knights to the senate.* Knights of senatorial rank—that is, sons* of senators—who had not yet entered the senate, formed a special class within the equestrian order, to which they, as a rule, only temporarily belonged, and wore the badges of their senatorial birth. They could ordinarily become senators on reaching the age of twenty-five. For knights who were not of senatorial rank there was no regular system of advancement to the senate. But the Emperor, by assuming censorial functions, could exercise the right of *adlectio*, and admit knights into the senate. It seems to have been a regular usage to admit into the senate the commander of the prætorian guards when he vacated that post.

* Also grandsons or great-grandsons, but not descendants beyond the third degree.

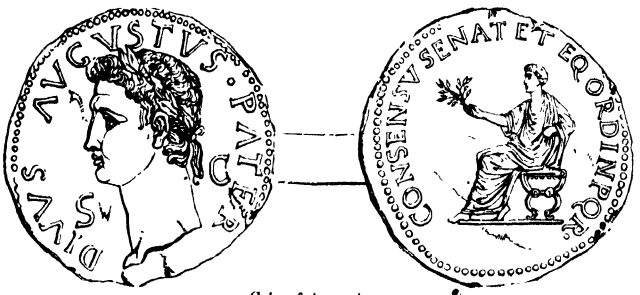
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—TAXATION AND SOURCES OF INCOME UNDER THE EMPIRE

The following is a list of the chief taxes, imposts, and other sources of state revenue (cp. Mr. W. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 187, *sqq*., and articles "Tributum" and "Vectigalia" in *Dict. of Antiquities:* (1) The provincial land-tax; (2) the *annona*, or supply of corn, either the *annona militaris*, for support of the soldiers in the provinces, or the *annona civica*, which fell only on Egypt and Africa, for the maintenance of Rome; (3) capitation-tax on traders; (4) *aes publicum* in Italy and the provinces; (5) the landed property of the Emperor (*patrimonium Cæsaris*) in Italy and the provinces; Egypt comes under this head. This property is divided into arable land, pasture, and mines. (6) The *vicesima hereditatum*, duty on legacies (see below, Chap. V., § 7), introduced by Augustus in Italy, but not applying to the provinces. (7) The customs duties (*portoria*). (8) Tax of one per cent. on articles of sale, *centesima rerum venalium*, introduced by Augustus. (9) Tax of four per cent. on purchase of slaves (*quinta et vicesima venalium mancipiorum*.) (10) *Bona damnatorum*, confiscated property of condemned persons. (11) *Bona caduca*, unclaimed legacies which came to the state. (12) *Aurum coronarium*, a nominally voluntary, but really compulsory, contribution offered to Emperors by Italy and the provinces, on their accession.

B.—ACTA DIURNA.

The *acta diurna* were the nearest approach in Rome to our newspapers, especially our official gazettes They were published under the authority of the government. They contained (1) statistics of births and deaths in Rome; details about the corn supply: an account of the public money received from the provinces; (2) extracts from the acta forensia, containing magisterial edicts, reports of trials, &c.; (3) extracts from the acta senatus; (4) a court column, about the doings of the imperial family; (5) prodigies, conflagrations, lists of games, gossip of various kinds. See Wilkins, article "Acta," *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*



Coin of Augustus.

Livia, wearing the Palla.

Julia.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS AND HIS PLANS TO FOUND A DYNASTY.

§ 1. Tasks of Augustus. § 2. His marriages. Livia. The political importance of the imperial house. § 3. The problem of the succession. The *consors imperii*. Position of Agrippa. § 4. First plan of Augustus. Marcellus and Julia. Illness of Augustus. Death of Marcellus. § 5. Second plan of Augustus. Marriage of Agrippa and Julia. Death of Agrippa. § 6. Marriage of Tiberius and Julia. Position of Tiberius. Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. § 7. Depravity of Julia. Her banishment. Third plan of Augustus. Tiberius becomes the consort of the Emperor and is marked out as his successor.

§ 1. WHILE Augustus was constructing the new constitution he had many tasks of other kinds—administrative, military, and diplomatic—to perform. He had to regulate the relations of the Roman state with neighbouring powers in the East; he had to secure the northern frontier of the empire on the Rhine and the Danube against the German barbarians, and carry out there the work begun by Cæsar his father. He had to improve the adminis-

tration in Italy and Rome, and step in if the senate of the Empire failed to perform its duties; he had to reform the provincial administration which had been so disgracefully managed by the senate of the Republic. Besides this he had to make his own position safe by keeping his fellow-citizens content; he had to see that the nobles and the people were provided with employment and amusement. Finally he had to look forward into the future, and take measures to ensure the permanence of the system which he had called into being.

This last task of Augustus, his plans and his disappointments in the choice of a successor to his power, will form the subject of the present chapter. It is needful, first of all, to obtain a clear view of his family relationships.

§ 2. Augustus was married three times. (1) He had been betrothed to a daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus, but political motives induced him to abandon this alliance and marry Clodia, daughter of Fulvia, in order to seal a reconciliation with her stepfather M. Antonius. In consequence, however, of a quarrel with her mother, he put her away before the marriage was consummated. (2) His second wife was Scribonia, twice a widow, whom he also married for political reasons, namely, in order to conciliate Sextus Pompeius, whose father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, was Scribonia's brother. By her one child was born to him in 39 B.C., unluckily a daughter; for, had it been a son, much anxiety and sorrow might have been spared him. Her name was Julia. He divorced Scribonia in order to marry (3) Livia, the divorced wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero (38 B.C.). Livia was herself a daughter of the Claudian house, for her father, M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, was, as his name shows, a Claudius adopted into the Livian gens. She was a beautiful and talented woman whom he truly loved; and it was a sore disappointment to him that they had no children.

Livia, however, brought her husband two stepsons: Tiberius Claudius Nero (born in 42 B.C.) and Nero Claudius Drusus, born in 38 B.C., after her marriage with Augustus, and suspected to be really his son.

Besides his daughter Julia and his wife Livia, another woman possessed great influence with the Emperor and played an important part in the affairs of the time. This was his sister Octavia. She was married twice, first to C. Claudius Marcellus, and secondly, for political reasons, to M. Antonius. By her first marriage she had a son, M. Claudius Marcellus (born 43 B.C.), and two daughters, both named Marcella.

It is necessary to say a word here about the political position of

the Emperor's kindred. The imperial house embraced: the male and female descendants in male (agnatic) line from the founder of the dynasty; the wife of the Emperor; and the wives of the male descendants. Thus Livia and Julia belonged to the house of Augustus, but Octavia did not belong to it, nor Julia's children, until Augustus adopted them. The distinctive privilege possessed by members of the imperial house was that they were inviolable and sacrosanct like the tribunes. This right dated from the triumviral period, and thus is explained how it was that Octavia, though not one of the imperial house, possessed tribunician sacrosanctity. She had acquired it not as the sister of Cæsar, but as the wife of Antonius. Soon it became the custom for the soldiers to take an oath of fidelity to the "whole house of the Cæsars;" but this custom hardly existed under Augustus himself.* Under the first Princeps the members of his house enjoyed few honours and privileges, compared with those which were acquired by them in later reigns.

§ 3. It has been already seen that constitutionally the Emperor has no voice in appointing a successor to the Principate; for neither designation nor heredity was recognised. Augustus had to find a practical way for escaping this constitutional principle, and securing that the system which he founded should not come to an end on his own death and that he should have a capable successor. The plan which he adopted was an institution which had no official name, but which was equivalent to a co-regency. He appointed a "consort" in the imperial power. There was no constitutional difficulty in this. The institution of collegial power was familiar to Roman law and Roman practice; and the two elements of the imperial authority—the imperium and the tribunician power—could be held by more than one. But, at the same time, the consort was not the peer of the Emperor; he could only be subsidiary. There could be only one Princeps, only one Augustus. In fact, the consort held, in relation to the Augustus, somewhat the same position as the prætor held to the consul.

Thus from the necessity for making practical provision for the succession arose certain extraordinary magistracies,—proconsular and tribunician offices, which held a middle place between the Princeps on the one hand, and the ordinary magistrates on the other. On the death of the Princeps, the consort would have a practical, though not a legal claim, to be elected Princeps, and nothing short of revolution would, as a rule, hinder him from obtaining the highest position in the state.

The proconsular command was first conferred on the consort, the tribunician power subsequently. Under Augustus both powers

* It seems to have existed in the time of Nero.

were conferred for a limited number of years, but always for more than one year, which was the defined period for the ordinary magistracies. The consort had not command over the troops, like the Emperor, but it was common to assign him some special command. He did not bear the title of Imperator, and he did not wear the laurel wreath. Nor was he included in the yearly vows which were offered up for the Emperor. But he had the right to set up his statues, and his image appeared on coins.

Anyone might be selected as consort. But it was only natural that the Emperor should select his son for that position, and thus it became ultimately the recognised custom that the Emperor's son should become his consort. By this means the danger of elevating a subject so near the imperial throne was avoided, and the natural leaning of a sovran towards the foundation of a dynasty was satisfied. When the Emperor had no children, he used to adopt into his family whomsoever he chose as his successor, and the danger of such a course was mitigated by the paternal power which he possessed over his adopted son.

It was some time, however, before this usage became a stereotyped part of the imperial system. The first consort of Augustus was Agrippa, who married his niece Marcella. The proconsular imperium was conferred on Agrippa, some time before 22 B.C., but Augustus had certainly no intention that Agrippa should be his successor. He was compelled to assign a distinguished position to his invaluable and ambitious coadjutor,—to take him into a sort of partnership,—in order to secure his cheerful service. But circumstances brought it about that he came to be regarded, if not as the probable successor, yet as something very like it.

§ 4. As Livia proved unfruitful, Augustus had to look elsewhere for a successor. Within his own family three choices were open to him. Though he had no sons, he might at least have a grandson by the marriage of his daughter Julia. Or he might select his sister's son* as his heir and successor. Or he might adopt his Claudian step-children.

His first plan, the marriage of the young Marcellus with Julia, combined two of these courses. The Empire might thus descend through a nephew to grand-children. High hopes were formed of Marcellus, who was attractive and popular and a great favourite of his uncle. The marriage was celebrated in 25 B.C., during the absence of Augustus in Spain, where he suffered from a severe illness, and Agrippa, the brother-in-law of the bridegroom, was called upon to act as the father of the bride. In the following year, Marcellus was elected curule aedile, and a decree of the senate

* Octavia had also children by Antonius, but they seem to have been out of the question.

allowed him to stand as candidate for the consulship ten years before the legal age. At the same time Augustus allowed his stepson Tiberius to be elected quæstor, though he was even younger than Marcellus; and this perhaps was a concession to Livia, who may have felt jealous of the son of Octavia and the daughter of Scribonia.

But there was another who certainly felt jealous of the favour shown to Marcellus, and regarded him as an unwelcome rival. This was Agrippa. He had entered, as we have seen, into affinity with the imperial family by his marriage with Marcella; he had been consul, as the Emperor's colleague for two successive years. If Augustus was the Princeps, men were inclined to look upon Agrippa as the second citizen; and in the East, where political facts were often misinterpreted, he was actually thought to be an equal co-regent with the Emperor. He was not popular, like his young brother-in-law, but he was universally respected; his services were recognised, and his abilities were esteemed; and he had every reason to cherish ambitious aspirations. Augustus had left Rome in 27 B.C. in order to devote his attention to the administration of Gaul and Spain. During his absence, which lasted until 24 B.C., there were no disturbances in Rome, although he left no formal representative to take his place. This tranquillity must have been partly due to the personal influence of Agrippa, who lived at Rome during these years, though not filling an official post.*

In 23 B.C., the year of his eleventh consulate, Augustus was stricken down by another illness, and he seems to have entertained some idea of abdicating the imperial power. He summoned his colleague, the consul Piso, to his bedside, and gave him a document containing a list of the military forces, and an account of the finances, of the Empire. This act of Augustus displays the constitutional principle, that when the Emperor died, the imperial power passed into the keeping of the senate and the chief magistrates. But Augustus, although he could not appoint, could at least recommend, a successor; and it is to his honour that he did not attempt to forward the interests of his family at the expense of the interests of the state. Marcellus was still very young, and his powers were unproved. Augustus gave his signet-ring to Agrippa, thus making it clear whom he regarded as the one man in the Empire capable of carrying on the work which he had begun. But Augustus was not to die yet. He was healed by the skill of the famous physician Antonius Musa. On his recovery, he learned

* But Mommsen holds that the proconsular imperium was conferred on Agrippa in 27 B.C.

that his illness had been the occasion of unfriendly collisions between Agrippa and Marcellus. While Marcellus naturally built hopes on his marriage with Julia, Agrippa was elated by the conspicuous mark of confidence which the Emperor had shown in him at such a critical moment. Augustus, therefore, thought it wise to separate them, and he assigned to Agrippa an honourable mission to the eastern provinces of the Empire, for the purpose of regulating important affairs in connection with Armenia. The proconsular imperium was probably conferred on him at this time. Agrippa went as far as Lesbos, but no further, and issued his orders from that island. His friends said that this course was due to his moderation; others suspected that he was sulky, and it is clear that he understood the true meaning of his mission.

But an unexpected and untoward event suddenly frustrated the plan which Augustus had made for the succession, and removed the cause of the jealousy of Agrippa. Towards the end of the same year, Marcellus was attacked by malaria at Baiæ, and the skill which cured his father-in-law did not avail for him. He was buried in the great mausoleum which Augustus had erected some years before in the Campus Martius, as a resting-place for his family. The name of Marcellus was preserved in a splendid theatre which his uncle dedicated to his memory; but the lines in Virgil's Æneid* proved a more lasting monument. The story is told that Octavia fainted when she heard them recited, and that the poet received ten thousand sesterces (about £80) for each line.

§ 5. Augustus had now to form another plan, and it might be thought that the influence of Livia would have fixed his choice on one of her sons. But his hopes were bound up in Julia, and he now selected Agrippa as husband for the widow of Marcellus. The fact that Agrippa was married to her sister-in-law Marcella, and had children by this marriage, was no obstacle in the eyes of the man who had so lightly divorced Scribonia. Agrippa had put away his first wife Pomponia to marry the niece of Augustus, and he was not likely to grumble now at having to sacrifice the niece for the sake of the daughter. Augustus set forth in 22 B.C. to visit the eastern provinces. He stayed during the winter in

* Bk. vi. 860 *sqq.*, ending with the lines:—

Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus data lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
His saltem adcumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.

See also Propertius, ii. 16, where Baiæ is mentioned

Sicily, and while he was there a sedition broke out in Rome, owing to a struggle between Q. Lepidus and M. Silanus in their candidature for consulship. This incident seems to have determined Augustus to carry out his project of uniting Agrippa and Julia without delay. He recalled Agrippa from the east, caused the marriage to be celebrated, and consigned to him the administration of Rome and the west during his own absence in the east (early in 21 B.C.). It is said that Mæcenas advised his master that Agrippa had risen too high, if he did not rise still higher, and that there were only two safe alternatives, his marriage with Julia, or his death.

In October 19 B.C. Augustus returned to Rome, and in the following year received a new grant of the proconsular imperium for five years. At the same time he caused the tribunician power to be conferred for five years on Agrippa, who was thus raised a step nearer the Princeps. The marriage of Julia and Agrippa was fruitful. Two sons and two daughters were born in the lifetime of Agrippa, and another son after his death. In 17 B.C. Augustus adopted Gaius and Lucius, his grandsons, into the family of Cæsar, and it seems clear that he regarded Gaius and Lucius Cæsar as his successors, and their father Agrippa as no more than their guardian. But if so, it was necessary to strengthen the guardian's hands, and when Agrippa's tribunician power lapsed, it was renewed for another five years.

But Augustus was destined to survive his second son-in-law as he had survived his first. Agrippa died in Campania in 12 B.C. at the age of fifty-one, and was laid like Marcellus in the mausoleum of Augustus.* The Emperor's sister Octavia died in the following year.

§ 6. The death of the consort did not interfere with the plan for the succession, but he was a great loss to Augustus, whose weak health rendered him unequal to bearing the burden of the Empire alone. The tender age of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar required a protector in case anything should happen to their grandfather before they had reached man's estate. Augustus accordingly united his elder stepson Tiberius with Julia (11 B.C.), and thus constituted him the natural protector of the two young Cæsars. For this purpose Tiberius was obliged, much against his will, to divorce his wife Vipsania Agrippina, by whom he had a son named Drusus. This Agrippina was the daughter of Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia (daughter of Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero). Thus Tiberius put away Agrippa's daughter in order to marry his

* "Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulchro," is a line in the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (67).

widow. No statesman perhaps has ever gone further than Augustus in carrying out a cold-blooded method of uniting and divorcing for the sake of dynastic calculations. His younger step-son Drusus had been likewise drawn closer to the imperial family by marriage with Antonia, daughter of Octavia, and niece of the Emperor.

Tiberius and Drusus had already performed important public services, and gained great military distinction by the subjugation of Rætia and Vindelicia (15 B.C.).* In 12 B.C. and the following years they had again opportunity for displaying their unusual abilities, Tiberius in reducing rebellious tribes in Pannonia, and Drusus in warfare with the Germans beyond the Rhine. The death of Drusus in 9 B.C. was a great blow to Augustus, who had really "paternal feelings" for him but never cared for Tiberius. But he could hardly have found a more capable helper in the administration than his elder stepson. Tiberius was grave and reserved in manner, cautious and discreet from his earliest years, indisposed to conciliate friendship, and compelled to dissemble by the circumstances in which he was placed. But he was an excellent man of business and as a general he was trusted by the soldiers, and always led them to victory. He became consul in 13 B.C., at the age of twenty-nine. Augustus raised him to the same position to which he had raised Agrippa. He granted him the pro-consular imperium first (about 9 B.C.), and three years later the tribunician power. In this policy he was doubtless influenced not only by the merits of Tiberius, but by the influence of Livia, to whom he granted the *ius trium liberorum* in 9 B.C.† On receiving the tribunician power, Tiberius was charged with a special commission to the East, to suppress a revolt which had broken out in Armenia. He had doubtless hoped that his step-father would adopt him. But he saw that he was destined by Augustus to be the guardian of the future Emperors, rather than a future Emperor himself, that he was consort indeed of the Princeps, but was not intended to be the successor. He was too proud to relish this postponement to his step-children, and instead of undertaking the commission, he retired into exile at Rhodes. In the following year C. Cæsar assumed the *toga virilis*. He also became a consul designate. Four years later he received the proconsular imperium

* Horace, in the Ode (iv. 4) in which he celebrates these achievements, gives credit to Augustus for their education in the military art. L. 22 *sqq.*:—

Diu
Lateque victrices catervæ
Consiliis iuvenis revictæ
Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset, quid *Augusti paternus*
In pueros *animus* Nerones.

† See below, Chap. V. § 2.

and a special commission to Armenia. 1 A.D. was the year of his consulship.

The succession now seemed safe. L. Cæsar had assumed the gown of manhood in 2 B.C. so that the Julian dynasty had two pillars. The Roman knights had proclaimed Gaius and Lucius *principes iuventutis*, an honour which seemed to mark them out as destined to become *principes* in a higher sense. From this time forward the title *princeps iuventutis* came to be formally equivalent to a designation of a successor to the Principate, who was still too young to enter the senate. But fortune was adverse to the plans of Augustus. Lucius died at Massilia in 2 A.D. and two years later Gaius received a wound at the siege of Artagira and died in Lycia (4 A.D.). Thus the hopes which Augustus had cherished during the past twenty years fell to the ground.

§ 7. But the death of his grandchildren was not the only misfortune which befel Augustus. The depravity of his daughter was even a more grievous blow. The licentious excesses of Julia were the talk of the city, and were known to all before they reached the ears of her father. She had long been unfaithful to her husband Tiberius, and his retirement to Rhodes—though mainly a manifestation of antagonism between the step-son and the grandsons of the Emperor—may have been partly due to his estrangement from her. But at length her profligacy became so open that it could no longer be hidden from the Emperor. She is even said to have traversed the streets by night in riotous company, and her orgies were performed in the forum or on the rostra. In short, to quote the words of a contemporary, "in lust and luxury she omitted no deed of shame that a woman could do or suffer, and she measured the greatness of her fortune by the licence it afforded for sin." The wrath of Augustus, when he learned the conduct of his daughter, knew no bounds. He formally communicated to the senate an account of her acts. He banished her to the barren island of Pandateria off the coast of Campania (2 B.C.), whither her mother Scribonia voluntarily attended her, and no intercession on the part of the people induced him to forgive her. Her lovers—Claudii, Scipiones, Sempronii, and Quinctii—were exiled; but one of them Julius Antonius (son of M. Antonius and Fulvia), whom Augustus had spared after Actium and always treated with kindness, was put to death, on the charge that he had corrupted the daughter in order to conspire against the father. Rumour said that Livia, scheming in the interests of herself and Tiberius, had a hand in bringing about the misfortunes which fell upon the family of Augustus; but there is no evidence whatever that such was the case.

The other children of Julia and Agrippa could not replace Gaius

and Lucius. Agrippa Postumus showed such a bad and froward disposition that Augustus could build few hopes on him. The younger Julia proved a profligate, like her mother. There remained Agrippina, who had married within the imperial family, and did not disgrace it. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, had wedded the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia and M. Antonius. Of this marriage Germanicus was born, and Augustus selected him as a husband for Agrippina. The Emperor thus united his grandnephew with his granddaughter, as he had before united his nephew with his daughter.

In deciding the question of the succession Augustus was obliged to have recourse to Tiberius, yet not so as to exclude Germanicus, or even to deprive the young Agrippa of all hopes. After the banishment of Julia, Tiberius had wished, but had not been permitted, to return to Rome. He is said to have spent his time at Rhodes in the study of astrology. In 2 A.D. he was at length permitted to leave his place of exile, and during the two following years he lived at Rome in retirement, until, in consequence of the death of Gaius, he was called upon to take part again in public life. On June 27, 4 A.D., Augustus adopted both Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus, and caused the tribunician power to be conferred for ten years on Tiberius, who was sent forthwith to conduct a campaign in Germany. At the same time Tiberius was required to adopt his nephew Germanicus. As for Agrippa, he soon ceased to be a possible rival. His conduct was such that Augustus was obliged to banish him to the island of Planasia.

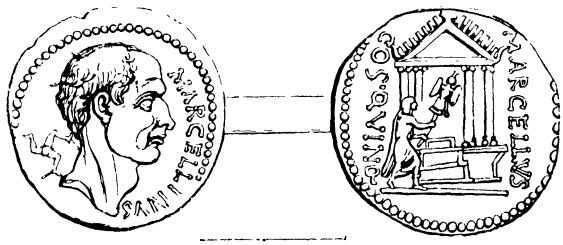
Thus, after the frustration of many plans, Augustus was in the end compelled to recognise as his son and heir the aspirant whom he liked least, but who was perhaps fitter than any of the others to wield the power. When he adopted Tiberius, he expressed his feelings in the words: *Hoc reipublicæ causa facio*, "I do this for the sake of the republic."

Nine years later (13 A.D.) Tiberius was raised higher than any previous consort. It was enacted by a special law (*lex*),* introduced by the consuls, that he should have proconsular power in all the provinces and over all the armies, co-ordinate with the proconsular power of his "father," and that he should hold a census in conjunction with Augustus. It is significant that the proconsular power was conferred by a law. In all previous cases, Augustus had bestowed it by virtue of his own proconsular imperium. But now the power of Tiberius in the provinces is no longer secondary, but is co-ordinate with, and limits, that of Augustus himself, and does not expire with the death of Augustus. It is therefore

* 11 A.D. according to Mommsen.

conferred by a *lex*. At the same time Tiberius received a renewal of the tribunician power, no longer for a limited period, but for life; and the senate selected him to hold the foremost place in the senatorial committee, which at the request of Augustus had been appointed to represent the whole senate.*

* See above, Chap. III. § 3.



Marcellus.

TABLE I.—DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF AUGUSTUS.

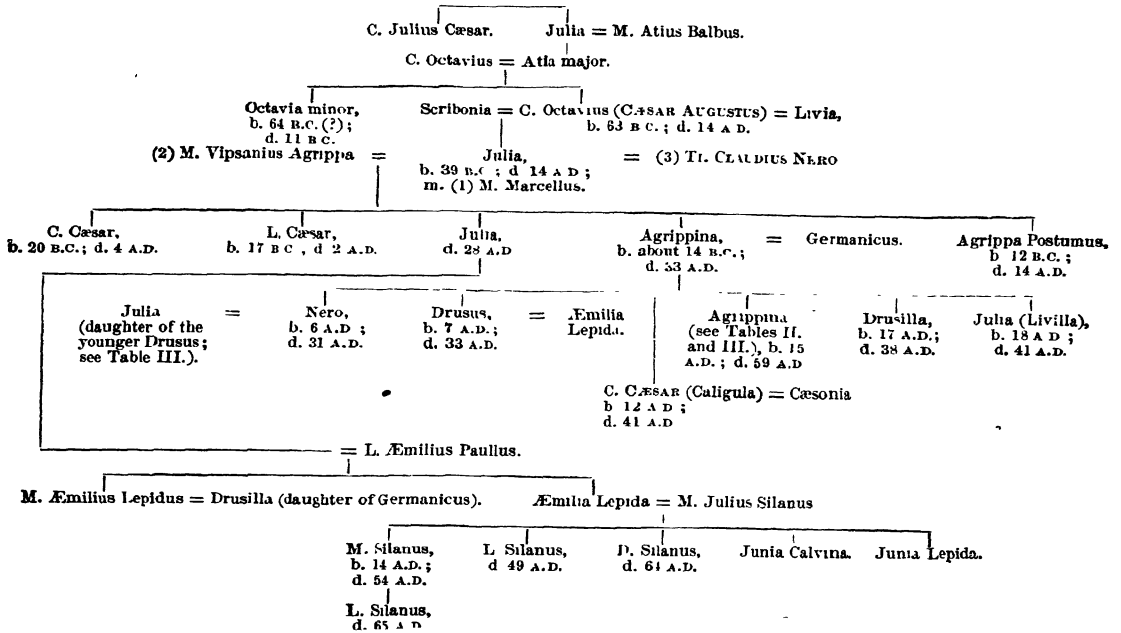


TABLE II.—DESCENDANTS OF OCTAVIA, THE SISTER OF AUGUSTUS.

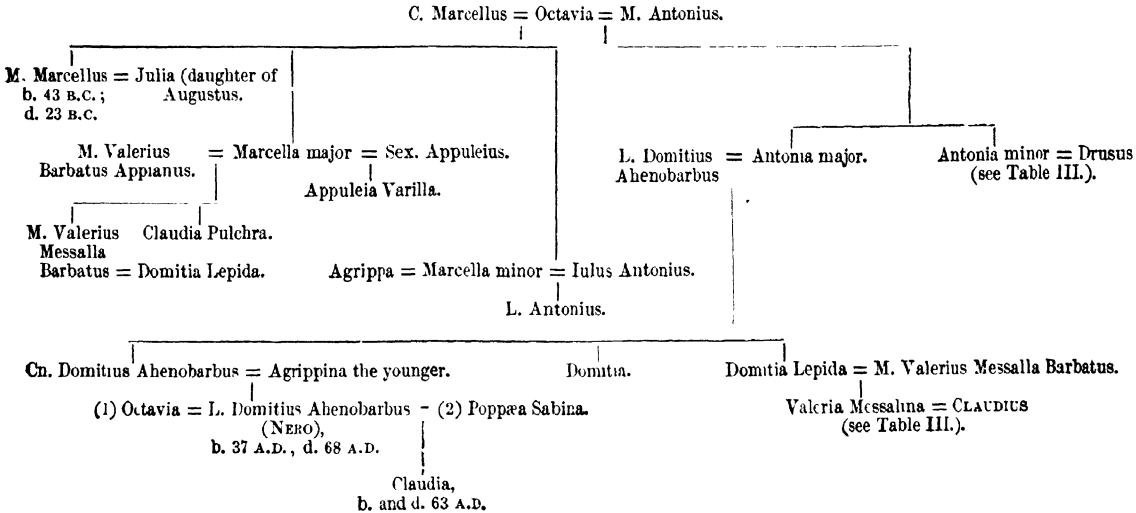
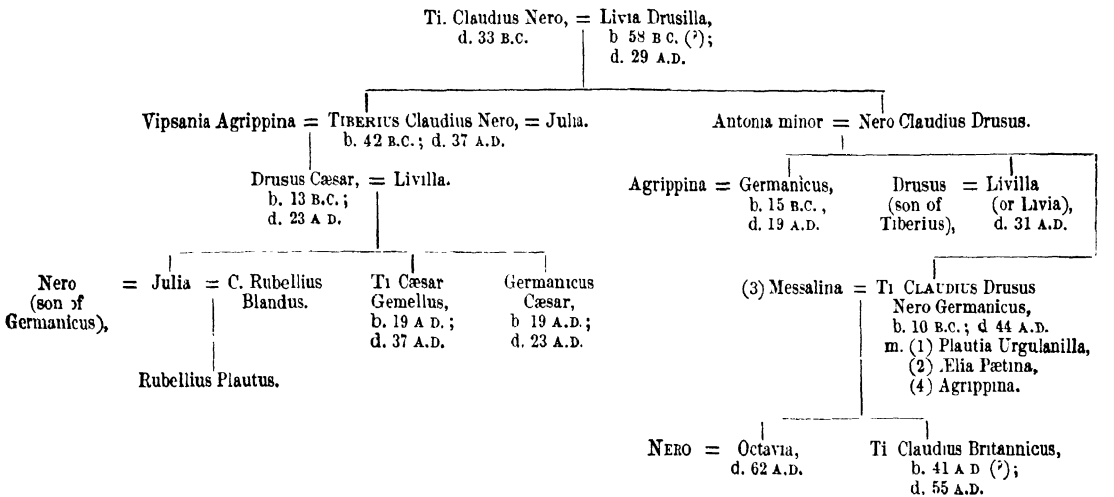


TABLE III.—THE CLAUDIAN HOUSE.



Arch of Augustus at Rimini.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS IN ROME AND ITALY. ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY.

§ 1. Mæcenas. Conspiracies against Augustus. Public prosperity. § 2. Revival and maintenance of public religion. Temples. Legislation against immorality. Encouragement to marriage. *Lex Julia de adulteriis.* Secular games. Policy in regard to the *libertini.* § 3. New offices at Rome. *Cura annonæ. Præfectus vigilum; cura operum publicorum; cura aquarum.* § 4. *Præfectus urbi.* § 5. Italy. *Cura viarum.* Eleven regions. The imperial post. § 6. The Augustales. The *libertini* in Italy. § 7. Organisation of the army. The legions and auxilia. § 8. The prætorian guards. The imperial fleet.

SECT. I.—RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORMS OF AUGUSTUS.

§ 1. AUGUSTUS sought to secure his government by conciliating the higher classes and keeping the populace amused. In these aims he may be said to have succeeded. His government on the whole was popular, and people were content. His policy, constantly guided by Mæcenas, was liberal and humane, and that minister found means to secure the safety of his master without the help of informers or spies. The Romans regarded Mæcenas as an ideal minister, and by his death in 8 B.C. the Emperor lost a councillor

whose tact and insight could not easily be replaced. He is reported to have cried that if either Agrippa or Mæcenas had lived, the domestic troubles which darkened the later years of his life would never have befallen him.

It was harder to conciliate the aristocracy than to satisfy the lower classes; and notwithstanding his personal popularity, notwithstanding the promptness of the senate to fall in with his wishes and accept his guidance, Augustus could not fail to perceive a feeling of regret for the Republic prevailing among the higher classes, and he probably felt that, if his own personal influence were removed by death, the survival of the Principate would be very uncertain. He could not mistake obsequiousness, or even personal friendship to himself, for cheerful acquiescence in the new system. His safety was occasionally threatened by conspiracies, of which we have very little information; but they do not seem to have been really serious. We need only mention that of Fannius Cæpio (23 B.C.) and that of Cn. Cornelius Cinna (4 A.D.). Cæpio's conspiracy is remarkable from the fact that A. Terentius Varro Murena, who was colleague of the Emperor in the consulate, was concerned in it. Murena was the brother of Proculeius,* an intimate friend of Augustus, and of Terentia, wife of Mæcenas and reputed to be the Emperor's mistress. Augustus took the matter very seriously, but it seems that the people were not convinced of Murena's guilt. Both Murena and Cæpio were executed. In the other case, Cinna and his associates were pardoned by the advice of Livia, who perhaps had learned a lesson from the clement policy of Mæcenas. It was a great triumph for Augustus when, in the year of Murena's conspiracy—the same year in which he was himself dangerously ill, and in which he gave the Principate its final shape—he won over two of the most distinguished men of republican sentiments, Cn. Calpurnius Piso and L. Sestius Quirinus, and induced them, after his own abdication of the consulate in June, to fill that magistracy for the rest of the year. But there were still a certain number of irreconcilables, ready, if a favourable opportunity offered, to attempt to restore the Republic.

The solid foundations of the general contentment which marked the Augustan period were the effects of a long peace; the restoration of credit, the revival of industry and commerce, the expenditure of the public money for the public use, the promotion of public comfort and the security of public safety. In describing the details of the home administration, it is fitting to begin with the cares which Augustus bestowed on the revival of religion and the maintenance of the worship of the gods.

* He who is described by Horace as *notus in fratres animi paterni*

§ 2. The priestly duties of maintaining religious worship in the temples of the gods devolved properly upon the patrician families of Rome. These families had been reduced in number and impoverished in the course of the civil wars; an irreligious spirit had crept in; and the shrines of the gods had fallen into decay. Horace, who saw the religious revival of Augustus, ascribes the disasters of the civil wars to the prevailing impiety:

> Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
> Romane, donec templa refeceris.*

We have already seen that after the conquest of Egypt, Augustus caused a law to be passed (the lex Sænia) for raising some plebeian families to the patrician rank.† His care for the dignity and maintenance of the patriciate was closely connected with his concern for the restoration of the national worship. He set the example of renewing the old houses of the gods, and building new ones.‡

Apollo, whose shrine stood near Actium, was loved by Augustus above all other deities, and the Emperor was pleased if his courtiers hinted that he was directly inspired by the god of light or if they lowered their eyes in his presence, as if dazzled by some divine effulgence from his face. To this god he erected a splendid temple on the Palatine. The worship of the Lares engaged his particular attention, and he built numerous shrines for them in the various districts of Rome. Many religious games and popular feasts were also revived.

The state religion, as reformed by Augustus, was connected in the closest way with the Principate, and intended to be one of its bulwarks. Divus Julius had been added to the number of the gods. The Arval brothers sacrificed for the welfare of the Emperor and his family; the college of the quindecimviri and septemviri offered prayers for him; and there were added to the calendar new feasts whose motives depended on the new constitution. Moreover the Princeps was Pontifex Maximus,§ and belonged to the other religious colleges, in which members of his house were also usually enrolled. It has been remarked that the vitality of the old religion is clearly illustrated by the creation of new deities like *Annona*,—the goddess who presided over the corn-supply on which imperial Rome depended.

The restoration of the worship of Juno was assigned to the care of Livia, as the representative of the matrons of Rome. Not only

* *Odes*, iii. 6.
† See above, Chap. I. § 5.
‡ Ovid calls him *templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor* (*Fasti*, ii. 63).
§ See above, Chap. II. § 4.

had the shrines of that goddess been neglected, but the social institution over which she specially presided had gone out of fashion. Along with the growth of luxury and immorality there had grown up a disinclination to marriage. Celibacy was the order of the day, and the number of Roman citizens declined. Measures enforcing or encouraging wedlock had often been taken by censors, but they did not avail to check the evil. Augustus made the attempt to break the stubbornness of his fellow-citizens at first by penalties (18 B.C.) and afterwards by rewards. A *lex de maritandis ordinibus* was passed, regulating marriages and divorces, and laying various penalties both on those who did not marry and on those who, married, had no children. An unmarried man was disqualified from receiving legacies, and the married man who was childless was fined half of every legacy. These unlucky ones were also placed at a disadvantage in competition for public offices. Nearly thirty years later (9 A.D.), another law, the lex Papia Poppæa, established a system of rewards. The father of three children at Rome, was relieved of a certain portion of the public burdens, was not required to perform the duties of a judex or a guardian, and was given preference in standing for magistracies. These privileges were called the *ius trium liberorum*. The same privileges were granted to fathers of four children in Italy, or of five in the provinces. Augustus also (18 B.C.) tried to enforce marriage indirectly by laying new penalties on licentiousness. The *lex Julia de adulteriis et de pudicitia* made adultery a public offence; whereas before it could only be dealt with as a private wrong. No part of the policy of Augustus was so unpopular as these laws concerning marriage. They were strenuously resisted by all classes, and evaded in every possible way. Yet perhaps they produced some effect. Certainly the population of Roman citizens increased considerably between 28 and 8 B.C., and still more strikingly between the latter date and 14 A.D.;* but this increase might be accounted for by the general wellbeing of the age, quite apart from artificial incentives.

In the year 17 B.C.—ten years after the foundation of the Principate—Augustus celebrated *Ludi Sæculares*, which were supposed to be celebrated every hundred (or hundred and ten) years. It was thus a ceremony which no citizen had ever beheld before and which none—according to rule—should ever behold again. As a matter of fact, however, many of those who saw the secular games of Augustus were destined to see the same ceremony repeated by

* In 28 B.C the number was 4,063,000, in 8 B.C. 4,233,000, in 14 A.D. 4,937,000. These numbers are taken from the Emperor's official statement in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

one of his successors.* Augustus probably intended the feast to have a certain political significance, both as lending a sort of consecration to the religious and social legislation of the preceding year, and as celebrating in an impressive manner the introduction of a new epoch, whose continuance now seemed assured by the adoption of the Emperor's grandsons, which took place at the same time. The conduct of the ceremony devolved upon the *Quindecimviri*, who elected two of their members, Augustus and Agrippa, to preside over the celebration. It lasted three days. The ceremonies consisted of the distribution of lustral torches, brimstone and pitch, and of wheat, barley, and beans, at certain stations in the city. The usual invocations of Dis Pater and Proserpine were replaced by those of Apollo and Diana. On the third day, a *carmen sæculare*—an ode of thanksgiving—was performed in the atrium of Apollo's Palatine temple by a choir of youths and maidens of noble birth, both of whose parents were alive. The *carmen sæculare* was written by Horace, and is still preserved.

Augustus also endeavoured to restrain luxury by sumptuary laws,† and to suppress the immorality which prevailed at the public games. He excluded women altogether from the exhibitions of athletic contests, and assigned them a special place, apart from the men, at the gladiatorial shows. At these public spectacles he separated the classes as well as the sexes. Senators, knights, soldiers, freedmen were all assigned their special places. Precedence was given to married men over bachelors.

In connection with the social reforms of Augustus may be mentioned his policy in dealing with the *libertini*, who formed a very large portion of the population of Rome. He endeavoured to reduce their number in three ways. (1) He facilitated the marriage of freed folk with free folk (except senators), with a view to drawing them into the number of the free population. (2) The institution of the Augustales (see below, § 6) was an inducement to freedmen to remain in the Italian towns, instead of flocking to the capital. (3) Laws were passed limiting the manumission of slaves. The lex Ælia Sentia (4 A.D.) decreed that a slave under thirty years of age or of bad character must not be manumitted except by the process of *vindicta*. Four years later, the lex Fufia Caninia ordained that only a certain percentage of the slaves then existing could be set free by testament.

* Claudius.

† *Lex Julia sumptuaria*, 18 B.C. Another law of the same year was the *de ambitu*, to suppress bribery.

SECT. II.—ADMINISTRATION OF ROME AND ITALY.

§ 3. No part, perhaps, of the government of Augustus is more characteristic of his political method and of the general spirit of the Principate than the administration of Rome and Italy. At first he left this department entirely in the hands of the senate, and he never overtly robbed the senate of its rights. But he brought it about that a large number of important branches were by degrees transferred from the control of the senate to that of the Princeps. The senate and consuls repeatedly declared themselves helpless, and called upon the Princeps to intervene; and so it came about that some offices were definitely taken in hand by him, and in other matters, which were still left to the care of the senate and the republican magistrates, it became the habit, in case of a difficulty, to look to the Princeps for counsel and guidance. Thus the way in which the encroachments of monarchy were made was by keeping the republican institutions on trial and convicting them of incompetence. This was one of the "secrets of empire," which were discovered and deftly manipulated by Augustus. It was chiefly in the later part of his principate, when he had arranged the affairs of the provinces, that Augustus began to intervene seriously in administration and organisation in Italy and Rome. In this connection, it is important to observe that while the institution of the Empire inaugurated a new epoch of good government and prosperity for the provinces, so that they gradually rose to the same level politically as Italy herself, Augustus was deeply concerned to preserve intact the dignity of Rome as the sovran city, and Italy as the dominant country; and the distinction between Italy and the provinces was not entirely effaced for three centuries.

The supply of Rome with corn required a new organisation; and the Emperor's possession of Egypt enabled him to meet the need. In 22 B.C. there was a great scarcity in Rome, and the people demanded that the senate should appoint Augustus dictator and censor for life. Augustus rejected this proposal, but accepted the *cura annonæ*, or "administration of the corn-market," and soon relieved the distress. This was the first department in Rome that he took into his own hands. In 6 A.D., there was a still more pressing scarcity of food, and, some years later the Emperor was driven to take measures for the permanent provision of the city with corn. He instituted a *præfectus annonæ*, of equestrian rank, and receiving his appointment from the Emperor. His duty was to superintend the transport of corn from Egypt, and see that the Roman market was kept supplied at a cheap

rate. The expenses were defrayed, chiefly at least, by the fiscus, though properly they should have devolved, as before, upon the ærarium, as Rome was within the sphere of the senate's administration. The Emperor had also to provide for the support of the poor. The number of those who were entitled to profit by the free distribution of corn was finally fixed at 200,000. This included freedmen. Immense sums were also expended by Augustus in public donations to the plebs.

Agrippa, whom the Emperor during his absence in the East (21 B.C., and following years) left in charge of Rome, set zealously to work to reform the water-supply. He restored the old and laid down new aqueducts, the chief among them being the Aqua Virgo (19 B.C.); and he instituted a body of public servants, whose duty was to keep the water-pipes in repair.* The administration of the aqueducts (*cura aquarum*) seems to have been regularly organised, after Agrippa's death, in 11 B.C.

While Augustus adorned Rome with edifices, he had also to guard against their destruction. Conflagrations frequently broke out in the capital, and there were no proper arrangements for quenching them. Finding that the ædiles, to whom he assigned this care, were unequal to performing it, he was compelled (6 A.D.) to organise seven military cohorts of watchmen (*vigiles*), each cohort composed of 1000 to 1200 men, under the command of a Prefect of equestrian rank, who was entitled *præfectus vigilum*, and was appointed by the Emperor. These cohorts consisted chiefly of freedmen. They were quartered in seven stations in the city, so that each cohort did service for two of the fourteen regions into which Rome was divided.†

Other new charges were also instituted by Augustus for the wellbeing of Rome. The *curatores operum publicorum* (chosen from prætorian senators) watched over public ground, and public buildings.

§ 4. *Præfectus urbi.* Originally Roman consuls had the right of appointing a representative, called *præfectus urbi*, to take their place at Rome when they were obliged to be absent from the city. This right was taken from them by the institution of the prætorship. But immediately after the foundation of the Principate,‡ while his position still rested on a combination of the consular with the proconsular power, Augustus during his absence from Rome (27–24 B.C.)

* For an account of the Roman aqueducts, see Chap. XXXI. § 16.

† This division of Rome was made in 8 B.C. (see above, Chap. III. § 6). It was also divided into 265 quarters (*vici*), under *magistri vicorum*, who sacrificed in May and August to the Lares and the genius of Augustus.

‡ Mæcenas had been practically *præfectus urbi* during Cæsar's contest with Antony

revived this old office, and appointed a *præfectus urbi* to take his place. Messalla Corvinus, a man who was much respected and had rendered great services to the Emperor, was appointed to the post (25 B.C.), but laid it down within six days, on the ground that he was unequal to fulfilling its duties; but he seems to have really regarded it as an unconstitutional innovation. During his visit to the East in 21 B.C., and following years, Rome was administered by his consort Agrippa, and therefore no other representative was required. But during his absence in Gaul in 16–13 B.C., when Agrippa was also absent in the East, Statilius Taurus was left as *præfectus urbi*, and performed the duties well. It is to be observed that on this occasion Augustus was not consul, and the Principate no longer depended on the consular power; so that the appointment of Taurus as *præfectus urbi* was a constitutional novelty. But, under Augustus, the post was never anything but temporary, during the Emperor's absence from Italy. It was not until the reign of his successor Tiberius that the *præfectura urbis* became a permanent institution.

§ 5. In Italy as well as in Rome the senate proved itself unequal to discharging the duties of a government, and the Emperor was obliged to step in. The *cura viarum* was instituted for the repair of the public roads (20 B.C.). A *curator* was set over each road. For the main roads leading from Rome to the frontiers of Italy, these officers were selected from the prætorian senators; for the lesser roads, from the knights. Italy, like Rome, was divided into regions, eleven in number,* Rome itself making the twelfth. The object of this division is uncertain; but may have been made for purposes of taxation. In any case, the regions were not administrative districts, for the independence of the political communities in managing their own affairs was not infringed on by Augustus or any of his successors till the time of Trajan.†

The imperial post, an institution which applied to the whole Empire, may be mentioned here. It was a creation of Augustus, who established relays of vehicles at certain stations along the military roads, to convey himself or his messengers without delay,

* Campania, Apulia et Calabria, Bruttia et Lucania, Samnium, Picenum, Umbria, Etruria (Tuscia), Æmilia, Liguria, Venetia et Istria, Transpadana.

† The rights of municipal autonomy which belonged to the Italian communities were defined by Julius Cæsar in the *lex Rubria* and the *lex Iulia municipalis* (49 and 45 B.C.). Civil causes involving an amount over 15,000 sesterces came under the competence of the Roman prætors. It is to be observed that the communities themselves were financially quite independent. Imperial taxation fell on the individual members of the communities, as Roman citizens, but not on the communities.

and secure rapid official communication between the capital and the various provinces. The use of these arrangements was strictly limited to imperial officers and messengers, or those to whom he gave a special passport, called *diploma*. The costs of the vehicles and horses, and other expenses, fell upon the communities in which the stations were established. This requisition led to abuses, and in later times the expenses were defrayed by the *fiscus*. It is to be observed that this institution had not assumed under Augustus anything like the proportions which it assumed a century or so later, as the *cursus publicus*.

§ 6. The *Augustales*.—Freedmen were strictly excluded from holding magistracies and priestly offices, and from sitting in the municipal councils, or senates throughout the Empire. Cæsar the Dictator had indeed sometimes relaxed this rule in their favour beyond Italy, but Augustus strictly enforced and excluded *libertini* from government. Their exclusion was economically a public loss. For one of the chief sources from which the town treasuries were supplied was the contributions levied on new magistrates and priests, whether in the form of direct payments or of undertaking the exhibition of public games. As the freedmen could not become magistrates or priests, they were not liable to these burdens, which they would have been glad to undertake. In order to open a field to their ambition, and at the same time to make their wealth available for the public service, Augustus created a new institution, entitled the *Augustales*, probably in the early years of his principate. (1) This organisation was first established in Italy, and the Latin provinces of the west. In Africa it was not common, and it is not found at all in the eastern part of the Empire. (2) It was not called into being by a law of Augustus, but at his suggestion the several communities decreed an institution, which was in every way profitable to them. (3) The institution consisted in the creation every year of six men, *Sexviri Augustales*, who were nominated by the decurions (the chief municipal magistrates). (4) These *sexviri* were magistrates, not priests; but their magistracy was only formal, as they had no magisterial functions to perform. (5) But like true magistrates they had public burdens to sustain; they had to make a payment to the public treasury when they entered upon their office, and they had to defray the cost of games. (6) The *sexviri* were almost always chosen from the class of the *libertini*. This rule held good without exception in southern Italy. (7) After their year of office the *sexviri Augustales*, were called *Augustales*, just as consuls after their year of office were called *consulares*. Thus the *Augustales* formed a distinct rank, to which it was the ambition of every freedman to belong. (8) One of

the most interesting points about the institution is that it seems to have been partly modelled upon the organisation of the Roman knights. The designation of the *sexviri* of the order of the Augustales seems to have been borrowed from the order of the Equites, and perhaps was introduced about the same time. Moreover the Augustales occupied the same position in Italy and the provinces, as the knights occupied at Rome; they were the municipal image of the knights. They represented the capitalists and mercantile classes in contrast with the nobility and landed proprietors; they bore the same relation to the municipal senate as the knights to the Roman senate.

SECT. III.—ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY AND FLEET.

§ 7. Augustus introduced some radical changes into the Roman military system. In the first place, he established a standing army. It was quite logical that the permanent imperator should have a permanent army under his command. The legions distributed throughout those provinces, which required military protection, have now permanent camps. In the second place, he organised the *auxilia*, and made them an essential part of the military forces of the Empire. Thirdly, he separated the fleet from the army; and fourthly, he established the praetorian guards. Augustus spent great care on the organisation of the army, but it is generally admitted that he acted unwisely in reducing the number of legions after the civil wars.* This step was chiefly dictated by considerations of economy, in order to diminish the public burdens; but the standing army which he maintained, of about 250,000 men, was inadequate for the defence of such a great empire against its foes on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, not to speak of lesser dangers in other quarters.

At the death of Augustus, the legions numbered twenty-five. Each legion consisted of not more than 6000, not less than 5000, foot-soldiers and 120 horse-soldiers. The foot-soldiers were divided into ten cohorts, and each cohort into six centuries. Each century had a standard (*signum*) of its own. The horse-soldiers were divided into four *turmæ*. Only those were admitted to legionary service who were freeborn, and belonged to a city-community.

To the legions were attached auxiliary troops (*auxilia*), recruited from the provincials, who did not belong to urban communities. They were divided into cohorts, and consisted of footmen and horsemen, or both combined. Some foot-cohorts were composed of about

* See Note C. at end of chapter.

500 men, and were divided into six centuries; such were called *quingenariæ*. Others were larger and contained 1000 men divided into ten centuries; these were *milliariæ*. Mixed cohorts of both horse and foot-soldiers, were termed *equitatæ*. The *alæ* consisted only of horse-soldiers and also varied in size. The auxiliary troops, when attached to a legion, were under the control of the commander of the legion. But they could also act separately, and some provinces were garrisoned exclusively by *auxilia*.

The legions were distinguished by numbers and by names; for example, *legio* X. *gemina*, XXI. *rapax*, or VI. *victrix*.*

Besides these troops there were cohorts of Italian volunteers, of whom we seldom hear; and there were in some provinces bodies of provincial militia. Moreover, Augustus had a body-guard of German soldiers to protect his person; but he disbanded it in 9 A.D.†. With the exception of the legions stationed in Egypt, and the auxiliary troops in some small provinces, the military forces of the Empire were commanded by senators. This leads us to an important institution of Augustus, the *legatus legionis*, an officer of senatorial, generally prætorian, rank, who commanded both the legion and the *auxilia* associated with it. The military tribune thus became subordinate to the *legatus*. He was merely a "tribune of the legion," and on an equality with the prefect of an auxiliary cohort, while his position was rather inferior to that of a prefect of an auxiliary squadron. These three posts (*tribunatus legionis*, *præfectura cohortis*, *præfectura alæ*) were the three "equestrian offices," open to the sons of senators who aspired to a public career. The prefect of the camp (*præfectus castrorum*) was not of senatorial rank, and was generally taken from the *primipili*, or first of the first class of centurions. He was subject to the governor of the province in which the camp was situated; but he was not subject to the *legatus legionis*. He had no power of capital punishment. In Egypt, from which senators were excluded, there was no *legatus legionis*, and the prefect of the camp took his place.

The time of service for a legionary soldier was fixed (5 A.D.) at twenty years, for an auxiliary at twenty-five. The government was bound to provide for the discharged veterans, by giving them farms or sums of money. It became the custom, however, for some soldiers, after their regular term, to continue in the service of the state, in special divisions, and with special privileges. These divisions were known as the *vexilla veteranorum*, ‡ and were only employed in battle.

* See Note A. at end of chapter

† See Notes D. and E.

‡ Also called *vexillarii*; to be distinguished from another use of *vexillarii*, meaning soldiers of a small division, temporarily separated from its main body and placed under a special *vexillum*. While the *signum* was the standard of a permanent body only, the *vexillum* was used for special and temporary formations

The expenses of this military system were very large, and in 6 A.D., at the time of a rebellion in Dalmatia, Augustus was unable to meet the claims of the soldiers by ordinary means, and was driven to instituting an *ærarium militare*, with a capital of 170,000,000 sesterces (about £1,360,000). It was administered by three *præfecti*, chosen by lot, for three years, from the prætorian senators. The sources of revenue on which the military treasury was to depend, were a five per cent. tax on inheritances, and a one per cent. impost on auctions.

§ 8. Rome and Italy were exempted from the military command of the Imperator; and the army was distributed in the provinces and on the frontiers. But there were two exceptions: the Prætorian guards (along with the City guards and the Watchmen) and the fleet.

The institution of a body-guard (*cohors prætoria*) for the imperator had existed under the Republic, and had been further developed under the triumvirate. Augustus organised it anew. After his victory both his own guards and those of his defeated rival Antonius were at his disposal, and out of these troops he formed a company of nine cohorts, each consisting of 1000 men. Thus the permanent prætorian guard under the Empire stood in the same relation to the Imperator, in which the temporary *cohors prætoria* stood to an imperator under the Republic. The pay of the prætorian soldier was fixed at double that of the legionary, his time of service was fixed (5 A.D.) at sixteen years; and the command was ultimately placed in the hands of two prætorian prefects (2 B.C.) of equestrian rank. In later times this office became the most important in the state; but even at first a prætorian prefect had great influence. The Emperor's personal safety depended on his loyalty, and the appointment of *two* prefects by Augustus, was probably a device for lessening the chances of treachery. Only a small division of the prætorian troops were permitted to have their station within Rome; the rest were quartered in the neighbourhood. The irregularity of a standing military force posted in Italy, was to some extent rendered less unwelcome by the rule that only Italians—and "Italians" was at first interpreted in its old sense, so as to exclude dwellers in Gallia Cisalpina—could enter the service.*

Besides the Prætorian cohorts, there were three Urban cohorts (*cohortes urbanæ*) stationed at Rome. During the absence of the

* Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5. Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectæ aut vetere Latio et colonis antiquitus Romanis. Thus Italy beyond the Padus and the Greek towns in the south are excluded.

Emperor, they were under the command of the prefect of the city. The *cohortes vigilum* have already been mentioned.*

Augustus created an imperial fleet, which was called, though perhaps not in his own day, the *classis prætoria*. Under the Republic the command of the naval forces had always devolved upon the commander of the legions, and consequently no fleets could be stationed in Italian ports, as Italy was exempt from the *imperium*. Hence the Tuscan and Adriatic seas were infested by pirates. The war with Sextus Pompeius had turned the special attention of Augustus to the fleet, and he saw his way to separating the navy from the army. Two fleets were permanently stationed in Italy; one, to guard over the eastern waters, at Ravenna, and the second, to control the southern seas, at Misenum. They formed the guard of the Emperor, and at first were manned by his slaves. The commanders, under the early Empire, were *præfecti*, who were sometimes freedmen. Augustus also stationed a squadron of lesser magnitude at Forum Julium; but this was removed when the province of Narbonensis was transferred to the senate (22 B.C.). These fleets were composed of the regular ships of war with three benches of oars, triremes, and of the lighter Liburnian biremes. But the heavier and larger kind afterwards fell into disuse, and *liburna* came to be the general word for a warship.

* A fourth urban cohort was stationed at Lugudunum. Another, but very obscure, military corps was the *statores Augusti*, who seem to have ranked between the *cohortes urbanæ* and the *cohortes vigilum*.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE LEGIONS IN THE PROVINCES AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS (14 A.D.).

Spain	3 legions	IV. Macedonica, VI Victrix, X. Gemina.
Lower Germany	4 legions	I., V. Alauda, XX. Valeria Victrix, XXI. (Rapax).
Upper Germany	4 legions	II. Augusta, XIII. Gemina, XIV. Gemina, XVI.
Pannonia	3 legions	VIII. Augusta, IX., XV. Apollinaris.
Dalmatia	2 legions	VII., XI.
Mœsia	2 legions	IV. Scythica, V. Macedonica.
Syria	3 legions	III. Gallica, VI. Ferrata, X. Fretensis.
Egypt	3 legions	III. Cyrenaica, XII. Fulminata, XXII. Deiotariana.
Africa	1 legion	III. Augusta.

Total number of legions 25.

In 27 B.C., at the beginning of the Principate, there were only 23 legions; VI. Ferrata and X. Fretensis were afterwards added by Augustus. Moreover, three of the legions which existed in 27 B.C. no longer existed in 13 A.D., having perished in the disaster of Varus, namely XVII., XVIII., and XIX.; but they were replaced by three new ones, namely I., XXI. Rapax, and XXII. Deiotariana.

It will be observed that in some cases more than one legion are designated by the same number. It is probable that this is due to the fact that the triumvirs numbered their legions independently of one another, and Augustus transferred into his own army some complete legions of Antony and Lepidus without changing their numbers. We know that this was so in the case of III. Gallica, which fought in the eastern campaigns of Antony. In these cases distinguishing names were indispensable.

The names were bestowed for various reasons. One legion got its name from insignia (Fulminata; perhaps Alauda); another from a people against which it had fought (Scythica), or a place where it had fought (Fretensis); others were called by general epithets (Victrix, Rapax). For Gemina, see Chap. I. § 3.

The *auxilia* were distinguished by the names of the peoples from whom they were recruited, but the *alæ* (more rarely the cohorts) were also sometimes designated by special names (e.g. *ala Petriana*).

B.—PAY OF THE LEGIONARIES AND PRÆTORIANS; AND LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Under Augustus the pay of the legionary soldier was 225 denarii a year (about £8); and this arrangement continued until the time of Domitian, who increased it by a third; so that it became 300 denarii. The Prætorian soldiers, when organised in 27 B.C., received 450 denarii (twice as much as a legionary) annually; but the money was afterwards raised to 720 (about £25 10s.), (cp. Tacitus, *Ann.*, i. 17). The pay of a soldier of the *cohortes urbanæ* was probably 360 denarii.

At first Augustus (13 B.C.) fixed the period of service for the legionary at 16 years, for the prætorian at 12; but in 5 B.C. the former period was raised to 20, the latter to 16. For the auxiliaries the time of service was 25 years; for the urban cohorts 20.

C.—THE REDUCTION OF THE LEGIONS BY AUGUSTUS.

We have no materials for tracing in detail the transformation which the army underwent under Augustus. But it seems highly probable that the change was accomplished gradually, and not by a single act. Mommsen holds that the legions, numbering over 50, were reduced immediately after the foundation of the Principate to 18, and were not increased until 6 A.D., in which year he supposes 8 new legions to have been formed, making a total of 26: the loss of the three legions of Varus, which were replaced by two new ones, gives the total of 25, which we know to have existed at the death of Augustus. But the evidence which he cites for the formation of 8 new legions rather points to the supplementing of legions already existing.

It seems extremely unlikely that Augustus would have decided in 27 B.C. to reduce the army to 100,000 men, however much such a reduction was recommended by financial considerations. The question, as Herzog has well pointed out, must be taken in close connection with the organisation of the *auxilia*, which were a new institution of Augustus, and the formation of which must have taken time. The conjecture of Herzog that the reduction of the legions was accomplished gradually and concurrently with the organisation of the auxiliary troops, has much to recommend it. If so, this change may have been nearly accomplished by 13 B.C., for in that year some important arrangements in respect to the military service were made by decree of the senate. (See above, note B.). See Mommsen, *Res Gestæ*, pp. 68 *sqq.*; Herzog, *Gesch. und Syst.*, ii. 205, 206.

D.—PROVINCIAL MILITIA.

In some provinces (such as Rætia, Cappadocia, &c.) bodies of provincials (to be carefully distinguished from the regular *auxilia*) were often levied in special cases of danger. In Tarraconensis there seems to have been a specially organised body of provincial soldiers, for we find an officer entitled the *præfectus oræ maritimæ*

in charge of two cohorts. It is also not improbable that in a few cases towns had small bodies of municipal militia to meet emergencies.

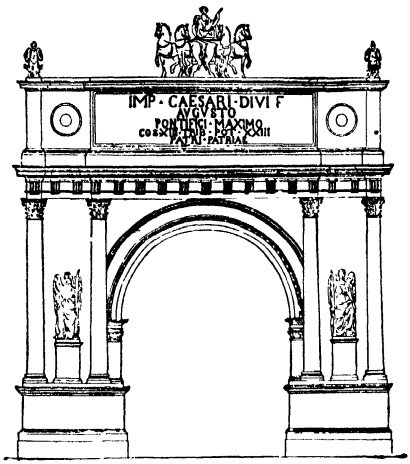
E.—THE GERMAN BODYGUARD.

The alarm occasioned by the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. caused Augustus to dismiss the German bodyguard which he had employed since the battle of Actium. But we find a German guard again under Tiberius, Gaius, and Nero. Nero's Germans were disbanded by Galba, and this institution was not renewed under the early Empire. The legal status of the Germans thus employed was that of slaves, and accordingly they were organised like a collegium of slaves, and divided into *decuriæ*.

F.—THE EVOCATI AUGUSTI.

We hear so little of this body that it seemed unnecessary to mention it in the text. They were a special company organised by Augustus, and constituted a regular department of the service; not like the *evocati* of the Republic, a band specially "called forth" to meet special emergencies. They were selected from those who had already served their time in the army, and they fulfilled special duties of a civil rather than a military kind. They carried out works of military engineering, &c.

Coin of Gaius and Lucius.



Arch of Augustus at Aosto.

CHAPTER VI.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER AUGUSTUS. THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

§ 1. Distinction between the provinces and federate states. Tribute. Local self-government of provincial cities. § 2. Imperial and Senatorial provinces. § 3. Proconsuls and proprætors. Consular and prætorian provinces. *Legati.* Procurators. The *imperium maius* of the Emperor. § 4. Visits of Augustus to the provinces. § 5. GAUL; the four provinces, Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugudunensis, and Belgica. Altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugudunum. Importance of Lugudunum. Britain. § 6. SPAIN: Bætica, Tarraconensis and Lusitania. Cantabrian and Asturian Wars. § 7. AFRICA. The kingdom of Mauretania. § 8. SARDINIA and CORSICA. § 9. SICILY. § 10. RÆTIA, NORICUM, and the ALPINE DISTRICTS. Subjugation of the Ræti and Vindelici by Drusus and Tiberius. Conquest of the Salassi, and pacification of the Alps. § 11. DALMATIA and PANNONIA. Dalmatian war of 35 B.C. Province of Illyricum. § 12. MŒSIA and THRACE. Thracian revolts. § 13. The German question, and the defence of the frontiers.

SECT. I.—GENERAL ORGANISATION OF THE PROVINCES.

§ 1. WHEN Augustus founded the Empire, the dominion of Rome stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, from the German Ocean to the borders of Ethiopia. The lands which made up this empire had by no means the same political status. Rome, the

mother and mistress of the Empire, stood by herself. She was the centre, to which all the rest looked up. Next her, sharing in many respects her privileged position, was Italy.* Outside this inner circle came the directly subject lands and communities, which were strictly under the sway (*in dicione*) of the Roman people. Outside these again came the lands and communities which, while really under the sovranty of Rome, preserved their independence and were not called subjects, but federate states and allies. And in each of these circles there were various kinds and subdivisions, according to the mode of their administration or the limits imposed on their self-government. Thus the subjects of the Roman Empire were almost as heterogeneous in their political relations to their mistress as in race and language. It is to be observed that by "Roman Empire," we mean more than the Romans in strict speech meant by *imperium Romanum*. We mean not only the provinces, but the independent allied states and client kingdoms, in which the people were not the subjects of the Roman people and the land was not the property of the Roman state. These federate and associated states were regarded legally as outside the Roman *fines*, although the *fœdus* or alliance really meant that they were under the sovranty of Rome and the continuation of their autonomy depended solely on her will. There was no proper word in Latin to express the geographical circle which included both the direct and the indirect subjects. Perhaps the nearest expression was *orbis terrarum*, "the world," which often seems equivalent to "the Empire." For Roman law regarded all territory, which was not either Roman or belonging to some one whose ownership Rome recognised, as the property of no man,—outside the world.

The chief mark of distinction between the autonomous, and not autonomous communities was that the former taxed themselves, whereas the latter were taxed by Rome. In both cases there were exceptions, but this was the general rule. And the land of the provincial communities which were not autonomous belonged to Rome, whereas the land of the autonomous states was not Roman. Originally, after the conquest of her earliest provinces, Rome had not appropriated the land; but this was a theoretic mistake which she afterwards corrected when C. Gracchus organised Asia. Henceforward all provincial territory was regarded as in the ownership of the Roman people. The Roman people might let the land anew to the former possessors at a fixed rent, and in most cases this was done. Thus the principle was that the provincial subjects occupied as

* Since 49 B.C. all the Italian communities, from the Alps to the straits of Messana possessed full Roman citizenship. By the Lex Roscia of 42 A.D. "Italy" was extended to the Alps.

tenants the lands which they or their ancestors once owned. This rent was called *tributum*, or *stipendium*.* (a). The greater number of provincial communities in the time of Augustus were *civitates stipendiariæ*. The legal condition of these subjects was that of *peregrini dediticii*, but they were not called by this name. They were under the control of the governor of the province to which they belonged. (b). Throughout the provinces there was a multitude of cities which possessed full Roman citizenship, and their number was continually increasing. But although, as far as personal rights were concerned, these cities were on a level with the cities of Italy, they were worse off in two particulars. They were obliged to pay tribute. The reason of this anomaly was the theoretic principle that provincial territory could not be alienated by its owner, the Roman people. The *ager publicus populi Romani* beyond the sea could not become *ager privatus ex iure Quiritium*. In other words, a provincial of Narbo, although a Roman citizen, could not be a quiritary possessor of land in the Narbonese territory. He could only hold land of the Roman people, and must therefore pay rent for it. In the case, however, of some favoured communities, this principle was departed from as early as the time of Augustus. The privilege took one of two forms, either a grant of immunity from tribute or the bestowal of *ius Italicum*. The latter form, which was the more common, placed the territory of the community which received it in the same position as the territory of Italy, and made it capable of quiritary ownership. The provincial cities which possessed *ius Italicum* marked their position by the external sign of a statue of a naked Silenus with a wine-skin on his shoulder, which was called Marsyas. This custom was imitated from the Marsyas which stood in the Roman Forum, as a symbol of the capital city. Besides being tributary, the provincial communities of Roman citizens were, like the peregrine communities, subject to the interference of the Roman governor.

It is to be observed that these communities were either *coloniæ* or *municipia*. In the course of Italian history the word *municipium* had completely changed its meaning. Originally it was applied to a community possessing *ius Latinum*, and also to the *civitas sine suffragio*, and thus it was a term of contrast to those communities which possessed full Roman citizenship. But when in the course of time the *civitates sine suffragio* received political rights

* Properly *stipendium* was the payment levied on a conquered state towards the payment of the expenses of the war, and was thus only temporary. But when the inferior position of the conquered state continued, the provisional payment was succeeded by a regular payment, and this tax was called by the same name. The tax was afterwards converted into the form of a ground-rent (*ve tigal*) or tribute, but the word *stipendium* was still used.

and the Roman states received full Roman citizenship, and thus the *municipium* proper disappeared from Italy, the word was still applied to those communities of Roman citizens which had originally been either Latin *municipia* or independent federate states. And it also, of course, continued to be applied to cities outside Italy which possessed *ius Latinum*. It is clear that originally *municipium* and *colonia* were not incompatible ideas. For a colony founded with *ius Latinum* was both a *municipium* and a *colonia*. But a certain opposition arose between them, and became stronger when *municipium* came to be used in a new sense. *Municipium* is only used of communities which existed as independent states before they received Roman citizenship, whether by the deduction of a colony or not. *Colonia* is generally confined to those communities which were settled for the first time as Roman cities, and were never states before. Thus *municipium* involves a reference to previous autonomy.

(c). Besides Roman cities, there were also Latin cities in the provinces. Originally there were two kinds of *ius Latinum*, one better and the other inferior. The old Latin colonies possessed the better kind. The inferior kind was known as the *ius* of Ariminum,* and it alone was extended to provincial communities. When Italy received Roman citizenship after the Social war, the better kind of *ius Latinum* vanished for ever, and the lesser kind only existed outside Italy. The most important privilege which distinguished the Latin from peregrine communities was that the member of a Latin city had a prospect of obtaining full Roman citizenship by holding magistracies in his own community. The Latin communities are of course autonomous † and are not controlled by the provincial governor; but like Roman communities they have to pay tribute for their land, which is the property of the Roman people, unless they possess immunity or *ius Italicum* as well as *ius Latinum*.

(d). Outside Roman territory and, formally, independent allies of Rome, though really her subjects, are the free states, *civitates liberæ*, whether single republics, like Athens, or a league of cities, like Lycia. Constitutionally they fall into two classes, (1) *civitates liberæ et fœderatæ*, or simply *fœderatæ*, (2) *civitates* (*sine fœdere*) *liberæ* (*et immunes*). States of the first class were connected with Rome by a *fœdus*, which guaranteed them perpetual autonomy. In the case of the second class no such *fœdus* existed, and their autonomy, which was granted by a *lex* or *senatus consultum*, could at

* Ariminum was the first of the Twelve Latin towns which became Romar Colonies before the Social War.

† But in some respects the Latin communities under the Empire were less independent than under the Republic.

any moment be recalled. Otherwise the position of the two classes did not differ. The sovran rights of these free states were limited in the following ways by their relation to Rome. They were not permitted to have subject allies standing to themselves in the same relation in which they stood to Rome. They could not declare war on their own account; whereas every declaration of war and every treaty of peace made by Rome was valid for them also, without even a formal expression of consent on their part. Some of the free states, such as Athens, Sparta, Massilia—seem to have been exempted by the treaty from the burden of furnishing military contingents, both under the Republic and under the Empire. Others, on the other hand, were bound by treaty to perform service of this kind; thus Rhodes contributed a number of ships every year to the Roman fleet. It is probable that the communities which were established as federate or Latin states under the Principate, were subject to conscription. Theoretically, all the autonomous states should have been exempt from tribute, as their land was not Roman; but there were exceptions to this rule, and some free cities—for example, Byzantium,—paid under the Principate a yearly *tributum*.

(e). The position of the client kingdoms was in some respects like that of the free autonomous states, but in other respects different. Both were allied with Rome, but independent of Roman governors. Both the free peoples who managed their own affairs, and the kings who ruled their kingdoms, were *socii* of the Roman people; and the land of both was outside the boundaries of Roman territory. But whereas, in the case of the *civitates fœderatæ*, the Roman people entered into a permanent relation with a permanent community, in the case of kingdoms the relation was only a personal treaty with the king, and came to an end at his death. Thus, when a client king died, Rome might either renew the same relation with his successor, or else, without any formal violation of a treaty, convert the kingdom into a province. This last policy was constantly adopted under the Principate, so that by degrees all the chief client principalities disappeared, and the provincial territory increased in corresponding measure. Even under the Republic the dependent princes paid fixed annual tributes to Rome.

(f). The treatment of Egypt by Augustus formed a new departure in the organisation of the subject lands of Rome.* It was, as we have seen, united with the Roman Empire by a sort of "personal union," like that by which Luxemburg was till recently united with Holland. The sovran of the Roman state was also sovran of Egypt. He did not, indeed, designate himself as king of Egypt,

* See above, Chap. I. § 3; and below, Chap. VII. § 8.

any more than as king of Rome; but practically he was the successor of the Ptolemies. This principle was applied to dependent kingdoms which were afterwards annexed to the Empire, such as Noricum and Judea. Such provinces were governed by knights (instead of senators, as in the provinces proper), and these knights, who were entitled prefects or procurators, represented the Emperor personally. It is clear that this form of government was not possible until the republic had become a monarchy, and there was one man to represent the state.

(g). To make the picture of the manifold modes in which Rome governed her subjects complete, there must still be mentioned the unimportant class of *attributed places*. This was the technical name for small peoples or places, which counted as neither states nor districts (*pagi*), and were placed under or *attributed to* a neighbouring community. Only federate towns, or towns possessing either Roman citizenship or *ius Latinum*, had attributed places. This attribution was especially employed in the Alpine districts; small mountain tribes being placed under the control of cities like Tergeste or Brixia. The inhabitants of the attributed places often possessed *ius Latinum*, and as they had no magistrates of their own, they were permitted to be candidates for magistracies in the states to which they were attributed. They could thus become Roman citizens.

It is to be carefully observed, that while the subjects of Rome fell into the two general classes of autonomous and not autonomous, the not autonomous communities possessed municipal self-government. The provinces, like Italy, were organised on the principle of local self-government. In those lands where the town system was already developed, the Roman conqueror gladly left to the cities their constitutions, and allowed them to manage their local affairs just as of old, only taking care that they should govern themselves on aristocratic principles. Rome even went further, and based her administration everywhere on the system of self-governing communities, introducing it in those provinces where it did not already exist, and founding towns on the Italian model. The local authorities in each provincial community had to levy the taxes and deliver them to the proper Roman officers. Representatives of each community met yearly in a provincial *concilium*. For judicial purposes, districts of communities existed in which the governor of the province dealt out justice. These districts were called *conventus*.

It thus appears that the stipendiary communities also enjoyed autonomy—a "tolerated autonomy," of a more limited kind than that of the free and the federate communities. The Roman

governors did not interfere in the affairs of any community in their provinces, where merely municipal matters, not affecting imperial interests, were concerned. It also appears that those not autonomous communities which had obtained exemption from tribute practically approximated to the autonomous, whereas those nominally independent states, in which tribute was nevertheless levied, approximated to the dependent.

Here we touch upon one of the great tendencies which marked the policy of Augustus and his successors in the administration of the Empire. This was the gradual abolition of that variety which at the end of the Republic existed in the relations between Rome and her subjects. There was (1) the great distinction between Italy and the provinces; and there were (2) the various distinctions between the provincial communities themselves. From the time of the first Princeps onward, we can trace the gradual wiping out of these distinctions, until the whole Empire becomes uniform. (1) The provinces receive favours which raise them towards the level of Italy, while Italy's privileges are diminished and she is depressed towards the level of the provinces. But this change takes place more gradually than (2) the working out of uniformity among the other parts of the Empire, which can be traced even under Augustus, who promoted this end by (*a*) limiting the autonomy of free and federate states, (*b*) increasing the autonomy of the directly subject states, (*c*) extending Roman citizenship, (*d*) converting client principalities into provincial territory. But perhaps the act of Augustus which most effectually promoted this tendency was his reorganisation of the army, which has been described in the foregoing chapter. While hitherto the legions were recruited from Roman citizens only, and the provinces were exempt from ordinary military service, although they were liable to be called upon in cases of necessity, Augustus made all the subjects of the Empire, whether Roman citizens or not, whether Italians or provincials, liable to regular military service. The legions were recruited not from Italy only, but from all the cities of the Empire, whether Roman, Latin, or *peregrinæ;* and the recruit, as soon as he entered the legion, became a Roman citizen. The *auxilia* were recruited from those subject communities which were not formed as cities, and no Roman citizens belonged to these corps. Such communities now occupied somewhat the same position as the Italic peoples had formerly occupied in relation to Roman citizens. It will be readily seen that the new organisation of the legions, by largely increasing the number of Roman citizens, and by raising the importance of the provinces, tended in the direction of uniformity.

§ 2. It has been already stated that in the provincial administration, as in other matters, a division was made by Augustus between the Emperor and the senate. Henceforward there are *senatorial* provinces and *imperial* provinces. The provinces which fell to the share of the senate were chiefly those which were peaceable and settled, and were not likely to require the constant presence of military forces. The Emperor took charge of those which were likely to be troublesome, and might often demand the intervention of the Imperator and his soldiers. Thus (27 B.C.) Augustus received as his proconsular "province" Syria, Gaul, and Hither Spain. With Syria was connected the defence of the eastern frontier; Gaul, which as yet was a single province, he had to protect against the Germans beyond the Rhine; and Hispania Citerior (or Tarraconensis) laid on him the conduct of the Cantabrian war. To the senate were left Sicily, Africa, Crete and Cyrene, Asia, Bithynia, Illyricum, Macedonia, Achaia, Sardinia, and Further Spain (Bætica). In this division there was an attempt to establish a balance between the dominion of the Emperor, (who had also Egypt, though not as a province,) and the senate. But the balance soon wavered in favour of the Emperor, and the imperial provinces soon outweighed the senatorial in number as well as importance. When new provinces were added to the Empire, they were made imperial.

After the division of 27 B.C., several changes took place during the reign of Augustus; but before we consider the provinces separately, it is necessary to speak of the general differences between the senatorial and the imperial government.

§ 3. The Roman provinces were at first governed by prætors, but Sulla made a new arrangement, by which the governors should be no longer prætors in office, but men who had been prætors, under the title of proprætors. This change introduced a new principle into the provincial government. Henceforward the governors are proconsuls and proprætors.

Under the Empire, those governors who are not subordinate to a magistrate with higher authority than their own, are proconsuls; those who have a higher magistrate above them are proprætors. The governors of the senatorial provinces were all proconsuls, as they were under the control of no superior magistrate; whereas the governors of the imperial provinces were under the proconsular authority of the Emperor and were therefore only proprætors.

The distinction between governors *pro consule* and governors *pro prætore* must not be confused with the distinction between *consular* and *prætorian* provinces. A proprætor might be either of prætorian or of consular rank, and a proconsul might be either

of consular or of prætorian rank. In the case of the senatorial provinces, a definite line was drawn between consular and prætorian provinces. It was finally arranged that only consulars were appointed to Asia and Africa, only prætorians to the rest. In the imperial provinces, the line does not seem to have been so strict; as a rule the prætorian governor commanded only one legion, the consular more than one.

The proconsuls, or governors of the provinces which the senate administered, were elected, as of old, by lot, and only held office for a year. They were assisted in their duties by *legati* and quæstors who possessed an independent proprætorian imperium. The proconsul of consular rank (attended by twelve lictors) had three legati (appointed by himself) and one quæstor at his side; he of prætorian rank (attended by six lictors) had one legatus and one quæstor.

The governors of the imperial provinces were entitled *legati Augusti pro prætore.** They were appointed by the Emperor, and their constitutional position was that the Emperor delegated to them his imperium. But only consulars or prætorians, and therefore only senators, could be appointed. Their term of governorship was not necessarily limited to a year, like that of the proconsuls, but depended on the will of the Emperor. The financial affairs of the imperial provinces were managed by *procuratores*, generally of equestrian rank, but sometimes freedmen. There were also, for jurisdiction, *legati Augusti juridici* of senatorial rank, but it is not certain whether they were instituted under Augustus.

But while the senate had no part in the administration of the imperial provinces, except in so far as the governors were chosen from among senators, the Emperor had powers of interfering in the affairs of the senatorial provinces by virtue of the *imperium maius*, which he possessed over other proconsuls. Moreover he could levy troops in the provinces of the senate, and exercise control over the taxation. Thus the supply of corn from Africa, a senatorial province, went to the Emperor, not to the senate. In both kinds of provinces alike the governors combined supreme civil and military authority; but the proconsuls had rarely, except in the case of Africa, military forces of any importance at their disposition.

Thus there were two sets of provincial governors, those who represented the senate and those who represented the Emperor. It might be thought, at first sight, that the senatorial governors would be jealous of the imperial, who had legions under them and a longer tenure of office. But this danger was obviated by the important circumstance that the *legati* were chosen from the same class as the

* More properly *legati proconsulis pro prætore.*

proconsuls, and thus the same man who was one year proconsul of Asia, might the next year be appointed legatus of Syria.

§ 4. In reviewing the provinces of the Roman Empire we may begin with the western, and proceed eastward. With the exception of Africa and Sardinia, there were no subject lands which Augustus did not visit, as Cæsar, if not as Augustus. In 27 B.C. he went to Gaul, and thence to Spain, where he remained until 24 B.C., conducting the Cantabrian war. Two years later he visited Sicily, whence he proceeded to the East, Samos, Asia, and Bithynia, settled the Parthian question, and returned to Rome in 19 B.C. In 16 B.C. he made a second visit to Gaul, in the company of Tiberius, and stayed in the Gallic provinces for three years. In 10 B.C. he visited Gaul again, and in 8 B.C. for the fourth time. Henceforward he did not leave Italy, but deputed the work of provincial organisation to those whom he marked out to be his successors.

SECT. II.—GAUL.

§ 5. Augustus divided Gallia into four provinces: Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugudunensis, and Belgica. In 22 B.C. he assigned Narbonensis to the senate, while the others remained under imperial legati.

Narbonensis had become a Roman province in 121 B.C. United with the rest of Gaul after the conquests of Julius Cæsar, it was now restored to its separate being. Through the civil wars it became far more than the territory of Narbo; for the federate Greek state of Massilia, which possessed most of the coast-line, was reduced to the condition of a provincial town, and thereby Narbonensis extended from the Pyrenees to the Maritime Alps. The elder Cæsar did much towards Romanising this province. To him Narbo owed its strength and prosperity, and he founded new cities, possessing Roman citizenship, chief among them Arelate which as a commercial town soon took the place of her older Greek neighbour. The canton system of the Celts was gradually superseded in Narbonensis by the Italian system of city communities, and this development was zealously furthered by Augustus. In one interesting case we can see the process. The canton of the Volcæ is first organised on the Italian principle under prætors (*prætor Volcarum*); the next step is that the canton of the Volcæ is replaced by the Latin city Nemausus, which is now Nîmes. The disappearance of the canton system distinguishes the southern province from the rest of Gaul, and is part of its conspicuously Roman character. This different degree of Romanisation had

probably a good deal to do with the marked differences between the lands of the *langue d'oc* and those of the *langue d'oui*. Yet the Celts of Narbonensis did not forget their national gods; the religion of the country survived long in the south as well as in the north.

Tres Galliæ. The three imperial provinces were often grouped together as the "three Gauls." This threefold division corresponded in general outline to the ethnical division, which Cæsar marks at the beginning of his "Gallic War." But it does not correspond wholly. The province of the south-west contains Iberian Aquitania, but with a Celtic addition. The Celtic land between the Liger and the Garumna is taken from Celtica and annexed to Aquitania. The province Lugudunensis answers to Cæsar's Celtica, but it no longer includes all the Celts. It has lost some on the south side to Aquitania, and others on the north to the third division, Belgica. Thus Belgica is no longer entirely Teutonic, but partly Teutonic and partly Celtic. These three districts seem at first to have been placed under the single control of a military governor, who commanded the legions stationed on the Rhine and had a legatus in each province. Drusus held this position from 13 to 9 B.C., and Tiberius succeeded him (9–7 B.C.). Again, from 13 to 17 A.D. we find Germanicus holding the same position. It is possible that in the intervening years this military control was suspended, and that the legati of the three provinces were independent of any superior but the Emperor, as they certainly were after 17 A.D.

In imperial Gaul the Roman government allowed the cantons to remain, and ordered their administration accordingly. The city system was not introduced in these provinces as in Narbonensis, and the progress of Romanisation was much slower. There was a strong national spirit; the religion of the Druids was firmly rooted; and it was long felt by Roman rulers that the presence of armies on the Rhine was as needful to prevent a rebellion in Gaul as to ward off a German invasion. But no serious attempt was made by the Celts to throw off the yoke of their Roman lords. An Iberian rebellion in Aquitania was easily suppressed by Messalla Corvinus (about 27 B.C.), and perhaps belongs as much to the history of Spain as to that of Gaul. The Iberians north of the Pyrenees were probably in communication with their brethren of the south. The success of Messalla was rewarded by a triumph.

The four visits of Augustus to Gaul, which have been mentioned above, and that of Agrippa in 19 B.C., show how much the thoughts of the Emperor were filled with the task of organizing the country which his father had conquered and had not time to shape. On the occasion of his first visit he held a census of Gaul, the first Roman census ever held there, in order to regulate the taxes. It is remark-

able that the policy adopted by Rome was not to obliterate, but to preserve a national spirit. Not only was the canton organisation preserved, but all the cantons of the three provinces were yoked together by a national constitution, quite distinct from the imperial administration, though under imperial patronage. It was in the consulship of M. Messalla Barbatus and P. Quirinius (12 B.C.), on the first day of August, that Drusus dedicated an altar to Rome and the genius of Augustus* beneath the hill of Lugudunum, where the priest of the three Gauls should henceforward sacrifice yearly, on the same day, to those deities. The priest was to be elected annually by those whom the cantons of the three provinces chose to represent them in a national *concilium* held at Lugudunum. Among the rights of this assembly were that of determining the distribution of the taxes, and that of lodging complaints against the acts of imperial officials.†

The city which was thus chosen to be the meeting-place of the Gallic peoples under Roman auspices, Lugudunum, stood above and apart from the other communities of imperial Gaul. She gave her name to one of the three provinces, and the governor of Lugudunensis dwelt within her walls; but she was far more than a provincial residence. Singular by her privileged position as the one city in the three Gauls which enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship she may be regarded as the capital of all three, yet not belonging to any. Her exalted position resembles that of Rome in Italy rather than that of Alexandria in Egypt; it has also been compared to that of Washington in the United States. She and Carthage were the only cities in the western subject-lands in which as in Rome herself a garrison was stationed. She had the right of coining imperial gold; and we cannot assert this of any other western city. Her position, rising at the meeting of the Rhone from the east and the Arar (Saône) from the north, was advantageous from the point of view either of a merchant or of a soldier. She was the centre of the road-system of Gaul, which was worked out by Agrippa; and whenever an Emperor visited his Gallic provinces, Lugudunum was naturally his head-quarters.

The difference in development between the Three Gauls and Narbonensis—the land of cantons and the land of cities—is well illustrated by the town-names of France. In Narbonensis the local names superseded for ever the tribal names; Arelate, Vienna, Valentia, survive in Arles, Vienne, Valence. But in imperial Gaul, the rule is that the local names fell into disuse, and the towns are

* *Ara Romæ et Augusti.*

† Licinus, a freedman of Augustus, was procurator in Gaul in 16 B.C. He is said to have enriched himself by wholesale extortion, and his name became proverbial for wealth.

called at the present day by the names of the old Gallic tribes. Lutetia, the city of the *Parisii*, is *Paris*; Durocortorum, the city of the *Remi*, is *Rheims*; Avaricum, the city of the *Bituriges*, is *Bourges*.

The conqueror of Gaul had shown the way to the conquest of Britain; but this work was reserved for another than his son. One of the objects of Augustus in visiting Gaul in 27 B.C. was to feel his way towards an invasion of the northern island; but the project was abandoned. The legions of Augustus, however, though they did not cross the channel, crossed the Rhine; but the story of the making of the true and original province of Germany beyond the Rhine and its brief duration, and of the forming of the spurious Germanies on the left bank of the river, will be told in another chapter.*

SECT. III.—SPAIN.

§ 6. Spain, the land of the "far west" in the old world, was safe through its geographical position from the invasion of a foe. Almost enclosed by the sea, it had no frontier exposed to the menace of a foreign power; and it was the only province in such a situation that required the constant presence of a military force. For though the Romanising of the southern and eastern parts had advanced with wonderful rapidity, the intractable peoples of the north-western regions refused to accept the yoke of the conqueror, and held out in the mountain fastnesses, from which they descended to plunder their southern neighbours. The Cantabrians and the Asturians were the most important of these warlike races, and, when Augustus founded the Empire, their territories could hardly be considered as yet really under the sway of Rome. Since the death of Cæsar arms had never been laid down in Spain; commanders were ever winning triumphs there and ever having to begin anew. Augustus found it needful to keep no less than three legions in the country, one in Cantabria, two in Asturia; and the memory of the Asturian army still abides in the name *Leon*, the place where the *legio VII. gemina* was stationed.

Before Augustus, the province of Hispania Ulterior took in the land of the Tagus and the Durius as well as the region of the Bætis. This division was now altered. First of all, Gallæcia, the north-western corner, was transferred from the Further to the Hither province, so that all the fighting in the disturbed districts of the north and north-west might devolve upon the same commander. The next step was the separation of Lusitania, and its organisation

* See below, Chap. IX.

as a distinct imperial province, while the rest of Further Spain,—Bætica as it came to be called—was placed under the control of the senate. Another change made by Augustus was the removal of the seat of government in Hither Spain from New Carthage to more northern and more central Tarraco, whence, from this time forth, the province was called Tarraconensis. Tarraco became in this province what Lugudunum was in Gaul, the chief seat of the worship of Rome and Augustus, and the meeting-place of the provincial *concilium*.

Thus, under the new order of things, Spain consists of three provinces: Bætica, senatorial: Tarraconensis and Lusitania, imperial. This arrangement was probably not completed until the end of the Cantabrian war, which lasted with few interruptions from 29 to 25 B.C., only, however, to break out again a year or two later. A rebellion of Cantabria and Asturia was suppressed by Statilius Taurus in 29 B.C.; but in 27 B.C. disturbances were renewed and the Emperor himself hastened from Gaul to quell the insurrection. But a serious illness at Tarraco forced him to leave the conduct of the war to his legati, probably under the general direction of Agrippa. A fleet on the north coast supported the operations by land; and by degrees the fastnesses of the Cantabrians fell into the hands of the Romans. At the same time P. Carisius subdued the Asturians.

It was a more difficult task to secure a lasting pacification. Augustus endeavoured to induce the mountain peoples to settle in the plains, where in the neighbourhood of Roman colonies they might be tamed and civilized. Such centres of Roman life in the north-west were Augusta Asturica, Bracara Augusta, Lucus Augusti, memorials of the Spanish visit of Augustus, and still surviving under their old names as Astorga, Braga, and Lugo. The chief inland town* of eastern Tarraconensis was the work of the same statesman; *Saragossa*, on the Ebro, still preserves the name of the colony of *Cæsar Augustus*.

But the Emperor had not left Spain long (24 B.C.), when new disturbances broke out.† They were promptly put down, but in 22 B.C. another rebellion of the Cantabrians and Asturians called for the joint action of the governors of Tarraconensis and Lusitania. The last war, and perhaps the most serious of all, was waged two years later, and demanded the leadership of Marcus Agrippa himself (20–19 B.C.). The difficulty was at first aggravated by the

* The other Roman cities of this province were on the coast; as Barcino, Tarraco, Valentia, New Carthage.

† Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6. 2: Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra; ii. 1: bellicosus Cantaber; iii. 8. 21: Servit Hispaniæ vetus hostis oræ Cantaber sera domitus catena

mutiny of the soldiers, who detested the weary and doubtful warfare in the mountains; and it required all the military experience of the general to restore their discipline and zeal. After many losses the war was successfully ended (19 B.C.), and the hitherto "untameable" Cantabrian people* reduced to insignificance. A few disturbances occurred four years later, but were easily dealt with; yet it was still felt to be needful to keep a strong military force in northern Spain.

Roman civilization had soon taken a firm hold in the south of Spain.† The contrast of Narbonensis with the rest of Gaul is like the contrast of Bætica and the eastern side of the Hither province with the rest of Spain. But Roman policy was very different in the two countries; and this was due to the circumstance that Spain was conquered and organised at an earlier period. The Latinizing of Spain had been carried far under the Republic; the Latinizing of Gaul had practically begun under the Empire. In Gaul the tribal cantons were allowed to remain; this was the policy of the Cæsars, father and son. In Spain, the tribal cantons were broken up in smaller divisions; this was the policy of the republican senate. In Gaul, excluding the southern province, there were no Roman cities except Lugudunum; in Spain Roman colonies were laid here and there in all parts. The Gallic fellows of Bætic Gades, Corduba and Hispalis, of Lusitanian Emerita and Olisipo, of Tarraconese Carthage, Cæsaraugusta and Bracara, must be sought altogether (under the early Empire) in the smallest of the four provinces of Gaul.

In Lusitania, Augustus founded Emerita Augusta, a colony of veterans, on the river Anas (Guadiana), and made it the capital of the province. The other chief Roman towns of Lusitania were Olisipo, since promoted to be the capital (Lisbon) of a modern kingdom, and Pax Julia, now represented by Beja. Spain was not a network of Roman roads, like Gaul. The only imperial road was the Via Augusta, which went from the north of Italy along the coast to Narbo, then across the pass of Puycerda to Ilerda, and on by Tarraco and Valentia to the mouth of the Bætis. The other road-communication necessary in a fertile and prosperous country, was provided by the local communities. The Spanish peninsula was rich not only in metals, but in wine, oil, and corn. Gades (Cadiz), which now received the name of Augusta Julia, was one of the richest and most luxurious towns in the Empire.

* Horace, *Odes*, iv. 14. 41: Cantaber non ante domabilis. Cp. iv. 5. 27: Quis feræ bellum curet Hiberiæ? *Epistles*, i. 12. 26: Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudi virtute Neronis Armenius cecidit.

† Strabo says (151) that "the dwellers in the regions of the Bætis have been so thoroughly Romanised that they have actually forgotten their own tongue."

SECT. IV—AFRICA. SARDINIA. SICILY.

§ 7. From Spain one naturally goes on to Africa. Augustus never visited either the African province or the African dependency, but, before he left Tarraco (25 B.C.), he was called upon to deal with African affairs. In history Spain and Africa have always been closely connected. Sometimes Spain has been the stepping-stone to Africa, oftener, as for the Phœnicians and the Arabs, Africa has been the stepping-stone to Spain. The western half of Mauretania was really nearer to the European peninsula which faced it than to the rest of the African coast; and under the later Empire this region went with Spain and Gaul, not with Africa and Italy. There was no road between Tingis in western and Cæsarea in eastern Mauretania: the communication was by sea. And so it was that the Moorish hordes, crossing to Bætica in their boats, were more dangerous to Roman subjects in Spain than to those in Africa. A poet of Nero's time describes Bætica as *trucibus obnoxia Mauris*. For though Spain, as has been already said, had no frontier exposed to a foreign power, her southern province had as close neighbour a land which, first as a dependency and then as a province, was inhabited by a rude and untamed population.

The commands which Augustus issued from the capital of his Spanish province especially regarded Mauretania. But we must call to mind what had taken place in Africa since the dictator Cæsar ordered it anew. He had increased the Roman province by the addition of the kingdom of Numidia, and the river Ampsaga was fixed as the western boundary between New Africa, as Numidia was sometimes called, and Mauretania. This latter country was at that time under two kings. Over the eastern realm of Iol, soon to be called by Cæsar's name, ruled King Bocchus; over the western realm of Tingis ruled King Bogud. Both these potentates had taken Cæsar's side in the first civil war, unlike King Juba; and they therefore kept their kingdoms after Cæsar's victory. But in the next civil war, they did not both take the same side. Bocchus held to Cæsar the son, as he had held to Cæsar the father; but Bogud supported Antonius, while his own capital Tingis (Tangier) embraced the other cause. In reward, Bocchus was promoted to kingship over the whole of Mauretania; and Tingis received the privilege of Roman citizenship. When Bocchus died (33 B.C.), his kingdom was left kingless for a season, but the Roman government did not think that the time had yet come for a province of Mauretania.

A son of the last king of Numidia, named Juba, like his father, had followed the dictator's triumph through the streets of Rome, and had been brought up under the care of Cæsar and his successor. He served in the Roman army; he was an eager student of Greek and Roman literature, and wrote or compiled Greek books himself. On him Augustus fixed to take the place of king Bocchus. If it was out of the question to restore him to his paternal kingdom of Numidia, he should at least have the next thing to it, the kingdom of Mauretania; and as the descendant of king Massinissa, he would be welcome to the natives. At the same time (25 B.C.) Augustus gave Mauretania a queen. The daughter of Antonius and the Egyptian queen had followed his own triumph, as Juba had followed his father's. Named Cleopatra like her mother, she had been protected and educated by the noble kindness of Octavia, whom her parents had so deeply wronged. There had been a peculiar fitness, as has been well remarked, in the union of the Numidian prince and the Egyptian princess, whose fortunes were so like. This union brought about the strange circumstance that the last king of Mauretania, Juba's son, bore the name of Ptolemy.

Thus Roman dominion in Africa, west of Egypt, consisted under Augustus of a province and a dependent kingdom, the river Ampsaga, on which Cirta is built, forming the boundary. The southern boundaries of this dominion it would have been hard, perhaps, for Augustus himself to fix, inasmuch as there were no neighbouring states.* The real dominion passed insensibly into a "sphere of influence" among the native races, who were alternatively submissive and hostile, or, as the Romans would have said, rebellious.

Against these dangerous neighbours of the interior, Garamantes and invincible Gætulians,† Transtagnenses and Musulami, it was necessary to keep a legion in Africa, which was thus distinguished as the only senatorial province whose proconsul commanded an army. Two expeditions‡ were made in the reign of Augustus against these enemies, the first under the proconsul L. Cornelius Balbus (19 B.C.), against the Garamantes, and a second under P. Sulpicius Quirinius, against the tribes of Marmarica further east. Balbus performed his task ably, and received a triumph, remarkable as the last granted to any private Roman citizen.

In the organisation of Gaul and Spain, Rome had no older

* There was, however, a kingdom of the Garamantes.

† Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 40:

Hinc Gætulæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello.
Et Numidæ infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis.

‡ There was also some warfare in an earlier year; for in 21 B.C. L. Sempronius Atratinus celebrated a triumph for victories won in Africa.

civilisation to build upon.* It was otherwise in Sicily and Africa. The civilisation of Sicily, when it became Roman, was chiefly Greek, but partly Phœnician; that of Africa, on the contrary, was chiefly Phœnician, but partly Greek. Accordingly Rome built on Phœnician foundations in the lands which she won from Carthage, and accepted the constitution of the Phœnician town communities, just as she accepted the cantons in Gaul. But there was a remarkable likeness in organisation between these communities and those of Italy, so that the transition from the one form to the other was soon and easily accomplished. Carthage, whose existence was blotted out by the short-sighted policy of the republican senate, had been revived by the generous counsels of Cæsar, to become soon the capital of Roman, as it had been of Punic, Africa. At first the Phœnician constitution was restored to her, but she soon received the form of a Roman colonia, and grew to be one of the greatest and most luxurious cities of western Europe. Utica, jealous of the resurrection of her old rival, was made a Roman municipium. The growth of Roman life in Africa was also furthered by the settlement of colonies of veterans. In the original province may be mentioned Clupea, and Hippo Diarrhytos; in Numidia, Cirta (Constantine) and Sicca. In Roman civilisation, Mauretania was far behind her eastern neighbours; but Augustus did much in establishing colonies, chiefly on the coast. These Roman towns of Mauretania owed no allegiance to the native king, but depended directly on the governor of the neighbouring province.

Besides the Phœnician towns, and the towns on Italian model, whether municipia or colonies, there were also native Libyan communities; but these stood directly under the control of the Roman governors, or sometimes were placed under special Roman prefects. The language of the native Berbers was still spoken chiefly in the regions which the Romans least frequented; it was treated by the conquerors like the Iberian in Spain and the Celtic in Gaul. The language of communication throughout northern Africa was Phœnician; but Rome refused to recognise this Asiatic tongue as an official language, as she had recognised Greek in her eastern provinces. In their local affairs the communities might use Phœnician; but once they entered into imperial relations, Latin was prescribed. It might have been thought that Greek, which was better known in Africa than Latin when the Romans came, would have been adopted there as the imperial language; but the government decreed that Africa, like Sicily, was to belong to the

* Massilia in Gaul, the few Greek towns, and the Phœnician factories in Spain, do not affect the general truth of this statement.

Latin West. It is instructive to observe that, while the name of the Greek queen of Mauretania appears on coins in Greek, that of her husband, who was regarded as an imperial official, is always in Latin.

Africa was fertile in fruit,* though her wine could not compete with the produce of Spain and Italy. In corn she was especially rich and shared with Egypt and Sicily the privilege of supplying Rome. The purple industry was still active, chiefly in the little island of Gerba, not destined, indeed, to become as famous as the island of Tyre. Juba introduced this industry on the western coast of his kingdom. The general wellbeing of the land has ample witnesses in the remains of splendid structures which have been found there, in all parts, such as theatres, baths and triumphal arches.

§ 8. From Africa we pass to another province in which Rome was the heiress of Carthage. Sardinia had ceased to look to her African ruler in 238 B.C., and had become, seven years later, a Roman province, the earliest except Sicily. In the division of the provinces in 27 B.C., Sardinia and Corsica fell to the senate and Roman people; but the descents of pirates forced Augustus to take the province into his own hands in 6 A.D., and commit it to the protection of soldiers. He did not place it, however, under a *legatus* of senatorial rank, but only under a *procurator* of equestrian rank. It was destined to pass again to the senate under Nero, but returned to the Emperor finally in the reign of Vespasian. These islands, though placed in the midst of civilisation, were always barbarous and remote. The rugged nature of Corsica, the pestilential air of its southern fellow, did not invite settlements or visitors; they were more suited to be places of exile, and they were used as such. Augustus sent no colonies thither, and did not visit them himself. The chief value of Sardinia lay in its large production and export of grain.†

§ 9. Very different was the other great island of the Mediterranean, the oldest of all the provinces of Rome, the land whose conquest led to the further conquests of Sardinia and of Africa herself. It was in Sicily that the younger Cæsar established his position in the west; his recovery of the land, on which Rome depended for her grain, first set his influence and popularity on a sure foundation. As Augustus, he visited it again (B.C. 22), and, although it was a senatorial province, ordered its affairs, by virtue of his *maius imperium*, at Syracuse; perhaps it was in memory of this visit

* Horace, *Odes*, iii. 16. 31: Imperio fertilis Africæ.

† Horace, *Odes*, i. 31. 3: Opimæ Sardiniæ segetes feraces.

that he gave the name of Syracuse to a room in his house which he used as a retreat when he wished to suffer no interruption. Roman policy had decreed that Sicily was to belong to the Latin West, not to the Greek East, with which once she had been so constantly connected; and for centuries to come, embosomed in the centre of the Empire, she plays no part in history, such as she had played in the past and was destined to play again in the distant future.

SECT. V.—RÆTIA, NORICUM, AND THE ALPINE DISTRICTS.

§ 10. From the province adjoining Italy on the south, we pass to the lands on its northern frontier, which it devolved upon Augustus to conquer and to shape. The towns of northern Italy were constantly exposed to the descents of unreclaimed Alpine tribes, who could not be finally quelled as long as they possessed a land of refuge beyond the mountains, among the kindred barbarians of Rætia. For the security of Italy it was imperative to subdue these troublesome neighbours, and in order to do so effectively it was necessary to occupy Rætia and Vindelicia. This task was accomplished without difficulty in 15 B.C., by the stepsons of the Emperor. Drusus invaded Rætia from the south, and vanquished the enemy in battle.* Tiberius, who was then governor of Gaul, marched from the north to assist him, and the Vindelici were defeated in a naval action on the waters of the Lake of Brigantium.† The tribes of the "restless Genauni" and the "swift Breuni" appear to have played a prominent part in the Vindelician war.‡ The decisive battle which gave Rætia to Rome was fought near the sources of the Danube, under "the fortunate auspices" of Tiberius, on the 1st of August.§ By these campaigns the countries which corresponded to Bavaria, Tyrol, and eastern Switzerland became Roman; a new military frontier was secured, and direct communications were established between northern Italy and the upper Danube and upper Rhine. The military province of Rætia was placed under an imperial prefect, and the troops which used to be stationed in Cisalpine Gaul could now be transferred to an advanced position. Augusta

* Horace, *Odes*, iv. 4. 17:
Videre Rætis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

† Now Lake Constance. Brigantium is Bregenz.

‡ Horace, *Odes*, iv. 14. 9:
Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.

§ Horace, *ib.* 14:
Maior Neronum mox grave prœlium
Commisit immanesque Rætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis.

Vindelicum was founded as a military station near the frontier of the new province, and still preserves under the name Augsburg the name of the ruler who did so much for Romanising western Europe. For Romanising Rætia itself, indeed, neither he nor his successors did much; no Roman towns were founded here, as in the neighbouring province of Noricum.

The conquest of the dangerous Salassi, who inhabited the valley of the Duria, between the Graian and Pennine Alps, was successfully accomplished by Terentius Murena, brother-in-law of Mæcenas in 25 B.C. The people was exterminated, and a body of prætorian soldiers was settled in the valley, through which roads ran over the Graian Alps to Lugudunum, and over the Pennine into Rætia. The new city was called Augusta Prætoria; the Emperor's name survives in the modern Aosta, where the old Roman walls and gates are still to be seen. The western Alps between Gaul and Italy were formed into two small districts, the Maritime Alps, and the Cottian Alps, of which the former was governed by imperial prefects.* At first the Cottian district formed a dependent state, not under a Roman commander, but under its own prince Cottius, from whom it derived its name (*regnum Cottii*). Owing to his ready submission, he was left in possession of his territory, with the title *præfectus civitatium*. His capital Segusio survives as Susa, and the arch which he erected in honour of his over-lord Augustus (8 B.C.) is still standing. Through this "prefecture" (as it seems to have been) ran the Via Cottia from Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) to Arelate (Arles). The pacification of the Alps, though it presented nothing brilliant to attract historians, conferred a solid and lasting benefit on Italy, and Italy gratefully recognised this by a monument which she set up in honour of the Emperor on a hill on the Mediterranean coast, near Monaco. The reduction of 46 Alpine peoples is recorded in the inscription, which has been preserved.

Few relics of the Roman occupation have been found in Rætia; it is otherwise with the neighbouring province of Noricum, which included the lands now called Styria and Carinthia, along with a part of Carniola and most of Austria. Here traffic had prepared the way for Roman subjugation; Roman customs and the Latin tongue were known beyond the Carnic Alps, and when the time came for the land to become directly dependent on Rome, no difficulty was experienced. An occasion presented itself in 16 B.C., when some of the Noric tribes joined their neighbours the

* There was also the district of the Graian Alps, under a procurator; but it does not seem to have been organised as early as the time of Augustus.

Pannonians in a plundering incursion into Istria.* At first treated as a dependent kingdom, Noricum soon passed into the condition of an imperial province under a prefect or procurator, but continued to be called *regnum Noricum*. No legions were stationed in either Rætia or Noricum, only auxiliary troops; but the former province was held in check by legions of the Rhine army at Vindonissa,† and Noricum was likewise surveyed by legions of the Pannonian army, stationed at Pœtovio, on the Drava (Drave). The organisation of Noricum on the model of Italy was carried out by the Emperor Claudius. The land immediately beyond the Julian Alps, with the towns of Emona and Nauportus, belonged to Illyricum, not to Noricum, but it subsequently became a part of Italy.

The occupation of Rætia and Noricum was of great and permanent importance for the military defence of the Empire against the barbarians of central Europe. A line of communication was secured between the armies on the Danube and the armies on the Rhine.

Sect. VI.—Illyricum and the Hæmus lands.

§ 11. Pannonia and Dalmatia.—The subjugation of Illyricum was the work of the first Emperor. Istria and Dalmatia were counted as Roman lands under the Republic, but the tribes of the interior maintained their independence, and plundered their civilised neighbours in Macedonia. Roman legions had been destroyed, and the eagles captured by these untamed peoples, in 48 B.C. under Gabinius, and in 44 B.C. under Vatinius. To avenge these defeats was demanded by Roman honour, and to pacify the interior districts was demanded by Roman policy. The younger Cæsar undertook this task, when he had dealt with Sextus Pompeius, and discharged it with energy and success. In 35 B.C. he subdued the smaller tribes all along the Hadriatic coast, beginning with Doclea (which is now Montenegro) near the borders of the Macedonian province, and ending with the Iapydes who lived in the Alpine district north-east of Istria. At the same time his fleet subdued the pirates who infested the coast islands, especially Curzola and Meleda. The Iapydes, whose depredations extended to northern Italy, and who had ventured to attack places like Tergeste and Aquileia, offered a strenuous resistance. When the Roman army approached, most of the population assembled in their town Arupium, but as Cæsar drew nearer fled into the forests. The strong fortress of Metulum,‡

* The "Noric sword" was proverbial. Cp. Horace, *Odes*, i. 16, 9, and *Epodes*, xvii. 71.

† The name is preserved in Windisch, east of Basel.

‡ Möttling.

built on two summits of a wooded hill, gave more trouble. It was defended by a garrison of 3000 chosen warriors, who foiled all the Roman plans of attack, until Cæsar, with Agrippa by his side, led his soldiers against the walls. On this occasion Cæsar received some bodily injuries. The energy of the Romans, inspirited by the example of their leader, induced the besieged to capitulate; but when the Romans on entering the town demanded the surrender of their arms, the Iapydes, thinking that they were betrayed, made a desperate resistance in which most of them were slain; and the remainder, having slain the women and children, set fire to their town.

Having thus subdued the Iapydes, Cæsar marched through their country down the river Colapis (Kulpa), which flows into the Save, and laid siege to the Pannonian fortress of Siscia (whose name is preserved in Sissek), situated at the junction of the two streams. It was not the first time that a Roman force had appeared before the walls of Siscia, but it was the first time that a Roman force did not appear in vain. Having thrown a bridge across the river, Cæsar surrounded the stronghold with earthworks and ditches, and with the assistance of some tribes on the Danube, got together a small flotilla on the Save, so that he could operate against the town by water as well as by land. The Pannonian friends of the besieged place made an attempt to relieve it, but were beaten back with loss; and having held out for thirty days, Siscia was taken by storm. A strong position was thus secured for further operations, whether against the Pannonians, or against the Dacians. A Roman fortress was built, and garrisoned with twenty-five cohorts under the command of Fufius Geminus. Cæsar returned to Italy towards the end of the year (35 B.C.), but during the winter the conquered Pannonian tribe rebelled, and Fufius came into great straits. Dark rumours of his situation, for he was unable to send a sure message, reached Cæsar, who was at that moment planning an expedition to Britain. He immediately hastened to the relief of Siscia, and let the Britannic enterprise fall through. Having delivered Fufius from the danger, he turned to Dalmatia and spent the rest of the year 34 B.C. in reducing the inland tribes, which now, forgetting their tribal feuds, combined in a great federation to fight for their freedom. They mustered an army 12,000 strong, and took up a position at Promona (now Teplin, north-east of Sebenico) a place impregnable by nature, and strengthened further by art. The name of their leader was Versus. By a skilful piece of strategy Cæsar forced the enemy to give up their advanced lines of defence, and retreat into the fortress, which he prepared to reduce by starving the garrison out and for this purpose built a wall five miles in

circuit. Another large Dalmatian force under Testimus came to relieve the place, but was completely defeated. The defenders of Promona simultaneously made an excursion against the besiegers, but were driven back, and some of their pursuers penetrated into the fortress with them. A few days later it was surrendered. The fall of Promona put an end to the war, in so far as it was waged by the Dalmatians in common. But warfare continued here and there; various tribes and fortresses held out by themselves. It was necessary to besiege Setovia, and Cæsar was wounded there in his knee. He returned after this to Rome, to enter upon his second consulship (33 B.C.), leaving the completion of his work to Statilius Taurus, who for his services on this occasion received a large share in the Illyrian spoils, and laid the foundation of his great wealth. But Cæsar laid down his consulate on the very day on which he assumed it, and returned to Dalmatia, in order to receive the submission of the conquered peoples. The eagles which had been captured from the army of Gabinius were restored, and 700 boys were given to the conqueror as hostages.

The civilising of these Illyrian lands was now begun in earnest; the chief towns on the coast were raised to the position of Italian communities; and a new epoch began in the history of Salonæ, Iader, Pola, Tergeste, and other places, which made their mark in the later history of Europe. It was now, doubtless, that colonies were settled at Salonæ, Pola and Emona. Thus Salonæ became in full official language, Colonia Martia Julia Salonæ, and Emona—which corresponds to Laibach, the capital of Carniola—became Colonia Julia Emona. Pola, called Colonia Pietas Julia Pola, may have become in some measure for Illyricum, what Lugudunum was for the Three Gauls, in so far as a temple of Rome and Augustus was built there during the lifetime of the first Emperor.

A change was also made in the administration of Illyricum. Hitherto it had been joined to the government of Cisalpine Gaul, with the exception of a small strip of land in the south of Dalmatia, which was annexed to Macedonia. But after Cæsar's campaigns, Illyricum was promoted to the dignity of a separate province, bounded by the Savus in the north and the Drilo in the south. At the division of provinces in 27 B.C. it was assigned to the senate. But in the nature of things it could not long remain senatorial. The presence of legions on the northern frontier could not be dispensed with, and it devolved upon the governor to watch over Noricum on the one hand and Mœsia on the other. Such powers and responsibilities were not likely to be left to a proconsul: and

accordingly soon after the conquest of Rætia, when hostilities in Pannonia seemed likely to break out, we find Agrippa sent thither (13 B.C.), invested "with greater powers than all the governors out of Italy." The terror of Agrippa's name held the Pannonians in check, but on his death in the following year they took up arms, and Tiberius was appointed to succeed Agrippa. He brought the rebellious tribes to submission, but in the next year (11 B.C.) was again compelled to take the field against them, and also to suppress a revolt of the Dalmatians. These events led to the transference of Illyricum from the senate to the Emperor. Both the Dalmatian subjects and the Pannonian neighbours required the constant presence of military forces. At the same time the northern frontier of the province advanced from the Savus to the Dravus, in consequence of the successes of Tiberius in his three campaigns (12–10 B.C.). Pœtovio, on the borders of Noricum, now became the advanced station of the legions, instead of Siscia. This extension of territory soon led to a division of Illyricum into two provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia, both imperial. The government of Pannonia was specially important, because the intervention of the legatus might be called for either in Noricum or in Mœsia. It is well to notice that the name Illyricum was used in two ways. In its stricter sense it included Pannonia and Dalmatia; in a wider sense (and specially for financial purposes) it took in Noricum and Mœsia, as coming within the sphere of the governors of Illyricum proper.

§ 12. MŒSIA AND THRACE.—The governors of Macedonia under the Republic were constantly troubled by the hostilities of the rude Illyric and Thracian peoples on the north and east. The Dardanians of the upper Margus, the Dentheletæ of the Strymon, the Triballi between the Timacus and the Œscus, the Bessi beyond Rhodope were troublesome neighbours. The lands between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, which now form the principality of Bulgaria, were inhabited by the Mœsians, and beyond the Danube was the dominion of the Dacians, whom the Romans had reason to regard as a most formidable enemy. The Thracians in the south, the Mœsians in the centre, and the Dacians in the north, were people of the same race, speaking the same tongue. It was evidently a very important matter for the Roman government to break this line, and to bring Mœsia and Thrace directly or indirectly under Roman sway, so as to make the Ister the frontier of the Empire.

The occasion of the conquest of Mœsia was an invasion of the Bastarnæ, a powerful people, perhaps of German race, who lived

between the Danube and the Dniester, in 29 B.C. As long as they confined their hostilities to the Mœsians, Dardanians, and Triballi, the matter did not concern the governor of Macedonia, Marcus Licinius Crassus, grandson of the rival of Pompey and Cæsar. But when they attacked the Dentheletæ, allies of Rome, he was called on to interfere. The Bastarnæ retired at his command, but he followed them as they retreated and defeated them where the river Cibrus flows into the Danube. But at the same time he turned his arms against Mœsia, and reduced, not without considerable toil and hardships, almost all the tribes of that country. He had also to deal with the Serdi, who dwelt in the centre of the peninsula under Mount Scomius, in the direct way between Macedonia and Mœsia. These he conquered, and took their chief place, Serdica, which is now Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. He was also compelled to reduce the unfriendly tribes of Thrace. In that country the worship of Dionysus was cultivated with wild enthusiasm,* and the possession of one specially venerable grove, consecrated to that god—perhaps the very grove in which Alexander the Great had once sacrificed—was a subject of discord between two powerful rival tribes, the Odrysæ and the Bessi. The Bessi were then in possession; but Crassus took the sacred place from them and gave it to the friendly Odrysæ, and constituted their prince the representative of Roman power in Thrace, with lordship over the other peoples, and protector of the Greek towns on the coast. Thus Thrace became a dependent kingdom.

That Mœsia also became, at first, a dependency of the same kind, before she became a regular province, seems likely. The Greek cities on the coast were probably placed under the protection of the Thracian kingdom, while the rest of Mœsia and Triballia may have been united under one of the native princes.† After 27 B.C. it would doubtless have devolved upon the governor of Illyricum, no longer upon the governor of Macedonia, to intervene in case of need.

The submission of the Thracians was not permanent, and the Odrysians were not equal to the task imposed upon them. The Bessi longed to recover the sanctuary of Dionysus, and a sacred war broke out in 13 B.C., which resulted in the overthrow of the princes of the Odrysæ. The suppression of this insurrection ought

* Horace refers to their drunken brawls in *Odes*, i. 27. 1:

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est.

Cp. ii., 7. 26: Non ego sanius bacchabor Edonis. The Edoni were a Thracian tribe.

† Possibly with the title *præfectus civitatium Mœsiæ et Tribalhæ;* like the title of Cottius.

perhaps to have devolved upon the governor of Illyricum, but he had his hands full in his own province; the proconsul of Macedonia had no army at his disposal. Accordingly recourse was had to the troops stationed in Galatia, and Lucius Piso, the imperial legatus in that province,‡ was summoned to cross into Europe and quell the insurgents who were threatening to invade Asia, having established themselves in the Thracian Chersonese (11 B.C.). Piso put down the revolt successfully, and it was probably soon after this that Mœsia was converted into a regular Roman province, though Thrace still remained under the rule of the dependent Odrysian prince Rhœmetalces, who, with his son Cotys, was devotedly attached to Rome and unpopular in Thrace.

Thrace, though not yet Greek, must even now be reckoned to the Greek half of the Roman world. But its close connection with Mœsia naturally led us to consider it in this place, rather than in the following chapter. Mœsia itself belonged partly to the Latin, and partly to the Greek division. The cities which grew under Roman influence in western Mœsia were Latin; the cities on the coast of the Pontus were Greek, and formed a distinct world of their own. But most of the inhabitants of these cities were not Greeks, but Getæ and Sarmatians, and even the true Greeks were to some extent barbarised by intercourse with the natives.§ The poet Ovid, who was banished to Tomi, gives a lively description of the wild life there—the ploughmen ploughing armed, the arrows of ferocious marauders flying over the walls of the town, natives clad in skins, and equipped with bow and quiver, riding through the streets. Getic continued to be spoken in Mœsia long after the Roman conquest, like Illyric in Illyricum; and Ovid says that it was quite needful for any one resident in Tomi to know it. He wrote himself a poem in the Getic tongue; and we should be glad to barter some of his Latin elegiacs for his exercise in that lost language.

§ 13. The subjugation of the vast extent of territory, reaching from the sources of the Rhine to the mouths of the Danube, was a military necessity. The conquest of each province, while it served some immediate purpose at the time, was also part of an immense scheme for the defence of the Empire from the Northern Ocean to

‡ Thus we may best explain the statement of Dion, that Piso was governing Pamphylia, and was ordered thence to Thrace. Mommsen, rejecting this statement, regards Piso as legatus of Mœsia.

§ Horace describes the Getæ thus, *Odes* iii. 24. 11:

Rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus iugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua, &c.

the Euxine. It was designed that the armies in Pannonia should be in constant touch with the armies on the Rhine, and that operations in both quarters should be carried out in connection. Central Europe and the Germans who inhabited it presented a hard and urgent problem to the Roman government; but before telling how they attempted to solve it, it will be well to complete our survey of the subject and dependent lands.

Coin: Altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugudunum.

Triumph of Tiberius.

CHAPTER VII.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION (*continued*). THE EASTERN PROVINCES AND EGYPT.

§ 1. Function of Roman rule in the East. § 2. MACEDONIA, ACHAIA, and FREE GREEK STATES. Nicopolis and the Actian games. The Delphic Amphictyony. § 3. ASIA and BITHYNIA. The provincial diets. *Asiarchs* and *Bithyniarchs*. § 4. GALATIA and PAMPHYLIA. § 5. The dependent states in Asia Minor; the LYCIAN CONFEDERACY; CAPPADOCIA; PONTUS; PAPHLAGONIA; LITTLE ARMENIA. The states of the Tauric peninsula; BOSPORUS and CHERSONESUS. § 6. The insular provinces, CYPRUS and CRETE, with CYRENE. § 7. SYRIA, and the neighbouring dependent states: Nabatea, Judea, Commagene, Chalcis, Abila, Emesa, Palmyra. King Herod and his Hellenism. § 8. EGYPT.

§ 1. THE Romans, who were the teachers of the peoples whom they conquered in the West, were themselves pupils in the East. In Gaul, in Spain, in northern Italy, in Illyricum they broke new ground and appeared as the pioneers of civilisation; but in the eastern countries which came under their dominion they entered upon an inheritance, which they were called upon indeed to

preserve and improve, but where there was no room for them to originate new ideas of development. Rome merely carried on the work of Alexander the Great and his successors, and she was proud to be entrusted with the task. She not only left Greek what was already Greek, but she endeavoured to spread Greek civilisation in those parts of her eastern lands where it had not taken root. The sole exception to this rule of policy was Sicily; and this was due to its geographical position.

The subject lands of the east naturally fall into four groups: (1) Macedonia and Greece; (2) Asia Minor, in connection with which may be considered the Tauric peninsula; (3) Syria and the neighbouring vassal kingdoms; (4) Egypt, which stands by itself both geographically and because, strictly speaking, it was not a province.

Sect. I.—Macedonia, Achaia, and the Free Greek States.

§ 2. The institution of the Empire was attended by a change in the administration of Macedonia and Greece, which under the Republic had formed one large province. Augustus divided it into two smaller provinces, Macedonia and Achaia, both of which he assigned to the senate. This division, however, did not altogether coincide with the boundary between Greece and Macedonia. The province of Achaia was smaller than Hellas, and the new province of Macedonia larger than Macedonia proper. For Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania and Epirus * were placed under the rule of the northern proconsul. Thus Mount Œta, instead of Mount Olympus, was the boundary between Macedonia and Greece.

Imperial Macedonia was thus smaller in extent and importance than republican Macedonia. It also lost its military significance as a frontier district, through the extension of Roman rule over the neighbouring lands north and east. Greek civilisation, though it had flourished for centuries in the old cities on both the seas which wash the coasts of Macedonia, never penetrated far into the highlands. Eastward of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, northward of Thessalonica and the Chalcidic peninsula, there were few Greek cities to form centres of culture. Augustus settled colonies of Roman citizens in many of the old Greek towns; in Dyrrhachium, the old Epidamnos, and in Byllis, on the Adriatic coast; in Thracian Philippi; in Pella; in Dium on the Thermaic gulf; in Cassandria on

* The position of Epirus in the provincial scheme under the early empire cannot be determined with certainty. It seems probable that most of Epirus belonged to Macedonia. Tacitus, however, speaks of Nicopolis as a city of Achaia (*Ann.*, ii. 53), in 17 A.D. But Nicopolis held a singular position.

the bay of Pagasæ. But his purpose was merely to provide for veteran soldiers, not to Romanise the province. In general, the towns retained their Macedonian constitutions and politarchs; and they formed a federation with a diet (*κοινόν*). The capital of the province was Thessalonica, and this alone stamped it as Greek.

Thessaly, although placed under the government of the proconsul of Macedonia, held a position quite apart from the lands north of Mount Olympus. It was a purely Greek district, and its cities formed a federation of their own, distinct from that of Macedonia. The diet used to meet in Larisa, whose fertile plain was so famous.* Julius Cæsar had accorded the right of free self-government to all the Thessalians, but, for some act of misconduct, Augustus withdrew the privilege; and the Thessalians, with the single exception of Pharsalus, were degraded from the position of allies to that of subjects.

The Roman government—whether republican or imperial—always treated the venerable cities of Greece with a consideration and tenderness, which they showed to no other conquered lands. The reverence which was inspired in the Romans by the city of virgin Pallas, by "patient Lacedæmon," by oracular Delphi, is displayed not only in their literature, but in their government. Athens preserved a part of her dominion as well as her independence; she could still regard herself as a sovran city.

Thus Greece fell politically into two parts: federate Greece and subject Greece. (1) First of the free federate states comes Athens, with the whole of Attica, and various other dependencies. On the mainland, she possessed Haliartos in Bœotia and the surrounding district; but, as in old days, most of her dominion was insular. Among the Cyclades, she had Ceos and Delos; in the northern Ægean, Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros. The island of Salamis was also recovered for her in the reign of Augustus, by the private liberality of a rich man, Julius Nicanor, whom the grateful Athenians named "the new Themistocles." In spite of her privileged position, perhaps in consequence of it, Athens often gave the Roman government trouble; a revolt in the reign of Augustus is recorded. Next to Athens, in northern Greece, come three famous Bœotian towns, Thespiæ, Tanagra, and Platæa; in Phocis likewise three, Delphi, Elatea, and Abæ; in Locris, Amphissa. In the Peloponnesus, Sparta was permitted to retain her dominion over northern Laconia, while the inhabitants of the southern half of that country were formed into eighteen communities of "free Laconians," *Eleuthero-lacones*. Dyme in Achæa was also a free city, and it is highly probable, though not certain, that Elis and Olympia belonged to the free

* Larisæ campus opimæ, Hor., *Odes*, i. 7. 11.

communities. The Roman government interfered as little as possible with the affairs of these free states. Athens coined her own drachmæ and obols, and the head of Cæsar never appeared on her coins. But she and her fellows knew that their privileges might at any moment be withdrawn, as the example of the Thessalians taught them.

Patræ and Corinth, as Roman colonies, held a somewhat different position. Corinth, like Carthage, rose again under the auspices of Julius Cæsar, as Colonia Julia (or Laus Julia), and rapidly recovered her prosperity, thanks to her geographical position. Patræ, in Achæa, was founded by Augustus, who settled there a large number of Italian veterans and granted to the new town dominion over the Locrian haven Naupactus, which lay over against it on the opposite coast.

(2) The rest of Greece (with the exception of the less developed districts in the west, Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus) constituted the province of Achaia. The residence of the proconsul was at Corinth. The sense of national unity in these subject states was encouraged by Augustus. He revived the Achæan league, in an extended form, as the league of "Bœotians, Eubœans, Locrians, Phocians, and Dorians," or briefly the league of the "Achæans." In later times it assumed the more pretentious name of the league of the Panhellenes. The assemblies of this association used to meet in Argos, which was thus in some measure recompensed for her exclusion from the list of free communities.

One important and singular state has still to be mentioned. On the northern lip of the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, near the scene of the great battle in which he won the lordship of the Roman world, Augustus founded a new city. Nicopolis, "the city of victory," rose on the very spot where the main body of his army had been encamped. This foundation was not to be a Roman colony; it was to be a Greek city like Thessalonica, and it was founded, in the same way, by *synœcizing* the small communities of the neighbourhood. Nicopolis, like Athens and Sparta, was a free and sovran state. Acarnania, the island of Leucas, the neighbouring districts of Epirus, a part of Ætolia, were placed under her control. On the opposite promontory, a new temple of Apollo was built at Actium, and quinquennial games were instituted in honour of that god, on the model of the Olympian, and actually called "Olympian" as well as "Actian." The cycle of four years was an "Actiad."

Nicopolis and its dependencies belonged politically neither to Macedonia nor to Achaia; but they were more in touch with the southern than with the northern province. The great bond of union among the European Greeks, under Roman rule, was the

Delphic Amphictyony, and in this assembly, as reorganised by Augustus, Nicopolis had a prominent place. The chief reform introduced by that Emperor was the extension of the institution to Macedonia and Nicopolis; but as many votes were assigned to the new city as to the whole of the Macedonian province.* The functions of the Amphictyony were purely religious. It ordered the sacred festivals and administered the large income of the temple of Delphi. From a political point of view, it served the same purpose as the assembly of the three Gallic provinces which met at Lyons round the altar of Augustus; it helped to maintain a feeling of unity and a sense of common nationality.

SECT. II.—ASIA MINOR. KINGDOMS ON THE EUXINE. ISLANDS.

§ 3. ASIA AND BITHYNIA.—From the Greeks of the mother-land we pass to the Greeks of Lesser Asia. Here Rome had never to struggle for dominion as in the other parts of the empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. The provinces of "Asia" and Bithynia dropped, as it were, into her arms. Asia was the kingdom of the Attalids of Pergamum, and was bequeathed to the Roman people by Attalus III.; Bithynia became Roman in the same way by the testament of King Nicomedes. Both these provinces were assigned to the senate and governed by proconsuls. Asia extended from the shores of the Propontis to the borders of Lycia; eastward it included Phrygia, and on the west took in the islands along the coast. Bithynia was no longer confined to the original kingdom of Nicomedes. It had been increased on the east side by Pontus, after the overthrow of the empire of Mithradates by Pompey; and it stretched across the Bosphorus into Europe, so as to take in Byzantium.

In the kingdom of the Attalids little was left for the Romans to do in the way of Hellenisation. In the interior of the country there were many Hellenistic cities, and the growth of city-life required no fostering from the new mistress. The colonies of Parium, and Alexandria in the Troas, founded by Augustus, were for the purpose of settling veteran soldiers. It was otherwise in the kingdom of Nicomedes. Here Greek culture had not taken root so deeply or so widely; Bithynia was far less developed than Asia. Here accordingly there was room for Rome to step in and carry on the work of Hellenisation; and she gladly undertook the task. Pontus, which was under the governor of Bithynia, was more

* The entire number of votes was 30; of these Nicopolis had 6, Athens 1, Delphi 2. The Peloponnesian Dorians had only 1, which went round in turn to Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, and Argos.

backward still. There were no Greek centres there, like Prusa and Nicæa in Bithynia; so that the Hellenisation of that country practically began under the Empire. The two most important towns on the coast of Pontus, were Sinope, where a Roman colony had been planted, and Trapezus, which was the station of the Pontic fleet.

In Asia Minor, as in other parts of the Empire, Augustus promoted the institution of provincial councils. The deputies of the various cities met yearly in a centre, and the assembly could make known to the Roman governor the wishes of the province. But this institution took a special shape and colour by its association with the worship of the Emperor. In 29 B.C. Cæsar (not yet Augustus) authorised the diets of Asia and Bithynia to build temples to himself in Pergamum and Nicomedia. Hence the custom of paying divine honours to the Emperor during his lifetime spread throughout the provinces; in Italy and Rome such worship was not yielded to him till he was deified after death. This worship involved the existence of high priests, who in the Asiatic provinces became very important persons, and gave their name to the year. Whereas in European Greece the ancient public festivals—Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean,—still lived, and the new Actian feast was celebrated in honour of Apollo, in Asia the public feasts were connected with the cult of the Emperor. The president of the provincial diet, the *Asiarch* in Asia, the *Bithyniarch* in Bithynia, conducted the celebration of these festivals and defrayed the costs; so that those offices could only be held by rich men. There was no lack of wealthy folk in Asia, the province "of five hundred cities." It had suffered a good deal from piracy and from the Mithradatic war; and Augustus, in order to restore prosperity, resorted to the measure of cancelling old debts. Rhodes was the only state that did not take advantage of this permission. But Asia soon recovered, and her bright cities enjoyed under the Empire tranquillity and prosperity.*

§ 4. GALATIA AND PAMPHYLIA.—When the provinces were divided in 27 B.C. between the senate and the Emperor, Asia Minor was only in small part provincial. Besides Asia and Bithynia, only eastern Cilicia was subject to a Roman governor. The rest of the country consisted of dependent states, holding the same relation to Rome as Mauretania in the west. Chief among these "vassal" states was the kingdom of Galatia, then ruled by Amyntas. Celtic civilisation held its own for a long time against Hellenism in this miniature Gaul, which was set down in a land of Hellenistic states, somewhat like Massilia, that miniature Greece, set down in a land

* Horace, *Epistles*, II. 3. 5: An pingues Asiæ campi collesque morantur?

of Celtic cantons. The visitor who came from western Galatia (the Greek name of Gaul) to eastern Galatia might hear spoken in the streets of Pessinus and Ancyra the language with which he was familiar in the streets of Lugudunum. Here, too, in the new Gaul were the same double names of towns as in the old Gaul, the name of the place and the name of the tribe. As Gallic Mediolanum is Santones (Saintes), as Lutetia is Parisii, so Ancyra is called by the name of the Tectosages, Pessinus by that of the Tolistobogii. But in Asia the Celts did not long maintain the purity of their race; Gallic and Greek blood were mingled, and the people were called Gallo-Greeks, just as in Gaul there came to be Gallo-Romans. The princes of Galatia were ambitious of empire and were rivals of Mithradates. In the Mithradatic war they stood fast by Rome. King Deiotarus, who had played a prominent part then, died in 40 B.C., and his kingdom passed to one of his officers, Amyntas, in 36 B.C., through the favour of Marcus Antonius, who charged the new sovran with the subjugation of Pisidia. The dominion of Amyntas extended over those mountainous countries, south of Galatia, which have always been so hard to civilise—Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria and western Cilicia. The fall of his patron Antonius made no difference in the position of Amyntas; Cæsar allowed him to remain where he was. But when he died, in 25 B.C., Galatia was transformed into a Roman province, and (like all new provinces after 27 B.C.) was administered by an imperial governor.

Pamphylia, over which the authority of Amyntas stretched, was now separated from Galatia, and made a distinct province; but Pisidia and Lycaonia still went with Galatia. In the mountainous regions of these districts the Hellenistic kings had done little for civilisation, and there was a great field for the plantation of new cities. Antioch, Seleucia, Apollonia in northern Pisidia, Iconium and Laodicea Catacecaumenê in Lycaonia, were indeed something; but they were only a beginning. Augustus founded the Roman colonies of Lystra and Parlais in Lycaonia, and Cremna in Pisidia; and his successors carried on the work. Many remains of theatres and aqueducts in these lands tell of prosperity under the early Empire; but even at the best times Mount Taurus was the home of wild mountaineers, always ready, under a weak government, to pursue the trade of brigandage.

§ 5. THE DEPENDENT STATES IN ASIA MINOR AND ON THE EUXINE.—The rest of Asia Minor did not become provincial until after the death of Augustus. During his reign the Lycian confederacy, once subject to Rhodes but independent after the Third Macedonian War, was permitted to retain its autonomy. The kingdom of Cappadocia was ruled by King Archelaus. Polemon

ruled over a Pontic kingdom, consisting of the territory between Cerasus and Trapezus, and also the land of Colchis. There were three distinct vassal states in Cilicia. In Paphlagonia there were some small principalities held by descendants of King Deiotarus, but these came to an end in 7 B.C. and were joined to Galatia. East of Galatia, north of Cappadocia, was the kingdom of Little Armenia, of which more will be said in the next chapter, where the position of Great Armenia will also be described, a kingdom dependent by turns on the Roman and the Parthian empires.

One state, or rather two states, which up to very late times continued Roman dependencies, not incorporated in the provincial system, still call for notice. These are two cities of the Tauric peninsula; Bosporus or Panticapæum, on the eastern promontory at the entrance to the Palus Mæotis, and Chersonesus or Heraclea at the opposite, western side.* Bosporus was governed by kings, (the original title was archon), who also ruled over Phanagoria, on the opposite mainland, and Theudosia, a town on the peninsula. Chersonesus was a republic. Both states had been conquered by Mithradates and formed into a Bosporan realm. When he was overthrown, Bosporus, after some struggles, came finally into the hands of Asandros, who held it until his death (c. 16 B.C.) and left the kingdom to his wife Dynamis. By marriage with her and the permission of Augustus, Polemon, king of Pontus, then obtained the kingdom, and was succeeded by his children. But the republic of the western city was no longer subject to its eastern neighbour, though it might regard the Basileus of Bosporus as a protector in time of need. These cities on the distant border of Scythia played an important part in commerce. The Greek colonies on the northern shore of the Euxine, Tyras at the mouth of the river of like name, Olbia near the mouth of the Hypanis, although they sometimes received Roman protection, never took a permanent place in the Empire; lonely and remote, they were left to hold their own, as best they could, in the midst of barbarous peoples.

§ 6. Cyprus, Crete, and Cyrene.—In the western Mediterranean there were two insular provinces, Sicily and Sardinia; so likewise in the eastern parts of the same sea there were two insular provinces, Cyprus and Crete. Crete, however, was not an entire province; it had been joined by its conqueror Metellus with the Cyrenaic pentapolis. The joint province of "Crete and Cyrene" was assigned to the senate. The land of Cyrene, remarkable for its delightful, invigorating climate, was also blessed by freedom from political troubles throughout its history as a Roman province.

* Bosporus and Chersonesus (shortened into Cherson) correspond to the modern Kertsch and Sebastopol.

Like Asia and Bithynia, it had been willed to the Roman republic by Ptolemy Apion, its last Macedonian king (96 B.C.). Cyprus was at first imperial, but in 22 B.C. Augustus transferred it, along with Gallia Narbonensis, to the senate. The early history of this island had turned, like that of Sicily, on the struggle between the Phœnicians and the Greeks. Under Roman rule it would have enjoyed unbroken tranquillity, but for the large population of Jews who sometimes rebelled. Even the peaceful Cyrenaica was at times disturbed by the agitations of the same race. Crete, once the home of piracy was lucky enough to play no part in history as long as the Mediterranean was a wholly Roman sea.

SECT. III.—THE NEIGHBOURING DEPENDENT KINGDOMS AND SYRIA.

§ 7. Of the imperial provinces, Syria was the most important in the east, as Gaul in the west. The legatus of Syria, on whom it devolved to defend the frontier of the Euphrates against the Parthians, had four legions under him, the same number that was stationed on the Rhine. But it was not only for frontier service that the Syrian troops were needed; they had also to protect the cities and the villages against marauding bands who infested the hills. Hence the legions were quartered in the cities, and not, like the Rhine army, in special military stations on the frontier; and this circumstance was the source of the demoralisation and lack of discipline which marked the Syrian army. But notwithstanding the existence of the hill-robbers, Syria was a most prosperous province. In the way of Hellenisation and colonisation the Seleucid kings had left nothing for the Romans to do. Augustus founded Berytus in order to provide for veteran soldiers, and it remained an isolated Italian town in the midst of the Greek Asiatics,—like Corinth in Greece, and Alexandria in the Troad. The Greek names of the towns in Syria recalled Macedonia, as towns in Sicily and Magna Græcia recalled old Greece, or as names of places in the United States recall the mother-country. But the older Aramaic names lived on side by side with the new Greek names, and in some cases have outlived them, as, for instance, Heliopolis, which is called Baalbec at the present day. People, too, had double names as well as places. Thomas who was called Didymus, and Tabitha also called Dorcas, in the New Testament, are familiar examples. The Aramaic tongue continued to be spoken beside Greek, like Celtic beside Latin in Gaul, especially in the remoter districts. From the mixture of Greek and Syrian life, a new mixed type of civilisation arose, sometimes called Syrohellenic, and characteristically expressed in the great mauso-

leum erected on a hill near the Euphrates by Antiochus, king of Commagene. In his epitaph, that monarch prays, that upon his posterity may descend the blessings of the gods both of Persis and of Maketis (Persia and Macedonia).

In the busy factories of the great Syrian cities—Laodicea, Apamea, Tyre, Berytus, Byblus—were carried on the manufactures (linen, silk, &c.) for which the country was famous But Antioch, the capital, was a town of pleasure rather than of work. It was not well situated for commerce, like Alexandria; but it was rich and magnificent. Splendidly supplied with water, brightly lit up at night, and full of superb buildings, it, with its suburb, the Gardens of Daphne, was probably the pleasantest town in the empire for the pleasure-seeker.

Southern Syria, on its eastern side, bordered on the dependent kingdom of Nabat, which extended from Damascus, encircling Palestine on the east and south, and including the northern portion of the Arabian peninsula. The regions, however, of Trachonitis, between Damascus and Bostra, which had been committed to the charge of Zenodorus, prince of Abila, were subsequently transferred by Augustus to the king of Judea, because Zenodorus, instead of suppressing the robbers who infested Trachonitis, made common cause with them. Damascus itself, however, was subject to the Nabatean kings, whose capital was the great commercial city of Petra, the midway station through which the caravans of Indian merchandise passed on their road from Leucê Comê in Arabia, to Gaza. These kings were Arabs, and Hellenism had only superficially touched their court. They had officers named *Eparchoi* and *Stratêgoi*. In the northern part of their realm, Damascus was Greek, and the close neighbourhood of Syria brought those border regions on the edge of the desert into connection with Greek civilisation, The kings of Petra were always at feud with their neighbours the kings of Judea. Obodas nearly lost his crown for taking up arms against Herod, instead of appealing to Augustus, their common lord. Civilisation did not really begin for this Nabatean kingdom, until, more than a century later, it was at length converted into a Roman province.

The kingdom of Judea, restored and bestowed upon Antipater of Idumea by Julius Cæsar, had been specially favoured by that statesman, being exempted from tribute and military levies. After the death of Antipater the kingdom was won by his son Herod, after many struggles. At first the unwilling client of Antonius and the queen of Egypt, he performed some services in the final contest for Cæsar, who not only confirmed him in his kingdom, but enlarged its borders. Samaria was added to Judea, and also the

line of coast from Gaza as far as the Tower of Straton, which afterwards, under Herod's rule, was to become the city of Cæsarea, the chief port of southern Syria. Herod, throughout his long reign, prosecuted the work of Hellenism, by no means acceptable to his Jewish subjects, with generous zeal. His policy was to keep religion and the government of the state quite apart, and do away altogether with the Jewish theocracy. There was thus a continuous rivalry between the king and the high priest. The Hellenism of Herod was shown by his building a theatre at Jerusalem, and instituting a festival, to be celebrated at the end of every fourth year, in imitation of the Greek games. At this festival, musical as well as gymnastic and equestrian contests were held, and people of every nation were invited. He also imitated the Romans by building an amphitheatre in the plain beneath the city, and exhibiting there combats of wild beasts and condemned criminals. All this was a gross violation of Jewish traditions. Herod founded two new cities, both of which were named after the Emperor: Cæsarea, already mentioned, intended to be the seaport of Jerusalem, and Sebaste, on the site of Samaria. These cities were of Hellenistic and not Jewish character.

The reign of Herod was stained by horrible tragedies, which darkened his domestic life. Before his death, which occurred in 4 B.C., his kingdom had been increased by the land beyond the Jordan. The whole realm he divided among his three sons. Archelaus was to receive Judea, with Samaria and Idumea; to Philip fell Batanea and the adjacent regions, with the title of tetrarch; while Galilee and the land beyond the Jordan were assigned to Herod Antipas, also as tetrarch. But the kingdom was not destined to be of long duration. The Jews preferred to be the direct subjects of the Emperor, to being under the rule of a king of their own; and a deputation from Jerusalem waited upon Augustus in Rome, to pray him to abolish the kingdom. The Emperor at first compromised. He did not remove Archelaus from the government of Judea, but he refused him the royal title, and deprived him of Samaria. A few years later, however, in consequence of the incapacity of Archelaus, the wishes of the Jews were accomplished, and Judea was made a Roman province (6 A.D.) under an imperial procurator, over whom doubtless the legatus of Syria was empowered to exercise a certain supervision, in certain cases, somewhat as the governor of Pannonia might intervene in Noricum. Under the procurator, the city communities were allowed to manage their own affairs, as in Asia or Achaia. In Jerusalem, the synhedrion, an institution which had been founded under the Seleucids, corresponded to the town council, and the high priest,

appointed by the procurator, to the chief magistrate. Everything possible was done, under the new system, to respect and deal tenderly with the customs and prejudices of the Jews. Out of consideration for their objection to images, the coins did not bear the Emperor's head; and when Roman soldiers went to Jerusalem, they had to leave their standards behind them in Cæsarea. The difference of treatment which the occidental Jews experienced is striking. The same Emperors who persecuted Jews in the west, scrupulously respected their customs in their own land. But the Jews were not content; they grumbled against the tribute, not because it was oppressive, but on the ground that it was irreligious. This state of things resulted in the great Jewish war of Vespasian, to which we shall come hereafter.

Some other small vassal states were allowed to survive for a considerable time. The kingdom of Commagene in the north was not incorporated in the provincial system until 72 A.D. The principality of Chalcis, north-west of Damascus, survived still longer, (until 92 A.D.). Abila, (between Chalcis and Damascus) was annexed about 49 A.D. Iamblicus of Emesa had been executed by Antonius shortly before the battle of Actium; and his territory was at first annexed by Augustus to the province of Syria, but in 20 B.C. restored to a member of the native dynasty of Sampsigeramus. It finally became provincial before 81 A.D. At what time the Syrian state of Palmyra, called in the Syrian tongue Tadmor, came to be a Roman dependency, we cannot say for certain, but probably in the reign of Augustus. This flourishing city, situated in an oasis of the desert, lay on the trade route from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea, and was governed, under Roman supremacy, by its own municipal officers, until its destruction by the Emperor Aurelian in the third century.

SECT. IV.—EGYPT.

§ 8. The death of Cleopatra, the last queen of the royal house of the Lagidæ, was followed by the conversion of Egypt from the condition of a vassal kingdom into a directly subject land. But although it is often counted with the imperial provinces, it never stood in line with the other provinces.* It was subject to the Emperor in his own right, not merely as representative of the populus Romanus. Augustus ruled over Egypt, not as proconsul, but as a successor of the Ptolemies, a king all but in name; and the country always remained a sort of imperial preserve.† The

* See above, Chap. I. § 3, and Chap. VI. § 1 (f).

† Tacitus uses the phrase *domi retinere* to describe the imperial administration of Egypt.

Emperor was worshipped as a god by the Egyptian priests, according to the same forms which had been used in the cult of the royal Ptolemies. It was a logical consequence of this legal status of Egypt, as the Emperor's private domain, that it should stand apart from the imperial provinces in its administration. Thus senators were disqualified to fill the post of governor. Hence the governor of Egypt did not hold the rank of a *legatus*, but only of a *præfectus*. He was in command, however, of three legions, and this was the only case in which legions were commanded by men of the equestrian order. But not only were senators excluded from the governorship, they were even forbidden to set foot in the land without permission of the lord of the land. This regulation (which extended also to *equites illustres*) was made by Augustus in self-protection. For if a prominent senator wished to excite a rebellion, Egypt, through its immense resources and its geographical position, would have been a most favourable field for such an enterprise. The military importance had been abundantly proved in the Civil Wars. Whoever controlled the Egyptian ports could stop the corn-supply on which Rome and Italy depended, and thus force them to capitulate without leaving Alexandria. And besides Egypt was a country difficult to attack and easy to defend; it had the advantage of an insular position without being an island. The jealousy with which the Emperors watched Egypt, is illustrated by the fate of the first prefect, Cornelius Gallus, the poet. He allowed his name and deeds to be inscribed on the pyramids, and these indiscretions were interpreted as treasonable. Tried by the senate, he was removed from his command, and his disgrace drove him to commit suicide. Augustus is reported on this occasion to have complained that he was 'the only citizen who could not show anger against a friend without making him an enemy. Besides the prefect there was a *iuridicus* to administer justice, and an officer called *idiologus* to manage the finances.

In organisation also Egypt differed from the other provinces. The system of the Ptolemies was continued. No municipal self-government was granted; city life was not encouraged, as in the rest of the empire. The country was divided into districts (*nomes*) which were placed under officers appointed by the government. No diet was instituted to represent the political views of the people. Under the Ptolemies, the native Egyptians had formed an inferior class, possessing no political privileges, and under the Romans their condition remained the same.

Upper Egypt extended to Elephantine on the Nile, and to Troglodytic Berenice on the coast (in the same line of latitude). This Berenice must be distinguished from Golden Berenice, far away

to the south, opposite Aden, which, like Zula and Ptolemais Thêrôn, were not included in the Roman empire.

The fertility of the land of the Nile was proverbial, and it brought in an enormous revenue to the imperial purse. Augustus did not reduce the heavy taxes which had been levied by his Greek predecessors, but by judicious improvements, among which must be especially mentioned the re-opening and clearing of the Nile canals, he enabled the country to bear them, and Egypt soon recovered from the financial distress in which the rule of Cleopatra had plunged it. The chief product was grain, with which it supplied Rome. In the production of linen Egypt rivalled Syria; in glass manufactures it stood first; and it supplied the world with papyrus. Excellently situated for traffic, Alexandria might claim to be the second city in the Empire; as a centre of commerce, she then stood at the head of all cities in the world. The traffic of the East and the West met in her streets and on her quays; Greek philosophies and oriental religions mingled in her schools. The buildings were magnificent, above all, the Temple of Serapis, the Museum, and the Royal Palace. There were attractions for the scholar, as well as for the merchant, and the sight-seer; the Greek library was the richest, and the Greek professors of the Museums the most learned, in the Empire. Everything, a Greek writer says,* was to be had in Egypt, wealth, quiet, sights, philosophers, gold, a Museum, wine, all one may desire! There was a very large Jewish population in Alexandria, composing a distinct community, with its own chief (entitled the *ethnarch*); and the city was too often the scene of riots and tumults, as was wont to be the case where there were large colonies of Jews.

The capture of Alexandria by Cæsar was commemorated by the building of a suburb called Nicopolis, which served as a sort of fortress to command the city, as a legion was stationed there. The temple of Antonius, incomplete when the city was taken, was finished and dedicated to Cæsar. At a later period Augustus set up an obelisk in Alexandria, which survives to the present day, although no longer in its old station,† under the name of Cleopatra's needle.

Egypt had been accustomed to reckon time by the regnal year of the Ptolemies, and the same system was continued under its new sovran. The era of the first Roman ruler was counted, not from the day of his victory, August 1 (30 B.C.), but from August 29, corresponding to the first day of the month Thoth, which the

* In one of the lately discovered mimes of Herodas (i. 27, sqq). Though this writer probably lived in the 3rd century B.C., his description applies equally to Roman Alexandria.

† It was removed to New York some years ago.

Egyptians reckoned as the first day of the new year. Cleopatra lived during the greater part of August, and this circumstance may have determined the choice of the beginning of the new era.

LIST OF PROVINCES AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

1. *Senatorial:*
   - *a.* Governed by consular proconsuls.
     - Asia.
     - Africa.
   - *b.* Governed by prætorian proconsuls.
     - Sicily.
     - Bætica.
     - Narbonensis.
     - Macedonia.
     - Achaia.
     - Bithynia and Pontus.
     - Cyprus.
     - Crete and Cyrene.
2. *Imperial:*
   - *a.* Governed by legati Augusti pro prætore.
     - (1) Governed by consular legati.
       - Tarraconensis.
       - Pannonia.
       - Dalmatia.
       - Mœsia.
       - Syria.
     - (2) Governed by prætorian legati.
       - Lusitania.
       - Aquitania.*
       - Lugudunensis.*
       - Belgica.*
       - Galatia.
   - *b.* Governed by prefects or procurators.
     - Egypt (pref.).
     - Sardinia and Corsica.
     - Rætia (pref.)
     - Noricum.
     - Alpes Maritimæ (pref.
     - Alpes Cottiæ (pref.
     - Judea (procur.)

* The legati of these provinces were at the time of the death of Augustus under the control of Germanicus, the commander of the Germanic armies.

Trophies of Augustus.

Coins commemorating the recovery of the standards from the Parthians.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME AND PARTHIA. EXPEDITIONS TO ARABIA AND ETHIOPIA.

§ 1. Relations of Rome and Parthia in the last years of the Republic. Antonius in the East. The Armenian question. § 2. Policy of Augustus. Recovery of the standards of Crassus. Recovery of Armenia. Gaius Cæsar in the East. His death. § 3. Arabia Felix. Expedition of Ælius Gallus, which proves a failure. § 4. Expedition against Candace, queen of the Ethiopians.

§ 1. The Arsacid dynasty, which, after the fall of the Greek Seleucids, ruled over the Iranian lands from the Euphrates to the borders of India, derived their origin from Parthia, a land situated between Media and Bactria, south-east of the Caspian Sea. Their empire is called Parthia, in contrast to the earlier Persian empire of the Achæmenids, and the later Persian empire of the Sassanids. But it must not be forgotten that these kings were of Iranian race, speaking an Iranian language, maintaining the religion of Zoroaster, and that the whole character of their court was Persian. Thus it is quite true to say that the Romans in their Parthian wars not only maintained the same cause but fought against the same foe as Themistocles when he repulsed Xerxes, and as Alexander when he overthrew Darius. The Parthian kingdom was composed of a

number of subordinate kingdoms or satrapies. The Greek cities in Mesopotamia formed an exception, to which we must add the flourishing mercantile city of Seleucia, which had taken the place of ancient Babylon. In this respect, the Parthian and Roman states have been sometimes contrasted. In the Parthian realm dependent kingdoms were the rule, city communities the exception; in the Roman Empire cities were the rule, dependent kingdoms the exception.

Before the overthrow of their rival Mithradates, the Parthian kings regarded Rome as a friendly power. But after the victories of Pompeius, when the common enemy had fallen, Rome and Parthia stood face to face and became rivals themselves. Syria then became a Roman province, and the Euphrates was fixed by treaty as the boundary between the great European and the great Asiatic power. But there were many causes for discord. Armenia, like Cappadocia, became a Roman dependency; and this circumstance could not fail to lead to war. That country, very important to both states from a military point of view, was destined to be tossed continually backwards and forwards between Parthia and Rome. In language, society, and nationality, Armenia was far nearer to the eastern than to the western power; and the political bonds which united it to Rome were always somewhat artificial. Another source of discord lay in Atropatene, the land south of Armenia; for the vassal king of that country, desiring to free himself from Parthian supremacy, often sought to become the vassal of Rome. The actual violation of the treaty came from the Romans, who assumed overlordship over the Mesopotamian city of Edessa, and attempted to extend the borders of the dependent kingdom of Armenia into Parthian territory. How Parthia declared war against Armenia, how this led to the fatal expedition of Crassus and the field of Carrhæ, how in consequence of that defeat, Armenia fell into the power of the Parthians, need not be repeated here.

Elated by their success, the Parthians began to demand the cession of Syria; while on the side of Rome it was regarded as a matter of honour to revenge the defeat at Carrhæ and recover the standards of Crassus. The Civil Wars prevented the accomplishment of such designs. One great defeat, indeed, the enemy experienced when they invaded Syria in 38 B.C., at the hands of Ventidius Bassus; Pacorus, the son of the great king, fell on the field of Gindaros. Marcus Antonius at length seriously faced the Parthian question, in connection with his own ambitious design of founding a great Eastern empire, composed of dependent kingdoms. It will be remembered how his expedition came to nought. At that time, the king of Parthia was Phraates, who was highly unpopular with his subjects, and

Antonius supported the pretender Monæses. The king of Armenia was Artavasdes, and he, wishing to increase his dominion by the addition of Atropatene, ardently supported Antonius. Another Artavasdes was king of Atropatene. Antonius blamed the Armenian king for his failure, repaired to Armenia in 34 B.C., seized him and carried him to Egypt, where he was put to death by Cleopatra. His son Artaxes fled to the Parthians. At the same time Antonius became reconciled with Artavasdes of Atropatene, obtained his daughter in marriage for a son of his own, whom he set up as king of Armenia. But at this moment Antonius was called upon to deal with Cæsar; and Phraates, seizing the opportunity, deposed the two kings, and combined both Armenia and Atropatene under the rule of Artaxes, son of the Armenian Artavasdes. Fortunately for Roman interests, intestine struggles broke out in Persia,* simultaneously with the final contest between the two Roman triumvirs. Phraates was deposed, and Tiridates was set up in his stead.

§ 2. Augustus has been blamed for not dealing resolutely with the Eastern question immediately after his victory over his rival. It has been said that he should have at once taken steps to plant his power in Armenia, and make that country securely and permanently Roman, at the same time establishing a recognised authority over the Colchians, the Iberians, and the Albanians, who inhabited the regions between Armenia and the Caucasus, the Euxine and the Caspian. It seemed incumbent on him, too, to recover the standards captured at Carrhæ; and at the same time two exiles were imploring his help, Tiridates, who had been overthrown soon after his elevation,† and Artavasdes, king of Atropatene. The desire which the Romans felt at this time to see the Parthians humbled is reflected in the earlier writings of Horace. Augustus is called *juvenis Parthis horrendus*,‡ and "will be regarded as a true god upon earth if he adds the Britons and the dangerous Persians to the empire."§ Men clearly looked forward to a Parthian war. But Augustus, after the conquest of Egypt, postponed the settlement of the Eastern question. Perhaps he was influenced by the ill-success of Antonius; and his army, doubtless, eager for rewards and rest, would have been little disposed to undertake an arduous campaign in Armenia. And above all Augustus himself was not a general. Observing the domestic

* Horace, *Odes*, iii. 8. 19. Medus infestus sibi luctuosis dissidet armis.

† Horace, *Odes*, ii. 2. 17: Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten.

‡ *Satires*, ii. 5. 62.

§ *Odes*, iii. 5. 4:

Præsens divus habebitur
Augustus adiectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis.

discords in Parthia, he hoped to settle the eastern frontier advantageously for Rome by diplomacy, and not by arms. He consoled Artavasdes with the kingdom of Lesser Armenia and gave refuge in Syria to Tiridates. In 23 B.C. an opportunity came for recovering the standards and captives which had been taken at Carrhæ. Phraates sent an embassy demanding that Tiridates should be given up to him, and also an infant son of his own whom Tiridates had carried off. The child was sent back, but it was stipulated that in return the captives and the standards should be restored. It was in connection with this affair that Agrippa was sent to the East with proconsular *imperium*. Phraates did not fulfil the conditions immediately, but in 20 B.C. Augustus appeared in the East himself, and the Parthian king yielded. The Emperor was proud of his success, which in his account of his own deeds he records thus: "I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the standards and spoils of three Roman armies, and suppliantly to beg the friendship of the Roman people. Those standards I deposited in the temple of Mars Ultor." Poets celebrated the event as if it ranked with the most brilliant achievements of Roman arms. Virgil sings of "following Aurora, and claiming the standards from the Parthians," and imagines the Euphrates as flowing with less haughty stream *; and the ensigns so peacefully recovered are described by Horace as "torn from" the enemy.†

In the same year a more solid success was obtained, the recovery of Armenia. A conspiracy had been formed there against the king Artaxes, and a message was sent to the Emperor, requesting that Tigranes (the younger brother of Artaxes), who was educated at Rome, should be sent to reign in his stead. Tiberius, the Emperor's stepson, was entrusted with the task of deposing Artaxes and installing Tigranes. Artaxes was murdered by the party which had conspired against him; and Tigranes was established in the kingdom, which thus became once more a dependency of Rome. Atropatene, however, was separated, and given to Ariobarzanes, son of its former king Artavasdes, but it seems to have remained under Parthian supremacy. Ariobarzanes, like Tigranes, had been educated at Rome.

New troubles, however, soon arose in Armenia. Tigranes died, and the kingdom was agitated by struggles between the friends of Parthia and the friends of Rome. Augustus again entrusted to his stepson the office of restoring order in Armenia; but Tiberius, from motives of private resentment, declined the commission (6 B.C.).

* *Æneid*, vii. 606: Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa. viii. 726: Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis.

† *Odes*, iv. 15. 7: Derepta Parthorum superbis postibus.

Nothing was done during the next four years: but then it was decided that the ordering of the East should be entrusted to the young grandson of the Emperor, Gaius Cæsar, and should form a brilliant beginning to the career of the destined Imperator. The young prince started with high hopes, dreaming perhaps of oriental conquests and of rivalling the fame of Alexander. His enthusiasm seems to have been encouraged by, perhaps to have affected, his elders. A courtly poet cried, "Now, far East, thou shalt be ours"*; and Juba, the literary king of Mauretania, wrote an account of Arabia, for the special benefit of Gaius, whose vision was chiefly fixed on the conquest of that unconquerable land. The settlement of the Armenian question was, in the first instance, easily and peacefully accomplished. Gaius and Phraataces, the son of Phraates, met on an island in the middle of the Euphrates, and the Parthian agreed to resign his claim to Armenia. But it was still necessary to enforce submission to this decision in Armenia itself; and accordingly Gaius proceeded thither to instal Ariobarzanes, son of Artavasdes. Before the walls of the fortress of Artagira he was wounded by treachery, and some months later he died of the effects of the hurt at Limyra in Lycia (4 A.D.). During the rest of the reign of Augustus, no serious measures were adopted in regard to Armenia, and that state was rent by the contentions between the Parthian and the Roman parties.

§ 3. The unfortunate death of the young Cæsar put an end to the design of conquering Arabia. That enterprise had been seriously entertained by the Roman government, and actually attempted at an earlier date. The possession of southern Arabia would have been an important advantage, not like that of Armenia or Mœsia for military purposes, but from a purely mercantile point of view. The chief route of trade from India to Europe was by the Red Sea—Adane (Aden) was then, as now, an important port—and the Arabians, with their born genius for commerce, had it in their hands. The Indian wares were disembarked either at Leucê Côme, on the west coast of Arabia, and thence transported overland to Petra and on to some Syrian port, or at Myos Hormos, on the opposite Egyptian coast, whence they were carried by camels to Coptos (near Thebes) and shipped for Alexandria. Once in possession of Egypt, the Roman government could not fail to see that it would be highly profitable to command the Red Sea route entirely, and get the trade into the hands of their own subjects. Not long after the establishment of his power, Augustus took up the question, and here for once, he was aggressive. He planned an expedition, of which the object was to reduce under Roman sway

* Nunc, oriens ultime, noster eris: Ovid, *Ars Am.*, i. 178.

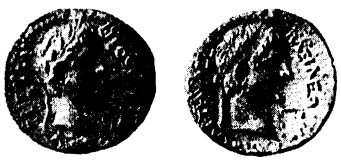
the land of Yemen, the south-western portion of the Arabian peninsula. That land was known to the Romans as Arabia Felix, and its people—the Himyarites—as the Sabæi. It was a rich country, which in itself invited conquest, though, in consequence of the remote situation, the luxurious inhabitants had never been subdued, as Horace tells us, by a foreign master.* They supplied the Empire with spices and perfumes, cassia, aloes, myrrh, frankincense, while in return they received the precious metals, which they kept in their land. The expedition started towards the end of 25 B.C., and was entrusted to the care of Ælius Gallus, an officer holding a high post in Egypt.† Ten thousand men, half the number of troops in Egypt, were placed under his command, in addition to auxiliaries supplied by the kings of Nabatea and Judea. The Nabateans had constant intercourse with Arabia Felix, and Syllæus, a minister of the Nabatean king Obodas, undertook to play the part of guide. The whole expedition was miserably mismanaged; it is hard to say how far Gallus was to blame and how far his guide may have acted in bad faith. His friend the geographer Strabo, from whom we learn the details of the enterprise, shifts the blame on Syllæus; and it is quite conceivable, that the Nabateans may have secretly wished the expedition to fail, thinking that its success might divert the traffic that had hitherto passed through their country.

The army embarked at Arsinoe (on the Isthmus of Suez) in a fleet of war-vessels. Such vessels were quite needless, as there was no question of hostilities by sea. They disembarked at Leucê Cômê, which was perhaps at this time subject to Rome, and passed the winter there. In spring they marched southwards by circuitous and laborious routes, and at length reached the capital of the Sabæans. But the army, though the natives gave little trouble, had suffered severely from disease and hunger, and when at last they came to the residence of the Sabæan kings, Mariba, on its woody hill, both the general and the men were too exhausted and despondent to set to the task of besieging it. Having spent six days there, Gallus abandoned the undertaking, and the expedition returned home, but with more speed than it had gone thither. Something had been accomplished in the way of exploring the country, but the Sabæi were still, as before, unconquered. Augustus, however, did not choose to consider the expedition a failure. He speaks of it complacently among his achievements, and he promoted Ælius Gallus to the prefecture of Egypt.

* *Odes*, i. 29. 3: Non ante devictis Sabææ regibus.

† Mommsen thinks he was prefect already; but the evidence seems rather to favour the view that he was made prefect after his expedition.

§ 4. While half of the Egyptian army was absent on the Arabian enterprise, the other half was called upon to defend the southern frontier against the aggressions of a neighbouring power. Upper Egypt extended as far as Elephantine on the Nile, and beyond that limit lay the land of the Ethiopians, at this time ruled by the one-eyed queen Candace. She had invaded and plundered the extreme parts of Upper Egypt—Syene and Elephantine; and after fruitless demands for satisfaction, C. Petronius the prefect was obliged to take the field (24 B.C.), at the head of 10,000 footmen and 800 horse. He routed the enemy, took the town of Pselchis on the Nile, and advanced as far as Napata, where was the queen's palace, in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopian capital Meroe. He razed Napata to the ground. He did not attempt to occupy all this country, but made a strong place, named Premnis (or Premis), his advanced post. In the following year Premnis was attacked by the Ethiopians, and Petronius had to return again to relieve it. He inflicted another defeat on the foe (22 B.C.), and Candace was compelled to sue for peace. Her ambassadors were sent to Augustus, who was then at Samos, and peace was granted, the prefect being directed to evacuate the territory which he had occupied. Augustus drew the line of frontier at Syene.



Augustus and Artavasdes.

The (so-called) Arch of Drusus, on the Appian Way

CHAPTER IX.

THE WINNING AND LOSING OF GERMANY. DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

§ 1. Project of the conquest of Germany. § 2. Political and social life of the Germans, as known from Cæsar's Commentaries. § 3. Disturbances in Gaul and on the Rhine. § 4. Appointment of Drusus. His first campaigns (12 B.C.). § 5. Campaigns against the Cherusci (11 B.C.) and the Chatti (10 B.C.). Defence of the Rhine. § 6. Drusus advances to the Albis (9 B.C.). His death. § 7. Tiberius in Germany (9–6 B.C., and 4–5 A.D.). § 8. Expedition against Maroboduus. § 9. Rebellion of Pannonia and Dalmatia, suppressed by Tiberius. § 10. Revolt of Germany. Defeat of Varus. § 11. Tiberius returns to the Rhine. § 12. Effect of the various disasters on Augustus. His last days and death (14 A.D.). § 13. Estimate of Augustus. § 14. *Monumentum Ancyranum* and *Breviarium Imperii.*

SECT. I.—THE CONQUEST OF GERMANY.

§ 1. THE subject of the present chapter is the story of the Roman Germany that might have been. Cæsar's conquest of Gaul pointed beyond the limits of that country to further conquests; it pointed beyond the sea, to the island of the north, and eastward beyond the Rhine, to the forests of central Europe.

Cæsar had shown the way to the conquest of Britain, he had likewise crossed the Rhine. As far as Britain was concerned, Augustus did not follow out the suggestions of his "father"; that enterprise was reserved for one of his successors. But in regard to Germany he was persuaded to act otherwise. The advance of the Roman frontier from the Rhine to the Albis (Elbe), and the subjugation of the intervening peoples, must have seemed from a military point of view good policy. The line of frontier to be defended would thus be lessened. The defence of the Upper Danube, from Vindonissa on the Rhine to Lauriacum would not be needed, and the Albis would take the place of the Rhine. This project of extending the Empire to the Albis, into which perhaps the cautious Emperor was persuaded by the ardour of his favourite stepson Drusus, was well begun and seemingly certain of success, when it was cut short by an untoward accident, if there was not some deeper cause in the hidden counsels of the Roman government. But the winning and losing of Germany is a most interesting episode, giving us our earliest glimpse of the rivers and forests of central Europe.

§ 2. Cæsar in his Commentaries has given a brief sketch of the political and social life of the Germans in general, and of the Suevians in particular. This sketch, though somewhat vague and doubtless derived chiefly from the information of Gauls, is valuable as the earliest picture of the life of our forefathers, and one written by a great statesman. He describes them as a hardy, laborious and temperate people, dividing their life between hunting and warlike exercises. They practise agriculture but little, and subsist chiefly on flesh, milk, and cheese. No one possesses a permanent lot of land; but the chiefs assign a certain portion of land every year, and for only one year's occupancy, to the several communities which form a *civitas*. At the end of each year the allotments are given up, and each community moves elsewhere. For this custom several reasons were given, of which the most important were that the people might not by permanent settlement become agricultural and give up warfare; that the more powerful might not drive the weaker from their possessions; and that the mass of the people might be contented. The territory of each tribe is isolated from those of its neighbours by a surrounding strip of devastated unpeopled land. This is a safeguard against sudden attack. In time of war special commanders are chosen; but in time of peace, there is no central or supreme magistracy in the state, but the chiefs of the various districts (*pagi*) or tribal subdivisions, administer justice. The Suevi had a hundred *pagi*, of which each furnished a thousand men to the military host; the rest stayed at home and provided food

for the warriors. The next year the warriors returned home and tilled the land, while those who had stayed at home the previous year took their places.

From this sketch it may be inferred that the tribes known by Cæsar "were in a state of transition from the nomadic life to that of settled cultivation." Some tribes must have been in a more advanced stage of development than others; and this development must have been proceeding during the age of Augustus. But we have no means of tracing it.

§ 3. The first disturbance in Gaul after the battle of Actium was the revolt of the Celtic Morini, in the neighbourhood of Gesoriacum (Boulogne); and their rebellion, perhaps, was in some way connected with the invasion of the German Suevians from beyond the Rhine, in the same year (29 B.C.). The Suevians were driven back, and the Morini subdued by Gaius Carrinas; while Nonius Gallus, about the same time, suppressed a rising of the Treveri, on the Mosella. The following years were marked by those measures of organisation in Gaul, which have been mentioned already (Chap. VI.). There seems to have been a good deal of oppression in the taxation, and dissatisfaction among the provincials. In 25 B.C. German invaders came from beyond the Rhine, and were repulsed by M. Vinicius; but we know not whether they came by the invitation of Roman subjects. More alarming was the invasion which took place nine years later. Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, tribes whose homes were on the right bank of the lower Rhine, crossed the river on an expedition of plunder, and inflicted a defeat on the legatus, M. Lollius, carrying off the eagle of the Vth legion. This event was not a very serious loss, but it was a serious disgrace.* Augustus hastened to Gaul himself, taking Tiberius with him; the question of the defence of the northern frontiers was becoming serious. Tiberius was appointed to the military command in Gaul, and offensive operations were begun by the annexation of Noricum and the conquest of Rætia and Vindelicia.†

§ 4. In 12 B.C. Drusus succeeded his brother as commander of the Rhine army. He was a brilliant young man, hardly twenty-five years old, handsome, brave, and popular; of winning manners worshipped by the soldiers; ardent and bold, but a sagacious leader. He lost no time in setting about the accomplishment of his scheme of conquest beyond the Rhine; and the occasion was given

* Horace alludes to this in his praise of Lollius (*Odes*, iv. 9. 36) to whom he attributes a mind "temporibus dubiisque rectus."

† See above, Chap. VI. § 10. Horace (*Odes*, iv. 2. 34) prophesies (13 B.C.) a victory over the Sugambri:—

Quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum merita decorus
Fronde Sugambros.

to him by the hostilities of the Sugambri and their confederates. Having inaugurated the altar of Augustus at Lugudunum, and thus called forth a display of loyal sentiment in Gaul, he proceeded to the lower Rhine, threw a bridge across the river, and entered the land of the Usipetes, who had already begun hostilities. This tribe dwelled on the northern bank of the *Luppia*, a tributary of the Rhine, which still bears the same name in the form *Lippe*. The lands south of the Luppia belonged to the Sugambri, and southward still as far as the *Laugonna* (now shortened into *Lahn*) dwelt the Tencteri. Having quelled the Usipetes, the Roman general marched southward to chastise the Sugambri, who, under their chieftain Melo, had begun the hostilities.

But at present his way did not lie further in that direction. His plan was to subdue the northern regions of Germany first; and he had decided that this must be done in connection with the navigation of the northern coast. There were three stages from the Rhine to the Albis. The conqueror must first advance to the Amisia, and then to the Visurgis, before he reached the Albis, his final limit. The names of these rivers, thus Latinized by Roman lips, are still the same: the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe. A canal connecting the Rhine with Lake Flevo (as the sheet of water corresponding to the Zuyder Zee was then called) was constructed by the army under Drusus, from whom it was named the Fossa Drusiana; so that the Rhine fleet could sail straight through the Lake into the German Ocean and coast along to the mouth of the Amisia. The Batavians acknowledged without resistance the lordship of Rome, and helped the troops in cutting the canal; and the Frisians, who dwelled north-east of Lake Flevo, likewise submitted to Drusus without resistance. Having thus secured the coast from the Rhine to the Amisia, he occupied the island of Burchanis (which we may certainly identify with Borkum) at the mouth of that river, and sailing up the stream, defeated the Bructeri in a naval encounter. Returning to the sea, he invaded the land of the Chauci, who inhabited the coast regions on either side of the mouth of the Visurgis; but it does not appear whether the Roman fleet sailed as far as the Visurgis, or whether Drusus advanced into the territory of the Chauci from the Amisia. In the return voyage the ships ran some danger in the treacherous shallows, but were extricated by the friendly Frisians who had accompanied the expedition on foot.

§ 5. Thus the work of Drusus in the first year of his command was the reduction of the coast of Lower Germany as far as the Visurgis. In the next year (11 B.C.) he determined to follow this up by the reduction of the inland regions in the same direction. For this purpose he had to choose another way. The chief military

station on the Lower Rhine was at this time Castra Vetera,* situated not far from the mouth of the Luppia. Starting from here in spring, the legions crossed the Rhine, subdued once more the unruly Usipetes, threw a bridge across the Luppia and entered the land of the Sugambri. In order to advance eastward it was necessary to secure the tranquillity of these troublesome tribes in the rear. Then following the course of the Luppia, Drusus advanced into the land of the Cherusci (the modern Westphalia), as far as the banks of the Visurgis. It was thought that the Sugambri might have thrown obstacles in the way of this achievement, but they were fully occupied by a war with their southern neighbours, the Chatti, who dwelled about the Taunus Mountains. Want of supplies and the approach of winter prevented the Romans from crossing the Visurgis. In returning, they fell into a snare, which, but for the skill of the general and the discipline of the soldiers, would have proved fatal. At a place named Arbalo, which cannot be identified, they were surrounded in a narrow pass by an ambushed enemy. But the Germans, confident in their own position, and regarding the Romans as lost men, took no precautions in attacking; and the legions cut their way through, and reached the Luppia in safety. On the banks of that river, at the point where it receives the waters of the Aliso, Drusus erected a fort, as an advanced position in the country, which was yet to be thoroughly subdued. This fort, also named Aliso, perhaps corresponds to the modern Elsen, the river being the Alme. About the same time another fort was established on Mount Taunus, in the territory of the Chatti, whom the Romans drove out of their own land into that of the Sugambri. The following year (10 B.C.) seems to have been occupied with the subjugation of the Chatti, who were fighting to recover their old homes between the Laugonna and the Mœnus (Main). During this year Drusus possessed the proconsular power—that is the secondary imperium, as it is called, subordinate to that of the Emperor—which had been conferred upon him by designation in the previous year. Soon afterwards, perhaps in the following year, along with his brother Tiberius he received the title of *imperator*.

While Drusus was thus actively accomplishing his great design of a Roman Germany, he was not neglectful of the defence of the Rhine, which was secured by a line of fifty forts on the left bank, between the sea and Vindonissa. The chief station of the Lower Rhine was Castra Vetera; of the Upper, Moguntiacum (Mainz), probably founded by Drusus. Among the most important stations, which were established either at this time or not much

* Birten, near Xanten.

later, were Argentoratum,* the southern Noviomagus, which corresponds to Speyer, Borbetomagus, Bingium, Bonna; the northern Noviomagus, which is still Nimeguen, and the northern Lugudunum on the Rhine, which has become Leyden, in contrast with its southern namesake on the Rhone, which has been transformed into the softer Lyons.

§ 6. In the following year the victorious young general, who might now lay claim to the title of "subduer of Germany," entered upon his first consulship. Bad omens at Rome in the beginning of the year did not hinder the consul from setting forth in spring, to carry on his work beyond the Rhine. This time he was bent on a further progress than he had yet achieved. Hitherto he had not advanced beyond the Visurgis; it seemed now high time to press forward to the Albis itself. Starting probably from Moguntiacum he passed through the subject land of the Chatti and entered the borders of the Suevi. Then taking a northerly direction, he reached the Cherusci and the banks of the Visurgis, and crossing that river marched to the Albis, hitting it perhaps somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern Magdeburg. Of his adventures on this march nothing is definitely recorded, except that the Romans wasted the land and that there were some bloody conflicts. On the bank of the Albis he erected a trophy, marking the limit of Roman progress. A strange and striking story was told of something said to have befallen him there, and to have moved him to retreat. A woman of greater than human stature stood in his way and motioned him back. "Whither so fast, insatiable Drusus? It is not given to thee to see all these things. Back! for the end of thy works and thy life is at hand."

And so it fell out. The days of Drusus were numbered. Somewhere between the Sala, a tributary of the Albis, and the Visurgis, he fell from his horse and broke his leg. The injury resulted in death after thirty days' suffering; there seems to have been no competent surgeon in the army. The alarming news of the accident was soon carried to Augustus, who was then somewhere in Gaul. Tiberius, who was at Ticinum, was sent for with all haste, and with all haste he journeyed to the recesses of the German forest, and reached the camp in time to be with his brother in the last moments. The grief at this misfortune was universal; both the Emperor and the soldiers had lost their favourite, and the state an excellent general. Drusus was not yet thirty years old; he had accomplished a great deal, and he looked forward to accomplishing far more. Perhaps nothing will enable us so well to realise his importance in history, as the reflection that, if he had lived to fulfil

* Strassburg. Borbetomagus is Worms; Bingium, Bingen; and Bonna, Bonn.

his plan, his work could not have been easily undone, the events which are presently to be related could not have happened, and the history of central Europe would have been changed.

The corpse was carried to the winter-quarters on the Rhine and thence to Rome, where it was burned; the ashes were bestowed in the mausoleum of Augustus. Two funeral speeches were pronounced, one in the Forum by Tiberius, the other by Augustus himself in the Flaminian Circus. Besides these solemnities, more lasting honours were decreed to the dead hero. The name Germanicus was given to the conqueror of Germany, and to his children after him. A cenotaph was built at Moguntiacum, and a triumphal arch erected to record the founder of the new province. It would seem that Moguntiacum was in some special way associated with Drusus. These monuments in stone have not come down to us, but there has survived a monument in verse, an elegy addressed to his mother, the Empress Livia. We could wish that the author of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* had given a more distinct picture of the qualities of the young general whom he deplores.

SECT. II.—TIBERIUS IN GERMANY. THE PANNONIAN REVOLT.

§ 7. It now devolved upon Tiberius, who possessed the pro-consular power and the title of *imperator*, to carry on his brother's work. He took the place of Drusus as governor of the Three Gauls and commander of the armies on the Rhine, and maintained the Roman supremacy over the half-subdued German tribes between that river and the Albis. The pacification of the Sugambri was at length effected by strong measures, and they were assigned territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Each summer the Roman legions appeared in various parts of the new province; the Roman general dealt out justice, and Roman advocates appeared beyond the Rhine. There was still much to be done to place Germany on the level of other provinces; it would have been perhaps unsafe as yet to require the Germans to contribute *auxilia*, or to impose on them a regular tribute. Tiberius possessed the confidence of the army, but he did not, like Drusus, possess the affection of the Emperor. In 7 B.C., the year of his second consulship, he received triumphal honours; but he did not return to Germany, and in the following year he retired to Rhodes. Little is recorded of his successors, but it is not to be assumed that they were idle or incompetent. The courtly writers of the day had eyes only for the exploits of Drusus and Tiberius, the princes of the imperial house. The consolidation of the conquests of Drusus was doubtless carried on amid frequent local rebellions, such as that in 1 B.C.,

which was put down by M. Vinicius. Another legatus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, built a road, called the *pontes longi*, connecting the Amisia with the Rhine. These commanders, however, were not entrusted, like Drusus and Tiberius, with the government of the Three Gauls.

After the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, Tiberius was reconciled with his stepfather, and undertook the command of the armies on the Rhine once more. The legions were delighted to be commanded by a general whom they knew and trusted, whose ability was proved, and who was now marked out as the successor to the Empire. And there was need of a strong hand, for there had been many tokens of an unruly spirit. In his first campaign (4 A.D.) Tiberius advanced beyond the Visurgis, and reduced the Cherusci who had thrown off the Roman yoke; and for the first time the Roman army passed the winter beyond the Rhine in the fort of Aliso on the Luppia. In the following year (5 A.D.) the Lower Albis was reached, and an insurrection of the Chauci was suppressed. The Langobardi, who dwelled in these parts, and of whom we hear now for the first time.—a people destined in a later age to rule in Italy and become famous under the name of "Lombards"—were also reduced. This expedition was carried out by the joint operations of a fleet and a land army. Tiberius repeated on a larger scale what Drusus had done eighteen years before. But while on the earlier occasion the Roman fleet had not advanced beyond the mouth of the Visurgis (if so far), under the auspices of Tiberius it reached the Albis and even sailed to the northern promontory of the Cimbric peninsula. Some peoples east of the Albis, such as the Semnones, the Charydes, and the Cimbri (in Denmark), sent envoys seeking the friendship of the Emperor and the Roman people.

§ 8. The authority of Tiberius had thus pacified the trans-Rhenane dominion of Rome, and in the following year (6 A.D.) a new enterprise of conquest was entrusted to his conduct. When Drusus in his last expedition marched up the Mœnus, he entered the land of the Marcomanni, and they, under the leadership of their chief Maroboduus, retreated before him into that lozenge-shaped, mountain-girt country in central Europe, which has derived its name Boiohæmum, Bohemia, from the Celtic Boii who then inhabited it. The Marcomanni dispossessed the Celts, and Maroboduus established a powerful and united state, which extended its sway eastward, and northward over the neighbouring German tribes. The ideas of this remarkable man were far in advance of his countrymen. He had a leaning to Roman civilisation, and he was ready to learn from it the methods and uses of political organisation. He formed and

disciplined in Roman fashion an army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse. But his policy was essentially one of peace. He desired to avoid a war with Rome, and yet to make it plain that he was quite strong enough to hold his own. He was willing to be a friendly ally, but he was not disposed to be a vassal. Geography, however, rendered a collision unavoidable. For Rome, possessing Germany in the north, and Noricum and Pannonia in the south, it would have been impossible to allow the permanent presence of an independent German state wedged in between these provinces. The actual occupation of the territory between the Dravus and the Danube, if it had not already taken place, was merely a question of time, and it was obviously necessary to have a continuous line of frontier from the Albis to the Danube. Policy demanded that the Empire should absorb the realm of Maroboduus, and advance to the river Marus (now the March, which flows into the Danube below Pressburg).

The legions of the Rhine under an experienced commander, Cn. Sentius Saturninus, advanced from the valley of the Mœnus, breaking their way through the unknown depths of the Hercynian Forest, to meet the legions of Illyricum, which Tiberius led across the Danube at Carnuntum. Both armies together numbered twelve legions, nearly double of the troops mustered by Maroboduus; and under the command of a cautious and experienced leader like Tiberius the success of the enterprise seemed assured. But it was not to be. Before the armies met, sudden tidings of a most alarming kind imperatively recalled the general. A revolt, caused by oppressive taxation, had broken out in Dalmatia and Pannonia, and of so serious a nature that not only were the Illyric legions obliged to return, but the troops of Mœsia and even forces from beyond the sea (probably from Syria) were required to assist in suppressing it. This would have been an excellent opportunity for Maroboduus to take the offensive, but he clung to his policy of neutrality, and accepted terms of peace which were proposed by Tiberius. The army of Sentius Saturninus hastened back to the Rhine to prevent a simultaneous outbreak there.

§ 9. The Pannonian revolt lasted for three years, the Dalmatian for one year longer. In Dalmatia the leader of the insurgents was one Bato. He made an attempt to capture Salonæ, but was obliged to retire severely wounded, and had to content himself with ravaging the coast of Macedonia as far south as Apollonia. The legatus of Illyricum, M. Valerius Messalinus, son of the orator Messalla, contended against him with varying success. In Pannonia, another Bato, chief of the Breuci, was the most prominent leader. As the Dalmatian Bato failed to take Salonæ, so the Pannonian Bato failed to take Sirmium, and was defeated before its

walls by Aulus Cæcina Severus, the legatus of Mœsia, who had hurried to the scene of action. After this the two Batos seem to have joined forces and taken up a strong position on Mount Almas, close to Sirmium. Tiberius passed the winter in Siscia, and made that place the basis of his operations in Pannonia. As many as fifteen legions were ultimately collected in the rebellious provinces under his command, and the loyal princes of Thrace had also come to the rescue. An unusually large number of auxiliary troops, fully 90,000, were employed in this war. Terror was felt not only in Macedonia, but even in Italy and Rome. Augustus himself had hastened to Ariminum, to be near the seat of war; levies were raised in Italy and placed under Germanicus, son of Drusus, a youth of twenty-one years. In 7 A.D. the course of the hostilities was desultory; the rebels avoided engagements in the open field. Germanicus advanced from Siscia along the river Unna into western Dalmatia, and conquered the tribe of the Mæzæi, who dwelled in the extreme west of modern Bosnia. Subsequently (7–8 A.D.) he captured three important strongholds,* which seem to have been situated on the borders of Liburnia and Iapydia. The next serious event was the long siege of Arduba,† in south-eastern Dalmatia, which was marked by the heroic obstinacy of the women, who, when the place was captured, threw themselves and their children into the fire. But in the following autumn the Pannonian Bato was induced to betray his cause. He surrendered in a battle fought at the stream of Bathinus‡ (August 3) and handed over his colleague and rival Pinnes to Tiberius, who in return recognised him as prince of the Breuci. But his treachery did not go unpunished. He was caught and put to death by his Dalmatian namesake. Germanicus hastened in person to carry the news of the Bathinus to Augustus at Ariminum, and the Emperor returned to Rome, where he was received with thank-offerings. But although this victory practically determined the end of the war, Tiberius was obliged in the following year to bring his forces again into the field against the Dalmatians, and Bato, besieged in his last refuge, Andetrium (near Salonæ), at length gave up the desperate cause, and was sent as a prisoner to Ravenna, where he died. When he was led before Tiberius, and was asked why he had rebelled, he replied, "It is your doing, in that ye send not dogs or shepherds to guard your sheep, but wolves to prey on them."

* Splonum, Ratinium, and Seretium. Plausible suggestions have been made as to the identity of the first and second; Seretium is quite unknown.

† Possibly on the way from Narona to Scodra.

‡ Now the Bednya, which falls into the Drave south-east of Warasdin. The date is determined by an inscription (C. I. L. ix. 6637) TI. AVG. IN LYRICO VIC.

Germanicus, who had taken part in the suppression of this dangerous and tedious war—the hardest, it was said, since the war with Hannibal—showed high promise of future distinction, and, like his father, was a universal favourite. Triumphal ornaments were granted to him, and he was placed first in the rank of prætorians in the senate. To Tiberius himself the senate decreed a triumph, but it was not destined to be celebrated. The people had hardly time to realise the successes of the legions of the Danube, when the news came of a terrible disaster which had befallen the legions of the Rhine.

SECT. III.—THE GERMAN REBELLION AND DEFEAT OF VARUS.

§ 10. The Emperor seems to have entertained few fears of the possibility of a rising in his new German province. For he named as commander of the Rhine armies a man, distantly related to himself by marriage, who had no experience of active warfare and was quite incompetent to meet any grave emergency. This was Publius Quinctilius Varus, who, as imperial legatus in Syria, had won wealth, if not fame. It was said that when he came to that province he was poor and Syria was rich; but when he went, he was rich and Syria was poor. His experiences as governor of Syria proved unlucky for him as governor in Germany. He utterly misconceived the situation. He imagined that the policy which he had successfully pursued in Syria might be adopted equally well in Germany. He failed to perceive the differences between the two cases; and to mark the weak grasp with which Rome, as yet, held the lands between the Rhine and the Albis. He seems to have felt himself perfectly safe in the wild places of Germany, under the shield of the Roman name; he imposed taxes on the natives and dealt judgment without any fear of consequences.

But a storm was brewing under his very eyes. It seemed to those German patriots, who could never brook with patience the rule of a foreign master, that the moment had come when a struggle for the liberty of their nation might be attempted with some chance of success. In this enterprise only four prominent German peoples were concerned, the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Marsi, and the Bructeri; the same who had before distinguished themselves by their opposition to Drusus. The Frisians, the Chauci, the Suevic peoples who acknowledged the overlordship of Maroboduus, took no part in this insurrection. The plotter and leader of the rebellion was the Cheruscan prince Arminius, son of Sigimer, then in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He and his brother Flavus had received the privilege of Roman citizenship from Augustus;

he had been raised to the equestrian rank, and had seen military service under the Roman standard. He was not only physically brave, but it was thought that he possessed intellectual qualities unusual in a barbarian. The Romans naturally trusted his loyalty, and the insinuations of Segestes his countryman, who knew him better, received no attention.

Sigimer, the brother, and Segimund, the son of this Segestes, threw themselves into the enterprise of Arminius, and Thusnelda, the daughter of Segestes, married the young patriot against the wishes of her father.

It was the policy of the contrivers of the insurrection to keep the design dark until the last moment, and in the meantime to lull Varus, already secure, into a security still more complete. Of the five Germanic legions, two had their winter-quarters at Moguntiacum, the other three at Castra Vetera on the Lower Rhine, or at the fortress of Aliso on the Luppia. In summer they used sometimes to visit the interior parts of the province; and in 9 A.D., Varus, with three legions, occupied summer-quarters on the Visurgis, probably not far from the modern town of Minden and the Porta Westfalica. The camp was full of advocates and clients, and the chief conspirators were present, on intimate terms with the governor and constantly dining with him. Autumn came, and as the rainy season approached Varus prepared to retrace his steps westward. There can be no doubt that a line of communication connected his summer station with Aliso; and, if the army had returned as it came, Arminius could hardly have been successful in his plans. But a message suddenly arrived that a distant tribe had revolted, and Varus decided to take a roundabout way homewards in order to suppress it. This news was suspiciously opportune for the rebels. The Romans had to make their way through a hilly district of pathless forests, and their difficulties were increased not only by the encumbrances of heavy baggage and camp-followers, but by the heavy rains, which had already begun and made the ground slippery. The moment had come for the German patriots to strike a desperate blow for independence. Segestes warned Varus of the impending danger, but the infatuated governor trusted the asseverations of Arminius. As the legions were making their laborious way through the *saltus Teutoburgiensis*, they were assailed by the confederate insurgents. This Teutoburg forest cannot be identified with any certainty, but it seems to have been somewhere between the Amisia and the Luppia, north-east of Aliso. It is impossible to determine how far the circumstances of the case and how far the incompetence of the general were to blame for the disaster which followed.

For three days the Romans continued to advance, resisting as well as they could the attacks of the foe, and if Varus had possessed the confidence of his soldiers and known how to hold them together, it seems probable that he might have passed through the danger in safety. But both officers and soldiers were demoralised under his command. The prefect of the horse deserted his post, taking all the cavalry with him, and leaving the foot-soldiers to their fate. Varus was the first to despair; he had received a wound, and he slew himself. Others followed his example; and the rest surrendered. The prisoners were slain, some buried alive, some crucified, some sacrificed on the altars. The forces of Varus consisted of three legions (XVII., XVIII., XIX.), six cohorts, and three squadrons of cavalry. The army had been weakened by the loss of detachments, which, at the request of the conspirators, had been sent to the territories of various tribes to preserve order. These detachments, taken chiefly from the auxiliary cohorts, were slaughtered when the insurrection broke out. Of the troops which were entrapped in the Teutoburg forest, numbering probably almost 20,000 men, only the cavalry escaped and a few individual foot-soldiers. The three eagles of the three legions fell into the hands of the victors. Such a disaster had not befallen since the day of Carrhæ.

The peoples of central Germany from the Rhine to the Visurgis had thus thrown off the Roman yoke; the cause of freedom had been victorious. Two results, fraught with great danger to the Roman Empire, seemed likely to follow. It was to be feared that the triumphant Germans would push across to the left bank of the Rhine, arouse a revolt there, and perhaps shake the fidelity of Gaul. And seemingly it was to be feared that Maroboduus, lord of the Marcomanni, and chief of the Suevic confederacy, would declare himself on the side of the insurgents, now they were successful. But neither of these dangers was realised. The first was foiled by the bravery of Lucius Cædicius, commander of the garrison in Aliso, and the promptness of Lucius Nonius Asprenas, who commanded the two legions stationed at Moguntiacum. The first movement of the rebels after their victory was to attack Aliso, but Cædicius defended it so bravely that they were obliged to blockade it. When provisions ran short and no relief came, the garrison stole out on a dark night, and made their way, harassed by the attacks of the enemy, to Castra Vetera. Thither Asprenas, when the news of the disaster reached him, had hastened with his two legions, to hinder the Germans from crossing the Rhine.

The other danger was frustrated by the peculiar temper of Maroboduus himself. Arminius had triumphantly sent him the

head of Varus as a token of his own amazing success, hoping to persuade him to join the confederacy against Rome. But the message was ineffectual. Maroboduus refused to link himself with the insurgents or to depart from his policy of neutrality.

§ 11. When the news of the defeat reached Rome, Augustus met the emergency with spirit and energy. The citizens seemed indifferent to the crisis; many of them refused to place their names on the military roll; and the Emperor was obliged to resort to fines and threats of severer punishment. Troops hastily levied from the veterans and freedmen were sent with all speed to the Rhine; and the Germans, who served as an imperial bodyguard, were disarmed and driven forth from Rome. In the following year (10 A.D.) Tiberius assumed the command of the Rhine army, which was increased to eight legions. Four of these were doubtless stationed at Moguntiacum and four at Vetera; and it was probably the Emperor's intention that when the immediate crisis was past, the command of the Germanic armies should be divided between two generals. During the first year Tiberius seems to have been engaged in organising the defence of the Rhine, restoring the confidence of the old legions, and establishing discipline among the new. In the next year, 11 A.D., he crossed the river, and spent the summer in Germany, but he does not seem to have ventured far into the country or to have attempted any hostile enterprise. He was accompanied by his nephew Germanicus, to whom proconsular powers had been granted. In the following year the duties of his consulship retained Germanicus at Rome, but in 13 A.D. he succeeded Tiberius in the sole command on the Rhine. During these years nothing was done against the Germans, though the state of war still continued; but Germanicus was not long content with inactivity. Upon him seemed to devolve the duty of restoring his father's work, which had been so disastrously demolished, and he burned to do it. But his efforts to recover the lost dominion and reach the Albis once more must form the subject of another chapter.

Sect. IV.—The Death of Augustus.

§ 12. The slaughter of the Varian legions in the wilds of Germany tarnished the lustre of Roman arms, and cast a certain gloom over the last days of the Augustan age. The Emperor himself, now stricken in years, felt the blow painfully. He let his hair and beard grow long. It is said that he dashed his head against the walls of his chamber, crying, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" Every year he went into mourning on the

anniversary of the defeat. He knew that his end must soon come, and he began to set his house in order. In 12 A.D. he addressed a letter to the senate, in which he commended Germanicus to its protection, and commended the senate itself to the vigilance of Tiberius. In the following year he assumed once more the proconsular power for a period of ten years. At the same time (as has been recorded in Chapter IV.), Tiberius was raised to a position almost equal to that of the Emperor himself, and his son Drusus received the privilege of standing for the consulship in three years, without the preliminary step of the prætorship.

A census was held in 14 A.D., and after its completion Tiberius set out for Illyricum, where he was to resume the supreme command. Augustus accompanied him as far as Beneventum, but in returning to the Campanian coast was attacked by dysentery and died at Nola (August 19). Tiberius had been sent for without delay, and came, perhaps in time to hear the parting words of his stepfather. There is no good reason to believe the insinuation that the Emperor's death was caused or hastened by poison administered by Livia. Her son's accession was sure, and Augustus was old and weak; so that it would hardly have been worth while to commit the crime.

§ 13. Both contemporaries and posterity had good cause to regard Augustus as a benefactor; he had given them the gift of peace. They also esteemed him fortunate (*felix*); and his good fortune became almost proverbial. Yet it has been truly remarked that luck was the one thing that failed him. Both points of view are true. He was unusually fortunate. When he entered upon his career as a competitor for power, his motives were probably as vulgar as those of his rivals; there is no reason to suppose that in the pursuit of ambition he had large views of political reform or an exalted ideal of statesmanship. His actions throughout the Civil War indicate the shrewd, cool, and collected mind; they give no token of wide views, no promise of the future greatness. "But his intellect expanded with his fortunes, and his soul grew with his intellect."* When he came to be supreme ruler, he rose to the position; he learned to take a large view of the functions of the lord of the Roman world; and there was born in him a spirit of enthusiasm for the work which history set him to accomplish. He knew too how to bear his fortune with dignity. But he was unlucky when his fortune was most firmly established. It was not given to the founder of the Empire to leave a successor of his own blood; and, as we have seen, his endeavours to settle the succession were doomed to one bitter disappointment after another,

* Merivale, cap. xxxviii., *ad fin.*

and led to domestic unhappiness. And it was not given to him to establish a secure frontier for the northern provinces of the Empire. The efforts in that direction, which were made under his auspices and seemed on the eve of being crowned with success, were undone by a stroke of bad luck. Yet, reviewing his whole career as a statesman and reflecting on all that he achieved, we may assuredly say that the Divine Augustus was fortunate with a measure of good fortune that is rarely bestowed on men who live out their life.

§ 14. The written memorial of his own acts which Augustus composed before his death may be spoken of here. It has been incompletely preserved in a Latin inscription which covers the walls of the pronaos of a temple of Augustus at Ancyra. Owing to this accident it is generally known as the Monumentum Ancyranum, but its proper title was *Res gestæ divi Augusti*. Fragments of the Greek text of the same work have also been found in Pisidia, and have helped scholars in restoring the sense, where the Latin fails. In this document the Emperor briefly describes his acts from his nineteenth to his seventy-seventh year, with remarkable dignity, reserve, and moderation. The great historical value of this memorial, composed by the founder of the empire himself, need hardly be pointed out.

An extract will give an idea of the way in which the great statesman wrote the brief chronicle of the history which he made.

"I extended the frontiers," he says, "of all those provinces of the Roman people, on whose borders there were nations not subject to our empire. I pacified the provinces of the Gauls and the Spains, and Germany, from Gades to the mouth of the Albis. I reduced to a state of peace the Alps from the district which is nearest the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan Sea, without wrongful aggressions on any nation. My fleet navigated the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine eastward as far the borders of the Cimbri, whither no Roman before ever passed either by land or sea; and the Cimbri, the Charydes, and the Semnones and other German peoples of the same region sought the friendship of me and the Roman people. By my command and under my auspices two armies were sent, almost at the same time to Ethiopia and to Arabia, called Eudæmon [Felix],. and very large forces of the enemies in both countries were cut to pieces in battle, and many towns taken. The invaders of Ethiopia advanced as far as the town of Nabata, very near Meroe. The army which invaded Arabia marched into the territory of the Sabæi, as far as the town of Mariba."

Another work compiled by Augustus was the *Breviarium Imperii*,

containing a short statement of all the resources of the Roman State, and including the number of the population of citizens, subjects, and allies. It was in fact a handbook to the statistics of the Roman Empire. At the end of this work he recorded his solemn advice to succeeding sovrans, not to attempt to extend the boundaries of the Empire.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—THE LEGIONS IN DALMATIA, 6–9 A.D.

Six legions operated in Dalmatia during the rebellion: VII., VIII., XI., XV. Apollinaris, XX. Valeria Victrix. The VIIth and XIth remained in the country after the conclusion of the war; the other four were withdrawn. The XVth and XXth were specially formed for the war. The headquarters of the VIIth were at Delminium, north-east of Salonæ; those of the XIth at Burnum, near Kistanje, on south border of Liburnia, but later probably at Salonæ. The camp of the XXth was also at Burnum; that of the VIIIth probably at Asseria, west of Burnum, on the road to Zara, near the modern Podgradje.

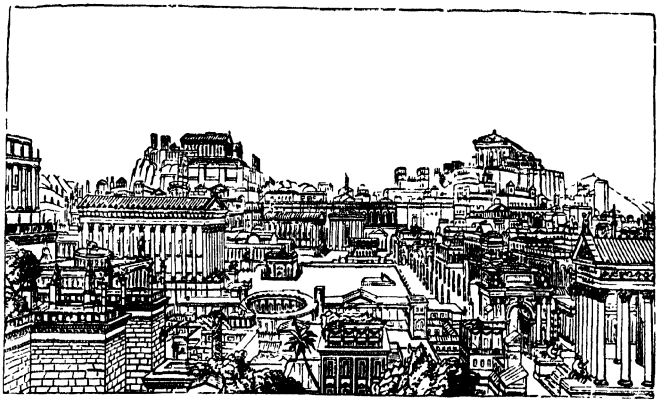
See the important article of O. Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. des pannonisch-dalmatischen Krieges*, in Hermes, xxv. 351 *sqq.*

B.—SCENE OF THE DEFEAT OF VARUS.

Many attempts have been made to determine the battlefield on which the legions of Varus were destroyed, and to identify the *Teutoburgensis saltus*. Claims have been advanced for various places, but it is improbable that the question will ever be decided with certainty. It seems clear from the rest of the narrative that the spot must lie north of the Lippe, and between the Ems and Weser. The circumstance that the place was hilly is also a vague clew; that it was marshy, is of less help, as ground which was marshy then may be dry now. Many gold, silver, and copper Roman coins, of the time of Augustus, have been found in the neighbourhood of Venne, a marshy district some miles north of Osnabrück; while almost no coins of a later date have occurred. Hence the view of Mommsen, who holds this to be the scene of the disaster, is very plausible. The hills which played a part in the episode would then be the Wiehengebirge.

As to the year of the battle, there is no doubt that it was 9 A.D., not 10 A.D. (as Brandes argued) and it probably took place in the extreme end of summer.

Coin of Drusus.



Ancient Rome.

CHAPTER X.

ROME UNDER AUGUSTUS. HIS BUILDINGS.

§ 1. The Augustan age a new epoch for Rome. § 2. The Forum. § 3. The Forum Cæsaris and Forum Augusti. Temples of Venus and Mars. § 4. Campus Martius. Pantheon, Mausoleum, &c. § 5. The Capitolium. § 6. The Palatine. Palace of Augustus and Temple of Apollo. The Aventine.

§ 1. THE Augustan age marks a new period in the history of the city of Rome. Augustus boasted that he found it a city of brick and left it a city of marble. For the change consisted not only in the large number of new buildings which were erected under his auspices, but in the material which was used. The white marble quarries of Luna had been recently discovered and this rich stone was employed in many of the public edifices; while the aristocrats, stimulated by the example of the Emperor, used bright travertine to adorn the façades of their private houses. The most striking change that took place in the appearance of the city during the reign of Augustus was the transformation of the Forum, and the opening up of the adjacent quarters. In this, as in so much else, Julius Cæsar had suggested innovations, which he did not live to carry out himself.

§ 2. The Roman Forum extends from the foot of the Capitol to the north-west corner of the Palatine. Adjoining it on the north side, but separated from it by the *rostrum*, was the Comitium, a small enclosed space in which the Curia stood. The first step to

the transformation of the Forum, was the removal of the rostrum (42 B.C.), so that the Forum and Comitium formed one place. The Curia had been burnt down ten years before, and Cæsar began the building of a new one, which was finished by Augustus and dedicated under the name of Curia Julia.* But this was only the beginning of the new splendour that was to come upon the great centre of Roman life. A short description of the chief buildings which adorned it at the death of Augustus will show how much it was changed under the auspices of the first Princeps.

At the north-west corner, close under the Capitoline, where the ascent to the Arx begins, stood the Temple of Concord, rebuilt by Tiberius in 10 A.D. and dedicated in the name of himself and his dead brother Drusus, as *ædes Concordiæ Augustæ*. Owing to the nature of the ground this temple had a peculiar cramped shape, the pronaos being only half as broad as the cella. Adjacent on the south side was the Temple of Saturn, between the Clivus Capitolinus and the Vicus Jugarius. It was built anew in 42 B.C. by the munificence of Munatius Plancus. The eight Ionic pillars which still mark the spot where it stood date from a later period. This temple served as the state treasury, which was therefore called the *ærarium Saturni*.

Between the Vicus Jugarius and the Vicus Tuscus, occupying the greater part of the south side of the Forum, stood the Basilica Julia, which, like the Curia, the elder Cæsar had left to his son to finish. Begun in 54 B.C., it was dedicated in 46; but after its completion, some years later, it was burnt down. Then it arose again on a larger and more splendid scale, and was finally dedicated by Augustus a few months before his death, in the name of his unfortunate grandsons Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. East of the Basilica, on the other side of the Vicus Tuscus, was situated the Temple of Castor, of which three Corinthian columns and a splendid Greek entablature still stand. Founded originally in memory of the help which the great twin brethren were said to have given to the Romans at Lake Regillus it was renewed for the second time by Tiberius, under the auspices of Augustus, and, like the Temple of Concord, dedicated in the name of the two sons of Livia.

The Temple of the divine Julius, built on the spot where his body had been burned by the piety of his son, stood at the eastern end of the Forum, facing the new rostra which had been erected at the western side in front of the Temple of Concord. Behind the Ædes Divi Julii and on the north side of the venerable round Temple of Vesta, was the Regia, a foundation of high antiquity, ascribed

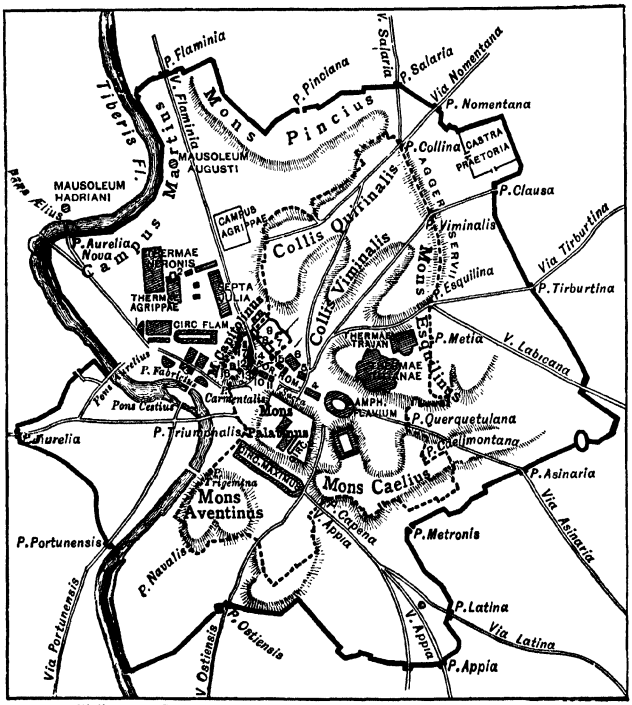
* The Curia is now San Adriano.

to Numa, and used under the Republic as the office of the Pontifex Maximus. It had been often destroyed by fire, and in 36 B.C. it was rebuilt in splendid style by Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and there Lepidus transacted the duties of his pontifical office. But when Augustus himself became chief pontiff (12 B.C.), he resigned the Regia to the use of the vestal virgins. On the north side, east of the Curia, stood a building originally designed in 179 B.C. by the censors Fulvius and Æmilius, but built anew by L. Æmilius Paullus in 54 B.C. and since then known as the Basilica Æmilia. Burnt down forty years later, it was rebuilt by Augustus, with pillars of Phrygian marble. The Temple of Janus, which Augustus thrice closed, stood somewhere—the exact position is uncertain—near the point where the Argiletum entered the Forum, between the Curia and the Basilica Æmilia.

§ 3. The Argiletum, a street famous for booksellers, traversed the populous and busy region north of the Forum, which was densely packed with houses and threaded only by narrow streets. Cæsar formed the design of opening up this crowded quarter and establishing a free communication on this side between the Forum and the great suburb of Rome, the Campus Martius. In order to effect this he constructed a new market-place: and it was owing probably to this scheme that the Curia Julia, whose building began about the same time (54 B.C.), was built nearer to the Forum than the old curia. The Forum Julium, as it was called, lay north of the Curia, and, like it, was dedicated (46 B.C.) before completion, and finished after Cæsar's death. The chief building which adorned it was the Temple of Venus Genetrix, mother of the Julian race, which Cæsar had vowed at the battle of Pharsalia.

As the elder Cæsar had made a vow at Pharsalia, so the younger Cæsar made a vow at Philippi. The vow was to Mars Ultor, and was duly fulfilled. The house of Mars the Avenger likewise became the centre of a new Forum. This temple, dedicated by its founder on the first of his own month in 2 B.C., served as the resting-place of the standards which his diplomacy had recovered from the Parthians. The Forum Augustum adjoined that of Cæsar on the north-east side. It was rectangular in shape, but on the east and west sides there were semi-circular spaces with porticoes in which statues of Roman generals in triumphal robes were set up. It became the practice that in this Forum, the members of the imperial family should assume the toga virilis; and when victorious generals were honoured by statues of bronze, they were set up here. These *fora* of the first Cæsars, father and son, were the beginning of a rehabilitation of this quarter of the city, which was resumed, a century later, by the Emperors Nerva and Trajan; and they

established an easy communication between the Forum and the Field of Mars. Hitherto the way from the Campus to the Forum had been round by the west and south sides of the Capitoline, through the Porta Carmentalis.



Walls of the Emperors ——— *Walls of Servius* - - - - - -

1. Theatrum et Porticus Pompeii.
2. Pantheon.
3. Theatrum Marcelli.
4. Templum Veneris et Romæ.
5. Templum Pacis.
6. Forum Nervæ.
7. Forum Augusti.
8. Forum Julium.
9. Forum Trajani.
10. Basilica Julia.
11. Templum Castorum.
12. Templum Saturni.
13. Templum D. Vespasiani.
14. Templum Concordiæ.
15. Basilica Æmilia.
16. Templum Jovis Capitolini.
17. Arx.

§ 4. The Campus Martius itself, whether taken in the wider or the narrower sense, put on a new aspect under the auspices of the Cæsars. The Campus in the stricter sense was bounded on the

south by the Circus Flaminius and on the east by the Via Lata. It was the great rival of Cæsar who set the example of building on this ground. In 55 B.C. Pompey erected his "Marble Theatre." Cæsar began the construction of marble Sæpta—an enclosure for the voting of the centuries—which was finished by Agrippa. The name of Agrippa has more claim to be associated with the Field of Mars than either Cæsar's or Pompey's. The construction of the Pantheon, which is preserved to the present day, was due to his enterprise. This edifice is of circular form and crowned with a dome, which was originally covered with tiles of gilt bronze. The dome is an instance "of the extraordinarily skilful use of concrete by the Romans; it is cast in one solid mass, and is as free from lateral thrust as if it were cut out of one block of stone. Though having the arch form, it is in no way constructed on the principle of the arch." * The building is lighted only from the top. "The interior measures 132 feet in diameter, as well as in height. The walls are broken by seven niches, three semicircular, and, alternating with them, three rectangular, wherein, at a later period, splendid marble columns with entablatures were introduced. Above this rises an attica with pilasters, the original portion of which has undoubtedly been changed, since we know that Diogenes' Caryatides once rose above the entablatures of the columns, and divided the apertures of the great niches. Above the attica rises, in the form of a hemisphere, the enormous dome, which has an opening in the top twenty-six feet in diameter, through which a flood of light pours into the space beneath. Its simple regularity, the beauty of its parts, the magnificence of the materials employed, the quiet harmony resulting from the method of illumination, give to the interior a solemnly sublime character, which has hardly been impaired, even by the subsequent somewhat inharmonious alterations. These have especially affected the dome, the beautiful and effectively graded panels of which were formerly richly adorned with bronze ornaments. Only the splendid columns of yellow marble (*giallo antico*), with white marble capitals and bases, and the marble decorations of the lower walls, bear witness to the earlier magnificence of the building. The porch is adorned with sixteen Corinthian columns." †

Agrippa also built the adjacent baths called after him, Thermæ Agrippæ (27 and 25 B.C.), and a basilica, which he dedicated to Neptune in memory of his naval victories, and enclosed with a portico which from the pictures adorning it was called the Portico of the Argonauts. Another wealthy noble of the day,

* Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 131.

† Taken from Lübke's *History of Art* (Eng. Tr.).

Statilius Taurus, constructed the first stone amphitheatre in Rome, and its site, too, was somewhere in the Field of Mars. The first Princeps himself seemed content to leave the adornment of the Campus chiefly to the munificence of his lesser fellow-citizens. But much further north than all the buildings which have been mentioned, where the Campus becomes narrow by the approach of the Via Flaminia to the river, he built a great mausoleum for the Julian family, a round structure surmounted by a statue of himself.

On the south side of the Flaminian Circus, in the Prata Flaminia, a region which might be included in the Campus, in a wider sense of the name, Augustus erected the Porticus Octaviæ in the name of his sister, and attached to it a library and a collection of works of art. It was close to the *Templum Herculis Musarum* built by Fulvius Nobilior, the patron of the poet Ennius, and renewed under Augustus, and surrounded by a portico which was dedicated as the Porticus Philippi, in honour of L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of the Emperor. Near the Portico of Octavia, were the Theatres of Balbus and Marcellus, both dedicated in the same year (11 B.C.). The first was one of those works which the rich men of the day executed through the influence and example of Augustus. The second had been begun by Cæsar, but was finished by Augustus and dedicated in the name of his nephew Marcellus. The Porticus Octavii (close to the Flaminian Circus), which was dedicated by Cn. Octavius after the victory over Perseus, was burnt down and restored under Augustus. It was remarkable as the earliest example of Corinthian pillars at Rome.

§ 5. From the Forum the Clivus Capitolinus, passing the temple of Saturn, led up to the saddle of the Mons Capitolinus, the smallest of all the mountains of Rome. Thence it ascended to the southern height, called specially the Capitolium, the citadel of Servian Rome, where the treaties with foreign nations were kept and triumphal spoils were dedicated. Another path led up to the northern height, the Arx, which underwent little change under the Empire. But on the southern hill it was otherwise; there new buildings arose under the auspices of Augustus. The highest part of the hill was occupied by the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in which the senate used to meet on certain solemn occasions. This temple, burnt down in 83 B.C., had been rebuilt, but it required and received costly repairs in the time of Augustus. Ranged around it on lower ground were many lesser temples, of which that of Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus dedicated his spolia opima, and that of Fides founded by Numa, may be specially mentioned. Augustus increased their number. In 20 B.C. he dedicated the round temple

of Mars Ultor, and in 22 B.C. that of Jupiter Tonans, in memory of an occasion, during his Cantabrian expedition, on which he had narrowly escaped death by lightning. This temple, marvellous for its splendour, attracted multitudes of visitors and worshippers, and its position at the point where the Clivus reached the Area Capitolina might suggest that Jupiter Tonans was a sort of gate-keeper for the greater Jupiter on the summit.

§ 6. But the Palatine Mount was the centre from which the development of Rome went out. It was the original Rome, the *Roma quadrata*, where were localised the legends of its foundation. There were to be seen the Casa Romuli, the Lupercal where Romulus and Remus were fed by the wolf, the cornel-tree, and the *mundus*, receptacle of those things which at the foundation of the city were buried to ensure its prosperity. Under the Republic, the Palatine was the quarter where the great nobles and public men lived. Augustus himself was born there, and there he built his house. So it came about that the name which designated the city of Rome in its earliest shape, *Palatium*, became the name of the private residence of its first citizen. The palace of Augustus was a magnificent building in the new and costly style which had only recently been introduced in Rome. Ovid, standing in imagination by the temple of Jupiter Stator, where the Palatine hill slopes down to the Via Sacra, could see the splendid front of the palace, "worthy of a god."

> Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
> Conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo.*

The other great building by which Augustus transformed the appearance of the Palatine was the temple of Apollo, begun in 36 B.C. after the end of the war with Sextus Pompeius, and dedicated eight years later. It was an eight-pillared peripteros, built of the white marble of Luna, and richly adorned with works of art. The chief sight was the colossus of bronze representing Augustus himself under the form of Apollo. Between the columns stood the statues of the fifty Danaids, and over against them their wooers, the sons of Ægyptus, mounted on horseback. Under the statue of the god were deposited in a vault the Sibylline Books. In the porticoes were two libraries, one Latin and one Greek.

On the northern slope of the Palatine, facing the Capitol, stood the temple of Augustus, which Tiberius and the Empress Livia erected in his honour after his death.

On the south side the Palatine looks down on the Circus Maximus, which was restored by Augustus. Opposite rises the Aventine, a hill long uninhabited and afterwards chiefly a plebeian

* *Tristia*, iii. 1. 53.

quarter, on which the chief shrine was the temple of Diana, whence the hill was sometimes called *collis Dianæ*. This temple was rebuilt by L. Cornificius under Augustus, who himself restored the sanctuaries of Minerva, Juno Regina, and Jupiter Libertas on the same hill. Livy was hardly guilty of exaggeration when he called Augustus "the founder and restorer of all the temples" of Rome.*

§ 7. A word must be said here about the triumphal arch (*arcus triumphalis*) which was a characteristic feature in the external appearance of Rome and other important cities of the Empire. Under this name are included not only arches erected in honour of victories, but also those which celebrate other public achievements. A triumphal arch was built across a street. It consisted either of a single archway, or of a large central and two side ones, or sometimes of two of the same height side by side. There were generally columns against the piers, supporting an entablature, and each façade was ornamented with low reliefs. Above all rose an attica with the inscription, and upon it were placed the trophies in case the arch commemorated a victory. The arch of Augustus at Ariminum, erected in memory of the completion of the Via Flaminia, and his arches at Augusta Prætoria and Susa, still stand. The general appearance of the arch resembles that of the gate of a city, and it seems to have owed its origin to the Triumphal Gate through which a victorious general led his army into Rome to celebrate his triumph.

* iv. 20.

Head of Mæcenas.

Tomb of Virgil.

CHAPTER XI.

LITERATURE OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

§ 1. Augustan literature. Writings of Augustus. Circles of Mæcenas and Messalla. Asinius Pollio. § 2. Virgil. § 3. Æmilius Macer. Cornelius Gallus. § 4. Horace. Valgius. Melissus. Domitius Marsus. § 5. Tibullus. Propertius. Ovid; his banishment. Albinovanus Pedo. § 6. Gratius. Manilius. § 7. Livy. Pompeius Trogus. § 8. Hyginus. Verrius Flaccus. Philosophy, rhetoric and oratory. Jurists. § 9. Greek writers. Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Longinus. Nicolaus of Damascus. Strabo.

SECT. I.—LATIN POETRY.

§ 1. LATIN literature was affected seriously, and in many ways, by the fall of the Republic and the foundation of the Empire. The Augustan age itself was brilliant, but after the Augustan age literature rapidly declined. The most conspicuous figures in the world of letters under Augustus had outlived their youth under the Republic; some of them had served on the losing side. But these soon became reconciled to the new order of things. The Emperor drew men to himself by virtue of the peace and security which he had established (*cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit**); and it was his special object to patronise men of literary talent and engage their services for the support of his policy. His efforts were successful; he won not only flattery, but sympathy for the new age which he had inaugurated; he enlisted in his cause, not

* Tacitus, *Annals*, 1. 2.

only timeservers, but the finest spirits of the day. Although the Augustan literature is certainly marked by a vein of flattery to the court, and by a lack of republican independence, yet we cannot but recognise a genuine enthusiasm for the new age, for the peace which it had brought after the long civil wars, and for the greatness of the Roman Empire. And, from a literary point of view, the Augustan age ranks among the most brilliant in the history of the world; below the Periclean, perhaps below the Elizabethan, but certainly far above that of Louis XIV. It is true that the cessation of the political life of the Republic necessarily meant the decline of oratory; it is true that historians could no longer treat contemporary events with free and independent criticism. It is true likewise that the severe style of old Latin prose begins to degenerate, and that poetry lays aside its popular elements and becomes more strictly artificial. In fact the poets deprecate popularity and despise the public. Horace's cry "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo" is characteristic of the age. But for literary excellence and for the perfection of art the best of the Augustan writers had a clear judgment and a delicate taste. The tendencies of the new age inevitably led to a decline; but, as an ample compensation, we have Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Livy.

AUGUSTUS, as we have said, concerned himself with the promotion of literary activity, and the patronage of men of letters. "He fostered in all ways the talents of his age." * He founded two libraries, one in the portico of Octavia, the other at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. He was an author himself both in prose and verse. He wrote "Exhortations to Philosophy;" and a poem in hexameters, entitled "Sicilia." The *Monumentum Ancyranum* and the *Breviarium totius imperii* have been mentioned elsewhere.†

The two chief ministers of Augustus were authors likewise. AGRIPPA wrote memoirs of his own life, and edited an Atlas of the world. MÆCENAS composed occasional poems of a light nature, and also wrote some prose works. But he is more famous as a patron of poets than as a poet himself. His literary circle included Horace, Virgil, Varius, Tucca, Domitius Marsus, besides many lesser names. The orator M. VALERIUS MESSALLA (64 B.C.–9 A.D.), also drew round him a group of men of letters, among whom the most distinguished were the poets Tibullus, Valgius Rufus, Æmilius Macer, and perhaps Ovid. This circle seems to have held quite aloof from politics. Messalla's own literary work chiefly consisted in translations from the Greek, both prose and verse.

* Suetonius, *Augustus*, 89.

† See above, Chap. IX. § 14.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO (75 B.C.–5 A.D.) held a unique position. Having been on the side of Antonius, he withdrew after Actium from political life, and holding himself aloof from the court, devoted himself to literature, with a certain independence and perhaps antagonism to the spirit of the age. He was very learned and a very severe critic. He wrote tragedies, which are praised by Virgil;* and a history of the civil wars (*Historiæ*) reaching from 60 to about 42 B.C.† He was a friend of both Virgil and Horace.

§ 2. PUBLIUS VERGILIUS‡ MARO was born in 70 B.C. at Andes, near Mantua. His rustic features bore testimony to his humble origin; his father was an artisan. He went to school at Cremona; afterwards he studied at Mediolanum, and finally at Rome, where Octavius, afterwards to be Cæsar and Augustus, was his fellow-student in rhetoric. He studied philosophy under the Epicurean Siro. After his return home, he and his family experienced the calamities of the civil war. Octavius Musa, who was appointed to carry out the distribution of land to veteran soldiers in the district of Cremona, transgressed the limits of that district and encroached § upon the neighbouring territory of Mantua (41 B.C.). Virgil's father was among the sufferers; but Asinius Pollio, who was then legatus in Gallia Transpadana, and the poet Cornelius Gallus, interested themselves in his behalf. At their suggestion, Virgil betook himself to Rome, and obtained from Cæsar the restitution of his father's farm. The first Eclogue is an expression of gratitude to Cæsar for this protection: *deus nobis hæc otia fecit.* But Virgil and his father were not permitted to remain long in possession of their recovered homestead. The same injustice was repeated a year or two later, and the poet was even in danger of his life. Again he went to Rome, and the influence of Mæcenas, to whom he had probably become known by the publication of some of his Bucolics, secured him, not restitution but compensation, perhaps by a farm in Campania, where he spent much of his later life.

Virgil's first work, the *Bucolics*, consisting of ten "eclogæ," or idylls, was composed in the years 41–39 B.C. Inspired by Theocritus, they are written in the same metre, and are in great part imitations from his idylls. But most of them contain references to contemporary persons and events, especially to the hardships in Transpadane Gaul from which Virgil himself

* *Eclogue* viii. 10: Sophocleo digna cothurno.

† See Horace, *Odes*, ii. 1.

‡ This is the true spelling of the poet's name; but it is quite needless to alter the familiar English abbreviation of the name from Virgil to Vergil.

§ Hence the line, Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ, *Ecl.* ix. 28.

had suffered so sorely. Cæsar, Cornelius Gallus, Alfenus Varus (the successor of Pollio as legatus), and above all, Pollio himself, have their places in the woods of Tityrus. The fourth Eclogue, written for the year of Pollio's consulship (40 B.C.), treats a theme which hardly belongs to bucolic poetry. Virgil feels that he has to make his woods "worthy of a consul."

Si canimus silvas, silvæ sint consule dignæ.

He salutes the return of the "Saturnian kingdoms" and the golden age.* The salutation was premature by ten years; and when peace at length came to the Roman world, Pollio, instead of being its inaugurator, was rather an opponent. But it is interesting to observe, that the idea of some great change for the better was in the air.

The Bucolics were written in the north of Italy (not yet "Italy" at that time); his next work was written in the south, chiefly at Naples. It was Mæcenas who suggested the subject of the *Georgics*, a didactic poem in hexameters, dealing with the various parts of a farmer's work. The first Book treats of agriculture, the second of the plantation of trees, the third of the care of livestock, the fourth of bees. No subject was more congenial to Virgil's Muse—his "rustic Muse," as he says himself; and from some points of view the Georgics may be regarded as his masterpiece. He has here achieved a task, which is the hardest that a poet can undertake, to write true poetry in a didactic form. Rare artistic instinct and genuine love of his subject were happily joined to produce this unique poem, in which Virgil seems to be more truly himself than either in the Bucolics or the Aeneid. The composition and revision of this work occupied the years from 37 to 30 B.C. when it was read aloud to Cæsar on his return from Actium. It is interesting to note that the latter part of the fourth Book was originally devoted to the praises of the poet's friend Cornelius Gallus, but that after his execution (27 B.C.)† this passage was cut out by the wish of the Emperor and replaced by the story of Orpheus.

In the Georgics, Virgil promises that he will soon gird himself to a greater task, and sing the deeds of Cæsar.‡ But his poem took the form of an epic, in which, not Cæsar, but Æneas, the founder of the Julian gens, was the hero. The work was begun about

* Toto surget gens aurea mundo (l. 9).

† See above, Chap. VII. § 8.

‡ Bk. iii. 46. Propertius, writing in 26 or 25 B.C. heralds the coming of the Æneid thus (iii. 34. 65):

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grail;
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

Other lines in this context suggest that Virgil may have intended to celebrate the victory of Actium after the completion of the Æneid.

29 B.C., and occupied the remaining ten years of the poet's life. He died at Brundusium in 19 B.C., leaving the Æneid unfinished. His wishes were that the manuscript should be burnt, but Augustus, that such a great work should not perish, committed its publication to Varius and Tucca, friends of Virgil, on the condition that they should make no alterations. Though Augustus was not the hero, there were opportunities, in a poem dealing with the origin of "the Latin race and the Alban fathers and the walls of lofty Rome," * to look forward over the ages of Roman history and celebrate the glories of him who was to "found a golden age.† The Æneid has suffered from the premature death of its creator; it was neither finished nor revised. Yet it would hardly be an injustice to Virgil to say that its excellence and charm lie in particular episodes, in delicate and subtle details of language and rhythm, and not in the poem regarded as a whole. But it must always stand beside the Iliad and Odyssey, as the third great epic of antiquity. The Roman dignity and magnitude of the subject, and the wonderful power of the narratives in the second, fourth, and sixth Books, have exalted the Æneid far above the Georgics in the estimation of posterity; yet it might be argued that Virgil had more in common with Wordsworth than with Milton or with his worshipper Dante. The note of Virgil is "natural piety;" perhaps he cannot be described better than by the happy expression which his friend Horace applied to him, *anima candida.*

Virgil was buried close to Naples on the road to Puteoli, and the inscription on his tomb, said to have been dictated by himself before his death, ran thus:

> Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
> Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

§ 3. In connection with Virgil, it is natural to mention his elder contemporary and friend, L. VARIUS RUFUS (B.C. 74–14), celebrated for his epics on Cæsar and Octavian,‡ and more celebrated for his tragedy the *Thyestes.* Another poet of about the same age was ÆMILIUS MACER of Verona, also a friend of Virgil, and disguised in the Bucolics under the name of Mopsus. He wrote poems on natural history (*Ornithogonia* and *Theriaca*), but they have been less lucky than his models, the Greek poems of Nicander, which survive to the present day. The unfortunate CORNELIUS GALLUS (69 B.C.–27) must also be mentioned here, though his name has its place rather in the age of Catullus and Cinna. It was he who transplanted the erotic elegy of the Alexandrine Greeks to Roman

* *Æneid*, i. 6.
† *Æneid*, vi. 791.
‡ He was expected to write a glorification of Agrippa: Hor., *Odes*, i. 6.

soil, and founded "the school of Euphorion," to which Catullus and Cinna belonged. He translated Euphorion into Latin; and wrote four Books of original elegies on his own mistress Cytheris under the name of Lycoris. His death has been already noticed.*

§ 4. The great lyric, like the great epic, poet of Rome was of humble birth. Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS was the son of a freedman, and was born at Venusia, on the borders of Apulia and Lucania,† in 65 B.C. After the death of Julius Cæsar (44 B.C.) he joined the cause of Brutus and served under him in Asia and Macedonia, until the Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.). On that occasion he took part in the general flight, as he tells us himself,‡ and afterwards returning to Rome, obtained a post as a quæstor's secretary. During the next ten years he wrote his Satires and Epodes, which brought him fame, and secured him the friendship of Virgil and Varius, who introduced him to Mæcenas. In 37 B.C. we find him accompanying Mæcenas on the journey to Brundusium, of which he has left us a pleasant description.§ The intimacy with Mæcenas ripened; the Epicurean views of life which both held were a bond between the poet and his patron. Horace had a taste for country life, and in 33 B.C. Mæcenas bestowed upon him a farm in the Sabine territory, which he preferred to "royal Rome." Independence was one of the chief characteristics of Horace, and he felt more independent in the country than in the immediate neighbourhood of the court.

The first Book of the Satires appeared about 35 B.C.: the second Book about five years later. In this style of composition the predecessor of Horace was Lucilius;‖ but while Lucilius criticised persons and politics freely, Horace prudently confined himself to generalities on society and literature, owing to the altered circumstances of the time. Lucilius had imitated the Greek writers of Old Comedy, such as Cratinus and Aristophanes; and Horace stood in somewhat the same relation to his predecessor as the New Comedy stood to the Old. From these "Talks" (*sermones*, as Horace calls them himself ¶), written, like those of Lucilius, in hexameter verse and in colloquial style, we learn much about the personality of Horace and about his friends. In the Epodes, which were published

* Another poetic friend of Virgil is mentioned in the Bucolics under the name (perhaps fictitious) of Codrus: Proxima Phœbi versibus ille facit (vii. 22).

† *Satires*, ii. 1. 34: "Lucanus an Appulus anceps." He has given an account of his early life in *Sat.*, i. 6.

‡ *Odes*, ii. 7.

§ *Satires*, i. 5.

‖ Horace discusses Lucilius and his relation to Greek comedy in *Sat.*, i. 4 (cp. *Sat.*, i. 10). In l. 56 he states that Lucilius was his own predecessor (his ego quæ nunc, olim quæ scripsit Lucilius).

¶ *Epistles*, i. 4. 1: Albi, nostrum sermonum candide iudex. And this is the title given in the Manuscripts. But Horace also called his epistles *sermones*, so that *satires* is a very convenient name for the sake of distinction. *Sermo* indicates the colloquial style.

about the same time as the second Book of the Satires, Horace imitated Archilochus and attacked persons in coarse language. All these poems (except the last) are written in couplets consisting of a longer and a shorter line, generally an iambic trimeter followed by an iambic dimeter. They are the least interesting work of Horace, but they were a good exercise in handling metres and in the imitation of Greek models, and they led to the Odes.*

The greatest "monument"† of poetry that Horace has bequeathed to posterity is the collection of lyrical poems in four Books known as the Odes. The first three Books were published in 24 B.C., the fourth eleven years later. In lyric composition he does not claim originality, he only "adapted Æolian song to Italian measures;" but he claims priority; he was the first (except Catullus) to make the attempt:—

> Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
> Deduxisse modos.

For this he bids the Muse crown him with Delphic laurel. But though the Greek lyric poets, especially Sappho and Alcæus, were his models, it was an original idea on the part of Horace to turn away from the Alexandrine poets who were then in vogue, and go back to the older singers. It required true genius and wonderful artistic instinct to tune the borrowed lyre to the accents of another tongue. Horace was supremely successful. In the Odes his poetic judgment is, with few exceptions, faultless; the happiest word comes almost inevitably; his felicity (*curiosa felicitas*) was praised by Roman critics. Some of these poems are probably free translations from the Greek, but many refer to contemporary people and events, some deal with Roman history, and the victories won under the auspices of Augustus. The fourth Book of the Odes is said to have been published at the instance of the Emperor.

But in the interval between his earlier and later lyric works, Horace wrote *Epistles*. The first Book appeared about 20 B.C. After the strict technical constraints to which he had subjected himself in the Odes, it was a relaxation for the poet to expand himself in the easy and familiar style of the *Sermones*. But the urbane *Epistles*, though written in the same colloquial language, are very different from the Satires; they are more mature, less polemical, and they have a charm of serenity which is wanting in the earlier work. It might be said, that if the genius of Virgil found its truest expression in the Georgics, so that of Horace was best expressed in his Epistles; and in this form of composition he has never been

* Horace himself does not use either *epode* or *ode*. The epodes he calls *iambi*, the odes *carmina*.

† Monumentum ære perennius, *Odes*, iii. 30. 1.

equalled The second Book of the Epistles, written in the later years of his life, includes a Treatise on Poetry, the *Ars Poetica*, in the form of a letter to his friends the Pisos.

Horace died in 8 B.C., surviving by a few months his benefactor Mæcenas, beside whom he was buried. Though he had at first stood aloof, he became reconciled, as time went on, to the Empire, was on good terms with Augustus, and did what was required of him as an Augustan poet. And independent though Horace was, he had a decided weakness for friendships with great people. The influence of Mæcenas probably did much to stimulate his poetic activity; for Horace was by no means one of those who cannot help singing. He was not "inspired;" his poetry is marked by lucidity and judgment.

Many poets, whose works have not survived, but famous in their own day, are mentioned by Horace. His friend VALGIUS, who wrote Epigrams and Elegies, was actually compared to Homer.* ARISTIUS FUSCUS and FUNDANIUS composed dramas, PUPIUS doleful tragedies. Here may be mentioned also C. MELISSUS, who wrote a *jest-book*, and originated the *fabula trabeata*; and DOMITIUS MARSUS, famous chiefly for his Epigrams,† in which field he was the predecessor and master of Martial.

§ 5. Of the elegiac poets of this period whose works have come down to us, the most charming is ALBIUS TIBULLUS (54–19 B.C.). Adopting the form of Alexandrine elegy, he breathed into it a fresh spirit of Italian country life. In his love poems to Delia,‡ whose true name was Plania, there is a certain tender melancholy which we do not find in the rest of classical literature. By his deft handling of the pentameter he made an important technical advance in the development of Latin Elegy. Along with his works and under his name were published after his death some poems, which were not by him, but by a certain Lygdamus (perhaps a fictitious name). Also included in the collection of his elegies are some which were written by SULPICIA, the niece of his patron Messalla.

The Umbrian poet SEXTUS PROPERTIUS (probably born at Asisium, about 49–15 B.C.) did not emancipate himself like Tibullus from the influence of his Alexandrine models, Callimachus and Philetas. On the contrary he prides himself on his Alexandrinism, and calls himself the Roman Callimachus. He was very learned, and his elegies are full of obscure references to out of the way myths. Nevertheless no works of the age are so thoroughly impressed with the individuality of the writer as the passionate poems of Propertius. The passion which inspired his song, was his

* By Tibullus (iv. 1. 179), æterno propior non alter Homero.

† The title of his book was *Cicuta*.

‡ δῆλος = *planus*.

love for Hostia, a beautiful and accomplished courtezan, whom he disguised under the name of Cynthia, as Catullus had disguised Clodia under Lesbia, and Tibullus Plania under Delia. His first Book of Elegies brought him fame, and probably secured him an admission into the circle of Mæcenas. The imagination of Propertius was eccentric, his nature melancholic. He looked at things on their gloomy side, and perhaps his special charm is his skilfulness in suggesting vague possibilities of pain or terror. He loved the vague, both in thought and in expression; in his metaphors, the image and the thing imaged often pass into each other, and the meaning becomes indistinct. He seems to have been a man of weak will, and this is reflected in his poetry. It has been noticed by those who have studied his language, that he prefers to express feelings as possible rather than as real; his thoughts naturally ran in the potential mood. His connection with Cynthia lasted for about five years, and after it was broken off, Propertius wrote little. It was Cynthia who had made him a poet.*

The third of the great Roman elegiac poets, P. OVIDIUS NASO, of equestrian family, was born at Sulmo in the Pælignian territory, 43 B.C. Trained in rhetoric and law, he entered upon an official career and by the favour of Augustus received the *latus clavus*, and held some of the lower magistracies, such as vigintivir and decemvir. But he gave his profession up for the sake of poetry. He has said himself, in a verse which probably suggested a familiar line of Pope, that verse-writing came to him by nature:

Quidquid tentabam dicere versus erat.

He is the only one of the great Augustan poets whose literary career belongs entirely to the Augustan age. His works may be classified in three periods. (1) The extant works of the early period are all on amatory subjects and in elegiac verse. The *Amores*, in three Books, celebrate Corinna. The *Ars Amatoria*, likewise in three Books, gives advice to lovers of both sexes as to the conducting of their love affairs, while the *Remedia Amoris* prescribes cures for a troublesome passion.† But the best work of this period is the *Heroides*, a collection of imaginary letters of legendary heroines, such as Penelope, Dido, Phædra, to their lovers. Here Ovid has shown his poetic power at its best.

(2) The two works of the second period, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, are the most ambitious of Ovid's works. They deal

* So Martial: Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti.

† The short poem *Medicamina faciei*, hints for a lady's toilette, also falls in this period.

respectively with Greek and Roman mythology. For the Metamorphoses or Transformations, composed in hexameter verse, Ovid obtained his material chiefly from the Alexandrine poets Nicander and Parthenius. The Fasti, a sort of commentary on the Roman calendar, in elegiac metre, should have consisted of twelve books, one for each month of the year, but only six (March to August) were completed.

(3) The third period begins with Ovid's banishment to Tomi in Scythia, in 9 A.D. The cause of this banishment is one of those historical mysteries which can never be decided with certainty. The poet himself only ventures on dark hints. He mentions "a poem and an error" (*carmen et error*) as the two charges which led to his fate. He also says that his *eyes* were to blame (*cur noxia lumina feci?*). The poem probably refers to his licentious *Ars amatoria* which was so opposed in spirit to the attempts at social reform made by the framer of the Julian Laws. But the true cause must have been the mysterious *error*. It has been conjectured, with considerable probability, that Ovid had witnessed some act of misconduct on the part of a member of the Emperor's family, and was punished for not having prevented it. This may have been connected with the adultery of the younger Julia and D. Silanus. The poet perhaps was made the scapegoat. In his exile on the shores of the Euxine,* he composed the letters *ex Ponto* (in four Books), and the *Tristia* (in five Books), in which he laments his fate and implores to be forgiven; the *Ibis*, a bitter attack on some anonymous enemy, on the model of a poem which Callimachus wrote against Apollonius of Rhodes; and an unfinished poem on fishing (*Halieutica*). He also wrote a Getic poem in honour of Augustus. But neither Augustus nor his successor Tiberius revoked the sentence of the unhappy poet, and Ovid died at Tomi in 17 A.D.

In handling the elegiac metre, Ovid bound himself by stricter rules than his predecessors. He had wonderful facility in versification, but he was more of a rhetorician than a poet, and he is most successful where rhetoric tells, as in the *Heroides*. He lived in ease and luxury, and rejoiced that he lived in the age of Augustus, when life went smoothly (*hæc ætas moribus apta meis*). His love-poetry was distinguished by lubricity; and in this he contrasted unfavourably with Tibullus and Propertius. The tragedy of *Medea*, which he composed in his early period, is not extant; but it and the *Thyestes* of Varius were the two illustrious tragedies of the day. Two poems, *Nux*, an elegy, and the *Consolatio ad Liviam*,† were

* See above, Chap VI. § 12, for Ovid's description of life at Tomi.

† See above, Chap. IX. § 6.

falsely ascribed to Ovid, but were probably written by some contemporary of inferior talent.

Among the friends of Ovid, who were likewise poets, may be mentioned SABINUS who wrote answers to the Heroides; PONTICUS, author of a Thebaid; CORNELIUS SEVERUS, who treated the Sicilian war with Sextus Pompeius in verse. The "starry" ALBINOVANUS PEDO,* wrote a Theseid, and also an epic on contemporary history.

§ 6. The Georgics of Virgil and the Halieutics of Ovid belong to the kind of poetry known as didactic. Other works of this class are the *Cynegetica* of GRATTIUS, on the art of hunting; and the *Astronomica* of MANILIUS, in five Books. Of the author of this astronomical poem we know nothing, even his name is uncertain, but he possessed poetical facility of no mean order, and considerable originality.

Most of the short occasional pieces, of a light and humorous nature, which were collected under the title of *Priapea*, belong to the Augustan age, and many of them to the best poets.

SECT. II.—LATIN PROSE-WRITERS.

§ 7. The History of Rome by TITUS LIVIUS (59 B.C.–17 A.D.) stands out as the greatest prose work of the Augustan period. Livy was born at Patavium, and a certain Patavinity has been remarked in his diction. But most of his life was spent at Rome, where he studied rhetoric, wrote philosophical dialogues, and enjoyed the friendship of Augustus. He began his history (*Ab urbe condita libri* was the title) soon after the foundation of the Empire, and carried it down as far as the death of Drusus (9 B.C.). The work consisted of 142 Books in all, originally distributed in decads and half-decads, which appeared separately, according as they were completed. But only 35 Books have been preserved to us, namely B. 1–10 and B. 21–45. We have, however, short epitomes of the contents of almost all the lost Books.

Livy was a mild and amiable man, who held no extreme views, liked compromise and conciliation, hated violence and turbulence, and could be indulgent to men of all parties. This fair and equable temper can be traced in his history; the one thing which is unpardonable in his eyes is harsh fanaticism. Ancient Rome is his ideal; and he regards his own age as degenerate, destitute of the virtues, simplicity, and piety which made the old time so great. His heroes are Cincinnatus, Camillus, Fabius the Delayer. This general

* Sidereusque Pedo (Ovid, *Pont.*, iv. 16. 6.) He must not be confounded with another poet of the day, Albinovanus Celsus, mentioned by Horace.

view of the course of Roman history he states in strong language in the general preface to his work. He invites his readers to learn by what men and by what policy at home and abroad the empire of Rome was won and increased, then to follow the gradual decline of discipline and morals, then witness that decline becoming more and more marked, and ending in a headlong downward rush, until his own times are reached "in which we cannot endure our vices nor submit to remedies." We cannot doubt his honesty as a historian; but his views of writing history were such that his statements must often be received with caution. For though he wished to tell the truth, he cared much more for style than for facts. He had little idea of historical method, or of historical research. He gave himself no trouble to ascertain the truth in doubtful cases. For the early history he simply worked up into an artistic form the narratives of Polybius and of late Roman annalists, especially Valerius of Antium; and did not exert himself to consult all the available sources, or even the best. His knowledge of constitutional matters was unsound; nor was he at home in military history. He approached his subject rather as a rhetorician than as a historian; and as a literary work his history takes rank among the great histories of the world. His style was prolix. Ancient critics observed that he used more words than were necessary, and his "abundance" (*lactea ubertas*) was contrasted with the conciseness of Sallust.

POMPEIUS TROGUS wrote a universal history in forty-four books, beginning with the Assyrian Ninus, and ending with his own time. It was entitled *Historiæ Philippicæ*. The original work has not come down to us, but in a later age it was abbreviated by a certain Justinus, and this abridgment is extant. Other historians of the Augustan period were L. ARRUNTIUS, who wrote an account of the Punic war in the style of Sallust, and FENESTELLA, an antiquarian, who, in his *Annales*, paid special attention to social and constitutional history.

§ 8. C. JULIUS HYGINUS, a freedman of Augustus and librarian of the Palatine Library, was an interesting figure in the literary history of his time. He may be regarded as the successor of Varro, as an antiquarian and polymath. He wrote on the cities of Italy (*de situ urbium Italicarum*), on illustrious Romans (*de viris claris*), on agriculture; also a commentary on Virgil. All these books are lost, but a mythological (*Fabulæ*) and an astronomical work have come down under his name, and perhaps are really his.

Of other antiquarians, many of whose names we know, must be mentioned M. VERRIUS FLACCUS, who wrote a book on the Calendar (*Fasti*), and an important lexicographical work entitled *de verborum*

*significatu.** Most valuable, as the only work of the kind that has been preserved, is the treatise of VITRUVIUS POLLIO, *De Architectura*, in ten books. It was dedicated to Augustus and finished before 13 B.C.

Of the many philosophers, rhetors and orators, who talked and wrote at this period, there is none of any interest to posterity. Among philosophical writers may be mentioned Q. Sextius Niger, and his son of the same name; among the rhetors M. Porcius Latro, of whose declamations some extracts are preserved; and among orators, the fluent Haterius, the rabid Labienus,† the biting Cassius Severus. The two great jurists of the Augustan age were M. Antistius Labeo (59 B.C.–12 A.D.), and his younger rival C. Ateius Capito (34 B.C.–22 A.D.), who founded schools afterwards known as the Proculian and Sabinian respectively.

SECT. III.—GREEK LITERATURE.

§ 9. From the year 146 B.C. forward, Greek literature begins to hold a place in Roman history along with the advance of Roman sway over the Greek world. By the time of Augustus nearly all the Greeks of Europe, Asia, and Egypt have become either immediate or federate subjects of Rome. Their literature, therefore, on this ground claims the attention of the student of Roman history; but still more because many Greek writers busied themselves with the history and antiquities of their new mistress. Polybius is the first and most famous example of a Greek writing Roman history; but under the Empire Greek books on Roman subjects are numerous.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus came to Rome soon after the battle of Actium and lived there for more than twenty years, studying Latin literature and writing in his own language on Latin subjects. While he was at Rome he associated with men of the senatorial class, and his writings are animated with republican sentiments. He continued the work of Polybius in endeavouring to reconcile his countrymen to Roman sway. Polybius had expounded the rôle which Rome was destined to play in history; Dionysius is concerned to show that she was worthy to play it. In his work on "Roman Archæology," which he finished in 8 B.C., he seeks to prove, by tracing out mythical connection between Rome and Greece, that the Romans were not really "barbarians." It was a

* Not extant, but partly preserved through the copious extracts of Festus.

† He was nicknamed *rabies*, from his promiscuous attacks on all sorts and conditions of men.

mark of gratitude for the kind treatment which he experienced at Rome. This work consisted of twenty Books, but only the first eleven are preserved entire. The style is wordy and rhetorical, very unlike that of Polybius. He used good sources; but he has no appreciation of the meaning or methods of history; he even puts long rhetorical speeches into the mouths of legendary persons. He defines history as "philosophy by examples." In questions of literary criticism, however, he is quite at home; and his various literary treatises, in which he shows thorough appreciation of the old masters, are of considerable value.*

More interesting in some ways than the literary treatise of Dionysius is that of a certain LONGINUS—of whom personally nothing is known—"on the sublime" (or more correctly "on loftiness of style"),† which seems to have been written in the early years of the first century A.D. It contains much enlightened and suggestive criticism. The author had some acquaintance with the Hebrew scriptures.

NICOLAUS of Damascus (born about 64 B.C.) was a great friend of King Herod, whom he assisted in his work of Hellenism. He had been the teacher of the children of Antony and Cleopatra. He was a very prolific author, and wrote on philosophical, rhetorical and historical subjects. His greatest work was a universal history, planned on a very large scale, which Herod stimulated him to compose. Of it we have only fragments. But his panegyrical life of Cæsar (Augustus), a declamatory rather than historical work, has come down to us complete.

The long *Geographica* of STRABO (63 B.C.–23 A.D.), in seventeen Books, is of great historical importance as giving a picture of some of the subject lands of Rome in the Augustan age. Strabo was of a good Cappadocian family, a native of Amasea, and lived at Alexandria. He came to Rome about the same time as Dionysius, but soon left it. He describes the whole known world, but in many cases his information was mainly derived from older books, and cannot be taken as representing the condition of things which prevailed in his own time. Books i. and ii. deal with physical geography, Books iii. to x. describe Europe, Books xi. to xvi. Asia, Book xvii. Africa. His accounts of Asia Minor and Egypt are especially valuable, as he knew these lands himself and mentions many of his own experiences. His description of Spain is also valuable; for though

* "Handbook to Rhetoric," (τέχνη ῥητορική) in 11 parts; "On the Composition of Words" (in reference to æsthetic effect); "Criticism of the Ancients (an extract from a larger work "On Imitation"); Essays on the Style of Demosthenes, on Thucydides, &c.

† Περὶ ὕψους. There is considerable uncertainty about the name and the date of the author.

he had not been there, he had evidently received recent information about it, probably at Rome. From Strabo's work we get a very distinct impression of the blessings of the Pax Augusta and the safety which travellers now enjoyed both by sea and land. He also wrote a work entitled "Historical Memoirs," in over forty Books,* but it has not been preserved.

* Ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά

Digentia, Horace's Sabine Farm.

Tiberius.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS (14–37 A.D.).

§ 1. Position of Tiberius at death of Augustus. Possible rivals. His accession. § 2. Deification of Augustus. Will of Augustus. § 3. Mutinies of armies in Germany and Pannonia suppressed by Germanicus and Drusus. § 4. Position and designs of Germanicus. § 5. His campaign in 14 A.D. against the Marsi. § 6. Two campaigns in 15 A.D. against the Cherusci. Ill-luck of the Romans in returning. § 7. Great campaign of 16 A.D. Its description by Tacitus. Battle of Idistaviso. § 8. Small result of the campaigns of Germanicus. His recall by Tiberius. Germany abandoned. § 9. Triumph of Germanicus. § 10. Drusus in Illyricum. The Suevians. Maroboduus deposed retires to Ravenna. End of Arminius. § 11. Germanicus sent to the East. The Armenian question. § 12. Hostility of Cn. Piso. Death of Germanicus. § 13. Insubordination of Piso. The attitude of Tiberius. § 14. Trial and death of Piso. § 15. Tacitus on Germanicus and Tiberius. § 16. Conspiracy of Libo Drusus. § 17. War in Africa against Tacfarinas. Campaigns of Blæsus and Dolabella. § 18. Rebellion in Gaul. Florus and Sacrovir. § 19. Risings in Thrace suppressed by Poppæus Sabinus. § 20. War with the Frisians. § 21. A Servile War averted.

SECT. I.—ACCESSION OF TIBERIUS.

§ 1. IT was generally regarded as a matter of course that Tiberius should step into the place of Augustus. The Roman world did not dream of a revolution; and it was felt that the monarchy naturally fell to him, who stood in the same relation to the now divine Augustus as Augustus himself to the divine Julius. Men universally acquiesced in the succession of Tiberius as the heir, the

adopted son, the chosen consort of the deceased Emperor. But though such feelings moved men's minds, constitutionally the Empire was elective, not hereditary; and the senate and the people could, without infringing the constitution, have conferred the Principate on someone wholly unconnected with the Julian family. Augustus had himself named three nobles who might possibly compete with Tiberius: Lepidus, who was "equal to the position, but despised it;" Asinius Gallus, who "might desire it, but was unequal to it;" and Arruntius, who "was not unworthy of it and would dare to seek it, if a chance were offered." But even from Arruntius, Tiberius had nothing to fear; the only possible rivals seemed to be his own kinsmen, his nephew Germanicus, who was absent in Gaul, and Agrippa Postumus, who still pined in the island to which his grandfather had banished him. The unlucky Agrippa was slain by his gaoler immediately after the death of Augustus; and there can be no doubt that the order for his execution was given either by Tiberius or by Livia.

When the death of Augustus was announced, Tiberius by virtue of the tribunician power which he had received in the preceding year for an indefinite period, convoked the senate. He had already given the watchword to the prætorian cohorts and sent despatches to the legions, as if he were formally Emperor. It is not quite clear whether this was formally an act of usurpation. For it might have been held that the proconsular imperium, which Tiberius possessed before the death of Augustus, having been bestowed by a decree of the senate and not being merely derived from the imperium of the Princeps, did not cease on the death of the Princeps. In any case, the act seemed an anticipation of his election to the Principate, and Tiberius afterwards made a sort of apology for it to the senate. But senate and people, consuls and prefects, took an oath of obedience to him without a sign of hesitation. The proconsular imperium was renewed or confirmed, and the various rights, which had been granted to Augustus by separate enactments, were conferred upon him, doubtless by a single comprehensive law (*lex de imperio*). Tiberius indeed, adopting the maxims of statecraft, which he had learned from his predecessor, feigned reluctance to assume the immense task of directing such a vast Empire, and suggested that the functions of government should be divided among more than one ruler. But it was easily seen that the suggestion was not intended seriously. It was part of the transparent comedy, which was played henceforward between the senate and the Princeps. It is important to observe that the practice adopted by Augustus of assuming the Empire for a defined period of years was now

abandoned. On the other hand, Tiberius would not assume it for life. No term was fixed; but he intimated his intention of resigning the Principate when the state no longer needed him. Here again no one took his words as seriously meant.

§ 2. The first care of Tiberius was the funeral and deification of Augustus. The dead body was borne by senators to the Campus Martius, where it was burnt and the ashes were bestowed in the imperial Mausoleum. Funeral orations were pronounced both by Tiberius and by his son Drusus. The senate decreed temples and priests to the *divus Augustus*, who was thus raised to a place beside his father, the *divus Julius*. His will, which had been deposited in the charge of the Vestal Virgins, was read before the senate and thus published abroad. It bequeathed two-thirds of his fortune to Tiberius, and the remainder to Livia, who was to be adopted into the Julian family and bear the name Augusta. If these heirs failed, one-third of the property was to descend to Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and the remainder to Germanicus and his three sons. But these legacies were considerably diminished by the large donations which were left to the citizens and to the prætorian and legionary soldiers. Along with his fortune, the old Emperor bequeathed (in his *Breviarium Imperii*) some counsels of government. He deprecated the admission of provincials to the privileged position of Roman citizens; he condemned the further extension of the frontiers of Roman dominion; and he advised that as many men of ability as possible should be engaged in the administration of public affairs. It seems probable that the second of these counsels specially regarded the conquest of trans-Rhenane Germany, and we shall see how Tiberius acted on it.

SECT. II.—GERMANICUS ON THE RHINE.

§ 3. The first weeks of the reign of Tiberius were disturbed by mutinies in the Rhine and Danube armies. Discontent had long been smouldering, and had only been hindered from bursting forth by respect for the old Emperor. The soldiers who defended the German frontiers contrasted the hardships which they were obliged to endure in harsh climates and remote regions, the small pay which they received, the unduly long term of service and the inadequate provision awaiting them at its expiration, with the easy life and the higher pay of the prætorian guards, who could look forward to gifts of land in Italy itself. On the news of the death of Augustus, mutinies broke out simultaneously on the Danube and on the Rhine. The Pannonian army, consisting of three legions

under the command of Julius Blæsus, threw off the authority of their general, and demanded that their pay should be raised, that the term of service should be reduced from twenty to sixteen years, and that the veterans should receive their pensions in money. Blæsus was forced to send his son to Rome, to bear these demands to the new Emperor, and in the meantime the troops vented their pent up wrath on the centurions, whom they most detested, and refused to perform their military duties. Tiberius despatched some prætorian cohorts under his son Drusus to treat with the mutineers and restore order, but sent no definite message of concession. The soldiers were enraged when they discovered that Drusus was instructed to evade rather than comply with their demands, and the young prince was with difficulty rescued from their fury. But an eclipse of the moon opportunely took place; the superstitious soldiers were alarmed, and, seized with a fit of remorse, they listened to the indefinite promises of Drusus and returned to their allegiance. The ringleaders were given up and put to death.

The revolt of the Rhine legions was a more serious danger. In Pannonia there was no question of setting up a rival emperor; but this danger existed on the Rhine. Germanicus Cæsar, governor of Gaul and general of the eight legions stationed on the German frontier, was marked out as the successor of Tiberius, his adoptive father; and the troops of Lower Germany conceived the design of hastening his reign. They not only demanded shorter service, higher pay, and lighter labour, but proclaimed their intention of carrying Germanicus to Rome, and making him Emperor. Germanicus was at the time absent in Lugudunum, occupied with the census of Gaul. Aulus Cæcina, an experienced officer, was in command of the legions of the Lower province, while Upper Germany had been assigned to C. Silius. When the news reached Germanicus, he hastened to the camp on the Lower Rhine, which lay in the land of the Ubii, and appeared in the presence of the mutineers. An exciting scene then took place; the soldiers beseeching their popular commander to right their wrongs, showing him the marks of their wounds and stripes, finally urging him to march to Rome and seize the sovran power; Germanicus expostulating and praising the virtues of Tiberius. The excitement reached such a pitch that it was necessary to withdraw the general from the presence of the troops. It was a critical moment. The mutineers talked of destroying the Town of the Ubii—*Oppidum Ubiorum*—and plundering the cities of Gaul. The German foes beyond the Rhine would not fail to take advantage speedily of the broken discipline of the army. To restore order, Germanicus was forced to concede, in the name of Tiberius, the demands of

the troops. He promised that the term of service should be shortened, and that large donatives should be distributed. The legions then returned to their winter-quarters, two under Germanicus to Oppidum Ubiorum, the other two under the legatus Aulus Cæcina to Castra Vetera. But at this moment messengers arrived from Rome, for the purpose of investigating the causes of the discontent, and when the soldiers saw that the concessions might fail to be ratified, the mutiny broke out more furiously than ever. Germanicus decided that his wife and children should leave the camp. It does not appear that he apprehended any serious danger on their account, for no measures were taken to conceal their flight. They departed in broad daylight, and in view of the whole camp. The sight of Agrippina carrying in her arms the little boy Gaius, who had been born and reared in the camp, and whom they had nicknamed *Caligula* "Boots," (from the *caligæ* or military boots which they made him wear in sport) moved their hearts to remorse. The memory of her father Agrippa, her grandfather Augustus, her father-in-law Drusus, stirred their pride; and when they learned that her destination was the city of the Treveri, jealousy prompted them to make peace with their general. Germanicus seized on the propitious moment to work on their softened feelings, and recall them to their duty. They fell on their knees before him, begged for forgiveness, and zealously delivered their ringleaders to punishment. It seems likely that this scene was expressly devised by Germanicus, as a last resource for appealing to the nobler sentiments of the insurgents.

Thus was the danger averted in the Ubian camp. In Castra Vetera, the skilful management of the experienced Cæcina restored discipline; while at Moguntiacum the agitators, who tried to stir to rebellion the army of the Upper province, seem to have totally failed.

§ 4. The only peril which threatened the succession of Tiberius was thus hindered, and for this he had to thank the unshaken fidelity of his nephew. Germanicus had refused to listen when the troops tempted him to disloyalty; he declined to take the flood of the tide, which might have led him to fortune. If he had marched to Rome at the head of the Germanic legions, he would have plunged the state once more in civil war, but it is not certain that he would have been the survivor. Germanicus was a man of considerable ability, and his affable manners and urbanity won him friends everywhere. In the camp he associated freely with the soldiers, and they idolized him. He had his father's gift of making himself popular, but he had not his father's genius. It was his dream, however, to restore the work which Drusus had so brilliantly begun, and carry the eagles of Rome once more to the Albis.

Immediately after the suppression of the mutiny, the young Cæsar decided to employ the discontented legions, who were themselves anxious for active service. Hostilities against the Germans had been slumbering for the past few years; but no treaty had been made since the defeat of Varus, so that in making a sudden incursion the Romans were formally justified. It has been questioned whether Germanicus was not exceeding his powers in taking the offensive without the express permission of the Emperor. But as he had been entrusted by Augustus with his large command for the purpose of conducting the war and defending the frontier against the Germans, it must clearly have been left to his discretion when he might advance and when he should retire.

§ 5. In the late autumn (14 A.D.) the legions and cohorts of the Lower province crossed the Rhine, cut their way through the Silva Cæsia, and through the rampart which Tiberius had constructed after the Varian disaster, as the *limes* of Roman territory. Thus they reached the land of the Marsi, who dwelled between the rivers which are now called Lippe and Ruhr. Cæcina advanced in front, with some light cohorts to reconnoitre and clear the way. It was discovered that the Marsi were to spend the night in solemn festivities, and when the Romans approached their villages after sunset, the inhabitants, unsuspicious and inebriated, offered an easy prey. The legions were divided into four "wedges" (*cunei*), which devastated the country for fifty miles with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age. The holy places of the Marsi, especially the sacred precinct of the deity Tamfana, were levelled with the ground.

The fate of the Marsi roused to arms the neighbouring tribes, the Bructeri, who lived northward, the Tubantes, who dwelled on the Rura (Ruhr), and the Usipetes between the Luppia and the Mœnus. They stationed themselves in the woods through which the Romans had to return; but the zeal of the legions and the skill of the commander shook off the enemy, and the winter-quarters were safely reached.

The revolt on the Lower Rhine had caused serious anxiety at Rome, and especially to Tiberius, coming, as it did, in conjunction with the mutiny in Pannonia. The Pannonic army was nearer Italy; on the other hand the Germanic army was far larger; and the Emperor, uncertain in which of the camps his presence was more needful, and afraid of giving the preference to either, ended by remaining in Rome and watching the issue of events. The news that Germanicus had quelled the mutiny was a great relief; but it was suspected that the military success which he gained in his brief campaign was not so agreeable to Tiberius. If so, the

Emperor dissembled his jealousy, praised the achievement of his nephew in the presence of the senate, and granted him the honour of a triumph.

§ 6. The following year was marked by two distinct invasions of Germany, which, however, hung closely together and were parts of a common design. Of all the German tribes, the Cherusci, the tribe of Arminius, were the most formidable and the most hostile. They had been the leaders in the fight for freedom which ended in the Varian disaster. Against them above all others policy and revenge excited the spirit of Germanicus. His plan was to prevent the neighbouring peoples from assisting them and then attack them alone. Their most powerful neighbours were the Chatti, and the first expedition was directed against them. (1) In the spring the four legions of the Lower Rhine crossed the river from Castra Vetera under the command of Cæcina, who was to prevent the tribes in that quarter, especially the Marsi and the Cherusci, from marching to aid the Chatti. Cæcina's army was augmented by bands of the cis-Rhenane German tribes—Batavians, Ubii and Sugambri. Meanwhile Germanicus himself at the head of the four legions of the Upper Rhine advanced into the territory of Mount Taunus, and attacked the Chatti so suddenly that no serious resistance could be made. Their fortress Mattium was destroyed. By this means the Chatti were prevented from making common cause with the Cherusci. That people was distracted at this time by domestic discords. Segestes was invoking the help of the Romans against his enemy and son-in-law Arminius, the hero of the Teutoburg Forest. The messengers of Segestes reached Germanicus as he was returning to the Rhine, and besought him to relieve their master, who was blockaded by his enemies. The Roman army retraced their steps, entered the borders of the Cherusci, and delivered their ally, who was able, in return, to restore some of the spoils of Varus, and hand over some important hostages, among these his daughter Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius. That warrior, infuriated at the capture of his wife, left nothing undone to stir up the passions of his nation, and he succeeded in winning over Inguiomer, an influential noble, who had hitherto sided with the Romans.

(2) Germanicus and Cæcina, who had signally defeated the Marsi, having returned to the Rhine, prepared for a grand expedition against the enemy, conceived on the same plan which Drusus had formerly adopted with success. The army was divided in three parts. Cæcina led his legions through the land of the Bructeri to the banks of the upper Amisia; Germanicus and the four legions of the Upper province embarked, to coast along the shore of

the North Sea and enter the river at its mouth; while the cavalry, under Pedo Albinovanus, the poet, marched to the same goal through the land of the Frisii. Successfully united, the combined army laid waste far and wide the land between the Amisia and the Luppia. Here they were near the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, where the remains of Varus and his legions lay unburied, and Germanicus could not resist the desire of visiting the spot, erecting a mound over the white bones, and honouring with funeral rites the slaughtered Romans. The lonely and melancholy scene produced a deep impression on the legions, but they were soon required to extricate themselves from a trap similar to that which had ensnared the Varian army. Arminius had hidden his forces in the forest and the Romans had not secured themselves sufficiently against surprise. But Germanicus and Cæcina were more skilful than Varus, and though he did not defeat the enemy he retreated to the Amisia with some difficulty. The return to the Rhine was not easy. The cavalry of Pedo reached their quarters without mischance. But the country through which the way of Cæcina lay was heavy and marshy, and the Germans of Arminius and Inguiomer sought to surround him as they had surrounded Varus. The experienced Cæcina was cool and collected in these perils, and knew how to maintain discipline, but he might have failed to extricate his army but for a false move of the foe. The Germans had made a successful attack on the cavalry and baggage of the Romans, and elated by their luck proceeded, contrary to the counsels of Arminius, to assault the Roman camp. Waiting until they had reached the rampart, Cæcina suddenly threw open the gates and poured out his troops on the besiegers. The Germans suffered a decisive defeat; Inguiomer was severely wounded; and the Romans were able to proceed on their way. A false rumour of their destruction had gone before them to Castra Vetera; and it was proposed there to break down the Rhine bridge. But the humanity and courage of Agrippina saved the means of retreat for the fugitive army. She stood at the head of the bridge and would not move until the remnant should reach it; and she was repaid by seeing the arrival of the four legions safe and whole.

The return of Germanicus himself was attended with ill-luck and serious losses. He found it necessary to lighten his ships amid the shallow waters of the Frisian coast, and disembarked two legions, directing them to march along the shore. The treacherous equinoctial tides swept away a large number of the soldiers, and much of their baggage. On the whole the campaign could hardly be regarded as a success. The dangers and losses of the return march threw a cloud over the expedition, and Tiberius had some

reason to murmur at the little results obtained at such expense. The advantages won by Germanicus were only momentary; for he had done nothing to effect a permanent occupation of the country which he had laid waste. He had built no fort, and established no lines of communication. His wisdom in visiting the battlefield of Varus was open to question. Tiberius, naturally distrustful, nourished some jealousy and perhaps fear of his popular nephew, and there were enemies of Germanicus at Rome who were eager to encourage such feelings. But the Emperor had not yet decided to interfere with the plans of Germanicus for the subjugation of Germany; and he professed to regard the achievements of the year as worthy of a triumph. He seems not to have fully made up his mind yet, whether the conquest of Germany was really desirable or its permanent occupation possible.

§ 7. The next, and last campaign of Germanicus (16 A.D.) was planned on a larger scale. This time he hoped to reach the Albis, and break the last resistance of the Cherusci. A fleet of one thousand ships was collected where the Rhine broadens and branches into the Vahalis; and the whole army embarked and sailed down the Fossa Drusiana, where Germanicus invoked the spirit and recalled the memory of his father. Before starting he had taken the precaution to send his legatus C. Silius to make a demonstration against the Chatti, and had himself, with six legions, marched up the valley of Luppia, to secure strongholds and make provision for the return of his army. The fleet reached the mouth of the Amisia safely, and, leaving the ships anchored and guarded, the Romans advanced in a south-eastward direction to the banks of the Visurgis, where the Germans, prepared for their coming, had concentrated their forces under the leadership of the indefatigable Arminius. Here at length the Roman invader and the champion of German freedom were to fairly try their strength in a field of battle.

The reserved historian Tacitus rises to the occasion as he describes the campaign which decided both the destinies of Germany and the fortunes of his hero Germanicus. He embellishes his Germaniad with tales which have a ring of legend and throw over the young general a halo of romance which his deeds hardly deserved. The colloquy of Arminius and his renegade brother Flavus, standing on the opposite banks of the Visurgis, is, if not true, well imagined. Flavus had lost an eye in the service of the Romans, and Arminius, when he had inquired and learned the cause of the disfigurement, asked, "What was thy reward?" "I received," said Flavus, "increase of pay, a gold chain and crown, and other military distinctions." "Vile badges of slavery," sneered

his brother. Flavus continued to praise the greatness of Rome and the Emperor, while Arminius appealed to ancestral freedom, and the national gods of Germany. At length such bitter words were bandied, and the wrath of the brothers rose so high, that they were about to plunge into the stream and grip each other in mortal struggle; but the Romans intervened and dragged Flavus from the bank. The night-adventure of Germanicus has the same epic flavour as the converse of the German brethren. The Romans crossed the Visurgis in the face of the enemy, who had retreated into the recesses of a sacred wood, and news was brought that Arminius contemplated a night-attack on the Roman camp. Tacitus tells us how Germanicus (like our own Henry V.) was seized with a desire to ascertain the spirit of his soldiers, and how, for this purpose, he disguised himself, and, with a skin over his shoulders attended by one companion, he went round the camp and listened near the tents. He was pleased to hear his own praises loudly sung and to observe that the men were eager to punish the "perfidious" foe. As he traversed the camp a German horseman rode up to the rampart and in the Latin tongue invited deserters in the name of Arminius, with promises of lands, wives, and a daily sum of money. Scornful was the answer: "Let the day break, let battle begin; we will ourselves seize your wives and lands."

The battle was fought in the plain of Idistaviso, which probably lies to the south of the Porta Westfalica on the right bank of the Visurgis. The Germans had occupied the lower slopes of the mountains, and were protected in the rear by a wood, unencumbered with brushwood, and thus offering an easy retreat. The Cherusci placed themselves on the higher hills, intending to rush down upon the Romans in the midst of the battle. While the legions and auxiliaries advanced to attack the German position in the open plain, Germanicus sent a body of cavalry round to out-flank the enemy and fall on their rear. This movement was completely successful. The German forces which were stationed in the wood were driven out of their cover into the plain, while at the same time the ranks which were drawn up in the plain were beaten back before the onset of the legions into the wood. The confusion was increased by the Cherusci, who were forced by the attack of the cavalry to descend from the hills into the midst of the battle. Arminius essayed bravely to sustain the fight, but he and his fellows were surrounded by the Roman forces, and their doom seemed sealed. Arminius, however, and Inguiomer managed to escape, perhaps owing to the treachery of some German auxiliaries; the rest were slain.

This decisive victory was gained by the Romans without any

serious loss. The soldiers saluted Tiberius as "Imperator," and erected a trophy of the arms of the enemy, subscribing the names of the conquered nations. The defeated and dejected Germans were, it is said, preparing to cross the Albis, and leave their country to the victor, but this trophy excited their rage, and decided them to make another desperate attempt. It may be suspected, however, that the battle of Idistaviso was less decisive than it has been represented. In any case, the enemy once more collected large forces, and occupied a place protected by woods and a deep swamp, and on one side by an old rampart. But Germanicus discovered their position, and did not fall into the trap. He attacked them on the side of the earthwork, and forced his way into the small space in which they were thickly packed together. Their position was desperate. If they retreated, they must perish in the marsh; and with their long swords they could sustain no equal combat with the legions at such close quarters. Germanicus, it is said, was in the thickest of the fray, crying that the Germans must be exterminated. But the barbarians fought well; Arminius escaped; and the cavalry engagement was indecisive. At nightfall the Romans returned to their camp, victorious indeed, but without having exterminated or routed the foe. The Angrivarii were the only tribe who sued for peace. Germanicus erected a second trophy, which told how the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued all the nations between the Rhine and the Albis, dedicated this monument to Mars, and Jupiter, and Augustus.

It was now the middle of summer, and Germanicus, notwithstanding his successes, resolved to retrace his steps. Some of the legions returned by land, others by sea on the ships which awaited them at the mouth of the Amisia. The voyage was disastrous, owing to violent gales which agitate the North Sea in the autumn season; the fleet was scattered, and Germanicus himself wrecked on the shore of the Chauci. The losses, however, were not so great as was at first thought, and on his return to the Rhine some successes gained against the Marsi and Chatti partly restored the spirits of the troops, which the sea disaster had damped; and the last of the captured eagles of Varus were recovered.

§ 8. Germanicus deemed that he was now near the goal of his ambition. One more campaign would suffice, he thought, for the complete subjugation of Germany. But destiny decreed, and Tiberius judged, otherwise. It is clear enough that the victories of the last campaign were far less important and complete than Tacitus has tried to make them out. Their results were only temporary, and the Emperor, perhaps wisely, decided that no abiding result was likely to be achieved by Germanicus. There

was indeed reason for disappointment; nothing had been accomplished in proportion to the magnitude of the expeditions. Accordingly Tiberius offered the consulship to his nephew, and this was equivalent to a recall. How far the sovran was influenced by a lurking jealousy of the popular general, how far he deemed it inexpedient that the close connection between Germanicus and the Rhine army should continue, we cannot say. But it is only fair to point out that the recall of Germanicus can be completely explained by political considerations, without taking into account any personal motives. Tiberius may have come to the conclusion that annual invasions of Germany were too slow and costly a method of winning the new province, even though it were certain that this method must ultimately succeed. A different policy was suggested by the intestine feuds of the barbarians. If the Romans retired from the field a deadly contest must soon take place between the Saxon and the Suevian tribes; and when the enemy had enfeebled themselves in domestic war, the Romans might step in and take possession of their country. This was a plausible policy, and was perhaps seriously entertained by Tiberius. But it is possible that he had really come to regard the advance to the Albis as a visionary idea which it would not be expedient to realise. If the Rhine troops changed their station to the banks of the Albis, would not another army be required to watch Gaul, and would the state be able to support another army? These were the questions which a statesman had to consider; and they may have decided Tiberius, as they seem to have decided Augustus, that the Rhine was roughly the limit. In any case, financial considerations had probably much to do with the disappointment of the dreams of Germanicus.

From the year 17 A.D. forward we never find one man uniting under his single authority both the government of the Gallic provinces and the command of the Germanic armies. Henceforward the three provinces of Gaul are administered by three prætorian governors; and the two frontier districts, Upper and Lower Germany, are kept strictly separate under two consular legati, who are always (up to the time of Hadrian) strictly military commanders (*legati exercitus inferioris et superioris*), not *legati provinciæ*, though often loosely spoken of as such. The financial administration of these military districts was at first combined with that of Belgica (like that of Numidia with Africa). It is to be observed that for many years yet the province of Lower Germany extended beyond the Rhine and as far as the Lower Amisia.

§ 9. The young general celebrated a brilliant triumph (26 May, 17 A.D.) over the conquered nations between the Rhine and Albis. Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, with her infant son Thumelicus,

whom she had borne in captivity, was among the captives who adorned the procession.

It is said that in the midst of the festivities people felt a gloomy presentiment, comparing the young Cæsar with his father Drusus and his uncle Marcellus, who, like him, had been so popular, but had died so early. "Brief and unlucky," they said, "have been the loves of the Roman people."

§ 10. After his triumph Germanicus was appointed to an honourable mission in the east. At the same time his cousin Drusus was sent to Illyricum, to observe the course of affairs in northern Europe. Arminius and his Cherusci, with their Saxon federates, having no longer to oppose the invasions of the Romans, hastened to deal with the Suevian state in the south, over which Maroboduus held sway with the title of king. It will be remembered that this chief had refused to join Arminius after the defeat of Varus. He was an admirer of Roman civilisation, having spent part of his youth in Rome, and he tried to introduce Roman manners and government among his countrymen. Throughout the struggle for freedom he had remained persistently neutral. The centre of his power and his palace lay in Boio-hæmum, but he was recognized as the head of a large and loose Suevic confederacy. Of these tribes, the Semnones and Langobardi deserted his cause on the first attack of the Cherusci. On the other hand, the Cheruscan Inguiomer went over to Maroboduus. A decisive battle was fought, in which the Suevians were defeated, and many more of his allies deserted the Suevic king, who then applied for aid to the Roman Emperor. Tiberius immediately sent Drusus to confirm peace, perhaps really to effect the downfall of Maroboduus. The unlucky king was finally overthrown and driven from his realm by Catualda, chief of the Gotones, a people who lived on the lower Vistula. They invaded the land of the Marcomanni, and stormed the town and stronghold of Maroboduus, who was forced to flee to the refuge of the Empire and throw himself on the Emperor's mercy. Ravenna was assigned to him as a dwelling-place, where Thusnelda and her son had been also doomed to live. It was a curious historical coincidence that the city of the marshes, which was destined five centuries later to be the capital of the great German hero, the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, should have been selected as the habitation of Maroboduus, his predecessor in attempting to spread Roman ideas among his countrymen. Maroboduus lived eighteen years at Ravenna, vainly expecting to be restored to power. He had the satisfaction to see Catualda overthrown and like himself seeking a refuge from the Romans. He had the satisfaction to see his younger rival Arminius succumb to

the guile of a domestic enemy (21 A.D.). After the defeat of the Suevians, the hero of Germany had been false himself to the freedom for which he had fought, and tried to establish a monarchical power. He was "undoubtedly," says the Roman historian,* "the deliverer of Germany, and not one of those who attacked the Roman people in the beginning of its power, but when it was at the height of its prosperity. He lost battles, but in war he was unconquered. He died at the age of thirty-seven, in the twelfth year of his power, and he is still sung among the barbarians, although to the annals of the Greeks he is unknown, and among the Romans not as celebrated as he deserves."

Sect. III.—Germanicus in the East. His Death, and the Trial of Piso.

§ 11. In the East several affairs demanded the attention of the government, but not so imperatively as to require an extraordinary command like that which Tiberius assigned to Germanicus after his triumph. The dependent principalities of Cappadocia, Commagene and Cilicia Aspera had to be transformed into provinces; for Archelaus of Cappadocia had been recalled to Rome, and informed that he had ceased to reign, while the peoples of Commagene and Cilicia had, on the death of their princes, begged for a direct Roman government. The inhabitants of Judea and Syria were murmuring loudly at the heavy taxation, and demanding a reduction. New difficulties had also arisen with the Parthian kingdom. Vonones, a son of Phraates IV., who had been kept by Augustus as a hostage and brought up at Rome, was elected to the throne by the Parthians after the death of their king. He did not, however, reign long; his Roman manners gave offence; and he was forced to surrender his throne to Artabanus of Media, and fly to Seleucia. The Armenian throne was at this moment vacant, and the people accepted the fugitive Vonones as their sovran; but Artabanus, who could not endure the rule of his rival in a neighbouring kingdom, called upon them to surrender him. Meanwhile Silanus, legatus of Syria, got possession of the person of Vonones and detained him in Syria. All these affairs might have been arranged by ordinary imperial legati; but Tiberius may have had good reason for sending a near kinsman and a Cæsar, invested with special powers and representing the imperial majesty, to deal with Eastern countries, where pomp always produces its effect. Such a plan had been successful before, when Gaius Cæsar received a like mission from Augustus.

The sphere of the command of Germanicus was all the provinces

* Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii. 88.

beyond the Hellespont. He travelled thither at leisurely speed, visiting Nicopolis, Athens, and Lesbos on his way, and lingering in the cities of the Hellespont. The affairs of Armenia he arranged without difficulty, and established friendly relations with the Parthian king. The favour of the Armenians inclined to Zeno, son of Polemo, former king of Pontus, who had been brought up as an Armenian from his infancy, and was popular by his excellence as a huntsman and a trencherman. Germanicus visited the city of Artaxa'a, and solemnly crowned Zeno there under the royal name of Artaxes. This arrangement also satisfied Artabanus, who regarded Vonones as the Roman candidate and had put forward his own son Orodes as the Parthian candidate. The election of Artaxes was a satisfactory compromise, and Artabanus sent a courteous message to the Roman general, proposing a personal meeting on the Euphrates, and only requiring him to remove Vonones from Syria, so as to prevent communications with the disaffected party in Persia. Germanicus readily acceded to the request, and Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia. Thus excellent relations were established between the Roman and the Parthian powers, and continued to exist during the lifetime of Artaxes, until the last years of the reign of Tiberius. Cappadocia and Commagene were at the same time incorporated in the provincial system, and thus the direct rule of Rome extended now to the Euphrates.

§ 12. Germanicus had speedily and satisfactorily accomplished the main object of his mission, but he had other difficulties to contend with. It was not the intention of Tiberius that the ample authority of the young Cæsar should be as completely unchecked in the east as it had been in the north. Consequently Silanus, who was a personal friend of Germanicus, was replaced as proconsul of Syria by Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a proud, self-asserting nobleman, who would not hesitate to hold his own against his superior. The position of Piso was strengthened, and his independent spirit encouraged by the bonds of intimacy which existed between his wife Plancina and the Emperor's mother Livia. The dissensions of Piso and Germanicus were doubtless embittered by the rivalry of Plancina and Agrippina. Piso had been instructed to lead or send a portion of the Syrian army to join Germanicus in Armenia. He disobeyed this command, and the ill-feeling between the Cæsar and the legatus became very bitter. It is not clear why Germanicus did not invoke the intervention of the Emperor. But instead of asserting his authority in Syria, he made an excursion to Egypt, not for any political purpose, but from a curiosity to visit the antiquities of the land. This expedition was imprudent in two ways; for it left the field clear to Piso, and it violated the law of

Augustus, that no senator should set foot on Egyptian soil, without the express permission of the Emperor. On returning to Syria, Germanicus found that Piso had disregarded and overthrown his own regulations. This discovery roused him into asserting his authority, and Piso prepared to leave the province. Suddenly, Germanicus fell ill at Antioch, and Piso postponed his departure. The attendants of Germanicus suspected and circulated their suspicions, that poison had been administered to him by Piso or his wife. Messages enquiring after the health of the prince arrived from Piso, who was lingering at Seleucia; but Germanicus, distrustful of their genuineness, wrote a letter to the governor, renouncing his friendship, and commanding him, perhaps, to leave the province. Piso sailed to Cos, and there received the news of his rival's death (19 A.D.). Germanicus himself believed that he was the victim of foul play, for on his deathbed he charged his friends to prosecute Piso and Plancina. And his friends determined that he should be avenged. Agrippina, with her children and the ashes of her husband, immediately set sail for Rome.

§ 13. The staff of the dead prince chose Cn. Sentius Saturninus to take charge of Syria, until a new governor should be appointed. Piso however determined to make a bold attempt to resume his command in that province, and for this purpose collected some troops in Cilicia. But Sentius was victorious in an engagement, and besieged Piso in the Cilician fortress of Celenderis. The ex-governor was finally forced to submit and take ship for Rome, where an unpleasant reception awaited him.

The feelings of sympathy awakened by the death of Germanicus were intense, both in the provinces and at Rome. Triumphal arches were erected in his honour, and his statues were set up in cities. Inscriptions recorded that he had "died for the republic." Correspondingly bitter was the rage felt against Piso and Plancina, who were generally believed to have been guilty. Nor were there wanting hints and murmurs that Tiberius himself and Livia were privy to the supposed crime of Piso and Plancina. It was thought that Tiberius regarded his nephew with jealousy and hatred, and rejoiced at his death; and it was apparently this idea that encouraged Piso to act as he had done. The reserve of Tiberius in regard to the funeral ceremonies of Germanicus, at which he and Livia were not present, was interpreted in the same way, and the Emperor even went so far as to show displeasure at the excess of the public lamentations. He issued a characteristic edict, enjoining on the people to observe some moderation in their sorrow. "Princes are mortal, the republic is eternal. Resume your business; resume your pleasures"—he added, for the Megalesian games approached.

By this contempt for popular sentiment Tiberius, it has been remarked, was "sowing the seeds of a long and deep misunderstanding between himself and his people." Men contrasted the behaviour of Augustus on the death of Drusus.

§ 14. But the Emperor had no intention of protecting Piso, who had been guilty of the serious offence of trying to recover a province from which he had been dismissed by a superior in authority. The friends of Germanicus vied in undertaking the prosecution, but it was hard to find advocates to plead the cause of Piso. His friends wished the accused to come before the tribunal of the Emperor, but Tiberius did not like to undertake the decision of such a delicate case, and he referred the judgment of it to the senate. He opened the proceedings in the senate-house in a very impartial speech. The charges of political misconduct were clearly proven, but the charge of having made attempts on the life of Germanicus by magic and poison broke down. The senators, however, who in general sympathised with Germanicus, felt convinced that the prince's death had been due to foul play, while the political offences of the culprit weighed with Tiberius. At the close of the second day of the trial, Piso saw in the cold look of the Emperor that his doom was fixed. His conclusion was confirmed by the behaviour of his wife Plancina, who had pleaded for him with the Empress Livia, but, as his chances of escape seemed to grow less, tried to sever her own cause from his. He anticipated the sentence by piercing his throat with his sword. The senate expunged his name from the *Fasti*, and banished his eldest son for ten years; but Tiberius interfered to mitigate the sentence of the senate, and conceded Piso's property to his son. The influence of Livia shielded Plancina from prosecution.

Thus ended a domestic tragedy. It must be observed that even if it were certain that Germanicus was the victim of foul play, there is not the smallest reason to suspect that the Emperor was in any way concerned, as malicious rumours hinted. But there is no proof and there can be no certainty that the death of Germanicus was brought about by unfair practices of Piso or his wife. Another malicious report, which gained belief, was that Piso had not died by his own hand, but had been assassinated by the orders of the Emperor.

§ 15. The qualities of Germanicus have been painted in such bright colours by the great Roman historian who has recorded his career, that we cannot help feeling deeply prepossessed in his favour. He appears as one of the ideal heroes who die young. But it is not clear that he would have become a great man, if he had lived. His exploits have been exaggerated by the enthusiasm of his admirers.

Tacitus, with more regard to art than truth, has selected him as the brilliant hero to set beside the dark figure of Tiberius. Germanicus is generous and virtuous; Tiberius suspicious and stained with crime. The uncle is the ideal tyrant, the nephew is the magnanimous prince. This picture of Tacitus in some measure reflects the general feeling which seems to have prevailed on the death of the popular Germanicus. Tiberius was misunderstood and maligned; the virtues of the son of Drusus were exaggerated.

§ 16. In the year 16 A.D. a plot was detected, which, though not of a formidable nature, attracted considerable attention. It shows that there was dissatisfaction in patrician circles, and illustrates the character of Tiberius. A young man named Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian family, was accused of revolutionary projects. Scribonia, the second wife of Augustus, was his great-aunt; Livia was his aunt; and he was the grandson of Sextus Pompeius through his mother. These connections with the imperial house seem to have turned his brain and suggested perilous ideas, which were encouraged by a senator named Firmius Catus, who was his intimate friend. Catus induced him to consult Chaldæan astrologers, and dabble in magic rites, practices which were then very dangerous, as they were regarded as a presumption of treasonable designs. He also treacherously led Drusus into extravagance and debt. Having collected sufficient proofs of guilt, Catus sent a messenger to the Emperor, craving an audience and mentioning the name of the accused. Tiberius refused the request, saying that any further communications might be conveyed to him in the same way. Meanwhile he distinguished his cousin Libo by conferring the prætorship on him, and often inviting him to table, showing no unfriendliness either in word or look; but he kept himself carefully informed of the daily conduct of the suspected man. At length a certain Junius, whom Libo had tampered with for the purpose of invoking the dead by incantations, gave information to a noted informer, Fulcinius Trio, who immediately went to the consuls, and demanded an investigation before the senate. Libo meanwhile knowing his peril, arrayed himself in mourning, and accompanied by some ladies of high rank, went round the houses of his relatives, entreating their intervention. But all refused on various pretexts. When the senate met, Tiberius read out the indictment and the accusers' names with such calmness as to seem neither to soften nor to aggravate the charges. Some of them were of a ridiculous nature; for example he was accused of having considered whether he would ever have wealth enough to cover the Appian Road as far as Brundusium with money. But there was one paper in which the

names of Cæsars and senators occurred with mysterious, and therefore suspicious, signs annexed. Libo denied the handwriting, and the slaves who professed to recognise it were examined by torture. As an old decree of the senate forbade the evidence of slaves to be taken in cases affecting their master's life, Tiberius evaded the law by ordering the slaves to be sold singly to the *actor publicus*, or agent of the ærarium, so that Libo might be tried on their testimony. The accused begged for an adjournment till the following day. On going home, he committed suicide, seeing that his case was hopeless. Tiberius said that he would have interceded for him, guilty though he was, if he had not destroyed himself. Libo's property was divided among the accusers; and some of the senators proposed decrees reflecting on his memory—for example, that no Scribonian should bear the name of Drusus—in order to please Tiberius. Days of public thanksgiving were appointed, and it was decreed that the day on which Libo killed himself should be observed as a festival. Such sycophancy on the part of the senate became in later times a matter of course.

SECT. IV.—REBELLIONS IN THE PROVINCES AND DEPENDENCIES.

§ 17. We must glance at the troublesome, though unimportant, war which was waged at this time on the southern borders of the Empire, and at the career of Tacfarinas, who played in Africa the same part which the more famous Arminius played in the north. This Numidian had served in the Roman army, and had thus gained a knowledge of Roman discipline and military science. He then deserted, placed himself at the head of a band of robbers, and was finally elected as their leader by the Musulamii, who dwelt on the southern side of Mount Aurasius. The insurrection was not confined to these peoples of Numidia; it spread westward into Mauretania and eastward to the Garamantes. The discipline and drill which Tacfarinas enforced rendered the rising formidable; for his organized bands were able to give battle and attempt sieges. The commanders, whom the senate elected by lot, were incompetent to deal with the insurgents, and the resulting war was protracted for seven years (17–24 A.D.). The single legion which protected Africa was reinforced by a second from Pannonia, and, by the Emperor's intervention, an able proconsul, Q. Junius Blæsus, was at length appointed. Tacfarinas had demanded from Tiberius a grant of territory for himself and his rebel army. Tiberius haughtily refused and instructed Blæsus to hold out to the other chiefs, who supported Tacfarinas, the prospect of a free

pardon if they laid down their arms. Many surrendered, and then Blæsus attempted to meet Tacfarinas by tactics similar to his own. He divided his army into three columns, one of which he dispatched eastward under Cornelius Scipio, to act against the Garamantes and protect Leptis. In the west, the son of Blæsus commanded a second column, and defended the territory of Cirta; while in the centre Blæsus himself established a number of fortified positions, and thus embarrassed the enemy, who found, wherever he turned, Roman soldiers in his face, or on his flank, or in his rear. When summer was over, Blæsus continued hostilities, and by a skilful combination of forts and flying detachments of picked men, who were acquainted with the desert, he drove Tacfarinas back step by step and finally captured his brother, and occupied the district of the Musulamii (22 A.D.). Tiberius permitted the triumphal ornaments to be awarded to Blæsus, and also granted him the distinction of being greeted *Imperator* by the troops—the last occasion on which this honour was granted to a private person.*

But even the success of Blæsus was not the end of the insurrection. There were three laurelled statues at Rome for victories over the Musulamian chief—those of Camillus, Apronius, and Blæsus—and yet he was still ravaging Africa, supported on the one hand by the king of the Garamantes, on the other by the Moors. His boldness was increased by the circumstance that, after the campaign of Blæsus, the IXth legion had been recalled from Africa. In 24 A.D. he laid siege to Thubursicum, a Numidian town lying a little to the north of Mount Aurasius. The proconsul of the year, Publius Dolabella, immediately collected all his troops, and raised the siege. Knowing by the experience of previous campaigns that it was useless to concentrate his heavy troops against an enemy which practised such desultory warfare as Tacfarinas, Dolabella adopted the plan of Blæsus, and divided his forces into four columns. He also obtained reinforcements from Ptolemy, king of the Mauretanians. Presently he was informed that the Numidian marauders had taken up a position close to Auzea (Aumale), a dilapidated fort, surrounded by vast forests. Some light-armed infantry and squadrons of horse were immediately hurried to the place, without being told whither they were going. At daybreak they fell upon the drowsy barbarians, who had no means of flight, as their horses were tethered or pasturing at a distance. The dispositions of the Romans were so complete that the enemies were slaughtered or captured without difficulty. The

* He was uncle of Sejanus, the prætorian prefect (see next chapter).

general was anxious to capture Tacfarinas, but that chieftain, driven to bay, escaped captivity by rushing on the weapons of his assailants. His death ended this tedious war.

§ 18. During this period there were also grave disturbances in Gaul and Thrace. In Gaul the fiscal exactions had led to heavy accumulations of debt among the provincials, and the creditors pressed for payment. The provincials resorted to counsels of despair. A conspiracy was formed to organize a rebellion throughout the whole land, and throw off the Roman yoke. The leaders were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir, two Romanised provincials. Florus undertook to gain over the Belgæ and Treveri while Sacrovir, who perhaps held some priestly office, intrigued among the Ædui and other tribes. The secret was well kept, and the revolt broke out in western Gaul in the consulship of Tiberius and Drusus (21 A.D.). But the first rising was premature. The Andecavi and the Turones—whose names still live in *Anjou* and *Tours*—moved too soon, and were crushed by the garrison of Lugudunum, under Acilius Aviola, the *legatus pr. pr.* of Lugudunensis. This false move put the Romans on their guard, and the subsequent risings of the Treveri were easily foiled by the governors of the two Germanic provinces. Florus slew himself to escape capture. The Ædui had seized the important city of Augustodunum (Autun), but they too were easily defeated by C. Silius, legatus of Upper Germany, at the twelfth milestone from that town. Sacrovir escaped from the field to a neighbouring *villa*, where he fell by his own hand, and his faithful comrades slew one another, having first set fire to the house. A triumphal arch was erected at Arausio (Orange) to commemorate the defeat of Sacrovir.

§ 19. The dependent kingdom of Thrace, after the death of Rhœmetalces, who had loyally stood by the Romans in the Dalmatian revolt, was divided between his brother Rhascuporis and his son Cotys. Their jealousies and feuds, which ended in the murder of Cotys, led to Roman interference and the execution of his uncle (19 A.D.). Two years later a formidable insurrection of the western tribes broke out. The rebels besieged Philippopolis, but were defeated by P. Vellæus, the governor of Mœsia. They rebelled again in 25 A.D., and of this rising we have more details.

The mountaineers refused to submit to levies and to supply their bravest men to the armies of Rome. A rumour had spread that they were to be dragged from their own land to distant provinces, so that, mixed with other nations, they might lose their own nationality. They sent envoys to the governor of Achaia and Macedonia, Poppæus Sabinus, assuring him of their fidelity, if no fresh burden were laid upon them. Otherwise they gave him to

understand that they would fight for their freedom. He gave mild answers until he had completed his preparations; but when he had concentrated his forces, and was joined by a legion from Mœsia and reinforcements from Rhœmetalces, son of Rhascuporis, he advanced on the rebels, who had taken up a position in some wooded defiles in their mountains, in the neighbourhood of a strong fortress. Sabinus fortified a camp and occupied, with a strong detachment, a long narrow mountain ridge, which stretched as far as the enemies' fortress, which it was his object to capture. After some skirmishing in front of the stronghold, Sabinus moved his camp nearer, but left his Thracian allies in the former entrenchments, with strict injunctions to pass the night vigilantly within the camp, while they might harry and plunder as much as they wished in the daytime. Having observed this command for some time, they began to neglect their watches, and gave themselves up to the enjoyment of wine and sleep. Learning this, the insurgents formed two bands, of which one was to surprise the pillagers, the other to attack the Roman camp, in order to distract the attention of the soldiers. The plan was successful, and the Thracian auxiliaries were massacred.

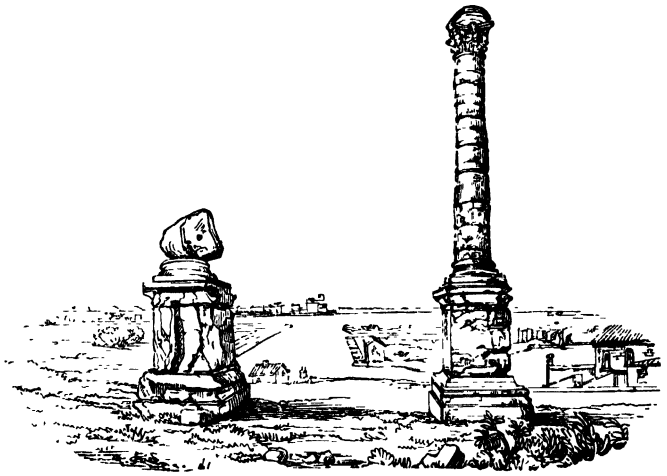
Sabinus then laid regular siege to the stronghold, and connected his positions with a ditch and rampart. The besieged suffered terribly from thirst, and their cattle were dying for want of fodder. The air of the place was polluted with the stench of the rotting carcasses of those who had perished by wounds or thirst. In this situation, many followed the advice and example of an old man named Dinis, who surrendered himself, with his wife and children, to the Romans. But two young chieftains named Tarsa and Turesis had determined to die for their freedom. Tarsa plunged his sword in his heart, and a few others did likewise. But Turesis and his followers decided to prolong the struggle, and planned a night-attack on the camp during a storm. Sabinus was prepared, and the brave barbarians were beaten back and compelled to surrender. The triumphal ornaments were decreed to Sabinus (26 A.D.).

§ 20. Against a revolt of tributaries on the northern boundary of the Empire, the arms of Rome were not so successful. The Frisians, who had been subdued by Drusus in 12 B.C., had for forty years paid the tribute which he imposed on them. This tribute consisted in ox-hides, which were required for military purposes, and the officers who levied it never examined too curiously the size or thickness of the skins, until in 28 A.D. Olennius, a primipilar centurion, who was appointed to exact the tribute, chose the hides of wild bulls as the standard. As the

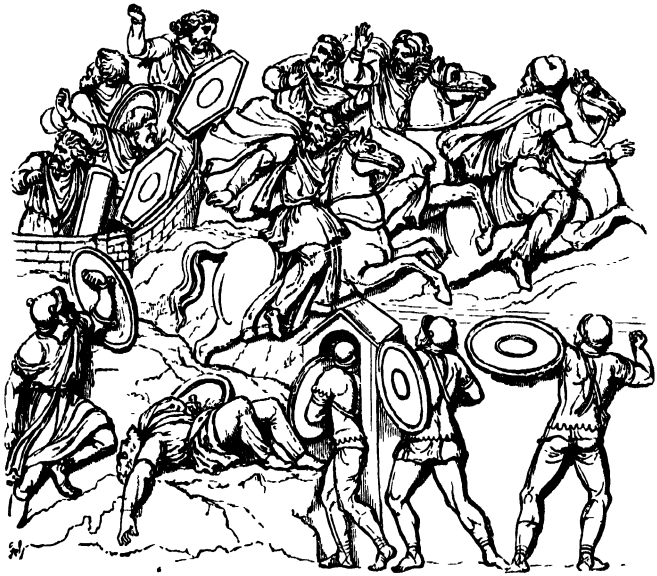
domestic cattle of the Germans were of small size, the Frisians found this innovation hard. In order to meet the demands of Olennius, they were forced to give up, first their cattle, then their lands, finally to surrender their wives and children as pledges. As their complaints led to no redress, they rose in revolt. The soldiers, who were collecting the tribute, were impaled on gibbets, and Olennius himself was obliged to flee to the fortress of Flevum —probably in the island of the same name, now Vlieland, near the Texel— which was a Roman coastguard station. When the news reached L. Apronius, the governor of Lower Germany, he summoned some veteran legionaries and chosen auxiliaries from the upper province, to reinforce his own legions, with which he sailed down the Rhine, and relieved Flevum, which the Frisians were besieging. He then constructed roads and bridges over the adjoining estuaries, in order to transport his legionaries into the heart of the Frisian territory; and in the meantime sent some auxiliary cavalry and infantry across by a ford to take the enemy in the rear. The Frisians beat these forces back; more cohorts and squadrons were sent to the rescue, but these too were repulsed; and soon all the auxiliary forces were engaged. The legions were at length able to intervene, and just saved the cohorts and cavalry, who were completely exhausted. A large number of officers had fallen, but Apronius did not attempt to take vengeance or even to bury the dead. Two other disasters completed the ill-luck of the Romans. Nine hundred soldiers were destroyed by the enemy in the wood of Baduhenna; and another body of four hundred, who had taken possession of a country house, perished by mutual slaughter, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. No further steps seem to have been taken against the Frisians. These events probably confirmed Tiberius in his determination to regard the Rhine as the limit of the Roman Empire, and he thought it a good opportunity to abandon the last relic of the conquests of his brother beyond that river.

§ 21. The reign of Tiberius was very nearly being marked by a slave war in Southern Italy, but by a lucky accident the movement was crushed in its very beginning (24 A.D.). The organiser of the rebellion was Titus Curtisius, who had once been a prætorian soldier. He held secret meetings at Brundusium and other towns in the neighbourhood; then posted up placards, and incited the slave population in Calabria and Apulia to assert their liberty. Three vessels happened to come to land just then, and from them the quæstor Curtius Lupus (who had charge of the *saltus*, or forests and pastures in those parts) obtained a force of marines and crushed the conspiracy. Curtisius and his chief accomplices were

sent prisoners to Rome, where, says Tacitus, "men already felt alarm at the enormous number of the slave population, which was ever increasing, while the free-born population grew less every day." The great marvel is that combinations among the slaves were not more common, and that it was not thought necessary to keep considerable garrisons in the towns of Italy to meet such emergencies.



View of Brundusium.



Parthian Warriors, from Trajan's Column.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS (*continued*).

1. Tiberius develops the dyarchy on the lines of Augustus. Political rights of the people diminished. § 2. Institution of a permanent Prefecture of the City. § 3. Improvement of the civil service. The *consilium*. § 4. The army. Prætorian Castra. § 5. Finances. § 6. The provinces. § 7. Italy. Economic crisis (33 A.D.). § 8. Administration of justice. Legislation. Social reforms. § 9. *Maiestas*. Case of Lutorius Priscus. § 10. The *delatores*. § 11. The younger Drusus. § 12. Plots of Sejanus and Livilla. Death of Drusus. § 13. Livia, Livilla, Agrippina, and Antonia. § 14. Influence of Sejanus. Deaths of C. Silius and Cremutius Cordus. Claudia Pulchra. Attacks on Agrippina. § 15. Tiberius leaves Rome (25 A.D.) and settles at Capreæ. Incident at the Spelunca. § 16. Trial and death of Titius Sabinus. § 17. Death of Livia. § 18. Plots of Sejanus against family of Agrippina. Nero declared a public enemy. § 19. Power of Sejanus. He conspires against the Emperor. His fall. § 20. Deaths of Agrippina and her son Drusus. § 21. Prosecutions of the friends of Sejanus. Servility of the senate. Marcus Terentius. Foolish proposals of senators rejected by Tiberius. § 22. Relations with Parthia. Artabanus lectures Tiberius. L. Vitellius sent to the East, and Mithradates of Iberia set up in Armenia. Warfare in

Armenia. § 23. Vitellius intervenes. Tiridates sent to Parthia. Artabanus expelled and then restored. His submission to Rome. § 24. Designs of Tiberius for the succession. Gaius, son of Germanicus, and Tiberius Gemellus, son of the younger Drusus. § 25. Death of Tiberius at Misenum. § 26. Estimate of Tiberius. His character. § 27. His policy and its effects on literature. Velleius Paterculus. Valerius Maximus. Phædrus. § 28. Tacitus on Tiberius.

SECT. I.—CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS.

§ 1. As the reign of Tiberius was singularly exempt from wars, the Emperor was able to devote his undivided attention to domestic government and the welfare of his subjects. His policy was distinguished by a conservative spirit. The chief principle of his administration was to follow the lines marked out by his predecessor. By abandoning the practice, which Augustus had adopted, of receiving an investiture of supreme power for a limited period only, he made a step nearer undisguised monarchy. The *decennalia*, or feast in honour of the decennial renewal of the tribunician power of the Emperor, survived as a mere custom, without any political meaning. In two important matters he went beyond Augustus in emphasising the dyarchy and excluding the people from the government. (1) The functions which Augustus had left to the comitia of the people in electing magistrates were taken away by Tiberius, and transferred to the senate, soon after his accession. The only part left to the people was to "acclaim" those whom the senate chose. Tiberius preserved the imperial rights of nomination and commendation of candidates within the limits marked out by his father. (2) The people did not formally lose its sovran right of legislation, but since the time of Tiberius it actually ceased to legislate. For the Emperor and the magistrates ceased to bring *leges* before the comitia; there are only two instances of such *leges* in the reign of Tiberius, while there are numerous *senatusconsulta*. The later Emperors, Claudius and Nerva, temporarily revived the old practice; but with these exceptions it may be said that, from Tiberius forward, legislation consisted of the consulta of the senate and the rescripts of the Emperor. The only legislative purpose for which the people had any longer to meet in comitia was to confer the tribunician power on a new Princeps.

§ 2. Another important matter, in which Tiberius carried further an idea originated by Augustus, was the establishment of a permanent Prefecture of the city of Rome. We have seen that this office had been instituted as a temporary provision for the care of the city during absences of the Emperor, and Lucius Calpurnius Piso had been appointed prefect when Augustus left Rome in 11 A.D.

Tiberius made the office a permanent post of great dignity, only open to senators of consular rank. He placed the three *cohortes urbanæ* at the disposal of the prefect, and thus deprived the senate of the police control of the city. The prefect had a criminal court, in which he administered summary justice in the case of slaves and "roughs." Piso held the office for nearly twenty years, till his death in 32 A.D. Tiberius also instituted a new official of consular rank to look after the banks of the Tiber, *cura riparum et alvei Tiberis*, in addition to the *cura aquarum* which had been founded by Augustus.

§ 3. Tiberius concerned himself for the improvement of the civil service. One great defect of the prevalent system was that offices were filled by inexperienced young men, who held them for only a brief time. Tiberius tried to remedy this by extending the period of tenure, and men began to complain that they grew old in the discharge of the same duties. He did not attempt to introduce this innovation in the case of the magistrates appointed by the senate, and this was a sign that he was in earnest with the maintaining of the imperial system of Augustus, by which the senate had its sphere of activity independent of the Emperor. And when the proposal came from that body (in 22 A.D.) that the Emperor should test the qualifications of senatorial magistrates, Tiberius rejected it. He always behaved with studied politeness to senators, and he was accustomed to refer to the senate matters which might more naturally have come before himself. Like Augustus, he employed a *consilium*, which consisted of his personal advisers and twenty illustrious members of the senatorial and equestrian orders; but it does not appear that this cabinet council had any real influence in political affairs. Tiberius was curiously reserved in avoiding the assertion of his sovran power by titles and outward forms. In affecting to disguise his imperial position he went much further than Augustus. He never bore the prænomen Imperator, and called himself *Augustus* only when he was corresponding with foreign princes.* He refused the title *pater patriæ*, and forbade all, except his slaves, to address him as *dominus*. He did not permit temples or statues to be erected to himself, and he rejected the proposal to consecrate his mother, Livia Augusta.

§ 4. In the army he maintained strict discipline. He declined to fulfil the promises of higher pay, which had been made to the mutineers in Illyricum and on the Rhine, after his accession; and instead of shortening the period of service, he actually lengthened it. These facts indicate the strength of his authority with the troops. He took away from victorious generals the privilege of bearing the

* His usual title is *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f(ilius)*.

title *imperator*, and reserved it for members of the imperial family. In regard to the prætorian guards, he made an innovation, which had an important bearing on the future course of Roman history. Augustus had allowed only three cohorts to be quartered within the city, the other six being dispersed in the neighbourhood of Rome. Tiberius caused a permanent camp to be built in front of the Porta Viminalis (23 A.D.), and henceforward all the nine cohorts were stationed there together. Thus united, they were conscious of their numbers, and felt their power; and at many a crisis, they disposed of the Empire and elected Emperors. This step also increased considerably the political power of the prætorian prefect; in fact, the idea seems to have emanated from the favourite councillor of Tiberius, L. Ælius Sejanus, whom he had appointed prætorian prefect, and who saw how his own position would be strengthened by a concentration of the forces under his command.

§ 5. The financial policy of Tiberius was careful and successful. The expenses of supplying Rome with corn and feeding the populace grew larger in his reign than they had been under Augustus. But in spite of this Tiberius was so economical that he was always able to act liberally in special emergencies. He did not waste the funds of the state in donatives or costly buildings. The only public edifices built by his command were the Temple of Augustus and the Theatre of Pompey. But when many of the famous cities of Asia were laid in ruins by an earthquake, Tiberius succoured them with the princely gift of 10,000,000 sesterces (£80,000) and caused the senate to remit to the inhabitants the payment of their tribute for five years. He had himself to supply the deficiency in the ærarium. We find him, in 33 A.D., bestowing on that treasury 100,000,000 sesterces (£800,000); and in 36 A.D. he gave the same sum for the relief of the sufferers in a great conflagration on the Aventine Hill. He never raised the rate of taxation. When Cappadocia became a province, on the strength of the addition which thus accrued to the revenue he reduced the tax of 1 per cent. on the sale of goods to ½ per cent.*

§ 6. The liberality of Tiberius in coming to the relief of the provinces, in the case of disasters, introduced a new principle into Roman statesmanship. Men were beginning to see that Rome, the mistress, had duties towards her subject lands. This policy of Tiberius is, as has been observed, one of the first signs of the reaction of the provinces upon Rome. It was, indeed, in the exercise of his proconsular functions that Tiberius most conspicuously showed himself as a wise and large-minded statesman. If he was hated at Rome, he was loved in the provinces. There is ample

* It was raised again in 31 A.D.

testimony to prove that his reign was, to the subjects, a period of unusual happiness. The discipline of the troops was strictly maintained, and the control exercised over the conduct of the governors was efficient and severe. The means of obtaining justice against oppression were facilitated, and under no reign were there so many prosecutions of governors and procurators for extortion. Besides this, the burdens were never increased; and the new principle of keeping the same governor at his post for a long time seems to have worked satisfactorily. C. Poppæus Sabinus, legatus of Macedonia and Achaia, which Tiberius had united in a single imperial province (15 A.D.), held that office throughout almost the whole reign. The imperial provinces were, as a rule, more equitably ruled than the senatorial. This is shown clearly under Tiberius by the number of cases in which proconsuls were condemned for maladministration.* The subjects themselves considered it a piece of good fortune to be transferred from the government of the senate to that of the Emperor. Tiberius expressed his provincial policy in saying that "it is the part of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not to flay them." The special regulation which made the governors responsible for acts of rapacity on the part of their wives, deserves notice.

§ 7. If he cared for the provinces, Tiberius did not neglect to help and guide the senate in promoting the welfare of Italy. He provided for the public safety and the security of travellers against robbers by stationing troops in various parts of the country; and all disturbances were promptly suppressed. He also concerned himself for the revival of agriculture, which had been slowly and surely declining in Italy during the past century, owing to the disappearance of the population of free labourers, so that the peninsula was dependent on foreign supplies for her maintenance.

A serious economic crisis occurred in 33 A.D., and the Emperor was obliged to interpose in order to save credit. The professional accusers (*delatores*) made an attack upon the money-lending capitalists, who had been systematically acting in defiance of two laws of Julius Cæsar. One of these laws forbade any one to have more than 60,000 sesterces (£480) of ready money in hand; the rest of each man's property was to be invested in lands and houses in Italy. The other regulated the relations between lenders and borrowers, and the amount of interest. The matter came before the city prætor Gracchus, who thought it necessary to refer the question to the senate, as so many people were concerned. But the senators

* There are four cases: (1) Granius Marcellus, proconsul of Asia, (2) C. Silanus, proconsul of Asia, (3) Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, (4) Vibius Serenus, proconsul of Bætica, were all condemned.

themselves were all guilty of transgressing the law, and so they appealed to the Emperor. He granted a year and six months, within which term everyone was to arrange his accounts in conformity with the law. The usurers immediately called in their loans, and a large number of the debtors, in order to meet their obligations, were obliged to sell their estates. It was foreseen that this would lead to a scarcity of money, and, in order to keep specie in circulation, a senatusconsultum in the spirit of Cæsar's law was passed, that every creditor should have at least two-thirds of his capital invested in estates in Italy. But the remedy proved only an aggravation of the evil. For the creditors hoarded up their money to buy land cheap, and the value of estates fell so much that the debtors could not pay their debts. Many families were ruined, but at length Tiberius came to the rescue, and advanced 100,000,000 sesterces as a loan fund, from which any debtor might borrow, for three years without interest, on giving security to the state for double the amount. By this means credit was restored, and the remaining debtors were enabled to save their estates or get the legitimate value for them.

§ 8. Tiberius paid special and minute attention to the administration of justice. He introduced a new and salutary regulation, that nine days should intervene between the sentence and its execution, in the case of culprits condemned by the senate. That body became, in his reign, the high court of criminal justice. But the Emperor exercised paramount control over its decisions; and in all cases which affected his own interest, the senate merely expressed what they knew to be his will. In legislation Tiberius was also active. The lex Junia Norbana (19 A.D.) was a measure to protect such freedmen as had not been strictly emancipated, but were released from slavery by their masters. This law rendered them independent of their masters for life, and gave them *commercium* without *connubium*, or, as it was called, *Juniana Latinitas*. They could neither bequeath property by will, nor receive bequests from others. The equestrian class was also limited by a senatusconsultum, which excluded those whose grandfathers were not freeborn, and who did not possess a fortune of 400,000 sesterces (£32,000).

In his endeavours to reform abuses and suppress nuisances in Rome and Italy, the Emperor increased and confirmed his unpopularity. He limited the number of gladiators in the arena; and on the occasion of a riot in the theatre, he expelled the players from the city. He made a vain attempt to banish soothsayers from Italy. He tried to suppress the Oriental rites, which were making themselves a home in Rome; he forbade especially the worship of

Isis, and cast her statue into the river. He also adopted severe measures against Jews, who possessed Roman citizenship, in Italy. They had attempted to evade military service, and on this ground were regarded as bad subjects, and their rites were forbidden. Four thousand Jew freedmen were transported to Sardinia, and set the task of reducing the robbers who infested that unhealthy island. The limitation of the right of asylum may also be mentioned here, though it chiefly affected the eastern part of the Empire, where many places of refuge had been established for the protection of criminals. These religious refuges secured immunity to crime, and they had become public nuisances.

Tiberius could do little to combat the prevailing luxury and dissipation among the higher classes. Frugal and moderate himself, he deeply disapproved of the extravagance of the aristocracy, and the absurd sums which were spent on furniture and the luxuries of the table. But he saw clearly that sumptuary laws were futile, and he said publicly that the time was not fit for a censorship. He was careful to keep up the state religion, which Augustus had revived. His mother Livia sat in public among the Vestal virgins; and the priests of the newly founded college of the Sodales Augustales, who were to preserve the worship of the divine Augustus, consisted of the leading senators.

§ 9. The part of the policy of Tiberius, which perhaps did most to render him disliked by both contemporaries and posterity, was the new interpretation which he gave to *maiestas*. This crime was properly an offence against the abstract majesty of the commonwealth, and it came to include anything tending to bring the state into contempt. A lex Julia of Cæsar had defined strictly the various forms which *maiestas* might assume, and had been extended by Augustus, who, however, had made little use of it. But Tiberius seized on the law of *maiestas* as a means for his own security; and under him treason became an offence against the person of the Emperor, who thus comes to be regarded as the state. Any insult offered to the Princeps in either speech or writing, was brought under the head of *maiestas*. Tiberius did not deem himself safe against treachery, and he decided to resort to this engine, which could not fail to be abused and bring odium upon him. It was an instrument, by the fear of which he hoped to control the senators, and prevent them from expressing a dissentient view, lest it should be construed as treason. The case of Lutorius Priscus shows how outrageously this safeguard could be abused. Priscus was a knight who had written verses on the death of Germanicus, and had received from Tiberius a gift as a reward. Some time later Drusus fell ill, and Priscus, encouraged by his former success,

composed a poem on Drusus, to be published in case the prince should not recover. But, though Drusus did not die, the poet could not resist the pleasure of reading his composition to an audience, and the consequence was that the matter became known, and he was accused before the senate. The senate found him guilty of counting on the death of a Cæsar; only two senators proposed that he should be leniently dealt with, as his act was due to thoughtlessness, not to evil intent. But he was condemned to death, and the sentence was forthwith carried out. Tiberius was absent from Rome when this happened, and when he returned he regretted the occurrence, and praised the view of the small minority. This affair of Priscus led to the regulation already mentioned, that a delay should intervene between the sentence and the infliction of punishment.

§ 10. The evils of this unhappy extension of the scope of *maiestas* were aggravated by the encouragement which was given by Tiberius to the *delatores*. Originally the *delator* was one who apprized the officers of the exchequer, of debts that were due to the state. The name was extended to those who informed in the cases of offences which were subject to fines. Augustus encouraged delation by offering rewards to those who lodged information against the violators of his marriage laws. Delation soon became a regular profession, and as there was no public prosecutor, it was very convenient to the government to have prosecutions conducted by private delators. When Tiberius came to the throne, he regarded delation as an admirable instrument for securing the administration and enforcement of justice, and therefore encouraged it. But when he discovered how terribly it was abused and how odious it was to his subjects, he concluded that it was too dangerous a remedy, and set himself to check it, for he was honestly anxious to administer justice purely and strictly. The citizens lived in fear and terror of the unscrupulous informers; and Tiberius tried to hinder the distortion of the laws by instituting a tribunal of fifteen senators. But he relapsed afterwards into countenancing the practice of delation, owing to the influence of the prætorian prefect, Sejanus; and as the law of treason became more comprehensive and extravagant, the delators became more terrible.

Sect. II.—Rise of Sejanus. Death of Drusus.

§ 11. The death of Germanicus removed difficulties from the path of Tiberius, in regard to the succession. It had been difficult for him to hold the balance evenly between Germanicus and his own son. How precisely he endeavoured to make no distinction

between them is shown by a coin of Sardis, where Drusus comes first in the inscription, but Germanicus sits on the right hand in the picture. Drusus was morally and intellectually inferior to his cousin, but was deeply attached to him, and after his death, acted as a father to his children. The attitude of Tiberius to Germanicus seems to have been much like that of Augustus to Tiberius himself. From a feeling of duty to the state, he might acquiesce in the designation of his nephew as his successor, but his affection prompted him to prefer Drusus, though the father and son were not always on the best terms. After the mysterious death of Germanicus, he set himself to secure the succession of Drusus, to the exclusion of his nephew's children. Ovations had been decreed to both the young Cæsars for the successful discharge of their tasks in Armenia and Illyricum. The pacifier of Armenia never returned to Rome, but Drusus celebrated his ovation in 20 A.D., and in the following year held the consulship for the second time. In 22 A.D. his father raised him to the position of an imperial consort, by causing the senate and people to confer upon him the tribunician power.

§ 12. But though the Emperor seemed to have cause to regard his nephew's death as a piece of good luck, his hopes for his son were destined to be frustrated. Drusus had married the sister of Germanicus, the younger Livia, generally called Livilla to distinguish her from the wife of Augustus. She was beautiful, ambitious, and unscrupulous, and seems to have had an ally in her namesake, the Augusta. She was seduced into an intrigue with Sejanus, the handsome and powerful prefect of the guards, who pretended to be in love with her and flattered her ambitious hopes with promises of marriage and the imperial throne, if the hindrance, which stood in their way, were once removed. Sejanus was a native of Vulsinii in Etruria,* and belonged to the equestrian class. In his youth he had served on the staff of Gaius Cæsar. By his address and tact he had worked himself into the confidence of Tiberius, and had at length become indispensable as an adviser and semi-official minister. The Emperor did not dream how high the ambition of his favourite soared. For Sejanus was not content with being the right hand of his master; he longed to occupy himself the highest position in the state. But Tiberius was thoroughly blinded by his useful and servile instrument, and used to throw off his habitual reserve in his intercourse with Sejanus. He even went so far as to call the prefect, not only in private conversation, but in addresses to the senate and the people, "the associate of my

* Hence Juvenal calls him "the Tuscan," *Sat.*, x. 74: Si Nortia (an Etruscan goddess) Tusco favisset.

labours," and allowed his busts to be placed in the theatres and *fora*. But these marks of favour were given freely, just because it never entered the thought of Tiberius that a man of the origin and position of Sejanus could possibly be dangerous. Drusus saw more deeply into the character of his father's favourite, and murmured at the influence which an alien had acquired at the expense of a son. On one occasion he raised his hand to strike the hated prefect. Sejanus, who had already begun to pave his way to the throne by arranging an alliance between his own daughter and a son of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, determined to sweep Drusus from his path.

Suddenly Drusus died (23 A.D.), seemingly of an accidental illness; but eight years after it was discovered that poison had been administered to him by the machinations of his wife Livilla, and her paramour Sejanus. It was a heavy blow to Tiberius. The children of his son were still too young to be designated as his successors, and nothing was left but to adopt Nero and Drusus, the eldest sons of Germanicus. He led the youths before the senate and recommended them as the future rulers of the state. Sejanus, who had divorced his wife Apicata, proposed to marry Livilla, but Tiberius forbade the union, which could only lead to new candidates for power. The prefect was driven to frame new plans. He resolved to destroy the family of Germanicus.

§ 13. Tiberius was now surrounded by four imperial widows, who made his court a scene of perpetual jealousy and intrigue. These were his mother Livia and his daughter-in-law Livilla, his sister-in-law Antonia, and Agrippina. The will of Augustus had left Livia a share in the supreme power, and she desired to exert it. Her name appeared with that of her son on the imperial rescripts. Tiberius was unable to shake off her influence, while he deprecated her interference in public affairs, and she had a strong party of adherents in the senate, who proposed to call her *mater patriæ*. The ambition of the strong-minded Agrippina had been disappointed by the death of her husband, but she hoped to rise again through her children. Her chastity and fertility made her an ideal Roman matron, but she had a violent temper and an unbridled tongue. She regarded the Emperor as her natural enemy, and the leniency which was shown to her rival Plancina filled her with resentment. Nor was she satisfied even when her sons, Nero and Drusus, were marked out as the successors of Tiberius. The fulfilment of her ambitious dreams seemed still too far away.

§ 14. After the death of Drusus, Tiberius leaned more and more on Sejanus, and from this period the Romans remarked a degeneration in the home government. The prefect worked on the

Emperor's fears by pretending to discover conspiracies against him, and many acts of cruelty were committed. But it must be noted that this change for the worse affected only the circles of nobles and officials, and did not involve any deterioration in the general prosperity of the Empire. Many victims, in high positions, were sacrificed unjustly to suspicion and intrigue, but the Roman world, as a whole, was still well governed. The key to the tyranny which marked the second half of the principate of Tiberius is probably to be found in his knowledge that Agrippina had a large party of sympathisers in the senate, who, after the death of Drusus, joyfully looked forward to the succession of her children. This party he and Sejanus determined to crush out. The first victim attacked by Sejanus was C. Silius, whom we have seen doing good work on the northern frontiers, and whose wife was a friend of Agrippina. He was accused of having connived at the rebellion of Sacrovir and of extortion, and the charges pressed him so hard that he committed suicide before sentence was passed. His wife was banished, and his possessions, said to have been wrung from the provincials of Gaul, were confiscated. It is doubtful whether Cremutius Cordus, a Stoic philosopher, and author of *Annals* of the Republic during the period of the civil wars, was also a partisan of Agrippina. In his work he had called Cassius "the last of the Romans," and although Augustus had read the book and found no fault in it, this expression was now (25 A.D.) made a cause of accusation against him. It was said that his work was an attempt to excite a rebellion. Cremutius, thinking that his case was prejudged, delivered a bitter speech in the senate, and, returning home, starved himself to death. All that could then be done was to burn his books.

In the following year (26 A.D.) the delators attacked Agrippina through her cousin Claudia Pulchra.* They charged this lady with the crime of adultery and also with having made attempts on the Emperor's life by poison and magic. Thereupon Agrippina sought the presence of Tiberius, and found him sacrificing to the divinity of his father. "The same man," she cried, "cannot offer victims to the divine Augustus, and persecute his posterity." Stung by the reproaches which she heaped upon him, Tiberius quoted a Greek verse to this effect: "My daughter, have I done you wrong, because you are not a queen?" On the news of the condemnation of her cousin, Agrippina fell dangerously ill. When Tiberius visited her, she besought him to permit her to take a second husband. To such

* It seems that Claudia Pulchra was daughter of Marcella, the daughter of Octavia. The granddaughter of Octavia would be the *sobrina* (cousin on the mother's side) of the granddaughter of Augustus

a step there were the same objections which he had opposed to the union of Livilla and Sejanus, but Tiberius deemed it more prudent not to urge them then, and he left the room abruptly. This anecdote was told in the Memoirs of Agrippina's daughter, the mother of Nero. Such scenes as these were calculated to widen the breach between Agrippina and Tiberius, and suspicions of her kinsman were artfully distilled, by the contrivance of Sejanus, into the mind of the princess. She became possessed of the idea that the Emperor was planning to poison her, and when she was invited to sup with him, she absolutely refused to partake of any of the food that was presented to her. This undisguised declaration of her suspicions alienated the Emperor still more.

SECT. III.—TIBERIUS AT CAPREÆ. INFLUENCE OF SEJANUS AND HIS FALL.

§ 15. Hitherto Tiberius had resided continually at Rome, and devoted himself assiduously to the conduct of affairs. He had constantly talked of visiting the provinces, and even made the preliminary arrangements for the journey, but when it came to the point, he had always found a pretext for not going. He never went further from the city than Antium. But as he grew older—in 26 A.D. he had reached the age of sixty-seven—his reserve, his distrust of his fellow-creatures, his dislike to the pomp of public life, seem to have increased. He had always been reserved, sensitive, and shy; his temper had been soured by disappointments, both in his early life and in his recent years. His unpopularity in Rome, of which he was fully conscious, may have irritated him more as he became older; and his domestic life was full of worry, with Livia and Livilla on one side, and Agrippina on the other. All this might be enough to explain the motives which led him to take the momentous step of abandoning Rome and living permanently elsewhere. But if such motives operated, their effect was supported by the persuasions of the favourite Sejanus, who desired nothing better than to remove the Emperor to a distance, so as to have a free scene for his own plans. It is possible, however, that Tiberius may have been decided by a political motive. He may have wished to give Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, an opportunity of gradually undertaking an active part in the government, and assisting him somewhat as he had himself assisted Augustus. Silly and malicious stories were circulated by the Emperor's enemies. It was said that he sought a place of concealment for the practice of licentiousness; or that he wished to hide from the public view a face and figure deformed by old age.

He left Rome (26 A.D.) on the pretext of consecrating a temple of Jupiter at Capua, and a temple of Augustus at Nola, recently built. His attendants were one senator, Cocceius Nerva; two knights, Sejanus and another; and some men of science, and astrologers. During the Emperor's progress in Campania, an accident happened, which increased his confidence in Sejanus. The imperial party were dining at a country house called the "Cave" (*Spelunca*), formed of a natural grotto, between the gulf of Amyclæ and the hills of Fundi. The rocks at the entrance suddenly fell in and crushed some of the servants, and the guests fled in panic. Sejanus placed himself in front of the Emperor, and received the falling stones. This incident convinced Tiberius that his prefect was a man who had no care for himself.

Having dedicated the temples, he proceeded to the little island of Capreæ, which Augustus, struck by its salubrious climate, had purchased from the people of Neapolis. Lonely and difficult to approach by its precipitous lime cliffs, yet near enough to the mainland, this island, about eleven miles in circuit and rising at either end to higher points of vantage, was an attractive retreat for the wearied statesman. Twelve villas were built by Tiberius in various parts of the island, which was vigilantly guarded from intrusion. But while his subjects thought that he had entirely relinquished the conduct of affairs to the prætorian prefect, and was spending his days in consultation with his astrologers or in foul debauchery, Tiberius still bestowed constant attention to the details of public business.* But he no longer troubled himself to suppress the servility of the senate, or to check the abuses of delation. Many innocent men were betrayed by the indefatigable informers, and the senators lived in fear and peril of their lives.

§ 16. The case of Titius Sabinus, a Roman knight, who was tried and put to death in 28 A.D., was an episode in the struggle between Sejanus and the party of Agrippina, to which Sabinus belonged. Sabinus, who had been a friend of Germanicus, had made himself conspicuous by the attention which he paid to the wife and children of that prince, after his death. Four ex-prætors, who wished to obtain the consulship and sought for that purpose to ingratiate themselves with Sejanus, conceived the idea that the destruction of Sabinus would be an effectual means of winning the favourite's favour. Accordingly they laid a plot. One of them, named Latinius Latiaris, who was slightly acquainted with Sabinus, entered one day into conversation with him, praised him for not

* Juvenal, *Sat.*, x. 91 (of Sejanus):

Tutor haberi
Principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldæo.

having abandoned the house of Germanicus in the hour of adversity, and spoke in compassionate terms of Agrippina. Sabinus, who was of a soft nature, took Latiaris completely into his confidence, burst into invectives against the cruelty of Sejanus, and did not spare Tiberius himself. Several treasonable conversations took place, but as it was necessary to have more witnesses, and as Sabinus would not have spoken freely in the presence of the others, the three accomplices hid themselves between the ceiling and the roof in a room in the house of Latiaris, who induced Sabinus to visit him there on the plea of making a disclosure. The utterances of the entrapped knight on this occasion were quite sufficient for his condemnation, and the conspirators immediately dispatched a letter to the Emperor informing him of the treason of Sabinus. Tiberius, in his letter to the senate on January 1st (28 A.D.), mentioned the treasonable designs of Sabinus, and suggested that it might be well to punish him. The senate condemned him to death without hesitation and received a letter of thanks from Tiberius, hinting, however, that he still apprehended treachery, but without mentioning names. He was supposed to allude to Agrippina and her son Nero.

§ 17. The year 29 A.D. was marked by the death of Livia, or, as she was publicly called, Julia Augusta, at the age of eighty-six. Her funeral oration was pronounced by Gaius, the third son of Agrippina, then in his seventeenth year. Tiberius did not regret his imperious mother. The funeral was marked by little ceremony; the senate was forbidden to decree her divine honours; her will remained long unexecuted. The memory of Livia has been much wronged by history. The consort of Augustus is forgotten in the mother of Tiberius; and it is only remembered that she had done much to raise to the throne an unpopular ruler, whom the Romans cursed as a tyrant. There is reason to suppose, however, that her influence, exerted in the interests of clemency, sometimes thwarted Sejanus, and it is worthy of notice that he did not carry out his design against Agrippina until after the death of Livia. It has even been said that her death was a turning-point in the reign. Her friends, who, under her powerful protection, had ventured to speak somewhat boldly against the Emperor, were persecuted when she died. Conspicuous among these was the husband of the Emperor's divorced wife Vipsania, Asinius Gallus, who was confined in prison for three years and then put to death.

§ 18. The body of Livia had not been long bestowed in the mausoleum of Augustus, when the senate received a letter from Tiberius, containing charges against Agrippina and Nero. The son was charged with gross licentiousness, the mother with insolence

and a contumacious spirit. There was no hint of disloyalty or treason, and the Emperor did not signify what he wished the senate to do. The people assembled outside the doors of the senate-house, and cried that the letter was a forgery, hinting that it was the work of Sejanus, and bearing aloft the images of Agrippina and Nero. A second message soon came from Capreæ, rebuking the citizens for their rebellious behaviour, and urging the senate to take definite action on the charges against the accused. The servile senators found them guilty, and they were banished to barren islands, Agrippina to Pandateria and Nero to Pontia. Agrippina's second son Drusus still remained, but his fall, too, was speedily contrived by Sejanus. Just as he had seduced Livilla to compass the death of the elder Drusus, so now he seduced Lepida, the wife of the younger Drusus, and suborned her to calumniate her husband to Tiberius. Drusus, who, with his younger brother Gaius, lived at Capreæ, was sent to Rome, as a mark of disgrace, and the senate hastened to declare him a public enemy. For the right of declaring an individual a public enemy, as of declaring war, still belonged to the senate. He was then arrested and imprisoned in the palace.

§ 19. The power of Sejanus had now reached its highest point. He was regarded with greater awe than the Emperor himself. He seemed to be the true sovran and Tiberius the mere "lord of an island" (*nêsiarch*) Altars were raised and sacrifices offered before his statues, games were voted in his honour. But his fall was at hand. Tiberius had become jealous and suspicious of the designs of his minister; and the graver his suspicions became, the more assiduously did he seek to disguise them until the time should come for the final blow. He loaded the prefect with honours. He betrothed him to his granddaughter Julia, the widow of Nero, who had died in exile at Pontia, and he conferred on him the honour of being his colleague in the consulship. This honour also furnished him with a pretext of ridding himself of the prefect's presence at Capreæ. Sejanus was sent to Rome to perform the functions of the consuls, on behalf of both himself and Tiberius, and he was received with abject flattery by senate and people. The senate decreed the consulate to him along with Tiberius for five years, and he was disappointed when Tiberius insisted on resigning it in the fifth month (31 A.D.).

The messages, which from time to time arrived from Capreæ, were uncertain and puzzling. Tiberius intended to keep Sejanus in a state of restless uncertainty. He conferred upon him the proconsular power and raised him to the dignity of a priest, but at the same time he mentioned his nephew Gaius Cæsar with great

favour, and conferred a priesthood on him also. Sejanus felt uneasy, and besought Tiberius to allow him to return to Capreæ, to see his betrothed bride, who was ill. The request was refused, on the ground that the Emperor and his family were about to visit Rome. In a letter to the senate, which arrived soon after, "Sejanus" was mentioned without the addition of his titles, and it was forbidden to yield divine honours to a mortal. Besides this the enemies of the prefect were treated with favour. These things seemed to forebode disgrace, and Sejanus resolved to forestal his fall by overthrowing his master. A conspiracy was formed to kill Tiberius when he came to Rome, but Satrius Secundus, one of the conspirators, betrayed the plot to Antonia, and she hastened to reveal it to her brother-in-law.

It would hardly have been safe to denounce openly the treason of Sejanus. To strike down the prefect of the prætorian guards required caution and cunning. Tiberius selected a trusted officer, Sertorius Macro, to succeed Sejanus as prefect, and instructed him how he was to proceed. When Macro reached Rome (October 17) it was midnight. He immediately sought the house of the consul Memmius Regulus, and, having revealed the purpose of his coming, caused him to summon a meeting of the senate, early in the morning, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. This place of meeting was perhaps chosen, in order that, if a disturbance should arise, Drusus, who was a captive in the adjoining palace, might readily be produced. Macro then visited Græcinus Laco, the commander of the *cohortes vigilum*, and arranged with him that the approaches to the temple should be guarded. In the morning, as Sejanus was proceeding to the senate, attended by an armed retinue, Macro met him and disarmed his suspicions by informing him that the business of the meeting would be to confer the tribunician power on Sejanus himself. This power was the only thing wanting to his association in the Empire, and Sejanus thought that his highest ambition was about to be fulfilled. When Sejanus had entered the temple, Macro informed the prætorians that he had been appointed their new prefect, and returned with them to their camp, as soon as he had given the Emperor's letter to the consuls.

This "great wordy epistle" from Capreæ,* which sounded the doom of Sejanus, began with some remarks on general matters, and then proceeded to a slight rebuke of Sejanus; then passed to some indifferent matters again, and finally demanded the punishment of Sejanus himself and some of his intimate friends. During the long recital of the letter, the suspense of the audience was intense, for

* Verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis (Juvenal, x. 71).

none knew how it would end. Then the senators, who had been heaping Sejanus with congratulations, left his side. The consul ordered the lictors to seize him, and he was hurried off to prison. The people showed how much they rejoiced in the fall of the hated tyrant, by hurling down his statues. The senate, when they saw the temper of the populace, and as the prætorian guards did not intervene, met at a later hour of the same day in the Temple of Concord, and sentenced Sejanus to death. He was immediately strangled in the prison, and his corpse was dragged by the executioner's hook to the Scalæ Gemoniæ, according to the usual custom in the reign of Tiberius.* His death was followed by the execution of his family and friends. The senate decreed that a statue of Liberty should be set up in the Forum, and that the anniversary of the traitor's fall should be solemnly kept as a day of deliverance.

Tiberius had in the meantime been agitated with fear and suspense. He had a fleet in waiting, ready to bear him to the east, in case Macro failed in the enterprise, and he posted himself on the highest cliff of the island, to watch for the appointed signal of success or failure. The fall of Sejanus was a relief to him, but it was soon followed by a horrible revelation. Apicata, the divorced wife of the fallen prefect, sent to Tiberius a full account of the details of the death of Drusus, showing how it had been compassed by Sejanus and Livilla; and having revealed this long-kept secret, she put an end to her life. The revelation was confirmed by the testimony of the slaves concerned in the affair, and the guilty Livilla was punished with death.

§ 20. The overthrow of Sejanus brought no alleviation to the miseries of Agrippina in her island or her son Drusus in his prison. It is not clear why the Emperor determined to destroy Drusus; perhaps he thought that one so deeply injured would be dangerous if released. He allowed him to perish by starvation, and then wrote a letter to the senate, describing minutely the manner of his death, even the curses which in his last moments he had vented against Tiberius himself. The object of this strange communication, which excited the horror of the senators, is not evident; perhaps it was intended to show beyond doubt that Drusus was really dead, for an impostor, pretending to be Drusus, had recently created some disturbances in Greece and Asia. The death of Agrippina by voluntary abstinence from food soon followed that of her son. The senate, at the Emperor's wish, decreed that her birthday should be ill-omened, and remarked that her death took place on the anniversary of the execution of Sejanus (18th October, 33 A.D.). The bodies of her and her children were not

* Juvenal, x. 66: Sejanus ducitur unco Spectandus.

admitted to the mausoleum of the family until the reign of Gaius, who exhumed them from the lowly tombs in which they had been thrown.

§ 21. The prosecutions of those who were supposed to have been connected with the conspiracy of Sejanus were protracted over a year, but at length, in 33 A.D., the Emperor, weary of the proceedings, issued an order for the summary execution of all who were still detained in prison, whether men, women, or children. A certain Marcus Terentius, who was impeached in the senate on the ground of friendship with Sejanus, is reported to have made a bold speech. Others had repudiated their friendly relations with the fallen prefect, but he candidly acknowledged that "he was the friend of Sejanus, had eagerly sought to be such, and was delighted when he succeeded." "Do not think, fathers," he said, "only of the last day of Sejanus, but of his sixteen years of power.* To be known even to his freedmen and hall-porters was regarded as a distinction. Let plots against the state, conspiracies for the murder of the Emperor, be punished; but as to friendship, the same issue of our friendship to Sejanus must absolve alike you, Cæsar, and us." Terentius was saved by his boldness, and his accusers were condemned to banishment or death, according to the nature of their previous offences. But if a rare senator spoke out boldly, most of the order made the fall of the minister an occasion for obsequiousness. Some went so far in their proposals that they drew upon themselves the ridicule or severe censure of Tiberius. Thus Togonius Gallus begged the Emperor to choose a number of senators, of whom twenty should be selected by lot as a bodyguard whenever he entered the curia. This man had actually taken seriously a letter of the Emperor asking for the protection of a consul from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, who had a fashion of combining jest and seriousness, thanked the senators for their kindness, but suggested several difficulties. Who were to be chosen? Were they to be always the same? Were they to be men who had held office, or youths? And would it not be strange to see persons taking up swords on the threshold of the senate-house? But if he knew how to answer a fool according to his folly, he could also sharply rebuke an impertinence. Junius Gallio proposed that the prætorian soldiers, after having served their allotted time, should have the right of sitting among the knights in the fourteen rows of the theatre. Tiberius asked what *he* had to do with the

* The power and fall of Sejanus furnished Juvenal with an example in his satire on the vanity of human wishes. Cp. x. 62:

Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Sejanus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellæ,

and the whole passage to line 107.

prætorian guards, who received their commands and their rewards only from the Imperator; and suggested that Gallio was one of the satellites of Sejanus, seeking to tamper with the soldiery. Gallio was then, in return for his flattery, expelled from the senate and banished from Italy.

Recent experiences had aggravated the Emperor's suspicious nature. He became more difficult of access, and committed many acts of cruelty. His faithful adviser, Cocceius Nerva, who was his companion at Capreæ, weary, it is said, of seeing the harshness of his sovran, put himself to death, in spite of the prayers and remonstrances of Tiberius. Of the twenty members of the imperial consilium there soon remained only two or three; the others had been the victims of delation. Public report ascribed to Tiberius a life of bestial debauchery in the inaccessible island, and the Parthian king actually addressed to him an impertinent rebuke for his licentious habits, and called upon him to satisfy public opinion by committing suicide. There is little doubt that Tiberius lived licentiously, like most of the Roman nobles of those days; but there is no doubt also that his dissipations have been foully exaggerated. The circumstance that his life was prolonged to nearly four-score years without medical aid is enough to make us hesitate to accept the stories which were circulated about the orgies of Capreæ.

SECT. IV.—PARTHIA AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

§ 22. Among other slanders, it was said that Tiberius in his island retreat was indifferent to the government of the Empire. The rumour seems to have reached the Parthian court and encouraged the Parthian king Artabanus to assume a hostile attitude. The peace with Parthia was undisturbed until the death of Artaxes, king of Armenia, about 34 A.D. Artabanus, elated by a long and successful reign, and thinking that the old Tiberius would not be likely to undertake an eastern war, seized the opportunity to transfer Armenia from dependence on Rome to dependence on Parthia. He induced the Armenians to elect his son Arsaces as successor of Artaxes. He even seemed to court a war with Rome, and addressed insulting letters to the Emperor, demanding the inheritance of his old rival Vonones, who had died in Cilicia, insisting on the old boundaries of Macedonia and Persia, and threatening that he would seize the territories possessed long ago by Cyrus and afterwards by Alexander the Great. Tiberius was equal to the emergency. He conferred upon Lucius Vitellius, an able and resolute officer, the same powers which he had before con-

ferred upon his nephew Germanicus, and sent him to the east, with orders to cross the Euphrates, at the head of the Syrian legions, if it should prove needful. At the same time he set up a rival to Arsaces in the person of Mithradates, brother of Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians; and stirred up both the Iberians and Albanians to support his claim by an invasion of Armenia. Mithradates gained possession of the Armenian capital, Artaxata, and his rival Arsaces was removed by poison. King Artabanus then sent another of his sons, Orodes, to take the place of Arsaces, and recover Armenia, but the Parthian cavalry proved no match for the Caucasian infantry and the Sarmatian mounted archers, which supported Pharasmanes and Mithradates. A lively description of the warfare has come down to us. Pharasmanes challenged Orodes to battle, taunted him when he refused, rode up to the Parthian camp, and harassed their foraging parties. The Parthians at length became impatient, and called upon their prince to lead them to battle. In the fight which ensued every variety of warfare was to be witnessed. The Parthians, accustomed to pursue or fly with equal skill, deployed their cavalry and sought scope for the discharge of their missiles. The Sarmatians, throwing aside their bows, which at a shorter range are effective, rushed on with pikes and swords. There were alternate advances and retreats, then close fighting, in which, breast to breast, with the clash of arms, they drove back the foe or were themselves repulsed. The Albanians and Iberians seized the Parthian riders, and hurled them from their horses. The Parthians were thus pressed on one side by the cavalry on the heights, on the other by the infantry in close quarters. The leaders, Pharasmanes and Orodes, were conspicuous, encouraging the brave, succouring those who wavered; and at length recognising each other they rushed to the combat on galloping chargers and with poised javelins. The force of Pharasmanes was greater; he pierced the helmet of the foe. But he was hurried onward by his horse, and before he could repeat the blow with deadlier effect, Orodes was protected by his guards. But the rumour spread among the Parthians that their general was slain, and they yielded.*

§ 23. After the ill-success of both his sons, Artabanus took the field himself. It was now the moment for Vitellius to intervene. He set his troops in motion, and threatened to invade Mesopotamia. This was the signal for the outbreak of an insurrection which had been long brewing in Parthia, and had been fomented by Roman intrigues. The Parthian nobles, dissatisfied with the rule of the Scythian Artabanus, clamoured for the restoration of a true Arsacid.

* The above description of the battle is a free translation from Tacitus, vi. 34, 35.

There was still a surviving son of Phraates at Rome ; and a section of the disaffected Parthians sent a secret embassy to Tiberius, requesting that this representative of the house of Arsaces should be sent to the east as a claimant to the Parthian throne. This suited the views of Tiberius, and he acceded to the request. But the candidate for sovranty died in Syria, and Tiberius then chose Tiridates, a grandson of Phraates, to take his place. The appearance of Vitellius and Tiridates in the Parthian dominions was attended at first with complete success. Sinnaces, a man of good family and great wealth, and his father Abdageses, were the leaders of the party hostile to Artabanus, which was largely increased after the disasters in Armenia. Artabanus had soon found himself deserted except by a few foreigners, and was compelled, in order to save his life, to flee into exile among the Scythians. Tiridates then, under the protection of Vitellius and the Roman legions, crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats. The first Parthian to enter the camp was Ornospades, formerly a Parthian exile, who had been made a Roman citizen in recognition of aid which he had given to Tiberius in the Dalmatian war, and subsequently returning to Parthia had been received into favour and appointed governor of Mesopotamia. Sinnaces and Abdageses arrived soon afterwards with the royal treasure. Then Vitellius, having thus given Tiridates a start, and displayed the Roman eagles beyond the Euphrates, returned with his army to Syria. Nicephorium, Anthemusias, and other towns of Greek foundation, gladly received the new king, expecting him to be a good ruler from his Roman training. The enthusiasm shown by the powerful city of Seleucia, which had preserved intact its Greek character under Parthian domination, was especially encouraging. But Tiridates made a fatal mistake in losing time. Instead of pressing forward into the interior of the country, he delayed over the siege of a fortress in which Artabanus had stored away his treasures and his concubines. In the meantime quarrels broke out among his adherents, some of whom, jealous of the influence of Abdageses, and regarding Tiridates as a Roman dependent, decided to restore Artabanus. They found the exiled monarch in Hyrcania, covered with dirt and sustaining life by his bow. At first he thought that they intended treachery, but when he was assured that they desired his restoration, he hastily raised some auxiliaries in Scythia, and marched against Seleucia with a large force. In order to excite sympathy he retained the miserable dress which he had worn in his exile. The party of Tiridates retreated into Mesopotamia, and soon dispersed, Tiridates himself returning to Syria (36 A.D.), and leaving Artabanus master of the realm, except Seleucia, which was

strong enough to hold out. Vitellius again threatened Mesopotamia; but the restored monarch hastened to yield to the Roman demands, and a peace was concluded. Artabanus recognised Mithradates as king of Armenia, while the Romans undertook not to support the pretensions of Tiridates. The Parthian king also did homage to the image of the Roman Emperor, and gave up his son Darius as a hostage.

Sect. V.—Last Days and Death of Tiberius.

§ 24. Tiberius was not indifferent to the selection of a successor, though he is reported to have once said, quoting the verse of a Greek poet, "When I am dead, let earth be wrapt in flame." * There were three male representatives of his house on whom his choice might fall. There was his nephew Tiberius Claudius Drusus, the youngest son of the elder Drusus, but he was considered out of the question, as being of weak intellect. There was his grand-nephew Gaius (born in 12 A.D.), the youngest son of Germanicus, and there was his grandson Tiberius Gemellus (born 19 A.D.), son of Drusus and Livilla. Between these two the choice was practically to be made. The Emperor had for a long time slighted Gaius, as being a son of Agrippina, and had not permitted him to assume the *toga virilis* until his nineteenth year. But Gaius began to rise, when Sejanus began to decline, in favour. He carefully dissembled any emotions he may have felt at the fate of his mother and brothers; and the people looked forward with satisfaction to a son of Germanicus on the throne. On the other hand, Tiberius may have secretly wished for the succession of his grandson. In 35 A.D. he made a will leaving Gaius and Gemellus joint heirs of his private fortune, and this was equivalent to an expression of his wish that they should be joint heirs of the Empire. But there is reason to believe that he regarded Gaius as his successor. The four daughters of Germanicus had been married to men of note; Agrippina, of whom we shall hear more, to Cn. Domitius; Drusilla to Cassius Longinus; Julia, to Vinicius, the patron of Velleius Paterculus the historian; and a fourth, of unknown name to the son of Quintilius Varus. His own granddaughter Julia, the widow of Nero, and the betrothed of Sejanus, he married to Rubellius Blandus, a knight of obscure origin.

§ 25. The prætorian prefect Macro, who now partly occupied the place which Sejanus had formerly held at Capreæ, saw that Gaius

* Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί, equivalent to the expression of a modern potentate, "After me the deluge."

was probably destined to succeed, and sought to obtain an ascendency over him. Gaius had lost his wife, the daughter of M. Junius Silanus, in the third year of their marriage, and Macro engaged his own wife Ennia to enthral the young man by her arts and charms. The sharp old Emperor observed the policy of the prefect, and said to him, "You leave the setting sun, to court the rising." In the seventy-eighth year of his age, in the first months of 37 A.D., Tiberius quitted his island, never to return. He travelled slowly towards Rome and advanced along the Appian Way within seven miles of the city. He gazed for the last time at the tops of the distant buildings, but frightened by some evil omen, turned back, and retraced his steps southward. He was failing fast. At Circeii, in order to hide his weakness, he presided at military exercises, and in consequence of the over-exertion became worse. He tried till the last to conceal his condition from those who were with him, and his physician Charicles had to resort to an artifice to feel his pulse. He breathed his last in the villa of Lucullus at Misenum, on March 16, 37 A.D. It was whispered that his end was hastened by Macro, who, seeing him suddenly revive, stifled him.

§ 26. In estimating Tiberius, we must take into account the circumstances of his life, and also the character of the witnesses who have recorded his reign. A Claudian, both on the father's and on the mother's side, descended from the Neros to whom, as Horace sang, Rome owed so much, he had all the pride of his patrician house. He was strong, tall, well-made, and healthy, with a fair complexion, and long hair profuse at the back of his head—a characteristic of the Claudii. He had unusually large eyes, and a serious expression. In his youth he was called "the old man," so thoughtful was he and slow to speak. He had a strong sense of duty, and a profound contempt for the multitude. The spirit of his ancestress, the Claudia who uttered the wish that her brother were alive again, to lose another fleet and make the streets of Rome less crowded, had in some measure descended upon Tiberius. He was, as the originally Sabine name *Nero* signified, brave and vigorous; and had a conspicuous aptitude for the conduct of affairs. But he was too critical to have implicit confidence in himself;* and he was suspicious of others. His self-distrust was increased by the circumstances of his early manhood. His reserved manner, unlike the geniality of his brother Drusus, could not win the affection of his stepfather Augustus, who regarded his peculiarities as faults;

* This feature of his character—important for comprehending him—is thus signified by Tacitus (*Annals*, i. 33): Ut callidum eius ingenium, ita *anxium iudicium*.

and when he was young enough to have ambition, he was made use of indeed, but he never enjoyed Imperial favour. Kept, when possible, in the second place, he was always meeting rebuffs. He was forced to divorce Vipsania and marry Julia, who brought him nothing but shame. Thus the circumstances of his life, and his relations to his stepfather were calculated to deepen his reserve, to embitter his feelings, and produce a habit of dissimulation; so that there is little wonder that a man of his cold, diffident nature, coming to the throne at the age of fifty-five, should not have won the affections of subjects whom he did not deign to conciliate. All his experiences tended to develope in Tiberius that hard spirit (*rigor animi*), so clearly stamped on his features in the large sitting statue which has been preserved. On the other hand his diffidence made him dependent on others, first on Livia, and then on Sejanus, who proved his evil genius.

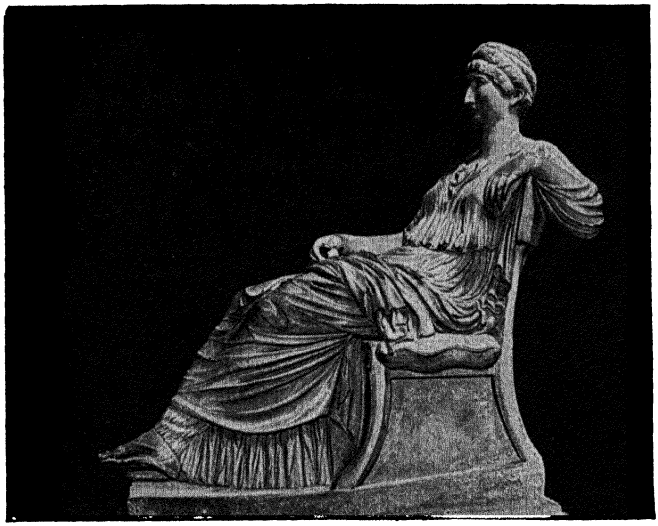
In regard to the darker side of his policy as a ruler, we must remember that he had undertaken a task which necessarily involved inconsistencies. He undertook to maintain the republican disguise under which Augustus had veiled the monarchy. The wearing of a mask well suited his reserved and crafty nature, but the success of this pretence depended far more on personal qualities than Tiberius realised. It had been a success with Augustus, because he was popular and genial. It was a failure with Tiberius because he was just the opposite. After Tiberius, the mask was dropped. The system of delation and the law of *maiestas* were provided by Tiberius as a substitute for the popularity which had shielded his predecessor from conspiracy. Owing to the spread of delation, the reign of Tiberius was to some extent a reign of terror. Hardly any important works of literature were produced, for men did not care to write when they could not write freely. We have already seen the fate of the historian Cremutius Cordus. Two other historians, whose works have come down to us, escaped censure by flattery, In the case of one, the flattery was probably sincere. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, whose short "Roman History" in two Books was published in 30 A.D., had served under Tiberius in the Pannonian war, and afterwards risen to the rank of quæstor, and then of praetor. He had conceived a deep admiration and affection for his general, and lauds him with extravagant superlatives. He also speaks in very high terms of Sejanus, who had not yet fallen. VALERIUS MAXIMUS was more clearly a time-server. In his "Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Words," a collection of anecdotes of Roman history, written in a tasteless, pretentious style, he is servile to the Emperor, but as the work appeared after the fall of Sejanus,

a vehement declamation against that minister is introduced. The Spaniard, ANNÆUS SENECA of Corduba, not to be confounded with his more famous son, was active under Tiberius as well as under Augustus. He wrote a history extending from the beginning of the civil wars almost to the day of his death (about 39 A.D.), unfortunately not preserved; but his works on rhetorical subjects are partly extant. The terror of delation did not affect jurists like MASURIUS SABINUS, men of science like CELSUS, or gastronomists like APICIUS, owing to the politically indifferent nature of their subjects. It is not easy to see how it affected poetry, but Virgil and Horace had no immediate successors. The only poetical writer of the reign was the freedman PHÆDRUS, and he tells us that he was persecuted. He was the author of five Books of Æsopian fables, in iambic trimeters. POMPONIUS SECUNDUS wrote tragedies, but perhaps did not publish them till after the death of Tiberius. The Emperor was himself imbued with letters. He wrote a lyric poem on the death of Lucius Cæsar, and Greek verses in the style of the Alexandrine school. He also wrote memoirs of his own life. He was a strict purist in language, and resolutely refused to use words borrowed from Greek.

§ 28. This negative testimony of literature shows that delation was a very real danger and that the government of Tiberius was in some respects tyrannical. But he was not such a tyrant as he has been painted by the later writers Tacitus and Suetonius. Over against the dark picture of Tacitus we must set the opposite picture of the inferior artist Velleius, and we must allow for the bias of both authors. We must remember that Velleius had seen Tiberius at his best, in the camp conducting a campaign, that he received promotion from him, and was prejudiced in his favour; in addition to this, he was writing in the Emperor's lifetime. On the other hand Tacitus wrote under the influence of a reaction against the imperial system, and he lays himself out to blacken the character of all the Emperors prior to Nerva. The dark character of Tiberius, and a certain mystery which surrounded his acts and motives, lent themselves well to the design of the skilful historian, who gathered up and did not disdain to record all sorts of popular rumours and stories imputing crime to the exile of Capreæ. Apart from the measures which he adopted for his own safety, or at the instigation of Sejanus, and which mainly concerned his own family and nobles connected with them—apart from the consequences of the system of delation, which were felt almost exclusively at Rome—there can be no question that the rule of Tiberius was wise, and maintained the general prosperity of the

Empire. Augustus was not deceived, when, in adopting his stepson into the Julian family, he said "I do it for the public welfare;" nor, on the other hand, was he mistaken when he prophetically pitied the fate of the people of Rome which he was committing to be masticated in the "slow jaws" of his adopted son.*

* Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!



Agrippina, wife of Germanicus (from Statue in the Capitoline Museum).

Gaius and Drusilla (from cameo in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PRINCIPATE OF GAIUS (CALIGULA) (37-41 A.D.).

§ 1. Claims of Gaius to the Principate. He is accepted by the senate. The acts of Tiberius are not confirmed, his will is annulled, and he is not deified. § 2. Funeral of Tiberius. Reaction against his policy. Gaius shows respect for the senate and piety to his family. § 3. Munificence of Gaius. His speech in the senate. § 4. Early life and character of Gaius. He is under the influence of Agrippa. § 5. Illness of Gaius. Sympathy of his subjects. Philo quoted. Death of Tiberius Gemellus. § 6. Pleasures of Gaius. He degrades his dignity in the circus. § 7. Sisters and wives of Gaius. His oriental ideas. He demands divine worship and professes to be a god. § 8. His architectural extravagance. The bridge of ships at Puteoli. His jealousy of great names. § 9. Financial difficulties drive him to plunder his subjects. § 10. His expedition to Gaul. Conspiracy of Lentulus Gætulicus. Exile of the Emperor's sisters. Acts of Gaius at Lugudunum. § 11. Britannic expedition. His return to Rome. § 12. The reign of terror. § 13. Increased taxation. Conspiracy of Chærea, and murder of Gaius. § 14. Policy of Gaius in the provinces reactionary. He restores client kingdoms in the East, but annexes the kingdom of Mauretania. § 15. Refusal of the Jews to pay him divine worship. Embassies from Alexandria.

SECT. I.—POPULAR BEGINNINGS OF THE REIGN OF GAIUS.

§ 1. WE have seen that Tiberius had made Gaius and Gemellus co-partners in the inheritance of his private fortune, thus recommending them to the senate and people as co-partners in the Principate. He seems to have intended for them a joint rule like that which Augustus intended for his grandchildren Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. Perhaps he did not believe that such a rule was

possible; but he left the decision to fate. The power and the initiative naturally devolved on Gaius, who was older than his cousin by seven years and had already entered on public life. He was supported by the favour of the populace and the strength of the prætorians with Macro at their head; so that his succession seemed certain. But it is to be observed that from a constitutional point of view Gaius did not occupy as strong a position on the death of Tiberius as Tiberius had occupied on the death of Augustus. Tiberius had been already invested with the tribunician power and the most important of the imperial prerogatives during the lifetime of Augustus. But since the death of his son Drusus, Tiberius had not moved the senate to confer the tribunician power on any one; and Sejanus, who had received proconsular power, no longer lived. Gaius was not in any sense a *consors imperii*. Hence on the death of Tiberius, it was open to the senate to elect as the new Princeps whomsoever they wished. But though the inheriting of the Empire was not recognised by the constitution, it was generally felt that the heir of the Emperor had the best claim to succeed him in the government as well as in his private property. Hence the election of Gaius was taken for granted both by himself and by others.

The Emperor's death was finally announced to the senate in a letter from Gaius, conveyed by the hand of Macro, who also brought the testament of Tiberius, in which Gaius and Gemellus were appointed co-heirs. Gaius asked the fathers to decree to the late Emperor a public funeral, deification, and the other honours which had been decreed to Augustus, also to confirm his acts; but at the same time he demanded that the testament should be annulled. Such a document might prove inconvenient, for though legally it only concerned the private estate of Tiberius, it might be used to give his grandson a claim to participation in the imperial power. The senate acceded to the wishes of the candidate for the Empire, whom it did not hesitate to elect. The tribunician power and all the functions of the Empire were conferred on Gaius Cæsar* (March 18); a public funeral, but not deification, was decreed to Tiberius; and his will was annulled. But in return some concessions were required from Gaius. He adopted his cousin Tiberius Gemellus and named him *princeps iuventutis*; and he gave up his demand that the acts of his predecessor should be confirmed by the senate. Tiberius was not added to the gods, and in this way his memory was condemned.

§ 2. The accession of the young Emperor was hailed by the people with wild delight as the beginning of a new age. They had

* His official title was C. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus.

received the news of the death of Tiberius with a savage outburst of hatred. It is said that they wished to drag his corpse to the river, and cried *Tiberium in Tiberim*, "Tiberius to the Tiber!" After years of fear, sullenness, and gloom, they looked forward to an age of merriment and pleasure—a return of the Augustan era. The procession conveying the body of the dead Emperor was conducted by his successor from Misenum to Rome, and the people poured forth to meet it, forgetting their hatred of the dead tyrant in their joy at welcoming the new sovran. They allowed the funeral solemnities to pass over quietly, and when Gaius had spoken a funeral oration, the corpse was cremated in the Campus Martius and the ashes placed in the mausoleum.

The new reign was inaugurated by a reaction against the policy of the preceding. The most odious delators were banished from Italy; all prisoners were released; all exiles recalled. The extension of the law of *maiestas* to words written or spoken was done away with. The writings of Cremutius Cordus and others, which had been suppressed, were permitted to circulate again; the Emperor declaring that the writing and reading of history conduced to the interests of every good prince. Gaius also annulled the right of appeal to himself from the tribunals in Rome, Italy, and the senatorial provinces. He endeavoured to make a strict division between the functions of senate and Princeps; and he followed the example of Augustus, neglected by Tiberius, in publishing the accounts of the state. He restored to the comitia the election of the magistrates, and thus showed that he desired to maintain the outward form of a republic. But this change was soon discovered to be useless, for as the number of candidates seldom exceeded the number of vacant places, there was no room for suffrage, and the comitia, when it assembled, found that it had nothing to do. Hence after two years, the system of Tiberius was restored. Gaius assisted the administration of justice by creating a fifth decuria of jurymen, for the existing number was found to be unequal to the work they had to do. It was composed of men of the same qualification as those who filled the fourth *decuria*, created by Augustus (see above, Chap. III. §§ 7, 8). Gaius also conferred the *equus publicus* on a large number of persons, because the equestrian order had been greatly reduced in number in the reign of Tiberius, who had neglected to replenish it by new nominations.

The son of Germanicus distinguished himself by piety to his family no less than by respect to the senate. When he had appeared in the presence of the fathers and won their goodwill by a plausible and submissive speech, he hurried in person to the islands where his mother and brother had been banished and con-

veyed their ashes back to Rome, to be deposited in the mausoleum of the Cæsars. He caused the senate to decree to his grandmother Antonia the titles and honours which had been formerly decreed to Livia. He changed the name of the month September to Germanicus, so that the name of his father might rank in the Calendar beside Julius and Augustus. He called upon his uncle Tiberius Claudius, whose existence no one ever seemed to remember, and who hitherto, although he was forty-six years of age, held only equestrian rank, to be his colleague in the consulship, on which he entered on July 1st (37 A.D.). His sisters Julia Livilla, Agrippina, and Drusilla received the honours of Vestal virgins. Gaius himself modestly refused the title *Pater Patriæ*, which the senate offered him.

§ 3. How popular the new reign was with the multitude is shown by the immense number of victims—one hundred and sixty thousand—which were offered in thanksgiving to the gods. The citizens and the soldiers were delighted with the unbounded munificence of the successor of the frugal Tiberius. All the legacies and donations ordered in the will of Tiberius were paid, although that deed was otherwise annulled, and the testament of Livia, which Tiberius had neglected, was now executed. Besides this, Gaius distributed to the plebs the donation, which should have been given when he assumed the *toga virilis*. The immense sums which lay in the treasury, heaped together by the saving policy of Tiberius, enabled him to defray these expenses and to enter upon a course of reckless profusion, which the rabble greeted with applause. At the same time he reduced his revenue by abolishing the small tax of ½ per cent. on sales in Italy.

When Gaius assumed the consulship, he made a speech to the senate, criticising severely the acts of Tiberius and making fair promises for his own future government. The fathers were so pleased, and yet so afraid that he would alter his views, that they decreed that his speech should be read aloud every year. His exemplary devotion to his duties during the two following months seemed to augur well for the future. But on the last day of August, which was his birthday, he threw aside business, and gave a magnificent entertainment, such as had not been witnessed for many years. On this occasion he consecrated the temple of Augustus, which was at length completed. From this time Gaius showed the world a new side of his character, which few perhaps had suspected. He plunged into a mad course of shameless dissipation and extravagance.

§ 4. When his subjects saluted their new Emperor, they were quite ignorant what manner of man he was. In his personal

appearance there was nothing to attract. His figure was ill-proportioned, his eyes set deep in his head, his features pale; and his scowling expression still displeases us in his bust.* His constitution was weak, and his intellectual capacity was small; and whatever intellect he possessed had never been trained, except in rhetorical exercise. Want of training in his youth may partly account for the vagaries of his manhood; but there is no doubt that his brain was affected. He was subject to epileptic fits, and he suffered from sleeplessness. His early childhood was spent in the camp on the Rhine; his next experience was the distressing circumstances of his father's death. Afterwards he was detained under the watchful eye of Tiberius in the lonely island, where he learned to dissemble, flatter and deceive. It is said that Tiberius penetrated the real character of the crafty boy, and made the remark that Gaius lived for the perdition of himself and all men. All the tastes of this degenerate grandson of Drusus were vulgar and vile. He cared only for the company of gladiators and dancers; he took delight in the sight of torture and death. He seems to have been always thoroughly unsound in mind, and when the unlimited power of the sovran of the Roman Empire was placed in his hands, his head was completely turned. He had fallen under the influence of Herod Agrippa, who instilled into his mind oriental ideas as to the divine nature of monarchy, and filled his head with dreams of the grandeur of eastern kings. This Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, was grandson of Herod the Great, and had come to Rome along with his mother Berenice and his sister Herodias, after the death of his father. Rome was at this time an asylum for the members of eastern royal families, who in their own country would probably have perished by the hand of their reigning kinsmen. Antonia, whose father had been a friend of Herod, became the protectress of his grandson, and the young Agrippa was brought up in the company of Claudius, who was of his own age. When his uncle Herod Antipas (the Herod of the Gospels), B.C. 4–A.D. 39, who married Herodias, obtained the kingdom of Samaria, Agrippa was invested with the governorship of the city of Tiberias. But this did not satisfy his ambition. He returned to Rome in the last years of Tiberius, to watch for an opportunity to better his position. He attached himself to the young Gaius, whose prospects seemed to be bright, and obtained a great influence over him. Agrippa was a shrewd and energetic man, who had seen a great deal of the world; very dissipated and unprincipled; and always in want of money. His descriptions of oriental magnificence, his pictures of the omnipotence which even the smallest monarchs in the east possessed

* In the Capitoline Museum.

over the life and property of their subjects, his lessons perhaps in the voluptuousness of Asia, produced a deep and dangerous effect on the diseased mind and sensual nature of the future Emperor. Rome had been threatened with the introduction of oriental theories by Antonius; she was destined to experience them at the caprice of his great-grandson.

§ 5. After the celebration of his birthday, the Emperor did not resume his political duties, but gave himself up to dissipation and enjoyment, and from this time to the end of his reign his only occupation was the pursuit of pleasure and excitement. Under the first wild outburst of sensuality his weak constitution gave way and he became dangerously ill. The general distress which was then felt both in Rome and in the provinces shows how popular he was. Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, describes the prosperity of the Empire at the beginning of his reign and the sympathy which was felt at his illness. The passage deserves to be quoted:*

"Who was not amazed and delighted at beholding Gaius assume the government of the Empire, tranquil and well-ordered as it was, fitted and compact in all its parts, north and south, east and west, Greek and barbarian, soldier and civilian, all combined together in the enjoyment of a common peace and prosperity? It abounded everywhere in accumulated treasures of gold and silver, coin and plate; it boasted a vast force both of horse and foot, by land and by sea, and its resources flowed, as it were, from a perennial fountain. Nothing was to be seen throughout our cities but altars and sacrifices, priests clad in white and garlanded, the joyous ministers of the general mirth; festivals and assemblies, musical contests and horse-races, nocturnal revels, amusements, recreations, pleasures of every kind and addressed to every sense. The rich no longer lorded it over the poor, the strong upon the weak, masters upon servants, or creditors on their debtors; the distinctions of classes were levelled by the occasion; so that the Saturnian age of the poets might no longer be regarded as a fiction, so nearly was it revived in the life of that happy era." The provinces were happy for seven months; then the news arrived that the Emperor, having abandoned himself to sensuality, had fallen grievously sick, and was in great danger. "When the sad news was spread among the nations, every enjoyment was at once cast aside, every city and house was clouded with sorrow and dejection, in proportion to its recent hilarity. All parts of the world sickened with Gaius, and were more sick than he, for his was the sickness of the body only, theirs of the soul. All men reflected

* The translation of this passage is borrowed, with modifications, from Merivale (cap. xlvii.).

on the evils of anarchy, its wars, famines, and devastations, from which they foresaw no protection but in the Emperor's recovery. But as soon as the disease began to abate, the rumour swiftly reached every corner of the empire, and universal were the excitement and anxiety to hear it from day to day confirmed. The safety of the prince was regarded by every land and island as identical with its own. Nor was a single country ever so interested before in the health of any one man as the whole world then was in the health of Gaius."

This instructive passage of an Alexandrine writer of that day, shows how important an Emperor's life was then felt to be for the welfare of the state. Gaius recovered, but he did not mend his ways. The solicitude of the citizens and the provincials impressed him with a deeper sense than ever of his own importance. His first act was to remove from his path his cousin Gemellus, who had a rival claim to the throne. About November, 37 A.D., the feeble grandson of Tiberius was compelled to kill himself.* Macro the prætorian prefect had laid Gaius under such great obligations in helping him to secure the throne, that he ventured on the indiscretion of sometimes reminding the Emperor of his duties. At the same time Ennia pressed her lover to keep his promise of marrying her. But Gaius was weary of the wife, and impatient of the husband, and he resolved to destroy them both. Macro received a command to put himself to death. About the same time Gaius recalled M. Silanus, the father of his first wife, who was then proconsul of Africa, and caused him to be executed. These acts may be regarded as the turning-point of the reign.

SECT. II.—EXTRAVAGANCE AND TYRANNY OF GAIUS. HIS MURDER.

§ 6. Feeling himself superior to both law and custom, Gaius did not hesitate to parade his degraded tastes before the public, and to prostitute the imperial dignity in a way which would have seemed simply inconceivable to Augustus or Tiberius. He took a keen delight in the sports of the circus and in gladiatorial shows, and is said to have himself sung and danced in public, and even descended into the arena. Knights and senators were compelled to take part in the chariot-races. Charioteering became a sort of political institution in this reign, and continued to be so until the

* The epitaph of this boy has been found near the Bustum Cæsarum in the Campus Martius:
Ti. Cæsar Drusi Cæsaris f. hic situs est.
As he is called the son of Drusus, his adoption by Gaius was apparently annulled on his death.

latest days of the Empire. There were four rival parties, distinguished by colours, the green, blue, red, and white. Gaius favoured the green faction, and built a special place of exercise for it. But the gladiatorial shows were the special delight of the Emperor. He removed the limitations which Augustus had set on the number of gladiators; and the amphitheatre of Taurus and the Sæpta in the Campus Martius were constantly filled with the rabble and the court witnessing not only pairs of gladiators, but the battles of armed bands. Nobles and knights were forced to fight, as well as slaves; for all his fellow-citizens were his slaves in the eyes of this Princeps. Combats with wild beasts were also a frequent amusement. One wonders that the higher classes tolerated this juvenile tyranny and such shameless degradation of the imperial dignity; but they seem to have felt it as a change for the better after the parsimony and austerity of the preceding reign, and they saw that the new fashion of things was popular with the rabble.

§ 7. Gaius is said to have lived in incestuous connection with his three sisters,* and though this charge is uncertain in regard to Agrippina and Julia, there can be no doubt about Drusilla, of whom he was very fond. He had separated her from her husband, and lived openly with her, after the manner of the Ptolemies and other oriental potentates. When she died (July, 38 A.D.), he was inconsolable. The senate decreed her the honours of Livia; her statues were placed in the curia and in the temple of Venus; and she was deified under the title of Panthea. All the cities of the Empire were commanded to worship her. During his principate, Gaius was married three times, and in all cases, to married women whom he snatched from their husbands. The first, Orestilla, wife of Cn. Piso, was soon repudiated for the sake of Lollia Paulina, the wife of Memmius Regulus, the same who had assisted in the arrest of Sejanus. She was a very rich lady, and her wealth was probably her chief attraction for the Emperor. She was then divorced on the ground of barrenness, and was succeeded by Milonia Cæsonia, to whom, though she was a woman of plain features, the Emperor seems to have been really attached.

As time went on and Gaius found no resistance offered to his sovran will, as he saw the world at his feet and men of all classes content to be his slaves, he was seized with the idea of his own godhead, and exacted divine worship. The oriental notions which he learned from Agrippa, and the deification of Julius and Augustus,

* He caused his sisters to be mentioned along with himself in the military oath; and the formula for the *relatio* of a consul was *quod bonum felixque sit C. Cæsari sororibusque eius.*

suggested to him this extravagance. He believed that nothing was impossible for him to execute, and his great passion was to make it manifest that he was controlled by no law, and not subject to ordinary human affections. He exulted in looking on suffering without blenching. He regretted that his reign was not marked by some striking disaster such as the defeat of the Varian legions. He used to dress himself like Bacchus or Hercules or Venus, and play the part of these deities in the temples before an admiring crowd. He pretended to converse with Jupiter in the temple on the Capitol, and for this purpose, in order to have speedier access to his divine kinsman, he caused a flying bridge to be thrown across the Velabrum, reaching from the Palatine close to the newly dedicated temple of Augustus to the Capitoline. Among the gods, as among men, he claimed to be pre-eminent; he declared that he was the Latian Jupiter; and he challenged, with a Homeric verse, Jupiter Capitolinus to combat.

§ 8. He endeavoured to manifest his divine nature by architectural constructions of colossal and fantastic designs. He connected the imperial palace with the temple of Castor in the Forum, perhaps by a series of corridors supported on a bridge, and thus made the temple the vestibule of the palace. This construction has disappeared without leaving a trace. His most useful work, was the aqueduct conveying to Rome the waters of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus; but this he was unable to complete. He planned a work, which, often designed, has been only recently executed, the making of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. His most daring construction was the bridge across the Gulf of Baiæ (39 A.D.), which was clearly not intended to be permanent. A soothsayer, it is said, had prophesied that Gaius would never become Emperor any more than he would drive a chariot across the Gulf of Baiæ. Gaius determined to drive across it, attended by a whole army. Having collected all the ships that were to be found in all the havens far and wide, thus impeding the regular course of commerce and causing serious inconvenience, he drew them up in double line from Bauli to Puteoli. On this bridge of ships was placed a great floor of timber, which was covered all over with earth and paved like a high road. A new and unheard of spectacle was devised, to be exhibited on this structure before it was demolished, and the whole shore from Misenum to Puteoli was crowded with spectators. The Emperor, dressed in armour which had been worn by Alexander the Great, rode at the head of a band of soldiers, across the bridge and entered Puteoli as a conqueror. Next morning he drove back in a triumphal chariot but dressed as a charioteer of the green party. He halted at the centre of the bridge

and made a speech. A banquet followed, which lasted till late in the night, and the whole scene was illuminated with torches on the bridge and on the coast. Intoxication prevailed and many spectators were drowned.

If he was zealous for his own fame, Gaius was jealous of the fame of others. He caused the statues of the distinguished men of the Republic, which Augustus had set up in the Campus, to be broken in pieces. He forbade the last descendant of the Pompeys to bear the name Magnus. He commanded the works of Virgil and Livy to be removed from the libraries, on the ground that Virgil had no genius, and that Livy was careless. He would not permit the image of his own ancestor Agrippa to be placed beside that of Augustus; he even repudiated his grandfather, and gave out that he was the grandson of Augustus and Julia, living in incest like the gods.

§ 9. The extravagances of Gaius at last plunged him into financial difficulties. He exhausted the large treasures accumulated by Tiberius, and in order to refill his empty purse, he began to persecute the nobles, and confiscate the property of the rich. Hitherto, he had steadfastly and vehemently denounced all the works of Tiberius, but, pressed by want of gold, he did not hesitate to revive the law of treason and the system of delation, in order to plunder his fellow-citizens.

Appearing in the senate, he openly praised the policy of his predecessor, and announced the revival of the laws of *maiestas*. The senate thanked the Emperor for his clemency in permitting them to live, and decreed him special honours. Many rich senators were sacrificed to appease the Emperor's cupidity. L. Annæus Seneca only escaped because his declining age promised that his wealth would soon fall into the imperial coffers without prosecuting him. The noble exiles in the islands were put to death, and their fortunes confiscated. But Gaius ultimately alienated not only the senate, but the people, by imposing new taxes which affected Italy and Rome, and the soldiers, by rescinding their wills.

§ 10. But before he went so far as to tax the citizens of Rome (41 A.D.), he had plundered Gaul. In September, 39 A.D., he announced that hostilities of the Germans required his presence on the Rhine, and proceeded thither with a retinue of dancers and gladiators. Lentulus Gætulicus, a son-in-law of Sejanus, had been now for ten years the commander of the legions of the Upper Rhine. Before the death of Tiberius, he had been accused of having relaxed the discipline of the camp in order to win the favour of his soldiers. When he was threatened by disgrace, he boldly defied the Emperor to

remove him from the governorship of Upper Germany, and Tiberius had left him where he was. Perhaps the purpose of the expedition of Gaius was to assert the imperial authority over this independent legatus, and restore military discipline. It is certain that the barbarians beyond the *limes* were at this time troublesome, and the victory which Gaius announced to the senate may have been warranted by a real repulse inflicted on some band of Germans attempting to invade Gaul.* At this time a conspiracy was formed, in which Lentulus Gætulicus was implicated. The object of the plot was to slay Gaius and place M. Æmilius Lepidus on the throne. Lepidus had been a favourite of the Emperor and a companion of all his pleasures. Gaius had given him in marriage his favourite sister, the unfortunate Drusilla, and had intended to designate him as successor to the Empire. The surviving sisters of Gaius, Agrippina and Julia, intrigued with Lepidus, and took part in this treasonable plot, which was discovered in October, 39 A.D. Gætulicus and Lepidus were executed, and the two women were banished. Gaius sent a full account of their adultery and treason to the senate, and asked the fathers to confer no distinctions on his kinsfolk for the future. He also sent three swords, destined for his assassination, to be dedicated as votive offerings to Mars Ultor. To fill the place of Gætulicus, he appointed Lucius Galba (afterwards Emperor), who enforced and restored discipline among the demoralized legions.

The Emperor spent the winter at Lugudunum, where he practised every device for extorting money from the inhabitants of Gaul. Prosecutions and executions were the order of the day. Auctions were held, at which the people were forced to buy at extravagant prices. It is said, that furniture of the imperial palace was conveyed from Rome to the banks of the Rhone, and that the Emperor himself played the auctioneer, recommending each article and encouraging the bidding. "This was my father's," he said, "this my great-grandfather's; this was a trophy of Augustus; this an Egyptian rarity of Antony." By such means the imperial coffers were enriched. Lugudunum also witnessed the great-grandson of Augustus mocking the celebration of the ceremony at his Altar, which represented the union of the Gallic provinces. Among the contests which were instituted in his honour were competitions in rhetoric and verse. Gaius compelled the unsuccessful candidates

* Persius, vi. 43:

Missa est a Caesare laurus
Insignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis et aris
Frigidus excutitur cinis ac iam postibus arma,
Iam chlamydes regum, iam lutea gausapa captis
Essedaque ingentesque locat Cæsonia Rhenos.

Tacitus calls the Britannic and the Germanic expeditions "Galanarum expeditionum ludibrium."

to wipe out what they had written with their tongues, under penalty of being cast into the river.

§ 11. On January 1, 40 A.D., he assumed the consulship for the third time, but resigned it on the twelfth day. As his destined colleague had died before the end of the year, and the senate was afraid to nominate anyone in his place without the imperial sanction, the Emperor was sole consul during the short period of his office. In spring, he advanced northward from Lugudunum to the shores of the ocean, in order to achieve the work which his greater namesake had attempted, the conquest of Britain. This project was suggested to him by Adminius, a fugitive prince of that island, who had sought refuge with the Romans. The large army which Gaius had collected reached the Bononia* of the north—otherwise called Gesoriacum—expecting to take ship there; but one day they were ordered to form in line along the shore, in full battle array, and Gaius, who reviewed his troops from a trireme, suddenly issued a command to pile arms and pick shells. The soldiers filled their helmets with the shells, which were regarded as spoils of the sea, and sent to Rome in token of the great victory won by the Emperor over the ocean and the island of the ocean. It is quite conceivable that this extraordinary caricature of a British expedition was actually enacted by the eccentric Emperor but it is also possible that the story may be a fictitious parody of a genuine expedition which came to nothing.

Before he returned to Rome, in order to celebrate there with unheard of magnificence a triumph for his warlike exploits, Gaius visited Castra Vetera and Oppidum Ubiorum on the Lower Rhine; and report said that he conceived the monstrous idea of decimating those troops, who, twenty-five years ago, had by their mutiny caused the flight of his mother Agrippina, when he was an infant in her arms.† The tale probably rests on some jest which the Emperor let fall, in his bantering manner, and which was taken up as serious. His entry into Rome (August 31, 40 A.D.) took the form of an ovation, not a triumph as he proposed. For the senate, uncertain what his real wishes were, had not ventured to decree him a triumph until the last moment; and Gaius, filled with resentment, refused their tardy offer. "I am coming," he said, "but not for the senate, I am coming for the knights and people, who alone deserve my presence. For the senate, I will be neither prince nor a citizen, but an Imperator and a conqueror."

§ 12. From the moment of his return the Emperor threw off all the remaining disguises which cloaked the monarchy, and all the

* The northern Bononia is now Boulogne, as the southern Bononia is Bologna.

† See above Chap. XII. § 3.

fictions of liberty. He appeared in the undisguised character of an eastern autocrat. Instead of entering Rome as a citizen, he entered in the garb of an *imperator;* and it it said that he would have assumed the diadem, if he had not thought himself superior to the kings of the east who wore it. The cruelties and excesses of the new tyranny, which exceeded what had been hitherto experienced, necessarily led to conspiracies. A plot, in which Anicius Cerealis, who will meet us again in a subsequent principate, took part, was detected, and the senate decreed that the Emperor should occupy a seat in the curia, elevated so high that no conspirator could reach him. Fear of his life made Gaius doubly cruel, and yet the nobles, instead of striking a blow for their freedom, tried to save themselves by servility to the worthless favourites and delators. Such was the freedman Protogenes, who carried about with him two tablets called *Sword* and *Dagger*, on which the names were inscribed of those who were marked out for death by execution or assassination. To what a pass the spirit of the senate had descended is illustrated by the fate of Scribonius Proculus. One day when Protogenes entered the curia and the senators pressed forward to shake hands with him, he cried to Proculus who was among them, "What! darest thou, the enemy of Cæsar, to salute me?" The word was hardly spoken when the Fathers fell upon their brother senator, and stabbed him to death with their styles. From such men the tyrant thought he had little to fear.

§ 13. Financial difficulties drove the Emperor at length into imposing a number of new taxes on Italy and Rome, and these measures deprived him of any vestige of popularity that he still enjoyed with the populace on account of the shows with which he amused them. In January, 41 A.D., he imposed a tax on imports at the Italian harbours, and at the gates of the Italian cities, including Rome. He ordained a fee of 2½ per cent. for persons suing in the courts of law. He established an income tax, which was levied even on prostitutes. He seems to have also resorted to the device of debasing the currency.* A feeling of hostility grew up between the people and their ruler; and it is said that Gaius, disgusted at the symptoms of his unpopularity, expressed the wish, "Would that the Roman people had only one neck!"

But from these new imposts men had not long to suffer. A conspiracy was formed among the prætorian officers, in which Cassius Chærea, who owed a personal grudge to the Emperor, and Sabinus, both tribunes of the prætorian guards, took the most active part. L. Annius Vinicianus and some of the imperial

* Statius, *Silv.* iv. 9. 22: Emptum plus minus asse Galano.

freedmen were also implicated. The blow was struck on the 24th of January (41 A.D.) just as Gaius was making preparations for a campaign of extortion in the rich province of Egypt. The assassination was accomplished by Chærea and his fellows in the vaulted corridor which connected the palace with the Circus Maximus, through which Gaius was passing to see the horse-races. The conspirators succeeded in escaping from the swords of the German bodyguards, and the corpse of Gaius was hastily interred in the Lamian gardens. At a later period it was exhumed and cremated by the sisters whom he had banished. At his death Gaius was only thirty years old.

Sect. III.—Provincial Government. The Jews.

§ 14. If the principate of Gaius was a reaction on that of Tiberius in domestic policy, so too in provincial affairs he aimed at altering the arrangements of his predecessor. Tiberius had deposed Antiochus of Commagene, and made that district a province; Gaius restored it to the deposed king's son, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes Magnus, increased it by the Cilician coast, and restored 100,000,000 sesterces, the confiscated property of his father. Agrippa, whom Tiberius had imprisoned, received the tetrarchy* of his uncle, Philip II., who had recently died, and in addition Abilene. Two years later, he induced the Emperor to depose Antipas and his wife Herodias, the rulers of Samaria, and send them into exile, on the ground of treason. Samaria was given to Agrippa, who thus united under his sceptre the lands which had formed the kingdom of Herod the Great, with the exception of the province Judea. In Thrace a Roman officer had governed the inheritance of Cotys since 19 A.D. Gaius restored it to Rhœmetalces, son of Cotys, and increased the realm by the rest of Thrace, which had belonged to another Rhœmetalces, the son of Rhascuporis. The younger brothers of the restored Rhœmetalces had been brought up with Gaius himself in Italy, and were related through their mother Antonia Tryphaina with his own grandmother Antonia. He therefore provided them also with kingdoms. To Polemo he gave Pontus Polemoniacus, and to Cotys Lesser Armenia. Another appointment made by Gaius at the same time (38 A.D.) was that of the Arabian Scæmus to the throne of Ituræa.

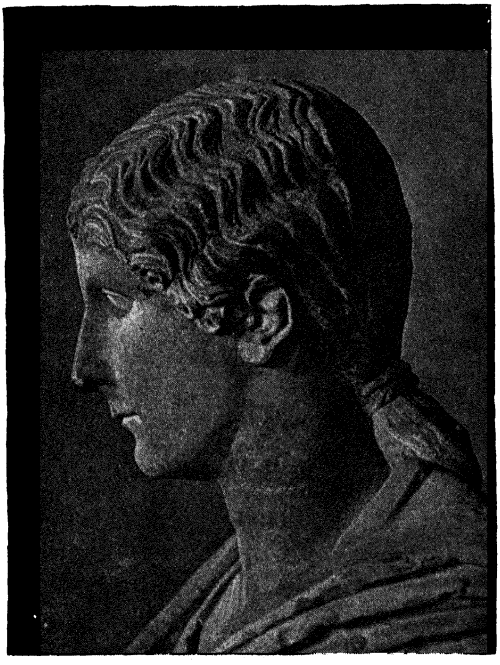
But while he restored dependent kingdoms in the east, he pulled down a dependent kingdom in the west. Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, was summoned to Rome and executed, in order that his treasures might replenish the Emperor's coffers. It was con-

* See above, Chap. VII. § 7.

templated to divide Mauretania into two provinces, Cæsariensis and Tingitana; and this arrangement was afterwards carried out. Gaius also made an administrative change in the neighbouring provinces of Africa and Numidia. Africa was the only senatorial province in which a legion was stationed under the command of the governor. Gaius removed this anomaly by consigning the legion to an imperial legatus, who was also entrusted with civil functions in Numidia, while the powers of the proconsul were confined to the administration of civil affairs in Africa Vetus.

§ 15. The claim of the Emperor to receive adoration as a god led to disturbances among the Jews, both in Judea and at Alexandria. In 38 B.C. Herod Agrippa visited Alexandria on the way to his new kingdom. His appearance in the streets in royal state led to an anti-Jewish demonstration among the non-Jewish population; and the prefect of Egypt, Avillius Flaccus, with a zeal which proved unlucky for himself, seized the opportunity to require that the Jews, whom they detested, should set up statues of the Emperor in their synagogues. When the Jews refused to submit to such an abomination, their fellow-citizens drove them into one quarter of the town, and destroyed their dwellings throughout the rest. Many of them were slain in the tumult. But Flaccus, who had also issued an edict forbidding the Jews to keep the Sabbath, paid the penalty of his wrong-doing. He was immediately superseded, and sent as a prisoner to Rome by Bassus, who succeeded him. The Jews, however, had only a short respite. When Gaius began to claim divine worship from all his subjects, he would not brook the solitary refusal of the Jews. It was expected that a decree would go forth, ordaining that the imperial image should be set up in all synagogues; and with a view to avert, if possible, such a calamity, the Jews of Alexandria sent an embassy to appeal directly to the Emperor (40 A.D.). The details of this embassy have come down to us from the pen of the most distinguished of the ambassadors, the learned philosopher Philo. At the same time the Alexandrians sent a counter-embassy to thwart the Jews. When they arrived on the coast of Campania, the tidings met them that orders had just been issued to Petronius, the governor of Judea, to set up a colossal statue of the Emperor in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem. Gaius was at this time engaged in transforming the house and gardens of the Lamias into a royal residence, and the rival embassies from Alexandria were summoned thither. They found him hurrying about from room to room, surrounded by architects and workmen, to whom he was giving directions, and they were compelled to follow in his train. Stopping to address the Jews, he asked, "Are you the God-haters, who deny my divinity, which all

the world acknowledges?" The Alexandrian envoys hastened to put in their word, "Lord and master, these Jews alone have refused to sacrifice for your safety." "Nay, Lord Gaius," said the Jews, "it is a slander. We sacrificed for you, not once, but thrice; first when you assumed the empire, then when you recovered from your sickness, and again for your success against the Germans." "Yes," observed Gaius, "you sacrificed *for* me, not *to* me;" and thereupon he hurried to another room, the Jews trembling, and their rivals jeering, "as in a play." The next remark he addressed to them was, "Pray, why do ye not eat pork?" Finally he dismissed them with the observation, "Men who deem me no god are after all more unlucky than guilty." The embassy of Philo and his fellows was a failure. Gaius was resolved to impose his worship on the Jews, and his orders to Petronius were confirmed. The rebellion of Judea seemed inevitable, when the death of the mad tyrant averted the sacrilege from the temple of Jerusalem.



Antonia.

Bust of Claudius (from the statue in the Vatican).

CHAPTER XV.

THE PRINCIPATE OF CLAUDIUS (41–54 A.D.).

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Sect. I.—Accession and Character of Claudius.

§ 1. Gaius Cæsar was the first of a long list of Roman Emperors who were destined to fall by the hands of assassins. His death led to a serious crisis, for the conspirators had acted without a thought of what was to come, and no one was marked out to step into the place of the murdered Emperor. Augustus had formally selected Tiberius as his successor, and conferred on him the tribunician power; Tiberius had practically selected Gaius by his testament, but Gaius had not either conferred a share of the imperial prerogatives on any one, or made a will. Thus it seemed open to the senate and the Roman people to put into practice the constitutional theory that the Empire was elective.

As soon as the assassination became known, the consuls Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus ordered the urban cohorts to post themselves in various parts of the city, and immediately called together the senate to deliberate on what was to be done. The fathers met in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and not, as usual, in the Curia Julia, as though in this building they would have been under the influence of the Julian name. They were unanimous in denouncing the tyrannical rule of Gaius, in abolishing his unpopular taxes, and in promising a donative to the soldiers. But they were divided on the more momentous question as to the future of the state. Some held that the free Republic should be restored and the constitution of the Cæsars abolished; others voted that the Principate should continue, but in another family, and there were not wanting candidates for the supreme place. They could come to no agreement, but, before they separated, a decree was passed in honour of Cassius Chærea and the other conspirators, and the watchword given by the consuls to the city cohorts was *Libertas.* Chærea then sent an officer to put to death the Empress Cæsonia and her infant daughter.

But the solution of the difficulty did not rest with the senate. The prætorian guards had already determined that the Empire was not to be abolished, and who the next Emperor was to be. In the confusion which followed the assassination, some of these soldiers had rushed into the palace in search of plunder, and had discovered,

hidden behind a curtain, in fear of his life, Claudius, the son of Drusus and brother of Germanicus. They greeted him with the title *Imperator*, and carried him off to the prætorian camp. The restoration of the Republic would have meant the dissolution of the guards, and they were naturally resolved to hinder it. Claudius wavered before accepting the dignity which was thus thrust upon him and of which he had perhaps never dreamt. But the insistence of the soldiers, the voice of the people who gathered round the senate on the following morning, and the counsels of Herod Agrippa, who went to and fro between the senate and the camp, determined him to yield; and he promised the guards, when they took the oath of allegiance, a donative of 15,000 sesterces (£120) each. He was the first of the Cæsars who bought the fidelity of the soldiers by a donative. It would have been useless for the senate to attempt to struggle against the will of the prætorians, even if the urban cohorts had continued to support it, but these went over to the other side.

Claudius was then conducted to the palace by the prætorians, and he ordered the senate to come to him there. The senators did not dare to refuse; only the conspirators Chærea and Sabinus held out, and protested against the replacement of a madman by an idiot. The usual decrees were passed conferring the imperial powers upon Claudius, the first, but by no means the last, Roman Emperor who was elected by the will of the prætorian guards.

Chærea and others of the conspirators were immediately executed. Sabinus was pardoned, but killed himself by falling on his sword, having declared that he could not survive the accession of another Cæsar. For all the other acts of the short interregnum a general pardon was proclaimed. But the assassination of his nephew had made a deep impression on Claudius, and he adopted the practice of keeping guards continually posted round his person, even when he sat at table. All persons who were admitted to the imperial apartments were searched before they entered.

§ 2. The new Emperor, Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus*, was born at Lugudunum on the day on which the temple of Augustus and Rome was dedicated there by his father (10 B.C). He was thus about fifty years of age when he came to the throne. He had always been regarded and treated by his family as half an imbecile, but his defects seem to have been physical rather than mental. His constitution was weak; his hands trembled; he halted on one leg; and his speech was thick. Labouring under these disadvantages, he was neglected by his mother, who described him as a "monster," and left to the care of servants. His grandmother Livia ignored

* Full name: Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus.

him. Augustus, indeed, recognised that he was not such a fool as he seemed, but slighted him, deeming him worthy of no higher dignity than an augurate, and leaving him only a very small bequest in his will. Tiberius treated him with undisguised contempt, and seeing no hope of a public career, Claudius retired to the country, devoted himself to literature, and amused himself with the society of low people. Under his nephew Gaius he was promoted to the dignity of the consulship, and thereby entered the senatorial rank. But his wanton kinsman forced him to submit to all kinds of indignities and insults. He was slighted in the curia, and at the court was the butt of the Emperor's rollicking companions. The senate selected him as the head of a deputation to Gaius in Gaul, and on that occasion he was ducked in the river Rhone. He was created priest to Gaius as Jupiter Latiaris, and ruined by the enormous expenses which devolved upon him in that capacity. Yet, as Gaius had no children, the more farsighted, like Herod Agrippa, saw that Claudius might one day be a candidate for empire, and took care to maintain friendly relations with him.

He wrote three large historical works: a history of the Etruscans, in twenty Books; a history of the Carthaginians, in eight Books; and a history of the Roman state since the battle of Actium, in forty-one Books. He also wrote his own biography, in eight Books; a defence of Cicero against the censures of Asinius Gallus; a treatise on dice-playing, and a Greek comedy. The Etruscan and Carthaginian histories were also written in Greek. He studied grammar, and attempted to enrich the Latin alphabet by three new letters,* which, however, did not survive his reign. But though he was crammed with antiquarian lore, he had little judgment in applying it, and the circumstances of his early life did not tend to make him practical. Yet it was a gross misrepresentation to say that he was half-witted. When he came to the throne he surprised all by showing considerable talent for administration, as well as a genuine anxiety for the welfare of the state. He was a weak-minded pedant, and lived under the influence of his wives and his freedmen, but he was far from being an imbecile. He and James I. of England, to whom he has aptly been compared, are the two notorious examples of pedants on the throne. They were alike also in their ungainly figures, coarse manners, and want of personal dignity. The face of Claudius, as represented in his busts, was handsome, and has a look of pain or weariness, which gives it a certain interest.

* The most useful of these novelties was the distinction of *u* and *v*, by using an inverted digamma for the latter sound. We meet this symbol frequently in the inscriptions of his reign. Thus *ampliavit* was written amplia⊣it.

§ 3. Claudius did not belong, strictly speaking, to the house of the Cæsars. He had not been transferred into the Julian gens, like his uncle Tiberius and his brother Germanicus.

When therefore he adopted the name "Cæsar," it was in strictness no longer a family name, but an imperial title. Yet Claudius had been so closely associated with the family of the Cæsars that his assumption of the Julian cognomen may have hardly seemed an innovation. The Claudians and Julians had been so closely connected since the marriage of Augustus and Livia that they were almost regarded as a single house. It was the policy of Claudius to emphasize his connection with Augustus. He caused the divine honours, which Tiberius had refused, to be granted to his grandmother Livia Augusta. His position was perhaps further strengthened by his marriage with Valeria Messalina, who was a descendant of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.* Their daughter Octavia was intended to be the bride of L. Junius Silanus, who was a great-great-grandson of Augustus; and his other daughter, Antonia, by a former wife, was affianced to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who was connected through his parents with several distinguished families.†

§ 4. The reign of Claudius was marked by a reaction against that of Gaius, as that of Gaius had been marked by a reaction against that of Tiberius. The new Emperor showed himself clement and moderate. The acts of Gaius were annulled; the estates which he had confiscated were restored to their owners, and the statues of which he had robbed the temples of Greece and Asia were sent back to their homes. Exiles and prisoners who were suffering under the charge of treason, were pardoned, and Julia and Agrippina, the nieces of the Emperor, were recalled from the banishment to which they had been condemned by their brother. The new year's presents, which Gaius had demanded from his subjects, were forbidden, and the Emperor accepted the inheritance of no man who had relatives. But the aristocrats were not at first contented with the rule of one whom they had been taught to regard with a pitying contempt. The fate of Gaius showed how easy it was to overthrow an Emperor, and there were not wanting aspirants to the supreme power. A conspiracy was formed to strike down Claudius and set in his place L. Annius Vinicianus, a prominent senator. The movement was supported by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, who undertook to march into Italy at the head of the two legions under his command, and sent a message of insolent defiance to Claudius, who was so terrified

* See below, § 16.

† The Calpurnii Pisones, and the Licinii Crassi, as well as the Pompeii.

that he thought of resigning the Empire. But the soldiers refused to follow their commander when he announced his intention, and he was forced to fly to one of the islands off the coast, to escape their anger. The legions (VII. and XI.) were rewarded for their loyalty, and a decree of the senate conferred upon each the titles of *Claudian, Pious, Faithful.* The chief conspirators were punished by death or committed suicide.

SECT. II.—ADMINISTRATION OF CLAUDIUS.

§ 5. Claudius endeavoured to model his statesmanship on that of Augustus. He set himself to restore the relations of cordiality which had subsisted between senate and Princeps under the first Emperor. The division of power between them was strictly maintained, and Claudius was prompted by his passion for antiquity to preserve the dignity of the senate. He reserved for members of that ancient order special seats in the Circus Maximus. The influence of the senate was also increased by the rivalry which existed between the freedmen and the wives of the Emperor, each party seeking a support in the authority of the senate. The list of the order had not been revised since the reign of Augustus, and Claudius undertook the unpopular task, which his two predecessors had omitted. The task was necessary, but like most things which Claudius did, he performed it in a manner which excited ridicule. Instead of simply assuming censorial power, he revived (47, 48 A.D.)* the office of censor—a title which Augustus had avoided—and held a lustrum. His colleague in the office was L. Vitellius. The act was harmless, but it seemed to savour of the antiquarian on the throne, and when the zealous censor issued fifty edicts in one day, there was matter for jest in Rome. But useful business was done. Many new members were admitted into the senate, and the equestrian order was also revised. Claudius showed that he had not forgotten the land of his birth, by paving the way for extending the *jus honorum* to the three Gauls, so far as they already possessed the *civitas sine suffragio.* Natives of Gallia Narbonensis, of Spain and Africa, had already been admitted to the senate, and the magistracies; Claudius extended the privilege to the Ædui, who, as the first Gallic allies of Rome, were called the "brothers of the Roman people." This mark of favour came fitly from the son of Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, and the conqueror of Britain. The speech which Claudius pronounced on this occasion before the

* He appears as censor designate in 47 A.D., but it is uncertain whether the censorship began in this, or not till the following year. He laid it down before the autumn of 48 A.D.

senate was characteristic of the man. Two considerable fragments of it have been preserved on bronze tablets, which were dug up at Lyons, and we can judge from these remains that the oration was long and rambling, displaying knowledge of the ancient history of Rome, which bore very little on the matter in hand, and illustrating that want of sense of proportion, which made even the best acts of Claudius seem a little absurd. After a long and tedious historical disquisition, he suddenly breaks out in an address to himself which is simply grotesque: "But it is high time for thee, O Tiberius Cæsar Germanicus, to unfold to the conscript fathers the aim of thy discourse."

Like Augustus, Claudius was specially empowered by the senate (in the year of his censorship) to increase the number of patrician families, which were gradually dwindling, with a view to the conservation of religious ceremonies. This was a work thoroughly congenial to the spirit of the antiquarian sovran. He also received powers to enlarge the Pomœrium, so as to include the Aventine hill, which had hitherto lain outside the limits of the city in its narrower sense. As an imitator of Augustus and a student of Etruscan archæology, he naturally made the maintenance of religion a special care, and did away with the oriental rites which had come into practice at the court in the reign of Gaius. The Jews were tolerated in Rome until their seditions caused him to expel them again, as they had been expelled by Tiberius. In the eight hundredth year of the city, which fell in this reign (47 A.D.), Claudius as Pontifex Maximus celebrated the Ludi Sæculares, though they had been celebrated sixty-three years before by Augustus. He founded a college of sixty haruspices for the official maintenance of Etruscan auguries. But in his zeal for religion he did not neglect the dictates of worldly wisdom, and limited the number of holidays, which interfered with the course of business.

§ 6. Claudius also imitated his great model in devoting himself assiduously to the administration of justice. He used to sit patiently, hour after hour, through tedious judicial investigations in the open forum, or in the Basilica Julia. But while we may recognise his good intentions, it is doubtful whether such personal activity of a sovran in administering justice is not more harmful than beneficial. He annulled the laws of treason, suppressed the practice of delation, and promised that no Roman citizen should be submitted to the pain of torture. He did away with the innovation introduced by Gaius, that slaves might give evidence against their masters. In connection with these measures, which were designed to preserve the dignity of the Roman citizen, it may be mentioned that he meted out strict punishment to those who claimed the

franchise on false pretences. He also regulated marriages between free women and slaves, and defined the legal position of their children as servile.

§ 7. Some important administrative changes were made in the reign of Claudius. Judicial authority was committed to the procurators, who managed the affairs of the fiscus in the provinces. Thus, suits concerning fiscal debts were withdrawn from the ordinary tribunals; but those who were not satisfied with the award of the imperial procurator could appeal to the Emperor. Claudius also made a new arrangement for the administration of the ærarium. It will be remembered that Augustus had transferred this treasury from the urban quæstors to two *prætores ærarii*. Claudius restored it to the quæstors, but with a modification of the old arrangement. The two treasurers were selected from the quæstors, not by lot, but by the choice of the Emperor, and they held office for three years, under the title of *quæstores ærarii Saturni* (44 A.D.). The tendency to return to old constitutional forms was also manifested in the revival of the legislative power of the comitia of the people. Some of the laws of Claudius took the form of *plebiscita*. But it was the unpractical experiment of an antiquarian,* and all his important legislation took the form of *senatusconsulta*.

§ 8. His reign was distinguished by the execution of works of public utility. He completed the aqueduct which had been begun by Gaius, and left unfinished; and from him it derived the name of Aqua Claudia. A much greater work was the construction of the Portus Romanus. When Claudius came to the throne, the public granaries were empty, and Rome was threatened with a famine. The immediate necessity was relieved by extending privileges to private trade in corn; but the scarcity continued, and one of the chief and abiding causes was the want of a good haven close to Rome. The mouth of the Tiber was silted up with sand, and the corn-ships from Egypt were obliged to anchor at Puteoli. Claudius supplied this great want by making a new haven, a little above the well-nigh deserted port of Ostia, and connected with the river by an artificial channel. The haven was formed by two immense moles built out into the sea, and a lighthouse was erected at the entrance. This undertaking involved a large outlay, but it was of great and permanent utility. A still vaster enterprise was the draining of the Fucine Lake in the land of the Marsi, but the cost and the labour were not recompensed by the results. The agriculture of the Marsians suffered constantly from the swelling of the waters of the lake, and Claudius undertook to hinder this

* It was tried once again by Nerva, as we shall see.

calamity by constructing a tunnel,* three miles in length through Monte Salviano, to carry away the overflow into the river Liris. The work of thirty thousand men for eleven years (41–51 A.D) was spent on this design, but the tunnel did not prove permanently efficient, like that which drained the Alban Lake. Claudius celebrated the completion of the work by a mimic naval battle on the lake, like one which Augustus had exhibited in an artificial basin in the Transtiberine suburb of Rome, but on a much larger scale. Claudius equipped vessels of three and four banks of oars, with nineteen thousand men. He lined the shores of the lake with a continuous platform of rafts to prevent the galley-slaves from escaping, but full space was left for the operations of a sea-fight. Divisions of prætorian cohorts and cavalry were posted on the rafts, with a breastwork in front of them, from which they could direct missiles against any of the naval gladiators who tried to escape. An immense multitude of people, both from Rome and the neighbouring towns, had gathered, both to see the wonderful spectacle, and to show their respect for the Emperor; and the banks, the slopes, and the hill-tops were crowded with spectators, so that the scene resembled a vast theatre. The Emperor, dressed in a splendid military cloak (*paludamentum*), and his wife Agrippina, also wearing a military cloak, presided. Though the combatants were condemned criminals, they fought bravely, and when much blood had been shed, they were allowed to separate. The story is told that when they saluted Claudius with the words, *Have, imperator, morituri te salutant*, ("Hail, Emperor! men doomed to die greet thee"), he answered with *aut non* ("Or not" doomed to die); and they, taking the words as a pardon, refused to fight. Claudius at first thought of having them all massacred, but afterwards, going round in person, induced them to fight by threats and exhortations.

SECT. III.—THE PROVINCES UNDER CLAUDIUS.

§ 9. The gradual elevation of the provinces to a political equality with Italy is one of the features of the imperial period. The extension of the *ius honorum* to Gaul, which has been already mentioned, was an important step in this direction, and the reign of Claudius was marked by a tendency to bestow the Roman citizenship on provincial communities. He was ridiculed, in a humorous satire written after his death by the philosopher Seneca, for having resolved to see all the Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons, dressed in the Roman toga. He introduced many changes

* See under the article "Emissarium" in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

in the administration of the subject lands, both the provinces and the dependent kingdoms. In the north the Empire gained a new province by the conquest of Britain, which will be recounted in another chapter; and this led to an increase of the army by two new legions. The prætorian cohorts were also increased in this reign from nine to twelve. Mauretania had to be conquered anew at the other extremity of the Empire. The inhabitants had rushed to arms after the execution of their king Ptolemy, under the leadership of Ædemon, one of his freedmen. The governor, Publius Gabinius, was not equal to coping with the rebellion; but his successor, C. Suetonius Paulinus, who became famous afterwards by his campaign in Britain, crossed Mount Atlas and went as far south as the river Gir, reducing the Maurusian tribes (42 A.D.). This expedition, however, was not decisive, and the struggle seems to have lasted until 45 A.D., when Lucius Galba (who was afterwards Emperor) became proconsul of Africa, and Cn. Hosidius Geta commanded in Numidia. When order was restored, chiefly through the energy of Geta, Mauretania was divided into two provinces, separated by the river Mattua. The western was distinguished as Tingitana, from the town Tingi; the eastern as Cæsariensis, from the town Jol Cæsarea. Each was governed by a procurator; but in case of necessity they were united under the authority of a legatus. Another change in the western half of the Empire was the enlargement of the little prefecture of the Cottian Alps, and the elevation of its prefect, Julius Cottius, to the rank of king.

§ 10. Claudius conquered Britain, but he did not essay the other enterprise which had once seemed expedient for the protection of Gaul; he did not try to repeat the conquest of Germany, which had busied his father Drusus, and his brother Germanicus. There was, however, in his reign some fighting beyond the Rhine. Domitius Corbŭlo, an able soldier, the rival of Suetonius Paulinus, was appointed legatus of Lower Germany. He was the half-brother of Cæsonia, the wife of Gaius, in whose reign he had been entrusted with the task of inspecting the condition of the roads in Italy. On reaching the Rhine he set himself to check the piracy which had been practised in recent years by the German peoples along the coast of the North Sea. He punished the Frisians, who had refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and made an expedition against the Chauci (47 A.D.), who had dared to make incursions into the Lower province. But as he was about to establish a fortress in the land of that people, he received orders from the Emperor to desist from his undertaking, and leave the Chauci to themselves. The enemies of Corbulo had represented

that he was only seeking his own glory. But in any case it was the policy of the government at this time to keep the Germans in order by diplomacy rather than by arms. Thus the Cherusci, who had degenerated since the days of Arminius, besought the Emperor to provide them with a chief. Claudius sent Italicus, the son of Flavus and nephew of Arminius. For a time the youth was popular, but he soon became suspected and disliked on account of his Roman manners, and had great difficulty in maintaining his position. This was just what Rome desired; it was her policy to promote discord and dissension among the Germans.

Corbulo returned to his province disgusted and disappointed. "How happy were the Roman commanders in old days," he is reported to have murmured when he received the imperial command. As the soldiers were not to fight, he employed them in the task of cutting a great canal, connecting the Mosa (Maas) with the northern branch of the Rhine, parallel to the coast. This supplied the place of a road, and has lasted till the present day, running from Rotterdam to Leiden. The reign of Claudius was also distinguished in the history of the Rhine lands by the elevation of the Oppidum Ubiorum to the rank of a military colony (50 A.D.),—Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis, called after his fourth wife the Empress Agrippina, who was born there. Colonia, as it was simply called—and is still called so in the form Cologne or Cöln—became an important centre of Roman civilisation. It is possible that another illustrious Roman colony, Augusta Treverorum—Trier on the Mosel—was also founded under the auspices of Claudius.* One work which had been begun by his father it devolved upon him to complete. This was the great road connecting Italy with the Upper Danube, passing over the Brenner Alps, the Via Claudia Augusta.

§ 11. There were also hostilities in the Upper province during the reign of Claudius. It was found necessary to make an expedition against the Chatti, and the last of the three eagles lost by Varus was on this occasion recovered. Some years later (50 A.D.) predatory bands of Chatti invaded the province, which was then governed by Publius Pomponius Secundus. He ordered the Vangiones and the Nemetes—tribes which dwelled on the left bank of the Rhine about Borbetomagus (Worms), and Noviomagus (Speyer)—along with the auxiliary cavalry, to intercept the retreat of the invaders and attack them while they were dispersed. The troops were divided into two columns. One of these cut off the plunderers on their return, when after a carouse they were heavy

* But some refer it to Augustus himself, while others place it as late as the reign of Galba.

with sleep; and some survivors of the disaster of Varus were delivered from captivity. The other column inflicted greater loss on the foe in a regular battle, and returned laden with spoil to Mount Taunus, where Pomponius was waiting with his legions. The triumphal ornaments were decreed to Pomponius, who, however, was more celebrated for his poems than for his military achievements.

§ 12. On the Pannonian frontier, Claudius was called upon to intervene in the affairs of the Suevi. After the overthrow of Maroboduus, Vannius had been recognised as king of the Suevic realm, which included Bohemia, the land of the Marcomanni, and also the modern Moravia, the land of the Quadi. For about thirty years Vannius reigned in great prosperity, popular with his countrymen, whom he enriched by plunder and the tribute of subject tribes. But long possession made him a tyrant, and domestic hatred, combined with the enmity of neighbouring peoples, proved his ruin. In 50 A.D. a plot was formed for his overthrow by his nephews Vangio and Sido, who were supported by Vibilius, king of the Hermunduri, a people who lived west of Bohemia. Claudius declined to send Roman troops to protect his vassal, and would only promise a safe refuge to Vannius in case he were expelled. But he instructed Palpellius Hister, the legatus of Pannonia, to have his legions with some chosen auxiliaries posted along the banks of the Danube—as a rule their station was on the Drave—to be a support to Vannius if he were conquered, and a terror to the conquerors. The enemies of Vannius were supported by an immense force of Lugii, a Suevic tribe which probably dwelled in the modern Silesia. To oppose this large force, Vannius had obtained some cavalry from the Iazyges (a Sarmatian race who lived between the Danube and the Theiss), to support his own infantry. He wished to protract the war by maintaining himself in fortresses; but the Iazyges, who could not endure a siege, brought on an engagement; Vannius was compelled to come down from his forts, and was defeated. He then fled to the Roman fleet on the Danube, and grants of land in Pannonia were assigned to him and his followers. Vangio and Sido divided his kingdom, and remained loyal to Rome.

§ 13. In the east, the list of provinces was augmented by the conversion of the kingdom of Thrace into a province governed by a procurator (46 A.D.). The free confederation of the cities of Lycia was also abolished and that country united to the province of Pamphylia (43 A.D.). This measure led to the complete Hellenisation of Lycia. Macedonia and Achaia, which Tiberius had placed under the common control of an imperial legatus, were restored by Claudius to the senate, and again governed by prætorian proconsuls.

Now that Mœsia was separately administered, they were girt round by a chain of frontier provinces which secured them against hostile inroads, so that they could be safely entrusted to the senate.

The affairs of the small dependent kingdoms in the east were ordered anew. Antiochus IV. was restored to the throne of Commagene, which Gaius had given him and then capriciously taken away. Special attention was attracted to the kingdom of Bosporus and the north-eastern shores of the Euxine. The history of these regions is so little known that the glimpse of them which we get now is welcome. In 41 A.D. Claudius transferred the kingdom of Bosporus, which Gaius had bestowed on Polemo, to a certain Mithradates, who claimed to be descended from the great opponent of Rome; and Polemo received some districts in Cilicia as a compensation. But a few years later (45 A.D.) he was deposed, for what reason is unknown, and his brother, a youth named Cotys, was set up in his stead and at first supported by a considerable Roman force under Aulus Didius Gallus, who was probably governor of Mœsia. When the Romans departed, leaving only a few cohorts under a knight named Julius Aquila, Mithradates saw his opportunity. Collecting a band of men, who were exiles like himself, he overthrew the king of the Dandaridae, a people which dwelled near the Hypanis (the Kuban), and established himself as ruler over them. Cotys and Aquila were alarmed at the prospect of an invasion by Mithradates at the head of the Dandarids, especially as the Siraci, another obscure people of those regions, had assumed a hostile attitude. Accordingly they sought the alliance of Eunones, king of the Aorsi, another race whose exact home is uncertain It was resolved to anticipate the designs of the dethroned king of Bosporus by attacking him in his new Dandarid realm. The army of Cotys consisted of the Roman cohorts, native Bosporan troops, and cavalry supplied by Eunones. Mithradates, having no adequate forces to oppose to this attack, was defeated, and Soza, the town of Dandarica, was occupied by the invaders. The victors then proceeded against the Siraci, and laid siege to their town, named Uspe, which was built on high ground and also fortified by art. The place was easily taken, and the inhabitants, although they had offered submission, were massacred. After the fall of Uspe, the king of the Siraci deserted the cause of Mithradates, and prostrated himself before the image of the Emperor. The Romans were very proud of this expedition. They had advanced within three days' journey of the banks of the Tanais, which in their geography was regarded as one of the limits of the known world. But as they returned by sea, some ships were wrecked on the shores of the Tauri, and the barbarians slew one of the prefects and some of the soldiers.

For Mithradates it only remained to throw himself on the mercy of some protector. Not trusting his brother Cotys, and there being no Roman officer of influence on the spot, he gave himself up to Eunones, king of the Aorsi. Eunones undertook his cause, and sent envoys to Claudius, begging mercy for the captive. After some hesitation, the Emperor decided on exercising clemency; Mithradates was conducted to Rome, and is said to have spoken bold words in the imperial presence: "I have returned to you of my own free will; if you do not believe it, let me go, and look for me!" The fate of Mithradates is uncertain, but he was probably kept, like Maroboduus, in some Italian city.

§ 14. But the most important change was the restoration of the kingdom of Herod. Judea, which since his death had been governed by a Roman procurator, was given along with Samaria to his grandson Agrippa, who had played a prominent part in securing the accession of Claudius. This change was at least as much a matter of policy as a reward to Agrippa. It was intended to soothe the bad feeling against the Roman government which had been stirred up among the Jews under the reign of Gaius. Two edicts were issued, according, first to the Jews of Alexandria, and then to the Jews of the whole Empire, the free exercise of their worship. Agrippa was very popular with the Jews, and he was also popular with the Greeks. At Jerusalem he was a Jew; at Cæsarea he was a gentile. On two occasions the governor of Syria, Vibius Marsus, was obliged to interfere with his policy; in 42 A.D., to prevent him from fortifying the new town of Jerusalem, and in the following year, to put a stop to a suspicious congress of kings—Antiochus of Commagene, Cotys of Little Armenia, Sampsigeram of Emesa, Polemo of Pontus—who had assembled at Tiberias to meet Agrippa. But the restored kingdom of Judea was of short duration. Agrippa died, eaten up of worms, in 44 A.D., and his son, who was kept as a hostage at Rome, was not deemed competent to succeed him. Judea was placed again under the government of a procurator, but, to assuage the discontent of the Jews and prevent disturbances, the nomination of the high priest and the administration of the treasure of the temple were not assigned to him but to king Herod of the Syrian Chalcis, a brother of Agrippa. At this time Judea was much disturbed by brigands as well as by the fanatical hatred of the Jews against the Pagans; and the constant interference of the governor of Syria was required. The administration of Judea was one of the most difficult problems that the Romans had to deal with; and they committed the error of not stationing sufficiently large military forces in that province.

In 53 A.D., Claudius granted immunity from tribute to the island

of Cos, as a personal favour to his physician Xenophon, who belonged to the Asclepiadæ, a family of medical priests, who lived in that island. The Emperor made one of his characteristic speeches in the senate, going into the ancient history of the Coans, and then letting out the true motive of his proposal by mentioning Xenophon, their distinguished countryman. About the same time, tribute was remitted for five years to Byzantium, which had suffered severely from the Bosporan war and from disturbances in Thrace when that country was made a province. The history of the war for Armenia must be reserved for another chapter.

§ 15. It may be asked how far the administration of the Empire was guided by the mind of Claudius, and how far the measures of his reign were due to his advisers. On this it is impossible to speak with certainty. There is a curious contrast between his rather ridiculous personality and the not inconsiderable positive results of his reign. However much he owed to his able councillors, it is certain that he impressed many of his measures with his personal stamp. If he was weakminded, easily influenced by women and freedmen, immoderate in sensual indulgence, and fond of wine and gambling, it must not be forgotten that he was well educated. Nor is it fair to blame him for the prominent part which the freedmen of his household played in the administration of the state. It must be remembered that the Emperor had neither official ministers nor a regular civil service at his disposal. He was supposed to be his own secretary of state and his own treasurer; and he was therefore obliged to have recourse to the services of his freedmen for carrying on the business of the state. Augustus himself had depended on freedmen after the death of his advisers Agrippa and Mæcenas. Tiberius and Gaius also employed them, but did not admit them to their confidence. They occupied, however, such a position that their influence over a weak-minded Princeps was almost a matter of course. This happened in the case of Claudius. He needed councillors to lean upon, and the freedmen were there, at his hand. His most trusted advisers were Narcissus, who held the post of *ab epistulis*, or secretary; Pallas, who was the *a rationibus*, or steward and accountant; Callistus, the *a libellis*, who received all petitions preferred to the Emperor; and Polybius, who assisted his master in his studies, and had himself won a place in literature by translating Homer into Latin and Virgil into Greek. These Greeks were well-educated men, capable and versatile; and it would be an error of prejudice to ridicule the government of Claudius as being conducted by a company of menials. They were doubtless far more competent to perform the duties of their offices and to advise the Emperor than the officials of equestrian and senatorian rank.

But in consequence of their position they were overbearing and avaricious. Having no social position they sought a compensation in amassing wealth, and their administration was consequently marked by the grossest corruption. They sold appointments to the highest bidders; they compassed the confiscation of the estates of nobles on false or frivolous charges; they extorted bribes by threats.*

Sect. IV.—Messalina.

§ 16. In these malpractices the freedmen were aided and abetted by the Empress Messalina. In his youth Claudius had been betrothed to Æmilia Lepida, daughter of the younger Julia, but the marriage was broken off on account of her mother's misconduct. He lost a second bride, Livia Camilla, through her death on the wedding-day, and finally married Plautia Urgulanilla, daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus, who had distinguished himself in Illyricum. Plautia† was repudiated on account of an intrigue with a freedman, and Claudius then married Ælia Pætina, by whom he had one daughter. Ælia was also divorced, but for no serious cause, and (about 38 A.D.) Claudius took a third wife, as has been already mentioned, Valeria Messalina. This remarkable woman was descended, on the father's side, from the race of the orator Messalla Corvinus; but by her mother, Domitia Lepida, she was connected with the family of the Cæsars. Claudius and Lepida were cousins, being both the grandchildren of Antonius the triumvir and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The name of Messalina has become proverbial for unblushing sensuality. The tales that have been preserved of her vices and her orgies bear on them the marks of exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that her conduct was dissolute, and that she exercised an evil influence on the women of Rome. She is said to have carried on criminal intrigues with the Emperor's freedmen, especially with Narcissus. It seems certain that she and they combined to hoodwink Claudius. They concealed her love affairs with others, and she concealed their peculations. While Messalina indulged her amorous caprices, Narcissus and Pallas built up such great fortunes, that when Claudius once complained of want of money, he was told that he would be rich enough if those two freedmen took him into partnership.

* The wealth of Pallas was proverbial, Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 108: Ego possideo plus Pallante.

† By Plautia Claudius had two children: Drusus, who was betrothed to a daughter of Sejanus, but died in infancy; and a daughter whom he caused to be exposed at the age of five months on account of her mother's guilt.

§ 17. The position of Messalina seemed secured by the circumstance that she had borne her husband a son, Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, who afterwards received the name Britannicus in memory of the conquest of Britain. He was born in February, shortly after his father's accession, and this was the first case of a son born to a reigning Cæsar. But Claudius declined the proposal to confer either upon his son the title Augustus, or upon the Empress that of Augusta.* But although Messalina was not raised to the rank which had been held by Livia, she received conspicuous honour by the decree which permitted her to ride in the carpentum, the use of which was still generally restricted to persons holding priestly offices at solemn festivals. A like permission had been already granted to the Emperor's mother Antonia.

It has been already stated that Claudius recalled his nieces, Julia and Agrippina, from exile. Agrippina's husband, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, was dead, and some time after her return she married Crispus Passienus. Julia was espoused to M. Vinicius. Both ladies were young and attractive; and, as the daughters of Germanicus and sisters of Gaius, they both exercised influence and awakened suspicion at the court of Claudius. Agrippina avoided the dangers which surrounded her, but Julia's marked attentions to her uncle excited the jealousy of Messalina; she was driven again into banishment, and died of starvation. The philosopher Seneca, noted for his wealth as well as for his writings, was banished at the same time to Corsica, as a lover of Julia; but, strange to say, his estates were not confiscated. In the following year (42 A.D.) a far more glaring act of injustice was committed to satisfy the vengeance of Messalina. A distinguished nobleman, Appius Silanus, of the Junian gens, had rejected the licentious advances of the Empress, and she determined to destroy him, although he had been recently married to her mother Domitia Lepida. As there was no possible ground of charge against him, Messalina and her accomplice Narcissus devised a curious plot. Narcissus entered the Emperor's chamber early one morning, and told in accents of alarm that he had dreamt the previous night that Claudius was murdered by Silanus. Messalina then said that she had been visited by the same dream. Claudius, weak and superstitious, was terrified by the startling coincidence, and before he had time to recover from his fright, Silanus himself appeared, according to an appointment which the Emperor had made with him. But Claudius in his bewilderment forgot the appointment, and saw in the sudden appearance of Silanus a confirmation of the suspicions which had been aroused by the dreams. Messalina and Narcissus pressed their advantage, and

* The title Augusta, however, was freely given to Messalina in the provinces.

easily persuaded the deceived Emperor to issue an order for the immediate execution of Silanus.

If this tale can be trusted, it shows how unscrupulous the Empress and the freedmen were in compassing their ends, and how completely the Emperor was dominated by their influence. Many other conspicuous victims were sacrificed to the jealousy or covetousness of Messalina. Among them was Poppæa Sabina, said to be the most beautiful woman of the day, the wife of L. Cornelius Scipio. Her real offence was that she tried to fascinate Mnester, a dancer with whom Messalina was in love. But the charge preferred against her was that she committed adultery with Valerius Asiaticus, a nobleman of wealth and influence, who was one of the consuls of the year (47 A.D.). He was brought into the trial because Messalina coveted the gardens of Lucullus on the Pincian hill, which he had inherited. At the same time he was accused of treasonable designs, and was given no opportunity to defend himself before the senate. The trial took place privately in the palace; sentence was passed on the accused, and he was allowed to choose his own death. He adopted the manner of suicide which was then in fashion, and, after bathing and supping, cut open his veins and let himself bleed to death. Poppæa put an end to her own life, before the trial was concluded.

§ 18. So far the plans of Messalina and those of the freedmen had not clashed. The interests of the latter were not threatened by an intrigue with the dancer Mnester or by the confiscation of the gardens of Asiaticus. But when she engaged in an intrigue with a Roman noble, Gaius Silius, the case was very different. For such a connection was clearly a menace to the throne. A man in the position of Silius would hardly have suffered himself to be drawn into an intrigue with a woman of Messalina's evil reputation, if he had not been urged by motives of ambition. But the interests of the freedmen were bound up in their master's life, and his overthrow would have almost certainly meant their ruin. They determined that Gaius Silius should not attain to the Principate, and, as Messalina refused to listen to their warnings, they brought about her fall (48 A.D.).

The Empress, infatuated with her new lover, induced him to divorce his wife, and promised to wed him after the death of Claudius, whose weak constitution might not be expected to hold out much longer. But at length Silius, weary of his ambiguous and dangerous position, and apprehensive, perhaps, of the constancy of his paramour, urged her to consent to the bold step of removing Claudius. He undertook to adopt Britannicus, and promised to reign in his name and as his guardian. Messalina, however, was

not anxious to gratify his wishes. She feared that when Silius reached the goal of his ambition he might spurn her from him on account of her licentiousness. Nevertheless she felt such pleasure in trampling upon public opinion and outraging morality, that she consented to celebrate a formal marriage with her lover. Claudius was just then about to set forth for Ostia, but before he started he was assured by diviners that some evil was destined to befal "the husband of Messalina." To avert evil from his own head, he was induced to sanction a pretended marriage between his wife and another. Gaius Silius was chosen to be the sham bridegroom; the betrothal took place in the Emperor's presence, and he himself signed the marriage contract. He then started for Ostia, but Messalina remained behind on a plea of indisposition, and, incredible as it may seem, celebrated her marriage with Silius with all the customary festivities.*

It was an anxious moment for the freedmen, Narcissus, Pallas, and Callistus. The destruction of Gaius Silius must at all hazards be effected, and it was necessary to set cautiously to work. The influence which Messalina still possessed had been recently shown by the sentence of death passed on Polybius, who had attempted to interfere between her and her lover. So Narcissus laid a plan to take her unawares, and ensure her fall before she could obtain an interview with her husband. He suborned two women, who were intimate with Claudius to awaken him to the knowledge of his strange situation. Narcissus was then, according to the pre-arranged plot, summoned to the Emperor's presence, and confirmed the strange tale of the marriage of Messalina. "Did Claudius," he asked, "know that he had been divorced by his own wife? that the people, the senate, the soldiers had witnessed the marriage of Silius? was he still unaware that, unless he acted promptly, the city was in the hands of the husband of Messalina?" The Emperor could hardly believe the story, but others of the household bore testimony to its truth, and he was urged to hurry back to Rome with all speed, and secure himself in the prætorian camp. Utterly bewildered and frightened, Claudius let his councillors do with him what they would, and on his way back to Rome he kept continually asking, "Am I the Emperor? Is Silius a private citizen?" Narcissus distrusted Lucius Geta, one of the two prefects of the prætorian guards, as a friend of Messalina. He therefore induced

* Juvenal, when enlarging on the theme that beauty is a dangerous gift, adduces the case of Silius, as one whose ruin was due to his good looks, and draws a picture of the marriage (*Sat.*, x. 331 *sqq.*):

Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciæ rapitur miser extinguendus
Messalinæ oculis; dudum sedet illa parato
Flammeolo Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.

Claudius to commit to himself the command of the guards for a single day. On obtaining the consent of the Emperor, he sent orders to Rome that the house of Silius should be occupied, and all who were present arrested. He obtained a seat in the carriage of the Emperor, lest the two companions of Claudius, Vitellius and Largus, should weaken his resolution. L. Vitellius, who had gained distinction in the east under Tiberius, and had worked himself into the favour of Gaius by unscrupulous flattery, carefully abstained from committing himself to an opinion. To the complaints of Claudius he merely said, "How scandalous! how horrible!" leaving the freedman to bear all the responsibility.

§ 19. Meanwhile in the house of Silius, the Empress was celebrating a vintage festival. The grape-juice flowed in streams from the wine-presses, and women, arrayed as Bacchants, with skins flung over their shoulders, performed wild dances. Messalina, herself brandishing a thyrsus, and Silius, crowned with ivy, at her side, strode about in buskins. A note of discord suddenly broke upon the dissolute scene. A physician, one Vettius Valens, had climbed up a high tree, and when they asked him what he saw, he replied in jest or by some kind of prevision "a terrible storm coming from Ostia." Presently the news came that Claudius was indeed coming from Ostia, and coming to avenge. The riotous company was instantly scattered. Silius rushed to the Forum to hide his fear under the appearance of business; Messalina fled to the gardens of Lucullus. They were hardly gone when the officers, sent by Narcissus, arrived; and some of the guests, who were slow in making their escape, were arrested. Messalina had no fear that all was lost; she trusted in her power over her husband. She made arrangements that her children Britannicus and Octavia should meet their father, and silently plead their mother's cause; and she prayed Vibidia, the eldest of the Vestal virgins, to implore the Pontifex Maximus for pardon. Then, having passed through the city on foot, she set forth on the road to Ostia, and was able to find no better conveyance than a cart which was used to carry garden refuse. But all her endeavours failed. Narcissus prevented Claudius from listening to her cries, and the Vestal, when she met the carriage on its entry into Rome, was dismissed with an assurance that the Empress would have an opportunity of defending herself. Claudius visited the house of Silius, and saw in the hall the statue of the culprit's father, which the senate had ordered to be overthrown, and other sights calculated to increase his indignation. He then proceeded to the camp of the prætorians, and ascended the tribunal. Silius would not defend himself, and merely asked for a speedy death. He was immediately executed. The same fate befel

Vettius Valens and several others, who were charged with abetting Silius in his crime. The dancer Mnester was also put to death on account of his intrigue with Messalina, and likewise a young knight named Sextus Montanus, who had been her lover for only one day. In the meantime Messalina had returned to the Lucullan gardens and did not yet despair. Her mother Domitia Lepida, who had stood aloof in the days of her prosperity, came to her in the hour of her distress. She urged her daughter to anticipate the stroke of the executioner by a voluntary death. "Life is over," she said, "nothing remains but an honourable end." But Messalina was fond of life and she knew the nature of her husband. Claudius, exhausted by his work of retribution, had retired to the palace to dine; and after dinner he sent a message to the "poor woman," bidding her come next day and plead her cause. But Narcissus was determined that she should have no chance of pleading. So he immediately ordered a tribune and some centurions to go and slay the criminal, saying "such are the Emperor's orders." Messalina, having in vain attempted to pierce herself with a sword, was killed by a blow of the tribune, and the corpse was left to her mother. Claudius meanwhile, under the influence of wine, had forgotten the events which had just passed, and began to ask why the lady tarried. When they told him that she was dead, he merely called for another cup, and never mentioned her again. The senate decreed that her name should be effaced from all monuments, and Narcissus received as a reward for his services, the insignia of the quæstorship.

Such seems to be the least improbable version of the strange story of the crowning insolence of Messalina, and her sudden fall.* But the episode of her public marriage with Silius will always remain a perplexing riddle, unless some totally new evidence be discovered.

SECT. V.—AGRIPPINA. DEATH OF CLAUDIUS.

§ 20. Messalina had fallen, and the question was, who was to be her successor. On this the freedmen were not unanimous. Narcissus urged that Claudius should take back his second wife, Ælia Pætina, whom he had divorced. Callistus worked in behalf of Lollia Paulina, the divorced wife of the Emperor Gaius. Pallas espoused the cause

* This is the version adopted by Merivale. It modifies the narrative of Tacitus by the statement of Suetonius, that Claudius sanctioned a marriage between his wife and Silius in order to avoid an evil which was said by the soothsayers to threaten the husband of Messalina.

of Agrippina, the Emperor's niece. This remarkable woman, who inherited the ambition, without the morality, of her mother, had long been scheming to establish an influence over Claudius, who was very susceptible to female fascinations. She aimed at securing the Empire for her son Lucius Domitius, and winning for herself such a position as had been held by Livia. It is impossible to know how far she may have been involved in the intrigues connected with the fall of Messalina. But it is probable that she has influenced the verdict of history on the career of her rival. For Agrippina published personal memoirs, in which she revealed the secret history of the palace, and it was almost certainly from these memoirs that the historian Tacitus drew his account of Messalina's wickedness. It may easily be believed that Agrippina highly coloured the story and distorted the truth. The death of her husband Passienus had left her free and wealthy; and she determined to marry her uncle, in spite of the Roman prejudice against such a union. Her charms, supported by the persuasions of Pallas, subdued the weak Emperor, and, in a few weeks after the death of Messalina, Agrippina exerted over Claudius all the influence of a wife. Before the end of the year (48 A.D.), she took the first step in the direction of elevating her son to the throne. He was then eleven years old, but she resolved that, when he came of age, he should marry Octavia, the daughter of Claudius. For this purpose it was necessary to break off the betrothal which existed between Octavia and Lucius Silanus, a great-great-grandson of Augustus. In accomplishing this, Agrippina was assisted by Vitellius, the Emperor's colleague in the censorship, who bore a grudge against Silanus, and was ready to ruin him. He informed Claudius that Silanus had committed incest with his sister, and the horrified Emperor immediately broke off the engagement of his daughter. Silanus, who was a prætor that year, was ordered to lay down his office, and Vitellius, although no longer censor, presumed on his recent tenure of that office to remove the name of Silanus from the list of senators.

§ 21. When this obstacle to the future marriage of Domitius and Octavia was removed, it remained for Agrippina to smooth the way for her own union with Claudius. No precedent in Roman history could be found for marrying a brother's daughter. Such an alliance was regarded as incestuous; and in all matters of religion Claudius was punctiliously scrupulous. The censor, who had just expressed his horror at the alleged incest of Silanus, shrank from incurring the charge of a similar offence. But here again Vitellius came to the aid of Agrippina. He appeared in the senate and delivered a specious harangue in favour of the proposed marriage. The

senators tumultuously applauded, and Claudius then appearing in the curia caused a decree to be passed that henceforward marriages with the daughters of brothers* should be valid. The fourth marriage of Claudius took place in the early days of 49 A.D., and on the wedding day, as it were to bring a curse on the event, Silanus, the betrothed of Octavia, killed himself. Another victim, who had come across the path of Agrippina, was Lollia Paulina, who had aspired to the hand of Claudius. She was accused of having consulted Chaldean astrologers concerning the imperial marriage, and the Emperor himself spoke against her in the senate. She was banished from Italy, but Agrippina is said to have dispatched a tribune after her to put her to death.

§ 22. While Messalina cared only for sensuality, Agrippina was enamoured of power. She was not content with being the Emperor's wife, but wished to be his colleague. This position was designated by the title Augusta, which was conferred upon her in 50 A.D. She was the third woman who bore this title, but it meant for her, as it had meant for Livia, a share in political power, and was not merely, as it had been for Antonia, an honourable title. But Agrippina enjoyed a mark of distinction which had not been granted even to the consort of Augustus. She was the first Roman Empress whose image was permitted to appear on coins during her lifetime by decree of the senate. When Claudius gave audiences to his "friends," or to foreign envoys, his wife sat on a throne beside him. We have seen that she gave her name to the new colony of veterans established in the town of the Ubii, as Colonia Agrippinensis. In order to secure her influence with the freedman Pallas, she is said to have engaged in an intrigue with him; but the court, under her rule, seems to have been distinguished by outward propriety and certainly by stricter etiquette.

§ 23. Her schemes for her son's advancement rendered her a cruel stepmother to Britannicus. On the 25th February, 50 A.D. Lucius Domitius was adopted into the Claudian gens, under the name of Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus. This was the first instance of an adoption of a son by a patrician Claudius, and the Emperor was disinclined to take the step, not only on this account, but lest the prospects of Britannicus should be injured. He was overcome, however, by the example of Augustus. The advancement of Nero progressed rapidly. In the following year he was permitted to assume the toga of manhood, and by a decree of the senate he was made *princeps iuventutis*, designated to hold the consulship at the age of twenty, and he received proconsular power. These honours were sufficient to mark him out as the successor of Claudius to the

* But not sisters; and, strange to say, this distinction continued in force.

Principate. But Agrippina went even further, and caused her son to be elected *supra numerum* into the four chief priestly colleges—the Pontiffs, the augurs, the *quindecim viri*, and the *septemviri*. This was a distinction which the youthful grandsons of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius, had not received. Nero had already been betrothed to his cousin Octavia; and his adoption, whereby he became legally her brother, was not allowed to hinder the celebration of the marriage, which took place in 53 A.D. In the meantime Britannicus, who was only a little younger than Nero, was regarded and treated as a child. Misunderstandings and estrangements were treacherously brought about between him and his father. On one occasion, when the two young princes met, and Nero saluted Britannicus by name, Britannicus saluted him as "Domitius." Agrippina complained of this to the Emperor, as implying a contempt of Nero's adoption and the decree of the senate. Claudius was moved by her representations to punish one of the instructors of his son by death, and others by banishment, and place him under the charge of the creatures of his stepmother. By her machinations, also, the two prefects of the prætorian guard, who had been adherents of Messalina, and were anxious to secure the succession of her son, were deposed, and replaced by Afranius Burrus, who was devoted to the interests of his patroness. All the officers who were attached to the cause of Britannicus, were then removed. But the son of Messalina had not only a strong party in the senate, but a powerful supporter in the imperial household. This was the freedman Narcissus, who exerted all his energy and influence to weaken the power of Agrippina, and keep Nero from the throne. After the marriage of Octavia, the struggle between the two parties became keener. Vitellius, who had shown his devotion to the Augusta, was threatened with a criminal prosecution. The condemnation of Tarquitius Priscus also showed the uncertainty of her position. She coveted the house and gardens of Statilius Taurus, a man of noble ancestry and great wealth, who had been governor of Africa. Priscus brought against him charges of extortion in his administration of that province, and of practising magic. Taurus disdained to reply, and chose to die by a voluntary death; but the senate expelled the accuser from their body, although Agrippina exerted all her power to protect him. There were other signs, too, which might alarm the Empress. Claudius showed himself inclined to reinstate his son Britannicus in his proper position, and spoke of allowing him to assume the *toga virilis*. An ominous remark is said to have dropped from his lips, that it was his fate first to endure the offences of his wives, and afterwards to punish

them. It looked as if the influence of Narcissus were likely once more to get the upper hand.

§ 24. Agrippina made an attempt to ruin Narcissus by ascribing to his mismanagement the failure of the tunnel of Lake Fucinus. She failed, but she soon enjoyed a triumph in the ruin of her most formidable female rival, Domitia Lepida. This lady, as the daughter of the elder Antonia and L. Domitius, was the grandniece of Augustus; as the mother of Messalina, was the grandmother of Britannicus; and as the sister of Cn. Domitius, was the sister-in-law of Agrippina. "In beauty, age, and wealth, there was not much difference between them. Both were immodest, infamous, and violent. They were rivals in their vices no less than in the gifts which fortune had given them." * During the exile of Agrippina, Lepida had given a home to the child Nero, and ever since had endeavoured to secure his affections by flattery and liberality, which contrasted with his mother's sternness and impatience. Lepida was charged with making attempts against the life of the Empress by means of magical incantations, and with being a disturber of the public peace by maintaining gangs of turbulent slaves on her Calabrian estates. The indictment seems to have been brought before the Emperor, and it was a trial of strength between Agrippina and Narcissus, who did all he could to save Lepida. But Agrippina triumphed; Lepida was sentenced to death. Yet notwithstanding this victory, and notwithstanding the fact that Claudius had been induced to make a will favourable to her son, the Empress did not feel sure of her ground, and dreaded a reaction.

§ 25. Under these circumstances the greatest luck that could befal her was the death of Claudius; and Claudius died (Oct. 13, 54 A.D.). It was generally believed that he was poisoned by his wife; and though we cannot say that her guilt is proved, it seems highly probable. Claudius was in his sixty-fourth year, and in declining health. His death took place when Narcissus was absent at Sinuessa for the sake of the medicinal waters; and this coincidence supports the traditional account that there was foul play, for Narcissus suspected the designs of Agrippina. According to the received story, she employed the services of a woman named Locusta, notorious for the preparation of subtle poisons, who, according to the historian Tacitus, was long regarded as "one of the instruments of monarchy." † She compounded a curious drug which had the property of disturbing the mind without causing instant death, and it was administered to Claudius in a dish of

* Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii. 64.

† Inter instrumenta regni, *Ann.*, xii. 66.

mushrooms.* But for some reason the poison failed to work; and Agrippina, fearful lest the crime should be discovered, called in her confidential physician Xenophon, who did not hesitate to pass a poisoned feather into the Emperor's throat, on the plea of helping him to vomit.

§ 26. The position of Nero at the death of Claudius was far stronger than that of Gaius at the death of Tiberius. Nero had to fear a declaration in favour of Britannicus, as Gaius had to fear the rivalry of the son of Drusus; but Nero possessed the proconsular power, as well as other dignities, which had not been conferred on Gaius. He had also the support of his mother's influence, and above all, Burrus, the prefect of the prætorian guard, was devoted to his interest. Seeing that the accession of Gaius had proceeded so smoothly, there seemed no reason for doubt in the case of Nero. But Agrippina took every precaution for securing success. She concealed the Emperor's death for some hours and made pretexts to detain his children in the palace, until her own son had been proclaimed Emperor by the guards. About midday the doors of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Nero issued forth, accompanied by Burrus, into the presence of the cohort which was then on duty. The prefect gave a sign, and the soldiers received him with acclamations. It was said that some hesitated, and asked for Britannicus; but this demurring was only for a moment. Nero was then carried in a litter to the prætorian camp, where he spoke a few suitable words and was saluted *Imperator*. This was the second occasion on which the prætorians created an Emperor, and, following the example of his "father" Claudius, Nero promised them a donative. The senate did not hesitate to accept the will of the guards, and on the same day (Oct. 13, the *dies imperii* of Nero) decreed to him the proconsular power in its higher unlimited form, the prerogatives embodied in the *lex de imperio*, and the name Augustus. The tribunician power, which was necessary to complete the prerogatives of the Princeps, was conferred upon him by a comitia on the 4th December. The legions in the provinces received the news of the new principate without a murmur of dissent.

§ 27. According to custom, the senate met to consider the acts of Claudius. He was fortunate enough to receive the honours which had fallen to the lot of his model, Augustus, and which his two predecessors had missed. He was judged worthy to enter into the number of the gods, and flamens were appointed for his worship.

* Juvenal refers to this in the lines (v. 147, 148):
Boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
Ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.

All his acts were decreed to be valid. His funeral was ordered after the precedent of that of Augustus, and Agrippina emulated the magnificence of her great grandmother Livia. But the will of the deceased sovran was not read in public. It was feared that the preference shown to the stepson over Britannicus would cause unpleasant remarks.

§ 28. Nero pronounced a funeral oration, composed by L. Annæus Seneca, over the dead Emperor. One of Agrippina's first acts after her marriage with Claudius had been to recall Seneca from his exile in Corsica and entrust to him the completion of her son's education. During his banishment he had attempted, by the arts of flattery, to get his sentence repealed, and had addressed a treatise to the freedman Polybius, into which he wrought an extravagant panegyric of the Emperor. But Claudius had paid no heed, and Seneca was resolved to have his revenge. He assailed the memory of the Emperor, soon after his death, in an unsparing and remarkably clever satire, entitled the *Apocolocyntosis*, "pumpkinification"—a play on "apotheosis,"—or, otherwise, the *ludus de morte Claudii Cæsaris*. The arrival of Claudius in heaven, the surprise of the gods at seeing his strange shaking figure, and hearing his indistinct babble, are described with many jests. The gods deliberate whether they should admit him, and are inclined to vote in his favour, when the divine Augustus arises and tells all the crimes and iniquities which have stained the reign of his grandnephew. The gods agree that he deserves to be ejected from Olympus. Mercury immediately seizes him by the neck, and drags him to the place whence none return—

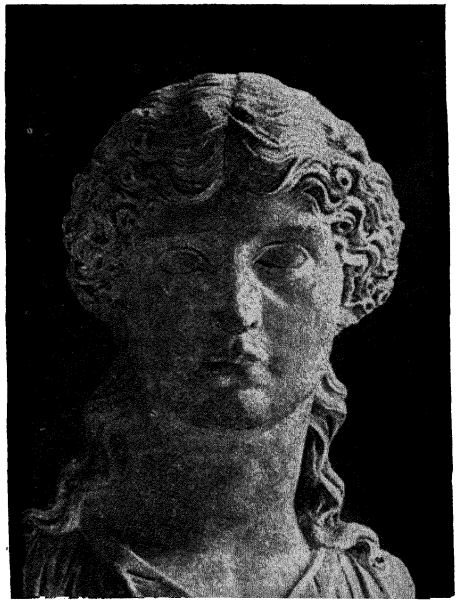
Illuc unde negant redire quenquam.

On the way to the shades he passes through the Via Sacra, where he witnesses his own funeral, and sees the Roman people "walking about as if they were free" from a tyrant.* When he reaches the lower regions he is greeted with a shout, "Claudius will come." He is surrounded by a large company, consisting of the victims who had perished during his reign—senators, knights, freedmen, kinsfolk. "I meet friends everywhere!" said Claudius. "How came ye hither?" "Do you ask, most cruel man?" was the reply; "who else but thou sent us hither, murderer of all thy friends?" He was then led before the tribunal of Æacus, and prosecuted on the basis of the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis*. He is condemned to play for ever with a bottomless dice-box.

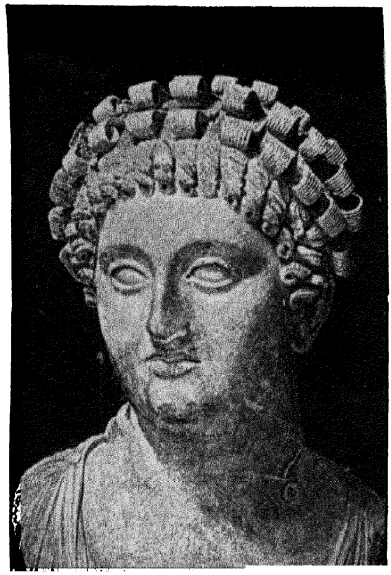
This satire of Seneca reflects the general derision which was cast upon the deification of Claudius. The addition of this

* Populus Romanus ambulabat tanquam liber.

Emperor's ridiculous figure to the number of the celestials, effectually dispelled that halo of divinity with which Augustus had sought to invest the Principate.



Bust of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus (from the bust in the Capitol).



Messallina (from the bust in the Capitol).

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

1. Designs of Augustus to conquer Britain. Policy of his successors. Reasons for the undertaking. Diplomatic relations with Britain. § 2. Preparations of Claudius for the expedition (43 A.D.). Aulus Plautius. § 3. Landing of the forces. Campaign of Plautius, and victory over the Trinovantes. Claudius in Britain. § 4. Triumph of Claudius. § 5. Extension of the conquest under Plautius (43–47 A.D.). § 6. Ostorius Scapula succeeds Plautius. Revolt of the Iceni. § 7. War with Silures and Ordovices in the west. Caractacus. Great Roman victory (51 A.D.). Caractacus at Rome. § 8. Warfare continued in the west. Foundation of a colony at Camalodunum. § 9. Didius Gallus governor of Britain. § 10. Suetonius Paulinus (59–61 A.D.) governor. Campaign in Mona. § 11. Revolt of the Iceni and eastern districts; suppressed by Suetonius. Results. § 12. Recall of Suetonius, who is succeeded by Turpilianus.

SECT. I.—CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN BRITAIN BY PLAUTIUS.

§ 1. THE conquest of Britain was one of the tasks which the great Cæsar left to the Cæsars who were to come after him.

Like the conquest of Germany, it was an undertaking to which the subjugation of Gaul naturally led. And although his first successors did not cross the channel as they crossed the Rhine, the island of the north was by no means forgotten. On two occasions Augustus had made preparations for an expedition against Britain, and both times the enterprise had fallen through. He was about to invade the island in 34 B.C. when he was recalled from Gaul by the rebellion in Dalmatia; and the poetical literature of the following years shows that the conquest of "ultima Thule" was an achievement to which the Romans looked forward with confidence as destined to be accomplished when the civil wars were over.* Horace deplores that Romans should turn their swords against each other, instead of leading the "chained Briton" down the Via Sacra.† In 27 B.C., after his accession, Augustus was believed to be about to fulfil their expectations, and add a new province to the Empire. Horace beseeches Fortune to preserve Cæsar, about to set forth against the Britons who live in the ends of the earth.‡ It is uncertain why this intention was not carried out; perhaps the Cantabrian war and the hostilities of the Salassi, which occupied his attention at this time, made Augustus shrink from undertaking further warfare. At all events, the idea of subduing Britain was not again resumed by Augustus. Tiberius confessed that the occupation of Britain was necessary, but, through reverence for the precept of Augustus against extending the Empire, refrained from attempting it. The problem also engaged the attention of Gaius, and we saw how his undertaking ended in a ridiculous demonstration on the Gallic shore. Strange to say, the conquest of Britain, which Cæsar himself had failed to accomplish in two attempts, which Augustus deemed too difficult, which Tiberius shrank from, was reserved for the arms of Claudius. And we are led to believe that the idea was his own, and not the suggestion of his councillors. The importance of occupying Britain was perhaps brought home to him when he endeavoured to suppress the druidical worship in Gaul. The constant communication which existed between the northern coast of Gaul and the opposite island rendered it hopeless to stamp out the barbarous rites as long as Britain was not in the hands of Rome. Moreover, the fact that his model, Augustus, had contemplated the reduction of the island, was a recommendation of the enterprise to Claudius. It is probable, too, that he was encouraged by his freedmen, who may have entertained an ex-

* Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 30: Tibi serviat ultima Thule (published B.C. 30).

† *Epod.* vii. 7: Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via.

‡ *Odes*, i. 35, 29: Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos.

aggerated idea of the wealth of the island, and hoped to profit by it.

Friendly relations had been maintained with British kings by Augustus and Tiberius. Exiled princes sought refuge with Augustus and Gaius. The immediate occasion of the expedition of Claudius is said to have been the request for succour addressed to him by Bericus, who, owing to domestic feuds, had fled from his country and became the suppliant of Claudius, as Adminius had been the suppliant of Gaius. This Bericus was probably a son of the king of the Atrebates, who dwelled between the Severn and the Thames. But the restoration of this native was merely a pretext for carrying out at length what had long been inevitable.

§ 2. The Emperor resolved to visit Britain himself, and win the honour of personally achieving a great conquest and adding a new province to the empire. But it was arranged that the way should be prepared before him, so that he could arrive in time to witness the final scene. Four legions were assigned to the expedition, three from the German provinces, and one from Pannonia. Their numbers and names were:—II. Augusta and XIV. Gemina, from Upper Germany; XX. Valeria Victrix, from Lower Germany; and IX. Hispana, from Pannonia. Besides these, there were the usual contingents of auxiliary troops, cohorts of infantry and *alæ* of cavalry. Aulus Plautius was selected to command the expedition. He was probably a relation of Plautia Urgulanilla, the divorced wife of Claudius, and is described as a "senator of the highest repute." At this time he doubtless held command in some of the provinces from which legions were drafted for the expedition—either Upper or Lower Germany, or possibly Belgica. He was supported by many able and distinguished officers, whose selection shows what importance was attached to the expedition. Among them must be mentioned L. Galba—destined one day to be an Emperor himself—an able officer whom we have already met as legatus of Upper Germany. The legatus of the IInd legion was Flavius Vespasianus, also destined like Galba, to rule the Roman world. Cn. Hosidius Geta, who had completed the work of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania, was probably the commander of another legion. Valerius Asiaticus, who afterwards fell a victim to Messalina, and Cn. Sentius Saturninus may also be mentioned.

It has been calculated that the whole forces amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men,* and an enormous transport fleet was necessary to convey them to the British coast. For this purpose ships were sent to Gesoriacum (Boulogne), from the naval stations of

* Mommsen rates the force as low as 40,000, Hübner as high as 70,000.

Italy, Ravenna and Misenum. Early in 43 A.D. the army assembled near the place where, just one hundred years before, Cæsar had embarked on the same errand.* But the difficulties of those first unsuccessful attempts were remembered in the army. The soldiers murmured and showed a mutinous spirit when Plautius revealed the object of the expedition. Plautius sent the news to Rome and Claudius dispatched Narcissus to restore order. The freedman harangued the turbulent troops, and they, contented with mocking him as a slave, submitted to the Emperor's wishes.

§ 3. The British coast was reached safely, though not without some difficulty from adverse weather, and the invading army disembarked in three harbours, without encountering any resistance from the Britons. It seems probable that these harbours were on the coast of Sussex and Kent; some think that a landing was made as far west as Portsmouth. It is impossible to determine with anything like certainty the line of Roman advance, but it is clear that their first object was to overcome the Trinovantes, whose home was north of the Thamesis (Thames), in the territory which now forms the counties of Essex and Hertford, but whose sway extended over south-eastern Britain. In the days of Cæsar, their leader, Cassivellaunus, had formed a league to oppose the invaders. Their capital was then at Verulamium (St. Albans), but Cunobellinus—the origin of Shakespeare's Cymbeline—had transferred it to Camalodunum (Colchester). The sons of Cunobellinus, by name Caractacus † and Togodumnus, commanded the Trinovantes, and took the field against Plautius. Their tactics were to draw the invaders into woody and marshy country, but they were both defeated in two distinct battles. The Boduni, one of the tribes which were ruled over by these princes, submitted, and received a Roman garrison. Soon afterwards, the legions, drawn on by the barbarians, and perhaps conducted by the friendly Atrebates, reached a certain river, which may possibly be the Medway. The Britons offered a stubborn resistance, but at length, after two days' fighting, the Romans effected a crossing. On this occasion, Vespasian and Hosidius Geta particularly distinguished themselves. The enemy then fell back behind the Thamesis. They were followed by the Batavian auxiliaries, who swam across the stream, and by some Roman troops who crossed by a bridge higher up; but these forces were beaten back, and Plautius determined to wait for the arrival of the Emperor with reinforcements before crossing the Thames and striking the final blow. In the meantime he was able to

* Cæsar had embarked from Portus Itius; perhaps Wissant.

† The more correct form of the name seems to be Caratacus.

secure the ground which he had won, and it seems likely that at this time King Cogidubnus declared for the Romans. He seems to have been the prince of the Regni, whose capital town has been identified with Chichester. He proved himself a firm friend of the Romans, and received as a reward from Claudius Roman citizenship, the title of *legatus Augusti*, and a grant of territory—apparently his original possessions. A monument of him, as Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus—he assumed the Emperor's name—may be still seen in Goodwood Park.*

Leaving the conduct of affairs at Rome during his absence to L. Vitellius, Claudius, with a large retinue, embarked for Massilia (about July), crossed Gaul and reached the Roman camp, probably somewhere near Londinium (London), before the end of the military season. A great battle was fought under the imperial auspices; the Britons were routed and Camalodunum, the capital of the Trinovantes, was taken. Claudius was saluted Imperator by the army more than once, although only a single assumption of the title in a single campaign was allowed by usage. He honoured Camalodunum by a visit, and selected it to be the centre of the Romanisation of Britain.

§ 4. The Emperor remained only sixteen days in the island, and, leaving the consolidation and extension of the conquest to his general, he recrossed the channel, spent the winter in Gaul, and reached Rome in the following spring (44 A.D.). His son-in-law Pompeius, and L. Silanus, who had attended him on his journey, were sent forward to announce the victory. The senate decreed to the conqueror of Britain the honour of a triumph, and the title *Britannicus*, which, however, he declined for himself but accepted for his infant son. They also decreed the erection of two triumphal arches, one in the Campus Martius, the other at Gesoriacum. In the inscription on the Roman arch, which has been partly preserved, Claudius boasts that he subdued eleven kings.† The rejoicings were marked by the mimic representation in the Campus Martius of the siege of a British town and the submission of British chieftains. The part which the fleet had played in the expedition was afterwards celebrated by naval manœuvres at the mouth of the Padus. Claudius was not a little proud of having outdone his three predecessors by adding a province to the

* The inscription is as follows:

[N]eptuno et Minervæ templum [pr]o salute Do[mus] Divinæ [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Claud. [Co]gidubni R. Lega [ti]Aug. in Brit. [Colle]gium fabror. et qui in eo d. s. d. (de suo dant) donante aream [Clem]ente Pudentini fil.

† Quod reges Britannici xi. devictos sine ulla iactura in deditionem acceperit gentesque barbaras trans oceanum primus in dicionem populi Romani redegerit.

Another triumphal arch was erected at Cyzicus.

Empire, and the achievement seemed greater from the circumstance that the new province was beyond the ocean.*

An important consequence of the conquest of Claudius was the decree of the senate that treaties made by Claudius or his legati should be valid, just as if they had been made by the senate or the Roman people. This measure was intended to facilitate the reduction of the distant island.

SECT. II.—ADMINISTRATION AND EXTENSION OF THE PROVINCE UNDER PLAUTIUS, OSTORIUS AND DIDIUS.

§ 5. The true conqueror of Britain, was Aulus Plautius, and he remained there until 47 A.D., as *legatus pro prætore* of the new province. During these years the progress of the conquest went on, chiefly in the west and south. Vespasian and his brother Flavius Sabinus played a prominent part in breaking the resistance of the natives. Vespasian is said to have fought thirty battles during his command in Britain, and to have captured twenty places. One of his chief achievements was the reduction of Vectis, the Isle of Wight. The Romans must also have penetrated to the border of Somersetshire at this period; for there have been found in the Mendip Hills two pigs of lead, with the names of Claudius and his son, dating from the year 49 A.D. In the east, the Iceni, a powerful tribe, who held the regions which, after the English conquest, became East Anglia, submitted to Roman overlordship. It may be said roughly, that a line drawn from Aquæ Sulis (Bath) to Londinium, passing through Calleva (Silchester) and extended so as to take in Camalodunum, may roughly define the limits of Roman Britain, when Plautius was recalled. Plautius received the reward of an ovation,—a rare distinction under the Empire for anyone not belonging to the imperial family.

§ 6. The successor of Plautius was P. Ostorius Scapula, and immediately on his arrival, towards the close of the season, he was called upon to subdue a rising of the Iceni. The Iceni were all the more formidable as their strength had not yet been weakened by war. They instigated the surrounding tribes to take up arms, and chose as a battle-field a place enclosed by a rude barrier, with

* The epigrams which were composed at the time of the triumph illustrate this. For example:

Mars pater, et nostræ gentis tutela Quirine,
Et magno positus Cæsar uterque polo,
Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos?
Sol citra nostrum flectitur oceanum.
Ultima cesserunt adaperto claustra profundo
Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.

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Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.

to the subjugation of western Britain. [illegible]o cavalry.* Ostorius led legion were established further west, [illegible]gth of the legions—whose on the Usk, to be distinguished from [illegible] was necessary—against these and it was exposed there to great [illegible]ough them. He equipped the serious reverses. At the same t[illegible], and succeeded in forcing the Brigantes in the north, who held [illegible] impossible, fought desperately; at least as far as the Tyne, d[illegible]storius, won the civic crown for Romans. Scapula did not long [illegible]bes which were hesitating between 52 A.D., worn out, it was said, [illegible] this defeat of the Iceni.

warfare against the Silures. [illegible]Ostorius lay in the west. The peoples the administration of Aul[illegible]ts of Wales presented a stubborn re- Veranius (57–58 A.D.), the [illegible]oman arms in that direction; and they have been extended. [illegible]mitable spirit of Caractacus, who, when

The governorship of O[illegible]novantes, were irretrievably overthrown, plantation of the first [illegible] there maintained with vigour and success Cunobellinus was chose[illegible]ndependence. The remains of the British Britain that Lugudun[illegible]unties which border on Wales, are probably this place was preferr[illegible]gle. Glevum (Gloucester) seems at this the most considerab[illegible] the headquarters of the IInd legion, and Camalodunum had a[illegible] a line of forts from this point across country other British 'oppida,' [illegible] Ostorius first attacked the Decangi, an type in consisting o[illegible]elled probably in the neighbourhood of Deva, protected on the eas[illegible] advanced into the hilly land of the Silures, Colne and its small [illegible]rresponded to Hereford, Monmouth and South its assailable sid[illegible]ion of Viroconium, (Wroxeter), was occupied as [illegible] against the Ordovices and became for some time the headquarters of the XIVth legion.

The Britons were far inferior in military strength, but Caractacus knew how to take advantage of the intricacies of the country. After a struggle of three years, he changed the scene of war from the land of the Silures northward to the territory of the Ordovices, and thus compelled the Roman army to retrace its steps under great difficulties (51 A.D.). He then resolved on bringing the war to a final issue. He chose a position for the battle, in which it would be easy for his own forces, and difficult for the Romans, either to advance or retreat; and piled up stone ramparts on some lofty hills wherever the slope was gentle enough to admit of an approach.‡ A river lay in front of his position, and he drew up

* There are no data for determining the locality of the battle. Scarth supposed it to be Burrough Hill, near Daventry. It may be mentioned that the remains of one of the embankments of the Iceni is still traceable in the Devil's Dyke, which crosses the road from Cambridge to Newmarket.

† It is possible, however, that this line was further north, corresponding to the line of the Severn, Avon, and Trent. See Notes and Illustrations, B., at end of this chapter.

‡ It is useless to attempt to fix the place. One guess is Coxall Knoll, near Leintwardine, the river being the Teme.

an invasion of her kingdom by the flower of the British youth. Roman cohorts were sent to the assistance of the Queen, and effectually protected her. Desultory warfare seems to have continued during the following years, but no further events of importance are recorded in the governorship of Didius. Veranius his successor (A.D. 58) made some small raids upon the Silures, but was prevented by death from continuing the war.

SECT. III.—GOVERNORSHIP OF SUETONIUS PAULINUS.

§ 10. A new advance was made when the able and ambitious Suetonius Paulinus, who had distinguished himself in Mauretania, was appointed legatus in 59 A.D. It was he probably who occupied Deva, and made it the quarters of the XXth legion—"the Camp" as it came to be called, Castra or Chester. Deva served as a post against North Wales on the one side and against the Brigantes on the other. It is probable that he spent his first two years in subduing the northern parts of Wales, and in 61 A.D. he pushed forward with the XIVth legion to exterminate the Druidical worship in its extreme retreat. The British priesthood had retired to the island of Mona, the present Anglesey, where they hoped to be able to protect themselves by the strait. But Suetonius was not foiled. He prepared rafts for the transport of his infantry across the stream, and landed on the shore of the island in the face of a dense array of Britons, while in the background the women, dressed in black, and with dishevelled hair, brandished torches, and the priests imprecated curses on those who had come to disturb them. Panic seized the Romans, but not for long. The landing was forced, the enemy was utterly routed, and the sacred groves were cut down or burnt. It was probably in connection with this expedition that Segontium, whose name is still preserved in Caer Seiont, was founded.

§ 11. But while Suetonius was busy in the west, a great insurrection broke out in the east. The Iceni were the ringleaders. This tribe, under its king Prasutagus, had been suffered, notwithstanding its former revolt, to retain its position of a client tributary state. The heavy exactions imposed by the fiscus, and the violence and insolence of the imperial procurator in levying the dues, excited general discontent. The British communities were compelled to borrow from Roman money-lenders in order to meet these exactions; and Seneca is stated to have directly promoted the rebellion by suddenly calling in his investments. On the death of the king the land of the Iceni was annexed to the province. Prasutagus had made the Emperor his heir along with his two

daughters, thinking that this compliment would secure his family and his kingdom from injury at the hands of the Romans. But it turned out quite the reverse. The agents of the imperial procurator plundered the house of the dead king on the plea of exacting the inheritance, and treated his family with outrage. His wife Boadicea* was beaten with stripes, and his daughters were dishonoured. His relations were made slaves, and the chief men of the tribe were stript of their property. The Iceni were roused by these indignities and the fear of worse, and they found allies in the Trinovantes, who smarted under the violence of the veterans settled at Camalodunum. These colonists drove the natives out of their houses and farms, and the priests who officiated at the temple of the Divine Claudius, levied heavy exactions for the maintenance of the alien worship.

The rebels chose a moment at which all the legions were far away, and marched against Camalodunum. The inhabitants implored help from the procurator Catus Decianus, who sent a reinforcement of two hundred men without regular arms. But the place was undefended either by fosse or by rampart; and secret accomplices in the revolt hindered them from taking fitting precautions. They did not even remove the women and old men, but all took refuge in the temple of Claudius, hoping that succour might come. An immense host of Britons surrounded the place and the sanctuary was stormed after a siege of two days. All the defenders were put to death with the greatest cruelty. The tidings of the outbreak first reached Petillius Cerealis, the commander of legion IX, which, though its station at this moment is not known,† was nearest the scene of the revolt. He hurried to attack the insurgents, but in a great battle the infantry was cut to pieces, and only the cavalry escaped. Petillius could not do more than hold his entrenchments until the arrival of Suetonius, who was hastening eastward, with legion XIV. from Mona, reinforced by the veterans of the XXth, which he picked up at Deva. Legionaries and auxiliaries, in all, his forces amounted to about 10,000 men. He had intended that legion II., stationed at Isca Silurum, should also march eastward in this great emergency, but the commander disobeyed the summons, on the plea, doubtless, of troubles with the Silures.

In order not to dissipate his forces, Suetonius was obliged to leave the important and populous towns of Londinium and Verulamium to the fury and greed of the insurgents, who, having burnt the Claudian colony, were marching about, bent on destruction. The

* Boudicca seems to be the proper form.

† Some think Lindum; but it is doubtful whether Lindum was yet Roman.

movements of the Roman general are very uncertain, but the decisive battle seems to have taken place in the neighbourhood of Camalodunum.* He chose his own battle-ground. The position which he selected was approached by a narrow defile, and closed at the other end by a forest. In front extended an open plain, where there was no danger from ambuscades. In this position he could not be outflanked or surrounded in the rear—the chief dangers, from the superior numbers of the enemy. The legions were drawn up in close array, round them the light-armed cohorts; and the cavalry were massed on the wings. The army of the Britons, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, were confident of victory, and had hampered themselves with their wives, riding in waggons to witness their triumph. Boadicea, a woman of spirit and determination, had blazened abroad among her people the treatment she had received, and drove about in her chariot along with her daughters from tribe to tribe, calling upon her countrymen to throw off the foreign yoke. But in spite of their numbers and their ardour, the Britons experienced a crushing defeat. At first the legion kept its post in the narrow defile, but when the *pila*, which were hurled with unerring aim on the advancing foe, had been exhausted, they rushed forward in a wedge-like column and broke the British centre. The auxiliaries and the cavalry completed the victory, and the flight of the conquered enemy was impeded by the waggons. Their loss is computed at nearly 80,000. Boadicea poisoned herself, and the commander of legion II., who had disobeyed orders, and thereby kept his troops from sharing the glory of the XIVth, committed suicide.

The number of Roman citizens and allies, who had perished at the hands of the rebels, is stated to have been about 70,000, and it was necessary to begin the work of civilisation in the eastern districts all over again. Considerable reinforcements arrived from Gaul; the IXth legion was recruited again; and the whole army was brought together to stamp out the remaining sparks of rebellion. Suetonius took a terrible vengeance. He wasted the land of the enemy with fire and sword, and the famine which ensued made great havoc among the Iceni. Perhaps at this time the stronghold of Venta Icenorum † was established to control the districts north of Camalodunum.

§ 12. Suetonius was a severe ruler; his counsels were always of sternness, never of lenity. Charges of oppression were brought against him by a procurator, and Polycletus, an imperial freedman,

* Some fancy that the scene of the defeat was Wormingford (near Colchester), where a mound has been discovered with a large number of funeral urns.

† Norwich or Caistor.

was sent to the island to investigate the matter. His decision was practically adverse to Suetonius, who was recalled (61 A.D.) and replaced in the command by Petronius Turpilianus, a man of more conciliatory temper. Under his auspices southern Britain seems to have become contented with Roman rule. The towns which had been sacked by the Iceni, were rebuilt, and soon resumed their former prosperity—Camalodunum, as the centre of the Roman administration, and Londinium, as the centre of British commerce. By this time all the most important stations in the province were connected by Roman roads. The two most important roads, Watling Street, leading to the west, and Ermine Street to the north (through Camalodunum) met at Londinium. The chief seaports were Rutupiæ (Richborough) and Portus Lemanis, which preserves its old name as Lymne. It is highly probable that these places—as well as inland centres such as Calleva (Silchester, near Reading), and Corinium, (Cirencester)—were already beginning to become centres of Roman civilisation.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—THE CAMPAIGN OF PLAUTIUS.

Our only account of the invasion of Britain by Plautius is that of Dion Cassius, and he gives so few geographical indications, and those few so vague, that it is quite hopeless to reconstruct the campaign with anything like certainty. The views of scholars who have investigated the question diverge widely. The account given in the foregoing chapter is in accordance with that of Mommsen (*Rom. Gesch.*, v. cap. 5) and Mr. Furneaux (*Annals of Tacitus*, vol. ii. p. 126, *sqq.*). Hübner's view is very different (*Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, p. 10, *sqq.*), and deserves to be recorded.

Hübner holds that the Roman forces landed at one or more points between Dover and Southampton; that the first camp was near Chichester, the old capital of the Regni, where they received the support of Cogidubnus; that *Clausentum* (near Southampton) may have been founded in honour of the victorious enterprise of Claudius near the spot where the fleet landed; that the occupation of the Isle of Wight was one of the earliest events of the conquest. From Chichester, according to this view, the army advanced in a north-westerly direction to Venta (the chief city of the Belgæ), whose name is hidden in Win-chester; and thence to Calleva (Silchester), which, situated at an equal distance from the eastern and western seas, was well suited to be a centre for simultaneous operations in east and west. The Boduni, mentioned by Dion, are the same as the Dobuni who dwelled on the Severn in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, and Glevum (Gloucester) was occupied by a Roman garrison. Having established a footing in the west, the main part of the army proceeded eastward against the Trinovantes, and the unnamed river of Dion is probably the Avon.

Against Hübner's view and all others which, like his, assume operations in the west immediately after the landing, it must be urged that nothing in Dion really justifies such an assumption, which is, antecedently, improbable. The first shock of the invasion was clearly aimed at the Trinovantes, and it is difficult to see why Plautius should have advanced against Camalodunum by way of Calleva and Glevum. The only plausible argument

for Hübner's reconstruction is Dion's mention of the *Boduni*, from which, by transposing two letters, we may get *Dobuni*, who (we know from the geographer Ptolemy) lived in the neighbourhood of Gloucester and Cirencester. But there is no reason whatever why there might not have been Boduni, totally distinct from the Dobuni, and dwelling in a different part of Britain No guesswork is so uncertain as guesswork about proper names.

The view of Dr. Guest assumes a similar détour to the west. It is briefly and clearly summed up by Mr. Furneaux (p. 134). Dr. Guest "thinks that the landing was effected probably at Richborough, Dover, and Hythe, but that the Britons abandoned Kent without a struggle; that their first stand (in which Caractacus was defeated) was near Silchester, the second (in which Togodumnus was defeated) near Cirencester; that the unnamed river to which the Britons then fell back, and where the chief battle took place, was really the Thames, which was crossed at Wallingford; that the so called Thames which the Britons afterwards crossed, and at which the Roman advance was checked, was really the tidal estuary of the Lea near Stratford; and that the place where Plautius then waited was London, where his camp formed the first permanent castellum, and where he does not think that there is evidence of any previous British settlement. He supports this view from a passage in which Alfred (who is supposed to have followed some confused Welsh Chronicle) ascribes to Cæsar a march somewhat resembling the above (but stated as by way of Wallingford to Cirencester); but the difficulties involved seem extremely great." If we once begin to doubt one of the few data which seem fairly certain, namely, the identity of Dion's Thamesis with the Thames, the reconstruction of the campaign is hopeless.

Another very different view was put forward by Mr. G. B. Airy (*Athenæum*, June 28, 1860), and is thus summed up by Mr. Furneaux. He held "that the westerly course mentioned by Dio was really that from the North Foreland to the coast of Essex, where the landing took place (probably at or near Southend); that the Britons retreated south-west; that the unnamed river, the scene of the chief conflict, was the tidal portion of the Lea; that the Britons, retreating thence, crossed to the south of the Thames, followed by the Romans, who took up a position (probably at Keston), where they re-crossed the Thames with Claudius and struck at Camalodunum. This view appears to involve the hardly possible supposition, that the Britons, instead of falling back upon their stronghold at Camalodunum, deliberately marched away from it and left it open to attack, and that the Romans, instead of availing themselves of that opportunity, marched after them, and even crossed the Thames, knowing that they would have to re-cross it for the main object of the campaign."

More recently Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell read a paper at the Archæological Institute (1888), which puts forward a new view, partly in agreement with Dr. Guest, partly with Mr. Airy. "He places the landing on the Hampshire coast, and makes the Romans march to Gloucestershire and thence eastward till they reach the Lea (the unnamed river of Dio); whence he also makes them follow the Britons southward across the Thames (probably near Tilbury, supposed to be then above the tidal limit), and wait there for Claudius."

One of the most useful essays written on this difficult subject is that of Mr. Furneaux, to which this note is largely indebted.

B.—THE LIMITS OF THE PROVINCE UNDER OSTORIUS SCAPULA.

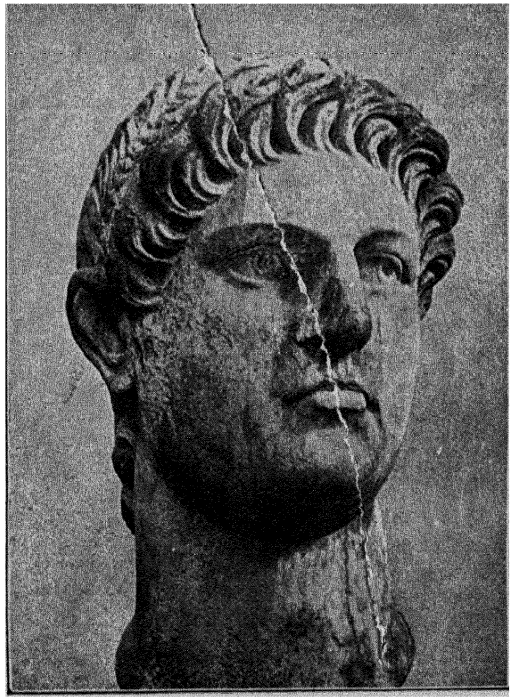
The chronology of the northward extension of the province is very uncertain. The data are few; and, in an important sentence of Tacitus, which might throw some light upon the question, the reading is doubtful. In the foregoing chapter the view of Hübner, that Camalodunum and Glevum marked the limits of the province under Plautius and Ostorius, has been adopted. It has also been assumed that the permanent establishment at Deva was due to Suetonius, and that Lindum (Lincoln) was not occupied until a later period (see below, Chap. xxii. § 1). Others, however, hold that Lindum was a Roman post under Suetonius, or even under Ostorius, and that in fact Cerealis and legion IX. were stationed there when the revolt of 61 A.D. broke out. This seems quite possible.

Tacitus (*Annals*, xii. 31) describing the acts of Ostorius says: *Cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere*

parat. As they stand, the words cannot be construed, but they are supposed to mean that the governor drew a line of forts across the country between two rivers, of which one was the Severn. Many corrections have been proposed, among others *inter Avonam* (for *Antonam*); a very improbable change. Mommsen thinks that *castris* means a military station at Viroconium (Wroxeter), and that the river whose name is corrupted, was the Tern. (So Mr. Haverfield, who suggests *castris ad Trisantonam*.) But the context shows that the measure of Ostorius in some way affected the Iceni, so that Viroconium seems unlikely. The conjecture of Heræus is more plausible, both palæographically and historically. He proposes *cis Trisantonam* (instead of *castris Antonam*), "south of the rivers Trent and Severn." Trisantona might well have been the old name of the Trent. If the Trent is mentioned as a limit, the occupation of Lindum at this time becomes highly probable.

It is to be observed that if *castris* is right, it must mean "a camp," not "a line of forts," which would be *castellis*.

Apotheosis of Germanicus.



Nero.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRINCIPATE OF NERO (54–68 A.D.).

§ 1. Early life and education of Nero. Seneca. § 2. Position of Britannicus. Speech of Nero in the senate. § 3. Struggle between Agrippina, and Seneca and Burrus. Disgrace of Pallas. Death of Britannicus. § 4. Nero's licentiousness. Poppæa Sabina. § 5. Destruction of Agrippina. § 6. Sympathy with Nero. § 7. Nero's appearance in public as a lyre-player and charioteer. § 8. Death of Burrus. Decline of Seneca's influence. Schemes of Poppæa. § 9. Tigellinus. Execution of Rubellius Plautus and Cornelius Sulla. § 10. Divorce and death of Octavia. Nero marries Poppæa. Her death. § 11. The feast of Tigellinus. § 12. Financial measures. Project of "free trade." Taxation. Delations and confiscations. Debasement of coinage. § 13. Great fire in Rome, 64 A.D. Rebuilding of the city. § 14. Cause of the fire; charges against Nero. Accusation and execution of Christians. § 15. Conspiracy of Piso. § 16. Deaths of

Seneca and Lucan. § 17. Death of Petronius Arbiter. § 18. Death of Thrasea Pætus. § 19. Nero's visit to Greece. Freedom granted to Achaia (66–68 A.D.). § 20. Revolt of Vindex. § 21. It is suppressed by Verginius. § 22. Advance of Galba and death of Nero (68 A.D.). § 23. Feelings on his death. § 24. His appearance and character. § 25. Encroachments on the power of the senate. § 26. Provincial administration. Prosecutions of governors. New provinces. Colonisation in Mœsia. § 27. Project of a water-route through Gaul. § 28. Hostilities of the Frisians.

SECT. I.—THE ASCENDENCY OF SENECA AND BURRUS.

§ 1. THE new Princeps* belonged to the house of the Brazen-beards, one of the most illustrious families of the Domitian gens. His father, Gnæus Domitius Ahenobarbus, a man infamous for his vices and crimes, is reported to have said on his child's birth, that the offspring of such a father as himself, and such a mother as Agrippina, must turn out ill-omened and disastrous to the state. The child lost his father at the age of three, and was despoiled of his inheritance by the Emperor Gaius. His mother was in banishment, and his training devolved for a time upon his aunt Domitia Lepida. The accession of Claudius restored to him both his mother and his possessions, and under the eye of Agrippina he was brought up with a view to future greatness. It has been already mentioned that she recalled the philosopher Seneca from exile, and entrusted to him the education of her son. This remarkable man, who played an important part in the administration of the Roman world during the early half of Nero's reign, professed to be a Stoic, superior to the ordinary desires and ambitions of mankind. But he amassed an immense fortune, and did not disdain the arts of a courtier. He was not a politician who amuses himself with philosophy, nor yet a pure philosopher who steps out of his sphere to give advice in politics. On the contrary, his theory was that philosophy should be applied to government, and that thought should be combined with action. He may not have adhered over strictly to all his precepts of morality, but there can be no doubt that whatever were his faults, he rose "far above the ordinary pedagogues of the day, the cringing slave or the flattering freedman to whom the young patricians were, for the most part, consigned. Doubtless it was Seneca's principle of education to allure, possibly to coax, rather than drive his pupil into virtue. He yielded on many points in order to borrow influence on others. He deigned to purchase the youth's attention to severe studies by indulging his inclina-

* His name in official style was: Nero Claudius divi Claud. f., Germanici Cæsaris n., Ti. Cæsaris Augusti pron., divi Augusti abn. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus.

tion to some less worthy amusements." * The young prince was surrounded by the temptations which beset the patrician youth of Rome, and accustomed to the indulgences which tended to relax the vigour of mind and body. His favourite studies were artistic, especially music and singing; in oratory he was not thought to be proficient. It was a matter of remark that he required the help of Seneca to compose the funeral oration of his uncle.

§ 2. The succession of Nero to the Principate was readily acquiesced in by the people, the soldiers, and the senate. Yet there was a feeling that Britannicus, as the real son of Claudius, had a better claim than the adopted Domitius. It is significant that the will of Claudius was not read, but was silently passed over. No one, however, felt called upon to undertake the cause of Britannicus. This may have been partly due to the fact that the infidelity of his mother had cast a slur on his birth. The senators may have even preferred an Emperor whose claim was doubtful, in the hope that they might exert more influence in the administration, if he felt dependent on their goodwill. It must be remembered that, from a strictly constitutional point of view, Britannicus had no more claim to the Principate than Nero, and Nero, through his mother, was descended in direct line from Augustus. The first speech of the new Emperor in the senate, dictated doubtless by Seneca, produced a favourable impression. He promised not to interfere with the senate in the exercise of any of its functions, but to confine his activity to the armies. The senators lost no time in repealing a law of Claudius, by which lawyers were allowed to accept rewards for pleading causes, and in exempting quæstors from the burden of exhibiting gladiatorial shows, which the same Emperor had laid upon them.

§ 3. The early years of Nero's rule were marked by a struggle for power between his mother and his two chief advisers, Seneca and Burrus. Agrippina had staked everything for power, and she did not intend to surrender the reins on her son's accession. It was not enough for her that Nero should rule; she desired to rule herself. And Nero was devoted to her. His first watchword was "the best of mothers," and during the first months she behaved as the regent of the Empire. On coins her head appeared along with that of the Princeps, and she took upon herself to receive the ambassadors of foreign states. She hastened to remove from her path two enemies, the freedman Narcissus, and M. Silanus, proconsul of Asia. She feared the vengeance of the latter for the death of his brother Lucius, whom she had destroyed as a possible rival of her son. Nero, who cared only to enjoy the pleasures of

* Merivale, vi. 270.

his position, and not to fulfil its duties, had himself little objection to his mother's political activity; but Burrus and Seneca were resolved not to concede the assumption of such power to a woman, especially as it seemed likely to be cruelly and unscrupulously exercised. In order to counteract her influence, they encouraged Nero in an intrigue with a Greek freedwoman named Acte. Agrippina was incensed, and her violent language drove the Emperor to attach himself more closely to the indulgent Seneca. She then changed her policy, and attempted to bid against the philosopher by still greater indulgence; but the eyes of her son had been opened to her overbearing ambition. The first decisive triumph of the rivals of Agrippina was the disgrace of the freedman Pallas, with whom she had closely leagued herself, and on whose political experience she leaned. Nero, who had never liked him, and would not submit to his counsels, deprived him of his office, and dismissed him from the court (before February 13, A.D. 55).

This was felt as a serious blow by Agrippina, and she made a desperate move to recover her power by espousing the cause of her stepson Britannicus. She declared that he was the true heir of Claudius; she threatened to rush with him to the camp, and ask the soldiers to judge between the daughter of Germanicus, and Burrus and Seneca. Whatever were her own crimes, she said, she had at least preserved the life of Britannicus. This action on her part proved fatal to the unlucky son of Claudius. Nero saw that his own seat was not secure as long as Britannicus lived, and he determined to remove him. The services of Locusta, which Agrippina had employed to hasten the death of Claudius, were now employed by her son to kill Britannicus. A warm wine-cup was presented to the boy at table, and when he found it too hot, cold water was added, into which a drop of deadly poison had been poured. He died instantaneously, to the alarm of all those who were present, and the unaffected consternation of Agrippina. The body was burnt the same night in the Campus, in the midst of a great storm, which was interpreted as a sign of divine wrath. It is impossible to know whether Seneca was privy to this deed, or whether it was solely due to the calculation of Nero. It is clear that the death of Britannicus was a decisive check to the plans of Agrippina, and the question is whether Seneca would have been ready to go to the length of poisoning in order to foil her and preserve his own position. But there is no evidence to prove him guilty, and therefore we must suppose him innocent. The death of Britannicus was represented as natural, and Nero professed to lament the loss of a dear brother. He had no curious inquiries to fear from the senate; for the senate was content with the Emperor's

policy, guided as it was by Seneca, and as long as the senate was content, fratricide and other crimes might be committed in the palace without interference.

Popularity with the senate was indeed the keynote of Seneca's policy. The Emperor refused statues of gold and silver; he declined the honour of letting the year begin with his birth-month, December; he dismissed the charge of a delator against a knight and a senator. Such acts were counted to him for righteousness.

Agrippina had lost her influence with Nero, and when, after the death of Britannicus, she posed as the protectress of Octavia, her son's wife, whom he treated with contemptuous neglect, and attempted to form a party of her own, he became alarmed. He caused the guard which had hitherto attended her to be removed, and forced her to leave the palace, and take up her residence in the house which formerly belonged to her grandmother Antonia. At these signs of disfavour her friends fell away, and Junia Silana,* who had a private grudge against her, attempted to work her ruin by a false charge of conspiracy. Two suborned informers stated that she had plotted to overthrow her son, and replace him by Rubellius Plautus,† who was as nearly related to Augustus as Nero himself. But on examination the charges fell through, and Silana was banished.

§ 4. During the next three years Agrippina vanishes from the pages of history. Though her influence was gone, there seems to have been no open rupture. While Seneca and Burrus administered the affairs of the Empire, and an unwonted activity was permitted to the senate, the Emperor occupied his time in the licentious amusements of youth. Adopting a favourite pastime of profligate young nobles, he used to wander through the streets at night, disguised in the garb of a slave to conceal his person, and visit taverns and low haunts. He and his comrades used to seize goods exposed for sale, and assail those whom they encountered in their progress. The Emperor himself bore on his face the marks of wounds received in these brawls. When it became known that Nero was in the habit of masquerading thus, and many men and women of distinction had been insulted in his nocturnal escapades, others assumed his name and followed his example, so that the city was infested by gangs like the Mohawks, who in the last century used to make London dangerous at night. On one occasion a man of senatorian rank, named Julius Montanus, happened to meet Nero in the darkness. He first repelled his assailant vigorously, but afterwards recognised him, and sent in a petition for pardon. Nero,

* Widow of C. Silius, the paramour of Messalina.

† His mother was Julia, daughter of Drusus (son of Tiberius) and Livilla.

angry at being recognised, asked "Has he not, then, already dispatched himself, seeing that he struck Nero?" and Montanus was obliged to destroy himself. But after this occurrence the Emperor was more cautious, and on such expeditions was always attended by a guard of soldiers and gladiators, to interfere if necessary.

The two most intimate companions of Nero were two profligate men of fashion, Salvius Otho and Claudius Senecio. In 58 A.D., his intimacy with Otho led to an entanglement with Otho's wife Poppæa Sabina. She had been divorced from a former husband to marry Otho, and she regarded her second husband as merely a stepping-stone to a still higher alliance. She had determined to win the hand of Nero himself. The historian Tacitus has described with great art her coquetry, her fascinations, her audacity, and her wickedness. "She had all things except a high mind." * In her, Agrippina had indeed found a match. The Emperor succumbed to her charms, and got rid of Otho by appointing him governor of Lusitania. In order to marry Nero, it was necessary for Poppæa to procure the divorce of Octavia, but she saw clearly that the chief obstacle to her plans was Agrippina, who had always striven to maintain the nominal union of her son and her stepdaughter. So Poppæa set herself to bring about a rupture between the Emperor and his mother. She had friends and supporters in Seneca and Burrus, the opponents of Agrippina, and she had made up her mind to step over the corpses of the two Empresses into the palace of the Cæsars.

§ 5. The daughter of Germanicus still possessed considerable influence with the prætorians, and it would have been dangerous to resort to public measures against her. But Nero, led on by the persuasions of his mistress Poppæa, did not shrink from contriving a scheme for her assassination. His old tutor Anicetus, whom he had raised to be captain of the fleet of Misenum, undertook to construct a vessel which could be sunk, without exciting suspicion, and if it could be managed that Agrippina should embark in it, her destruction would be imputed by the world to the winds and waves. At the Quinquatrus, a festival of Minerva lasting five days in the month of March, Nero invited his mother to his villa near Baiæ. She landed at Bauli, between Baiæ and Cape Misenum, and completed her journey in a litter, but after the banquet, when night had fallen, she was induced to return to Bauli in the vessel which had been prepared for her destruction. But the mechanism did not do its work with the expected success, and Agrippina succeeded in swimming to shore, whence she proceeded to her villa on the Lucrine lake. One of her maids,

* Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 45: Cuncta alia præter honestum animum.

Acerronia, who in order to save her own life called out, "I am the Empress," was struck with oars, and drowned. Agrippina saw through the treachery which she had so narrowly escaped, but pretended to regard it as an accident, and sent her freedman Agerinus to bear to Nero the news of her fortunate escape. Nero, who had been waiting in agitation to learn that his mother was no more, was terror-stricken at the tidings that the plan had miscarried. He appealed for help in his difficulty to Burrus and Seneca, who, however, seem to have had no part in the plot. But Anicetus undertook to finish the work. It was pretended that a dagger was found in the possession of Agerinus, the freedman of Agrippina, and that she had conspired against the Emperor's life. Anicetus, accompanied by a captain and a military tribune, hastened to the Lucrine villa. They found her lying on a couch, with a single attendant, all the others having deserted her at the approach of the assassins; and at their appearance the last slave fled. She was dispatched with many wounds, crying, "Strike the womb which bore Nero." She was buried by slaves, and Mnester a faithful freedman, slew himself on her pyre (59 A.D.).

§ 6. If the matricide felt stings of remorse, they were speedily alleviated by the congratulations, which poured in on him from every side, on having escaped the plots of his mother. He wrote a letter to the senate, explaining the circumstances of her death, and there is no reason to suppose that this false account, embellished by the art of Seneca, and confirmed by the testimony of Burrus, was not generally believed. This is an instance of the way in which the senate served the Princeps as a means of reaching the public ear. The true story was probably known only to a few initiated persons; and there was nothing improbable in a woman who had killed her husband planning to kill her son. Otherwise the great sympathy which was expressed for Nero is unintelligible. The senate decreed that thanksgivings should be offered for the Emperor's safety, and that golden statues of Minerva and the Emperor should be erected in the senate-house. The Quinquatrus were henceforward to be celebrated by public games, and Agrippina's birthday to be regarded as a day of ill-omen. All those persons who had been sent into exile owing to her influence were permitted to return. Nero's entry into Rome was like a triumph. He ascended to the Capitol and offered thanks to the gods for his preservation.

SECT. II.—THE ASCENDENCY OF POPPÆA AND TIGELLINUS.

§ 7. Agrippina, with all her unscrupulous ambition, had a high conception of the imperial dignity, of which Nero was totally devoid. After her death, there was no restraint to hinder him from following his bent, and indulging his theatrical and artistic tastes, in a manner which set at defiance all the national prejudices of the Romans. His great desire was to appear in public, in tragic costume, and delight the ears of his subjects by singing and playing on the lyre, or to guide a chariot with his own hands in the circus. When Seneca represented that such acts hardly befitted the dignity of the Emperor, Nero answered him with appeals to the superior culture of the Greeks, and the example of his uncle Gaius. Seneca and Burrus, seeing that there was no help for it, tried at least to limit the performances of the Emperor to a select audience. A circus was erected in the Vatican valley, and there a privileged number of courtiers were permitted to admire the skill of the imperial charioteer. But if his guides thought that he would be satisfied with this concession, they were mistaken; it only stimulated him to more public exhibitions. He was resolved to appear as a singer and an actor. He seized the occasion on which his beard was first clipped to institute a feast called *Juvenalia*, to be celebrated within the palace. Numerous invitations were issued, and noble young Romans were induced to contend as singers and dancers for the prizes which the Emperor offered. Nero himself descended on the stage with his lyre in his hand, and a band of young men, called Augustiani, were enrolled to applaud the excellence of his singing. Burrus is described as looking on, "grieving, but applauding" (59 A.D.). In the following year, the Emperor instituted another feast, called by his own name *Neronia*, modelled strictly on the great Greek games, and to be held every five years. In the musical contests he took part himself. These exhibitions were far more harmless than the horrible gladiatorial shows, but they outraged national prejudice and are spoken of with disgust by Roman historians. Nero's ideals were altogether Greek, and he cared little for the spectacles of the arena. Brought up by Seneca in the Stoic philosophy, he had imbibed at least the spirit of cosmopolitanism and was not influenced in the least by the political traditions of Rome.

§ 8. The year 62 A.D. was a turning-point in Nero's reign. Hitherto he had been under the constraint of Burrus and Seneca, who, while they indulged judiciously his licentious and frivolous tastes, had prevented him from exerting his imperial power to the

detriment of the state. Thus the first five years of Nero's reign became proverbial for good government—the *quinquennium Neronis*. The death of Burrus early in 62 A.D. was the beginning of a change for the worse. The influence of Seneca, deprived of his friend's support, immediately began to wane. It seems to have been almost impossible to exercise an important influence in political affairs, except in concert with the prætorian prefect, and Seneca could not act with the new prefects, Sofonius Tigellinus and Fænius Rufus, as he had acted with Burrus. But his estrangement from his former pupil was chiefly due to the enmity of Poppæa, who was jealous of the old courtier's influence over her lover. It was mainly due to Burrus and to Seneca that she had not yet succeeded in displacing Octavia, and marrying the Emperor. Burrus, when asked to consent to the divorce, had replied with characteristic bluntness, "If you put away the daughter of Claudius, at least restore the Empire which was her dowry." Poppæa now endeavoured to remove Seneca from her path, as she had before removed Agrippina. His riches were imputed to him as a crime, and he was charged with the design of corrupting the populace for treasonable purposes. It was said too, that he had boasted his own superiority to the Emperor in verse-writing and oratory. Nero's jealousy and fears were easily aroused, and his altered manner showed the philosopher the dangerous position in which he stood. He took the precaution of giving up all the outward pomp which he had hitherto maintained, and meditated a complete abandonment of public life.

§ 9. Of the two prætorian prefects who had succeeded Burrus, Rufus remained insignificant, but Tigellinus, a man of obscure birth and no principles, soon worked himself into the Emperor's confidence, by humouring and sharing in his vices. If he had only been the companion of his debaucheries, it might have mattered little to the general welfare, but he was also the instigator of cruelty. The tyranny which marked Nero's later years dates from the appearance of Tigellinus on the scene. The two acts which inaugurated it, were the executions of Rubellius Plautus and Cornelius Sulla. On the appearance of a comet in the year 60, which was supposed to betoken the fall of the Princeps, rumour spoke of Rubellius Plautus as the probable successor. Nero advised him, and the advice was equivalent to a command, to retire to his estates in Asia, and there he had lived quietly ever since. Tigellinus represented to the Emperor that Plautus was still dangerous, in consequence of his reputation, his wealth, and the proximity of Asia to the Syrian armies. Accordingly a centurion with sixty soldiers were sent from Rome, with a eunuch of the palace, to remove the obnoxious noble, and Plautus, although he was warned

by his friends beforehand, and might have fled to Persia, calmly awaited his fate. Cornelius Sulla, the husband of Antonia, daughter of Claudius by Pætina, had been suspected of disloyalty four years before, and ordered to reside in Massilia. He was not rich, but his noble descent, his connection with the Claudian house, combined with the suspicions which he had previously aroused, decided his doom. After this specimen of tyranny no senator could consider himself safe, and the tone of the senate now changes from independence to servility. Tigellinus and Poppæa were triumphant, and Seneca left the field.

§ 10. The time had now come for Poppæa to accomplish her great project, and induce Nero to divorce Octavia. Tigellinus helped her. A charge was got up of criminal intercourse with an Alexandrine flute-player, and the prætorian prefect conducted the investigation. Under torture some of the Empress's slave-women, acknowledged the guilt of their mistress, but most of them denied it. On such evidence there was no pretext for putting the accused to death, as Poppæa wished, and Nero contented himself with divorcing her on the ground of barrenness. The palace of Burrus and the possessions of Plautus were assigned for her maintenance, and she was commanded to retire to Campania. But the universal sympathy, which the lot of this unfortunate and innocent lady aroused among all classes, proved her destruction. A rumour was suddenly spread that the Emperor had recalled his wife. It was quite groundless, for Nero had already married Poppæa, whose statues were erected in the public places in the city. But the people rushed in excitement to the Capitol, thanked the gods that the Emperor had recognised the just claim of the true daughter of the Cæsars, and thrust down the images of Poppæa, while they bore those of Octavia in triumph. The soldiers of Tigellinus dispersed the masses when they gathered round the imperial palace. Poppæa saw that while her rival lived, her position was insecure, and she easily persuaded her husband to consent to the execution of Octavia. Anicetus, the prefect of the fleet at Misenum, who had proved himself so useful in compassing the death of Agrippina, again supplied his services for the destruction of a second victim. He laid a confession before the Emperor that he had committed adultery with Octavia, and was sentenced to banishment to Sardinia, where he lived in luxury and died a natural death. Octavia was banished to the island of Pandateria, where she was executed (June 9th, 62 A.D.). Her head was cut off and carried to Poppæa, who could now breathe freely. By a decree of the senate, sacrifices of thanksgiving were offered to the gods; and, says Tacitus, it may be henceforward understood without special mention, that "whenever the Princeps

ordered banishments or executions, thanksgivings were paid to the gods, and the ceremonies which formerly marked prosperous events, were then the tokens of some public disaster."

In the following year (63 A.D.) Poppæa bore a daughter to Nero. The senate decreed her the title Augusta, which had not been granted to Octavia, but, from this time forward, this title no longer possessed the same political importance which it had for Livia and Agrippina. Nero was overjoyed at the birth of the child, who was named Claudia, but she died after three months, and then his grief was as extravagant as his joy. Claudia was enrolled in the rank of the *divæ*, like Drusilla, the sister of Gaius. Poppæa herself died two years later in premature child-birth, owing, it is said, to an accidental kick from Nero. She also was consecrated, the first Empress since Livia who had received that honour.

§ 11. Under the new order of things, Poppæa and Tigellinus having taken the place of Seneca and Burrus, the luxury and cruelty which prevailed in the reign of Gaius, and the gluttony of the court of Claudius, were renewed. Nero's debauchery was practised as publicly as his acting and chariot-driving. Banquets were spread in all the public places of the city, and the Emperor used the whole city as if it had been his private house. The luxury of these revels, devised by the genius of Tigellinus, was notorious, and the citizens were permitted to be spectators of the Emperor's licentiousness. On one occasion a feast was laid out on a large raft, which was towed along by ships in the Basin of Agrippa.* The vessels were adorned with gold and ivory, and were rowed by men of abandoned character. On the banks of the basin, stood disreputable houses, filled with women of noble birth. Nero himself is said to have crowned his infamy by going through all the rites of the marriage ceremony, the veil, the dowry, the torches, the auspices, with a man named Pythodorus. Although the stories told by the ancient historians of the debaucheries of Nero and his court may be exaggerated, yet there can be no doubt that exhibitions of wantonness took place with a shameless publicity, which seems almost incredible to a modern reader.

§ 12. The extravagance and prodigality, which went hand in hand with the vices of the court, emptied the imperial coffers, and brought about a financial crisis, just as had happened in the similar case of Gaius. The earlier years of Nero had been signalised by a liberal and enlightened financial policy. Claudius had left him a well-filled treasury, such as Tiberius had left to Gaius, and he made a serious attempt to relieve the burdens of the masses, upon whom the indirect taxes fell so heavily. In the year 58 a remarkable

* Probably in the Campus Martius.

proposal was made by the Emperor to do away with the *vectigalia*, and as we should say, establish "free trade." There is no reason to suppose that this measure was intended to be confined, as some have supposed, to Roman citizens, or to the city of Rome. Its object was both to relieve the people and to set aside a mode of taxation which was attended with much injustice and fraud. There can be no doubt that it was proposed to make up the loss to the treasury by increasing the direct taxes, which fell upon the producers and capitalists, who would have profited by the remission of the duties. But the Emperor's project did not get a trial; his experienced advisers represented to him that it would mean the ruin of the state. The opposition doubtless came from those privileged classes which had invested large capital in the farming of taxes, and who would have suffered if the duty on inheritances had been raised. But although this bold design fell through, it led to some important changes which alleviated the hardships of the taxation in its various forms. One measure commanded the publication of the exact amounts of all dues to the state, so as to prevent the tax-collectors from exacting too much; charges against them for extortion were to have precedence in the courts; and claims for arrears were not to be made after a year. The duties on corn imported to Italy from the provinces were lightened.

The expenses which fell on the fiscus were heavy. Every year Nero presented 60,000,000 sesterces (£480,000) "to the state." This sum was chiefly devoted to defray the cost of supplying the city with corn, but it also included an advance to the aerarium, which was never able to meet its claims without aid from the fisc. The wars in Armenia and Britain were also costly, over and above the ordinary expenses of maintaining the administration and the armies throughout the Empire. The consequence was that, when the outlay of the court became extravagant under the guidance of Tigellinus and Nero's other licentious friends, the funds ran short, and the Emperor was driven to resort to the same measures to replenish his treasury as had been adopted by his uncle Gaius. The methods of delation and confiscation were again introduced. The rich were accused on false or trifling charges, and their possessions appropriated by the fisc. Among the first victims who were sacrificed were two rich freedmen: Nero's secretary Doryphorus, who had presumed to oppose his master's marriage with Poppæa, and the old Pallas, who had amassed an immense fortune, which, when he was deposed from his office, he had been suffered to retain. As Pallas had become wealthy by defrauding the imperial treasury which he administered under Claudius, there was no glaring injustice in confiscating his fortune.

Seneca offered to place his wealth at the Emperor's disposal, but the offer was refused.

But the most important effect of the financial difficulties was the fatal measure to which the government resorted of depreciating the gold and silver coinage. This began as early as the years 61 and 62. Forty-five instead of forty *aurei*, and ninety-six instead of eighty denarii, were struck out of a pound of gold. The coinage never recovered itself, and from Nero's reign we must date the bankruptcy which reached a climax in the third century. The immense amount of silver which was drafted from the Empire to Eastern Asia in return for oriental luxuries, must be taken into account as a cause of the debasement of the silver coinage. Nero, further, robbed the senate of their right of coining copper—a right, the importance of which has been already explained.*

Sect. III.—The Great Fire in Rome.

§ 13. If Nero succeeded in replenishing his coffers by fair means and foul, an event happened in 64 A.D., which demanded all the resources of the fiscus. Fires were common in Rome, but on the night of July 18 of that year, a conflagration broke out which in magnitude exceeded anything that had been experienced before. It began among some shops full of inflammable material, at the south-east end of the Great Circus, where the valleys west of the Cælian and south of the Palatine meet. Driven by a high wind the flames consumed the wooden benches and structures of the Circus, and spread rapidly and irresistibly over the Palatine, the Velia, and the Esquiline, where, near the gardens of Mæcenas, their course was stayed. But in another direction, also, the fire made its way, and consumed many buildings on the Aventine, in the Forum Boarium, and the Velabrum. It raged for seven nights and six days, and when all thought that it was over, it broke out again in the Campus Martius, destroyed the buildings of the Æmilian Gardens, which belonged to Tigellinus, and spread to the foot of the Capitoline and the Quirinal. It was said that of the fourteen regions, seven completely and four partially were reduced to ashes. But it has been shown that this must be an exaggeration, although the damage done was enormous. Among the public buildings which were consumed, were the temple of Jupiter Stator founded by Romulus, the Regia of Numa, and the temple of Vesta, the temple of Diana dedicated by Servius on the Aventine, the Ara Magna ascribed by legend to Evander—all ancient monuments said to date from the

* See above, Chap. III. § 5.

time of the kings. More serious, from a practical point of view, was the destruction of the splendid edifices of Augustus on the Palatine, the palace and the temple of Apollo. The new buildings in the Campus Martius near the Flaminian Circus had also seriously suffered. Numbers of priceless works of the great Greek sculptors, which no wealth could ever replace, perished in the flames, and countless memorials and trophies of Roman history must have been lost for ever.

In this emergency Nero showed himself in the most favourable light. He was absent at Antium when the fire broke out, and he returned to the city as the conflagration was approaching the palace, He left nothing undone in his attempts to quell the flames. He rushed about the city by himself, without attendants or guards, to the places which were most in danger, and when at length the fire ceased to spread, he did all he could to help and relieve the terrible distress of the homeless and shelterless thousands who had lost all their belongings. The public buildings and the imperial gardens were opened to receive them, and a temporary shelter was erected in the Campus. The price of corn was lowered to three sesterces a bushel, and contributions were levied for the relief of the sufferers.

The rebuilding of Rome was begun with vigour. It must have involved a vast outlay, and Nero was determined that the city should arise from its ashes both on a more splendid scale and on a more rational and salubrious plan. The mistakes of the old architecture were comprehended and avoided. The streets were made wider, the houses lower and, partly at least, of stone. Arcades were built outside the new houses for protection from sun and rain. But the new palace—the Golden House as it was called—planned by the architects Severus and Celer, was the wonder of the restored Rome. It was not so much the splendour of the house that excited wonder, as the fields, the ponds, the wooded solitudes, the views of the park. Italy and the provinces were required to contribute to the restoration of their mistress city, and treasures of art which adorned the cities and temples of the Greek lands were carried off to replace those which Rome had lost.

§ 14. There is no reason to suppose that the outbreak of this great fire was other than accidental. But the multitude suspected incendiaries, and a wild rumour was circulated that the Emperor himself was privy to the burning of the city. Various motives were attributed for such a monstrous act. It was said that he wished to outlive the destruction of his mother-city, or that he desired to rebuild Rome and call it by his own name, or that his artistic sense was offended by the architectural ugliness of the city. It is also related that he regarded the ravages of the flames from

the palace of Mæcenas with delight, and sang a scene from his own play on the Capture of Troy. For this anecdote there may be some foundation in fact. But the charge of incendiarism, which even contemporaries brought against Nero, was assuredly false. He had nothing to gain and everything to lose by the destruction of Rome. The solicitude which he always showed for the welfare of the populace, and the efforts which he made to save the Palatine, are hardly consistent with such a supposition. Nor is it conceivable that, at a moment when he was pressed by financial difficulties, he would have gone out of his way to burden the treasury with the enormous expenses required for the rebuilding of the city and the maintenance of the sufferers. The Emperor had many enemies, whose interest it was to place him in the worst light, and we can easily understand that they either originated or fostered the rumour.

But it was generally believed that incendiaries were at work, and there were police investigations which led to the arrest and punishment of a number of people "whom the vulgar called Christians." Here for the first time the Christian sect appears on the stage of profane history, and the remarkable words in which Tacitus describes it deserve to be quoted. "Christus, from whom this name was derived, was executed when Tiberius was Imperator, by Pontius Pilatus the procurator. The pernicious superstition, checked for the time being, again broke out, not only in Judea, its original home, but even in the city, the meeting-place of all horrible and immoral practices from all quarters of the world." This description represents the popular belief that the Christians practised all sorts of horrors in their secret assemblies, such as cannibalism and incest. Those who were known to be Christians, and confessed the creed when they were charged with it, were first arrested, and some of these, under torture, betrayed the names of many others who were secretly Christians, but were not known as such. The prisoners were not tried strictly on the charge of incendiarism; and Tacitus seems to have no doubt of their innocence of this crime, which could not be brought home to them. But as "hatred of the human race" was in popular credence imputed to Christians, they were thought capable of it. A considerable number were condemned—really because they were proved to be Christians, but nominally on the ground that they were incendiaries. They were put to death with mockery. Some, wrapped in skins, were torn to pieces by dogs; others, arrayed in the *tunica molesta*, were set on fire to serve as torches by night.* Nero gave up his Vatican gardens to the

* Juvenal describes this punishment in the lines (*Sat.* i. 155 *sqq.*):

Pone Tigellinum, tæda lucebis in illa,
Qua stantes ardent qui fixo pectore fumant,
Et latum media sulcum deducit harena.

spectacle of these tortures, and at the same time exhibited a show in the circus there, appearing himself dressed as a charioteer. The sacrifice of these victims soothed the exasperation of the populace, and the Emperor's callousness even brought about a revulsion of feeling.

The Christians of Rome were sacrificed because Nero required scapegoats; but the question arises, why were the Christians, who as yet had attracted little public attention, selected for the purpose? Contemporary literature shows that at this time the Jews were objects of general hatred and suspicion, and it might seem more natural that they should have been suspected and punished by the government. It is impossible to answer the question with certainty, but it has been plausibly suggested that the Jews themselves may have shifted the charge from their own body upon the Christians, whom they hated bitterly. They might have been the more easily able to effect this through the influence of Poppæa Sabina of whose leaning towards the Jews and their religion there is undoubted evidence.*

SECT. IV.—THE CONSPIRACY OF PISO.

§ 15. Tigellinus was unwearied in scenting out pretenders to the Principate. By this policy, he helped to fill the imperial coffers and to render himself indispensable. In 64 A.D., D. Junius Torquatus Silanus was accused of treason and driven to suicide. But a profound and widely-spread discontent prevailed among the nobles, and a conspiracy was formed, which came to a head in the spring of 65 A.D. C. Calpurnius Piso, whom the conspirators chose to fill the place of Nero, was one of the most prominent and popular men in Rome at this time. He lived in magnificent style, was lavish of his wealth, and was ready to place his powers of oratory at the service of the poor. He had winning manners, and his life was as dissolute as that of Nero or Tigellinus. He lazily consented to be the centre of a plot, the dangers of which he was not sufficiently ambitious to share. What seemed to give this enterprise a considerable chance of success, was the adherence of Fænius Rufus, the prætorian prefect, who was jealous and afraid of his powerful colleague Tigellinus. Along with Rufus a number of the tribunes and officers, who had been passed over by Tigellinus, joined the conspiracy; conspicuous among these was the tribune Subrius Flavius. Among the rest were the consul designate Plautius Lateranus: Antonius Natalis, a friend of Piso; Annæus Lucanus, the poet, whose verses had incurred the disfavour of the Emperor; Claudius Senecio, a

* She interceded for them on other occasions.

courtier constantly in attendance on Nero, and so able to keep his associates aware of what was going on in the palace. Lucan's mother and a freedwoman named Epicharis were also initiated into the project. Epicharis tried to win over an officer of the fleet, Volusius Proculus, who was supposed to have a grudge against Nero, but he deceived her expectation by revealing the affair to the Emperor. As, however, she had mentioned no names, the conspirators were not discovered.

They then decided to kill Nero during the feast of Ceres, between the 12th and 19th of April, at the games in the circus. The plan was the same as that which had been successfully adopted by the assassins of Julius Cæsar. Lateranus was to present a petition to Nero, and clinging to his legs throw him on the ground; the rest were to bury their weapons in his body. But Flavius Scævinus, who claimed the first blow, foolishly betrayed the secret, which had hitherto been closely preserved. He made his will, gave the dagger, which he had chosen for the deed, to his freedman Milichus to sharpen, got ready the appliances for binding up wounds, and gave his slaves and freedmen a luxurious feast. These unusual proceedings excited the suspicions of Milichus, who at daybreak sought and obtained an audience with Nero. Scævinus was arrested, but his examination led to nothing, and the plot would not have been discovered if Milichus had not remembered the frequent visits which his master received from Natalis. When Natalis was examined separately, his evidence did not agree with that of Scævinus, and in this way the accusation of the freedman was proved to be well-founded. Threats of torture and promises of mercy induced the two conspirators to vie with each other in revealing the names of their associates. Their conduct contrasted with the constancy of Epicharis, who submitted to tortures, and in the end strangled herself rather than betray her trust. The names of the military conspirators had not been disclosed, and Fænius Rufus took his seat beside Tigellinus at the trial and sought to divert suspicion from himself by his zeal as a judge. But when one of the accused denounced him, he turned pale, and could not defend himself. The proceedings against the victims were summary, but they were allowed to choose their own mode of death. Piso, who had shown irresolution and cowardice through the whole episode, and Lateranus were slain without resistance, and Piso made a cringing will in favour of the Emperor.

§ 16. Among the first whose names were betrayed, and who were condemned to die, was the philosopher Seneca. It is not improbable that he was really implicated in the enterprise, and in any case it seems to have been the wish of the military associates in the plot

to elevate him, instead of Piso, to the supreme power. If Nero had any wish to spare his former tutor, he was hindered by Poppæa and Tigellinus. Seneca had just returned from Campania with his wife Paulina, and was staying at a country house four miles from the city. When the message of death was brought, his wife declared her resolution of dying along with him, and they severed the veins of their arms. The flow of blood in Seneca's old frame was languid, and his agony was protracted. As he lay slowly bleeding, he dictated a composition which was afterwards published. To hasten his end, he swallowed poison, which, however, had no effect on his drained body, and death was finally brought about by the steam of a hot bath. But Paulina was not permitted to die. Nero had no cause of hatred against her, and her arms were bound up by the orders of the soldiers. She lived some years longer, faithful to her husband's memory, and the lasting pallor of her skin was a monument of her attempt to die with him.

The fate of this distinguished philosopher and that of his nephew, the poet Lucan, give this abortive conspiracy a certain celebrity. Lucan opened his veins in the bath, and, as he felt the animation depart from his feet and hands, recited appropriate verses of his own, describing a wounded soldier bleeding to death.* Subrius Flavus, a tribune of one of the prætorian cohorts, distinguished himself by his bold words to Nero. When the tyrant asked him why he conspired, he replied: "Because I hated you. None of the soldiers was more loyal, as long as you deserved our affection. I began to hate you, when you became an assassin of your mother and your wife, a charioteer, an actor and an incendiary!" The consul Vestinus was included among the victims, although his guilt was not clear, and it is said that Nero wanted to get rid of him, on account of his wife Statilia Messalina. Nero married Messalina in the following year.

Natalis was pardoned. Milichus was richly rewarded, and received the name of "Preserver." The prætorian guards received each man two thousand sesterces, and were for the future provided with bread free of cost. Triumphal decorations were granted to the prefect Tigellinus, Cocceius Nerva, and Petronius Turpilianus, who had helped in the judicial proceedings, and their statues were set up in the Palatium. Consular insignia were conferred on Nymphidius Sabinus, who had succeeded Fænius Rufus as prætorian prefect. A temple was erected to *Salus*, the dagger of Scævinus was dedicated to Jupiter the Avenger, and the month of April was named *Neronianus*. It was even proposed, but the proposal was rejected, to erect a temple to Nero. It is noteworthy

* Perhaps *Pharsalia*, iii. 635–646.

that a full account of the judicial proceedings, which were conducted by the imperial consilium, was published.

§ 17. Both later in 65 A.D., and in the succeeding year, executions took place which seem to have been in some way connected with the conspiracy of Piso. Annæus Mela, brother of Seneca and father of Lucan, was condemned on the ground of a forged letter of his son, charging him with complication in Piso's plot. He was a rich man, and Nero wanted his possessions. About the same time perished T. Petronius, on the charge of a suspicious friendship with the conspirator Scævinus, but really on account of the jealousy of Tigellinus. Petronius was a man who made the pleasures of vice a fine art, and his judgment was regarded as the standard of taste in all matters of luxury at Rome. He was "the glass of fashion," his feasts were elegant, his debauchery refined. He was named Arbiter, as the arbitrator or director of the Emperor's pleasures, and Tigellinus, who aspired to be Nero's sole guide in such things, envied the influence of Petronius. When the Emperor was in Campania (66 A.D.), Tigellinus caused Petronius to be detained at Cumæ. Seeing that his fate was determined, the voluptuary was true to the principles of his life in the moments of his death. Having opened his veins, he bade the physician bind them up again, and repeating this operation at intervals, he spent his last hours at a banquet, amusing his friends with wanton verses. He also composed an account of the unnatural orgies of the Emperor, and sent it to him under seal. This led to the banishment of a woman named Silia, whom Nero suspected of having betrayed the scenes in the palace in which she had taken part.

§ 18. "Having butchered so many illustrious men, Nero at length desired to destroy virtue herself by the death of Thrasea Pætus and Barea Soranus." P. Clodius Thrasea Pætus was more remarkable for what he was than for anything he did. He was the leader of the party of opposition which yearned, helplessly, for the restoration of the Republic and set up the younger Cato as their ideal. He was the embodiment of their virtues and their faults. Born at Patavium, he was simple in his habits, incorruptible in his morals, and out of sympathy with the luxury of Rome. He married Arria, the daughter of a man who had fallen in a conspiracy against Claudius, and whose wife had heroically slain herself. He and his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, used to crown themselves with garlands, and celebrate the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius. Thrasea distinguished himself in the senate by his rough independence. He withdrew, without voting, when the motion was made to condemn the memory of Agrippina;

he declined to take any part in the Neronian games; he did not attend the funeral of Poppæa. When one Antistius was condemned to death for mocking the Emperor in verse, Thrasea endeavoured to moderate the flattery of the senate. It was said that he never sacrificed for the Emperor's safety. He and his party were always protesting against the government in insignificant matters, and asserting their independence in trifles. Their republican ideal was an anachronism; their rhetoric was hollow. Their activity was chiefly confined to society and literature. Thrasea was a Stoic, and he composed a life of his model, Cato. Lucan's *Pharsalia* was a characteristic work of this party of opposition, which, throughout the whole period of the Julian and Claudian dynasties, fostered its utopias and repeated its hollow phrases. It must be owned that they had the courage of their opinions, and that their bitterness against the Principate was, natural enough; for its institution had destroyed the political power of the senatorial order. Nor could they see, as clearly as we can see now, that even imperial despotism was a lesser evil for the Roman world than the government of the senate in the last days of the Republic.

The courageous obstinacy of Thrasea led to his destruction. All his little sins of omission and commission against the majesty of the Emperor were marshalled by Capito Cossutianus, a son-in-law of Tigellinus, and another delator, Eprius Marcellus; and at the same time Barea Soranus was accused on various charges; among others, that he had been intimate with Rubellius Plautus. The chief witness against him was P. Egnatius Celer, a Stoic philosopher. The daughter of Soranus, Servilia, was also charged with treasonable divination concerning Nero. The cases were tried by the senate, and all three were condemned.* Helvidius Priscus, who was likewise accused of neglecting his duties as senator, was banished. Thrasea adopted the usual mode of death among condemned nobles, and opened his veins, forbidding his wife Arria to follow her mother's example. As the first blood spouted, he said, "A libation to Jove the Deliverer!"

§ 19. In the meantime Nero had been busy with those pursuits for which he imagined that he had a special calling. He had appeared publicly on the stage at Neapolis (64 A.D.), where, from the Greek character of the city, he expected a favourable reception, and he received such enthusiastic applause that he determined to

* These trials took place about the same time of the year (66 A.D.) that Tiridates arrived in Rome to receive the crown of Armenia from Nero; probably about the middle of the year.—Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 116:

Stoicus occidit Baream delator, amicum
Discipulumque senex.

exhibit his skill to Greece hei self. He had made preparations for a visit to that country, but the project was not carried out until two years later. In the meantime he celebrated the Neronia a second time (65 A.D.), read his poems to a delighted audience, and appeared as a citharœdus. It was considered almost high treason not to appear in the theatre on such occasions. Towards the close of the following year (66) Nero visited Greece, where he appeared at all the public spectacles, and danced and sang without any reserve. Those towns in which musical contests were held had sent invitations to him, offering him prizes, and the four great games at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmus, and Nemea, which were regularly celebrated in successive years, were crowded into the space of one year for his sake, so that he could win the glory of being a *periodonikos* or victor at all four.* Besides this irregularity, a musical contest was held at Olympia, contrary to wont. He also competed in a chariot-race, and is said to have received the prize, though his horses and chariot fell. The proclamation was made in this form: "Nero the Emperor is victorious, and crowns the People of the Romans and the world which is his." Nero was attended on his Greek tour by a large train of courtiers and prætorian guards, and he seems to have indulged in debauchery with less reserve than ever. He had a profound admiration for Greece and the Greek people, and he could not brook that they should hold the position of mere provincials. He determined to reward them for their kindness to himself and their appreciation of his artistic talents. So he enacted at Corinth the scene which, two-and-a-half centuries before, had been enacted by Flamininus. He proclaimed in the market-place the freedom of the Greeks; the province of Achaia was done away with. The proclamation of Nero was very different in practical effect from that of Flamininus. It was harmless; it did not mean civil war; it merely relieved a favoured portion of the Empire from the burden of taxation. Nero's Greek visit was also marked by a serious attempt to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, a project which had been most recently entertained by his uncle Gaius. Nero inaugurated the beginning of the work himself, but after his departure it was abandoned.

Nero's visit to Greece was marked by the destruction of three consular legates, of whose power or ambition the Emperor was jealous or afraid. The most important of these was Corbulo,

* Juvenal has some well-known verses on this degradation of the imperial dignity (*Sat.*, x. 224 *sqq.*):

Hæc opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes
Gaudentis fœdo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
Prostitui Graiæque apium meruisse coronæ.

whom we have already met on the Rhine, and whose exploits in the east will be recorded in the following chapter. The other two were Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus, brothers, who at this time were the *legati* of the two Germanies. It is unknown, what accusations were preferred against them, or who were their enemies.

While the Emperor was absent, he left a freedman named Helius as his representative in Rome, and he could probably have found no one more faithfully devoted to his interests. At the beginning of the year 68 A.D. serious signs of discontent were apparent in the provinces, and plots in the western armies against the Emperor were suspected. Helius crossed over to Greece, and urged Nero to return if he would save his power. He entered Rome, borne in the chariot in which Augustus had triumphed, crowned with the Olympian wreath. He was hailed as Nero Apollo and Nero Hercules, and coins were struck, on which he was depicted as a flute-player. But although he was flattered on all sides, he soon left Rome for Campania, where he breathed more freely.

SECT. V.—THE REVOLT OF VINDEX, AND FALL OF NERO.

§ 20. The events which led to the fall of Nero began in Gaul, although it was not from Gaul that the final blow was to come. C. Julius Vindex, sprung of a noble Celtic family, but thoroughly Romanised and adopted into the imperial gens, was governor of Gallia Lugudunensis. At the beginning of 68 A.D, he raised the standard of revolt. It is not quite clear what his ultimate intentions were, but he seems to have conceived the idea of a kingdom of Gaul, ruled by himself, nominally perhaps dependent on the Empire, like the former kingdom of Mauretania. But it was practically an attempt to throw off the Roman yoke. Vindex may be regarded as a successor of Vercingetorix and Sacrovir. He collected from various parts of Gaul a force of about 100,000 men. The districts of the Arverni and the Sequăni joined in the movement, and the town of Vienna on the Rhone was a sort of centre for the rebellion. But Lugudunum, the capital of the Three Provinces, held aloof, as did the Lingŏnes and the Treveri on the borders of Germany. The troops which Vindex gathered were ill-disciplined and ill-armed, the enterprise was hopeless unless he could induce some of the western armies to take part in it. His attempts to win the armies of the Rhine were fruitless, but he was more successful in Hither Spain. We have already met Galba, the governor of that province. He had distinguished himself slightly both on the Rhine and in Africa. He was already in his seventy-

third year, and in his childhood had seen Augustus, who had said to him, according to report, "Thou shalt one day taste our empire." It is probable that Galba had already thought of rebellion before he received the overtures from Vindex. Oracles were afloat that an Emperor was to arise from Spain. The revolt of Vindex, and the pressure of his lieutenant, T. Vinius, decided the old man; and, as he belonged to the senatorial party, his declaration of rebellion took the form of declaring himself the servant of the senate. After considerable hesitation, on April 2nd, he named himself the *legatus senatus populique Romani* in a speech delivered from his tribunal, and made preparations for war. In Spain he was supported by Otho, legatus of Lusitania, and Cæcina, quæstor of Bætica; but their adherence was of little consequence if the legions of the Rhine and Clodius Macer, governor of Africa, held aloof.

§ 21. In the meantime the issue of the revolt of Vindex had been decided. When the news was brought, Nero returned to Rome, and took measures for its suppression. Those troops, which were already on their march from Germany and Britain to prosecute a war against the Sarmatians, received orders to return. But the quelling of the rebellion was due to Verginius Rufus, the legatus of Upper Germany, who resisted all the endeavours of Vindex to gain him over.* Alarmed by the national character of the movement, Verginius advanced with his own legions, reinforced by a division from the lower province, to Vesontio, which was threatened by the Gallic militia of the rebel. Vesontio, whose name has become Besançon, was a very important place; for at it the roads from Lower Germany and north-western Gaul, from the Rhine and from the Jura mountains, met. Here a great battle took place. The legions were completely victorious, and Vindex was slain. It was not loyalty to Nero that had induced the Germanic army to repel the advances of Vindex: it was rather the Gallic character of the revolt. This is shown by the fact that after the victory they proclaimed their general Imperator. But he resisted the temptation. He was a man of lowly birth, and perhaps thought that he had no chance of being accepted by the nobility of Rome. In the inscription for his tomb, which he composed before his death, he mentions as the two creditable actions of his life his victory over Vindex and his refusal of the Empire.†

* Juvenal groups Verginius with Vindex and Galba, as if he too had taken part in the overthrow of Nero. What deed of Nero's tyranny, asks the satirist, deserved the vengeance of those three more than his singing and his scribbling? (viii. 221):

Quid enim Verginius armis
Debuit ulcisci magis aut cum Vindice Galba,
Quod Nero tam sæva crudaque tyrannide fecit?

† Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam
Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriæ.

§ 22. After the failure of the revolt in Gaul, the situation of Galba seemed hopeless, and he despaired himself. But he was saved by the Emperor's want of resolution, and the treachery of the ministers. When the news of the defection in Spain arrived in Rome, Nero confiscated Galba's property, and himself assumed the consulship. He made preparations for an expedition against Galba, and appointed Petronius Turpilianus as the commander. A new legion was organised from the troops of the fleet and called *legio classica*. But the prætorian guards, who were devoted to the Julian house, seemed to have remained quietly in their camp, instead of taking the field, as we should have expected.

The prefect Tigellinus vanishes from the scene, and plays no part in the catastrophe of his master. His fall was probably due to the intrigues of Nymphidius Sabinus, the other prefect, who nominally embraced the cause of Galba, but was really aiming at securing the Empire for himself. If Nero had not utterly lost his head, he was secure in the loyalty of the prætorian guards, notwithstanding the aspirations of the prefect. But he was a coward, and his irresolution drove his supporters away. Dull dissatisfaction prevailed in Rome. Corn was dear, and when a ship arrived from Egypt which proved to be laden, not with corn, but with sand for the Emperor's arena, the discontent became acute. It was reported that Nero entertained the idea of abandoning Rome, and sailing to Alexandria, to make that city the capital of an eastern empire—the idea which Antonius had almost realised. The senate was naturally eager to overthrow the tyrant, who hated it, in favour of Galba, but feared to compromise itself until the prætorian guards had declared themselves. In order to draw them from their devotion to Nero, Nymphidius resorted to an artifice. He persuaded the Emperor, who was distracted with fear, to repair from the palace to the Servilian gardens, which lay close to the Tiber, on the road to Ostia. He then went to the camp and informed the soldiers that Nero had deserted them and left Rome. They were easily convinced that it was their interest to support Galba, and the wily prefect promised them in Galba's name a donative of 30,000 sesterces each. He knew that Galba would never fulfil the promise, and he hoped, by means of the consequent dissatisfaction, to secure his own ends. Meanwhile, in the Servilian gardens the Emperor was devising counsels of despair. He was gradually deserted by his courtiers and most of his slaves and freedmen; and the prætorian cohort, which was keeping guard at the palace, left its post at midnight. At length he determined to flee from Rome, but could induce no friend to share his danger, except a few freedmen. One officer scornfully quoted Virgil, "Is it so hard to die?"

One of the imperial freedmen, named Phaon, offered his master the refuge of a villa, about four miles north-east of Rome, on the Via Patinaria, a cross-road connecting the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana. Thither he started by night accompanied by Phaon, Epaphroditus, and two other freedmen. The historians have not failed to invest the night-ride and the last scene of Nero's life with dramatic colouring. The Via Nomentana went close to the prætorian camp and shouts in honour of Galba reached the ears of the fugitives as they passed. The night was wild, with lightning and earthquakes. Nero crept into the villa by a narrow entrance at the back, in order not to arouse the suspicions of the slaves. There he lay on straw for hours, unable to make up his mind to die. "What an artist I am to perish!" he said. But when a slave of Phaon arrived with the news that the senate had condemned him to death *more maiorum*, and that he was being sought for everywhere, he made up his mind to escape a cruel execution. The tramp of horses' feet was heard in the distance, when he pressed a dagger to his throat, and it was driven home by Epaphroditus. As he was dying, a centurion entered, and pretended he had come to help him. "Too late!—that was fidelity indeed!" were Nero's last words. He perished on June 9, 68 A.D. His body was burnt, and the ashes were buried honorably in the sepulchre of the Domitian gens on the Pincian hill.

§ 23. At first the tidings of his fall caused universal joy. The senate, who, as soon as the decision of the prætorian guards was known, had hastened to sentence him to a punishment which was almost obsolete, condemned his memory and ordered his statues to be overthrown. The intense hatred which the senatorial party felt towards Nero is most clearly seen in literature. But among the mass of the people, a reaction soon set in. The tyrant's grave was adorned annually with wreaths of flowers. Many people doubted the reality of his death, and looked for his reappearance; and under succeeding Emperors three false Neros arose and obtained a following. King Vologeses of Parthia sent an embassy, requesting the senate and the new Princeps to hold the memory of Nero in honour. Christians saw in Nero the Antichrist, and thought that as such he would come again.

Nero was the last of the true Cæsars—the last, we may say, of the Julian line. Strictly he belonged, by adoption, to the Claudii, yet the Claudian and Julian houses had been so closely connected since the union of Augustus with Livia, that politically little distinction was made between them. Nero was not only the adopted son of Claudius; he was also, through his mother, the great-great-grandson of Augustus, and the grandson of Germanicus, who

belonged, by adoption, to the Julian gens. Thus it was felt, when Nero perished without an heir, that the line of the great Dictator had come to an end and a new epoch was beginning.

§ 24. The features of Nero were handsome, but his expression was not pleasant. His face wore a sort of scowl, perhaps due to his defective sight. His body was ill-made; he had a prominent stomach and thin legs. In his later years his skin was blotched from excesses; but his health was good. As a professional singer, he was very careful about his voice. His effeminacy was shown in the arrangement of his hair, and in the looseness of the cincture which bound his dress when he appeared in public. His capricious tyranny recalls, in many respects, the extravagances of Gaius. Like Gaius he was "a lover of the incredible." But while the mad Gaius had almost a genius for devising absurdities on a colossal scale, Nero was merely extravagant on the beaten tracks of luxury. He gave immense presents to his favourites, and tried to outdo his predecessors in the spaciousness of his buildings. He projected a canal from Puteoli to Rome, as well as the cutting of the isthmus. He did not aspire to divinity, like Gaius, but rather at being pre-eminent among men and receiving their admiration. He was vain rather than proud. He adopted superstitions from the east, and practised magic. In his later years, the senators seem to have kept quite aloof from his court, and he hated them cordially. No flattery pleased him more than when a courtier said, "I hate you, Nero, because you are a senator."

SECT. VI.—NERO'S ADMINISTRATION.

§ 25. The peculiarity of Nero's principate was that it was marked by good government under a bad Emperor. Nero himself was devoid of political insight and spent no care on the administration. Yet in general policy and in the conduct of military affairs, there is little to blame, if there is little to praise, in his government in the early years of his reign. This was not due to the Princeps. It was partly due to well-trained ministers, to Seneca and Burrus especially; but it was also due to the excellence of the machine which Cæsar the Dictator and Augustus had set going. It was perhaps as well that the political views of the ministers were strictly limited by the system of Augustus. They did not introduce any new idea into the government. It was a more serious defect that their activity was mainly confined to the interests of the capital. They concerned themselves less with the welfare of the provinces. It must be admitted, however,

that they appointed able officers to the commands on the frontiers.

The revival of the power of the senate in Nero's early years has been already noticed. In 56 A.D. the management of the ærarium was transferred from the quæstors to two prefects, of prætorian standing, who were to be appointed by the Emperor and hold office for three years. This perhaps served to give the Emperor more control over the money which the fisc advanced to the ærarium. In the same year the tribunes were deprived of their rights of intercession and inflicting fines. It was probably in this reign that the independence of the senate was diminished by the Emperor's extension of the right of commendation to the consulate, which had hitherto been exempted from this influence. But the most serious aggression of Nero against the senate, was his appropriation of the right of issuing copper coinage, which had hitherto been reserved for the senate.* He also entertained the idea of abolishing the senatorial privilege of holding the high commands in the provinces and armies, in fact of abolishing the senate altogether, and carrying on the business of the state by means of the knights and freedmen. In the field of civil legislation several useful measures were passed, among which may be mentioned that which forbade the exhibitions of gladiators and beasts in the provinces.

§ 26. In provincial administration the reign of Nero was marked by numerous processes for extortion, both in senatorial and in imperial provinces, instituted by the subjects against their governors. Cestius Proculus, accused by the Cretans, was acquitted. P. Celer, proconsul of Asia, died before his case was decided. Tarquitius Priscus, accused by Bithynia, was condemned; and Pedius Blæsus, accused by Cyrenaica, was degraded from the senate. In the imperial provinces, Cossutianus Capito was prosecuted by Cilicia, and condemned, but pardoned by Nero, owing to the influence of his father-in-law Tigellinus. Sardinia accused Vipsanius Lænas and obtained his condemnation; but Eprius Marcellus, accused by Lycia, was acquitted. Some of these processes came before the senate, others before the Emperor. In 57 A.D. an edict was issued, forbidding provincial governors and procurators to exhibit spectacles. Many had been in the habit of doing this, in order to reconcile the people to their unjust administration. These facts prove that the subjects were still exposed to injustice from their governors, and also that under Nero they were encouraged to complain.

A new procuratorial province was created, *Pontus Polemoniacus*;

* See above, § 12.

and *Alpes Cottiæ* was placed under procurators. The districts of the Cottian and the Maritime Alps had been Romanised since their pacification under Augustus, and now received the ius Latinum. Possibly the Pennine Alps also became a procuratorial province as early as Nero. The preservation of the Latin nationality occupied the serious attention of the government; new blood was imported into Italy from the provinces; and a considerable number of towns were colonised, including Antium, Beneventum, Capua, Tarentum, Nuceria, Puteoli. The progress of Roman civilisation in Spain is shown by the fact that the three legions placed there by Augustus were reduced under Nero to two. It has been already mentioned that Nero gave the Greeks their freedom. As this act deprived the senate of a province, he made up the loss to the ærarium by transferring to the senate the imperial province of Sardinia and Corsica.

In the middle of Nero's reign an important colonisation took place in Mœsia, which was constantly threatened by invasions of barbarians from the north, and seems to have suffered from depopulation. The legatus, Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Ælianus, settled 100,000 inhabitants of the land beyond the Danube in the Mœsian territory. They were obliged to pay a certain tribute and also doubtless to perform military service in case of need. He also extended the sphere of Roman influence on the north shore of the Euxine by annexing to the Empire the town of Tyras. The advance of Roman arms in Britain has already been related. The war for Armenia and the rebellion in Judea will be described in subsequent chapters.

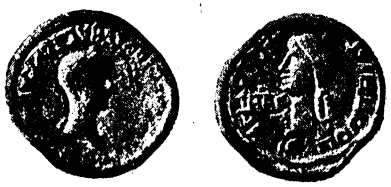
§ 27. The project of an overland water-route from the Mediterranean to the North Sea was proposed by Lucius Vetus, the legatus of Upper Germany (55–56 A.D.). It was merely required to cut a canal connecting the Arar (the Saône), with the Mosella. Thus ships might sail up the Rhone, turn into the Arar at Lugudunum, reach the Mosella by the projected channel, and descend the Mosella into the Rhine. But the jealousy of Ælius Gracilis, the legatus of Belgica, frustrated the execution of this plan, which would have necessitated the bringing of the legions of Germany into Belgica. Gracilis frightened Vetus by suggesting that the Emperor would be annoyed at the undertaking of such a large work by a subject.

§ 28. In the Lower province some trouble was caused by the eastern Frisians, who were independent, whereas the western Frisians were tributary. Emboldened by the long peace, they migrated with all their people to the bank of the Old Rhine and established themselves in unoccupied lands reserved for pasturing

the beasts which supplied the Roman troops with food. Their leaders—we cannot properly speak of kings—were Verritus and Malorix. They had built their houses, sowed the fields, and were using the soil as their own, when the legatus Dubius Avitus, threatened to attack them unless they either returned to their old abodes or obtained from the Emperor a grant of land. Verritus and Malorix preferred the second alternative, and went themselves to Rome to beg Cæsar for the boon. They were obliged to wait some days on Nero's pleasure, and spent the time in seeing the sights of Rome. They were shown Pompey's theatre, in order that they might apprehend the greatness of the people. They took their seats among the general public; and as they could not appreciate the entertainment, they asked questions about the places assigned to the various ranks—the fourteen Benches of the knights, and the orchestra where the senators sat. Observing some persons in foreign dress among the senators, and learning that they were the envoys of nations, who were distinguished by their bravery and friendship to Rome, they exclaimed that the Germans were excelled by none in valour or loyalty, and took their seats among the senators. The incident was good-naturedly received by the spectators, who regarded it as an example of old-fashioned impulsiveness. The result of the embassy was that the two chieftains received Roman citizenship, but their nation was commanded to evacuate the territory which they had occupied. They refused to obey, and it was necessary for some auxiliary cavalry to drive them out.

But no sooner were the Frisians ejected than the same lands were seized by another and more powerful people the Ampsivarii, who lived in the neighbourhood of the Amisia, and were driven out of their territory by the Chauci. The cause of these homeless exiles, seeking a new habitation, was pleaded by Boiocalus, an old man who was influential among these nations and loyal to Rome. On the occasion of the Cheruscan revolt in the disastrous year 9 A.D. he had been imprisoned by Arminius, and had since then served under Tiberius and Germanicus. But Avitus refused to accede to the request, and the Ampsivarians called on the Bructeri, Tencteri, and other tribes to help them to take by force what the Romans refused to give. Avitus sent a message to Curtilius Mancia, who had succeeded Vetus as legatus of Upper Germany, requesting him to make a hostile demonstration beyond the Rhine; and he himself promptly invaded the land of the Tencteri and threatened to exterminate them if they associated themselves with the Ampsivarians. The Bructeri were scared in the same way; and the Ampsivarians were then isolated and forced to retreat.

Wandering as outcasts from one territory to another, received now as friends and now as foes, their entire youth was finally slain, and those who could not fight were divided as booty.



Coin of Poppæa.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—THE PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS UNDER NERO.

The famous passage in which Tacitus notices the persecution of the Christian sect at Rome after the great fire (*Annals*, xv. c. 44), is remarkable not only as the earliest detailed account of the facts, but also incidentally, as containing both the earliest record of the Crucifixion in a classical author, and the only mention of Pontius Pilate in a Roman historian. It is perplexed by some difficulties of interpretation which have an important bearing on the sense, and must be briefly noticed, as the question is of unusual interest. The words of Tacitus are as follows:

Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis pœnis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudæam originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui *fatebantur*, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam *odio humani generis* convicti sunt. [The punishments are then described.] Unde quamquam adversus *sontes* et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur tamquam non utilitate publica sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur.

("So in order to drown the rumour Nero shifted the guilt on persons hated for their abominations and known to the vulgar as *Christians*, and punished them with exquisite tortures. Christus, from whom the name originated, had been punished under Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilatus. Checked for the time, this pernicious religion broke out again not only in Judæa, but in Rome. Those then *who confessed* were first arrested; then by their information a large number was convicted, not so much on the charge of incendiarism, *as for hatred of the human race.*" On witnessing Nero's brutality, "people were moved by pity for the sufferers, *though they were guilty*, and had deserved extreme penalties; for it was felt that they were suffering to gratify Nero's cruelty, not from considerations of the public welfare.")

From this passage the following points seem clear:

(1) For some reason suspicion fell upon the Christians; but Tacitus does not assign any more definite reason for their being chosen as scapegoats than that they were believed to be capable of any enormities.

(2) Tacitus does not himself believe

that they were guilty of this special charge. But he shares the general belief in their bad character.

(3) At the time of which Tacitus writes, the name Christian (first given at Antioch, as we learn from the *Acts of the Apostles*) had reached Rome and was used by the populace of the Christians, but not yet by the Christians of themselves.

(4) There was a considerable number of Christians at Rome. This is implied, however much allowance we make for the rhetorical phrase of Tacitus, "a large multitude." The Christian community at Rome mainly consisted of Greeks.

(5) Of these only a few were generally known as Christians, and the rest could only be got at through the information of these few.

The three chief difficulties in the text are: (1) *Fatebantur*. This must mean "were openly confessing that they were Christians," and not "were confessing that they were concerned in the conflagration." For they would not have confessed to the incendiarism unless they had a hand in it, and Tacitus implies that they were innocent. And when the proceedings were taken, they were not likely to be openly (Furneaux) confessing the crime. (2) *Odio humani generis* depends on *in* from the preceding clause. This was the real charge on which they were condemned; for incendiarism could not be brought home to them. Others take it "in consequence of the hatred of the human race for them;" but this interpretation gives inferior sense, and the universal phrase *humanum genus* would be out of place, if that were the meaning. (3) It has been objected to Tacitus that he contradicts himself, by implying at the beginning of the passage (*subdidit reos*) that the victims were innocent, and then at the end calling them *sontes*, "guilty." This is a misconception. *Sontes* means guilty from the point of view of those who pitied them.

Thus interpreted the whole passage is perfectly clear, as far as it goes; and the only difficulty which remains is the question, why Nero pitched upon the Christians? This difficulty has appeared so great to some historians that they have cast doubt upon the whole narrative. It has even been held that the passage is not the work of Tacitus, but the insertion of a Christian forger. There is no ground whatever for this extravagant supposition: nor yet is there any ground for assuming that Tacitus confounded the Christians with the Jews, or meant not Christians but some other sect. That a persecution of the Jews was unlikely is clear from the protection which Poppæa extended to them; that there actually was no such persecution is proved by the silence of Josephus. There is no evidence whatever incompatible with the plain statements of Tacitus; and every attempt that has hitherto been made to explain away the Neronian persecution violates the most elementary laws of historical criticism.

The most plausible conjecture as to the singling out of the Christian sect—which, as appears even from the language of Tacitus, had attracted as yet little notice—is that charges were brought against them by the Jews (see above, § 14). This view was held by Bishop Lightfoot. But it is only a conjecture.

The tradition of the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul, under Nero, rests on a totally different kind of evidence; and the story must be regarded as highly uncertain.

As to the question concerning Christian proselytes at Rome among the higher classes, there is only negative evidence. We hear of none such in the writings of St. Paul. The case of Pomponia Græcina is often alleged as an instance. This lady was the wife of Plautius, the conqueror of Britain. Her life was long and unhappy. She had been a bosom friend of that Julia (the daughter of Drusus) whom Messalina had put to death, and she mourned her loss for forty years. She was accused in the reign of Nero, of being devoted to a foreign religion, and the decision was left to her husband, who pronounced her innocent. It is Tacitus who tells the tale (*Annals*, 13. 32), and it has been often assumed that the *superstitio externa* is Christianity and that Pomponia was a Christian. But this is only an assumption which cannot be proved; and even if it were true, there is the further assumption that Pomponia was guilty of the crime of which her husband acquitted her. Tacitus does not suggest that she was. Nor does the fact that she was a woman of sorrows prove anything. She may have been a Christian; but, as far as our evidence goes, it is quite as

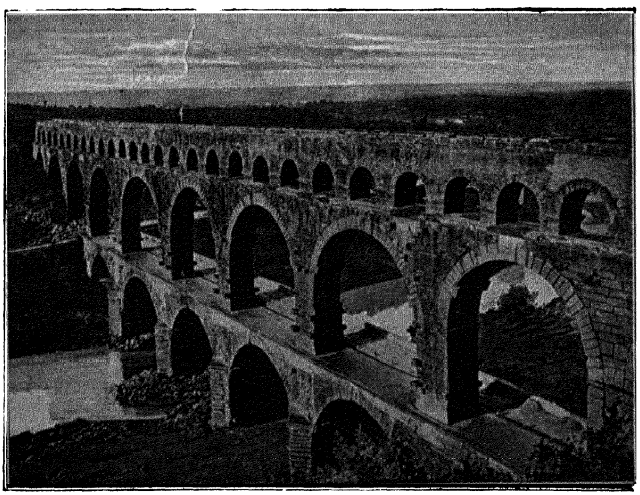
likely that she was not. We cannot possibly know. She may have been accused of being a Christian, without being one; but this also we cannot know.

B.—THE SPEECH OF NERO AT ISTHMUS (A.D. 67).

The actual speech in which Nero declared Hellas free has been recently discovered in the form of an inscription.

"The Emperor Cæsar says: 'Wishing to requite most noble Hellas for her loyalty towards me, I command that as many persons as possible from this province should assemble at Corinth on the 28th of November.'

"When the people assembled in Ecclesia he delivered the following address: 'Men of Hellas, I am giving you an unexpected favour—though nothing is really surprising from my generosity—and such as ye did not come to ask. I say unto all the Greeks who dwell in the province of Achaia and the land hitherto called Peloponnesus: Receive freedom, and exemption from tribute, which you did not, all of you, obtain even in your most prosperous days; for you were enslaved either to foreigners or to one another. Would that I could have bestowed this gift, when Hellas was in her prime, in order that a larger number might enjoy my favour! I have reason to blame Time for having prevented me from making my favour greater. And now the motive of my benefit to you is not pity, but goodwill. I am requiting your gods, whose continual providence I have experienced both by land and sea, for that they allowed me to confer such great benefits. Other princes, too, made cities free; Nero has freed the whole province."



Aqueduct of Nemausus.

Coin struck by Nero to commemorate successes of Corbulo.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARS FOR ARMENIA, UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

1. The Armenian question; retrospect. § 2. Struggle between the sons of Artabanus. § 3. Meherdates, the Roman candidate for the Parthian throne. § 4. Radamistus drives Mithradates from Armenia. § 5. Action of Julius Pælignus. § 6. Parthians invade Armenia. Escape of Radamistus and Zenobia. Tiridates established as king of Armenia. § 7. Corbulo sent to the East. He invades and winters in Armenia. § 8. Campaign of 58 A.D. § 9. Capture of Volandum and Artaxata. § 10. Campaign of 59 A.D. Capture of Tigranocerta and Legerda. § 11. Tigranes made king of Armenia by Nero. Parthians permitted to occupy Armenia again. Behaviour of Corbulo. § 12. War renewed. Disaster of Pætus (62 A.D.). § 13. The home government rejects the capitulation made by Pætus, and Corbulo again takes the field. Tiridates receives the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero (66 A.D.). § 14. Projected expedition against the Alans. Fate of Corbulo.

§ 1. THE struggle between Rome and Parthia for the possession of Armenia, was renewed in the reign of Claudius. This struggle was perpetually being decided and perpetually recurring. The Romans were determined to keep their hold over a country which was a ground of vantage for either realm against the other; while the Parthian monarchs tried, whenever they got an opportunity, to supplant Roman influence and reduce the land to dependence on themselves. Warlike demonstrations on the part of Rome were generally sufficient to make the Parthian kings withdraw their

pretensions to Armenia and adopt a respectful attitude to the Roman Emperor; for they were constantly hampered by wars on other frontiers of their dominion and by domestic dissensions. These repeated settlements of the Armenian question are marked by the same general features. Rival pretenders to the throne of Armenia are supported by Rome and Parthia; the Parthian kingdom is distracted by civil war or excited into discontent against the reigning monarch, and there is a movement in favour of some scion of the Arsacid house who is living in exile or as a hostage at Rome; he is supported by Roman arms, but by an inevitable reaction is soon rejected; and the war ends with the acknowledgment of Roman supremacy in some form in Armenia. It will be remembered that Tiberius had established the overlordship of Rome in 20 B.C., that it was again confirmed by Gaius Cæsar in 2 A.D. Again, in 18 A.D., the Parthians submitted at the appearance of another presumptive heir to the Empire; and recently, the energetic action of Lucius Vitellius had thwarted the schemes of Artabanus III.

§ 2. But what had been well done under the auspices of Tiberius, was immediately undone by the caprice of his successor. Gaius summoned Mithradates, the new king of Armenia, to Rome, deposed him, and sent him into exile. At the same time he recalled Vitellius in disgrace from his government of Syria. This was an opportunity for the Parthians, and they did not fail to seize the coveted land. Thus, when Claudius came to the throne, one of the tasks which devolved upon him was the recovery of Armenia. Mithradates was immediately recalled from exile, and, restored to his royal dignity, he set about recovering his kingdom with the help of his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia. Artabanus III. was now dead, and Parthia was disturbed by a war for the succession between his sons Gotarzes and Vardanes. Gotarzes had come to the throne and made himself detested by his cruelties. One of his acts was the murder of his brother Artabanus, with his wife and son. His subjects accordingly sent for his other brother Vardanes, an enterprising prince, who was then at a distance of 400 miles from the court. He is said to have traversed this space in two days; and Gotarzes, completely surprised and terrified, fled. Seleucia alone, which had held out against his father, declined the rule of Vardanes, and the new king was impolitic enough to give way to his resentment at such a moment, and embarrass himself with the siege of a city secured by strong fortifications and abundant supplies. He thus gave Gotarzes time to collect an army of Hyrcanians and Dahæ—Scythian races east of the Caspian sea,—and was then compelled to raise the

siege, and march against his brother. He pitched his camp on the great Bactrian plain, which stretches between the Oxus and the Paropamisus (now the Hindoo Koosh). It was a favourable moment for Mithradates to re-establish his rule in Armenia, and the Armenians made no resistance when their governor, who had ventured on a battle, was slain. Some of the nobles inclined to Cotys, king of Little Armenia, but a letter from his overlord Claudius prevented that monarch from interfering. Some of the fortresses of Armenia received Roman garrisons. Meanwhile the armies of the Parthian brothers had met, but just as they were about to begin battle, they came suddenly to an agreement, through the discovery of a plot which Gotarzes revealed to his brother. They joined right hands, and Gotarzes yielded the sovranty to his brother, and, to avoid rivalry, retired into the wilds of Hyrcania. Vardanes was then able to force Seleucia, which had defied the Parthian government for seven years, to capitulate (43 A.D.). After this success, he was preparing to invade Armenia, but was deterred by the threatening attitude of Vibius Marsus the legatus of Syria.

The struggle with Gotarzes soon broke out anew. That prince repented of his renunciation of the crown, and was urged by the discontented nobility to take up arms again. The conflict took place in the country between the Caspian and Herat; and Vardanes gained a great victory, and pushed his successes as far as the borders of the Dahæ. He returned haughtier and more intolerable to his subjects than ever. A plot was concerted, and he was assassinated when he was intent upon the chase (45 A.D.). He was still in his first youth; but he would deserve, says the historian Tacitus, "to be ranked among the few greatest of even long-lived kings, if he had sought to be loved by his subjects as he sought to be feared by his enemies."

§ 3. Gotarzes immediately assumed the sovranty, but after some years his cruelty and profligacy drove the Parthians to send an embassy to Rome and beg that the prince Meherdates, the surviving son of Vonones, whom Germanicus had put to death in Cilicia, should be sent to dispute the Parthian throne with the hated Gotarzes (49 A.D.). The ambassadors represented that Parthia sent her kings' sons as hostages to Rome, in order that when she grew tired of her own government she might fall back on the Emperor and the senate, and obtain a better king trained in Roman manners. Claudius improved the occasion by emphasising the superiority of Rome and the submissiveness of the Parthians. He did not lose the opportunity of comparing himself to the divine Augustus, from whom the Parthians in like manner had sought a

king (Vonones), but he omitted all reference to his uncle Tiberius, who had sent two kings to Parthia. He gave good advice to Meherdates, who was present, urging him to consider himself as a ruler among freemen, not as a despot among slaves; "the barbarians will like clemency and justice all the more, because they are unused to them." Then turning to the ambassadors, he dwelled on the virtues of the young foster-child of Rome. Yet, even if his character should change, "it is well that subjects should bear with the caprices of kings. Frequent revolutions are unprofitable. Rome has now reached such a height, that she can afford to wish that even foreign peoples should enjoy repose."

As L. Vitellius had formerly conducted Tiridates to the frontiers of the Parthian empire, so it devolved now upon C. Cassius, governor of Syria, to escort Meherdates to the Euphrates. There he was received by several Parthian potentates, including king Abgar of Osroene. Cassius gave the young prince sound advice, showing him that delay would be fatal, and that if he did not act quickly the enthusiasm of the barbarians would soon flag. But Meherdates was induced by Abgar to amuse himself for several days in Edessa, and then, instead of occupying Mesopotamia, where success seems to have been assured to him by Carenes, the governor of Mesopotamia, he proceeded by a circuitous route to Armenia, where, as winter was beginning, it was impossible to do much. He was joined by Carenes, and then advancing along the Tigris into Adiabene, whose king Izates pretended to espouse his cause, he occupied the historic site of Ninus, and gave it the name of *Colonia Nini Claudia*. Delay was fatal to Meherdates, even as it had been fatal to Tiridates, the pretender sent by Tiberius. His chief adherents, recognising his incompetence, especially Abgar and Izates, deserted to Gotarzes, and then he decided to risk everything on a battle. The struggle seems to have taken place between the Tigris and Mount Zagros. Both sides fought with desperate courage. Carenes carried all before him, but, advancing too far, was surprised in the rear. This decided the issue. Meherdates yielded to false promises, and was led in chains to the victor, who despised him too much to put him to death, but rendered him harmless by the amputation of his ears.

§ 4. But Gotarzes did not long survive his victory.* He was succeeded (in summer 51 A.D.) by Vonones II., king of Media, who was followed, after a reign of a few months, by his son Vologeses I.,

* It is supposed that this victory is commemorated in an inscription carved on the rock of Behistun. But it is hard to see why Gotarzes should be called "satrap of satraps" at this time. Was he not "king of kings"?

a capable and successful ruler (51–78 A.D.). One of the chief ends of the policy of Vologesus was to recover Armenia, and an opportunity was soon offered through an act of foul treachery on the part of the Iberian king. Pharasmanes had a son named Radamistus, tall, handsome, of remarkable bodily strength, trained in archery and riding, and the other accomplishments of his countrymen, and of high renown among the neighbouring peoples. This ambitious youth declared too boldly his impatience of his father's long old age, which kept him out of the little kingdom, which he perhaps hoped to extend. Pharasmanes, seeing that his son was prepared to grasp the power, if an occasion offered itself, tempted the youth with other prospects, and pointed to Armenia, suggesting that his brother Mithradates might be overthrown. A treacherous scheme was devised. Radamistus, feigning to have quarrelled with his father, sought shelter at his uncle's court, and there engaged in treasonable intrigues with some of the Armenian nobles. When the ground was prepared, Pharasmanes declared war against his brother on some trifling plea, and supplied his son with an army, with which he invaded and occupied Armenia (52 A.D.). Mithradates placed himself under the protection of the Roman garrison of the fortress of Gorneas, which was commanded by Cælius Pollio.* Radamistus blockaded the place, and, unable to take it, attempted to bribe Pollio. But Casperius, a centurion, who held a secondary command, protested, and, having arranged a truce, proceeded to Pharasmanes, to induce him to withdraw the army. Pharasmanes replied in a conciliatory manner, but by secret messages urged Radamistus to hurry on the siege. A large bribe was offered to Pollio, who seems to have been a man of bad character; he bribed the soldiers to threaten to abandon the place unless terms were made with the besiegers; and the unfortunate Mithradates was compelled to surrender.

Radamistus at first rushed into his embrace, greeted him as his parent, and feigned the deepest respect. He even swore an oath that he would offer him no violence either by sword or by poison. He then drew him into a neighbouring grove, where he said that preparations had been made for the sacrifice which should confirm peace in the presence of the gods. It was the custom of these princes when they met to form an alliance, to join their right hands and tie together their thumbs in a tight knot. Then when the blood was collected into the extremities which were thus tied, they let it out by a small puncture, and sucked it each in turn. The treaty had thus a mystical sanctity, being sealed by the blood of both. On this occasion, the man who was tying the knot pretended to fall,

* Holding the rank probably of prefect of a cohort.

and seizing the knees of Mithradates flung him down. A number of people then rushed upon him, and loaded him with chains. He was dragged along, subject to all kinds of indignities, while his wife and little children followed wailing. They were hidden in covered waggons, until the will of Pharasmanes as to their fate should be made known. "To him the desire of kingdom was more than his brother and his daughter, and his heart was steeled to crimes. But he spared his eyes the sight of a brother's execution. Radamistus, to keep the letter of his oath, used neither steel nor poison against his uncle and his sister, but had them thrown on the ground and smothered under a load of heavy clothes. Even the sons of Mithradates were slaughtered for having wept at the murder of their father and mother." *

§ 5. Ummidius Quadratus, the legatus of Syria, on whom it devolved to watch the course of events in the neighbouring dependent kingdoms, decided not to interfere. He or his councillors judged it to be a matter of indifference whether Armenia was ruled by the uncle or by the nephew; and the principle was asserted that all crime in a foreign land was to be received with joy. It was the policy of Rome to sow strife among the barbarians; and it was rather for her interest that the hated Radamistus should retain what he had got by such an infamous deed, inasmuch as he would be more easily managed. At the same time appearances were kept up by sending an embassy to Pharasmanes, bidding him and his son evacuate Armenia. A show of interference was also made by Julius Pælignus, the procurator of Cappadocia, a man of deformed body and feeble intellect, who had been a sort of buffoon at the court of Claudius. There were no military forces stationed in Cappadocia at this time, but Pælignus collected some native militia, and set forth "to recover Armenia." His men deserted their incompetent leader, and he, finding himself defenceless, went to Radamistus, whose gifts had such an effect that Pælignus actually urged him to assume the tiara and diadem of royalty, and took part in the coronation of the usurper whom he had come to expel. This disgraceful act caused great scandal, and lest other Romans should be judged by the behaviour of Pælignus, Quadratus sent a certain Helvidius Priscus, with one of the Syrian legions, to restore order; but this force was speedily withdrawn, in order to avoid a collision with the Parthians.

§ 6. For in the meantime Vologeses, judging the moment to be favourable, and supposing that the Romans would not trouble themselves to support Radamistus, had named his brother Tiridates king of Armenia, and had entered the country with an army

* Tacitus.

(53 A.D.). The Iberians were expelled without a blow, and the two chief cities. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, submitted to the Parthian yoke. A severe winter, want of provisions, and the breaking out of a disease in his army, compelled Vologeses to retire; and Radamistus speedily returned, and dealt out vengeance to those who had deserted him. But his subjects rebelled against his cruelty, and an armed crowd gathered round his palace in Artaxata. He and his wife Zenobia were obliged to flee, and the story of their escape is romantic. Their chance of safety lay in the swiftness of their horses, but Zenobia was pregnant, and, though she endured somehow or other the first part of the flight, she was after a while so shaken by the continuous galloping, that she could hold out no longer, and dismounting she begged her husband to rescue her from the insults of captivity by an honourable death. Radamistus was at length induced to comply with her request. Unsheathing his short sabre (the *acinaces*), he stabbed her, and, dragging her to the bank of the Araxes, committed her to the stream, that even her dead body might be rescued from the enemy. He then continued his headlong flight, and reached Iberia in safety. But Zenobia was not mortally wounded. She lay in the calm water near the edge of the river, breathing and showing signs of life. Some shepherds observed her, and, seeing from her appearance that she was a woman of high degree, bound up her wound, and applied rustic remedies. Having discovered her name and story, they took her to Artaxata, whence she was led to Tiridates, now established as king of Armenia, who received her kindly, and treated her as a queen (54 A.D.).

Some desultory warfare was kept up between Tiridates and Radamistus, during the last year of Claudius (54 A.D.). The Parthians were at this time trammelled by revolts in the north of their empire, and the Romans were busied with the suppression of a rising of the Clitæ in Cilicia, and with troubles in Judea. The Armenians, disgusted at the countenance which the Romans had given to the usurpation of Radamistus, were by no means dissatisfied at the establishment of a Parthian prince in their country.

§ 7. The success of Tiridates seemed to be one more proof that the policy of Augustus was not likely to lead to a stable settlement of the eastern question. The death of Claudius and the accession of Nero was a good opportunity for trying a new policy. The government of Nero, conducted by Seneca and Burrus, decided to take active measures for the recovery of Armenia and the maintenance of Rome's prestige, which had been dimmed by the recent triumph of Vologeses and his brother. The first step was the appointment of Gnæus Domitius Corbulo to the government

of Cappadocia, with the rank of a consular legatus, although that province had been hitherto under a procurator. He was consul in 39 A.D. We have already met him as legatus of Lower Germany (47 A.D), where he gained a high reputation for discipline and ability. Quadratus was allowed to keep his post in Syria, but was ordered to place two of his four legions at the disposal of the new legatus of Cappadocia. Antiochus of Commagene and Herod Agrippa II. of Chalcis, (see below, p. 367) received commands to have their troops in readiness for operations against the Parthians. Lesser Armenia and Sophene, the countries which bordered Armenia on the west, were entrusted to two Syrian princes, Aristobulus and Sohæmus respectively. But the legions had become demoralised by a long peace, and they liked little to change their quarters in Syria for the mountains of Armenia. There were veterans in the army who had never served on sentinel duty, to whom the rampart and the ditch were novelties, men without helmets or breastplates, sleek traders who had served all their time in towns. The first thing that Corbulo had to do was to dismiss a large number of incapable men, and levy new recruits. Even after the restoration of discipline he was obliged to ask for additional troops from the more efficient armies of the west. A legion and auxiliaries were sent from Germany. But Rome did not immediately come to blows with Parthia. Instead of invading Armenia, Corbulo entered into negotiations with Vologeses, and a treaty was concluded. The Parthians undertook to give hostages as a pledge of peace, while the Romans suffered the rule of Tiridates in Armenia. Perhaps this was only for the purpose of gaining time. But it may be that the Roman government had come to see the uselessness of continually setting up kings of their own choice in Armenia, destined to be overthrown in a few years by Parthian rivals. So as they were not prepared to annex that country as a province, they decided to adopt the policy of recognizing the Parthian candidate, on the understanding that he held his dependency under the overlordship of the Roman Emperor, not of the Parthian monarch. But as time went on and Tiridates still demurred to receive Armenia as a Roman gift, and take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, Corbulo set out in 57 A.D., two years after his appointment, with an army of about 30,000 men, and wintered in Armenia.

The rigour of Armenian winters was proverbial,* and the army seems to have suffered severely. The ground covered with ice yielded no place for the tents, until it was regularly dug up. The cold was so intense that many of the men had their limbs frost-

* Horace, *Odes*, ii. 9. 4:
Nec Armeniis in oris . . . stet glacies iners
Menses per omnes.

bitten; others perished on guard. A soldier carrying a bundle of wood was observed, whose hands dropped off and fell with the burden. Corbulo was glad to give his demoralised soldiers the experience of hardships. He is described as going about among his men, lightly clad, with uncovered head, praising the brave, encouraging the weak, enforcing strict discipline. Deserters were put to death for the first offence.

§ 8. It was probably in the table-land of Erzeroum that the warfare of the year 58 A.D. was carried on. The campaign began by a slight reverse for the Romans. Corbulo had posted some auxiliary infantry in certain defensive positions under the command of a centurion, to whom he had given strict orders to keep within the entrenchments. But this officer seeing what he thought a favourable opportunity, disobeyed and was defeated. The general punished both officers and soldiers by making them encamp outside the rampart, and they were only released from this disgrace when the whole army interceded. When spring was well advanced, Corbulo did all in his power to force into an engagement Tiridates, who was scouring the country and plundering all whom he thought friendly to Rome. Weary of following the enemy hither and thither, Corbulo divided his forces, so that his legati and prefects might attack several points at the same time. His operations were supported by Antiochus, king of Commagene, advancing from the south, and Pharasmanes of Iberia—who desired to redeem his former treachery and had already put to death his son Radamistus—from the north. A people called the Moschi, who dwelled near the sources of the river Phasis, also assisted Rome. Vologeses was occupied in another quarter of his kingdom by a revolt of the Hyrcanians, and Tiridates found himself unable to cope with the superior forces of the Romans. He therefore entered into negotiations with Corbulo, who advised him to send a petition to the Emperor. As it was found that the interchange of messages did not lead to a settlement, an interview was arranged between the commanders. Tiridates proposed to arrive himself with a thousand horsemen, and that Corbulo should be accompanied by as many soldiers as he chose, provided they came "without helmets and breastplates, so as to give the appearance of peace." The wary old general was not deceived by this offer, so transparently treacherous. Tiridates intended that his trained archers should shoot down the escort of Corbulo, whose numbers would be of no avail if their bodies were undefended. Corbulo, however, pretended not to see through the stratagem, but replied that it would be better to discuss the matters in dispute in the presence of the whole armies. On the appointed day he arrived first, and disposed his troops, but

Tiridates did not appear till the afternoon, and then stood at a distance "whence he could be seen rather than heard." Thus no conference took place, and Tiridates presently marched off, apparently in a north-westerly direction, perhaps intending to cut off the supplies which the Roman army drew from Trapezus.

§ 9. Corbulo now ceased to follow Tiridates, and prepared a series of attacks on the Armenian fortresses. He undertook himself the assault on Volandum the strongest in the district, and assigned the lesser forts to the subordinate officers. Volandum lay west of Artaxata and south of the river Araxes. Corbulo formed his troops in four divisions and assigned to each a different task. One part, with their shields locked above their heads, in the array known as *testudo*, advanced close to the rampart to undermine it; others applied scaling-ladders to the walls; others hurled javelins and brands from the engines; while the slingers at a distance discharged leaden balls against the garrison. Within the third part of a day, the walls were stripped of their defenders, the barricades of the gate were thrown down, the fortifications scaled and captured, all the adults butchered, without the loss of a single Roman soldier. Corbulo's officers were equally successful in their less difficult enterprises, and he was encouraged by this success to attack Artaxata, the capital of the country. On the march thither the Romans were attacked by the cavalry of Tiridates, who had hoped to take them unawares. But Corbulo had formed his army for fighting as well as for marching. On the right and left sides the IIIrd and VIth legions marched respectively, and a chosen body of the Xth was placed in the centre.* The baggage was secured within the lines and the rear was guarded by a thousand cavalry, who were ordered to resist if attacked, but not to pursue. On the wings were placed the foot bowmen and the rest of the cavalry. The left wing was extended further along the foot of the hills, so that if the enemy broke through the centre, his flank might be enveloped by the extended wing. Tiridates rode up in the face of the advancing army, but taking care to keep out of the range of missiles. His object was to loosen the ranks, by threatening an attack, and then to fall on the separated divisions. But his design failed. Only one cavalry officer advanced rashly, and fell pierced with arrows. His example confirmed the others in obedience to orders, and Tiridates retired on the approach of night. Corbulo thought of advancing on Artaxata the same night, and beginning the blockade; but when his scouts reported that Tiridates had started on a distant march—

* III. and VI. were the Syrian legions sent to Corbulo by Quadratus. Picked men of X., another Syrian legion, were also sent; but the main body was left in Syria.

either to Media or Albania—he waited for daylight, and then sent on his light-armed troops with directions to begin the attack at a distance. But no siege was necessary. The inhabitants immediately opened the gates and surrendered, and thereby saved their lives. The city was burnt to the ground, as Corbulo could not spare a sufficient garrison, and the place was too strong to be left unoccupied.

§ 10. The army seems to have wintered in the neighbourhood of Artaxata, and in the following year (59 A.D.) to have marched to Tigranocerta, which they reached in autumn. The line of march which Corbulo followed is not certain. It seems probable that he proceeded southward from Artaxata, and skirting the foot of Little Ararat entered the plain of Bayazid; whence, following the basin of the river Balyk he could have crossed the watershed of that stream and the Murad at Djadin, and thence marched along the Murad through the plain of Arishgerd. The way would then lie through the plain of Mush, and south-eastward across the Bitlis pass and Tigranocerta.* On this march the Roman general made no hostile demonstrations, but did not relax his vigilance, knowing the character of the Armenians, who were "as treacherous when opportunity offered, as they were slow to face danger." Those who submitted, received quarter; but to those who fled, or hid themselves in caverns, Corbulo was pitiless. He burnt them out of their holes, filling the entrances and egresses with brushwood. The Mardi of Mount Niphates were especially troublesome, and defied him in their mountain fastnesses. Corbulo set the Iberians on them, so as to avoid the sacrifice of Roman lives. In this march the Romans suffered as much from heat as they had suffered during the winters from cold. They were exhausted by shortness of supplies, and were compelled to depend solely on the cattle of the country. This meat diet, without any other food, was found to be very injurious. Besides this, water was scarce, and the marches in the burning heat were long. At length they reached cultivated lands, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Melazgerd, and were able to obtain vegetable food. Two Armenian fortresses were taken, and then they crossed into the country of the Tauronites, which is probably to be identified with the district of Mush, west of Lake Van. Here Corbulo's life was endangered. A barbarian of considerable rank was discovered with a dagger near the general's tent, and, on being tortured, confessed the names of confederates who were associated with him. The men were convicted and punished. Soon after this, envoys whom Corbulo had sent to Tigranocerta returned and reported that the gates were

* Furneaux, *Tacitus*, ii. 114.

open to receive him, and the inhabitants ready to obey his orders. They also brought a golden crown, a gift betokening the friendship of the city. Corbulo left the place intact, and then proceeded against Legerda, a fortress to the west of Tigranocerta The stronghold was defended by a brave band, and was stormed with difficulty. This success seems to have marked the end of the campaign.

§ 11. Tiridates made some further attempts to re-establish himself in Armenia, but was promptly checked by Corbulo. The land was completely in Roman power, and a new king was chosen (60 A.D.). The choice of the government fell on Tigranes, a young prince who had been brought up in Rome, descended on the father's side from Herod the Great, and on the mother's from Archelaus of Cappadocia. But the realm which Nero conferred on Tigranes was considerably less than that which the previous kings had ruled. It was curtailed by some frontier districts, which were distributed between neighbouring princes—Pharasmanes, Antiochus, Aristobulus, and Polemo of Pontus.

Tigranes sought to increase his kingdom on another side, by wresting Adiabene from Parthia. He invaded that province and defeated the governor Monobazus. This occurrence forced the Parthian monarch, who had abstained from interfering in the recent war in Armenia, to take a decisive step. He confirmed the sovranty of Tiridates in Armenia, placing the diadem on his head in solemn council; and sent his general Monæses to drive out the Roman usurper. In the meantime Quadratus, the governor of Syria, had died, and, pending the appointment of a successor, the command both in Syria and Cappadocia, devolved upon Corbulo. That general sent two legions to Armenia to support Tigranes, who was besieged by the Parthians in Tigranocerta. But it was not the interest of Corbulo to finish the war and shorten his own command. The two legions which he sent were not those which had been trained by himself, but IV. and XII., which had remained behind in Syria, and were quite inefficient. Moreover, he is said to have given secret instructions to the two commanders, to whom he committed the charge of the legions, "to act with deliberation rather than with expedition, for he would rather have war on hand than prosecute it." He himself prepared to cross the Euphrates, and meet Vologeses. But the Parthian monarch, again, as so often before, shrank from war at the last moment. The attack of his general upon Tigranocerta had been completely unsuccessful. He opened negotiations, and declared himself ready to fulfil the conditions of the treaty which had been proposed in 55 A.D., and let his brother hold Armenia as vassal of the

Roman Emperor. Corbulo accepted the proposal, withdrew his legions from Armenia, gave up the cause of Tigranes (61 A.D.), and permitted Tiridates to resume his possession of the land. It was said, by some, and it is not improbable, that there was a secret understanding between Corbulo and Vologeses. In any case these proceedings of Corbulo cannot be justified. He may have honestly thought that the arrangement which he twice attempted to make with Vologeses was the best solution of the Armenian question; but, once the Roman government had set up Tigranes, he had no right to give up the results which had been won by his own campaigns. Moreover he was at this time only a temporary commander, and Lucius Cæsennius Pætus was already on his way to assume the government of Cappadocia, to which he had been appointed. It is possible that Corbulo was jealous of his successor, and wished to deprive him of the honour of the final subjugation of Armenia. In any case Corbulo did not act in accordance with the views of the government, and when the ambassadors of Vologeses presented themselves at Rome, the treaty was not confirmed. There is some ground for believing that at this moment it was actually contemplated to make Armenia a Roman province, and this certainly was the view of the new governor of Cappadocia.

§ 12. Thus Armenia had to be conquered again. The two legions * which were stationed in Cappadocia were to be reinforced by a legion from Mœsia,† and Pætus, as soon as he arrived in his province, lost no time in setting out. He crossed the Euphrates at Melitene, and marched through Sophene, capturing forts and booty on his way. His first object was the recovery of Tigranocerta, but it was late in the year (62 A.D.), and he was obliged to defer this enterprise until next season, especially as the Mœsian legion had not yet arrived. He established the winter-quarters of the IVth legion at Randeia, a place on the borders of Sophene, close to the Taurus range, and situated on the north bank of the Arsanias (Murad). In the meantime, Corbulo had taken up a position on the banks of the Euphrates, near Zeugma, to prevent the forces of Vologeses from invading Syria. The Parthian king, learning that the two legions of Pætus were not together, that the camp at Randeia was badly supplied with provisions, and that Pætus was granting furloughs indiscriminately to all the soldiers who applied for them, suddenly determined to invade Armenia, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, and surprise the Roman camp before reinforcements could arrive. Corbulo did nothing to

* XII. (Fulminata), one of the two Syrian legions; and IV. (Scythica), which had originally come from Mœsia.

† V. (Macedonica).

hinder the march of the Parthians into Armenia; perhaps he was secretly pleased at the prospect of the other commander getting into difficulties. When Pætus heard that Vologeses was approaching with a large force, he summoned the XIIth legion to his head-quarters, and then fully realised the numerical weakness of his forces. The whole army advanced in the direction from which the Parthians were approaching, but when a centurion and some soldiers, who had been sent on to reconnoitre, were killed in a collision with an advanced party of the enemy, it retreated to the camp. Vologeses did not press on immediately, and Pætus posted a body of 3000 chosen infantry in the pass of Mount Taurus, which the Parthians had yet to pass before they reached Randeia, and also placed the best of his cavalry in the plain to support the legionaries. But these forces were utterly insufficient, and were swept away before the advance of the Parthian army. The unwounded fled to distant wilds; the disabled returned to the camp. Thus Pætus was left, having lost the best part of his army through his ill-considered dispositions; and his forces were still further weakened by the withdrawal of a cohort to the defence of the neighbouring fort of Arsamosata, whither his wife and son had been removed for safety. His only chance of escape lay in speedy succour from Corbulo, to whom he had already sent a pressing message. But Corbulo did not hurry; he was willing to let the peril increase, in order that the glory of rescuing the army might be enhanced. But he ordered 1000 men from each of his three legions,* along with 800 cavalry and about 4000 auxiliary infantry, to be in instant readiness to march. When, however, another message arrived from Pætus, with news of the defeat, and earnestly entreating him to come to save the eagles, he set out, leaving half his army to defend the forts on the Euphrates. He marched straight north from Zeugma, through Commagene and Cappadocia—the route which was shortest and most convenient for obtaining supplies. His army was attended by a large number of camels laden with corn. When he met stragglers from the defeated army, and they alleged various excuses for their flight, he advised them to return to their standards, and throw themselves on the mercy of Pætus. "I," he said, "have no pardon but for the victorious."

In the meantime Vologeses pressed both the fortress of Arsamosata and the camp at Randeia. He tried to lure the legions from their entrenchments, and bring on an engagement. But the Roman soldiers were demoralised, and had no intention of fighting; they only thought of escaping with their lives. They are said to have quoted the historical disasters of Rome, such as the Caudine Forks

* III. (Gallica), VI. (Ferrata), and X. (Fretensis)

and the capitulation of Mancinus at Numantia; and urged that if Romans had yielded to Samnites, it would be no disgrace to capitulate to the greater power of Parthia. The general was forced by this attitude of his troops into treating with the enemy. Yet if he had held out for three days longer his colleague would have arrived with succour. The terms of the capitulation were that the legions should quit Armenia, that the forts and supplies should be surrendered to the Parthians, and a bridge thrown across the river Arsanias to enable them to carry off the booty. The Romans had to submit to much ignominy. The Parthians and Armenians insulted them as they prepared to retire, and their flight was precipitate. Pætus traversed forty miles in a single day, leaving his wounded all along the route. The fugitives met the army of Corbulo on the banks of the Euphrates, near Melitene. "Corbulo made no exhibition of standards and arms, so as to taunt them by the contrast. His maniples, in their grief for the lot of their comrades, could not even refrain from tears; the mutual salutation was hardly interchanged for weeping. Rivalry and desire of glory, emotions which men feel in success, had died away; pity alone prevailed, and was more deeply felt in the lower ranks." *

A short conversation took place between Corbulo and Pætus. The defeated general urged that everything might still be retrieved if the whole army were at once to invade Armenia, from which Vologeses had already departed. Corbulo declined, on the ground that his commission from the Emperor strictly confined him to the limits of Syria, which he had only left on account of the peril of the legions. Pætus then retired to Cappadocia, and Corbulo to Syria, where messages passed between him and Vologeses, and it was agreed that the Roman fortresses on the Parthian bank of the Euphrates were to be abandoned, while on the other hand the Parthian garrisons were to be removed from Armenia.

§ 13. When Pætus first established his quarters at Randeia, he had sent bragging dispatches to Rome, as if he were in possession of the whole country; and trophies and arches were erected at Rome in honour of his supposed successes. The arrival of the envoys of Vologeses early in 63 A.D. exposed the falseness of these pretensions. The letter of the king was moderate, but its tone was that of one who need not condescend to ask for terms. He professed that his brother Tiridates was ready to receive the crown of Armenia as a Roman vassal. Being a Magian priest, Tiridates had a scruple against crossing the sea; otherwise he would have been ready to appear at Rome and receive the diadem from the

* Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv. 16.

Emperor's hand. But he would willingly go to one of the neighbouring camps, and do homage to the standards and the image of the Emperor. The council of Nero rejected this proposal, and sent the envoys back without a formal answer, refusing to accept the terms which were arranged between Corbulo and Vologeses. But they seem to have intimated at the same time that if Tiridates presented himself at Rome in person, an understanding might be effected. But for the present the war was to continue, and preparations were made for it on an unusually large scale.

Pætus was recalled; and Corbulo, who, though his recent behaviour was certainly open to criticism, was justly recognised to be the most capable general, undertook once more the command in Cappadocia, while C. Cestius Gallus replaced him in Syria. He was now entrusted with larger powers than before—perhaps with an *imperium proconsulare*. All the governors and dependent princes of the East were instructed to obey his commands, and his position resembled that which had been formerly held by Germanicus and Vitellius. The army was increased by the XVth legion (Apollinaris) taken from Pannonia. The whole strength of Corbulo's army, taking into account the troops supplied by neighbouring allied princes, probably approached 50,000, and was the most numerous force ever put in the field for an Armenian war. Corbulo crossed the Euphrates, and entered southern Armenia, advancing in the direction of Tigranocerta, and opening up the route which in former days had been followed by Lucullus when he advanced to overthrow Tigranes. He drove from their possessions those Armenian nobles who had led the revolt against Rome, and captured their fortresses. Then Vologeses sent envoys to demand an armistice, and Tiridates proposed a personal interview with the Roman general. Corbulo acceded, and made no objection when Tiridates proposed that the place of meeting should be at Randeia, the scene of the disaster of Pætus. He commanded the son of Pætus, who was a military tribune in his army, to take some troops with him, and cover up the relics of the battlefield. Tiridates and Corbulo, each attended by twenty horsemen, met on the appointed day. It was agreed that the Parthian should take the diadem from his head, place it in front of the Emperor's image, and not resume it until he had formally received it in Rome from the Emperor's own hand. This ceremony was to take place in the presence of both armies and on the very spot where Pætus had capitulated, so that the memory of the disgrace which had then tarnished Roman arms might in some measure be effaced. The interview ended with a kiss. After a few days, the solemnity took place. On one side was ranged the Parthian cavalry with their national decora-

tions; on the other, the legions with glittering eagles, and standards, and images of the gods, set so as to represent a temple. Between the armies was a tribunal supporting a chair of state, on which a statue of Nero was placed. Tiridates advanced, and, having slain the customary victims, removed the diadem from his head and placed it at the foot of the statue. Then Corbulo courteously entertained the king, who prepared to set out for Rome, as soon as he had visited his brothers. This time, Corbulo's favourite scheme succeeded. New statesmen were influential at Rome, and the vanity of the Emperor was gratified by the prospect of giving away the crown of Armenia to a Parthian prince as a humble suppliant. Tiridates, accompanied by 3000 Parthian horsemen, arrived in Rome in 66 A.D. The ceremony of investiture took place in the Forum, where the brother of Vologeses, kneeling at the feet of his overlord, received the crown of Armenia. This settlement of the eastern question lasted for many years. Rome had succeeded in getting rid of a troublesome dependency without losing her prestige or endangering her interests.

§ 14. One more eastern expedition was planned by Nero, but its execution was prevented by his overthrow. It was directed against the Alans, a people who lived north of the Caucasus, and had recently made some plundering excursions in Armenia and Media. The object was probably to occupy the "Caucasian Gate," now known as the Dariel Pass, between Tiflis and Vladikaukas, with a permanent garrison; and this was for the advantage of Parthia as well as for that of Rome. The XIVth legion, which was recalled from Britain, and the I. Italica, newly enrolled for this expedition, were on the way to the east, when they were recalled on account of the revolt of Vindex.

It remains to tell the fate of Corbulo. His prominent position and services seem to have roused the jealousy of Nero, who summoned him to his presence in Greece (67 A.D.). When Corbulo landed at Cenchreæ, he received a message to the effect that he was expected to cease to live. He plunged his sword in his breast, with the words, "I deserve it!" It is impossible to know whether he had given any real ground of suspicion. He was an able soldier, but his merits, perhaps, have been exaggerated. Tacitus, at least, seems to use the meritorious Corbulo as a sort of antithesis to Nero, just as he set up Germanicus as a foil to Tiberius; and the contrast drawn between Corbulo's unerring generalship and the rash incompetence of Pætus is obviously heightened for the sake of artistic effect.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS FOR ARMENIA UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

According to the view of Rawlinson and Egli, Artabanus III. died in 42 A.D.; others placed his death in 43 A.D. (so Saint-Martin); but it may now be regarded as certain (with Mr. Percy Gardner and Gutschmid) that the true date is 40 A.D. It is further probable that after the death of Artabanus, Gotarzes, his son, reigned for a short time before Vardanes (40–41 A.D.); and that Vardanes died in 45 A.D. (whereas his death is generally placed in 48 A.D.). For these dates the Parthian coins are our chief source. There is no evidence to support the supposition of Mommsen, that the immediate successor of Artabanus was the son of the same name mentioned by Tacitus. The surrender of Seleucia is usually placed in the year 46 A.D., but this cannot be right if Vardanes' death is to be placed in 45 A.D.

Tacitus states that the rebellion of Seleucia lasted seven years. Nipperdey's view (approved by Furneaux) that the revolt began in 36 A.D., and the capitulation took place in 43 A.D., is probably right.

With the sending of Meherdates to the East in 49 A.D. we reach firm ground for a moment. It seems clear that Meherdates advanced into Adiabene in spring 50 A.D., that his defeat took place in the same year, and that Gotarzes died in 51 A.D. (But Egli holds that all these events took place in 49 A.D.) The date of the accession of Vologeses is variously placed in 51 A.D. and 52 A.D. (Egli), but the former year is doubtless right. The intrigues of Radamistus in Iberia (placed by Saint-Martin in 50) began in 51; the Iberian invasion of Armenia took place in the following year; and the Parthian intervention in 53 (see Furneaux, p. 106).

The chronology of the first campaigns of Corbulo is still more perplexing. (1) Egli places the meeting of Corbulo with Tiridates on April 29th, 59 A.D., and the capture of Artaxata and the surrender of Tigranocerta in the same year. This view may be rejected at once. It is founded on a misconception. Tacitus, after describing the meeting of Corbulo and Tiridates, mentions a *miraculum*, which Egli identifies with the solar eclipse of April 30th, 59 A.D. But if Tacitus had meant an eclipse, he would not have so described it; and Mommsen has pointed out that a campaign in that climate could not have begun so early. (2) Mommsen thinks that the taking of Artaxata is to be placed in 59 A.D., that of Tigranocerta, in the following year. (3) Mr. Furneaux's view seems, on the whole, to involve fewest difficulties. He makes Corbulo enter Armenia in 57 A.D., capture Artaxata in 58 A.D., winter there 58–59 A.D., and march to Tigranocerta 59 A.D. The only serious difficulty is that Tacitus does not mention the wintering at Artaxata, but writes as if that place were razed to the ground immediately after its capture.

B.—THE SITE OF TIGRANOCERTA.

This disputed question is well summed up by Mr. Furneaux (in his note on Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 50. 8) as follows:

Tacitus who may probably be following Corbulo, gives one very definite statement, that it was thirty-seven miles from Nisibis, and places it on the Nicephorius, described by him as a considerable stream, and given by Pliny as a chief tributary of the Upper Tigris; but all the principal branches of that river flow into it from the north and at considerably greater distance from Nisibis than that specified. Again the statement of Strabo, that it lay at the foot of Mount Masius, in a similar position to that of Nisibis, is inconsistent with Pliny's statement that it was "in excelso" [on a high eminence.]

(1) Egli, supposing that the city was built to command the Bitlis pass, places it at Sert on the Bitlis-Su. This disregards completely the statements of Tacitus and Strabo.

(2) Others placed it at Tell-Abad, or some other place within the basin of the Tigris on the northern side of Masius. This accords fairly with the statement of Tacitus as to the distance from Nisibis, but the streams there are too small to answer to the Nicephorius.

(3) Professor Sachau, travelling in the country in 1879–1880, found considerable remains at Tell-Ermen, a little south-west of Mardin, quite thirty-seven miles from Nisibis, and on a river. This site would agree with the data of Tacitus and Strabo, but not with Pliny's connection of the Nicephorius with the Tigris. Professor Sachau's view now holds the field.

C.—LEGIONS UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

At the death of Augustus the number of legions was twenty-five, and remained at that under Tiberius and Gaius. Claudius in making arrangements for the conquest of Britain, added one new legion, XXII. Primigenia, and under Nero three new legions were formed, XV. Primigenia, I. Italica, and the Legio Classica, which afterwards probably became the I. Adjutrix. Thus at the death of Nero there were twenty-nine legions, and they were distributed as follows (Pfitzner, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserlegionen*, p. 45):

Spain: VI. Victrix.
Germany, Lower: I. Germanica, V. Alauda, X. Gemina, XVI.
Germany, Upper: IV. Macedonica, XXI., XXII. Primigenia.
Britain II. Augusta, IX., XX. Victrix.
Pannonia: XIII. Gemina.
Mœsia: III. Gallica.
Syria: IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata.
Judea: V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis XV. Apollinaris.
Egypt: III. Cyrenaica, XXII. Deiotariana.
Africa: III. Augusta.
Gaul: I. Italica.
Rome: Legio Classica.
Northern Italy: VII. Claudia, VIII Augusta, XI. Claudia, XV. Primigenia.
On its way from Britain to join the Eastern Expedition: XIV. Gemina.

Coin of Arsaces

Galba.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRINCIPATE OF GALBA, AND THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS (68–69 A.D.).

§ 1. Position of affairs at the death of Nero. Proclamation of GALBA. § 2. Advance of Galba to Rome. Nymphidius Sabinus. § 3. Character of Galba and his principate. His financial measures. § 4. Mutiny in Upper Germany. Galba's adoption of Piso. § 5. Conspiracy of Otho. Deaths of Galba and Piso. Elevation of OTHO. § 6. Vitellius proclaimed Imperator in Lower Germany. § 7. Vitellius' plan of campaign. Valens and Cæcina. § 8. Difficult position of Otho. Measures of his reign. § 9. Vitellius invades Italy. Preparations. Battle of Locus Castorum. First battle of Betriacum. § 10. Death of Otho. Verginius Rufus declines the Empire. The Othonians submit. § 11. VITELLIUS arrives at Rome. § 12. Measures and character of his principate. Increase of the prætorian guards. § 13. The armies of the East. Mucianus. Vespasian, § 14. is proclaimed Imperator, and prepares for war. § 15. Advance of Mucianus to Italy. Antonius Primus. § 16. First successes of the Flavians. Preparations of Vitellius. § 17. Cæcina's plan of campaign. Second battle of Betriacum. § 18. Destruction of Cremona. Capture of Valens. § 19. Campania deserts Vitellius. Battle in Rome. The Flavians besieged by Vitellians in the Capitol. Burning of the Capitol. Slaughter of Flavius Sabinus. Primus enters Rome. Death of Vitellius. § 20. VESPASIAN accepted by the senate. § 21. Notable points in the civil wars of 69 A.D.

SECT. I.—GALBA AND PISO.

§ 1. IT has been already explained that with the death of a Princeps the Principate ceases until a successor is duly elected. This constitutional principle was exhibited in an unusually clear light at the death of Nero; for the interval, the *interprincipate*, so to speak, lasted seven days. And the circumstances were unpre-

cedented. Hitherto the state had been practically, though not theoretically, "the inheritance, as it were, of one family."* But Nero had neither begotten nor adopted a son, and at his death there was no one belonging to the Julian or Claudian family to claim the allegiance of the prætorian guards and the suffrages of the senate. Consequently there arose many pretenders to the Principate, and there may have been even some thoughts of restoring the Republic, though this was hardly seriously contemplated. It was a moment, at least, when people talked much of "the senate and the Roman people;" but the actual decision lay in the hands of the armies. But the armies were not at one; and the result was a series of civil wars, in the course of which four Emperors rapidly succeeded one another, within the space of less than a year.

The prætorian soldiers had declared for Galba, and to him most eyes in Rome and probably in Italy looked. Having equipped himself for a contest of whose issue he despaired, Galba was waiting at Clunia in Tarraconensis, supported by the counsels of Otho, Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco. His freedman, Icelus, who was acting in his interests at Rome, arrived with the news of Nero's death seven days after the event, and Galba assumed the title of Cæsar. The creation of an Emperor in the provinces was a new departure, and it served to give men a glimpse into the real conditions on which the Empire depended. "A secret of the Empire was revealed," according to a famous saying of Tacitus, "that a Princeps could be made elsewhere than at Rome."

§ 2. The progress of the new Princeps to Rome was slow and stained with bloodshed. He was recognised by the senate, who sent a deputation which met him at Narbo Martius; but rival candidates for the supreme power sprang up on all sides, some formidable, others insignificant. The pretenders who arose in Spain and Gaul were easily disposed of: but more formidable were the pretensions of Fonteius Capito, the legatus of Lower Germany, and of Clodius Macer, the governor of Africa. Macer professedly aimed at restoring the Republic, and issued coins with the inscription *pro prætore*, in the republican style.† He was killed by the imperial procurator at Galba's instigation. Capito was slain by some of his officers who supported Galba, but without Galba's orders. The army of Upper Germany regarded with hostility the Emperor who had been elevated in Spain, and still desired to elevate their own general, Verginius Rufus, but he persisted in his refusal. Galba, however, fearing his popularity with the army, summoned

* Tacitus: *quasi hereditas unius familiæ.*

† But perhaps he did this merely as a constitutional formality.

him to his presence, and forced him to accompany him to Rome.

Meanwhile the prætorian prefect Nymphidius Sabinus made an attempt to seize the Empire for himself. He supported his claim by pretending to be an illegitimate son of the Emperor Gaius. But he miscalculated his influence with the prætorians, who swore fidelity to Galba, and he was cut to pieces. The chief supporter of Nymphidius was the consul designate, Cingonius Varro, and he was put to death by Galba's order. The slaughter of Petronius Turpilianus was also commanded, without any form of trial, because Nero had appointed him commander of his forces. When Galba approached Rome (in October) he was met at the Milvian bridge by marine soldiers, who had been enrolled by Nero. Galba seems to have regarded them as enemies, and ordered his soldiers to charge them, and entered the city over their bodies. Thus the path of the new Emperor was stained with blood.

§ 3. Servius Sulpicius Galba* was a man of family and wealth. The senate had reason to see in his elevation the prospect of a return to constitutional government. There is evidence to show that he wished to model his policy on that of Augustus. But he was not strong enough to hold his own. His talents were of very mediocre quality, and he has been described as rather free from vices than distinguished by virtues. He cared little for fame, nor was he grasping, though he was parsimonious to a fault. He was much under the influence of his friends and freedmen, and in difficulties depended on the advice of others more than on himself. His apparent wisdom was often mere indolence. But he was not equal to the greatness which was perhaps thrust upon him. "All," says Tacitus, "would have agreed that he was fitted for empire, if he had not been an Emperor." † His short principate is marked by a succession of blunders. In the first place, his policy in Gaul had been unwise. He identified his own cause with the abortive revolt of Vindex, and while he rewarded those cities which had joined in that movement, he punished Lugudunum, the Treveri, the Lingones, and other communities which had remained faithful to Nero. This policy alienated the Germanic legions. In Rome the severity of Galba, and especially his treatment of the marine soldiers, produced a bad impression,

* Galba, having been adopted by his stepmother Livia Ocelina, took the name Livius, changed his prænomen, and called himself Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba until his accession. Then he reassumed his original name. The order of names in his imperial title varies. We find *Imp. Serv. Galba Cæsar Aug.*; *Ser. Galba Imperator Cæsar Augustus*; *Cæsar Augustus Galba Imperator*; *Galba Imp.*, &c.

† Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset (*Hist.*, i. 49).

and his strict ideas of discipline were not popular. He alienated the prætorian guards by refusing to give them the donative which Nymphidius had promised in his name.

Nero had left an empty treasury, and the financial measures which Galba resorted to were very ill-advised. On the one hand he remitted a tax of 2½ per cent., of which the nature is unknown. But on the other he made an attempt to force those who had profited by Nero's liberality to disgorge their booty. He appointed a commission to exact from those who had received presents from Nero nine-tenths of the amount. But as most of these persons had spent their fortunes as lightly as they had gained them, the commission had very little result for its labours. Then Galba commanded that application should be made to those who had received any money from the favourites of Nero, an absurd measure which led to endless lawsuits. And besides being unprofitable, this policy was injurious, for it created many enemies to the Emperor. Moreover the parsimony of Galba verged on meanness, and was unfavourably contrasted with the open-handedness of his predecessor. It was rendered all the more glaring by the rapacity of the three men on whose counsels he leaned, Vinius, Laco, and Icelus. He had appointed Laco prætorian prefect, and he had raised his freedman Icelus to equestrian rank. Vinius was designated as his colleague in the consulship for the year 69. These three exerted such an influence over Galba, that they were called his "three pedagogues." Another circumstance which increased the dissatisfaction with Galba was that he spared Tigellinus, for whose slaughter Rome was clamouring. The freedmen, who had been the intimate advisers of Nero, were put to death; but Vinius, who was betrothed to the daughter of Tigellinus, a widow with a large fortune, exerted his influence to save him.

§ 4. Soon after the 1st of January, 69 A.D., disquieting news of a mutiny in the army of Upper Germany reached Rome. Galba had replaced Verginius by Hordeonius Flaccus, an old general, who was incapable of maintaining discipline. Galba was in a difficulty. He had no forces which he could trust to oppose this movement. The prætorians were lukewarm; the Spanish legion (VII. Galbiana) had been sent to Pannonia; and he had dismissed the German bodyguard of his predecessor. There were some divisions of Germanic and Illyric legions temporarily stationed at Rome, but they were small and uncertain. Galba was decided by his advisers to adopt a consort in the Empire. This course might satisfy the wishes of the German army, who clamoured for a new Imperator. Two names were proposed as candidates for association in the Principate. Vinius supported the claims of Otho; but Laco, who

always opposed Vinius, and Icelus recommended Piso Licinianus. The consultations of this "comitia of the *imperium*" * ended in the choice of Piso. He was of ancient lineage and high character, but he was unpopular, and under the circumstances his choice was a mistake. He was adopted under the name Ser. Sulpicius Galba Cæsar, on January 10th; but the measure did not in the least tend to conciliate the soldiery. When the old Emperor announced his choice to the prætorians in a storm of rain and thunder, and appealed to the example of Augustus, who had in a like way associated with himself Agrippa and Tiberius, the soldiers maintained a sullen silence; only the officers and the front ranks uttered the acclamations which made Piso an Imperator. On this occasion Galba might have retrieved his first mistake of not giving a donative, but on this point he was obstinate. In the senate Piso's election was received with approbation.

§ 5. But while this measure of Galba failed in its intended effect, it stirred up against him an active enemy in the person of M. Salvius Otho, who had supported Galba from the first, and was indignant that Piso was preferred to himself. He had been embittered by the long years of exile in Lusitania to which Nero had condemned him; he was weary of restraint; he was deeply involved in debt; and was ready to risk his life unsparingly for the chance of sovranty. Moreover he was afraid of the jealousy of Piso; and his ambitious plans were fostered by soothsayers and astrologers, to whose influence he was subject. The enterprise too, seemed hopeful, owing to the general dissatisfaction with the government of Galba. Those who were beginning to regret the golden days of Nero might hope for their revival under the rule of the luxurious Otho. The guards were easily corrupted by two of their number who had embraced the cause of Otho. "Two manipulars," says Tacitus, "undertook to transfer the empire of the Roman people, and they did transfer it."

The decisive moment came on the morning of the 15th of January. Galba was sacrificing before the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and the omens were inauspicious, portending, the aruspex said, a foe in his own household. Otho was standing by, when a freedman announced to him according to a preconcerted signal, that his engineer awaited him. The conspirator immediately descended through the house of Tiberius, on the north-west side of the Palatine, and made his way to the golden milestone in the Forum. Here he was met by twenty-three soldiers, who hailed him as Imperator, placed him in a litter, and hurried him to the camp. Galba meanwhile was still "importuning the gods of an empire no

* Comitia imperii (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 14).

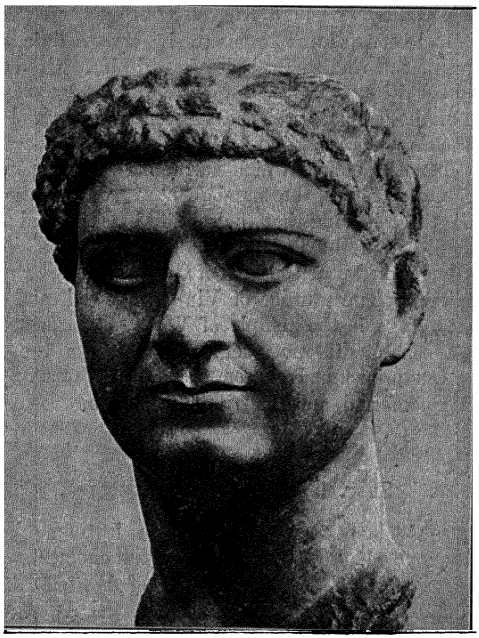
longer his," when the news of Otho's entry into the camp reached him. After much irresolution it was decided that Piso should precede Galba to the camp, and attempt to quell the mutiny. Then a false report came that Otho had been slain, and the Emperor no longer hesitated. Accompanied by a cohort and a large multitude of the populace, who had declared themselves on his side, he set out for the camp. Before he left the Palatine, a soldier ran up to him with a bloody sword, crying that he had killed Otho. "Fellow-soldier," said Galba, "who ordered you?" But there in the meantime Otho had been saluted Imperator by the prætorians, and the regiment of marine soldiers had also joined him. Otho armed the troops, and led them from the camp into the city, to suppress the opposition of the populace and the senators. Galba and Piso had halted in the Forum, uncertain whether to advance or to return to the palace. When the cohort which surrounded Galba perceived the advance of Otho's forces, the standard-bearer dashed the *imago* to the ground, thus showing that the soldiers sympathised with Otho. The people fled from the Forum. The litter in which Galba was borne was overturned near the Pool of Curtius, and the Emperor was hewn in pieces. The murder of Vinius followed, and Piso, who had sought refuge in the temple of Vesta, was dragged out and slain. The senate did not delay to recognise the Imperator whom the prætorians had chosen. The title of Augustus was immediately conferred, and the tribunician power decreed.

Sect. II.—Otho and Vitellius.

§ 6. But a rival to Otho* was already in the field. While these things were enacted at Rome, events of great moment were taking place in Germany. After the murder of Fonteius Capito, the legatus of Lower Germany, Galba had selected Aulus Vitellius to take his place. This Vitellius was the son of Lucius Vitellius, who had commanded in the east under Tiberius, and been censor with Claudius. Aulus had gained the favour of Nero, had been proconsul and legatus in Africa, but was little fitted for the post for which Galba had chosen him. He was insignificant and good-natured, sensual and indolent. He had no ambition, but circumstances led him to the supreme power. The legions of both Lower and Upper Germany were discontented with the rule of Galba. They were jealous, because he had been created by the Spanish legion, and they did not see why they too should not make an Imperator. The recall of Verginius had especially exasperated the

* Imp. M. Otho Cæsar Augustus.

troops of the Upper province and on the kalends of January the IVth and XXIInd legions at Moguntiacum had refused to take the oath of allegiance to Galba, and had placed themselves, as Galba himself had done, when he threw off the yoke of Nero, at the disposal of the senate and the Roman people. The governor Hordeonius did not venture to interfere. But it was in the Lower province that a candidate for the Empire was found. On the same



Otho.

night the news from Moguntiacum reached Vitellius as he was supping at Colonia. He immediately sent messengers to the legions of his own province in their various quarters. I. Germanica was stationed at Bonna; V. Alauda and XV. Primigenia at Vetera, and XVI. Gallica at Novæsium. On the next day Fabius Valens, legatus of legion I., arrived from Bonna with some horse-soldiers, and saluted Vitellius as Imperator. On the following day (January 3rd) the Upper army, which had not found a candidate of its own, abandoned the empty and high-sounding names of the senate and the Roman people, and acknowledged Vitellius. The ardour of the

troops was emulated by the provincials of Colonia, the Treveri, and the Lingones (whose city is now represented by Langres). Valerius Asiaticus, the legatus of Belgica, and Blæsus, the governor of Gallia Lugudunensis, along with legion I. Italica, which properly belonged to Upper Germany, but was then stationed at Lugudunum, declared themselves for the new Imperator. Vitellius himself was perhaps the least enthusiastic of all. He took little active part in the preparations for overthrowing Galba, and entrusted the conduct of his cause to his officers, especially to Aulus Cæcina Alienus in the Upper province and C. Fabius Valens in the Lower. Cæcina was a young, strong, able, ambitious and popular legatus.

§ 7. It was decided to advance upon Italy and Rome, and the armament was divided into three parts. Cæcina, at the head of 36,000 men, was to cross the Pennine Alps; Valens, with 40,000, was to march through Gaul, and penetrate by the Cottian pass; and both were to join their forces at Cremona. Vitellius, with the main body of the army, was to come slowly after. His presence was not required, for the troops were so excited that they needed no stimulus. The cause of Vitellius found great sympathy in those parts of Gaul which had declared against Vindex, and had been punished by Galba. The progress of Valens was marked by rapacity and military licence. All the cities through which he passed were required to furnish a contribution to the expedition, and special severity was shown to places like Augustodunum and Vienna, which had found favour with Galba. Cæcina's march lay through the highlands of the Helvetii, who resented the licence of the soldiers. The natives were fierce, and the course of the army was marked by slaughter. The Helvetii were at length driven into their town Aventicum (Avenches), and yielded only to the menace of a siege.

But before the army of Vitellius reached Italy, the murder of Galba and accession of Otho had altered the position of affairs. Otho prepared to meet the armies of his rival, but he first made overtures to Vitellius, offering him a quiet and luxurious retreat, if he retired from the field. If the decision had lain with Vitellius himself, this offer would probably have been accepted, but it really lay with the army, and the army had no intention of retreating. The question could only be decided by arms. Most of the western provinces declared for Vitellius: the three Gauls, Narbonensis, Rætia, and Britain. Otho was recognised in Spain and Illyricum; but Spain soon deserted him, and then the west was entirely on the side of his rival. Thus Otho had the prætorians and the four legions of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mœsia to oppose to the forces of Vitellius. Besides this, he obtained the recognition of

the eastern provinces, of Egypt and Africa, though he could look for no active support from those quarters. It is highly probable that he would have come off victorious in the conflict which followed if he had acted with promptitude, and entrusted the supreme military command to one competent general. He was no soldier himself, but he had at his disposal several able officers, such as Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Vestricius Spurinna. Instead of trusting them, he listened to the counsels of Licinius Proculus, the prætorian prefect, who was inexperienced in warfare. And instead of hastening to occupy the passes of the Alps before the enemy reached the frontiers of Italy, he delayed in Rome.

§ 8. The position of Otho was a difficult one for a man, who, like him, had little talent for ruling men. He was embarrassed by the veiled hostility of the senators, who regretted Galba, a man after their own heart, and, while they were obliged to accept Otho, would have been pleased at his fall. Otho endeavoured to conciliate them, and strictly observed their privileges, but in vain. And the difficulty was aggravated by the hostility of the prætorians to the senators. On one occasion a party of nobles, whom Otho was entertaining, were almost murdered by the soldiers, who suspected them of a conspiracy against the Emperor. The remarkable circumstance that no copper coinage was issued by the senate under Otho may be partly explained by the fact that he was not made Pontifex Maximus until March 9. The senate may have delayed until he received the full number of the imperial titles. The enthusiasm of the populace, who greeted Otho as Nero and looked for a revival of Nero's liberal policy, did not tend to conciliate the senators. Otho even adopted the name Nero officially, but gave it up again in deference to the feelings of the senate. He sacrificed Tigellinus, whom Galba had spared, to the public hatred. The prætorian soldiers were also a difficulty. They were conscious that Otho owed his position to them, and depended on their support, as his best arm in the coming struggle. It was therefore impossible to oppose them or maintain strict discipline. He had placed himself in a false position at the beginning by allowing them to choose their own prefects.

In the two months which elapsed between the accession of Otho and his departure from the city, there are few acts of general policy to record. Occupied with preparations for the war, he had little time for government. In Spain the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita were strengthened. The province of Bætica was increased in extent by the addition of some districts in the land beyond the strait. Africa and Cappadocia received various privileges. An invasion of Mœsia by the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe, was

repelled, and the victorious officers were rewarded by Otho with high distinctions. In these measures, we can see the aim of Otho to strengthen his political position.

§ 9. The civil war began in March. The republic had not been rent by domestic struggles, Italy had not been exposed to the disasters of warfare, since the terrible years which followed the great Cæsar's death. Men remembered Philippi, Mutina, and Perusia, and looked with horror to a repetition of such scenes, And the prospect was all the worse, as neither of the chiefs, for whom so much blood was to be shed, was worth fighting for. As candidates for the government of the republic, both the dissolute Otho and the gluttonous Vitellius were contemptible. They were instruments, it seemed, "chosen by fate for the ruin of the state." But while Vitellius was torpid, Otho at least was active. When the time for action came, he threw off luxury, marched on foot, rough and unkempt, at the head of his troops, "quite unlike himself."* He set out from the city on the 14th of March, leaving his brother Titianus in charge at Rome, and forcing a number of senators, whom he feared to leave behind, to accompany him.

The object of the Vitellians was to gain possession of Rome. Until their chief was recognised there, by the people and the senate, it was felt that he was only a pretender. The object of Otho was to prevent his enemy from crossing the Padus, the second defence of Italy; for the Alps, its first defence, had already been passed by Cæcina. For this purpose Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna had been sent on in advance, with a force consisting of five prætorian cohorts, and the remainder of the *legio classica* (numbered I.) which had escaped the sword of Galba, besides a corps of 2000 gladiators. They expected to be reinforced by 8000 men, sent forward from the four legions of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which were themselves following at leisure. Otho followed with the rest of the prætorians and a large number of marines. By his fleet he commanded the west coast of Italy, and was assured of the adhesion of Corsica and Sardinia. A division of troops was sent to seize the district of the Maritime Alps and attack the province of Narbonensis. The procurator of the Maritime district attempted resistance; and the irritated soldiers vented their wrath on the town of Albintimilium, (Ventimiglia). The cities of Narbonensis, especially Forumjulii, sent

* Juvenal indeed describes him as carrying a mirror, an emblem of effeminacy, with him on this expedition, *Sat.*, ii. 99:

Speculum pathici gestamen Othonis,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat
Armatum cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet
Res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
Historia speculum civilis sarcina belli.

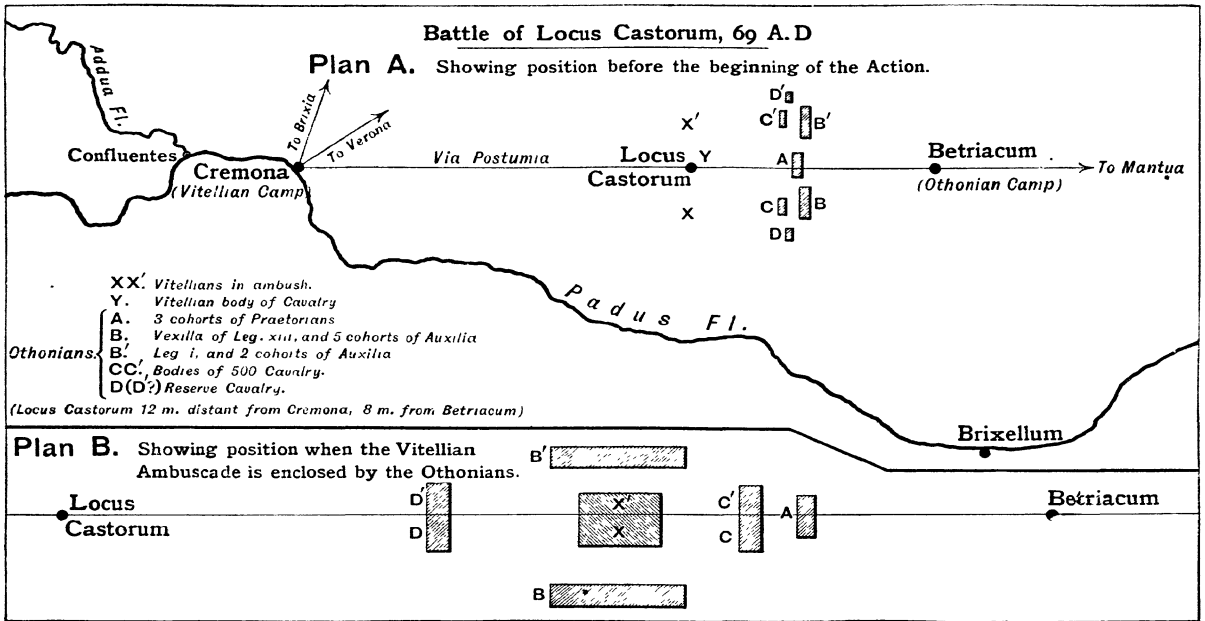
for aid to Valens, who was advancing to join Cæcina. In the battles which ensued, the Vitellian party was worsted, but the Othonians retreated to Albingaunum (Albenga), an inland city of Liguria. The beginnings of the war in this quarter were prosperous for Otho.

When Cæcina entered Cisalpine Gaul, he had won the adhesion of a squadron of cavalry which was stationed in that region and known as the *ala Siliana*. Along with it the municipal towns of Mediolanum, Eporedia, Novaria, and Vercellæ, embraced the cause of Vitellius, and the invaders held most of the land between the Padus and the Alps. The communication between Rome and Illyricum, however, was uninterrupted. One of those cohorts of the Pannonian army which had been sent on in advance was captured by the Vitellians at Cremona, and some other divisions of the Othonians were discomfited near Ticinum; but the first serious engagement took place at Placentia, which was defended by Vestricius Spurinna. Cæcina himself had crossed the river to capture it, but the assault—in the course of which a large amphitheatre outside the town was consumed by fire—was unsuccessful. Cæcina was forced to retire to his camp near Cremona. Meanwhile, Annius Gallus was hastening to relieve Placentia, but on hearing that the enemy had been repelled, he took up a position at Betriacum,* a place lying between Cremona and Mantua, and distant about two days' march from Verona. About the same time the Othonian corps of gladiators under Marcius Macer crossed over to the north bank of the Padus, near Cremona, and defeated a body of Vitellian auxiliaries. It was thought that this success should have been followed up; the commanders, Gallus, Suetonius and Celsus, were severely criticised by their own party, and their fidelity to Otho was questioned. In consequence of these suspicions the Emperor was led to summon his brother Titianus from Rome, and make him commander-in-chief.

But before he arrived, the Othonians achieved another success, which might have decided the war in their favour, but for the ill-judgment or treachery of Suetonius Paulinus. This general and Marius Celsus had joined forces with Gallus at Betriacum. Cæcina, disgusted with his failure at Placentia and anxious to gain a victory before the arrival of his colleague Valens, determined to bring on an action, and with this intent placed an ambush of picked auxiliaries in woods overhanging the Postumian Way, at a place

* Mommsen has shown that this is the right spelling of the name. It is generally spelt Bedriacum. In the texts of Juvenal we find another form—Bebriacum (*Sat.*, ii. 105), where he says of Otho:

Summi constantia civis
Bebriaci campo spolium effectare Palati



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called *Locus Castorum* (from a temple of Castor and Pollux), twelve miles from Cremona. Some cavalry were detached to advance along the road, and lure the enemy to the spot. But the Othonian generals got intelligence of this stratagem, and skilfully arranged a counter-stratagem. Gallus had been hurt by a fall from his horse; accordingly Celsus and Paulinus divided the command, Paulinus taking the infantry, and Celsus the cavalry. They drew up their army on this wise: three prætorian cohorts were placed in columns on the road itself, and formed the centre of the array; on the left were posted the advance body (2000 strong) of the XIIIth legion from Pannonia, with five auxiliary cohorts and 500 cavalry; on the right stood I. Classica with two auxiliary cohorts and likewise 500 cavalry. A body of a thousand picked horsemen was placed in reserve. When the Vitellians, according to their plan, pretended to retreat in order to draw their opponents into the ambuscade, Celsus kept his men from advancing too far, and when the ambushed troops, sure of success, rushed out, he gradually retreated and drew them on into the snare which had been prepared for them. When Celsus and his cavalry, hotly pursued by the enemy, reached the three prætorian cohorts stationed on the Via Postumia, the legionary soldiers, who were right and left of the Via, advanced and closed up in front, so as to oppose a continuous line to the pursuers. At the same time the auxiliary cohorts on both sides were pushed forward, so as to take the Vitellians in the flanks. Finally the reserve body of cavalry was dispatched to ride round and come on them in the rear, so that they were completely enclosed in the well-contrived snare. But Suetonius, for whatever reason, did not act with sufficient promptitude. He wasted time in preliminaries, and did not give the signal to the infantry to attack, until many of the Vitellians had time to seek refuge in the vineyards adjacent to the road, where it was impossible to use the *pila* freely. But when the infantry of Suetonius at length attacked they carried all before them. Cæcina brought up his cohorts one by one, and each by itself was too weak to withstand the assault of the Othonians. Cæcina and his whole army, it was said, might have been annihilated, if Suetonius had not sounded a retreat, and hindered his troops from attempting to carry the enemy's camp at Cremona. Some suspected him of treachery.

Valens had already arrived at Ticinum, and soon after this defeat pushed on to join forces with Cæcina at Cremona. Meanwhile Otho came himself to Betriacum and held a council of war. Suetonius, Gallus, and Marius Celsus, were of opinion that a general engagement should not be risked until the arrival of the

Illyric legions, which in discipline and valour were a match for the troops of the Rhine. But Otho could not endure to wait longer for the decision of his fate; and Titianus and Proculus, who perhaps thought more of his wishes than his interests, voted for immediate action. Otho then retired to Brixellum (Bresello), and the army, which was now commanded nominally by Titianus, but really by Proculus, advanced westward from Betriacum and encamped four miles nearer Cremona. The ultimate strategical object seems to have been to reach the confluence of the Padus and the Addua, two hours west of Cremona, so as to sever the communication between that city and Ticinum. Yet it is hardly credible that even Titianus would have conceived anything so rash as a flank-march past the enemy stationed at Cremona. The messages of Otho, who was growing more and more impatient, induced his brother, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the more experienced generals, to advance further in the direction of the enemy.

Meanwhile the Vitellians had been occupied in building a bridge across the Padus, near the mouth of the Addua. Marcius Macer with his gladiators had endeavoured to prevent them and a struggle had taken place for the possession of an island in midstream, in which the gladiators were worsted by Batavian troops. They blamed Macer for this discomfiture, and he was with difficulty rescued from their vengeance. Flavius Sabinus was appointed in his stead, with a general command over the Othonian forces south of the river.

On the 15th April, Cæcina who had been hurrying on the building of the bridge, returned to Cremona, to find that the Othonian forces had arrived within four miles of the place, that a body of their cavalry had attacked the camp, and that Valens had given the signal to march forth to fight. The battle which ensued —generally called the battle of Betriacum, though more correctly the battle of Cremona—is far less interesting from a military point of view than that of *Locus Castorum*, although, as things turned out, it decided the war. A report was spread that the Vitellians had abandoned their cause, and the Othonians grounded their arms and hailed them as friends. But they were soon undeceived. The fighting took place on the highroad and in the groves and vineyards on either side. The contending parties were equally matched, and on Otho's side the *legio classica* displayed conspicuous bravery. But there was no general action. The battle consisted of a series of desultory conflicts. The result was undecided until Otho's generals fled, and at the same moment reinforcements arrived for the Vitellians in the shape of the Batavian cohorts which had

recently routed the gladiators. Their flank attack was decisive. The defeated army fled along the high-road to their camp and next morning capitulated.

§ 10. Otho awaited the result at Brixellum, guarded by some divisions of the prætorians. The defeat at Cremona was not in itself necessarily decisive of the war. He had still every chance of retrieving his fortunes, with the help of the approaching legions from Illyricum. But he was weary of the uncertainty, and when the news of defeat came, he made up his mind to die. He did not think of his obligations to the troops which fought for him; perhaps he felt unable to trust his generals. In the evening he called for two daggers, of which he chose the sharper, and placed it beneath his pillow. Having slept for some hours, he drew forth the weapon at daybreak, and fell upon it. His dying groan was heard, and when his slaves rushed in, they found their master dead (April 17). If in the effeminacy of his life he was supposed to resemble Nero, the resolution which he displayed in his death contrasted with Nero's ignoble end.* His body was immediately placed on a pyre, and some of the prætorians slew themselves on the spot. The ashes were buried under a humble monument.

The prætorians at Brixellum then offered the Empire to Verginius Rufus, who was in attendance on Otho, and he declined their offer, as he had before refused that of the legions of Germany. No course remained but submission to Vitellius. The victorious armies plundered and desolated the Italian cities, which had already been exhausted by the soldiers of Otho, and Valens and Cæcina did not attempt to hinder the rapine. In Rome the news of Otho's death was received with joy. The senate met and decreed to Vitellius all the imperial titles by a single act (April 19). Just as Otho had been regarded as the successor of Nero, Vitellius was considered the successor of Galba. The images of Galba were borne, crowned with flowers, to the spot in the Forum where he had fallen. Everything was done to conciliate the Germanic legions, to whose approach Rome looked forward with dread.

Sect. III.—Vitellius and Vespasian.

§ 11. Vitellius himself meanwhile had been moving, with characteristic torpor, through Gaul. He had with him about

* The death of Otho made an impression on the Romans. It is celebrated in an epigram of the poet Martial (vi. 32):

Cum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo
Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem
Et fodit certa pectora tota manu.
Sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Cæsare maior;
Dum moritur, numquid maior Othone fuit?

60,000 men, including the strength of the Germanic armies and some divisions which had been sent from Britain. The tidings of victory reached him at the same time as the announcement that the Mauretanian provinces had declared for him. Lucceius Albinus had been appointed procurator of Cæsariensis by Nero, and the Tingitane province had been added to his sway by Galba. On Galba's death he embraced the cause of Otho, and threatened Spain. But Cluvius Rufus, the legatus of Tarraconensis, on whom it devolved to provide for the military protection of Bætica, succeeded in slaying Albinus and his chief supporters. It was said that Albinus had some thought of reviving for himself the royal title which had expired with King Juba.

The Imperator descended the river Arar in a barge, and at Lugudunum was met by his victorious generals, Valens and Cæcina. Here he conferred his own title of Germanicus upon his infant son. The vengeance of Vitellius chiefly fell upon subordinate officers, especially those of the Illyrian legions, which were sent back to their stations. His rival's brother Titianus, Suetonius, Proculus, and Marius Celsus, were all spared. Vitellius, perhaps, did not forget that his own wife and children had been spared by Otho. The XIVth legion, which had been removed from Britain by Nero, was now sent back there. The *legio classica* was dispatched to Spain. The prætorian guard was disbanded, and a new guard formed from the Germanic soldiers, who demanded this promotion in return for their services. Thus the principle, that the prætorians should consist only of Italian levies, was transgressed. The new guard consisted of 16 cohorts of 1000 men each, instead of 9 as before. The four urban cohorts were also organised anew. Rome was overrun by soldiers. Besides the new guards, there were 4 legions,* 4 divisions of other legions,† 34 cohorts of auxilia, and 12 squadrons of cavalry, all of which had entered Rome with the victor and treated it as a captured city.

§ 12. The administration of Vitellius was better than might have been expected from the licence of his subordinates. He filled the offices of his household with knights, not with freedmen. He respected the independence of the senate and attended its meetings. When he was opposed in the curia, he observed, that it was not strange that two senators should differ; that he himself had sometimes dissented from Thrasea. He forbade processes for *maiestas*, and confirmed the privileges which had been granted by his predecessors. He also made laws against the practice of

* I. Italica, V. Alauda, XXI. Rapax, XXII. Primigenia.

† I. Germanica, IV. Macedonica, XV. Primigenia, XVI. Gallica.

Roman knights degrading themselves by fighting in the arena, and banished astrologers from Italy. Whereas Galba and Otho had adopted the cognomen Cæsar as part of their imperial style, Vitellius refused to affiliate himself thus to the Julian dynasty.* He had postponed the assumption of the title Augustus, but it was pressed on him when he arrived in Rome. On the other hand he permitted a perpetual consulship to be decreed to him. In regard to his attitude to the senate, it is important to remark that he dated his accession (*dies imperii*), not from the day on which the army had saluted him Imperator, but from the decree of the senate, after Otho's death.† But the real power lay with Valens and Cæcina. They encouraged the Emperor in the coarse sensuality to which he was naturally addicted, while they enriched themselves and made all the state appointments.

The cost of increasing the number of the prætorians, and the extravagant expenditure of the gluttonous Princeps on the pleasures of the table, led soon to a deficit, to meet which the coinage was depreciated.

§ 13. While western Europe was rent with civil wars, and Emperors rose and fell in rapid succession, the legions of the east looked on with surprise and indifference. Galba and Otho were acknowledged in Syria and Judea; even Vitellius was accepted for a moment. But when it was fully grasped that Vitellius had been elevated by the Germanic army, a dormant spirit of jealousy began to awake in the legions of the east, just as the Germanic legions themselves had been excited at the elevation of Galba in Spain. If a Princeps could be made out of Italy, why should he not be made in the east as well as in the north? If the army of the Rhine created an Emperor, if the army of the Danube supported another, why should not the army of the Euphrates have their candidate too? This feeling spread among both officers and men, and the east determined to assert itself in the "comitia of the Empire." The only question was, who should be the candidate? The most natural person to select was C. Licinius Mucianus, the legatus of Syria, a man of noble birth, an experienced and able diplomatist, popular with the soldiers. But he refused, perhaps because he had no children and thought it vain to attempt to found a permanent monarchy, except as a dynasty. Then all eyes turned to Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the legatus of Judea. He was not a man of high descent like Mucianus. He was born of obscure family at

* Vitellius Germanicus Imperator Augustus.

† It is stated by a late authority that Vitellius conferred the title of Imperator —that is, the proconsular power—on his son, who was six years old.

Phalacrine, near Reate, the town of Varro. We have already met him doing good service in the conquest of Britain as the commander of a legion. He had afterwards held the consulship (51 A.D.), but the fall of Narcissus, his patron, interrupted his career, and it was not till after the death of Agrippina, that he again took part in public life as the proconsul of Africa (63 A.D.), which he administered with integrity. He followed in Nero's train to Greece, and was appointed by that monarch governor of Judea (66 A.D.) to suppress a formidable rebellion which had broken out there. He was slowly and surely carrying this task to a successful issue, when the news of Nero's death came; upon which he withdrew his troops from the field of action, and ceased hostilities. This act does not imply any ulterior motives on the part of Vespasian. His office was delegated to him by Nero, and his authority expired with the death of the Imperator who delegated it; so that he had no legal position to act until his powers were delegated to him anew by another Imperator.

§ 14. On July 1st, Vespasian was proclaimed Imperator at Alexandria by Ti. Julius Alexander, the Augustal prefect of Egypt, and from this day Vespasian dated the beginning of his reign. A few days later the Judean legions followed with enthusiasm at Cæsarea; and Mucianus, who zealously assumed the rôle of a "kingmaker," secured the adhesion of both soldiers and citizens at Antioch. A probably forged letter of Otho was produced, calling upon the East to avenge his death; and Mucianus inflamed the soldiers by stating that Vitellius intended to recall them from their luxurious quarters in Syria, and replace them by the legions of Gaul and Germany. The choice of the armies was supported by the vassal kings, Sohæmus of Sophene, Antiochus of Commagene, and Agrippa II., lord of Batanea, Trachonitis, and other districts Negotiations were made with the king of Parthia to ensure the safety of the eastern provinces during the absence of the legions in the west; and he even offered to place at Vespasian's disposal a force of mounted cavalry, but this offer was refused. A council of war was held at the colony of Berytus, where Mucianus and Vespasian concerted measures for the campaign against Vitellius. It was decided that Mucianus should lead the expedition to the west; and that Vespasian himself should occupy Egypt, whose possession was very important in a war against Italy, as Rome depended for her corn-supply chiefly on Egypt. Titus, the son of Vespasian, took his father's place in Judea.

§ 15. Mucianus marched westward through Cappadocia and Phrygia. The number of his troops was not large; only about 20,000 or 25,000 men. But he relied upon the accession of the

armies of the Illyric provinces, which burned to avenge the death of Otho. The unanimity of the eastern and Illyric armies was expressed on coins, issued at this period, with the words *Consensus Exercituum*. In Mœsia three legions were stationed, III. Gallica, VIII. Augusta, and VII. Claudiana. Of these III. had been originally in Syria, and was transferred to Mœsia by Nero. Mucianus relied on its adhesion, and it did not fail him; the other two followed its example. The two legions in Pannonia, XIII. Gemina, and VII. Galbiana, eagerly embraced the cause of Vespasian. They were smarting under the defeat which their contingents had experienced at Betriacum, and the treatment which they received from Vitellius. The XIIIth had been employed by Cæcina and Valens in the construction of amphitheatres at Bononia and Cremona, and had then been sent back to their winter-station at Pœtovio. Antonius Primus, a native of Tolosa, and legatus of the Spanish legion of Galba, threw himself ardently into the cause. The legion in Dalmatia (XI. Claudiana) followed the example of the others, but with less zeal. Emissaries of Vespasian won the adhesion of the XIVth legion, which was returning to Britain.

The march of Mucianus was slow, like that of Valens through Gaul. He collected money as he went, on the principle that "money is the sinews of civil war."* He was fully aware of the difficulty of the enterprise; he had a high idea of the valour of the Germanic legions; and his wish was, if possible, to avoid bloodshed and reduce Italy by a blockade. The stoppage of corn-supplies from Egypt might, it was expected, produce a revolution in Rome. But the Illyric legions, under the influence of Antonius Primus, took matters into their own hands, and did not wait for the arrival of the eastern forces. At a council of war held at Pœtovio, Primus urged the expediency of surprising Italy while it was still unprepared, and his counsels were adopted, in spite of the letters from Mucianus and the opposition of the governor of Pannonia, Tampius Flavianus. The latter was suspected by the soldiers of sympathy with Vitellius, and had little influence. A message was sent to Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mœsia, to hurry on with his army; the Jazyges, who dwelled between the Danube and the Theiss, were engaged to undertake the defence of the Danube during the absence of the legions, and two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, joined the expedition against Italy. The procurator of Rætia was faithful to Vitellius, and in order to prevent him from intervening, troops were sent to the river Œnus (Inn), which divided Rætia from Noricum.

* Belli civilis nervos (Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 84).

§ 16. Primus advanced, in front of the main body, with some detachments of horse and foot He occupied Aquileia and the passes of the Julian Alps, but instead of waiting on the confines of Italy, as Mucianus desired, he proceeded to Opitergium (Oderzo), and Altinum, in which places he was gladly welcomed. Patavium declared for his cause, and likewise Ateste (Este), where he heard that some Vitellian troops were stationed at Forum Alieni (which is perhaps the modern Legnago on the Adige). He surprised them, and thus the beginning of the war declared in favour of the "Flavians," as the party of Flavius Vespasianus was called. On the news of this small success, the two Pannonic legions marched rapidly to Patavium, and it was decided to make Verona the basis of further operations. Vicetia (Vicenza) was taken on the march to Verona, which city they prepared to besiege. The IIIrd and VIIIth legions soon arrived from Mœsia. Outside Verona the governor of Pannonia, Flavianus, and the governor of Mœsia, Aponius, were set upon by the soldiers, who suspected them of treachery to the cause, and escaped with difficulty. Their flight left the conduct of the campaign entirely in the hands of Primus.

Meanwhile, Vitellius was ill-prepared to oppose the forces which had approached to wrest the Empire from his hands. The breaking up of the old legions for the sake of the reorganisation of the prætorians had been, under the circumstances, a fatal mistake. They were weakened not only by the decrease of numbers, but by the relaxation of discipline in their Italian quarters, and there was no bond between the veterans and the new recruits, who were raised to fill up the maniples. Vitellius formed a new legion from the marines of the fleet of Misenum. He expected reinforcements from the provinces, but the governors of Germany, Britain, and Spain made excuses for delay. Africa alone, where Vitellius had formerly won popularity as proconsul, showed some alacrity. When the news of the approach of the enemy came, Cæcina was sent on to defend the north of Italy; Valens was detained at Rome by illness. The army which Cæcina led against the Illyric legions wore a very different appearance from that which it presented when it descended from the Alps to play the part which the Illyric legions were now about to play against it. The Germanic troops had lost their vigour and their enthusiasm. They were enervated by the climate; their arms were in bad order, their horses lazy. The vigour of Cæcina himself had suffered from the pleasures of success, and perhaps he meditated treachery before he left the city, under the influence of Flavius Sabinus, the prefect of the city, Vespasian's elder brother.

§ 17. The plan of Cæcina was to make the river Athesis the line

of defence. Cavalry were sent in advance to occupy Cremona, which played an important part in this as in the former war. V. Alauda, and XXII. Primigenia, with the divisions of four other legions* followed; last of all, XXI. Rapax, and I. Italica, with the divisions of the Britannic legions, which had been sent to support Vitellius against Otho, marched to the north. The two last-named legions were sent to Cremona, the other forces to Hostilia, a village still existing as Ostiglia, on the lower course of the Padus. Cæcina himself turned aside to Ravenna, in order to concert with Lucilius Bassus, the commander of the fleet, a treacherous desertion of Vitellius. Bassus was discontented because he had not been appointed prætorian prefect. It was soon known that the fleet had gone over to the enemy; this was the first blow to the cause of Vitellius. Cæcina's army had encamped between Hostilia and the marshes of the river Tartarus, which flows into the Adriatic between the Padus and the Athesis. It was a good position; the camp was covered by the river on the rear and flanked by the marsh. If Cæcina had been in earnest, he should have been able to crush the two Pannonic legions before the Mœsian troops arrived. But he delayed action on various pretexts; allowed the five Flavian legions to assemble at Verona; and finally tried to persuade his soldiers to desert to Vespasian. But his attempts were vain. The troops restored the images of Vitellius, which he and a few officers, whom he beguiled, had thrown down; and bound Cæcina himself. They elected as their leaders, Fabius Fabullus, legatus of the Vth legion, and Cassius Longus, prefect of the camp. Then they moved back to Hostilia, and proceeded to join the other legions at Cremona.

When Primus learned what had happened, he determined that it was the favourable moment for action. The plans of the Vitellians had been thrown out by the desertion of Cæcina; they had no leader of authority until Fabius Valens should arrive from Rome. Primus hastened to anticipate his arrival, and led his army in two days from Verona to Betriacum, in order to intercept the legions coming from Hostilia. Encamping at Betriacum, he advanced himself with some cavalry and cohorts of auxiliary foot towards Cremona, and falling in with some Vitellian troops, defeated them. The two legions stationed at Cremona—Italica and Rapax—then came up, and were beaten back by the Flavian legionaries who had been summoned from Betriacum. In this conflict Primus left nothing undone that devolved upon a good general and a brave soldier. As the evening was falling, the whole body of the Flavian army came up, and the soldiers were eager to

* See above, note †, p. 338.

hurry on to Cremona and take it by assault. The efforts of Primus himself, who tried to expose the folly of such an attempt, would hardly have been sufficient to restrain them; but the news arrived that the six legions of Hostilia had reached Cremona. They had crossed to the right bank of the Padus, and marched to Cremona by Parma; and although they had accomplished thirty miles that day, they were so excited by the news of the defeat that they hastened to attack the Flavians the same night. Thus, in the same place where the struggle had been decided between Otho and Vitellius, was also to be decided the struggle between Vitellius and Vespasian. Primus made his dispositions for the battle as follows. He placed the XIIIth legion in the centre, on the Via Postumia. Next it, on the left, in the open plain, was stationed VII. Galbiana, and beyond it VII. Claudiana; on the other side were placed, in corresponding positions, VIII. and III., of which the latter was protected by dense underwood. The prætorians, whom Vitellius had disbanded, had joined Vespasian, and they stood near the IIIrd. The flanks and rear were fringed with cavalry. The Suevian auxiliaries were in front. About nine o'clock in the evening the Vitellian legions approached and drew up in disorder. Weary though they were with the long march, with hunger and cold, they pressed the Flavians hard, and the fierce and doubtful battle lasted the whole night through The VIIth Galbiana was especially hard pressed, but it was sustained by Primus, who sent the prætorians to assist it. The ballistæ and engines of the Vitellians, which they planted on the causeway, wrought great mischief among the Flavian ranks, till two brave soldiers lost their lives in cutting the cords which impelled the missiles. Fortune began to declare for the Flavians. when the moon rose in their rear at an advanced hour of the night, and rendered the aim of the enemy more difficult. Primus rallied his flagging troops. The IIIrd, which had been originally stationed in Syria, saluted the rising sun, and from this incident a report was spread that Mucianus had arrived with the eastern army. The Flavians, believing themselves reinforced, fought with confidence, and their foes, completely routed, fled to Cremona.

§ 18. Primus led on his victorious troops, excited with the prospect of plunder, against Cremona. In the war with Otho, the German soldiers had made their camp round the walls of the city, and surrounded the camp with a rampart. The Flavians stormed the camp with much labour, and then the town capitulated. But the soldiers, who hated the place, which had been twice the headquarters of the Vitellians, and burned with the desire of plundering the weal hy colony, did not respect the capitulation. Primus had

retired to refresh himself with a bath, and when he complained that the water was not warm enough, the attendant said, "It will soon be hotter." The word was seized by some who heard it, and interpreted as a permission to burn the city. Forty thousand armed men, with crowds of camp-followers, burst into the place; and the inhabitants experienced all the horrors of military licence. The "miserable Cremona" burned for four days, and no edifice was left in it, except the temple of Mefitis, the deity of the marshes.

If Valens had hurried northward, he might have reached Cremona in time to change the course of history. But his movements were slow. He sent three prætorian cohorts which had followed him to Ariminum, went himself to Etruria, and having heard of the result of the battle of Cremona, took ship for Gaul, intending to rouse the northern provinces to retrieve the cause of Vitellius. But Valerius Paulinus, the procurator of Narbonensis, who had embraced his friend Vespasian's cause, succeeded in capturing Valens. Then the legions of the western provinces, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, declared for Vespasian. Meanwhile Umbria was occupied by the Flavians, and the cohorts at Ariminum were blockaded by land and sea. Italy was divided by the Apennines between Vespasian and Vitellius. The contest was not yet over, for the prætorian guards, the pick of the Germanic army, had taken no part hitherto in the war, and were still to be dealt with; and Vitellius had still a strong natural defence in the Apennines. Primus, leaving most of his army at Verona, led a force consisting of auxiliary cohorts and chosen legionaries, along with the XIth legion from Dalmatia, to Fanum Fortunæ. At this place, the present Fano, which lies between Ancona and Ariminum, the Flaminian road reaches the Adriatic Sea. Here Primus waited, expecting that the troops of Vitellius would desert the Emperor.

§ 19. In the meantime Vitellius had been burying his cares in sensual gratifications. At first he could hardly believe the tidings from Cremona, but when he was at length wakened out of his sleep, he sent fourteen cohorts to defend the Apennine passes at Mevania (Bevagna), near Fulginium, on the Flaminian road. To these forces was added a new marine legion, which he formed from the fleet of Misenum. The remaining cohorts were kept to defend the city, under the command of his brother, Lucius Vitellius. The Emperor himself visited the camp at Mevania, but on the news that the Misenum fleet had declared for the enemy, he returned to Rome. The next blow was the defection of Campania. The Samnites, Marsians, and Pelignians followed. Vitellius

divided his forces; some were stationed at Narnia, to oppose the advance of the Flavians, others were sent to check the movement in Campania. Primus crossed the Apennines with great difficulty, owing to the heavy snow, and stationed himself at Carsulæ, north of Narnia, where he was presently joined by his legions. The Vitellian cohorts had little spirit to fight; but when the head of Fabius Valens, whom they believed to be in Germany collecting a new army, was exhibited to them, they no longer hesitated, and submitted to the victor, who treated them with clemency (December).

Primus then offered terms to Vitellius; if he submitted, he and his children should have a safe retreat in Campania. Mucianus wrote to the same effect, and Vitellius readily agreed to the proposal. "Such a torpor had seized upon his spirit that he would himself have forgotten that he was Princeps, if the rest had not remembered it." The transference of the Empire took place in the temple of Apollo. Vitellius came forth from the palace, clad in black, with his family around him, and proceeding to the Forum, offered his dagger to the consul Cæcilius, who refused to accept it. He then turned towards the temple of Concord, to deposit there the insignia of Empire, but a number of the prætorian soldiers prevented him, and compelled him to return to the palace (December 17th). These adherents would not permit him to carry out the agreement. Senators and knights, the urban soldiery, and the cohorts of the watch (*vigiles*) had gathered to the house of Vespasian's brother, Flavius Sabinus, who had acted as a mediator. They urged Sabinus to occupy the palace in his brother's interest. But as they conveyed him thither (December 18th), they were attacked by the Vitellians at a place called the Pool of Fundanius. Sabinus and a few others fled to the Capitoline hill, and shut themselves up in the temple of Jupiter. The Vitellians guarded the approaches, but during a violent storm of rain Sabinus communicated with his friends and received into the place of refuge both his own children, and his nephew Domitian, the son of Vespasian. The next morning the Vitellians assaulted the Capitol.* From the Forum they rushed up the Clivus, but the Flavians, issuing on the roof of the portico, which reached from the temple of Saturn to the Capitol, hurled down stones and tiles. The assailants then set fire to the portico, and would have passed through the burnt door into the court of the temple if Sabinus had not torn down the statues and monuments which filled the place, and thus constructed a barrier. Foiled here, the Vitellians attempted other ways of ascent. One of these rose from the shoulder of the hill, another was close to the Tarpeian rock, and known as the Hundred

* For the topography of the Capitoline, cf. above, Chap. X. § 5.

Stairs. By the former especially they forced their way along the tops of houses and with the help of fire. At length the conflagration broke out on the summit of the hill, and the temple of Jupiter was consumed. Domitian escaped and hid himself in a porter's hut, but Sabinus was seized and carried to the palace, where, in spite of the attempts of Vitellius to save him, he was slain, and his trunk dragged to the Gemonian Stairs outside the Carcer (December 19th). Immediately after this, Cerealis, who had been sent on by Primus, arrived with one thousand horsemen, and tried to force his way into Rome. But the Vitellians were prepared, and drove him back.

Primus was himself close at hand, and had reached Saxa Rubra when he learned the destruction of the Capitol, and the repulse of Cerealis. The slaughter of Sabinus rendered further negotiations impossible, and a deputation of the Vestals, beseeching for a conference, was rejected. The Flavians attacked Rome in three divisions; one party approached the Colline gate, another marched through fields along the bank of the Tiber; and a third band, between these, advanced along the Flaminian Way. The Vitellians, who had armed the rabble and the slaves, went forth to meet them, but were driven back with slaughter. Conquerors and conquered entered the city together, and the battle was renewed in the streets. Then the prætorian camp was stormed. It is said that 50,000 men were slain in this capture of Rome. Vitellius tried to make his escape to join his brother Lucius, who held Tarracina, but he was discovered, dragged from his hiding-place, and amid the mockery of the soldiers was haled to the Gemonian stairs, and slain with insults (December 20th or 21st). His last words were perhaps the only he had ever uttered worth recording: "Yet I was your Imperator." Thus perished the first Emperor who had been set up by the Germanic legions. His brother Lucius Vitellius, who had occupied Tarracina, soon afterwards surrendered, and was put to death.

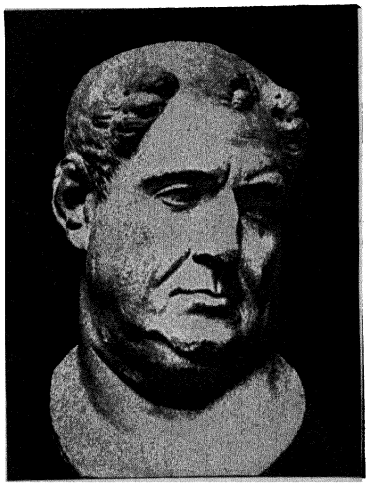
§ 20. For a second time in the same year, Rome was occupied by a victorious army, and citizens were exposed to the licence of soldiers greedy for plunder, whom their leader Primus did not keep in check. Domitian, the second son of Vespasian, was installed in the palace, and received the name of Cæsar, but the power was in the hands of Primus, a soldier whom Vespasian had no intention of placing in such a position. But he did not enjoy the pleasures of power long. Mucianus presently arrived, and his entry into the city was felt as a relief. He acted as a semi-official representative of Vespasian, until Vespasian came himself. He sternly suppressed the licence of the soldiers, dismissed the Illyric legions

from Rome, and taught Primus his place. He put to death Galerianus, the son of Piso, whom Galba had made his colleague, and Asiaticus, a freedman of Vitellius.

The senate hastened to make the victorious Imperator a legitimate Emperor by the usual decrees, conferring on him the proconsular power, the title Augustus, and other prerogatives. The tribunician power, however, does not seem to have been conferred upon him until a considerably later time. The Emperor and his elder son Titus were designated consuls for the year 70. The prætorship and consular power were decreed to Domitian. The triumphal ornaments were voted to Mucianus for his defence of Mœsia against a Dacian invasion, which had taken place as he passed through that province; Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, who was made prætorian prefect, received the lesser distinctions of the consular and prætorian insignia respectively.

§ 21. Thus the remarkable Year of the Four Emperors came to an end. The events between the death of Nero and the victory of Vespasian throw instructive light on the conditions of the Empire. The following points deserve notice. (1) The most striking motive which determined the course of the civil wars was the exclusive and jealous *esprit de corps* which was growing up among the different armies. The Germanic army was hostile to Galba, because he was proclaimed by the Spanish legion, and the eastern and Illyric armies were jealous of the Germanic troops, because they proclaimed Vitellius. (2) Galba, however, cannot be considered so strictly a candidate set up by the soldiers as Vitellius and Vespasian. He posed as a senatorial candidate, and was not forced upon the senate in the same way as the Emperors who came from Germany and Syria. (3) Each successive Emperor professed to represent the cause of him whom his rival had overthrown. Vespasian came to avenge Otho, and Otho came to avenge Nero, and Vitellius, though when first proclaimed he was the rival of Galba, afterwards posed as his successor. (4) Although the legions arrogated the right of creating Emperors, they recognised that their candidates were only pretenders until they possessed Rome, and were acknowledged by the senate. (5) The dilemma in which the Empire was placed in regard to the question of dynastic succession is clearly shown. While the hereditary principle was followed, weak or bad rulers, like Gaius and Nero, were an inevitable result. On the other hand when there was no candidate with an hereditary claim to the Principate, the state was exposed to the dangers of civil war, such as followed on the death of Nero. (6) Dynastic succession, however, was considered the least evil. The fact that he had no children, deterred Mucianus from accepting the empire, and perhaps

the same motive influenced Verginius. Both Otho and Vitellius destined their children as their successors, and Vespasian founded a new dynasty. Galba, who had no children, resorted to the principle of adoption, following the example of Augustus. (7) Each of the Emperors, with the exception of Vitellius, attached himself in a certain manner to the house of the Julii and Claudii by adopting the name Cæsar; and even Vitellius assumed it in his last crisis.



Vitellius.

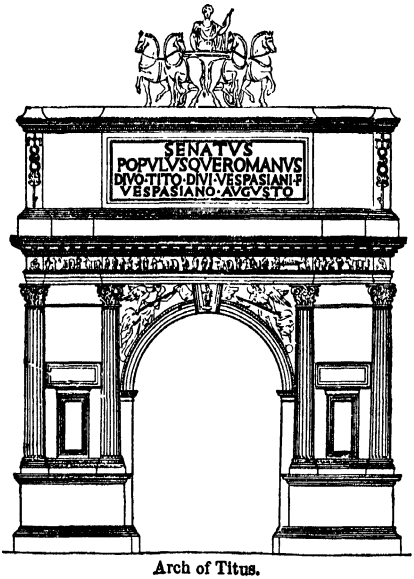
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF BETRIACUM.

There is great difficulty in understanding the intention of the Othonians in making that advance in the direction of Cremona which led to their defeat in what is called the first Battle of Betriacum. If we were told that they had marched to Cremona in order to bring matters to an immediate issue with the Vitellians who were encamped there, the matter would be simple. But Tacitus (*Histories*, ii. 40) says that their intention in setting out was not to fight a battle, and that their goal was not Cremona, but a point to the west of Cremona, namely, the confluence of the Adda with the Padus, near which the Vitellians had been building their bridge. That the Othonian leaders would have attempted to reach this point by marching past Cremona, and so exposing themselves to a flank attack of a terribly dangerous

kind is not impossible, but seems improbable. Mommsen regards it as incredible, and thinks that Tacitus misunderstood the situation. Tacitus has certainly gone wrong in his distances. The Othonian camp was four miles west of Betriacum, and therefore sixteen miles from Cremona. The confluence of the Po and Adda is more than two hours' march west of Cremona. But Tacitus gives sixteen miles as the distance between the confluence and the camp. Various explanations have been suggested. (1) While the ultimate object of the march may have been the mouth of the Adda, the goal of the first day's march may have been a point four miles west of Cremona. For Celsus and Paulinus apprehended that the Vitellians would issue from their camp, fresh and unencumbered, and attack them there (*viz quattuor millia passuum progressus*). From this point they may have intended to turn northward and reach some point on the road from Cremona to Brixia (*Brescia*), and so cut the communication between the Vitellians and the North. Thence, on the arrival of the legions from Illyricum, they might have prepared to advance to the mouth of the Adda, and enclose the enemy on all sides in Cremona. (So Heræus.) (2) It has been suggested that the words *profecti confluentes Padi et Aduæ fluminum* should be simply *profecti confluentes fluminum*, the names having been inserted by a copyist; and that Tacitus really referred to the union of the Caneta, a small stream, with the Po, at a point east of Cremona. (Nipperdey.)

One thing at least seems clearly implied in the narrative of Tacitus. Whatever was the ultimate purpose of the Othonian leaders, they intended, on the day of the battle, either to pitch their camp, or to turn off from the Postumian Way, at a point about four miles from Cremona.



Arch of Titus.

CHAPTER XX.

REBELLIONS IN GERMANY AND JUDEA.

§ 1. The Batavian auxiliaries fight for Vitellius, and return to Gaul. § 2. REVOLT of CIVILIS, instigated by Primus. § 3. State of the two Germanic provinces. First successes of Civilis. Revolt of the Batavian cohorts at Moguntiacum. They join Civilis. § 4. Civilis besieges Vetera. The Roman forces at Gelduba. § 5. News of defeat of Vitellius. Relief of Vetera, and Roman victory. § 6. Mutiny of legions, and murder of Hordeonius Flaccus at Novæsium. § 7. The *Imperium Galliarum*. Defection of the legions. § 8. Fall of Vetera. The prophetess Veleda. Colonia Agrippinensis spared. § 9. Instability of the Gallic empire. § 10. Victory of Sextilius Felix at Bingium. § 11. Cerealis arrives and occupies Augusta Treverorum. Civilis attacks Roman camp, and is defeated. § 12. Battle of Vetera. § 13. Civilis retreats to the Island. End of the war. § 14. General character of the episode of Civilis. § 15. Changes in the army in consequence of the rebellion. § 16. The REBELLION IN JUDEA brewing. § 17. It breaks out (66 A.D.). Disturbances in Cæsarea and Jerusalem. The Zealots. Cestius Gallus replaced. § 18. Vespasian conducts the war. Josephus. § 19. Siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus. § 20. Consequences of the war.

SECT. I.—FIRST STAGE OF THE REVOLT OF CIVILIS.

§ 1. WHILE the legions were contending for the right of electing a Princeps, and Italy was devastated with civil war, the Empire was threatened in two opposite quarters, in the south-east and in the north-west, with serious danger from rebellious provincials; and to meet these dangers was the first task that devolved upon Vespasian. We shall see presently how the insurrection in Judea was suppressed; there he had merely to finish a work which was already half accomplished. We must first follow the curious and terrible rebellion, which, breaking out among auxiliary troops of the Germanic army, extended to the free Germans beyond the Rhine, and led to the foundation of a transitory "Gallic empire."

In the province of Lower Germany the Batavians, who occupied the delta of the Rhine—the district enclosed between the Vahalis (Waal) and the Rhine proper—held a peculiar position. Their fidelity to the Empire had been conspicuous; they had taken no part in that movement of their countrymen which led to the defeat of Varus. They paid no tribute, but on the other hand, they were required to supply a very large contingent of recruits to the army. They did not grumble at the burden of this conscription. They were brave and daring soldiers, skilful in riding and swimming. Eight Batavian cohorts, associated with the XIVth legion in Upper Germany, had been sent with that legion to take part in the conquest of Britain, where they had distinguished themselves conspicuously by their valour. Both the legion and its auxiliaries were recalled by Nero to aid in the eastern expedition which he planned at the end of his reign; but the revolt of Vindex, which had just then broken out in Gaul, led to a discord between the legionaries and the cohorts. While the legions hastened to Italy to defend their master, the 8000 Batavians refused to follow. This was probably due to the fact that two Batavian officers, Julius Civilis and Claudius Paullus, had been accused falsely of treason, and while Paullus was put to death by Fonteius Capito, governor of Lower Germany, Civilis had been sent to Nero, and thrown into prison. After Nero's fall Galba released Civilis, and ordered the Batavian cohorts to return to Britain. But when they had reached the city of the Lingones, the insurrection of the Germanic army in favour of Vitellius took place, and after long hesitation the Batavians embraced his cause. They did him good service in the battle of Betriacum, where they measured swords with their former comrades of the XIVth, which was fighting for Otho. After

the victory the Batavians were commanded to accompany the XIVth to Britain, but the legion and the cohorts came to blows at Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), and separated, the legionaries proceeding to Britain, and the Batavians to Moguntiacum. The latter were soon summoned back by Vitellius, when he was threatened by Vespasian. But Antonius Primus sent a messenger to hinder their complying with this summons, and immediately afterwards a revolt broke out in Germany, which prevented the troops in the north from taking part in the conflict in Italy.

§ 2. The organiser of this revolt was Julius Civilis. He was looked up to by his Batavian countrymen on account of his high descent, and he was "a man of more brains," says Tacitus, "than barbarians are usually endowed with." He had only one eye, and he liked to compare himself to Hannibal and Sertorius, who were disfigured in a like way. The idea of the revolt is said to have been suggested by Primus, who thought in that way to keep the Germanic legions at a distance. The plan served his immediate purpose, but the revolt assumed far larger proportions than he could have anticipated. The unfairness of the Roman levies was a sufficient grievance. If Civilis began by playing for Vespasian, he ended by playing for himself. It is impossible to say whether he had matured the deeper game of a rebellion against Rome from the very beginning. He first roused the inhabitants of his native country to rebel. Calling the chiefs of the Batavians to a nocturnal banquet in a sacred grove, he revealed his scheme of revolt. The Canninefates, the northern neighbours of the Batavians, were next gained over, and then the Frisians; and messengers were sent to Moguntiacum, to secure the adhesion of the eight Batavian cohorts. Somewhere near the mouth of the Rhine was a winter camp of two Roman cohorts; it was seized and destroyed. This was the first act of the revolt. The other garrisons in the territory were soon dislodged from their *castella*, and a cohort of Tungrian auxiliaries went over to the rebels; and part of the Rhine fleet, numbering twenty-four ships, fell into their hands. These successes supplied the insurgents with arms and ships, and Civilis invoked both Germany and Gaul to join him in supporting the cause of Vespasian.

§ 3. At this time both Lower and Upper Germany were under the single command of Hordeonius Flaccus, an old and utterly incompetent man, decrepit with gout, who was inclined secretly to Vespasian's cause, and was suspected by his soldiers of treachery to Vitellius. The remnant of the legions which had accompanied Vitellius and his generals to Italy may have been partly supplemented by new recruits, but in no case can they have

consisted of more than about half the usual number. In Lower Germany the Vth and XVth were stationed at Castra Vetera under the legatus Munius Lupercus; the XVIth under Numisius Rufus at Novæsium (Neuss), between Vetera and Colonia; the Ist under Herennius Gallus in the southern extremity of the province at Bonna. The boundary between the two Germanies was at the river Abrinca, south of Rigomagus (Remagen). Thus Confluentes (Coblenz) belonged to the Upper province. In it two legions, IV. Macedonica and XXII., lay at Moguntiacum. It is possible that part of XXI. was also left in garrison at Vindonissa (Windisch), but it took no part in the earlier events of the rebellion.

By the command of Flaccus, the two legions of Vetera marched against the rebels, who were now receiving promises of help from the German tribes beyond the Rhine. Both legions together hardly amounted to 5000 men, but Munius Lupercus obtained reinforcements from the Ubians and cavalry from the Treveri. He had also a squadron of Batavians, who feigned fidelity in order to desert him in the action. The battle was fought north of Vetera, and was decided by the desertion of the Batavian horse, who suddenly turned upon the Romans. The Ubians and Treveri fled, and, while the Germans pursued them, the legions retreated to Vetera.

Meanwhile the messengers of Civilis had moved the eight Batavian cohorts at Moguntiacum to rebel. They made large demands from Flaccus; and when he had made considerable concessions, they insisted on further demands which they knew could not and would not be granted. Then they left the camp, and set out to Lower Germany, to join Civilis. The general, instead of ordering his legions to cut the mutineers to pieces, allowed them to depart; but presently, changing his mind, sent a letter to Herennius Gallus at Bonna, bidding him prevent the Batavians from passing, and promising to follow with his own army in the rear. Then, changing his mind once more, he wrote again to Gallus, ordering him to allow them to pass. This shuffling conduct of Flaccus gives good ground for suspecting him of treachery. The Batavians reached Bonna by the road on the left bank of the Rhine, and sent a message to Gallus, demanding that they should be allowed to pass in peace. The legatus was almost disposed to comply, but his soldiers compelled him to try the fortune of a battle. The Ist legion was completely defeated, and driven back to the camp. The victors, taking no further advantage of their success, continued their northward march, and, turning aside to avoid Colonia Agrippinensis, joined the army of the insurgents.

§ 4. Civilis was now in command of a regular army; and German

tribes from beyond the Rhine, such as the Bructeri and the Tencteri, had flocked to his standard. He made an attempt to induce the two legions which had retreated to Vetera after the defeat to embrace the cause of Vespasian, but they were obdurate in their loyalty to Vitellius. He resolved to blockade the camp, and ranged his troops on both banks of the Rhine. Vetera was not a strong position, either by nature or by art. On the west side there was a level approach to the prætorian gate. Augustus had regarded it as a winter station, from which the legions should go forth to attack the Germans, not as a place in which they might have to defend themselves against German assailants. Lupercus and Rufus had to repair the fortifications, which had suffered from the effects of a long peace. The attempts of the Germans to storm the place were unsuccessful, and they were obliged to blockade it. Flaccus in the meantime had sent messengers throughout Gaul, to obtain auxiliaries, and, on learning the danger of Vetera, despatched Dillius Vocula, the legatus of the XXIInd, with chosen legionaries to march to its relief with the utmost speed. Flaccus himself followed by ship. The troops, when they heard of the successes of Civilis, murmured loudly that Flaccus was playing them false; and in order to appease them, Flaccus read aloud a letter which had arrived from Vespasian, and sent the bearers in chains to Vitellius. When he reached Bonna he was assailed by the reproaches of the Ist legion, who attributed their defeat by the Batavian cohorts to his false promises. But he reassured them of his good faith in some measure by reading copies of the letters which he had sent to Gaul, Britain, and Spain for assistance. Auxiliary troops from Gaul were already arriving, and the army advanced by Colonia to Novæsium, where they picked up the XVIth legion, and proceeded to Gelduba (Gelb), a little lower down the river. Here the leaders Vocula and Gallus, to whom the conduct of the warfare was entrusted, made a camp and practised the soldiers in the operations of war. Apparently the demoralisation of the troops was such that the officers did not feel prepared to risk an action at Vetera, until the discipline was confirmed. The temper of the soldiers is shown by an incident at Gelduba. A cornship had run into the shallows of the river, and Germans on the right bank were trying to capture it. Gallus sent a cohort to prevent them, but the Romans were defeated. The soldiers accused their officer of treachery, dragged him out of his tent, beat him, and kept him bound until the arrival of Vocula, who was absent on an excursion against the Cugerni, a tribe which dwelled north of the Ubii. Vocula executed the ringleaders.

§ 5. Civilis did not confine his operations to Vetera He sent

troops beyond the river Mosa, to stir up the Menapii, Morini, and other tribes of north-eastern Gaul. Another band ravaged the lands of the Treveri and Ubii. The Ubii were made the mark of special hatred, because under their new name of *Agrippinenses* they seemed to have renounced their German origin; and their cohorts were defeated at Marcodurum (Düren). A third band threatened Moguntiacum. Such was the state of affairs at the end of October (69 A.D.) when the news of the great defeat of Vitellius at Cremona arrived. The Gallic auxiliaries immediately declared for Vespasian; at Novæsium and Gelduba the legions took the military oath to the new Emperor, but without enthusiasm.

It was now necessary for Civilis to declare himself, and show whether the sole object of his revolt was the elevation of Vespasian. His mask could no longer deceive anyone; it was clear that the deliverance of the Germans of Northern Gaul from the Roman yoke was the aim of the war. He sent a force, including the eight veteran Batavian cohorts, against the army at Gelduba. In their rapid march from Vetera they seized Asciburgium (Asberg), and swooped down upon the Roman camp so suddenly that Vocula had no time to spread out his line. He placed the legions in the centre, and the auxiliaries surrounded them in irregular order. The battle almost proved a defeat for the Romans. The cavalry advanced, but turned and fled before the firm array of the Germans, and brought confusion into the ranks of the cohorts, who were then easily cut down by the foe. The auxiliary Nervii deserted, and the legions were being discomfited, when the tide of battle was turned by an unexpected reinforcement. Cohorts of the Vascones of the Pyrenees—supposed to be the forefathers of the Basques—enrolled by Galba, when he was governor of Tarraconensis, happened to arrive at this moment, and attacked the enemy in the rear. The Germans, believing that forces had arrived from Novæsium or Moguntiacum, were disconcerted and utterly routed. After this victory Vocula at length advanced to the relief of Vetera, which was suffering severely from want of supplies, and succeeded in entering the place after a hard fight with the besiegers. The beasts of burden and the camp-followers were sent to Novæsium, to bring provisions by land, as the enemy commanded the river. The first supply was conveyed safely, but on the second occasion Civilis attacked the cohorts which escorted the train of waggons, and compelled them to retreat to Gelduba. Vocula, having added to his own army a thousand chosen men of the legions of Vetera, marched to Gelduba, and, as the cohorts refused to return to Vetera, proceeded to Novæsium, the headquarters of Flaccus.

§ 6. Here a mutiny broke out. A donative for the soldiers had arrived from Vitellius, and Flaccus distributed it in the name of Vespasian. The soldiers, excited by the carouses which followed, revived their anger against Flaccus, dragged him out of his tent and slew him. Vocula would have experienced the same fate had he not escaped from the camp in disguise. The army proclaimed Vitellius Emperor, although he was already dead (these events seem to have taken place in the last days of December). But the legions of Upper Germany soon dissociated their cause from that of the others. Along with legion I., they placed themselves under the command of Vocula, renewed their allegiance to Vespasian, and marched up the Rhine to deliver Moguntiacum, which was threatened by the Chatti, the Usipi, and the Mattiaci. But on their arrival the enemy was already departing. Vocula remained during the rest of the winter at Moguntiacum. Civilis renewed the blockade of Vetera, and occupied the camp of Gelduba, which the Romans had abandoned.

Sect. II.—Second Stage of the Revolt. The Imperium Galliarum.

§ 7. On the news of the death of Vitellius, the mask of Civilis was finally thrown off, and he acknowledged that he was fighting against the Roman people. The destruction of the Capitol by fire produced a profound impression upon the superstitious minds of the Gauls, who believed that it betokened the approaching end of the Roman Empire. The remnant of the Druids interpreted it as a sign of heavenly wrath, and prophesied that the nations north of the Alps were soon to become the lords of the world. A conspiracy had been organized by Julius Classicus, a distinguished nobleman of the Treveri, and prefect of a squadron of cavalry which had fought under Valens against Otho. He renewed the design of forming a Gallic kingdom, which had been tried in vain by Sacrovir, and perhaps contemplated more recently by Vindex. His chief associates were his countryman Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus, a Lingon, who pretended to be descended from a bastard of Julius Cæsar. The conspirators met in Colonia, and maintained secret communications with Civilis. Their first object was to get rid of Vocula, and they accomplished it by a similar deceit to that which Arminius practised on Varus. They induced Vocula to leave Moguntiacum, and descend the Rhine to relieve Vetera, which was hard pressed. On the march from Novæsium to Vetera, the troops of Classicus and Tutor rode forward on the pretext of reconnoitring, and entrenched themselves at a distance. Vocula was

unable to persuade them to return, and could not enforce obedience. He was compelled to fall back on Novæsium: the Gauls encamped at a distance of two miles. Vetera could not hold out much longer and when it fell, the whole army of the Germans would be free to attack Novæsium. Under these circumstances, the legions determined to desert the cause of Rome and declare for the *imperium Galliarum*, which was being proclaimed by Classicus. Vocula appealed in vain to their better feelings, and when he found they were determined to join the standards of Classicus and Civilis, he decided that nothing was left for himself but to die. Before he had time to make arrangements for a voluntary death, he was slain by an emissary of Classicus—a legionary soldier who had deserted. The other legati, Gallus and Numisius, were thrown in chains.

§ 8. Then Classicus, assuming the insignia of a Roman Emperor, entered the camp of Novæsium. Bold though he was, he found no words to express or defend his assumption of such a dignity; he merely read out the oath of allegiance. The Roman soldiers swore fidelity to the "Empire of the Gauls." The dream of Sacrovir and Vindex was at last accomplished, if only for a moment. Classicus and Tutor divided between them the work of reducing the two Rhine provinces under the new empire which was thus inaugurated. Tutor undertook to secure the adhesion of the IVth and XXIInd legions at Moguntiacum. The officers were slain and the soldiers took the same oath as their comrades at Novæsium. Classicus himself proceeded to Vetera, where the wretched garrison, reduced to the last extremities of hunger, were supporting life on the herbs that grew among the stones. They sent envoys to the Batavian chief, asking to be permitted to leave the place alive, and their prayers were granted when they took the oath of loyalty to the new empire. But five miles from Vetera they were treacherously attacked by the escort of Germans whom Civilis had ordered to accompany them, and many were slain. Vetera was dismantled and burned, and in like manner all the other winter stations of the legions, including Bonna and Novæsium, were destroyed except Moguntiacum and Vindonissa. The latter place was at such a distance that it was quite unaffected by the rebellion. The XVIth legion and the auxiliaries which had surrendered at Novæsium and the Ist legion from Bonna were commanded to repair to Augusta Treverorum—which Classicus and Tutor doubtless intended to make the capital of the new empire—within a given time. On their march thither they had to endure the mocking of the inhabitants through whose country they passed, and one squadron of cavalry, the *ala Picentina*, unable to endure the shame of the position, left the procession, and went to

Moguntiacum. On their way they fell in with the murderer of Vocula, and dealt with him as he deserved.

Munius Lupercus, who had commanded the garrison of Vetera during the long blockade, was sent among other gifts to Vĕlĕda,* a German prophetess who played a part in this rebellion, and exercised great influence over her countrymen. This maiden belonged to the tribe of the Bructeri, and lived remote from the abodes of others in a solitary tower on the river Luppia. She had predicted the success of the Germans and the destruction of the legions, and the accomplishment of her prophecy confirmed her power. She was soon called upon to exert it for the purpose of hindering her countrymen from abusing their victory.

The Ubii had been faithful to Rome throughout the rebellion; but when the legions yielded, nothing was left for them but to yield too. The question was then agitated by the Germans, whether they should destroy Colonia, or leave it standing. Jealousy of the privileged position of the Ubii and desire of plunder prompted the trans-Rhenane tribes to counsel its destruction, but Civilis judged that clemency would be the better policy. The Tencteri sent an embassy to the colony, and demanded that the inhabitants should pull down their walls, slay all the Romans within their borders, and resume their German habits and institutions. But the Agrippinenses escaped from the fulfilment of these requisitions by appealing to the authority of Civilis and the prophetess Veleda. The Sunuci, who lived west of the Ubii on the Mosa, were then reduced; and the Nervii, Tungri, and Bætasii, who still maintained the cause of Rome under the leadership of Claudius Labeo, a Batavian, but a rival of Civilis, submitted.

§ 9. The new Gallic empire had no firm foundation, and was not destined to prosper. It had sprung up by means of the Batavian rebellion; but Civilis and the Batavians, although they made common cause with Classicus in pulling down the Roman power, stood aloof from the *imperium Galliarum*. The Germans had no intention of throwing off Roman for the sake of Celtic rule. But besides, the Gauls themselves were for the most part by no means favourable to the project of the Treveri and the Lingones. Julius Sabinus cast down the bronze tables on which the treaties between Rome and the Lingones were inscribed, assumed the name of Cæsar, and marched at the head of a disorderly band of his countrymen against the Sequani. But the Sequani were faithful to Rome, and beat back the spurious Cæsar, who deserted in the middle of the battle, and by burning down the house to which he fled caused it to be supposed that he had killed himself. But he really remained

Statius, *Silv.*, i. 4. 90: Captivæque preces Veledæ.

hidden in a subterranean retreat for no less than five years, kept alive by his wife Epponina. He was finally discovered, and put to death, along with his wife, by Vespasian's orders.

The declaration of the Sequani against the Gallic rebels was soon confirmed by the verdict of a common council summoned by the Remi, who took upon themselves the initiative in this crisis. It was put to the states of Gaul whether they preferred "liberty or peace." The Treveri were represented by Julius Valentinus, but the arguments of Julius Auspex, a noble of the Remi, carried the day, and a letter to the Treveri was composed "in the name of the Gauls," calling upon them to desist from war. The strongest motive of the Gallic states in adhering to Rome was perhaps mutual jealousy. The question presented itself: supposing the empire of the Gauls to be established, what city will be the centre? The other states would certainly never have submitted to be ruled from the city of the Treveri or the city of the Lingones. It does not appear that the idea of a Federal Union—like that of the Achæan League—occurred to any of the Gallic patriots.

§ 10. In the meantime Mucianus and the government of Vespasian were making preparations to suppress the rebels of the north, both Germans and Gauls. Q. Petillius Cerealis was appointed to the command in Lower, Annius Gallus, the general of Otho, in Upper Germany. Two of the victorious legions, the VIIIth of Mœsia and the XIth of Dalmatia, along with one of the Vitellian legions, the XXIst, whose station was Vindonissa, were chosen for the expedition, and marched northward by the Pennine, Cottian, and Graian Alps. Moreover the XIVth was summoned from Britain, and VI. Victrix and X. Gemina from Spain. But the rebels did not realize, or at least took no steps to meet, the danger which was approaching. Civilis was engaged in pursuing his enemy Claudius Labeo, in the wilds of Belgica. Classicus was enjoying his position as head of an empire. Tutor talked about occupying the Alpine passes, but omitted to do so. He had indeed increased the forces of the Treveri by the accession of the Vangiones and other small tribes, and some of the legionaries of Moguntiacum joined his army. Sextilius Felix, the officer who had been set by the leaders of Vespasian to watch Rætia, was the first to arrive on the scene of action with his auxiliary cohorts. One cohort which he sent on in advance was routed by the forces of Tutor, but on the approach of the rest and of the XXIst legion, which had reached Vindonissa, the legionaries deserted, and the allies of the Treveri followed the example. Tutor with his Treverans retreated to Bingium, and took up a position on the left bank of the Nava (Nahe), having broken down the bridge. But the cohorts of

Sextilius crossed by a ford, and routed the Treveri. The legions, who had been compelled to post themselves at Augusta Treverorum, on the news of this defeat, took an oath of allegiance to Vespasian, and marched to the town of the Mediomatrici, called in older days Divodurum, in later days Mettis, now Metz. The leaders Tutor and Valentinus roused the Treveri again to arms, and put to death the legati Herennius and Numisius, whom they had kept prisoners.

§ 11. Petillius Cerealis now arrived at Moguntiacum. His contempt for the enemy, and his rejection of a Gallic levy, inspired his troops with confidence and confirmed the Gauls in their obedience. He united the remnant of the legions of Moguntiacum with his own army, and marched in three days, at the rate of nine hours a day, to Rigodulum (Riol), about ten miles from Augusta Treverorum, lower down the Mosella, protected on one side by the river, on the other by steep hills. This place had been occupied by a large band of Treveri under Valentinus, who had entrenched himself behind ditches and stone barricades. The troops of Cerealis boldly stormed the position, and Valentinus himself was captured. They then entered Augusta Treverorum, the soldiers burning to destroy the home of Classicus and Tutor—a city, they said, far more guilty than Cremona, which had paid so heavily for its part in the Vitellian war. But the august city, which was destined hereafter to become the capital of a Belgic province, and even a seat of Roman Emperors, was spared by the decision of Cerealis.

When Civilis and Classicus learned that the Romans held Augusta Treverorum, they tried to tempt the ambition of Cerealis by offering him the *imperium Galliarum*. Cerealis did not deign to reply to the letter, which he sent to Rome; and the rebels prepared for a decisive battle. Civilis counselled delay, until they should receive reinforcements from the trans-Rhenane tribes; but Tutor urged that if they delayed, the Roman forces would be increased by the legions which had been summoned from Spain and Britain. The advice of Tutor was followed, and the forces of the insurgents unexpectedly attacked the Roman camp. Augusta Treverorum lies on the right bank of the Mosella; the Roman camp was pitched on the left bank, to protect the town against the foe coming from the north. On the night of the attack Cerealis himself happened to be sleeping in the city, and he was awakened by the news that his troops were fighting, and getting the worst of it. The enemy had made a way through the camp, routed the cavalry, and occupied the bridge which connected the town with the left bank. The boldness and presence of mind of the general retrieved the fortune of the legions. Placing himself at the head

of those whom the foe had driven before them into the town, he recovered the bridge, and, reaching the camp, rallied his men. Everything was in favour of the enemy, and the victory which the Romans secured seemed almost miraculous.

§ 12. The Agrippinenses gladly returned to their allegiance to Rome; they slew the Germans in their city, and destroyed a cohort of Chauci and Frisians, which was stationed at Tolbiacum (Zülpich), by making them intoxicated and then setting on fire the house in which they slumbered. The rebels in Belgica were suppressed by the XIVth legion, which arrived from Britain. On the other hand the Britannic fleet was defeated by the Canninefates, who were more skilful in managing ships, but this success did not hinder the suppression of the rebellion. The next defeat of Civilis took place at Vetera, where, having gathered together his forces after the defeat at Augusta Treverorum, he had taken up a strong position. The army of Cerealis, doubled in number by the arrival of the legions from Spain and Britain, proceeded to Vetera; but the combat was delayed by the nature of the ground. The fields, always marshy, had been flooded by the art of Civilis, who had built a mole into the Rhine from the right bank, and so caused the river to overflow. Thus the Romans could not approach the camp, and when they attempted to fight in the deep marsh, the Batavians, skilful in swimming, had the advantage. On the following days, Cerealis drew out his line of battle. The cohorts and cavalry were placed in front; the legions in the centre, and a chosen band in the rear, in case of emergencies. Civilis arranged his forces in deep columns. The Cugerni and Batavians were on the right, the trans-Rhenanes on the left and nearer the river. The Germans began the battle by missiles, but could not provoke the Romans to enter the marsh. When the missiles were spent, they drew nearer, and with long lances pierced the front ranks of the soldiers, who were slipping and tottering on the margin of the morass, and could not with their shorter weapons reach the assailants. Then a column of the Bructeri, who were stationed on the right bank of the river, swam across from the mole already mentioned, and fell upon the right wing of the Romans. The cohorts seem to have had the worst of it all along the line, but the legions, when it came to their turn, stood their ground. The battle was decided by the interposition of a Batavian deserter, under whose guidance two squadrons of cavalry went round by the extremity of the marsh, where there was solid ground and the Cugerni were keeping careless watch, and attacked the enemy in the rear. The legions at the same time pressed on more vigorously in front, and the Germans fled to the

river. The approach of night and the nature of the ground prevented a pursuit.

§ 13. After this defeat Civilis could no longer hold his position on the Rhine. He made no attempt to defend the "town of the Batavians," which is perhaps the modern Cleves, but retreated into the island. He destroyed the dam of the Rhine, begun by Drusus and finished in the reign of Nero (55 A.D.), which was intended to divert the waters of the left arm of the river into the right or eastern channel. When it was broken down, the waters plunged into the left channel, called the Vahalis, and the right channel, or the Rhine proper, was rendered shallow. The result of this act of Civilis was that the Island of the Batavians was made, as it were, part of Germany—a trans-Rhenane land; instead of being, as before, a part of Gaul. The remnant of the "empire of the Gauls,"—Tutor, Classicus, and more than a hundred Treveran senators—also found refuge in the home of Civilis, which was now "beyond the Rhine." Cerealis led his forces down the river, and occupied various posts. The Xth was stationed at Arenacum (the village of Ryndern, near Cleves), the IInd at Batavodurum (near Nymwegen), while cohorts and *alæ* of the auxiliaries were sent to Grinnes and Vada, places close to each other on the Vahalis. Cerealis himself probably made the "town of the Batavians" his headquarters. Civilis divided his forces into four parts, to attack these posts of the Romans. The assault on Vada he undertook himself, Grinnes was assigned to Classicus; while Tutor and Verax, a nephew of Civilis, marched against Arenacum and Batavodurum. The assault on Arenacum resulted in the slaughter of the prefect of the camp and some officers and soldiers. At Batavodurum, where the Romans were building a bridge across the river, there was an indecisive skirmish. On the Vahalis the fighting was more serious. Julius Briganticus, another nephew of Civilis, but his bitter foe and a faithful adherent of the Romans, was slain; and the Germans, reinforced by Tutor and Verax, were winning the day, when the arrival of Cerealis with a band of cavalry decided the battle in favour of the Romans. The enemy were driven into the river. Civilis and Verax escaped by swimming, and Tutor and Classicus were rescued by boats. They would have been captured if the Roman fleet had come in time.

The conduct of the campaign by Cerealis had been marked by great want of caution and great good-luck. He did not mature his plans, and yet they generally succeeded; fortune favoured him when he ought to have failed. But his carelessness about details of discipline proved almost fatal to him a few days after the victory of Vada. New camps were being constructed at Novæsium

and Bonna, as winter was approaching, and Cerealis sailed up the Rhine to inspect them. An escort of foot accompanied him, marching along the banks, and, as he was returning, the trans-Rhenane Germans—Tencteri and Bructeri, doubtless—who were on the watch, observed that the soldiers did not keep together, and were careless about their night encampments. Choosing a dark night, they entered the camp, cut the ropes of some of the tents, and massacred the soldiers who were unable to extricate themselves. They also dragged away the vessels, including the "prætorian ship" of the commander, which was towed up the Luppia, and presented as a gift to Veleda. The cause of this disaster was that the watch had fallen asleep, having been ordered not to sound the *bucina* or trumpet, lest they should disturb Cerealis, who was engaged in a love adventure somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Civilis soon abandoned the defence of the Vahalis and retreated beyond the true Rhine into the country of the Frisians. The Romans then crossed the Vahalis, and laid waste the Batavian Island, sparing, however, the private possessions of Civilis, in order to excite the suspicions of his countrymen, just as Archidamus had spared the property of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, and Hannibal that of Fabius Maximus. But the Batavians were ready to return to their allegiance; the trans-Rhenanes were ready to make peace; and Civilis, seeing the inclinations of his followers, resolved to save his own life by capitulation. He sought an interview with Cerealis A bridge across the river Nabalia—perhaps the Yssel or the Vecht—was severed in the centre, and the two leaders conversed from the broken extremities, and made their terms. No record remains as to the ultimate fate of Civilis or of his Gallic allies, Classicus and Tutor. The Batavians resumed the same position which they had held before; they paid no tribute, but were largely employed as auxiliaries. The submission of the trans-Rhenane Germans, who took part in the war, is shown by the fact that the prophetess Veleda was conveyed as a captive to Rome We may take it for granted that Mucianus, who along with the Emperor's son Domitian* had come to Lugudunum, in order to be near the scene of operations, had a decisive voice in making the final negotiations.

§ 14. The revolt of Civilis could never have taken place but for the strange position in which the Roman Empire was placed after the death of Nero. It was a direct consequence of the action of

* This circumstance gave the poet Silius an opportunity of addressing the Emperor Domitian (iii. 608) as
Iam puer auricomo præformidate Batavo.
Juvenal refers to the revolt of Civilis when he speaks (viii. 51) of the *domitique Batavi custodes aquilas.*

the Germanic legions, and is merely another act of the same drama to which the civil wars in Italy belonged. It exhibits the mistrust of officers and relaxation of discipline which generally prevailed. If the legions asserted at Betriacum their part in the Empire, the auxiliary troops asserted themselves in the movement of Civilis. It was primarily a rebellion of the auxiliaries, but it involved in its train aggressions of the free Germans beyond the Rhine, and the attempt to set up a Gallic empire. Civilis has been called a successor of Arminius, and Arminius, like him, had been an officer in the Roman army. But it must be remembered that the Cheruscans were only tributaries, and did not, like the Batavians, supply the army with recruits. The Batavian war was properly a revolt within the army itself, though it accidentally assumed larger proportions.

Civilis has also been called a successor of Vindex, but this is due to a misconception. Civilis indeed used the name of Vespasian, as Vindex used the name of Galba; but the idea which, according to all appearance, Vindex cherished of making a Gallic kingdom was renewed, not by Civilis, but by Classicus, Tutor, and Sabinus. The Batavians and the Gauls had a common interest in their hostility to Rome, and so far they co-operated; but Civilis had nothing to do with the *imperium Galliarum*. It is remarkable, however, that the states which took the leading part in establishing the Gallic kingdom, at which Vindex had aimed, were the Treveri and Lingones, the very people who had refused to join his enterprise, and had sided with Verginius Rufus against him. On the other hand, the Sequani, who had supported the cause of the Aquitanians, declined to move when the same cause was represented by Treverans and Lingons. The events of the rebellion show clearly that the Gauls in general, apart from a few disaffected tribes, had come to see that their true interests were best served by remaining faithful to Rome. They saw that to win freedom by the help of Germans beyond the Rhine would only bring upon them a new Ariovistus. It should also be remarked that the part played by the free Germans was a small one. The revolt only affected those tribes which dwelled close to the Roman *limes*, and did not call forth any movement in central Germany. Moreover, the motive which attracted the Bructeri and Tencteri to the Batavian standard was rather the hope of immediate plunder than the expectation of any lasting success against the Roman power.

§ 15. When the revolt was quelled, Vespasian adopted the wise policy of letting bygones be bygones. It was of course impossible to ignore the conduct of the Germanic legionaries, who had failed so signally in meeting the responsibility which had fallen to their

share—who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Julius of Trier. The four legions of the Lower province (I., V., XV., XVI.) and one legion of the Upper (IV. Macedonica) were broken up; the XXIInd, the legion of Vocula, was pardoned. But Vespasian had learned a lesson from the rebellion, and he made a very important change in the organisation of the *auxilia*. The cohorts and *alæ* no longer consisted of men of the same nation. Batavians and Treverans, for example, were scattered among all the auxiliary regiments indifferently. Moreover, the command of the auxiliaries was no longer entrusted to natives, like Arminius and Civilis, but to men of Italian origin; and these troops were not employed in the neighbourhood of their homes. The result was that a rebellion like that of Civilis did not occur again.

SECT. III.—THE REVOLT OF JUDEA AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

§ 16. In regard to the Jews, Claudius followed the policy of Tiberius. Their worship was checked in Italy; but toleration was granted to them in their own land and in the east. Claudius went even further. He gave all the lands which had formed the kingdom of Herod to his friend Herod Agrippa, thus returning, as he loved to do, to the system of Augustus. By this means direct collision between the Romans and Jews was avoided; Agrippa acted as intermediate. But when he died in 44 A.D., his son Agrippa, aged seventeen years, was considered too young to take his father's place, and Judea was once more made a province of subordinate rank. From this moment a spirit of hatred and rebellion fermented in Judea. The Jews had not forgotten how Gaius had insisted upon receiving divine honours; they feared that another Emperor might do the same, and regarded all Roman Emperors as abominable. National sentiment and religious bigotry were inseparable for the Jews; and the fanatics burned to cast off the Roman yoke or die in the attempt.

The insurrection did not break out till 66 A.D., but it was prepared during twenty-two years. The great fault of the Romans was that, instead of stamping out the elements of opposition, they tried to humour an irreconcilable people, and yielded, wherever it was possible, to the prejudices and absurd demands of the Jews. Thus a Roman soldier was executed because he had torn a roll of the law. Another mistake was that too small a military force was kept in the province and was mainly recruited from the province itself. As for the Jews, they brought their destruction upon themselves. The high priests were worthless and violent, and

took advantage of the yielding spirit of their rulers to make most unreasonable demands. During these twenty-two years the Romans were continually trying to suppress the brigands of the hills, whom the Jews called Zealots. They combined the spirit of the robber with that of the religious fanatic. Cuspius Fadus, the first procurator under Claudius, routed them out of their strongholds and slew them. But the evil broke out again under his successor, Tiberius Alexander, a nephew of the philosopher Philo, and he succeeded in capturing two noted leaders, Jacobus and Simon, sons of Judas the Galilean, whom he crucified. There was a constant feud between Galilee and Samaria, and the latter district was subject to the incursions of armed bands of Galilean brigands. This led to a serious collision in the year 52 A.D., in which Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, was obliged to interfere. The affair was attributed to the rivalry of the two procurators, Cumanus of Galilee, and Felix of Judea and Samaria; and Quadratus having held an investigation punished Cumanus, and pleased the Jews by executing a tribune, named Celer, in Jerusalem. Felix, who was equally to blame, escaped, because he was the brother of the powerful freedman Pallas, and the husband of Agrippa's sister Drusilla. The troubles continued under Festus and Albinus, the successors of Felix. War against Rome was preached in the streets; miracles and prophecies were the order of the day; the Zealots of the hills were as violent as ever. There was no real grievance. It was not the case of an oppressed people rising against oppressors, or bondmen struggling for their freedom. The war was due to the fanaticism of short-sighted peasants.

The authority over the temple and its treasures, and the nomination of the high priests, had been assigned in 44 A.D., not to the procurator, but to Herod of Chalcis, and after his death in 48 A.D. had been transferred to his heir Agrippa. In 53 A.D. Agrippa had received, instead of Chalcis, the districts of Batanea, Auranitis, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Abilene, along with the title of king, and two years later he received from Nero Tiberias and Tarichea in Galilee, and Julias in Peræa. Agrippa stood by the Romans faithfully throughout the Jewish war.

§ 17. The insurrection broke out under the procurator Gessius Florus (64–66 A.D.). Cæsarea was inhabited by Greeks and Jews, possessing the same civil rights, the Jews being the more numerous. But under Nero the Greeks disputed the rights of the Jews, and appealed to the government at Rome. Burrus decided in favour of the Greeks, and the citizenship was declared to be a privilege which did not belong to the Jews (62 A.D.). This decision led to tumults in the town. Finally the Jews left Cæsarea, but were

compelled by the governor to return, and then slaughtered in a street riot (Aug. 6, 66 A.D.).

In Jerusalem, things came to a crisis at the same time. The Jews were divided into two parties; the men of moderation, who, putting their trust in the Lord, were ready to endure Roman rule without resistance, and the men of action, who resolved to found the kingdom of heaven by the sword. The former were the Pharisees, the latter the Zealots, and the power of the Zealots was on the increase. To this party belonged Eleazar, son of the high priest Ananias.* He was a young man of upright character; but it has been said of him that his virtues were more dangerous than his father's vices. He was overseer of the Temple, and he forbade those who did not belong to the Jewish faith to present offerings to Jehovah in the outer court, although this had always been permitted by tradition.† He refused to listen to the remonstrances of the wiser Jews. The moderate party resolved to make an attempt to put down the fanatics. They asked the Romans and King Agrippa for help; and Agrippa sent some cavalry. But Jerusalem was filled with extreme patriots and desperadoes known as "men of the dagger," who were ready to exterminate supporters of Roman rule. The Roman garrison in the citadel was surprised and cut to pieces. The greater number of the moderates, the soldiers of Agrippa, and some Romans, occupied the king's palace on Zion, but could not maintain their position against overwhelming numbers, and capitulated. Free departure was refused to the Romans, but they were assured that their lives would be spared. But they were disarmed and cut to pieces. Ananias the high priest and other leaders of the moderate party were slain. After the victory a quarrel broke out between Eleazar, who seems to have felt remorse for the perfidy of his followers and his father's death, and Manahem, the most violent of "the men of the dagger." It ended in the execution of Manahem.

Thus, in Cæsarea the foes of the Jews had slaughtered the Jews; in Jerusalem the Jews had slaughtered their foes; and it was said that both events happened on the same day. Other Greek towns followed the example of Cæsarea. The Jews in Damascus, Gadara, Scythopolis, Ascalon, were massacred. The bitterness against them broke out, too, in Alexandria, and the street-tumults required the interference of the Roman troops. As soon as Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, heard what had happened in Jerusalem, he set forth with his troops to put down the insurgents. His army consisted of about 20,000 Roman soldiers, and 13,000 auxiliaries from

* The same who is called a "whited wall" in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

† Even offerings to Augustus had been allowed.

the dependent kingdoms, along with forces of Syrian militia. Having taken Joppa and slain its inhabitants, he marched on Jerusalem, and stood before its walls in September. But the strong fortifications defied him, and he was driven back with serious loss. The news of the failure of Gallus reached Nero in Greece, and he appointed Mucianus legatus of Syria, and assigned to Vespasian the task of quelling the Jewish rebellion, as an independent legatus.

§ 18. The three legions, which had been sent from the Illyric lands to carry on the war with Parthia, were perhaps already returning to their original stations. If so, they were now sent back on account of the rebellion. Two of them, V. Macedonica and XV. Apollinaris, were given to Vespasian, along with one of the Syrian legions, X. Fretensis. The other additional legion, IV. Scythica, took the place of the Xth in Syria, and remained there permanently. In addition to his three legions and their auxilia, Vespasian had large bodies of troops contributed by the dependent kings of Commagene, Emesa, and Nabatea, as well as by Agrippa. The whole army, amounting to more than 50,000 men, was mustered at Ptolemais in spring, 67 A.D., and entered Palestine. The entire country, Galilee and Samaria, as well as Judea, was now in the hands of the insurgents, with the exception of the Greek towns. They had taken and destroyed Anthedon and Gaza, but after they had failed at Ascalon, they confined themselves to defensive measures, and did not meet the Romans in the open field. Vespasian's plan was slow, but sure. He decided to make no attempt against Jerusalem until he had isolated it by reducing the surrounding districts. The first campaign was occupied with the reduction of Galilee, and the coast as far as Ascalon. In this warfare the historian Josephus played a considerable part. The siege of Jotapata, which he defended, lasted forty-five days. He was a member of the moderate party, but was appointed commander in Galilee. Josephus escaped with his life, and found favour with Vespasian, whose client he became, adopting the name Titus Flavius. During the following winter, Vespasian kept two legions at Cæsarea, and stationed the third at Scythopolis, so as to cut off communications between Judea and Galilee. In the spring of 68 A.D., he proceeded to occupy the regions beyond the Jordan, including the important towns of Gadara and Gerasa. The fugitives, who were driven from their homes by the Roman soldiers, flocked to increase the multitude collected in Jerusalem. Vespasian then took up quarters at Jericho. Samaria was occupied in the north, Idumea in the south, and the legions were about to advance on Jerusalem, when the news of Nero's death arrived. Vespasian was not

disposed to put himself in a false position by continuing to act as legatus, until his powers should be renewed by Nero's successor. Military operations were therefore suspended, and before Galba could send his commands to Vespasian, winter had approached. The fall of Galba and the struggle between Otho and Vitellius gave the Jews a still longer respite; and when, after the proclamation of Vitellius, Vespasian began to resume operations, his own elevation again interrupted the warfare, and it was not till the spring of 70 A.D. that his son Titus marched against Jerusalem to end the miserable episode.

§ 19. Jerusalem, in the meantime, was a scene of wild confusion. The leader of the moderate party had been slain, the Zealots reigned supreme, and quarrelled and fought among themselves. There were three main parties. One headed by Eleazar, son of Simon, and consisting of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, occupied the inner enclosure of the Temple. The outer court of the Temple was held by John of Giscala and his Galileans. Another party, under Simon, son of Gioras, of Gerasa, held the upper town, the hill of Zion. But when the Romans came, these factions composed their differences, and fought side by side. Eleazar's party placed itself under John, and thus the rivalry was narrowed to two competitors, Simon in the city and John in the Temple.

Titus might have blockaded the city, and starved the inhabitants out, but he wished to inaugurate the new Flavian dynasty and make his own reputation by a brilliant exploit. Jerusalem was defended on all sides by impregnable rocks, except on the north, on which side it had been attacked by the Assyrians, and more recently by Pompeius. Herod Agrippa had attempted to strengthen the fortifications on this accessible side, but the Romans had prevented him. The walls which he had planned were hastily raised under the direction of the Sanhedrim during the insurrection. The task of Titus was not an easy one. When he had stormed the outer wall, and penetrated into the new city, a second wall met him which he had to pass before he could reach the lower city on the hill of Acra. Then he had to storm the temple, surrounded by an inner and an outer wall, and the adjoining citadel, called Antonia. The strong defences of Zion, on which the upper city was built, and the palace of Herod, still remained.

The forces of Titus had been increased by another legion from Syria, XII. Fulminata. The first wall resisted for a long time all the attempts of the assailants, but at length fell beneath the battering-ram. Many of the besieged would then have been willing to submit, in fear of the famine which threatened them, and the Roman general sent Josephus to the wall to offer honourable

terms. But the chiefs would not hear of surrender. Then Titus drew a wall of circumvallation round the city, and cut off all external supplies from the inhabitants, while they continued their attacks on the second wall. The sufferings of the Jews from famine became terrible; a woman was known to kill her child for food. At this time a half-witted fanatic, Joshua, the son of Hanan, went about the public places shouting, "A voice of ruin from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south!" and "Woe to Jerusalem!" None dared to hinder or punish him. One day he uttered a new cry, "Woe to me also!" and at the same moment he was killed by a stone from a catapult of the besiegers. All sorts of portents were said to have occurred. The doors of the Temple burst open, and a voice more than human cried, "Let us depart hence!" and a great sound of departure was heard.

At last, at the end of three months, the second wall was passed, and the citadel Antonia taken. This castle, close to the temple, and overlooking it, was destroyed by the Romans, except one wing, which was left standing as a watch-tower. Titus then allowed considerable numbers of the population to leave the town; but the Zealots remained deaf to the expostulations of Josephus, and the admonitions of the Jews who had been taken captive in the lower city. They refused to spare the temple by timely submission to the besiegers. They carried on the work of defence with no regard to the sacred character of the place, and even desecrated the Holy of Holies by their presence. For a long time they baffled the assaults of the Romans; but the defence of the outer temple-wall gradually relaxed, and at length the burning missiles of the assailants set fire to the northern portico. The two leaders, John of Giscala, and Simon, son of Gioras, with some of their followers, escaped by the connecting causeway which they broke down behind them, into the upper city. But the multitude and the priests stood firm in the inner enclosure. The Romans with difficulty passed the outer wall, making a path for themselves with the help of fire, which soon spread and consumed the royal porch of Herod. Many of the Jews perished in the flames, the rest were cut down in a final struggle. The Temple and its treasures were burned to the ground (August). The chiefs still lay behind the defences of the upper city, hopeless, yet resolved not to yield. But discord raged among the garrison of the last stronghold, and a large number of Jews gave themselves up to the Romans. The rest were reduced by famine, and the chiefs at last abandoned the defence of the rampart, and sought refuge in the subterranean passages with which the hill was honeycombed

and by which they hoped to reach the valleys beyond. The Romans then entered; and slew, plundered, and burned (September 2nd). The siege had lasted over five months, but at length Jerusalem was laid in ruins. Simon and John, unable to escape in the underground galleries, and pressed by hunger, came forth from their holes, and surrendered. The life of John was spared, but Simon was reserved for the triumph, and put to death afterwards. Those of the insurgents who escaped, held out for years in the rock fortresses of Massada and Machærus, near the Dead Sea. The captives were put to death or sold into slavery. Many died from starvation, refusing to accept food from their warders.

§ 20. Although Vespasian and Titus disdained to add to their names the title Judaicus, drawn from a people whom they despised, they did not omit to celebrate a triumph in honour of the victory; and an arch was erected by the senate to Titus after his death on which may be still seen a sculpture of the golden candlestick with seven branches, which was rescued from the sanctuary of the Temple. Another arch was erected during his lifetime in the Circus, and the dedication celebrates his capture of Jerusalem, "which all leaders, kings and nations before him had either attacked in vain or left wholly unattempted." The statement is ludicrously false; and if we can excuse the senate for ignorance of the Assyrian siege or even of that of Antiochus Epiphanes, we cannot understand their ignoring Pompeius.

The demolition of Jerusalem, which lay in ruins as Carthage and Corinth had once lain, deprived the Jewish nation of a centre. The high priesthood and the Sanhedrim were abolished, and the Israelites were left without a head. The yearly tribute which every Jew, wherever he dwelled, used to send to the temple, was now, by a sort of bitter parody, to be sent to the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. It is a disputed question whether Titus really wished to destroy the Temple with all its wonders, or whether its destruction was an accident which he deplored. It seems, on the whole, more likely that its destruction was part of the political scheme which the Roman government had devised, to settle the petty, but troublesome Jewish question once for all. It should be taken in connection with the fact that Vespasian at the same time closed the Temple of Onias near Memphis in Egypt, the chief sanctuary of the Egyptian Jews. The conflagration was a matter for praise to the Roman poet Valerius Flaccus, who, in the invocation of his "Argonautica," celebrates Titus for scattering the torches in Solyma:

> Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem,
> Spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.

Judea became a province of the Empire, and the camp of the Xth legion,* which was left as its garrison, was pitched on the ruins of the fallen capital. Henceforward, the troops levied in Judea were employed elsewhere. A settlement of Roman veterans was made at Emmaus. In Samaria, the chief town, Sichem, was organised under the name Flavia Neapolis, as a Greek city. On the other hand, Cæsarea, hitherto a Greek city, was made a Flavian Colonia of Roman type. King Agrippa, who had supported the Romans loyally, retained his possessions as long as he lived; but on his death, about thirty years later, his kingdom was incorporated in the province of Syria.

* The XIIth legion was sent to Cappadocia; the Vth and XVth back to their quarters in Mœsia and Pannonia respectively.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

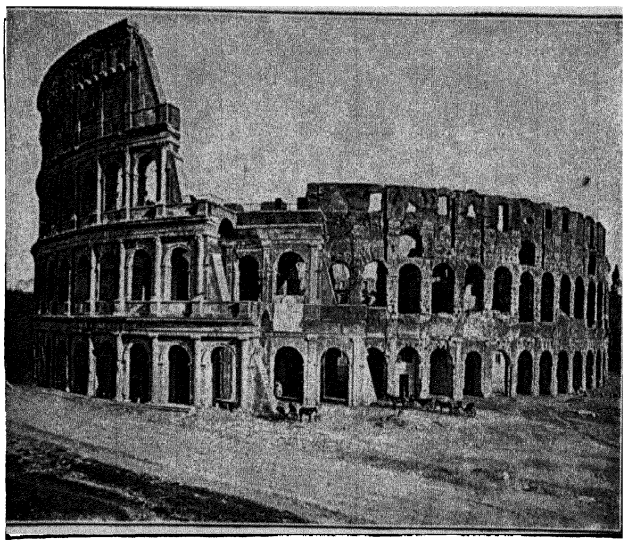
DISTRIBUTION OF THE LEGIONS IN THE PROVINCES IN 71 A.D.

The following (according to Pfitzner, *Geschichte der romischen Kaiserlegionen*) was the distribution of the legions by Vespasian, after the subjugation of the German and Jewish revolts:

Spain: VII. Gemina.
Britain: II. Augusta, IX., XX. Victrix.
Germany, Lower: II. Adjutrix, VI. Victr., X. Gem., XXI. Rapax.
Germany, Upper: I. Adjut., VIII. Aug., XI. Claudia, XIV. Gem.
Pannonia: XIII. Gem., XV. Apollinaris XXII. Primigenia.
Mœsia: I. Italica, IV. Flavia, V. Alauda, V. Macedonica, VII. Claudia
Syria: III. Gallica, IV. Scythica, VI Ferrata.
Cappadocia: XII. Fulminata, XVI. Flavia.
Judea: X. Fretensis.
Egypt: III. Cyrenaica, XXII. Dejotariana.
Africa: III. Augusta.

The total number of legions was thus twenty-nine, as at Nero's death. This number had been increased to thirty by Galba, who added VII. Galbiana. Four legions had been disbanded in consequence of the revolt of Civilis, and their place supplied by three new ones. Thus the number of twenty-nine was restored.

Coin: Judæa Capta.



Colosseum.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS. VESPASIAN, TITUS, AND DOMITIAN (69–96 A.D.).

§ 1. The work of VESPASIAN. Character, origin, and family. § 2. Ceremony on the restoration of the Capitol. Closing of Temple of Janus (71 A.D.). § 3. Titus made a consort and prætorian prefect by his father. § 4. Vespasian's attitude to the senate and to the opposition. Helvidius Priscus. § 5. Finances. § 6. Public buildings. § 7. Prætorian guards reorganised. § 8. Provincial administration. Grant of *ius Latinum* to Spain. § 9. Death of Vespasian.—§ 10. Accession of TITUS. Berenice. § 11. Policy of Titus. Spectacles. § 12. Fire at Rome. Eruption of Vesuvius (79 A.D.). § 13. Death of Titus. —§ 14. Early career of DOMITIAN. § 15. Victory over the Chatti. § 16. Domitian's monarchical policy; perpetual censorship; consulships. § 17. He imitates Tiberius. The finances. § 18. Revolt of Antonius Saturninus. § 19. The Stoic opposition. Reign of Terror. Murder of Domitian. § 20. Feelings of the senate, soldiers, and people

at his death. § 21. Character and policy of Domitian. His strictness in matters of religion and morals. § 22. Buildings 23. Treatment of Domitian by historians. Satire of Juvenal on his *Consilium*.

SECT. I.—VESPASIAN.

§ 1. THE new ruler of the Roman world, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, has the distinction of having founded a new dynasty. Indeed he might claim to be considered a second Augustus, somewhat as Augustus claimed to be a second Romulus. He was called upon to perform a task of the same kind as that which Augustus wrought, though on a far smaller scale. The conqueror of Vitellius, like the conqueror of Antonius, had to pacify the state and restore order after civil wars. The wars which followed the death of Nero were not as great in importance or duration as those which followed the death of Julius. But they were serious enough to put the state out of joint, and Vespasian has the glory of having set it right so effectively that the machine went smoothly for another century, during which the empire enjoyed peace and plenty. Vespasian was not a man of originality, he had not a spark of genius. But then no new ideas were required for his work. He merely confirmed the Augustan system and rectified it in some details. He was fully equal to the task which fell to his lot. It required strength of character, and he was strong; it required the plainest common sense, and he had no illusions of imagination; it required caution, and he was not rash; it required determination, and when he had made up his mind, nothing deterred him from carrying out his resolve.*

The elevation of a Sabine of humble birth to the Principate is a symptom of the levelling process which was gradually raising Italy to an equality with Rome. Hitherto, no man who was not of high Roman descent was regarded as a possible candidate for the Empire. In appearance, the homely Vespasian was very different from the aristocratic Augustus. He was square and firmly built, his neck thick, his features coarse, his eyes small. As a soldier, he was competent, but not brilliant. He had enjoyed a fair education, and could speak and write Greek with ease. He was careless of appearances, and was not ashamed of his humble origin. He laughed at the flattery of the poets who tried to discover a heroic origin for his municipal family. He had a sharp and homely wit. An anecdote is related of him that, having been criticised by Florus for pronouncing the word *plaustrum*, "a waggon," in provincial fashion *plostrum*, he addressed Florus, on

* Part of the *Lex de Imperio* passed for Vespasian is extant; see above Chap. II. Notes and Illustrations, D.

meeting him next day, as *O Flaure.* He was not, perhaps, naturally superstitious, but while he was at Alexandria, oriental flatterers practised on his credulity. A blind man and a cripple alleged that the god Serapis had assured them that the new Imperator possessed the divine power of healing their infirmities. Vespasian was persuaded to touch the eyes of the blind with his spittle, and to place his foot on the lame man; immediately the blind received his sight and the lame walked. Vespasian was deceived by the imposture, and was filled with a deep respect for the oracles of Serapis. He married Flavia Domitilla, and by her had three children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla. After her death, he did not marry again, but formed a permanent connection, known as *contubernium*, with a freedwoman, named Cœnis, with whom he had been intimate before his marriage.

§ 2. Vespasian did not arrive in Rome until the summer of 70 A.D. Before he returned, the senate had taken in hand the restoration of the Capitol, for while the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus lay in ruins, it was believed that the Empire could not be prosperous. The work was entrusted to L. Vestinus, a knight of high reputation, although such works usually devolved upon senators. The ruins of the old temple were removed, by the orders of the haruspices, so that the new edifice might be erected on the foundations of the old; "for the gods do not wish the old form to be changed." On the 21st June, being a fair day, soldiers whose names were auspicious (such as Valerius or Salvius), entered the arena, crowned with garlands; and the Vestal virgins along with boys and girls, both of whose parents were alive, sprinkled the site with the water of springs and running streams. The prætor, Helvidius Priscus, then purified it by the blood of a boar, a wether, and a bull, and having placed the entrails on an altar of turf, repeated after the pontifex a prayer to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the patron gods of Rome, to prosper the undertaking, and by divine help raise the temple. Then he touched the fillets which bound the foundation-stone, and it was dragged to the spot where it was destined to lie by the combined efforts of priests, senators, knights, and the people. Heaps of gold and silver coins, never used for profane purposes, and nuggets of unwrought metal, were then cast on the foundations. The new temple was built on the plan of the old one, but the haruspices permitted Vespasian to raise it to a greater height than the temple restored by Catulus.

This striking ceremony and the rebuilding of the Capitol, were a fitting inauguration of the era introduced by the accession of Vespasian, an era of peace and tranquility. The temple of Janus was closed in the following year (71 A.D.), after the return of Titus

from the conquest of Judea; and the peace which Vespasian bestowed upon the world was (like the *pax Augusta*) appreciated by his contemporaries, celebrated by poets, and impressed on coins.

§ 3. Vespasian followed the example of Augustus, and the more recent example of Galba, in taking to himself a consort in the Empire. Both the proconsular imperium and the tribunician power were conferred on his son Titus at the same time, and thus Titus held a position like that which Tiberius held in the last years of Augustus. The object of Vespasian was not to lighten his own labours, but to secure the succession for his son. Titus was allowed to assume more of the imperial privileges than had been conceded to any consort before. He wore the laurel wreath, and *vota* were offered in his name. He also styled himself Imperator; but while Vespasian used this title as a prænomen, Titus bore it as a cognomen (Titus Cæsar Imperator Vespasianus). The position of Titus was also rendered unique in another way. The dangers which threatened the Principate from the power which was in the hands of the prætorian prefect had been clearly shown in the course of recent history. The appointment of two prefects was one solution of the difficulty; but Vespasian found a more effective solution by entrusting it to his son and consort.

Vespasian made no alteration in the constitution of the Principate; but he attempted to introduce some innovations in practice. He seems to have laid less stress than his predecessors on the *tribunicia potestas*, and to have even intended to discontinue the official counting of the years of his reign as tribunician years. He seems to have contemplated a return to the first system of Augustus (27–23 B.C.) which based the position of the Princeps mainly on the consulate. He was ordinary consul himself in every year of his reign except two (73 and 78 A.D.), and his son and consort Titus was generally his colleague. But nothing came of this unusual series of imperial consulates. It was only tentative, and did not affect the future development of the Principate.

§ 4. Vespasian was respectful to the senate, but he did not permit it such independence as it enjoyed under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and in the early reign of Nero. By exercising an influence on its composition, he tried to render it dependent on the Emperor. This influence he exercised in two ways. By frequent consular elections, which he was able to control, he increased the number of the *consulares*; and (in 73 A.D.) he assumed the censorship along with Titus, and exercised the censorial power of adlection to the senate. At the same time, he created a number of patrician families to take the place of the old nobility which was exhausted.

A new aristocracy dates from this reign. Vespasian abolished, chiefly in favour of Italians and provincials, trials for *maiestas*; but, on the other hand, he did not permit processes to be instituted against delators, and this clemency displeased the aristocracy. There was a party of opposition in his reign, just as in the reigns of his predecessors, consisting of Stoic and Cynic philosophers and discontented nobles full of vain and unpractical theories. Under Nero, their leader had been Thrasea, under Vespasian, it was Thrasea's son-in-law Helvidius Priscus.* He was a man of no judgment. Infatuated with an idea of an impossible republic, dreaming still of Cato and Brutus—he had written a book entitled "The Praise of Cato"—he was unable to distinguish between the tyranny of a Nero and the good government of a Vespasian. He not only indulged in untimely opposition, but took part in conspiracies, and at length, like Thrasea, he died a martyr to a vain aspiration Vespasian caused a decree for his banishment to be passed, and then ordered his death. The sects of the Stoics and Cynics were banished from the city, and here popular opinion probably supported Vespasian. These philosophers kept up a constant agitation by their tracts against monarchy. The Stoic, Musonius Rufus, was honourably excepted from the decree of exile; he knew that the monarchy was a necessity, and he did not bark.† The only other execution of note, besides that of Priscus, was that of Cæcina, the general who betrayed Vitellius. He was put to death for implication in a conspiracy (in 79 A.D.) by the order of Titus.

§ 5. The most difficult and most ungrateful problem that Vespasian was called upon to solve was the ordering of the finances of the state. The treasuries were empty, and a large outlay was urgently demanded, both in the provinces and in Italy. The extravagance of Nero's reign, followed by a year of civil war, had plunged the state in bankruptcy. Vespasian required means not only for the ordinary expenses of administration, but for carrying out the work and repairs which had been neglected during the last years, owing to want of funds. He had to renew the fortifications of the Rhine frontier, which had been destroyed in the rebellion of the Batavians, and he had to help Rome and Italy to recover from the disasters of the recent wars. He calculated that a sum of

* Juvenal speaks of wine such as Helvidius and Thrasea used to drink on the birthdays of the Bruti and Cassius (v. 36):

Quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus.

† Two philosophers, Hostilius and Demetrius, who were outrageously virulent, were sent to islands. When they did not cease their invectives even after the sentence was passed, Vespasian refused to pass a severer sentence, saying, "I will not kill a dog that barks at me."

40,000,000,000 sesterces (about 320,000,000*l.*) was required to raise the prostrate republic. The census was held (73 A.D.) in order to set the revenue in order and adjust the taxation; and this was one of the Emperor's chief objects in assuming the censorship. Like all rulers to whom the task has fallen of rescuing a state from pecuniary embarrassment, he was obliged to make the burdens severe, and to practise strict economy. And like all such rulers he got little thanks. His fiscal strictness and policy of retrenching made him unpopular; he was called avaricious and parsimonious.* He renewed imposts which had been remitted by Galba, and instituted new taxes. He raised, in some cases even doubled, the tributes of the provinces. He exercised strict control over the fiscal officers, who under a careless Princeps were in the habit of diverting the public money into their private chests. Some pieces of public land in Italy, destined for the occupation of veterans, but still unassigned, had been unlawfully occupied, and Vespasian endeavoured to resume these for the state. He retrenched the expenses of the court, and by his own frugal life set the example of moderation. The extravagant luxury which had prevailed at the courts of Claudius and Nero seems to have gone out of fashion.

§ 6. The great public buildings which he erected show that he succeeded in filling the treasury. The fire of Nero's reign as well as the fire which attended the fall of Vitellius and ushered in the Flavians, had given opportunity for the erection of new buildings. Rome rose again from her ashes; *Roma resurgens* is one of the mottoes on coins of Vespasian. Besides the temple of Jupiter, already mentioned, Vespasian built a temple to Peace, the goddess whom he pre-eminently revered (in 75 A.D.). This temple was connected with an open place which resembled the fora of Cæsar and Augustus, but was not called a forum, not being used for forensic purposes. It lay behind the Basilica Æmilia and east of the Forum Augusti from which it was separated by the Argiletum. Domitian afterwards connected the Forum Augusti with the Templum Pacis by the *Forum transitorium*. Pliny counted the temple of Peace among the finest works in the world. Vespasian deposited in it the golden treasures which Titus brought back from the temple of Jerusalem. On the south-east side of this place he erected a *Templum Sacræ Urbis*, which served for keeping the archives of the census. But the great work by which Vespasian will be remembered is the huge amphitheatre which he built in the hollow between the Esquiline and the Cælian to take the place of the amphitheatre of Taurus in the Campus, which had been burnt down in the great fire. This building, now popularly known as

* Si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par (Tacitus).

the Colosseum, rose almost as high as the Capitol itself, and accommodated nearly ninety-thousand spectators.*

§ 7. One of the most important cares of Vespasian was the organisation of the prætorian guard. The cohorts formed by Vitellius out of the Germanic legions had in any case to be broken up; but Vespasian had to decide whether he would accept the innovation of his predecessor and form the new guard out of his own victorious legions, and adopt the increased number of sixteen cohorts instead of nine. Both political and financial considerations induced him to return to the system of Augustus. If he filled up the prætorian cohorts from certain legions and not from others, insolence on the one hand and jealousy on the other would be the necessary results; while the treasury could not afford to increase the number of highly-paid troops. He therefore established again the old number of nine cohorts, and renewed the practice of recruiting them from Italians. In regard to the legionaries, he had to replace the Germanic troops who were dismissed in consequence of the part they played in the rebellion of Civilis, by three new legions (II. Adjutrix, IV. Flavia Felix, XVI. Flavia Firma). From this time forth Italians do not seem to have been recruited as legionaries; this, however, was probably the natural result of their privilege, and not due to any enactment excluding them.

§ 8. In the provincial administration which was marked by the appointment of good governors, several changes took place. *Ius Latinum* was conferred upon all the peregrine town-communities of Spain,† and the new citizens were enrolled in the tribus Quirina (74 A.D.). The same privilege was probably bestowed upon the Helvetians. Achaia, which Nero in his philhellenic enthusiasm had declared free, was made tributary again, and restored to the senate, while Sardinia and Corsica were transferred back to the Emperor. The two Cilicias (Rough and Smooth) were united as a single province under an imperial governor (73–74 A.D.); and Lycia and Pamphylia were similarly united. The dependent kingdom of Commagene was incorporated in the province of Syria (72 A.D.) the governor of Syria, Cæsennius Pætus having accused King Antiochus of conspiring with Parthia. This change must have been an advantage for the inhabitants, who must have been more severely taxed to keep up a small sovranty, than as tributaries of Rome. The Parthian king tried ineffectually to procure the restoration of

* For a description of this building, see below, Chap. XXXI., § 24.

† It is possible that it may have been conferred in some modified form on the non-civic communities, to which strictly it was not appropriate. The measure was begun in 73 A.D., but was not fully carried out until the reign of Domitian. The municipal laws which were consequently drawn up for Salpensa and Malaca (between 82 and 84 A.D.) are preserved.

King Antiochus, and it is possible that these negotiations, as well as the refusal of Rome to help Parthia against the Alans may have led to a breach between the two powers, which resulted in hostilities in 77 A.D. when M. Ulpius Trajanus was governor of Syria. Vologeses invaded the province, but was compelled to retire by Trajan —the future Emperor—who received for his services the triumphal insignia, and was appointed proconsul of Asia two years later. The eastern frontier was now protected not only by the four legions of Syria, but by a legion in the newly-organised province of Galatia and Cappadocia which was entrusted to a legatus Augusti pro prætore. Vespasian's measures for the protection of the Danube frontier and the wars of his lieutenant in Britain will be more conveniently told in subsequent chapters.

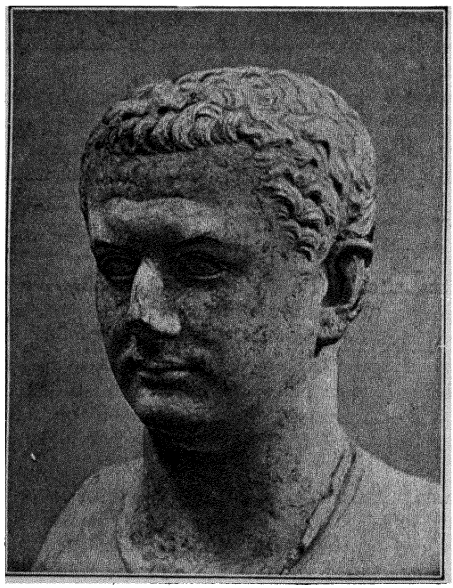
§ 9. Vespasian died on June 23, 79 A.D. at the age of seventy. During his last illness he carried on his public business as usual, and said that an Imperator ought to die standing. He was consecrated by a decree of the senate, like Claudius and Augustus.

SECT. II.—TITUS.

§ 10. Titus, already Imperator, already endowed with the tribunician power, was elected Princeps and Augustus without a demurring voice. Born in the first year of Claudius, he had been educated along with Britannicus. He accompanied his father to Judea, and had been sent to announce to Galba the adhesion of the eastern army. He was well educated, eloquent, and accomplished, and of great personal beauty. His conquest of Jerusalem established his military reputation. He was fond of pleasure and dissipation. While he was in the east he became the lover of Berenice, sister of Agrippa, and during his father's reign she lived with him at Rome as his mistress. But to the Romans, who might have tolerated a Greek concubine, this open connection of the consort of the Emperor with a Jewess was a scandal, and Titus yielded to their prejudices, much against his will. Berenice returned to her country, but visited Rome once more after the death of Vespasian. Titus, however, was firm, and refused to sacrifice his influence to her seductions. He had been married twice, and by his second wife, Marcia Furnilla, had a daughter Julia, on whom he conferred the title Augusta, after the example set by Nero in the case of Claudia.

§ 11. The great aim of Titus was to make himself popular. He was already the darling of the soldiers, and when he became Princeps he courted favour with the aristocracy as well as with the populace. Thus his short reign bears in several respects the character of a reaction against his father's policy. He ingratiated

himself with the senate by punishing delators, who were scourged in the amphitheatre and deported to islands. He did not, like his father, exercise control over the public officials, and he allowed peculation to go on unchecked. He was lavish in giving away, and said that "no one ought to leave the presence of the Princeps disappointed." An anecdote is told that one evening at supper he remembered that he had bestowed no gift on anyone during the



Titus (from the British Museum).

day, and said to his friends, "I have lost this day." He built magnificent baths—the Thermæ of Titus—for the people, and on the occasion of the dedication of the great amphitheatre (80 A.D.) he exhibited shows which lasted for a hundred days. There were combats of gladiators, in which women took part, and five thousand animals were slain. The arena was then filled with water, and a sea-fight took place representing the battle of the Corinthians and Corcyræans recorded by Thucydides. There was also a representation of the siege of Syracuse in the Naumachia of Augustus. At the

end of the exhibitions, tickets for a distribution of eatables were thrown to the populace. By acts like these he wasted the funds accumulated by the economy of his father, just as Gaius had wasted the treasury of Tiberius.

§ 12. The reign of Titus was marked by public misfortunes at Rome and in Campania. A fire broke out in the city (80 A.D.) and consumed the new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, not yet quite completed. It also injured the Pantheon and Thermæ of Agrippa, the theatres of Pompeius and Balbus, and the portico of Octavia. In 79 A.D. (August 23rd, 24th), the great eruption of Vesuvius took place, which overwhelmed the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Owing to this disaster a picture of the Greek civilisation of Campania was safely preserved under the lava for the benefit of the present century. A description of the eruption has been preserved by an eye-witness, the younger Pliny, whose uncle, the elder Pliny, perished by approaching too nearly the volcanic eruption, which was also fatal to the lyric poet Cæsius Bassus.

§ 13. The health of Titus was seriously undermined before he became Princeps, and no remedies availed to cure him. He died in his father's native district at Reate, on September 13th, 81 A.D. His short term of power was not stained by a single execution of a senator, and the Romans regretted his death. But it is impossible to know what he might have turned out if he had lived longer. He began somewhat like Nero and Gaius; and it is possible that when he had exhausted the treasury he might have ended like Nero and Gaius too. He was popular—"the darling of the world"*—but his popularity rested on a false foundation, and he bequeathed to his successor the invidious task of replenishing the fiscus which his extravagance had well-nigh emptied. The brevity of his reign was indeed fortunate for Titus,† who, like his father, was enrolled among the gods.

SECT. III.—DOMITIAN.

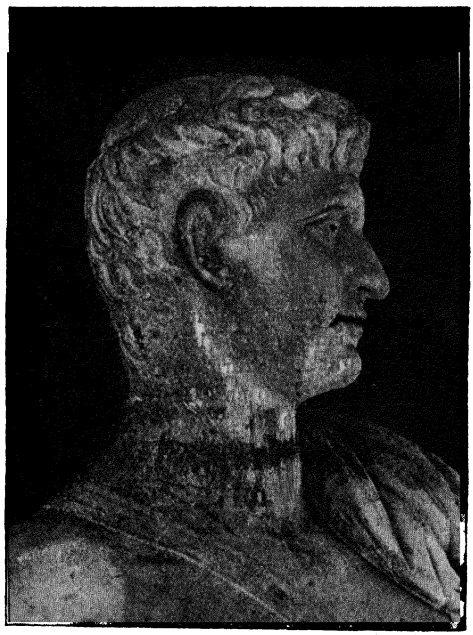
§ 14. Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian,‡ who had just reached the age of thirty. It has been already mentioned how he escaped from the sack of the Capitol by the Vitellians, and was saluted as Cæsar after the Flavian victory. But Mucianus did not allow him to exercise political power. He was eager to win military fame, like his brother, and wished to take part in the Batavian war. But Mucianus urged that it would be enough to exhibit the pomp

* This is the celebrated phrase of Tacitus: *delicise humani generis.*

† Titus imperii felix brevitate (Ausonius).

‡ Imperator Cæsar divi Vespasiani f(ilius) Domitianus A

of the principate at Lugudunum, as Cerealis had nearly finished the war. Domitian yielded, but was so disgusted at his want of influence, that when he returned to Rome he refused any longer to act as a figure-head in public matters, and retired to a villa on the Alban mount, where he lived with his mistress Domitia, daughter of Corbulo, the hero of the Armenian wars. But in the few months during which he had represented his father he had tasted



Domitian (from the statue at Munich).

the pleasures of power and sovranty, and he felt bitter when, after his father's return, he was kept strictly in the background. He lived with his father, and it was thus clearly shown that he was under the patria potestas. He was jealous of his brother who had been made consort in the Empire. While Vespasian and Titus were borne in the *sella*, Domitian had to follow in the *lectica*. He was six times consul, but only once at the beginning of the year (73 A.D.), and then because Titus retired in his favour. He still yearned to distinguish himself in warfare, and when the Parthian

king asked for Roman help against an invasion of the Alans, Domitian left nothing undone to induce Vespasian to send him; and when Vespasian refused, he tried by gifts to induce other eastern potentates to make similar requests for help. Outwardly, indeed, Domitian received all the honours which an Emperor's son might expect. He was allowed to wear the laurel wreath; his image was represented on coins, and his superscription, along with those of his father and brother, on public buildings. He was made a member of all the sacred colleges. But he had no political influence; he was given no opportunity of winning military renown; and no mere outward marks of honour could reconcile him to his position. It was said that on his father's death he formed the plan of bribing the prætorians to make him Imperator by a double donative. He seems at all events to have hoped that he would occupy the same place under Titus which Titus himself had occupied under Vespasian. But though Titus recognised him in an unofficial way as his consort and successor, the proconsular imperium and tribunician power were not conferred upon him. This was a new and bitter disappointment, and there is no doubt that jealousy and suspicion prevailed between the brothers. Titus, however, really regarded Domitian as his successor. For he had no male children; and in order to avoid any question about the succession, he actually proposed a marriage between his daughter Julia and Domitian. Unions between uncles and nieces had been legitimised by Claudius, but they were a gross defiance of old Roman prejudices, and Domitian was a strong upholder of Roman religion. Besides this he was passionately fond of his mistress Domitia, whom he married, and the idea of Titus fell through. Julia was united to her cousin Flavius Sabinus, the son of Vespasian's brother, who perished in the Vitellian catastrophe.

Domitian had ridden at full speed to Rome from his brother's bedside, and was greeted Imperator by the prætorians, and he counted September 13th as the *dies imperii*, from which he also dated his tribunician year, although the *tribunicia potestas* was not conferred upon him till September 30th. He assumed the chief Pontificate immediately, and also the title *Pater Patriæ*, which his predecessors had been accustomed not to accept for some time after the accession. This trait is characteristic of the autocratic and imperious nature of Domitian.

§ 15. The reign of Domitian was marked by a new and distinct departure in autocratic policy, forming—it is hardly too much to say—an epoch in the growth of the Principate towards absolute monarchy; by important wars against Dacians and Germans on the Danube frontier; and by the advance of Roman arms in

Britain. These wars will be described in the following chapter. Here must be mentioned a small campaign on the Rhine, by which Domitian secured the military distinction which he had desired and which befitted the position of an Imperator.

In 83 A.D. the Emperor proceeded to Gaul on the plea of a census in that country, but his real object was to cross the Rhine and invade the country of the Chatti. What the Chatti had done to provoke this attack, is not known. The chastisement of their plundering bands, which often troubled the Upper province, hardly required an imperial expedition. In any case a victory was gained over the Chatti, and Domitian celebrated a splendid triumph, and assumed the name Germanicus, by which he is constantly called in contemporary literature. His enemies ridiculed this victory as a mere farce, and it was maliciously whispered that in the triumphal procession slaves wearing wigs of fair hair and dressed in German fashion acted the part of Chattic captives. On the other hand, the poets seeking for imperial favour exaggerated the imperial exploit. The victory, of whatever nature it was, must have been of some importance, though this is not always recognised; and it was connected with a new plan of frontier defence, which will be described in the following chapter.

§ 16. In the beginning of his reign Domitian was gracious to the senate, as the senators themselves admitted. Like Titus, he put down delation, and punished delators, on the principle* that unless a delator is chastised he is encouraged. But when the Emperor had established his power securely, and felt himself after his Germanic triumph a true Imperator, he soon began to let the nobles see that they were greatly mistaken if they expected him to adhere to the constitution of Augustus. Naturally endowed with a capacity for governing, and imbued with an autocratic spirit, he was determined to rule the state himself. The joint rule of the senate, the "dyarchy" which Augustus had framed so tenderly, seemed to Domitian intolerable, and he aimed at reducing it to a nullity. Other Emperors had indeed assumed more than their own share of the government, and made the senate feel its dependent position; but they had done so only by fits and starts. Tiberius and Nero had been autocratic in their last years, but they had made no constitutional innovation vitally affecting the relation between Princeps and senate. But Domitian worked towards the political annihilation of the senate systematically and in cold blood; and that is why the senatorial party regarded him with such intense hatred.

(1) It has been already explained that the Princeps exercised

* Princeps qui delatores non castigat irritat.

influence on the constitution of the senate by his right of commendation in the case of those magistracies which conferred admission to that body. But he had no right of directly appointing senators. Such right of *adlection*, as it was called, could only be exercised by the censor; and the censorial power did not belong to the competence of the Princeps, according to the Augustan constitution. Claudius had assumed the censorship, and more recently Vespasian had assumed it, but in each case only to lay it down again at the end of a year. In fact, the maintenance of the censorship as an independent magistracy, not connected with the Principate as such, but which the Princeps, or any other eligible citizen, might fill when required, was an essential feature of the Principate. And Domitian saw this clearly. He saw that the censorship was the means by which he could reduce the position of the senate to insignificance. Once the Princeps possessed the powers of a censor perpetually, the control of the senate was entirely in his hands, and the system of Augustus was undermined. Domitian did not hesitate. He first caused the *censoria potestas* to be conferred on him (end of 84 or early in 85 A.D.), but a few months later assumed the office of censor for life.* With this power of electing and ejecting whomsoever he chose, he made the senate completely dependent on his own will. The Principate thus received a permanent shock; for his successors, though they did not assume the title of censor, silently retained the censorial powers. The senate continued, indeed, to share the cares of government; its nominal position in the constitution remained unchanged; but virtually the Principate had become a monarchy without disguise. In connection with this important innovation, it is probable that the census office (*a censibus pop. Rom.*), which was under the control of the senate, was made an imperial office over which a knight presided.

(2) Domitian was consul ten times during his principate; seven times in succession from 82 to 88 A.D., then again in 90, 92, and 95 A.D. He never continued in office beyond the 1st of May, sometimes not beyond the Ides of January, but it looks as if he intended to assert for the Princeps the right of giving the name to the year. In this he was following the example of his father, who throughout his reign generally assumed the consulship. But Domitian went further than Vespasian. In 84 A.D. he caused himself to be designated consul for ten years. He had precedents for this in the case of Tiberius, who, along with Sejanus, had been designated consul for five years (29 A.D.), and in that of Nero, who had been designated for ten years (58 A.D.). Neither Tiberius nor Nero had

* Martial addresses Domitian as *censor maxime, principumque princeps* (vi. 4).

cared to carry out their designations, and Domitian did not fully carry out his; but he went nearer to a continuous consulship than any of his predecessors since the consulships of Augustus himself from 30 to 23 B.C.

(3) The senate was very anxious, for its own safety, to have the principle laid down that the Emperor was incompetent to condemn a senator to death. Titus had acted on this principle, but he had not formally admitted it. Domitian, a strong asserter of the higher power of the Princeps, refused to recognise a decree of this kind which the senate wished to pass. And what made matters worse was that Domitian formed his *consilium* out of knights as well as senators, so that, when a senator was tried before the imperial court, a knight might be one of his judges.

(4) Practically Domitian treated the senate as of no account. He only asked its opinion on matters of no consequence, and he constantly used his right of voting first in order to force the rest to vote as he willed. The senators were completely cowed.

(5) In outward forms too Domitian displayed his autocratic spirit. The procurators were permitted to designate the Emperor as *dominus ac deus*, and the same expression was used by the poets; but it was not recognised as an official title. The citizens, however, always spoke of him as *dominus*. Domitian was regarded by the people as something very different from a First Citizen. Further, he regularly wore the purple garment of triumph, even when he appeared in the senate: he was attended by twenty-four, instead of twelve, lictors; and he allowed only statues of gold and silver to be set up in his honour.

§ 17. If Vespasian had made Augustus his model, Domitian derived precepts of government from the Memoirs of Tiberius, a book which he constantly studied. Like Tiberius, he was an able and clear-headed ruler. He controlled with a strong hand the officials both in the provinces and in the city. Only those were appointed of whose personal devotion the Emperor was secure, and this principle was applied even to senatorial provinces. Candidates whom Domitian mistrusted were induced to withdraw, and received in compensation the proconsular salary of a million sesterces. But Domitian, unlike Tiberius, did not suffer the prætorian prefects to gain any political influence, like that which Sejanus and Tigellinus had possessed. In this he was following the example of his father.

Domitian was fully conscious that the independent position of the Emperor in regard to the senate necessarily rested on the support of the army. The Flavian dynasty had been set up by the soldiers; both Vespasian and Titus had maintained its

military character; but Domitian went even further than they in displaying the importance of the legions and in emphasising his own character as Imperator. His breach with the senate rendered him more dependent on the favour of the army. He added a very large item to the yearly expenditure by increasing the pay of the legionary soldiers by one third (from nine to twelve aurei), and that of the prætorians in a similar proportion.

The ordering of the finances was one of the most difficult problems for Domitian, as for his father. The extravagance of Titus had diminished the full treasury of Vespasian, and Domitian had no intention of resuming Vespasian's policy of parsimony. On the contrary, Domitian was a most open-handed sovran. His liberality to his friends was profuse, and, like Titus, he entertained the populace with frequent games and shows on a magnificent scale. On these occasions he distributed *congiaria* or bread-money among the poorer citizens, at the rate of three hundred sesterces each. He tried to diminish the burdens of the people, and cancelled arrears due to the ærarium of longer standing than five years. He abandoned the claim of the state, which had been enforced by Vespasian, to the unallotted strips of land in Italy. In his financial measures he was assisted by the advice of Claudius Etruscus, who had been a minister of Nero. But a policy of this kind could not be permanent. The wars in Britain and on the Danube were costly; while the buildings which he undertook and the spectacles which he exhibited demanded immense sums. To increase the tribute and oppress the mass of the population was against the traditions of the Empire, and especially opposed to the principles of Domitian. He was thus placed in the same circumstances which had driven Gaius and Nero into a systematic course of plundering the nobility.

§ 18. But other motives along with these financial necessities contributed to make the last days of Domitian a reign of terror for the aristocracy. His wife Domitia had borne him one son, who had died in childhood; and without an heir Domitian did not feel secure. He saw in every distinguished man a possible successor, a possible assassin. His suspicions and fears were confirmed and increased by the rebellion of L. Antonius Saturninus (probably early in 88 A.D.) the governor of Upper Germany. He was a man of noble family, and had accomplices in the senatorial ranks. He induced the two legions which were stationed in his headquarters (XI. Claudia and XXI. Rapax) to proclaim him Imperator, and he relied for the success of his enterprise on the assistance of the free Germans beyond the Rhine, doubtless the Chatti. The revolt, however, was promptly and unexpectedly suppressed by L. Appius

Maximus Norbanus, who arrived with the VIIIth legion, and defeated the forces of Saturninus, who had not received the aid of his German allies, because the ice on the Rhine had suddenly thawed and prevented their crossing. It is not known for certain where Norbanus and his legion came from; but it seems probable that he was the legatus of the legion stationed at Moguntiacum, and thus a subordinate of Saturninus, who was doubtless stationed at Vindonissa. The battle took place perhaps in the neighbourhood of Basilia. The news of the revolt caused great consternation at Rome, and Domitian himself went forth to suppress the pretender, but heard on the march that Norbanus had anticipated him. Domitian left nothing undone to discover the fellow-conspirators of Saturninus, and Roman senators are said to have been subjected to horrible tortures in the investigations which followed. Many were put to death, and almost all the officers in the rebellious army were executed. From this time forth Domitian developed into a suspicious tyrant, somewhat like Tiberius in his later years. He hated and feared the aristocracy, and the aristocracy hated and feared him. His niece Julia, whom he had refused to marry, but whom he afterwards seduced from her husband, Flavius Sabinus, had exercised upon him a softening influence, and after her death in 89 A.D. he felt that he had no one whom he could trust. He still devoted his time to public business with unwearying diligence, but he lived solitary, inaccessible and misanthropic.

At a later period he made some provision for the succession to the Principate. He had two cousins, Flavius Sabinus, the husband of Julia, and Flavius Clemens, husband of Flavia Domitilla. Domitian let it be understood, that he destined the two infant sons of Clemens to be his successors. He changed their names to Vespasian and Domitian, and entrusted their education to the learned Quintilian.

§ 19. Another cause which operated in converting Domitian into a tyrant was the continuance of that irritating and obstinate Stoic opposition which we have seen at work under Nero, and again under Vespasian. In 93 A.D., a number of these worshippers of Cato fell under suspicion, and were punished. Herennius Senecio had composed a panegyric on Helvidius Priscus, who had perished under Vespasian; he was accused of *maiestas* by the delator Metius Carus, and was condemned to death. Fannia, the widow of Priscus and daughter of Thrasea, had supplied Herennius with the materials for this work. She was therefore banished, and her property confiscated. The composition was publicly burned in the Comitium. L. Junius Arulenus Rusticus, "the ape of the Stoics" (*stoicorum simia*), as an opponent called him, was condemned to

death on a similar charge of having published laudations of Thrasea and Priscus. The Emperor's wife Domitia had been suspected of an intrigue with Paris, a celebrated and popular actor.* Domitian consequently divorced his wife and caused Paris to be stabbed in the street, to the great grief of the populace. Many brought perfumes and flowers to his tomb. The younger Helvidius Priscus composed an Atellane farce on the subject of Paris and Œnone, and he was accused of disguising under this form unfavourable criticisms on the Emperor. He was arrested in the senate-house, and condemned to death. Other members of the same clique were sent into banishment, including Arria, the mother of Fannia, Gratilla, the wife of Rusticus, and Junius Mauricus, his brother. At the same time a decree of the senate was passed by which philosophers, *mathematici* (astrologers) and soothsayers, were banished from Italy, just as in the reign of Vespasian. This decree affected, among others, the Stoic Epictetus, and Dion, called *Chrysostomus*, "Golden-mouthed," a native of Prusa, whose interesting rhetorical essays are still extant.†

Domitian's suspicious hatred of the aristocracy, caused by his childlessness, and strengthened and increased by conspiracies and by the opposition of the party of Priscus, co-operated with the financial straits to which he was reduced, to bring about a repetition of the unjust executions and confiscations which had stained the last years of Nero. The system of delation which Gaius, Nero, and Domitian had each in the opening years of his reign sternly and honestly rejected, was called into requisition by Domitian, as well as by the other two. Among the most prominent delators were Catullus Messalinus and Metius Carus; M. Aquilius Regulus,‡ an able orator who was regarded with jealousy by Pliny; and Massa Bæbius, who, having been proconsul of Bætica, was accused of extortion by Pliny and Senecio, and was condemned. Perhaps the part which Senecio played in the trial had something to do with his own condemnation shortly afterwards.

Another prominent favourite at the court of Domitian was a man of low birth named Crispinus, a native of Egypt, who, coming to Rome, at first dealt in salt-fish, but was presently exalted to the rank of prætorian prefect. He affected the airs and dress of a

* Paris was a pantomime (see below, Chap. XXXI. 21). Juvenal mentions him as acting the *Agave* of Statius (vii. 87):

Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.

† See below, Chap. XXV. § 28.

‡ Perhaps he is the *delator* whom Juvenal mentions as feared by Massa and Carus in *Satire* i. 33:

Magni delator amici
Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
Quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat Carus.

dandy, and seems to have been detested as an insolent upstart.*

Domitian knew that conspiracies were formed against him, and as he could not lay his finger on them, innocent victims often perished. His cousin Flavius Sabinus perished on suspicion of treason. The two whose death excited most indignation were Flavius Clemens and Epaphroditus. Clemens was his cousin, and father of the presumptive heirs of the Empire. He and his wife Flavia Domitilla had been converted to a foreign religion, and this was made a charge against them. He was put to death and Domitilla banished. Epaphroditus was the freedman who had helped Nero to commit suicide, and, although twenty-eight years had passed since then, Domitian punished him for *maiestas*. Such examples of cruelty alarmed the Emperor's household; and it was from this quarter where he felt himself safe, not from the senate which he feared, that vengeance came. The Augusta, Domitia, whom he had divorced on the suspicion of an intrigue with an actor, as already mentioned, he afterwards recalled; but she did not feel secure, and she organised a conspiracy, along with the freedmen of the palace, Parthenius, Entellus, and Stephanus. The two prætorian prefects Norbanus and Petronius Secundus were privy to it, and the conspirators fixed on M. Cocceius Nerva as the successor of their victim. Stephanus, a man of great bodily strength, undertook to do the deed. Pretending to have hurt his left arm, he carried it for some days in a sling, and on the appointed day (September 18, 96 A.D.) hid a dagger in the cloths which bound it. Obtaining an audience of the Emperor, to give information touching a conspiracy, he presented a document to Domitian, and as he was hastily reading it, drew the dagger and stabbed him in the loins. Domitian threw himself on the assassin, and called a page to bring him his sword and summon the attendants. But the sword, which lay under a pillow, was useless; for it had been tampered with by the precautions of the conspirators. As Domitian wrestled with Stephanus, the other conspirators rushed in and dispatched their victim. The attendants arrived too late to save their master, but in time to slay Stephanus.

§ 20. The senate rejoiced at the death of the tyrant whom it detested, and the senators hastened to the curia to express their long-concealed hatred without restraint. His statues and busts

* If we may trust Juvenal, who sketches him in *Sat.*, i. 26 sqq.:

Cum pars Niliacæ plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias umero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmæ
Difficile est saturam non scribere.

were torn down, and it was resolved to destroy everything that suggested his memory. A decree was passed that the name Domitian should everywhere be erased. The consequences of the hatred of the senate can be felt by us at the present day; for there remain extraordinarily few inscriptions dating from the reign of Domitian. A decent burial was not accorded to him; he was carried out on a common bier, such as was used by poor people. But his nurse Phyllis contrived to deposit his ashes in the temple of the Gens Flavia, a sepulchre for the Flavian dynasty which he had built, and placed them in the same urn in which reposed the ashes of his beloved niece, the Divine Julia. The soldiers did not share in the jubilation of the senate; they loved Domitian, and if they had had a capable leader they would have probably insisted by force on the consecration of their Imperator. The populace neither rejoiced nor lamented; they had no reason to hate him, for he had been generous to them; but his haughty, inaccessible manner hindered them from feeling personal affection for him.

§ 21. In his youth Domitian was noted for his beauty; but in later years he showed a tendency to corpulence, and became bald (his enemies called him "bald Nero").* His eyes were large and languid, but the expression of his face was intense. The family resemblance to Vespasian and Titus comes out in his busts. He was not fond of physical exercise, but was a good archer. Though he gave luxurious banquets, he was moderate in eating. He has been accused of gross licentiousness, but such charges must be judged in relation to the practice of the times. There is no reason to suppose that he was either better or worse in this respect than his contemporaries of noble rank. He was an unusually strict defender of the national religion, and he protected morality from a religious, if not from an ethical, point of view. In this he followed the example of Augustus, who regarded religion as conducive to the welfare of the state; and his reign contrasts with the indifference of his predecessors. In 83 A.D. three Vestal virgins were charged with unchastity, and condemned. They were allowed to choose the mode of their death, and their seducers were banished. But some time later the chief Vestal Cornelia was accused of a criminal intrigue with a knight named Celer, and was found guilty. Domitian, as Pontifex Maximus, revived in her case the ancient punishment, which was generally regarded as obsolete; and Cornelia, in spite of her protestations of innocence, was buried alive in the Campus Sceleratus.† It is worth noting that Pliny, in speaking of this case,

* *Calvus Nero*, Juvenal, iv. 38.

† Juvenal is thinking of Cornelia when he writes (iv. 10): Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

feels less indignation at the cruelty of the sentence, than at the circumstance that Domitian judged the case in his Alban villa, and not in the Regia, the office of the Pontifex.* Celer was scourged to death in the Comitium.

In maintaining the national religion, Domitian tried to hinder the spread of oriental cults. The Jews did not specially suffer,† although the tribute of two drachmas to Jupiter of the Capitol was strictly exacted. There was a Jewish rising in Judea (85 to 86 A.D.), which was easily put down. Some Christians suffered death for refusing to worship the Emperor's image, but there is no evidence of a general persecution. The tale of the martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist is universally recognised to be a fable. It has been supposed that Flavius Clemens and Domitilla, who are said to have been accused of "impiety,"‡ were Christians, and this is not improbable.

He encouraged, however, one oriental cult, that of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, and built a splendid temple to her and Serapis, the *Iseum et Serapeum*. In 88 A.D. he celebrated the Ludi Seculares, reckoning the hundred years from the celebration held by Augustus.§ If Domitian was severe as Pontifex Maximus, he was also severe as censor. He strictly enforced the *lex Scantinia* against unnatural crimes, and the *lex Iulia* against adultery. Many senators and knights were condemned by these laws, and his strictness increased the hatred with which he was regarded. He deprived women, who had been condemned under the Julian law, of the right of using a litter (*lectica*) or accepting legacies. He tried to suppress the licentiousness of the theatres, and forbade pantomimes to appear in public, while he allowed them to hold performances in private houses. He put down the oriental practice of mutilating boys in order to sell them as eunuchs, and endeavoured to diminish the trade in eunuchs by lowering the prices.

§ 22. It devolved upon Domitian to restore the buildings which had been consumed by the fire in the reign of Titus. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had to be rebuilt once more, and it rose under his auspices in greater magnificence than ever. He also erected on the Capitol a temple to Jupiter Custos, in thanksgiving for

* Augustus had assigned the Regia to the Vestal virgins (see above, Chap. X. § 2); but it seems to have been again occupied by the chief pontiff.

† The Jews were allowed to have synagogues at Rome. To ask a man "In what synagogue shall I find you?" (*in qua te quæro proseucha*, Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 296), implying that he was a Jewish proselyte, was a form of abuse. Juvenal describes the grove of Egeria near the Capene gate as thronged with Jewish beggars, "whose furniture is a basket and hay (for a bed)," quorum cophinus fænumque supellex, iii. 14.

‡ ἀθεότης. Dion Cassius mentions in the same connection that others were condemned for adopting Judaism. (lxvii. 14).

§ Martial, iv. 1. 7.:
Hic colat ingenti redeuntia secula lustro.

his own rescue from the hands of the Vitellians. The temple of the Divine Vespasian and the Divine Titus was built at the western extremity of the Forum, between the Clivus Capitolinus and the temple of Concord. Three Corinthian pillars of this small building still stand. Several temples were erected to Minerva, the goddess whom Domitian specially revered. For the purpose of games he built a stone stadium in the Campus, and also an Odeum for musical performances. The former of these buildings accommodated 30,000, the latter 10,000 people. Domitian also completed the palace begun by Nero, but confined it to the limits of the Palatine. On all buildings, whether first built by him or only restored, Domitian inscribed his own name.

§ 23. Our records of Domitian are very scanty, and come almost entirely from prejudiced witnesses, so that it is difficult to get a clear and fair view of his acts and policy. On the one hand we have the flatteries of the poets who courted his favour; on the other, the venomous invectives written by members of the senatorial party, like Pliny and Tacitus, after his death. Martial and Statius generally speak of him as a god, and all that appertains to him as divine. "Capitoline," the epithet of Jupiter, is applied to him; he is the Ausonian Jupiter, and Domitia the Roman Juno.* To Tacitus, he is a tyrant without a redeeming virtue, and so the aristocracy in general regarded him. His contemptuous treatment of the senate, as far as it was represented in the Emperor's *consilium*, is cleverly travestied by the satirist Juvenal. The scene is placed in the end of 85 A.D. The members of the council, such is this "true history," were suddenly summoned in haste to the Emperor's Alban citadel. "They were, it seems, eleven in number, and in twice or thrice as many verses their crimes are succinctly traced for us with a pen of cynical sincerity. One after another pass before us, Pegasus, the prefect—say rather the bailiff—of the city, for what is Rome but the Emperor's farm, and the prefect of Rome but his manciple?—Fuscus, brave and voluptuous, soon to leave his limbs a prey to the Dacian vultures; Crispus, a mild and genial greybeard, who has long owed his life to the meekness with which he has yielded to the current, and shrunk from the vain assertion of independence; the Glabrios, father and son, of whom the elder slunk through an inglorious existence in pusillanimous security, the younger was doomed to perish innocently, condemned to fight with beasts in the arena; the blind Catullus, deadliest of delators, with whom Domitian, as with a blind and aimless weapon, aimed at his destined victims; to these were added the sly Veiento, the fat old sycophant, Montanus, Crispinus

* Statius (*Silv.*, iii. 4. 18): Jupiter Ausonius pariter Romanaque Juno.

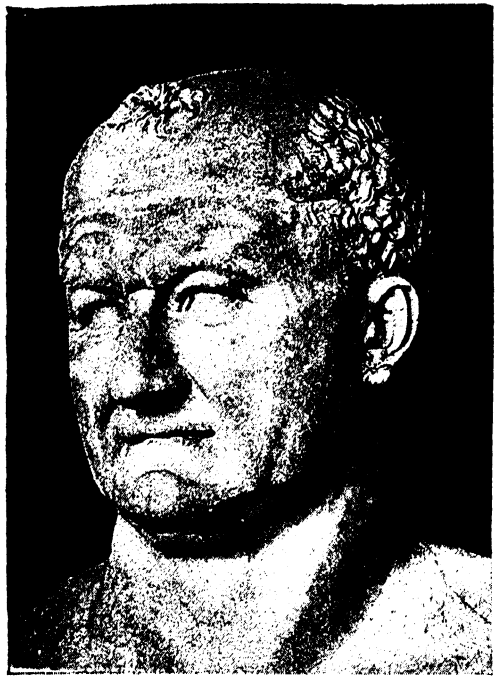
redolent with the perfumes of his native East, the vile spy Pompeius, who slit men's throats with a whisper, and Rubrius, the perpetrator of some crime too bad, it seems, to be specified even in that day of evil deeds and shameless scandals. Such were the men who now hurried in the darkness along the Appian Way, and met at midnight in the vestibule of the imperial villa, or the tyrant's fortress, which crowned the long hill of the ascent to Alba. Anxiously they asked each other, "What news?—What the purport of their unexpected summons?—What foes of Rome had broken the prince's slumbers, the Chatti, or the Sicambri,* the Britons or the Dacians?" While they were yet waiting for admission, the menials of the palace entered, bearing aloft a huge turbot, a present to the Emperor, which they had the mortification of seeing introduced into his presence, while the doors were still shut against themselves. A humble fisherman of the upper coast had found the monster stranded on the beach, beneath the fane of Venus at Ancona, and had hurried with his prize across the Apennines, to receive a reward for so rare an offering to the imperial table. When at last the councillors were admitted, the question reserved for their deliberations was no other than this, whether the big fish should be cut in pieces or served up whole on some enormous platter constructed in its honour. The cabinet was no doubt sensibly persuaded that the question allowed at least of no delay, and with due expressions of surprise and admiration voted the dish and set the potter's wheel in motion." †

* This is the only reference we have to warfare against the Sugambri (west of the Chatti) in Domitian's reign.

† Juvenal, *Satire* iv. The reproduction in the text is borrowed from Merivale. Juvenal concludes with a wish that the tyrant had devoted to such trifles all the time in which he was oppressing the citizens (ll. 150–154):

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sævitiæ, claras quibus abstulit urbi
Inlustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
Sed perilt postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
Cœperat; hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.

The words "he perished when the Cerdons—that is, the nobodies—came to fear him," refer to the low rank of his murderers—Stephanus, &c.



Portrait of Vespasian.

CHAPTER XXII.

BRITAIN AND GERMANY UNDER THE FLAVIANS. DACIAN WAR.

§ 1. Britain under Petillius Cerealis and Frontinus. § 2. Agricola. § 3. Campaigns of 79, 80, 81 A.D. Eburacum. § 5. Invasion of Caledonia. Battle of the Graupian Hill (83 A.D.). § 6. Agricola recalled. Domitian not to be blamed. § 7. The *Agricola* of Tacitus. Estimate of Agricola.—§ 8. The *Agri Decumani*. Vespasian's strategic lines in the Main and Neckar regions. § 9. Domitian's occupation of the Taunus district. Line of forts. *Limes Germanicus*. § 10. *Limes Rœticus*.—§ 11. Dacian and Sarmatian danger. § 12. Measures of Vespasian for defence of Danube. § 13. Kingdom and designs of Decebalus. § 14. He defeats Roman armies, but is defeated by Julianus at Tapæ. § 15. Romans defeated by the Suevians. Peace with Decebalus. Triumph of Domitian (89 A.D.). Suevian and Sarmatian war.

SECT. I.—AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN.

§ 1. UNDER the Flavian Emperors no important addition was made to the Roman Empire, such as had been made under Claudius by the conquest of Britain. But in two quarters the boundaries were pushed forward. The eastern boundary of Upper Germany advanced considerably into trans-Rhenane territory, and the province of Britain was enlarged by a further advance northward.

The legatus of Britain, Petronius Turpilianus, (62–64 A.D.) had been succeeded by Trebellius Maximus (64–69 A.D.) and Vettius Bolanus (69–70 A.D.). These governors seem to have contented themselves with administering the province as they found it, without attempting to enlarge it. Bolanus seems to have founded forts against the natives. His successor, Petillius Cerealis, who had commanded the IXth legion when it was nearly exterminated in the great revolt of the Iceni, and who had recently distinguished himself by the suppression of the rebellion of Civilis, was not satisfied with the inaction of his predecessors. He made war upon the Brigantes, the most powerful of all the British tribes, whose name was sometimes used as synonymous with "Britons." The XIVth legion, which had been sent from Britain to his assistance in Germany, did not return to its old station, but Vespasian sent him II. Adjutrix in its place. After many battles with the Brigantes, whose territory extended from the Solway to the Wash, Cerealis reduced part of their land under Roman sway; including the town of Lindum (Lincoln) where he established the II. Adjutrix. This legion was removed to Pannonia at the beginning of Domitian's reign, but some tombstones found at Lincoln show that its station was there during the few intervening years. Thus, the result of the war of Cerealis was that the northern boundary-line of the province was no longer drawn from Glevum to Camalodunum—with an advanced post at Deva in the west—but from Deva to Lindum. But south of this frontier, the western highlands (Wales) could not yet be considered part of the province. The subjugation of the tribes in this quarter devolved upon the two successors of Cerealis. Sextus Julius Frontinus, whose name is well-known as an authority on the art of war, and who was capable of applying his theory, reduced the Silures, in the south; while his successor, Gnæus Julius Agricola (78–85 A.D.), conquered the Ordovices and occupied the island of Mona, which Suetonius Paulinus had been compelled to abandon, in the first year of his governorship. In the conquest of Mona he was, like Paulinus, assisted by the skill of the Batavians in swimming.

§ 2. Agricola, whom Vespasian thus called to be governor of Britain, had already, like Cerealis, served his time in that country in subordinate posts. He had served under Suetonius Paulinus as military tribune, and, again, under Vettius Bolanus as legatus of the XXth legion. On this occasion (70 A.D.) he had the difficult task of restoring discipline among the troops, who had been demoralised by a quarrel between his predecessor Roscius Cælius and the governor Trebellius Maximus. He had then been appointed *legatus pro prætore* of Aquitania, had been recalled to Rome to fill the consulship, and then sent to succeed Frontinus in Britain. A governor of Britain might engage in one or both of two enterprises at this period. He might devote his attention either to "intensive conquest," that is, the civilisation and consolidation of the province as he found it, or to "extensive conquest," that is, to carrying its boundaries further north by conquering new tribes. Agricola professed to do both, but really sacrificed the intensive conquest to the extensive. The confidence which the Emperors reposed in him was shown by the unusually long period during which he was suffered to remain in his command.

§ 3. The second year (79 A.D.) of Agricola's legateship was spent in completing the reduction of the recently conquered tribes —probably in Wales—by building forts and making roads through woods and marshes. During the winter the troops remained in their quarters, and Agricola occupied himself with the Romanization of the natives. In the third summer (80 A.D.) he advanced against new tribes in the north, laying the land waste as far as an estuary called Tanaus. It has been thought that this unknown name may represent the North Tyne at Dunbar. The Britons did not attempt to oppose the legions, and they had time to establish some *castella*, in which they remained during the winter. The following summer (81 A.D.) was spent in completing the occupation of the land which had been traversed, and the army advanced as far as the æstuaries of Clota and Bodotria (the Clyde and the Forth). The narrow strip of land between these friths was fortified and occupied by garrisons; and it seemed as if the enemy, who retreated into the northern highlands, had been "removed to another island." In this expedition Agricola had, probably, about 30,000 men with him, counting both legions and auxiliaries; and his operations were supported by a fleet, perhaps, on the east coast. At this time the Britannic legions were reduced to three by the recall of II. Adjutrix, whose removal left Lindum without a garrison. A new station more northerly than Lindum was probably established. It seems certain that Agricola did not

venture to push so far into the unknown regions of the north without securing the territory north of the Humber, and we may take it for granted that he occupied Eburacum, the chief town of the Brigantes, the modern York. This position took the place of Lindum, and was, perhaps, garrisoned by the IXth legion. In later times Eburacum became the chief centre in Britain.*

§ 4. In the next year Agricola sailed across the estuary of Clota to the western districts of Caledonia—probably Arran and Cantire. He had conceived the project of conquering Hibernia, which he thought might be best approached from this point. The conquest, he imagined, could be easily accomplished with one legion and a small number of auxiliaries, and he held that it would prove important to the complete subjection and pacification of Britain. For Hibernia occupied much the same relation to Britain as Britain itself occupied to Gaul. One of the chief reasons for occupying Britain was, that as long as the Gauls saw a free land beyond the channel, a land into which they could themselves flee for refuge, they were restless under Roman rule. In the same way, the sight of free Hibernia had a disturbing effect on the spirits of enslaved Britannia. In addition to these considerations, a false geographical notion recommended the policy of including Hibernia in the Empire. It was supposed that Hibernia lay between Britain and Spain, and thus formed a natural connection between the western provinces of the Empire. But Agricola could not carry out his project without additional forces. The three legions in Britain were little enough for the security of the province, extended as it was by his new acquisitions. He applied to Domitian for another legion, but the request was refused, and the enterprising governor was obliged to abandon his project. Domitian acted in accordance with the cautious precept of Augustus, not to undertake new conquests. And the project was never revived; Hibernia never became part of the Empire.†

§ 5. But if Agricola was not permitted to attack the island of the Scots, he was resolved to carry his arms into Caledonia. In his sixth year (83 A.D.), in spite of the dissuasions of his officers, he penetrated into the land north of the æstuary of Bodotria, aided by his fleet. The appearance of the Romans excited consternation and fury among the Caledonian folk. Agricola had divided his army into three divisions, and one of them, consisting of the IXth legion, which was especially weak, suffered serious losses from a night-attack of the native tribes. The quick arrival of Agricola

* It is not directly recorded, but is a tolerably certain inference from the circumstances.

† Juvenal's (ii. 159) "Arma quidem ultra Litora *Juvernæ* promovimus" is a rhetorical flourish.

and the other divisions of the army prevented a disastrous defeat, and the affair resulted in a Roman victory. The Caledonians, under the chief Calgacus, utilized the ensuing winter in organising a great army to resist the invaders in the following season. In 84 A.D. Agricola took the field again, and a great battle was fought at an unknown place called the Graupian Hill.* Agricola's army probably numbered from 25,000 to 30,000 men. He placed his 8000 auxiliary foot in the centre, and 3000 horse on the wings. The legions were ranged in the rear, in front of the rampart of their camp. The enemy, who far outnumbered the Romans, had drawn up part of their forces on the plain, the rest on the hill behind. The best plan for the Britons was to use their advantage in numbers by attacking the Romans in front and on the flanks at the same time; and this was the movement which Agricola most feared. But Calgacus did not adopt that strategy at the beginning of the battle. In close quarters the Britons, with their long clumsy swords and short shields, were no match for the long pilum and short sword of the Romans. The Batavian and Tungrian cohorts beat the enemy back, and matters were not mended by the intervention of the war-chariots, which could not move freely on the uneven ground and amid the dense ranks of the Caledonians. The cavalry of the enemy were also routed. The Britons, who were stationed on the hills behind, had hitherto taken no part in the fighting, but when they saw their companions worsted, they began to descend from the heights and made a movement to approach the Romans in the rear. Agricola had foreseen this, and detached four *alæ* of horse, which he had retained in reserve, to meet them. The Britons, coming up in disorder, were scattered, and their plan was turned against themselves, for the Roman cavalry rode on to attack the rear of the enemy's line. This decided the battle. It is said that 10,000 Caledonians fell, and only 360 Romans. The year was too far advanced to undertake further operations. Agricola led his army into the maritime district of the Boresti, an unknown people, where he received hostages, and gave directions to the prefect of the fleet to circumnavigate Britain. This undertaking was successfully accomplished, and Roman poets sang of the "captured Orkneys." † Agricola retired into winter-quarters, probably to Eburacum. No Roman army ever again penetrated as far north as he.‡

§ 6. In the following year (85 A.D.) Agricola was recalled. He received the triumphal ornaments and a laureate statue in

* *Ad montem Graupium* (Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 29). It has nothing to do with the Grampians.

† Juvenal, ii. 160:

Et modo captas *Orcadas* ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

‡ How far north is unknown, as we cannot identify *Mons Graupius* or the country of the *Boresti*.

recognition of what he had done, but this did not compensate him for the disappointment of not being able to complete the northern conquests which he had begun. Yet he had really no reason to complain of the decision of Domitian. He had been allowed to remain in his post far longer than any previous legatus, and to carry on expensive campaigns. Financial considerations alone may have been sufficient to influence Domitian in discontinuing the policy of aggression in Britain. The results of Agricola were certainly not an adequate return for the enormous cost. It must especially be remembered that at the moment of Agricola's recall a most serious war was breaking out on the Danube against the formidable kingdom of the Dacians. We can readily believe that the cost of supporting two wars simultaneously in Britain and on the Danube was quite beyond the means of the fiscus at the time. The enemies of Domitian of course set down Agricola's recall to the petty jealousy of the Emperor; Agricola himself naturally felt sore about it. But the best justification of Domitian is that his two successors, Nerva and Trajan, abode by his decision and did not attempt to renew the designs of Agricola. The case of Agricola recalled by Domitian closely resembled that of Germanicus recalled by Tiberius. In both cases the ambition of a general was sacrificed to the prudent policy of the Imperator, who saw that the outlay was not repaid by the result; in both cases the Imperator was said by his adversaries to be actuated only by jealousy of a possible rival.

§ 7. Agricola has often received a higher place than rightly belongs to him in the history of Britain, because he was fortunate enough to have a brilliant historian for his son-in-law. Tacitus married Agricola's daughter and wrote his biography. This work, *Concerning the Life and Character of Julius Agricola*, gives an artistic but superficial account of Britain and a brief description of Agricola's campaigns, culminating in the battle of Mons Graupius, which is described at length. The author's neglect of almost all topographical details, which did not interest him but would interest us very deeply, detracts greatly from the historical value of the book.§ Tacitus says that from Agricola's countenance, "you would readily believe him good, you would gladly believe him great." This epigram suggests the truth. Agricola was in no sense a great man, but he was an officer of respectable ability, and ambitious enough to grasp at glory when the chances were offered to him. His son-in-law and his contemporaries overrated what he had done;

* Nor does Tacitus individualise the British chieftains except Calgacus. There was a king named Arviragus, as we learn from a line of Juvenal, who makes Veiento say to Domitian (in the parody on the imperial consilium, *Sat.*, iv. 126):

Omen habes magni clarique triumphi:
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.

ill-advised friends at Rome doubtless sounded his praises too loudly; and Domitian was not sorry when the time came to remove him from Britain.

He refused the offer of a proconsulate (of Asia or Africa), and lived in retirement until his death, which occurred a few years later. Some maliciously whispered that he was taken off by poison.

The conquests he had made were only transient. The country he had occupied was immediately abandoned, and, after all his warfare, he left to his successor nearly the same northern boundary-line which had been established by Cerealis, from Deva to Lindum. Perhaps the chief part of Agricola's work that survived was the occupation of Eburacum, which now formed an advanced post in the east, somewhat as Deva in the west before the conquests of Cerealis. Eburacum now stood to Lindum in somewhat the relation in which Deva then stood to Glevum. But Agricola's contemporaries could not appreciate the importance of Eburacum, and Tacitus passes it over in silence.

Sect. II.—The Limes Germanicus.

§ 8. As there were some Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, so there were some Gauls on the right. The valley of the river Nicer (Neckar) had been cleared of the Germans who had possessed it, and the Romans had permitted poor and adventurous Gauls to cross the Rhine and take possession of lands where they were constantly exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring German tribes. These Gauls paid a tithe of the produce of their fields, and hence the whole district was called "the Tithe-lands"—*Agri Decumani* (or *Decumates*); but they were exempt from other burdens, and no Roman garrison was quartered in the land, which thus was loosely included in the Empire, but was neither a province nor part of a province. The Flavian Emperors placed this doubtful territory on a clearer footing. Vespasian built roads in it, and it was probably he who protected it by an elaborate system of fortification. The eastern frontier was marked by a rampart of earth, and a ditch in front of it, constructed just as in a Roman camp. Behind the rampart were placed castella at nine or ten miles' distance from one another; between the castella occur watch-towers. This line of defence stretched from Seiopum (Miltenberg) on the Mœnus, in a due southward direction to the neighbourhood of Lauriacum (Lorch)*; it can still be traced, and the sites of many of the castella have been identified.

* Not to be confounded with the northern Lauriacum, Lorch on the Rhine, or the eastern, Lorch on the Danube.

Behind this, there was a second system of defence. From Vindonissa, the chief camp of Upper Germany, a road led northward to a place on the Nicer which is now called Rottweil. This place was selected to be a centre for the trans-Rhenane territory, in the same sense in which Lugudunum and Camalodunum were centres in Gaul and Britain. Here altars were set up for the worship of the Flavian house, and the place was called Aræ Flaviæ. From here northwards a number of castella were constructed along the course of the river Nicer, which was in itself a defence. As soon as the Nicer turns westward to join the Rhine, the line of forts leaves the river and continues in a northerly direction, passing over the Odenwald and reaching the Mœnus at a point (near the modern Wörth), northwest of Seiopum. This second line, connecting the Mœnus and Nicer, is known as the Neckar-Mümling line, because it cuts the valley of the Mümling stream. It is impossible to determine how much of this defensive system is due to Vespasian and how much to his son Domitian. The forts connected with this line from Lauriacum to Seiopum may be due to Domitian's successors. The object of these defences was probably not so much military as to give the people settled habits, and prevent nomads entering the Empire at will.

§ 9. But if the main credit for the enclosure of the Agri Decumates is due to Vespasian, the occupation of the Taunus district north of the Main was probably the work of Domitian. This land was inhabited by the Mattiaci, a tribe of the Chatti, who gave their name to the Aquæ Mattiacæ (the springs of Wiesbaden). Drusus had tried to establish the Roman power in this region by founding the fort Artaunum on Mount Taunus, and Germanicus had restored it. Since his time, desultory hostilities had continued with the Chatti, and at length Domitian determined to take the decisive step of annexing the territory of Mount Taunus to the province of Upper Germany and continuing the line of defence between Mœnus and Nicer, so as to connect the Moenus and the Rhine. His campaign against the Chatti, in 83 A.D., which was so ridiculed by his enemies, was connected with this important undertaking. He was assisted by the skill of Sextus Frontinus, whom we have already met as governor of Britain. From Wörth to Hanau the course of the Main is northerly, and at Grosskrotzenburg, near Hanau, the earthen rampart of Domitian begins. It does not follow a straight course, but takes advantage of the nature of the ground. Crossing the Lahn near Ems, it reaches the Rhine at Rheinbrohl, opposite the stream which formed the boundary between the provinces of Lower and Upper Germany. Forts occurred at intervals close to the rampart, and were connected by a

military road.* Near most of these castella have been found the remains of villas, with bath arrangements, meant for the use of officers.

Thus the *limes* of Upper Germany was an earthen wall, reaching from that point on the Rhine which marks the northern extremity of the province, all the way to Lauriacum, except where (between the points Grosskrotzenburg and Miltenberg) the Mœnus takes its place. It was protected all the way by castella and watchtowers, and between the Mœnus and Nicer was covered in the rear by a line of forts (not connected by a rampart) reaching from the Mœnus to Aræ Flaviæ on the Nicer. It is thought probable that Domitian also built the first great permanent bridge over the Rhine at Moguntiacum.

§ 10. The *limes Germanicus* is only part of a gigantic scheme of defence, of a line reaching from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. These two rivers formed a natural defence, which merely required the erection of forts on their banks. But where the line left the rivers, an artificial defence—a wall of earth or stone—took the place of the water. Thus the limes Germanicus was not complete, without another line running from west to east, and connecting its southern point at Lauriacum with the Danube fortresses. This was the *limes Ræticus*, forming part of the northern boundary of the province of Rætia. It is not certain whether the Flavian Emperors began its construction, but it certainly did not assume its final form until the reign of Hadrian or possibly even later. But it is so closely connected with the limes Germanicus, that it may be mentioned in this place. Beginning at Lauriacum, it runs due east (through Würtemberg and Bavaria), and reaches the Danube (near Kehlheim), where the river Alcimona (Altmühl) flows in. The Rætian limes is not like the Germanic, a rampart of earth. It is formed by a wall of stones, on the top of which palisades were planted, such as the soldiers used in their camps, and with the usual ditch in front. It seems probable that this line was protected by an earth-wall in the time of the Flavians, but that, at a somewhat later period, when the Empire was threatened by German invaders, the "devil's wall" (*Teufelsmauer*), as it was called in the middle ages, was erected.

Sect. III.—Dacian and Suevian Wars.

§ 11. Soon after his campaign on the Rhine, Domitian's attention was demanded by a more pressing and formidable danger

* The best known of these forts is the Saalburg, near Homburg.

on the Ister. The Dacians had invaded Mœsia. The country of the Dacians was comprised between the Theiss and the Pruth from west to east, the Carpathian mountains and the Danube from north to south. Thus Dacia corresponded to the modern kingdom of Roumania, along with Siebenbürgen and the Banat of Temesvar. Beyond the Dacians, in the modern Moldavia and Bessarabia, were the Bastarnæ, a German people; beyond them again were the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe. The land between the Danube and the Theiss was held by the Jazyges. It was easy enough for the Romans to repel the occasional invasions of their trans-Danubian neighbours as long as they were not united and organised under an able leader. They had been conquered more than once in the reign of Augustus, and in the last years of that Emperor, 50,000 barbarians had been transported into Mœsia, and settled on Roman territory by Ælius Catus. The same experiment had, as we have seen, been repeated under Nero, when Tiberius Plautius Ælianus settled 100,000 Dacians with their wives and children in the same province. The same governor of Mœsia checked a threatened movement of the Sarmatians before it broke out, and compelled a number of unknown or hostile princes to do obeisance before the Roman standards on Roman soil. But though Dacians and Sarmatians were thus kept in check under the Julian and Claudian Emperors, the defence of the Danube was wholly insufficient, a fact which became clearly apparent during the civil wars after the death of Nero. The two legions quartered in Mœsia were supposed to defend the whole line, from Singidunum (Belgrade) to the mouth of the river, but the defence of the lower stream was left almost altogether to the Thracians; and as the Thracians were kinsfolk of the Dacians, their help was in itself a danger. When the legions marched to Italy to overthrow Vitellius, the province was invaded by Roxolani, then by Dacians, and then by Jazyges. The opportune arrival of Mucianus with his Syrian legions repelled some of these incursions, but the governor of Mœsia, Fonteius Agrippa, perished in the invasion of the Jazyges.

§ 12. Vespasian did not actually increase the army of Illyricum, but he made some changes with a view to the defence of the Danube. He seems to have moved the two legions, which were stationed in Dalmatia, to Mœsia, so that the governor of that province had four legions under his command. This reinforcement was the more necessary since Thrace had been made a province. For when the native princes of Thrace were superseded, the native army, on which the defence of the Danube partly relied, was dissolved. But the danger which the Roman government had especially to fear was a coalition of the Dacians with their German

neighbours. A joint invasion of the Empire by the Dacians and Suevians would have been very formidable. The Suevian peoples, consisting chiefly of the Marcomanni and Quadi, were still in the same seats which they held under King Maroboduus, in the modern Bohemia and Moravia; and since his death they had been in a sort of dependent relation to Rome. Thus they had sent auxiliaries to the army of Vespasian in the civil war with Vitellius. But their fidelity could not be trusted very far, and Vespasian thought it prudent to move the two Pannonian legions forward to the Danube frontier. XIII. Gemina was stationed at Vindobona (Vienna), and XV. Apollinaris a little lower down, at Carnuntum. He also reorganised the Danube fleet, which was hence called the "Flavian fleet."

§ 13. If things in Dacia had remained as they had been for a century past, these measures of defence might have been sufficient. But the aspect of affairs in those regions was changed by the sudden appearance of a leader of men, endowed with military genius. This was Decebalus.* His conspicuous talents had attracted the attention of King Duras, who generously resigned the government in favour of one who seemed likely to regenerate his country. The idea of Decebalus was to form a great military state, which might hold its own, as a power of first-rate importance, on the northern frontier of the Roman Empire, somewhat as Parthia itself on the eastern. This had been attempted before by Burebistas in the time of Julius Cæsar, who was making preparations for a great Dacian expedition when he was assassinated. Fortunately for Rome, Burebistas perished in a sedition about the same time, and after his death the Dacian power collapsed and fell to pieces. Maroboduus, the Marcoman, attempted to form a great German realm, as has been related in an earlier chapter,† and it too collapsed. Like Maroboduus, Decebalus aimed at introducing into his country Greek and Roman civilisation. And especially, in order to cope on equal terms with Rome, he set himself to learn the Roman art of war. From deserters he learned the Roman methods of entrenchment and the construction of military engines. How far-reaching his designs were, and how wide his political view, may be guessed from the fact that he entered into negotiations with Parthia, the natural enemy of Rome in the east. For a Roman war he also relied on the help of the neighbouring Sarmatians—the Jazyges on one side and the Roxolani on the other; but above all on the Dacian, Getic and Thracian population of the provinces south of the Danube. He hoped doubtless to conquer Mœsia, and possibly even Thrace, and

* He is also called Diurpaneus. This was probably his true name, and Decebalus only titular.

† See above, Chap. XII. § 10.

thus erect a great Dacian kingdom of homogeneous population, reaching from the Carpathians to the boundary of Asia. Dacia, at this, time, was to the provinces south of the Danube what Britain before the conquest had been to the subject Celts of Gaul—a refuge and an attraction for all restless spirits.

§ 14. At length, when he had organised a well-disciplined army, the Dacian king descended from the Ister and dealt his first blow (85 A.D.). The legatus of Mœsia, Oppius Sabinus, opposed him with insufficient forces, and was slain; fortresses were seized by Decebalus, and the land harried. Rome was threatened by the loss of the province. When the news of the disaster reached Rome, Domitian entrusted Cornelius Fuscus, the prætorian prefect,* with the conduct of the war, and himself repaired to the scene of action. The Pannonian legions were summoned in haste, and the Marcomanni promised to bring aid. It seems that the Dacians made some overtures for peace, which were rejected, and Decebalus then insolently told the Romans that he would grant them peace at the price of two asses for every soldier's head. Fuscus drove the enemy out of Mœsia, and then, throwing a bridge of boats across the Danube, boldly penetrated into Dacia. But the Marcomannic confederates did not come with the succour which they had promised, and the Roman forces suffered a terrible defeat, perhaps owing to the rash confidence of their general in an unknown country. He was himself, like Sabinus, slain † on the field of battle. The Romans with difficulty found their way back, having left in the hands of the enemy a large number of captives, and booty, including war-engines, and an eagle of one of the legions (86 A.D.). But the next general, Julianus, avenged his predecessor. He invaded Dacia, and gained a great victory at Tapæ.‡ The slaughter of the barbarians was immense, and Vezinas, the chief who held second rank after Decebalus, only escaped by hiding himself among the dead. Julianus followed up his victory by marching upon Sarmizegethusa (Várhely), the chief town of Dacia. But some unknown circumstance hindered him from attacking it—probably a message from the Emperor, who had in the meantime determined to make peace. According to an incredible story, however, Julian was driven back from the Dacian capital by a

* Hence Martial (vi. 76) describes him as:

Ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati
Credita cui summi castra fuere ducis.

† Juvenal, iv. 111:

Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus prœlia villa.

See above, Chap. XXI. § 23. Martial has an epigram on Fuscus (vi. 76), and speaks of him as buried in a Dacian grave.

‡ Tapæ probably corresponds to Tapia. See below, Chap. XXIII. § 12.

stratagem of the wily king. A large number of trees near the city were cut down so that the trunks were not higher than a man's stature; arms were attached to them, and Julian, imagining that he was opposed by an immense army, hastily retreated.

§ 15. What disposed Domitian to treat with the Dacians was a defeat which the Romans had experienced in another quarter. While Julian was operating in Dacia, the Emperor himself had proceeded to Carnuntum, and taken the field against the Marcomanni and Quadi, who had tried to play the Romans false. They sent two embassies to Domitian, to excuse their conduct in failing to send help against the Dacians; but he, regarding them as rebels rather than foes, put to death the second set of ambassadors. This infuriated the Suevians, and the Pannonic army under the Emperor suffered a defeat. Accordingly when Decebalus sent an embassy to Mœsia, headed by a noble Dacian named Diegis,* Domitian accepted his submission, and placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, as the representative of Decebalus, in token that Dacia was dependent on the Empire, and Roman poets could sing that the "victorious shade" of Fuscus might now haunt the "vassal grove" in which he had been buried.† On the other hand, the Emperor sent to Decebalus workmen and engineers, and gifts of money which the Romans, dissatisfied with their prince, professed to regard as a shameful tribute. It was really a timely concession, which involved no manner of humiliation for Rome. A tributary relation of Rome to Decebalus was out of the question after the victory of Julianus; and of all Emperors the proud Domitian was least likely to assume such a humiliating position. After his return to Rome, Domitian celebrated a splendid triumph (89 A.D.). A great triumphal arch was erected near the temple of Fortuna Redux, and in the Forum a colossal equestrian bronze statue of the Emperor was set up. The city was filled with arches and statues in his honour. The nobility of Rome were entertained at a great banquet, and the provinces were forced to send contributions, under the name of *aurum coronarium*, to defray the celebrations in the city. Domitian did not officially assume the title *Dacicus*, though flatterers often gave it to him. An important administrative change was introduced in Mœsia, as a result of the Dacian war. The province was divided into two smaller

* Martial calls him "brother" of Decebalus; but this, perhaps, is not to be taken literally. See v. 3, which describes the astonishment of "Degis" at the majesty of the Emperor:

Accola *tam nostræ* Degis, Germanice, ripæ
A famulis Histri qui tibi venit aquis, &c.

Observe that Dacia is spoken of as "already ours."

† Martial, vi. 76. 6.:

Et famulum victrix possidet umbra nemus.

provinces, Upper and Lower Mœsia, each under a legatus, with two legions at his disposal.

Meanwhile hostilities were continued with the Suevic nations and their Sarmatian allies the Jazyges. The Romans suffered severe reverses. Not only were they defeated on their own ground —in Pannonia—but a whole legion * was annihilated. In May, 92 A.D., the Emperor again repaired to the scene of war, and remained there eight months. Successes seem to have been gained by the Romans, for Domitian sent to the Senate dispatches wreathed in laurel, according to the practice of victorious generals,† and on his return in January, 93 A.D., he celebrated an ovation over the Sarmatians. This war, in which the eastern Sarmatians beyond the Lower Danube ‡ were involved as well as the Jazyges, was called the "Suevian and Sarmatian War," and it was protracted into the reign of Domitian's successor, Nerva. On the other hand the peace with Dacia was preserved for ten years, and during that period Decebalus had time to mature his plans, and prepare his country for a struggle with a greater adversary than either Julian or Domitian.

* Probably V. Alauda. The disaster seems to have happened in the land of the Jazyges.

† *Epistolæ laureatæ.* Martial wrote four epigrams in Dec. 92 A.D. on the expected return of Domitian (vii. 5–8). Cp. 5. 3: Invidet hosti Roma suo, veniat *laurea* multa licet; and 6. 5: Publica victrices testantur gaudia chartæ; ib. 10: Sarmaticae laurus nuntius ipse veni.

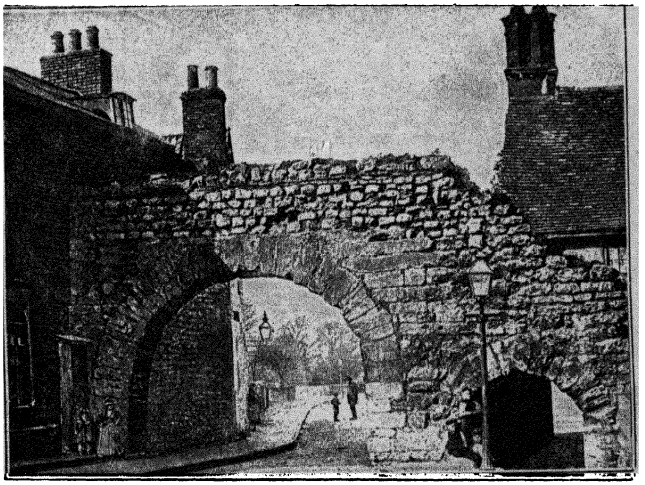
‡ This is implied by Martial's mention of "rudis Peuce," an island at the mouth of the Ister (vii. 7. 1), where he also speaks of the frozen river as warm under the hoofs of Roman horses (et ungularum pulsibus calens Hister).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

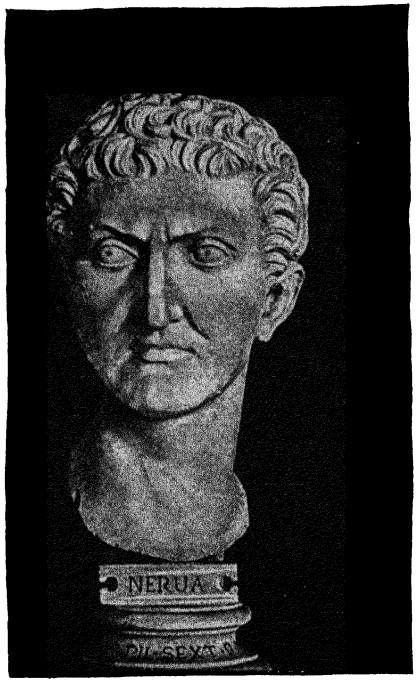
THE LIMES GERMANICUS AND LIMES RÆTICUS.

In the account of the origins of the Roman *limes* beyond the Rhine (*trans-Rhenanus*) and beyond the Danube (*trans-Danubianus*), which has been given in the foregoing chapter, the views of Hübner have been adopted. But they cannot be considered as finally established. The clearest statement of a contemporary writer is that of Frontinus (*Strateg.*, i. 3. 10), who says that Domitian drew a frontier line 120 miles in length (limitibus per centum viginti milia passuum actis). Most critics agree that this refers to the section between the Main and the Rhine; and it seems natural to connect this line of defence with Domitian's war with the Chatti, who dwelled in this district. But then the difficulty arises that the length of the wall, as it has actually been traced from Gross Krotzenburg to Hönningen, where it joins the Rhine, is 140 Roman miles—20 too much. Mr. Hodgkin (Essay on "The Pfahlgraben," reprinted from the Archæologia Aeliana, 1882) has ventured to guess that Domitian's part in the *limes* was the trans-Danubian section, which measures 112 Roman miles. But (1) there may possibly be an error in the text of Frontinus—CXX. for CXL.; or (2) the *limes* constructed by Domitian may have come to an end near Coblenz, and been subsequently continued to Hönningen.

There can be no doubt that Trajan and Hadrian did a great deal for the completion of the Wall; but there can also be no doubt that its beginning must be assigned to the Flavian Emperors. It seems highly probable that Hadrian gave the whole *limes*, from Hönningen to Kehlheim, its final form. Mr. Hodgkin says (p. 85): "It was probably the glory of the whole series of Adoptive Emperors, from Nerva to Aurelius, to have a share, more or less, in the completion of this great work."



Roman Arch at Lincoln.



Portrait of Nerva.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NERVA AND TRAJAN. THE CONQUEST OF DACIA.

§ 1. Accession of NERVA. § 2. Treatment of the delatores of Domitian. § 3. Finances. § 4. Italian policy of Nerva. Revival of the comitia. Alimentary institutions. Forum of Nerva. § 5. Mildness of Nerva. Conspiracies. § 6. Adoption of Trajan. Death of Nerva. § 7. The accession of TRAJAN marks a new departure. § 8. Trajan's fortifications on the German frontier. § 9. Trajan's return to Rome. § 10. Preparations for the FIRST DACIAN WAR. § 11. Sarmizegethusa. Roman plan of campaign. § 12. First campaign (101 A.D.). Battle of Tapæ. § 13. Second campaign (102 A.D.). Final struggle. Capture of Sarmizegethusa. § 14. Trajan returns to Rome. § 15. Decebalus breaks the peace. § 16. SECOND DACIAN WAR (105, 106 A.D.). Dacia made a province. § 17. Description of the Pillar of Trajan. § 18. Organisation of Dacia. § 19. Disposition of legions in Dacia and adjacent provinces. § 20. Change in administration of Thrace. § 21. New province of Arabia. § 22. Death of Agrippa II., and enlargement of Syria.

Sect. I.—Nerva.

§ 1. With the death of Domitian the second imperial dynasty came to an end. But no disturbances took place like those which had followed the death of Nero. The new Princeps, M. Cocceius Nerva, who acceded Oct. 1, A.D. 96, was not, like Galba, set up in the provinces or chosen by the soldiers. He was the elect of the senate. He had no claim to the Principate either by lineage or by pre-eminent personal qualities. He was a clever jurist, an accomplished writer, and had been twice consul; but he owed his elevation to the fact that he was colourless. The senators, most of whom were doubtless privy to the conspiracy which overthrew the Flavian house, wanted an Emperor who would be ready to concede a due share of government to themselves, but who at the same time would not be obnoxious to the army. Such an one they found in the inoffensive Nerva. He had never stood in the ranks of the senatorial opposition. On the contrary, he had taken part in suppressing the conspiracy of Piso, and had kept in favour with the Flavian Emperors. Over sixty years of age, he was self-indulgent, tolerant, and mild; and the senate expected to find him subservient to their guidance. His reign was greeted by the aristocrats as a new epoch; coins were issued with the inscriptions *Libertas publica* and *Roma renascens*. At length, it seemed to the most bitter adversaries of Cæsarism, that liberty and the Principate, things formerly irreconcilable, had been happily blended.* If Cato himself were restored to life, says an epigrammatist, he would be a Cæsarian.† It is to be observed that Nerva, like Vespasian, adopted, as a matter of course, the name *Cæsar*, which by this time had become as necessary a part of the imperial nomenclature as Imperator itself.

From Nerva the senate obtained the guarantee which they had sought in vain from the Flavians. The new Princeps took a solemn oath that he would put no member of that order to death. The senate had good reason to be satisfied with his administration, for he consulted it on every matter.

§ 2. The measures taken against the instruments of Domitian's cruelty were mild, owing to the moderate character of Nerva, who would not satisfy the general outcry for revenge. The exiles, including the philosophers, were recalled; and the sufferers and their friends were eager to punish the delators who had been the cause of their wrongs. C. Plinius Secundus—the younger Pliny, as

* Tacitus, *Agricola*, 3: Res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem.

† Martial, xi. 514: Si Cato reddatur, Cæsarianus erit.

he is generally called—thought it a good opportunity "to assail the guilty, avenge the unfortunate, and advance himself." Accordingly he attacked Certus, one of Domitian's ministers, in the senate. Certus had laid hands on Helvidius Priscus in the curia, and Helvidius was a friend of Pliny. But Nerva did not permit a process to be instituted against Certus, though he went so far as to refuse him the consulship and supersede him in the prætorship. The suits which the injured were bringing against the delators were stopped at the instance of a senator named Fronto, who proposed a general act of pardon. He is said to have used words which epigrammatically expressed the weakness of Nerva: "It is bad to have a Princeps under whom no one may do anything; it is worse to have one under whom everyone may do anything."

The oath of security which Nerva gave to the senate, implied the abolition of processes for *maiestas*. Moreover, slaves were forbidden to accuse their masters of "impiety," or of "leading a Jewish life," which seems to have been a frequent charge in the reign of Domitian. But though the senate had condemned the memory of Domitian, Nerva did not allow all his acts to be abolished. That, for example, against mutilation, was confirmed, and the marriage of uncles and nieces was forbidden—a principle acknowledged by Domitian when he refused to marry Julia. Moreover, the beneficia granted by him were confirmed.

§ 3. In the public finances Nerva, like Vespasian, had difficulties to contend with. The tyranny of Domitian's later years was, as we have seen, partly due to the needs of an exhausted treasury. Nerva was obliged to suspend temporarily the celebration of games and the distributions of corn in Rome. A senatorial commission was appointed for considering the question of ways and means, and the best manner of economising. The Emperor sacrificed a large amount of imperial property, and the crisis was at length tided over. Then Nerva set himself to relieve his subjects of some of the most unpopular taxes. He abolished the tax which Vespasian had levied on the Jews, and which had called forth bitter discontent. He relieved Italy of the cost of supporting the imperial post—the *cursus publicus*—within her own borders, and transferred the burden to the fiscus. This tax was called *vehiculatio*, and it continued to remain in force for the provinces. He also reduced the five per cent. duty on inheritances.*

§ 4. From an economical point of view, the short reign of Nerva was retrogressive. It was characterised by an exclusive and narrow attention to the interests of Italy. This was to be ex-

* He also placed the decision of suits between the fiscus and private persons in the hands of the prætors.

pected from a government which was so much under the influence of the senate. The ideal of the senate was to maintain the supremacy of Rome and Italy and to keep the provinces in a subordinate place; whereas, one of the chief tendencies of imperial policy—the policy inaugurated by Cæsar himself—was to raise the provinces to the position of importance which they had a right to claim. But Italy, perhaps, had been too much neglected by previous rulers; and it was only fair that she should have her turn now. The decline of Italian agriculture was a serious disaster which had attracted the attention of Domitian, and he had sought to remedy it by forbidding land to be drawn from the cultivation of corn and appropriated to the produce of wine. Nerva's plan was to send out colonies of agriculturists, but he had not enough money at his disposal to make this remedy really effective. He bought up large lots of land, and appointed a commission of senators—*quatuorviri agro dividundo*—to divide it. It is important to observe that the Agrarian Law of Nerva was a true Lex, passed at a comitia of the people. Nerva, like Claudius, revived the old republican form, for the last time.

More effectual and important for the welfare of Italy than his attempt to heal the irremediable agrarian evil, was Nerva's system of alimentary institutions. These were designed to help the education of the children of poor parents. For each town which received the benefit of this endowment, a certain sum of money was set aside at once, and lent to landed proprietors, and the annual interest which it produced formed the support of the alimentary institution. As the investment rested on land, it was secure, and the state on its part undertook not to withdraw the loan. The control of the administration of this charity was probably placed in the hands of men of senatorial rank, the *curatores viarum*. Nerva's successors carried out the organisation of the institution more thoroughly.

The brevity of Nerva's reign gave him little time for executing public works. But he completed the *forum transitorium* which Domitian had left unfinished, connecting the Templum Pacis with the Forum of Augustus. This new forum was marked by the temple of Minerva and was called the Forum of Nerva.

§ 5. The policy of Nerva was marked by mildness, even by weakness. He boasted that he had done no act which could prevent him from resigning the Principate, if he chose, with perfect security. His clemency, however, was the one feature which did not satisfy the senatorial party. A story is told that Mauricus, who had returned from exile, was supping one evening with Nerva, and "the prudent

Veiento,"* a notorious creature of Domitian, was also present, reclining in a place of honour next the Emperor. The conversation chanced to turn on the blind delator Catullus, who had lately died. "If he were still living," said Nerva, "what would his fate be?" "He would be supping with us," replied Mauricus, glancing at Veiento. But though Nerva was mild, perhaps because he was so mild, conspiracies were formed against him. That of Calpurnius Crassus, a descendant of the triumvir, was easily put down, and Crassus was banished not to an island, but to the pleasant city of Tarentum. A more dangerous movement originated in the prætorian camp. Casperius Ælianus, one of the prætorian prefects under Domitian, and retained in the post by Nerva, excited the soldiers to demand the execution of the murderers of Domitian, especially the freedman Parthenius and the other prefect, Petronius Secundus, although more than a year had passed since the event. Nerva, indeed, bared his own neck, and offered to die himself instead of the victims, but he was forced to comply (about Oct., 97 A.D.).

§ 6. This experience decided Nerva, who was weak in health and felt himself unable to cope with the difficulties of government or manage the soldiers, to follow the example of Augustus, Galba, and Vespasian, and choose a consort, who should also be his presumptive successor. He had kinsfolk of his own, but he passed them over, and regarded the interests of the state, not those of his own family. His choice, guided by his adviser, L. Licinius Sura, fell on M. Ulpius Trajanus, the legatus of Upper Germany, and the result proved that it could not have fallen upon any one better fitted for the post. Trajan was a Spaniard of Italica, a municipium close to Hispalis in Bætica. His father had served with distinction in the Jewish war, and held the proconsulate of Asia. The son, born 18th Sept., 52 A.D.,† had been brought up as a soldier, and seen ten years' active service as a military tribune. He then went through the *cursus honorum*, and obtained the prætorship in 85 A.D. We next meet him in Spain, where, on the outbreak of the revolt of Antonius Saturninus, he was ordered by Domitian to lead one of the Spanish legions, I. Adjutrix, of which he was clearly *legatus*, to Upper Germany, but the rising was suppressed before his arrival. His promptitude was rewarded by an eponymous or ordinary consulship in 91 A.D., a great honour coming from Domitian, who was usually first consul of the year himself. He was afterwards appointed *legatus* of Upper Germany. He was probably at Vindonissa when Nerva addressed a letter to him, offering him a share in the imperium, explaining his own

* Prudens Veiento (Juvenal, iv. 113). † Or 53 A.D. The date is doubtful.

difficulties, and calling upon him to take vengeance on those who had tormented him, with the Homeric line, "May the Danai pay for my tears beneath thy shafts." * But without waiting for the consent of Trajan, Nerva proceeded without delay to perform the ceremony of adoption in his absence. The Pannonian legions had gained a victory over the Suevians who were still hostile, and to celebrate it the citizens had assembled on the summit of the Capitol, in front of the temple of Jove. There Nerva declared the adoption of his son and consort in these words: "I adopt M. Ulpius Nerva Trajanus; may it prove fortunate to the senate, the Roman people and myself." Thus Trajan became the son of Nerva, and, like Nerva himself, Cæsar; it remained to confer upon him the proconsular power, and this was done in due form by a decree of the senate. But he was not only made Imperator; he also, like Titus, received the tribunician power at the same time. This probably means that the tribunician lex was proposed in the senate at the same time, and then, after the due interval, brought before the comitia. The elevation of Trajan to the second place in the empire took place on the 27th October, 97 A.D., and from this day Trajan dated his tribunician years. In consequence of the Pannonian victory mentioned above, both Nerva and Trajan assumed the name *Germanicus*. They were designated as colleagues in the consulship for the following year Nerva died January 27th, 98 A.D. His acts were confirmed and he was enrolled among the gods, as a matter of course; and Trajan, "son of the Divine Nerva," was elected Princeps and Augustus.

SECT. II.—TRAJAN ON THE RHINE.

§ 7. A new epoch in imperial history may be said to begin with the accession of Trajan. Hitherto all the Emperors had been of Roman or Italian origin. The elevation of the first Italian—the Sabine, Vespasian—had been a novelty; but this was a small innovation compared with the raising of a provincial to be head of the Roman world,—master of Rome herself. Not a murmur was heard at the election of Trajan, the Spaniard, though his birthplace, Italica by the Bætis, was not even a colonia. How far Roman opinion had progressed during the past century in regard to the provinces may be estimated, if we recollect that Augustus had hesitated to admit inhabitants of trans-Padane Italy into the prætorian guards.

§ 8. Trajan was not required to return to Rome on his adoption by Nerva. He seems to have continued to hold the post of legatus of

* Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσι.

Upper Germany, combining it, as Titus combined the prætorian prefecture, with his imperial position. But it is probable that by virtue of his proconsular power, perhaps by the special ordinance of Nerva, he exercised beyond his own province a control over Lower Germany as well. He would thus have held a position somewhat similar to that held by Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus. This will explain the fact that the news of Nerva's death reached him not in the Upper, but in the Lower province, at Colonia Agrippinensis. The new Emperor did not immediately return to Rome. He saw that there was work to be done on the Rhine, and he stayed to do it. Some time before, intestine quarrels had broken out among the Bructeri; a chieftain was expelled from their land and had returned with the help of neighbouring tribes. The governor of Lower Germany, Vestricius Spurinna, also assisted in the restoration of the Bructeran king, who after his victory settled a large number of the Chamavi and Angrivarii in Bructeran territory, in order to maintain his position with their help against his own countrymen. Trajan seized the opportunity of these domestic dissensions to strengthen the fortifications of the Rhine, to complete and improve the work begun by the Flavians. Some ascribe to him the erection of the rampart and forts in the Agri Decumates, which in the foregoing chapter was described as the work of the Flavians.* In any case Trajan went on with work which was begun by them. It is certain that a road on the right bank of the Rhine leading from Moguntiacum southward, crossing the Nicer (near the present Heidelberg) and passing Aquæ, in the direction of Offenberg, was constructed under the auspices of Trajan in 100 A.D. To him also Aquæ (Baden) may attribute the beginning of her prosperity, as well as other towns in the same region, such as Sumelocenna (Rottenburg) on the Nicer, and Lopodunum (Ladenburg).† On the Mœnus not far from Moguntiacum he constructed a castellum, called after himself, but its site cannot be identified. About a mile lower than the old Vetera he founded a new fortress, which was afterwards called Colonia Trajana.‡ Having spent the summer of 98 A.D. in the German provinces, Trajan proceeded to the Danube and spent the ensuing winter in making preparations for a Dacian war, which, as he foresaw, was inevitable. At this time a road on the right bank of the Danube was made in the neighbourhood of Tierna (near the present Orsova). Public interest at Rome was awakened in the operations of Trajan by the timely appearance of the *Germania* of Tacitus, giving a picturesque

* The rampart from Lorch to Miltenberg is often called the *Vallum Trajani*.

† *Reparavit* (Eutropius, 8. 2).

‡ It became the headquarters of Trajan's new legion, XXX. Ulpia Victrix.

account of the manners and customs o the Teutonic peoples with which Rome had been brought in contact. Tacitus personally had some local knowledge of the subject, as he had been either *legatus* of a legion in Germany or governor of Belgica from 90 to 94 A.D. His interest in Germany was stimulated by an instinctive perception that Rome's greatest danger lay in that quarter; "the liberty of the Germans is more active than the kingdom of the Arsacids." Reviewing the past history of the relations between Roman and Teuton, he makes use of that pregnant expression, *tam diu Germania vincitur*, "so long is Germany in the process of being conquered."

The *Germania* contains an account of the Teutons in general, and also notices of the particular tribes.* The Germans have now reached a more advanced stage of civilisation than that which Cæsar described a hundred and twenty years before. The communities no longer migrate from one part of the territory to another, but each community of the tribe has a permanent village settlement and a certain area of arable land, although their wealth still consists chiefly in cattle; and there is a considerable advance in local organisation. Agriculture has become general, and each man has a fixed home. The love of hunting has declined, perhaps owing to the decrease of beasts of chase, and the warriors during times of peace devote themselves to the wine-bowl and to gambling.

The arrangement which formerly held for the communities or families now holds for the individual freeman. Each freeman receives an allotment of land from the community, and his allotment is changed every year. As there is a large quantity of waste land available, the arable area is changed annually, and nothing is grown on it but corn. But though the freeman has no permanent landed property, he has a permanent right to a share in the land of the community, and he has complete ownership of his homestead. He has also a right to a share in the common pasturage. But though these facts testify to a considerable development since the days of Cæsar and Ariovistus, there are many social features which still survive. They are still without cities, and their buildings are very rudely put together. They are still chaste, they are still plain and simple in dress, and they are still indifferent to merchandise.

Differences in social rank and dignity seem to have been of three kinds. (1) Some were more wealthy, that is, possessed more cattle than others. And those who were more wealthy must have had a

* In the following interpretation of Tacitus, the 2nd chapter of Bishop Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England* has been closely followed.

larger share of pasture and arable land. It is true that all the allotments of land were equal, but then one man may have held more than one allotment. (2) Some were noble by race, or descendants of kings, or gods, or great chieftains; and others were not. Those tribes which adopted monarchy chose their kings on account of nobility. This distinction of *nobiles* and *ingenui* probably involved no inequality in political rights. (3) Besides the freeborn, including the nobles, who possessed political rights were the freedmen and *servi*. There were two kinds of *servi*, (*a*) the slaves consisting of those who lost their freedom by gambling, and perhaps prisoners of war, and (*b*) the cultivators of the land, corresponding to the Roman *coloni*. This second class was far the more important, and probably consisted of the original occupiers of the land who had been subdued by the German tribe, when it took possession. The German colon—as we may call the slave of this class—possessed a home of his own, and was personally free except in relation to his lord, whom he could not desert, and his land, which, like the medieval serf, he could not forsake. He paid to his lord a fixed quantity of corn, or cattle, or clothing. His lot was not hard, but his lord might kill him with impunity.

The administration of the tribe resided in the tribe or *civitas** itself, whether the tribe adopted monarchy or not. The national assembly, which met at the new or full moon, wielded the power. All the free-born members of the community attended it in arms, without distinction of seat. In their assemblies questions of war and peace were determined; the magistrates who administered justice were elected; and it acted as a court of justice itself. The magistrates (or *principes*, as Tacitus calls them) had the right of keeping a *comitatus*. This characteristic German institution was a body of warriors attached to a chieftain, who provided them with their equipment and entertained them. They fought for him in war, and were bound to defend him and attribute to him their own brave deeds. Their chief employment was war; and the dignity and fame of the chieftain depended largely on the number and efficiency of his "companions." The *principes* acted independently of each other, each in his district, in time of peace, but in war all obeyed a leader chosen by the common council. Royalty, in those tribes where it existed, was of a very limited nature, and involved rather honorary privileges than political power.

The host or military force of the tribe consisted of both cavalry and infantry. The cavalry was composed of the *comitatus* of the principes. The infantry was of two kinds. Each district (*pagus*) sent a hundred chosen champions or fighting-men, who fought in

* Tacitus uses *civitas* of the tribe regarded as a political constitution.

front in battle; and besides these there was the mass of the freemen, who were arranged in families.

§ 9. At the beginning of 99 A.D. Trajan returned from the Danube to Rome, where he was received with warm and unfeigned enthusiasm, and became consul for the third time. He renewed the pledge, which he had already given to the senate in writing, that he would not condemn a senator to death, and this oath he always respected. He had received from the Fathers the title of *pater patriæ*. He avenged the tears of Nerva by punishing the mutineers of the prætorian guard, and he was so confident in his own military authority that he reduced by one half the usual donative to the soldiers, and no murmur was heard. In handing to the prætorian prefect the dagger, which was the sign of his office, Trajan employed the celebrated words, "Use this for me, if I do well; against me, if I do ill." His moderate demeanour conciliated the senators, and his wife Plotina conducted herself with the same modesty. As she entered the palace, she is reported to have turned to the multitude, and said that she entered it with as perfect equanimity as she should wish to leave it, if fate required. General satisfaction was felt when Trajan punished the delators whom Nerva had spared. Some were executed, others banished.

Trajan only remained two years at Rome, and then proceeded to deal with the Dacian question, which Domitian had not settled. Of his work in administration and legislation during those two years, some account will be given in the following chapter.

SECT. III.—FIRST DACIAN WAR (101, 102 A.D.).

§ 10. In making war against the Dacian king Decebalus, Trajan had no thought of extending the limits of the Empire. Its natural border in that quarter was the Danube, just as its natural border in the east was the Euphrates. His object was to prevent the consolidation of a great rival power on the Roman frontier, by reducing the Dacian state to a position of dependence on Rome, somewhat like that of Armenia. Formally, indeed, Domitian had been acknowledged overlord by Decebalus, when he set the diadem on the brow of Diegis. But the gifts, which he had consented to send to the Dacian king at certain times, were too much like a tribute, and seemed dishonourable to the mistress of the world. Trajan was determined to "war down the proud," and teach the Dacian his place.

On the 25th March, 101 A.D., sacrifices were offered at Rome for the success of Trajan's expedition, and perhaps on that very day, certainly soon after, he set out from the city for the Danube.

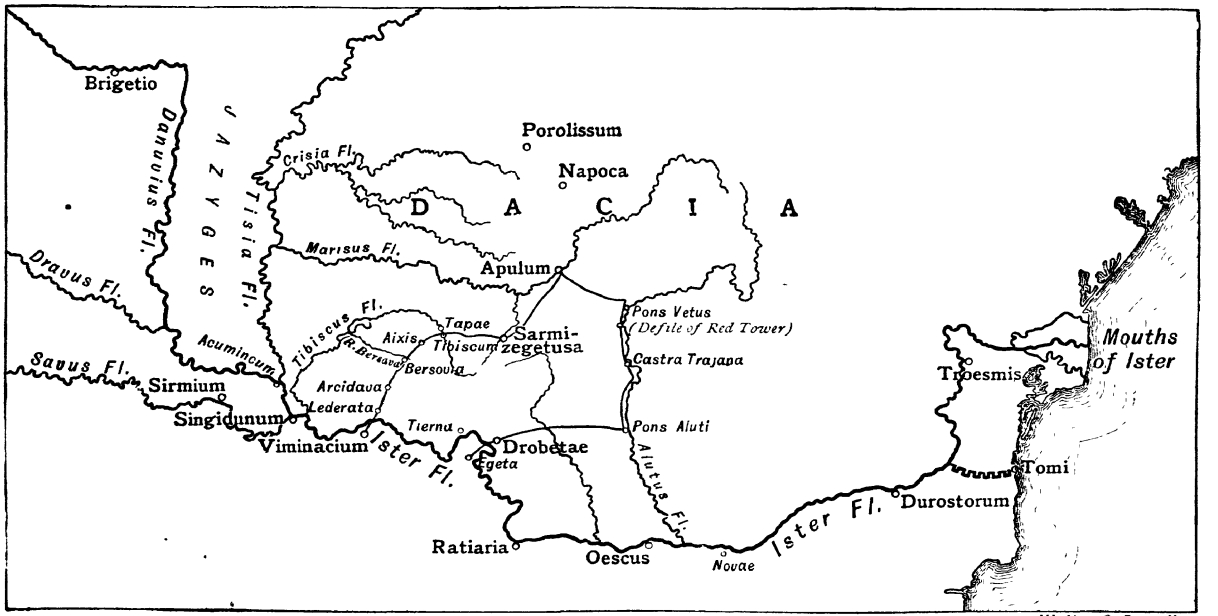
Besides the eight legions stationed in the Illyric provinces—three in Pannonia and five in Mœsia,*—the Emperor brought XXI. Rapax from Lower Germany† to take part in the war. It has been supposed that the forces which he led into Dacia amounted to about 60,000 men. The German and Mauretanian cavalry—the latter led by Lusius Quietus—played a conspicuous part in the campaign. Tiberius Claudius Livianus, the prætorian prefect, and Laberius Maximus, governor of Mœsia, were the most prominent among the officers, but Trajan directed all the operations himself. The future Emperor, Hadrian, who had married Trajan's niece Julia Sabina, was among the imperial *comites*.

§ 11. The object of the invading army was Sarmizegethusa, the chief city of Dacia. It seems probable that Decebalus first made this place the capital, and that previously Porolissum, in the north-west of the country, held that position. The policy of Burebistas‡ had tended rather towards the west, whereas that of Decebalus looked southwards. It is possible that the complete occupation of Pannonia by the Romans may have had something to do with this shifting in Dacia. The choice of Decebalus was a happy one. Sarmizegethusa—now called Várhely by the Hungarians, Gredistye by the Slavs—is easy to get at from other parts of the land, and at the same time easy to defend. It is connected with the northern regions of the river Marisus (Maros) by the Sztrigy valley; while westward the pass of the Iron Gate leads to the valleys of a river, whose ancient name is unknown but which is now called the Bisztra, and of the Tibiscus (Temes). The plains of the Lower Danube can be reached either through the Vulkan Pass or by the defile of the Red Tower. Thus three routes were open to Trajan. (1) He might cross the Danube at Viminacium, opposite to which, on the left bank, was the Dacian fortress of Lederata. From Lederata a road led northwards, across the Bersava, to the valley of the Tibiscus, ascended this valley, and then, turning eastward led up the valley of its tributary the Bisztra, and so reached the Iron Gate. (2) Lower down the river the Roman fort of Saliatis was confronted by Tierna on the Dacian bank, from which a road led past Ad Mediam (Mehadia) to the confluence of the Temes and the Bisztra. (3) A third road led from Drobetæ—opposite to Egeta, near the modern Turnu Severin—and proceeded by the valley of the Alutus and by the pass of the Red Tower. The first of these routes was chosen by Trajan. Viminacium (Kastolats) had

* In Pannonia: XIII. Gemina, XIV. Gemina, XV. Apollinaris.
In Mœsia: I. Italica, II. Adjutrix, IV. Flavia, V. Macedonica, VII. Claudiana.

† It was replaced by a new legion formed by Trajan, which brought the total number of legions up to thirty, and was therefore numbered XXX. Ulpia.

‡ See above, Chap. XXII. § 13.



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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE DACIAN CAMPAIGNS OF TRAJAN.

two evident advantages as a starting-point. Being equally distant from Pannonia, and Mœsia, it was a convenient centre for gathering the troops together, and its strong fortifications made it a good base in the rear of the advancing army. It was also nearer Italy than the other possible starting-points.

Transport-vessels were actively engaged in bringing corn, wine, vinegar, and other provisions to the place of assembling. The boats coming from Mœsia had to pass through the Iron Gate of the Danube. Here the river, close to Orsova, is enclosed between two walls of rock rising directly from the water and of immense height. In the narrowest part, where the stream can hardly win its passage, there is an inscription of Trajan cut in the rock and recording how he made a path on the side of the steep mountain of stone.* This path was for the purpose of towing the boats of provisions.

§ 12. At Viminacium then a bridge of boats was thrown across the Danube, for the transit of the army, and on the other side Trajan performed the due sacrifices. Their march lay by Bersovia, (on the river now called Bersava), and Aixis on a more northerly river. As the Romans approached the Tibiscus an embassy arrived from the Buri, a Suevian tribe, who dwelled north of the Jazyges in the neighbourhood of the Quadi. Their errand, which, it is said, was in some manner inscribed on an enormous mushroom, was to counsel the Emperor to abandon his project, and make peace with the Dacians. This incident can hardly be regarded as anything but a piece of insolence. The Buri fought in the army of Decebalus. In his advance Trajan neglected no precautions, in fortifying camps and sending forward scouts. But the enemy had retreated into the recesses of the country, and left the road free. At length when the Romans reached Tapæ (Tapia), on the Tibiscus, a place which commands the entrance to the Bisztra valley, they found the Dacians drawn up in a strong position between the river and wooded hills. This place had been the scene of Julian's great victory thirteen years before, and it proved auspicious again to the arms of Trajan. The Romans were assisted by a thunderstorm, which threw the ranks of the enemy into disorder. In this, the first battle, the infantry on both sides seem to have been chiefly engaged. Though the legions conquered, the victory cost them dear. It is probable that one legion, XXI. Rapax, perished almost entirely in the battle. It is related that the Emperor gave his own clothes for bandages to bind up the wounds of the injured. He built an altar to the Manes of those who had fallen, and instituted a yearly sacrifice in their memory. Not far from Tapæ was the

* Montis anfractibus superatis viam patefecit.

town of Tibiscum, which was taken and set on fire, and then the legions advanced up the Bisztra valley. A deputation from Decebalus, suing for peace, soon arrived. It consisted of three men on horses without saddles, followed by a number of men on foot, all of inferior rank, not belonging to the nobility (whom the Romans called *pileati*, or "men of the cap"). Trajan refused to listen to such envoys. The war, however, was soon suspended, owing to the approach of winter, when the invaders had only penetrated half way up the Bisztra valley. Trajan returned to winter in Pannonia, with the greater part of his army, but left all the fortresses he had occupied strongly garrisoned.

§ 13. In the following spring (102 A.D.) Trajan and his legions descended by boat to Viminacium, the Emperor himself rowing or steering along with the men; and retraced the road which they had traversed the year before. They found all their posts safe. Two small encounters took place now, and resulted in Roman victories, which were followed by the submission of one of the Dacian tribes. Then Trajan continued his advance on the capital. The way was difficult. The soldiers had to hew their way through forests with the axe, and they were constantly hindered by ditches and precipices. The defence of the Dacians now became more active as the enemy was approaching the heart of their country. Their belief in immortality aided their bravery, and made them unsparing of their lives. They were now assisted by reinforcements of Sarmatian mounted archers, whose steeds, as well as the riders, are represented on Trajan's column as clad completely in mail. The fury of the struggle may be measured by the horrible tortures which the Dacian women inflicted on Roman prisoners by burning parts of their bodies with lighted brands. At length the last fortress defending the approach to Sarmizegethusa fell before the attack of Trajan, while his general Laberius Maximus at the same time captured the sister of Decebalus in another town. Some high mountain fastnesses were also taken, and the Roman eagle was recovered which had been lost by Domitian's general, Cornelius Fuscus. After these successes Decebalus once more sued for peace, but this time his messengers were *pileati*. Their supplication was humbler, they bent the knee to Trajan and implored pardon. They asked him to consent to meet their king, professing that he was ready to submit to any conditions; and if he would not agree to this, at least to send deputies to Decebalus. Licinius Sura, Trajan's friend, and Livianus the prefect were sent, but the negotiations came to nothing, and the struggle was resumed A tract of forest still separated the Romans from the Dacian capital. The Mauretanian cavalry, with Lusius Quietus at their head, attacked

several detachments of the enemy and drove them into the recesses of the woods, where they barricaded themselves by trees, and their position had to be stormed like a regular fortress. The way was thus prepared for the main body of the Roman army, and on emerging on the other side of the forest, they found themselves in front of Sarmizegethusa. The Dacians did not wait to endure the slow course of a siege. They came forth to fight and were conquered. Then, in order to save his capital from destruction, Decebalus submitted to whatever terms the victor deemed fitting to impose, and came himself along with two of his chief officers into the presence of the Roman Emperor, to implore mercy. He was required to surrender all his military engines, all Roman deserters, and the workmen who had been placed at his disposal by Domitian. He undertook either to destroy or to hand over to the conquerors all his fortresses. Dacia became a dependent state, and the king was bound neither to make war nor to conclude peace without the consent of Rome.

§ 14. Having left garrisons in some of the Dacian fortresses, and especially in Sarmizegethusa itself, Trajan returned to Rome, accompanied by Dacian deputies, who went through the form of submitting themselves to the senate, and the peace was not regarded as finally concluded until the senate ratified the terms which the Emperor had imposed. Trajan had been proclaimed Imperator three times during this war—once in the first campaign after the battle of Tapæ, and twice in the second campaign. The senate decreed him the title of *Dacicus*, and he was designated consul for the following year. Out of the large booty a *congiarium* was distributed to the people.

Sect. IV.—Second Dacian War (105, 106 A.D.).

§ 15. It soon became evident that Decebalus did not intend to carry out the terms which his conqueror had imposed upon him. He had accepted them in order to gain a respite and make preparations for another struggle for the liberty of Dacia. But in attempting to shake off the lesser yoke of "federation" he was destined only to bring upon his country the heavier yoke of direct subjection to Rome. When the Emperor learned that his vassal was playing false, was receiving deserters, building and renovating fortresses, collecting the instruments of warfare, and carrying on suspicious negotiations with the neighbouring tribes, he determined to overthrow Decebalus altogether, and convert Dacia into a Roman province. In taking this resolve he departed from the recognised policy of the Roman government, to abstain from extending the

borders of the Empire. He transgressed the precept of Augustus, as Claudius had already done in the case of Britain. He has been accused of unwisdom in taking this step, of sacrificing the interests of the Empire to the ambition of military conquest. But we do not know the full circumstances of the case, and it would be rash to say that the continuance of the dependent Dacian kingdom would have been less dangerous to the Empire than the creation of the Dacian province. If merely military ambition prompted Trajan in the second war, why did it not prompt him to the same policy in the first?

§ 16. In 104 A.D. Decebalus was decreed by the senate to be an enemy of the Roman people, and Trajan set out for Mœsia, to superintend the preparations for invading Dacia in the following year. He chose a different route from that which he had followed in the former war. Instead of starting from Viminacium he started from Egeta, at which place he caused a permanent stone bridge to be built across the Danube.* The architect was Apollodorus of Damascus, and bricks used in the construction of the pillars have been found, which show that soldiers of the XIIIth legion were employed in the work. The construction of this solid bridge—a wonderful work of engineering—was a sign of Trajan's resolve to make Dacia a province of the Empire. For the second war more troops were mustered than for the first. To the eight Illyric legions, four were added from the two German provinces.† Decebalus on his side had also made great preparations, especially in building fortresses, which seem to have played a greater part in the second than in the first war. But perhaps he did not fully believe in his own powers ultimately to resist the invader; for we find him, while Trajan was still in Mœsia, suborning two deserters to take the life of the Emperor by poison. One of the traitors was arrested on suspicion, and revealed under torture the name of his accomplice. This episode casts a slur on the career of the Dacian hero.

From Drobetæ, Trajan might follow either of two routes to reach the Dacian capital. The shortest was by the pass of Vulkan, but shortness was not Trajan's aim, otherwise he would have gone as before by Viminacium and the Bisztra valley. His object seems to have been to cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the eastern parts of Dacia, and therefore he took the other route by the Red Tower. Marching eastward from Drobetæ, he reached the river Alutus at Pons Aluti, but without crossing the river moved up the

* There is no doubt that Turnu Severin is the site of Trajan's bridge.

† I. Minervia and X. Gemina from Lower, I. Adjutrix and XI. Claudiana from Upper Germany.

valley on the right bank. During his march several Dacian and Jazygic tribes sent messages of submission. Of the details of the march, of the points at which the Dacians offered resistance, of the length of time which elapsed before Sarmizegethusa was reached we know nothing certain. The pass of the Red Tower was, doubtless, staunchly defended. One instance of noble self-sacrifice has been preserved. A valuable officer of Trajan, Cassius Longinus, a camp-prefect, had somehow been enticed into the power of Decebalus, who kept him a prisoner, and sent a message to Trajan that he would not release his captive unless Dacia were evacuated and the expenses of the war paid. The Emperor, unwilling to seal the doom of Longinus, did not flatly refuse, but the prisoner freed his Imperator from the dilemma by swallowing poison.

The movements of the Romans were slow but sure. At length (probably in 106 A.D.) they approached the capital of Decebalus from the eastern side, and laid siege to it. A battle was fought, in which the Dacians were worsted, and then Decebalus caused his followers to set fire to their city. A number of Dacian nobles, thinking further resistance useless, and not wishing to fall alive into the hands of the victor, assembled for a last banquet and drank a poisoned cup. Most of the common people submitted to the Romans. Decebalus himself, with a few devoted followers, fled, but was followed by Roman troops, and, after a combat, despatched himself with his sword. His head was brought to Trajan, and sent to Rome. His followers resisted to the last, and were not taken until the Romans set fire to the fortress in which they had shut themselves up. Trajan was saluted Imperator for the sixth time.

Having arranged the organisation of the new province, Trajan returned to Rome (end of 107 A.D.), and celebrated his triumph by a feast which lasted 123 days. Ten thousand gladiators fought in the spectacles. The people received a *congiarium*, and the Emperor, as one who had extended the boundaries of the Roman territory, extended also the *pomœrium* of the city.

§ 17. The great memorial of these Dacian wars is the Column of Trajan, erected by the senate in the new Forum Trajani, where it stands to this day. This column, one hundred feet high, is decorated by sculptures, in low relief, of scenes from both the wars. It is a picture-book of the Dacian campaigns, but, unluckily, to most of the pictures we have no text. The Cæsar who conquered Dacia, like the Cæsar who conquered Gaul, wrote an account of his conquest, but the *Commentaries* of Trajan have not survived, and this is, perhaps, one of the greatest losses that history has to deplore. Nor have we in its place any other full account of

the wars—nothing but a late and meagre epitome.* In these circumstances, the pillar of Trajan is of the greatest value. It is possible, from the vivid illustrations, whose meaning is generally clear, to supplement in many important particulars the one very deficient written record which we possess. Just as the Bayeux Tapestry helps the historian to understand the story of the Norman conquest of England, so the Pillar of Trajan helps him to follow the Roman conquest of Dacia. It does not, indeed, throw light on the chronology and geography of the campaigns, as to which we are almost hopelessly in the dark; and it does not give a complete view of the war, for only those episodes are represented in which Trajan himself took part. Its value, perhaps, is ethnographical rather than strictly historical. It teaches us what the bearded Dacians were like, with their long hair, loose drawers, and long-sleeved jerkins; we see them fighting under their dragons—the Dacian standard. We see the Sarmatian archers on horseback, clad in complete mail. The various events of the march, as well as battle-scenes and sieges pass before us. We see the Roman soldiers following their standard-bearer across the bridge of boats at Viminacium, and the river-god, the Danube, rising from his bed to behold them. Then we see the Emperor performing sacrifices in front of the camp. The cutting down of trees, the construction of camps, the making of bridges, the Emperor addressing the troops, are all represented. We see Dacian spies dragged by the hair into Trajan's presence; soldiers displaying to the Emperor the bloody heads of enemies they have slain; the Dacians carrying their wounded into a wood. A village built on stakes in a lake is set on fire, the women and children implore mercy. The houses of the barbarians are round, with pointed roofs. Here is portrayed the distribution of distinctions to brave soldiers; there the tortures which Dacian women inflict on Roman captives. In the sculptures of the second war we have a view of the capital city of Decebalus, his palace, and probably the temple of Zalmoxis. We see the Dacian chiefs sitting in a circle and emptying the bowl of poison in front of the burning town. Then we see the head of Decebalus presented to Trajan on a dish. The sculptures are ranged in a spiral band round the column, which supported a colossal statue of the Imperator.

SECT. V.—ORGANISATION OF DACIA.

§ 18. Dacia differed, in one important respect, from the other provinces of the Empire. It was bounded on three sides by territory that was not Roman, and thus resembled a peninsula of

* Xiphilin's abridgment of Dion Cassius.

civilisation jutting out into a barbarian sea. The land between the Danube and the Theiss was left to the Jazyges, and never formed part of the Empire, so that Dacia was thus separated from Pannonia. In fact, Dacia was an "eccentric position" thrown out from the natural Danube frontier. It is generally thought that Trajan was guilty of a political error in occupying it; but perhaps the error rather consisted in not going further. Certainly the annexation of Jazygia seemed called for, in order to complete a continuous line of frontier from the Rhine to the Pruth or Dniester. It is to be observed that the Dacian province did not extend as far east as the Pruth. It included Transylvania, the Banat, and western Wallachia. In eastern Wallachia and Moldavia there are no remains of Roman civilisation, and while they were included in the Roman sphere of influence, they can hardly have belonged to the province. The remains of fortifications between the Pruth and the Dniester in modern Bessarabia have been discovered, but do not necessarily imply that the Dacian province extended so far.

The native population of Dacia was exhausted by the wars, and the greater part of what remained was driven out by Trajan, probably into the eastern regions beyond the Alutus. One of the scenes on the pillar represents the fugitives going forth from their homes. A few were allowed to remain in Transylvania, but they were isolated and gradually disappeared. The land was repopulated by colonists from all parts of the Roman world, especially from Asia Minor, and thus the province of Dacia never represented a nationality. Dalmatians, skilled in mining operations, were settled in the northern districts in order to work the valuable gold-mines, which were probably a considerable motive in inducing Trajan to conquer the country. They not only rendered Dacia self-supporting, but were a source of additional wealth to the fiscus. The province was placed under a *legatus Augusti pro prætore*. The first governor, D. Terentius Scaurianus, was remembered as the founder of the colony of Sarmizegethusa (under the name Ulpia Trajana). Apulum, however, further north, (corresponding to the present Karlsburg,) was more important than the capital of Decebalus. It was the centre of the road-system of the province. Besides these two cities, Napoca in the north and Tierna on the Danube received *ius Italicum*.

§ 19. It is probable that Trajan left two legions,* as the garrison of his new province. Both Mœsia and Pannonia were guarded more strongly than ever, eight legions being distributed between them.

* Possibly three. The XIII. Gemina was certainly stationed in Dacia, at Apulum.

One of the great consequences of the Dacian war was the shifting of the military centre of gravity in Europe from the Rhine to the Danube. The legions which were taken from the German provinces were not sent back (except I. Minervia), but were kept in the Illyric provinces. Here Trajan made a new administrative arrangement. As Domitian had divided Mœsia, so he broke up Pannonia into an upper and lower province, each under a legatus. In Lower Pannonia he established a military station at Acumincum, close to the confluence of the Theiss and the Danube, in order to be a check on the Jazyges. In connection with Trajan's reorganisation of these provinces some new towns were founded, for example Marcianopolis, called after his sister Marciana, and Nicopolis on the Danube; many old towns were enlarged or improved, such as Pœtovio in Pannonia, Ratiaria (near Widdin), Serdica (Sofia), Œscus. The stations of the army of Lower Mœsia were now fixed at Novæ and Durostorum (Silistria). The Dobrudža district at the mouth of the Danube seems to have been excluded by Trajan from the province, though it was included in the following reign. The remains of a threefold system of ramparts of earth and stone running eastward from the Danube below Durostorum to the sea near Tomi have been discovered, and there are reasons for attributing the fortification to Trajan.

§ 20. One of the most distinct results of the Dacian Conquest was that it stifled all thoughts of insurrection among the Thracians, whose restless spirits were no longer fomented by free kinsmen in the north.* Trajan made Thrace, hitherto a procuratorial province dependent on Mœsia, a province of the first rank under a *legatus Augusti pro prætore.*

SECT. VI.—PROVINCE OF ARABIA.

§ 21. While the Emperor was himself reducing the newly conquered client-state of Dacia into the form of a province, the governor of Syria, Cornelius Palma, was also bringing under the direct rule of Rome the elder client-state of the Nabateans. Malchus, king of the Nabateans, had supported Vespasian in the Jewish war, and was succeeded by his son Dabel, who was destined to be the last of the line. The change introduced (doubtless for commercial reasons) by Trajan was really administrative, but was not accomplished without resistance on the part of the Arabs, and Palma was considered a conqueror of Arabia. Some outlying

* It is perhaps significant that Martial speaks of the *Odrysians* (a Thracian people) in connection with Domitian's Sarmatian war in 92 A.D. See vii. 8. 2: Victor ab *Odrysio* redditur *orbe* deus.

regions possessed by the Nabatean king were abandoned; Damascus was annexed to the province of Syria; and the rest of the kingdom was organised as an imperial province, under a *legatus Augusti pr. pr.* who commanded a legion which was stationed at Bostra. The province is often called Arabia Petræa, from the important city of Petra.* The country was protected by military stations. A line of fortresses protected the road from Damascus to Palmyra. Under direct Roman rule, which by its permanent military strength ensured peace, Greek civilisation began to penetrate into these regions on the border of the desert. Hitherto Hellenism, opposed by Jewish influences, had made little way here; Trajan's innovations made a new epoch.

It is significant that no Greek monument dating from the time before Trajan has been found within the limits of the Nabatean kingdom, while on the other hand there are no inscriptions in the native tongue after Trajan. The commercial importance of Bostra, the new Bostra of Trajan, as it was called, dates from the time when it became the centre of the Roman province. Its good position made it the great market for the Syrian desert, the Arabian highlands, and Persia; it became the rival of Damascus. Buildings sprang up rapidly in this land under Roman rule. New towns arose, symmetrically built, adorned with palaces and temples, theatres and baths, aqueducts and triumphal arches. The architecture, owing to want of wood, developed some peculiar features, especially in the treatment of the stone arch and the dome, which give the buildings of this region a place of their own among Greek buildings of the imperial period.

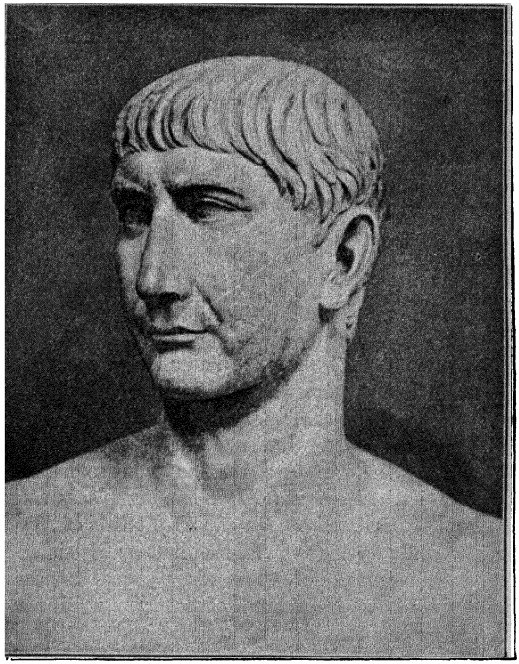
§ 22. Another client-state had ceased to exist a few years before. On the death of Agrippa II. in 100 A.D., the last remnant of the kingdom of Herod was annexed to the province

Trajan's Column

* See above, Chap. VII. § 7.

of Syria. In consequence of this enlargement and the subsequent addition of Damascus, Syria reached under Trajan its widest limits as a province; and, as the legatus exercised control over the secondary province of Judea, his sphere of government was a very large one.

Figures from Trajan's Column.



Trajan.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRAJAN'S PRINCIPATE (*continued*). ADMINISTRATION AND EASTERN CONQUESTS.

§ 1. Character of Trajan. Title of *Optimus*. Relations to the senate § 2. Monarchical policy in two ways. § 3. Equity. Finances. *Congiaria*. § 4. Slavery. § 5. Italian policy. Agriculture. § 6. Roads, aqueducts, &c. Forum of Trajan. § 7. Provincial administration. Bithynia. § 8. Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan. § 9. Proscription of Christianity in Bithynia. Letter of Pliny, and Trajan's reply. § 10. Trajan determines on a new solution of the Armenian question. § 11. He proceeds to the East and prepares for war. Parthomasiris. Armenia made a Roman province. § 12. Mesopotamia becomes a Roman province, and, § 13, likewise Adiabene. Trajan proceeds against Ctesiphon and captures it. *Parthia capta*. § 14. Trajan descends the Tigris. His further plans checked by a rebellion. § 15. Parthia a client-state. Trajan returns to Syria. § 16. Revolt of the Jews. § 17. Death of Trajan (117 A.D.). § 18. Estimate of Trajan's eastern policy.

SECT. I.—TRAJAN'S ADMINISTRATION. ROME AND ITALY.

§ 1. TRAJAN ranks amongst the greatest Emperors of Rome. But he stands alone. He boldly inaugurated a new policy of conquest, but his successors refused to walk in the path which he marked out. His originality was fruitless; he did not influence the ages which succeeded him. The province of Dacia, his only work that was in any way abiding, ceased to be Roman before two centuries had elapsed. Trajan was above all a soldier; and his aggressive policy was largely due to this fact. His military undertakings were successful, but the reports of them which have come down are not sufficient to let us judge whether his strategy was original. He was robust in mind and body. He had a clear understanding, but one of a thoroughly practical turn, and he had no taste for literature. He was not averse to pleasures, but was careful not to indulge in them to the hurt of others. He was genial and popular in his manner and used to play the part of a comrade to his soldiers. His chief foible was vanity. He was fond of naming places after himself and members of his family. He caused the title of Augusta to be conferred not only on his wife Plotina, but on his sister Marciana and her daughter Matidia. Trajan's personal appearance was noble and impressive. He was tall of stature, and his features were regular. He had an aquiline nose, a broad and low forehead, thick straight-cut hair. He was the first Emperor to whom a special name was given to designate his personal qualities. In 100 A.D.* the senate conferred on him the name *Optimus*, which, however, he did not adopt as one of his titles until a later period (114 A.D.).

In his relations with the senators Trajan was studiously moderate in language and demeanour. He was careful to maintain the fiction that the senate was a free body, as in the days of the Republic; he proposed to be a *Princeps*, not, like Domitian, a *dominus*. "You bid us be free," says Pliny; "we will be free."† He faithfully kept his oath never to take the life of a senator. When his friend Licinius Sura was secretly charged with a treasonable conspiracy, he sent for Sura's physician to anoint his eyes, and let himself be shaved by Sura's barber. Next day he said, "If my friend proposed to take my life, he might have compassed his design yesterday." Calpurnius Crassus, who had been pardoned by Nerva, afterwards conspired against Trajan, and was put to death, not, however, by the Emperor, but by his own senatorial colleagues. But while Trajan disarmed opposition, and won golden

* Perhaps earlier, but certainly before Sept., 100.

† Jubes esse liberos; erimus (*Panegyric*, 56).

opinions by outward respect for the Fathers, and by the observance of superficial forms, he avoided having to restore to the senate any real powers. He retained the substance of monarchy, and endeavoured to render it palatable by a show of equality between the monarch and the other senators. He made no objection to the expression of republican sentiments, and allowed the followers of Thrasea and Helvidius to indulge in their harmless hero-worship of Brutus and Cassius. Yet men like Pliny did not disguise from themselves that they were under the absolute rule of a single man; but they recognised that he worked for the public weal.

§ 2. Thus the policy of Trajan resembled that of Vespasian; except that Trajan was more affable and more tolerant. But he developed the monarchical principle in at least two ways. (1) He did not assume a perpetual censorship like Domitian, but he did what was more unconstitutional. He created new patricians without assuming the censorship at all. This was equivalent to claiming censorial power as part of the imperial prerogative. (2) He instituted an imperial control over the local administration of the towns of Italy, of the free cities in the imperial provinces, and of the cities which were subject to the administration of the senate. These three classes of the community were hitherto exempt from the interference of the Emperor, and the appointment of an imperial officer, called *curator reipublicæ*,* with control over the affairs of such a community, was a distinct step in the growth of monarchy. The *curator* was of equestrian or senatorial rank, and was chosen from some neighbouring community. He had control over the municipal administration, especially in regard to the public buildings, and the town rent-roll. In many cases doubtless, and especially in the senatorial provinces, there had been financial mismanagement, and the intervention of the state was beneficial. But the political tendency of the measure was to increase the sphere of the Emperor's influence, on the one hand, and to level the distinction existing between the various communities of the Empire, on the other. The control of the Emperor in Italy tended to reduce the mother-country to the position of the subject-lands; and the intervention of imperial officers "to correct the state" of the free communities seriously diminished the value of their privileges.

§ 3. Otherwise Trajan's policy in domestic and civil administration was not marked by any particular tendency. He does not appear to have been guided much by general principles, but rather to have dealt with each question, as it arose, on its own merits. Many beneficial results in special departments of law were achieved

* In the case of city communities; but generally *corrector* in the case of districts or provinces.

by his legislation. Like Claudius, he used personally to deal out judgment in the tribunals of Rome, and used himself to try all cases of appeal to the imperial court. His spirit of moderation and equity is expressed in the sentiment, which is attributed to him, that it is better that the guilty should escape unpunished, than that the innocent should be condemned. The state finances seem to have been managed by Trajan with discretion and success, for, notwithstanding the large expenses incurred by his wars and his buildings, no increase of taxation was found necessary. On the contrary, the duty on inheritances (*vicesima hereditatum*) was alleviated in certain cases. Trajan published a budget with the details of the public expenditure,—a popular measure, but also a politic move, as showing how favourably his administration compared with that of his predecessors. He also established a special court to deal with fiscal lawsuits.

The secret of Trajan's financial success lay partly in the strict economy of his court, but also in the large increase of revenue derived from the province of Dacia and its rich mines. One feature of his reign has received severe condemnation. He adopted from his predecessors the practice of giving *congiaria* to the people of Rome, but increased the amount of the donation to an extravagant height. His first *congiarium* (99 A.D.) was probably no larger than that of Nerva (75 denarii, £2 10*s*., a head), but his second and third distributions of money, after each Dacian war, amounted to 650 denarii a head. He thus introduced a precedent of extravagant charity, which became a serious tax on his successors.

§ 4. Though it was the general tendency under the Empire to alleviate the conditions of slavery, Trajan inclined in a contrary direction, and passed some laws which made the discipline of servitude harder. By the existing legislation, when a master was assassinated, all his slaves were condemned to death. Trajan introduced a new regulation by which not only the testamentary freedmen, but those freedmen who had received their liberty during their master's life, and possessed either wholly or partly Roman citizenship, were subjected to torture. He also issued an edict that a freedman or slave who had obtained from the Emperor Roman citizenship in its complete form, without the knowledge of his patron or master, and possessed thereby the right of freely disposing of his property, should retain the right during his lifetime, but should on his death be regarded as a freedman possessing only the *ius Latinum*, so that his fortune might revert to his patron.

§ 5. Trajan followed the example of Nerva in paying special attention to the welfare of Italy. The possibility of an invasion

by the barbarians beyond the Danube—which in Domitian's reign may have seemed near enough—may have awakened the minds of statesmen to the importance of maintaining the population and encouraging agriculture in Italy, if only for the purpose of strengthening her against a hostile attack. In four ways Trajan came to the rescue of Italy. In the first place, he carried on, extended and modified the alimentary institutions, which Nerva had founded.* This policy directly contributed to encourage marriage and raise the population. Secondly, the state further encouraged small proprietors by advancing loans at small interest. Thirdly, Trajan renewed the law of Tiberius, that all provincials who became senators must invest a third of their property in Italian land. Fourthly, he tried to hinder emigration from Italy, by an ordinance that no Italians should take part in the foundation of new colonies. This Italian policy involved the principle that the provinces were to contribute to the maintenance of the mother-country. It was a principle which was not then disputed, but which was manifestly unfair, inasmuch as the legions which defended the provinces were no longer recruited from Italy. On the other hand, as we have seen, the institution of *curatores* tended to deprive Italy of political privileges.

§ 6. Trajan concerned himself with the improvement of Italian traffic, both by sea and land. He restored the harbours of Ostia and Centumcellæ (Cività Vecchia) on the west coast, and enlarged that of Ancona on the east. At Ostia he excavated a very large hexagonal basin, still called the Lago Trajano, and connected it with the Port of Claudius by two smaller basins. This new port was surrounded with quays and buildings for magazines.† He constructed a road through the Pomptine marshes on the coast of Latium, and converted the mule-path, which led directly from Beneventum to Brundusium, into a regular road, called Via Trajana. Nor did he neglect the welfare of Rome. He improved the water-supply by executing important repairs of the Aqua Marcia and the Anio Novus, and conferred a great benefit on the inhabitants of the

* This system has been already described under the reign of Nerva. The two inscriptions, however, which tell us most about it belong to the reign of Trajan, the tabula of the Ligures Bæbiani (101 A.D.), and that of Veleia (after 103 A.D.). At Veleia 1,044,000 sesterces (over £8300) were assigned on a mortgage bond to 46 estates, whose total value was reckoned at over 13 million sesterces (£104,000). The interest of this grant at 5 per cent. enabled provision to be made for 245 grants of 16 sesterces a month to boys, 34 grants of 12 sesterces to girls; and also a grant of 12 and 10 sesterces a month to support an illegitimate boy and girl.

† Juvenal (*Sat.* xii. 75) mentions this new port thus:

Tandem intrat positas inclusa per æquora moles
Tyrrhenamque Pharon porrectaque brachia rursum
Quæ pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt
Italiam.

Transtiberine quarter, by building an aqueduct to supply them, the Acqua Trajana. This aqueduct derived its waters from the lacus Sabatinus, and is used at the present day under the name of the *Aqua Paola*. Trajan built two public baths, the Thermæ Trajanæ, (near the baths of Titus) intended exclusively for the use of women; and the Thermæ Surianæ, in memory of his friend Licinius Sura. He arranged for a cheaper supply of bread in Italy and Rome by reorganising the guild of bakers,—a considerable concession on Trajan's part, as he always manifested great jealousy of *collegia* and corporations. The list of those who received corn was revised, and 5000 poor children were placed among the recipients.

The great monument of Trajan in Rome was his new forum, which was confessed by posterity to be one of the most striking sights of the city. It lay in a narrow valley which he formed by cutting off a spur between the Capitoline and the Quirinal hills, and was designed to form a connecting link between the other *fora* and the Campus Martius. It was, in fact, a northerly continuation of the Forum of Augustus. The execution of the design was entrusted to Apollodorus of Damascus, the skilful architect who built the bridge of the Danube at Turnu Severin. The western and eastern sides of the forum were formed by semicircles hewn out of the hills, in front of which were rectilineal porticoes enclosing the area. In the middle of the space was an equestrian statue of the Emperor. The southern side was occupied by a magnificent entrance, and the northern by the Basilica Ulpiana, a large edifice. Behind it was the Pillar of Trajan, which has been already described, in the centre of a small place, whose sides were formed by two libraries, one of Latin, the other of Greek works. Beyond this space was a temple, completed after Trajan's death, and consecrated to him by his successor.

SECT. II. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES. CORRESPONDENCE OF PLINY AND TRAJAN.

§ 7. The corruption of the governors of the senatorial provinces is illustrated by the cases of Marius Priscus and Cæcilius Classicus, which occurred at the beginning of Trajan's reign. Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, was accused in 99 A.D. by the provincials, and prosecuted by Pliny and the historian Tacitus. The case came before the senate in the following year, Trajan, as consul, presiding. It was proved that Marius had indeed "fleeced" the Afri.* For a bribe of 300,000 sesterces he had banished a

* Juvenal, viii. 120: Cum tenues nuper discinxerit Afros.

knight and put to death seven of his friends. He flogged, sentenced to the mines, and finally strangled another knight for a bribe of 700,000. The sentence of the court was that the 700,000 should be paid to the ærarium, and that Marius should be exiled from Italy. This was a poor compensation to the province for its sufferings.* Soon after this, Pliny prosecuted Classicus, formerly governor of Bætica, at the instance of the inhabitants. His guilt was proved, but he died before the trial.

In the administration of the provinces, Trajan's reign offers nothing noteworthy, except liberality in the construction of new roads, and the policy, already mentioned, of intervening in the affairs of free communities by means of a *curator reipublicæ*, and sending special commissioners to senatorial provinces. Thus Sex. Quintilius Maximus was sent to Achaia, probably to supervise the affairs of the free states of Greece. In this policy, Trajan did not aim at uniformity; he only adopted it in cases where special circumstances seemed to demand his intervention. The wretched condition to which the province of Bithynia had been reduced by the incompetent rule of the senatorial proconsuls, was a case which called for the Emperor's interference, and he saw good to make it, temporarily, an imperial province. He probably made the loss good to the senate by assigning to it the province of Pamphylia instead. He appointed Pliny as *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, to restore order in the demoralized province. The provincials had instituted suits against corrupt proconsuls, and while the proceedings had dragged slowly on, the finances had fallen into disorder, the public buildings remained unfinished, and social life had been completely paralysed. Pliny, who had had no previous experience of provincial government, referred to the Emperor for instruction on every question which arose, and their correspondence has come down to us. It shows us that Trajan was averse to treating different cases in the same way or applying a general rule, as Pliny suggested to do, to the whole province. He adopted the more equitable and more troublesome plan of paying regard to the local usages and special traditions of each community. It would be a great mistake to infer from the minute details with which the Emperor concerned himself in the case of Bithynia, that he devoted the same attention to the minor affairs of all the other provinces of the Empire. On the contrary, he seems to have laid a great deal of responsibility on the shoulders of the governors. Bithynia was a special case. Its condition at this time is one among many pieces

* Juvenal, i. 49:

Exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur Dis
Iratis, at tu, victrix provincia, ploras.

of evidence that the government of the imperial provinces was far better than that of the senatorial.

§ 8. The Correspondence of Trajan and Pliny gives a most interesting glimpse of the questions and affairs which the Emperor had to deal with in governing the provinces; and it is all the more valuable, as our record of Trajan's reign is otherwise meagre. The following abbreviated extracts from the Correspondence will serve to give an insight into some sides of Roman provincial government. They will also illustrate the practical judgment of Trajan, and the narrow limits within which Pliny was permitted to decide for himself.*

I.—*Imperial authorization of public works.*

Pliny.—May the people of Prusa be authorized to replace their bath-house, which is old and dilapidated, with new thermæ? Money will be forthcoming for the work. *Trajan.*—Yes, if the construction will not be too great a burden for their strength or necessitate the imposition of a special tax.

Pliny.—Sinope lacks water. I have found a copious spring of good quality sixteen miles away, but the aqueduct will have to pass for a distance of about a mile over soft and uncertain ground. I can easily raise the money required; it only remains for me to secure your approval. *Trajan.*—Make this aqueduct; but first carefully examine whether the suspicious locality can bear it, and whether the expense does not exceed the ability of the town.

Pliny.—Nicomedia has expended over 3,000,000 sesterces (£24,000) on an aqueduct, which has been abandoned, and is now in ruins, 2,000,000 (£16,000) on another, which has also been abandoned. I have means for making a third, which will stand, if you will send an inspector of aqueducts or an architect. *Trajan.*—Supply Nicomedia with water, but investigate by whose fault so much money has been wasted.

Pliny.—Nicæa has expended 10,000,000 sesterces (£80,000) on a theatre which is tottering, and great sums on a gymnasium, which was burned and which they are rebuilding. At Claudiopolis † they are excavating a bath-house at the foot of a mountain, with the money which the decurions appointed by you pay for their admission to the curia.‡ What am I to do with respect to all these works? Send me an architect to advise. *Trajan.*—You are on the spot;

* The choice, the headings and form of the extracts have been borrowed from Duruy's *History of Rome*, but with many modifications and corrections.

† An inland town of Bithynia in the district of the Mariandyni.

‡ Decurions appointed by the Emperor in excess of the regular number had to pay one or two thousand denarii as an entrance-fee.

decide. As for architects, we at Rome send to Greece for them. You will therefore find them about you.

Pliny.—Amastris is infected by a sewer which ought to be covered. If you permit the work to be executed, I have the money required. *Trajan.*—Cover this infectious stream.

Pliny.—There is a great lake on the confines of the territory of Nicomedia (Lake Sophon, about ten miles east of that city). It would be highly advantageous to connect it with the sea by a canal. Send me an engineer. *Trajan.*—Take care that the lake, in uniting with the sea, does not run out entirely. I will send you from here men conversant with this kind of work.

II.—*Supervision of Municipal Finances.*

Pliny.—The money due to towns of the province has been called in, and no borrowers at 12 per cent. are to be found. Ought I to reduce the rate of interest, or, if that fails to attract borrowers, compel the decurions to borrow the money in equal shares on suitable security. *Trajan.*—Put the interest low enough to find borrowers, but do not force anyone to borrow against his will. Such a course would be inconsistent with the temper of our century.

Pliny.—In the free and federate city of Amisus, which, thanks to you, is governed by its own laws, a request has been handed to me, concerning societies for mutual aid (*erani*). I mention the circumstance, that you may consider how far they may be tolerated and how far they must be forbidden. *Trajan.*—Allow them their societies, which the treaty of federation gives them, especially if, instead of spending their contributions on illicit assemblies, they employ them to assist their poorer members. In the other towns, which are subject to our dominion,* it should not be permitted,

Pliny.—Most of my predecessors have accorded to the towns of Pontus and Bithynia, a priority of claim upon the property of their debtors. It would be well if some permanent regulation were made on this matter. *Trajan.*—Let it be decided according to the special laws of each town. If they have not a privilege over other creditors, I ought not to grant it to them at the expense of private individuals.

Pliny.—The inhabitants of (the colony of) Apamea request me to examine their accounts, despite their ancient privilege of administering their own affairs. Ought I to comply? *Trajan.*—Yes, since they themselves desire it. Assure them that your inspection is by my desire, and will not prejudice their privileges.

* The directly subject *civitates* (both *peregrinæ*, and those which possessed Roman citizenship or *ius Latinum*).

Pliny.—Julius Piso received 40,000 denarii twenty years ago as a public gift from Amisus. The public prosecutor (*ecdicus*) claims this sum in accordance with your edicts, which forbid such acts of liberality. Piso urges the length of time that has elapsed, and professes that repayment would ruin him. *Trajan.*—If the gift dates back more than twenty years, let it not be revoked; for we must regard the security of the individual citizens while taking care of the public funds.

Pliny.—I enclose a memorial of the Nicæans. *Trajan.*—They pretend to have received from Augustus the privilege of collecting the inheritance of all their fellow-citizens who die intestate. Examine this affair in the presence of the parties, along with the procurators Gemellinus and my freedman Epimachus, and decide what may appear to you just.

Pliny.—I have been examining the expenses of the Byzantines. They spend annually 12,000 sesterces (£96) on the travelling expenses of a legatus, bearing to you a formal honorary decree, and 3000 (£24) in sending an envoy to salute the governor of Mœsia. Have I done right in cutting down both expenses? *Trajan.*—It is enough for them to forward to me through your hands their decree of homage. As for the governor of Mœsia, he will pardon them if they make their court to him cheaper.*

III.—*The Decurions.*

Pliny.—In certain towns of the province the decurions *supra numerum* are obliged, on their admission to the curia, to subscribe, some 1000 (about £35), others 2000 denarii. It pertains to you, sire, to make a general law. *Trajan.*—No, it is safest to follow the custom of each town, especially regarding those who are made decurions against their wish.

Pliny.—The law of Pompeius observed in Bithynia, requires the age of thirty years for exercising the function of the magistracy and entering the senate. But an edict of Augustus permits the inferior magistracies to be held at the age of twenty-two. I have concluded that those who become magistrates under this edict, ought to have seats in the municipal senate, although under thirty years of age. But what about those who, being of the prescribed age for holding magistracies, have not obtained them? *Trajan.*—Close the senate-house to them.

* This reply doubtless "pleased Byzantium, for, in spite of the police duties performed in the empire, to go to Rome was not only an expense but a peril. Petronius and Apuleius show that highway-robbers were numerous, and we possess a marble on which the good people of Mehadia on the Danube, sent out by their fellow-citizens, have engraved their gratitude toward the *Divinities of the Waters* for having brought them back safe and sound into their city." (Duruy.)

IV.—*Right of Citizenship.*

Pliny.—To obtain the right of citizenship in a Bithynian town, it is necessary, by the law of Pompeius, not to be a citizen of any other Bithynian community. Many of the decurions in every community are in this position. Should they be excluded from the senate-house? *Trajan.*—No, but see to it that in future the law of Pompeius be better observed.

V.—*Protection for the Towns.*

Pliny.—Byzantium has a legionary centurion, sent by the *legatus* of Lower Mœsia, according to your directions, to watch over its privileges. Juliopolis, on the frontier of Bithynia, requests of you the same favour. *Trajan.*—Byzantium is a great city, where a large number of strangers land. Its magistrates require some military assistance. But if I give such help to Juliopolis, all the small towns will want the same thing. It devolves upon you to watch that no injury be done to the cities under your government.

VI.—*Religious Matters.*

Pliny.—May a temple of Cybele, at Nicomedia, be removed to a more convenient site. *Trajan.*—Yes; the proceeding cannot violate a *lex dedicationis*, as the provincial soil is not capable of receiving consecrations according to Roman law.

Pliny.—I have been asked for permission to transfer some dead bodies from their present tombs. At Rome a decision of the pontiffs is required. What shall I do here? *Trajan.*—Grant or refuse, according to the merits of the case. It would be too hard to require provincials to come and consult the pontiffs at Rome in this matter.

Pliny.—I have found a ruined house, suitable for the bath to be built at Prusa. The proprietor built a temple to Claudius in the peristylium, but nothing is left of it. Is there any objection? *Trajan.*—Put the bath in this house, unless the temple was actually completed, for even though it may have disappeared, the soil remains sacred to him.

Pliny.—It is said that a woman and her sons were buried in the same place where your statue is set up. The statue is in a library, the burial places in a large court surrounded by a colonnade. I pray you to enlighten me as to the decision of this affair. *Trajan.*—You should not have hesitated about such a question,

for you know very well that I do not propose to make my name respected by terror and judgments of *maiestas*. Dismiss the accusation.

VII.—*Military Discipline.*

Pliny.—Should the prisoners be guarded by soldiers or, according to custom, by public slaves? I have stationed some of both. *Trajan.*—It is better to adhere to usage; and the soldier must not be called away from his flag.

Pliny.—Two slaves have been found among the recruits. What shall be done with them? *Trajan.*—If they have been enlisted, the fault lies with the recruiting officer. If they have been furnished as substitutes, you must punish those whose places they fill. If, knowing their condition, they have come and offered themselves, execute them.

VIII.—*Civil Discipline.*

Pliny.—In many towns persons condemned to the mines or to fight as gladiators, are serving as public slaves, and receiving wages. What is to be done? *Trajan.*—Execute the sentences, except where the condemnation dates back more than ten years; and in the latter case cause the convicts to be employed in such menial offices as are nearly penal, such as cleaning the public baths and the sewers.

Pliny.—A man, who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by Bassus (proconsul of Bithynia in 98 A.D.) has remained in the province, though he has not made use of the right given him by the senate after the rescinding of the acts of Bassus, to claim within two years a new trial. *Trajan.*—He has disobeyed the law. Send him in chains to my prætorian prefects for a more rigorous punishment.

Pliny.—Those assuming the *toga virilis*, celebrating a marriage, inaugurating some public work, or entering on a magistracy, are accustomed to invite the decurions and many of the plebs—sometimes more than 1000 persons—and to give each one a denarius or two. I am afraid that the numbers at these gatherings are excessive, though you have yourself allowed invitations on special occasions. *Trajan.*—You are right. But I have made choice of your wisdom for the express purpose of reforming all the abuses of the province.

Pliny.—A great fire has devastated Nicomedia. Would it not be well to establish a society of 150 firemen? *Trajan.*—No. Corporations, whatever the names they bear, are sure to become

political associations. Supply the apparatus of buckets; warn the proprietors, and, in case of need, employ the populace.

Sect. III.—The Christians.

§. 9. The letter of Pliny and the reply of his master which have excited most interest and led to most discussion, are those concerning the punishment of Christians. Until Domitian's reign the Christians had been regarded as a Jewish sect, and had been treated as Jews. Since the death of Gaius, the Jews had never been forced to take part in the divine worship of the Emperors, and the Christians shared in this immunity, as the state did not recognise their distinction from the Jews. But the fall of Jerusalem brought about a change in the position of Christianity, by emancipating it from its home in Palestine, and leading to its wider propagation among the gentiles. This propagation led to the recognition of the distinction between Jews and Christians. It was observed that the proselytising efforts of the Jews proper were attended with unimportant results, whereas the Christian sect increased rapidly. The Roman government was only ready to tolerate the opposition of the Jews to the state religion, so long as there was no danger of Jewish doctrines spreading among subjects of other races. The question therefore, was whether they should suppress the Jewish religion altogether, including Christianity as a species of Judaism, or should deal with the Christians separately. Domitian chose the latter alternative, towards the close of his reign. A refusal to worship the Emperor's image was regarded as an act of sacrilege; and such worship was required from Christians,* though not from Jews. A Christian, named Antipas, suffered death at Pergamum, for refusing to comply with this requisition. At Rome, Flavius Clemens was put to death, and Domitilla banished on a charge of sacrilege; and it seems probable that they were Christian converts. The year 95, in which these things happened, may be regarded as the date at which Christianity came into conflict with the state religion, and was forbidden. As the Christian faith compelled those who professed it to set at naught the established religion, Christians were regarded by the law as sacrilegious; and to be suspected of Christianity was equivalent to being suspected of sacrilege. An important consequence followed. It was one of the duties of every provincial governor, to seek out and punish all sacrilegious persons, brigands, robbers, and others, who infested his province. As the Christians came under the head of *sacrilegi*, the governor was not

* Also doubtless from non-Jewish converts to Judaism.

only able, but was required, to deal with them according to his own discretion, without receiving any special imperial instructions.

It was part of Nerva's reaction against the policy of Domitian, that accusations of this kind of sacrilege were not encouraged; but the principle was not changed. Christians were still punishable, and this was an acknowledged fact when Pliny was governor of Bithynia. The wide diffusion of the forbidden religion in this province became known to Pliny in 112 A.D., when he issued Trajan's rescript forbidding societies (*hetæriæ*). The enemies of the Christians took the opportunity of pointing out that they were in the habit of holding illicit assemblies. Pliny describes his investigation of the question in his letter to Trajan, of which the tenor is in brief as follows:—

"I have never been present at the resolutions taken concerning the Christians, therefore I know not for what causes or how far they may be objects of punishment. And I have hesitated considerably in considering whether the difference of age should make any difference in our procedures. Are those who retract their belief to be pardoned? Must they be punished for the profession alone, although otherwise innocent? I have pursued the following method:—I have asked them whether they were Christians, and to those who avowed the profession I have put the same question a second and a third time, and have enforced it by threats of punishment. When they have persevered, I have ordered them to be led to execution. For whatever their confession might be, their audacious behaviour and immovable obstinacy undoubtedly demanded punishment. I have reserved some who shared in the same kind of madness, but were Roman citizens, to be sent to Rome.

"An anonymous information was put into my hands, containing a list of many persons who deny that they are or ever were Christians. For, repeating the form of invocation after me, they called upon the gods and offered incense and made libations to your image; and they uttered imprecations against Christ, to which no true Christian, as they affirm, can be compelled by any punishment whatever. I thought it best, therefore, to dismiss them. Others of them said at first that they were Christians, and then immediately afterwards denied it, and said that they had entirely renounced the error several years before. All these worshipped your image and the images of the gods, and they even vented imprecations against Christ.

"They affirmed that the sum total of their fault or their error consisted in assembling upon a certain stated day before it was light to sing alternately among themselves hymns to Christ as to a

god; binding themselves by oath not to steal nor to rob, not to commit adultery nor break their faith when plighted, nor to deny the deposits in their hands whenever compelled to restore them. These ceremonies performed, they usually departed, and came together again to take a repast, the meat of which was innocent* and eaten promiscuously; but they had desisted from this custom since my edict, wherein by your commands I had prohibited all associations (*hetæriæ*). From these circumstances I thought it more necessary to try to gain the truth, even by torture, from two women who were said to officiate at their worship. But I could discover only an obstinate kind of superstition, carried to great excess. And therefore, postponing any resolution of my own, I have waited the result of your judgment. To me an affair of this sort seems worthy of your consideration, principally from the multitude involved in the danger. For many persons of all degrees, of all ages, of both sexes, are already and will be constantly brought into danger by these accusations. Nor is this superstitious contagion confined only to the cities; it spreads itself through the villages and the country."

It is clear from this letter that Pliny had no doubt in his mind that Christianity was forbidden and punishable. It is also clear, that although this was recognised in principle, yet in practice, Roman governors did not attempt to discover Christians, and did not concern themselves with the prohibited faith, unless it was specially brought under their notice. On the first occasion on which Christians were accused before Pliny, he dealt with them as with persons guilty of sacrilege, on his own responsibility. But on the second occasion, when an anonymous letter reached him, containing a long list, he investigated the question more fully, and made two discoveries: (1) that the number of Christians was very large, and (2) that they seemed to be innocent of the crimes of incest and Thyestean banquets, which were popularly ascribed to them. Consequently he hesitated to deal with the "superstition" as summarily as he had dealt with it before, and referred the matter to the Emperor.

In reply, Trajan refused to adopt any general measure. "The Christians," he wrote, "need not be sought out.† If they are brought into your presence and convicted, they must be punished. But anonymous informations ought not to have the least weight in any charge whatever."

Thus Trajan upheld the principle that Christianity, being a form of *sacrilegium*, was punishable. But on the other hand, he

* The Jews accused the Christians of killing and eating children.

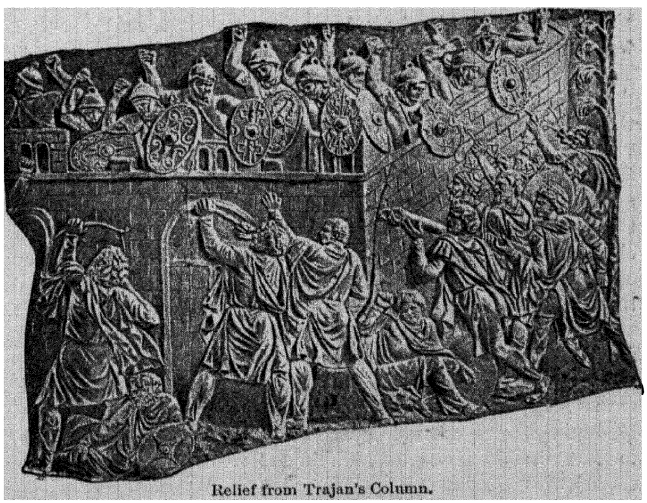
† Conquirendi non sunt.

prescribed that Christians were only to be punished when they were accused and convicted; they were not, like robbers or sacrilegious persons of other kinds, to be sought after or hunted down. This was an inconsistent position. It was hardly logical to leave in peace the Christian whom no one happened to accuse, and condemn to death the Christian against whom an ill-wisher brought the charge of belonging to the forbidden sect. But the great significance of Trajan's rescript is that it affirmed clearly the attitude of the Roman government to Christianity, and laid down a principle, which set Christians outside the pale of the law. This principle formed the basis of the religious policy of the Emperors for the two following centuries. It is important to observe that the crime for which a Christian was punished, according to this rescript, was not that of belonging to an illegal association—a transgression which would have come under the head of *maiestas*. Nor was the Christian punished because he had hitherto abstained from taking part in the worship of the Emperor or the gods. When a man was accused of Christianity, his judge required him to make a "supplication" to the Emperor's image, and if he refused, punishment was inflicted for this refusal, which was accounted sacrilege.

SECT. IV.—TRAJAN'S WARS AND CONQUESTS IN THE EAST. HIS DEATH.

§ 10. Ever since Tiridates had received the Armenian diadem from the hands of Nero, peace had subsisted between Rome and Parthia. The relations between the Flavian Emperors and the Arsacids had hardly been troubled by a single cloud; but under Trajan they became less friendly. King Pacorus did not decline to negotiate with Decebalus, the enemy of Rome. This negotiation, however, was not followed by any action on the part of Parthia, and did not lead to hostilities. But under Chosroes, the brother and successor of Pacorus, the crucial question of Armenia came up once more. The Armenian throne having become vacant, Trajan bestowed it upon Axidares, a son of Pacorus, but Chosroes deposed Axidares, and set up Parthomasiris, another son of Pacorus, on the ground that Axidares was incapable of governing. This action of Chosroes was a direct violation of the treaty existing between the two states, and Trajan was not a man to pass this over. He declared war immediately, and left Rome for the east at the end of 113 A.D. When he reached Athens he was met by a Parthian embassy, sent to divert him from his purpose, for Chosroes was not prepared for war. At this time Parthia was

distracted by internal dissensions, and several rival kings were ruling in different parts of the realm. The ambassadors declared that Parthomasiris was prepared to acknowledge himself the client of Rome, and receive the diadem from Trajan as Tiridates had received it from Nero. But the Emperor refused to recognise one who had been set up in defiance of his authority. He dismissed the embassy, saying shortly that he looked for deeds and not for words. Another Emperor would probably have been satisfied with the compromise, and Trajan, if he had intended to follow the eastern policy of his predecessors, would not have dismissed the Parthian envoys as he did. But he had come to the conclusion that the settlement of the Armenian question which had been come to in the reign of Nero was no settlement at all; and he determined to make the position



Relief from Trajan's Column.

of Armenia clear, by converting it into a Roman province. This step, which previous Emperors had declined to take, would remove once for all every pretext for Parthian interference in Armenia and put an end to the unsatisfactory combination of nominal Roman sway and real Parthian influence. The resolve of Trajan was quite in accordance with his previous policy in the case of Dacia and Arabia. The conversion of client states into provinces is a feature of his reign. But his purpose went even further than the annexation of Armenia. He decided to carry out an idea, which had been in the air for more than a hundred years, and subdue the

realm of Parthia, as he had subdued the realm of Decebalus. It was a project which Julius Cæsar might have attempted if he had lived. It was an aspiration of Roman poets, from Horace, who dreams of "Rome giving laws to the vanquished Medes," to Statius who, in addressing Domitian on his seventeenth consulate, reminds him that Bactra and Babylon still remain to be curbed by a new tribute.*

§ 11. From Athens Trajan proceeded to Antioch, and found that the Syrian army had degenerated in discipline and vigour owing to the long peace, so that his first task was to restore the efficiency of the troops. There were seven legions in the east available for the Parthian war—four in Syria, one in Judea, and two in Cappadocia—in addition to which Trajan summoned some Pannonian reinforcements, but it is uncertain how he apportioned his forces. Hostilities had already commenced, and the advantage was on the side of the Parthians, who had taken Samosata. Before Trajan took the field in spring 115 A.D., he received a letter from the pretender Parthomasiris, of which he took no notice, because the writer styled himself "king." The first event of the campaign was the recovery of Samosata. Thence Trajan marched to Satala in Little Armenia, intending to make that country the basis of his operations. At Satala he was met by the kings of various Caucasian countries, who came to assure him of their devotion and obedience—such as the Iberians, Albanians and Apsilians. Among others, Anchialus king of the Heniochi and Machelones was distinguished with marks of favour by the Emperor, to whom the attitude of these northern barbarians was a matter of importance for the success of his further operations. Here, too, another message was received from Parthomasiris, couched in far humbler terms than the previous one, and begging for an interview with M. Junius, the governor of Cappadocia. Trajan sent the son of Junius to treat with the pretender, and himself, returning on his steps, proceeded with the army in the direction of Artaxata, and halted at Elegeia (near Erzeroum), a locality well adapted for concentrating forces. Here Parthomasiris was permitted to wait upon the Emperor, who took his seat on a *suggestus* in the presence of the troops. The Parthian prince, taking the diadem from his head, laid it at the feet of Trajan, in order that the ceremonial of investiture might be performed; but the soldiers, misunderstanding his attitude, and thinking that he was renouncing Armenia, conceived that this country was won for Rome without a blow, and saluted Trajan as Imperator. Frightened by the cries of the soldiers, Parthomasiris

* Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3, 43: Triumphatisque Medis Roma ferox dare iura possit. | Statius, *Silvæ*, i. 1. 40: Restat Bactra novis, restat Babylona tributis frenari.

made as if he would flee, but he was surrounded, and could not escape. He then begged for a private interview with the Emperor, and was led into the imperial tent. But Trajan's mind was made up, and the Parthian's offer was rejected. After a few minutes they issued from the tent; Trajan resumed his seat on the *suggestus*, and commanded Parthomasiris to declare his demands clearly before the army, in order that the words which passed between them might never be falsely reported. The soldiers pressed round, but Parthomasiris, in this dangerous situation, did not lose his self-possession. He said simply that Armenia rightfully belonged to him on condition of receiving the diadem from Trajan's hands, that he had come of his own accord for this purpose, and not as a defeated or captured enemy, and that he expected to suffer no injury. The Emperor, in reply, shortly announced that Armenia belonged to Rome, and should henceforth be ruled by a Roman governor. Parthomasiris, with his Parthian retinue, was then permitted to depart under an escort of Roman horse, to prevent them from holding communications with anyone until they were beyond the frontiers of Armenia. The Armenians who had accompanied him were sent back to their own homes. Soon after he had left the camp, Parthomasiris was slain by his escort. It is unknown whether this act was committed in cold blood by the orders of Trajan, or whether the Parthian prince made an attempt to escape from his conductors. Armenia submitted to its fate without a struggle, and became a Roman province. The Caucasian kingdoms now stood to Rome in the same relation in which Armenia had stood before.

§ 12. Meanwhile, the Moorish captain, Lusius Quietus, who had distinguished himself in the Dacian war, had hastened eastward with a part of the army, crossed the Araxes, and occupied Atropatene or Media. He surprised the strong and important fortress of Singara, whose possession was a great advantage for an invader of Parthia. As soon as Trajan had occupied Armenia, he marched into Mesopotamia, where he met with little resistance. Batnæ and Nisibis were taken without difficulty, and the fortress of Thebitha, between Nisibis and Singara, secured a line of communication between the main army and the detachment of Lusius Quietus. Abgar, king of Osroene, had long ago volunteered to desert his allegiance to Parthia, and become a Roman vassal. At Edessa he publicly offered his submission to the conqueror, and other phylarchs and satraps followed his example. Civil war among the Parthians hindered them from taking any steps to oppose the conquest of the land between the Euphrates and Tigris. The king Chosroes was overthrown by a pretender of Arab race,

named Manisares, who now sent a message to Trajan, proposing to divide the spoils of the Arsacid. Trajan refused to entertain the proposal or admit the envoys to a conference, and Manisares allied himself with another Arab king, Mannus, and prepared to oppose the advance of the Romans. But Trajan did not intend to cross the Tigris until the following year, as the season was already far advanced. He organised Mesopotamia as a Roman province, and retired to Antioch for the winter. His stay there was marked by a terrible earthquake (Dec. 13, 115 A.D.) which cost many lives and demolished a large part of the city, and Trajan himself narrowly escaped destruction.

§ 13. The winter was employed with the construction of a fleet on the Euphrates, which was to operate in the next campaign along with the army. Trajan, ennobled by the name of Parthicus, which the senate had decreed to him, proceeded to Nisibis in spring (116 A.D.), and thence led his army to the upper Tigris, where it flows through the district of Corduene. The passage of the river was made on boats, which had been built in the woods of Nisibis and transported thence on waggons. The army crossed with difficulty, for the Carduchians of the adjacent mountains lined the opposite shore, but at length, seeing that the numbers of the Romans rendered resistance hopeless, the barbarians retired. The whole country of Adiabene was occupied by Trajan with little opposition, and was made into a third Roman province under the name of Assyria.

Recrossing the Tigris, Trajan joined his fleet on the Euphrates, and reviewed his troops at Ozogardana, near the bitumen-springs which supplied the Babylonians with building-cement. Babylon, nearly deserted by its inhabitants on account of the civil wars, fell an easy prey to the Romans, who then proceeded to attack Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital. The two rivers were connected by the *Nahar-malcha*, or royal canal, which joined the Tigris at Ctesiphon, and this canal was used by Trajan to transport his ships from the Euphrates to the Tigris. His plans for the siege of Ctesiphon rendered it necessary to disembark his troops on the left bank of the Tigris at a distance from the city, and accordingly a new canal was dug connecting the Nahar-malcha with the river at a point above Ctesiphon. The Romans soon captured the capital of the Arsacids. Chosroes himself escaped, but his daughter was captured, and the golden throne of the Parthian kings was taken and reserved for the triumph of Trajan. With this success the soldiers regarded Parthia as conquered, or, at least, its conquest as assured, and *Parthia capta* was inscribed on coins.

§ 14. The Emperor then descended the Tigris with fifty ships, as

far as Charax Spasinu near its mouth. This place was in the territory of Attambelos, king of Mesene, who submitted to the Roman conqueror, and became his tributary. Old as Trajan was, his imagination was excited by this proximity to the Indian Sea. At Charax, seeing a vessel bound for the Indies, he expressed regret that he was not young enough to visit them himself. He was the first western conqueror since Alexander the Great, who had penetrated so far, and he may have dreamed of rivalling Alexander by still more extensive conquests. But he was speedily aroused from his dreams by the news that the lands which he had won so easily, Babylonia and Mesopotamia, had revolted. A legion under the general Maximus was cut to pieces by the insurgents. Nisibis, Seleucia, and Edessa slew or drove out the Roman garrisons, and shut their gates. This rebellion, in which the Jews played a prominent part, was suppressed, but not without difficulty. The important cities which had revolted, were treated severely. In Babylonia, Seleucia was taken by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, and burnt to the ground. The recovery of Mesopotamia, where the Jewish populations were the leaders of the revolt, was entrusted to the gallant Moor, Lusius Quietus. He besieged and reduced both Nisibis and Edessa; and the city of Abgar, who had doubtless fallen a victim to the rebels, was burnt down like Seleucia.

§ 15. This revolt forced Trajan to be content for the present with the three new provinces which he had added to the Empire by his two campaigns, and to desist from further conquests, especially as the Parthians were rallying forces and preparing to make an attempt to wrest Armenia from its new lord. Trajan prevented their projects by a stroke of diplomacy. Although he had not penetrated further than the western borders of the great eastern realm, he regarded Parthia as a conquered country, and at Ctesiphon bestowed the crown upon Parthamaspates, son of Chosroes, who accepted it as a client of Rome. Thus a king was given to the Parthians—*rex Parthis datus*, as coins record—and thus Parthia itself came to hold nominally the same position towards Rome as formerly Armenia.

The Roman army then returned to Syria. On the way an attempt was made to take Hatra, a small but strongly fortified city in the Mesopotamian desert, on the way from Ctesiphon to Singara. The nature of the country and the parching sun rendered a long siege impossible, and the inhabitants were brave. Though a breach was made in the walls, the soldiers could not enter. Trajan himself, approaching with a small body of horse and conspicuous by his white hair and majestic form, was the mark for the arrows of the garrison, but he escaped injury, though a horseman at his side

was slain. A thunderstorm compelled the Romans to retreat, and the sufferings that they endured from the heat, noxious insects, and want of water and pasture, saved Hatra from further assaults. The Emperor returned to Antioch (about April, 117 A.D.).

§ 16. The attempt of Mesopotamia to throw off the yoke of Rome was closely connected with another more widespread movement of rebellion in the eastern provinces of the Empire. Fifty years had not fully elapsed since the great Jewish war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, and now the Jews made another desperate attempt to break free from the rule of their Roman masters. Their hope was to drive both Greeks and Romans out of those countries in which there was a considerable Jewish population,—Cyprus, the Cyrenaica, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine—and form an independent Jewish state. They chose the moment when the Emperor was in the far east. Wherever the insurgents succeeded, they exterminated their enemies with relentless fury. In Cyprus, which had been long the refuge of Jews from Palestine and Syria, it is said that 240,000 were slain. When the revolt was afterwards put down, the Jews were forbidden thenceforth to set foot on the island. In Cyrenaica, a senatorial province, unprotected by a military garrison, the Jewish population outnumbered the natives, and under a chief named Andrew or Lucuas, who assumed the title of king, obtained rapid successes. Here 220,000 natives were slain with great barbarity. In Egypt, the prefect Rutilius Lupus unprepared for the emergency, was compelled to shut himself up in Alexandria. The Jews in the city, though numerous, were in a minority, and were massacred by the Greeks. Trajan sent Q. Marcius Turbo, with an army and fleet, to restore order in Egypt and Cyrene, and the rebels were soon crushed by the trained troops. The Jews of Egypt were almost exterminated. The suppression of the movement in Mesopotamia by Lusius Quietus has already been narrated.

§ 17. Not only the Jews took advantage of the absence of the Emperor in the far east, but the enemies of Rome in other quarters also seized the opportunity to rebel or invade. The Danubian provinces were threatened by the Sarmatians; Africa was harried by the Moors; a revolt broke out in Britain. Thus Trajan's presence was earnestly demanded in the west, and the senate urged his return, The eastern war was regarded as finished, and preparations were made at Rome for a brilliant triumph. But, like Alexander whom he emulated, he was not destined to reach home. His journey was interrupted at Selinus in Cilicia,* by an illness to which he

* At Selencia, in Isauria, according to another account (Eutropius); but that Selinus was the place is proved by an inscription (C. I. L., 6, 1884.)

succumbed. He died on August 8, 117 A.D.* The triumph over the Parthians was celebrated in his name after his death, and was the only case in which a dead Emperor obtained that honour. The consecrated conqueror, *Divus Trajanus Parthicus*, as he was designated, was represented by a statue in the triumphal car. His ashes, placed in a golden urn, were buried at the foot of his own Pillar in his own Forum, and he is the only one of the Emperors whose remains were permitted to rest within the limits of the city.

Trajan gives a king to the Parthians.

§ 18. Trajan must have been well aware that his easily won successes in the east had been largely due to the internal divisions of Parthia, and that his conquests would be endangered as soon as unity should be restored. The institution of a dependent Parthian kingdom cannot have been more than a temporary device for the purpose of avoiding an immediate difficulty; or at least, if Trajan intended it to be permanent, he must have known well that it would need more fighting and bloodshed to establish a lasting overlordship over Parthia. Alexander's conquests had been won at Issus and Arbela, but Trajan's had been almost bloodless. It is probable that Trajan intended to return to the east after his triumph, and renew the war, for the purpose of reducing the power of the Parthians, and securing more firmly the frontiers of his new provinces. He had made the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, the eastern boundary of the Empire, and it was a boundary perhaps more easy to defend. It is rash and unjust to condemn this extension of the Empire as a mistake into which Trajan was misled by mere ambition; for his conduct can be explained and defended on political grounds. Once he condemned the Armenian policy of his predecessors—and it certainly was not unassailable,—and decided to annex Armenia, the annexation of Mesopotamia was a logical consequence. The province of Assyria

* The exact day is not quite certain. Authorities vary between 7th, 8th, and 11th.

was an advanced position beyond the Tigris, somewhat as the province of Dacia beyond the Danube. The new acquisitions should have been a great commercial advantage for Rome by bringing into her hands command of the whole line of traffic from Syria to the Persian Gulf. But owing to Trajan's inopportune death and the different policy of his successor, the Empire was not permitted to test the consequences of an eastward extension of its borders.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS.

The most distinguished Christian who suffered death under Trajan was Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who, according to the tradition of the Church, was sent by the governor of Syria to Rome and there was given to the beasts in the amphitheatre. The whole story has been doubted by some critics. The truth of it would be proved, if we could establish with certainty the genuineness of the *Letters* ascribed to St. Ignatius. But quite apart from the question of the *Letters*, there is a priori no improbability in the story. Ignatius, if he was martyred at Rome, simply suffered the fate which the Roman citizens of Bithynia, whom Pliny reserved to be sent to Rome, must actually have suffered if they persisted in the profession of Christianity. And the simplest way to account for the very early origin of the tradition of the martyrdom of Ignatius seems to be to accept it as true. (A good account of the question will be found in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.)

Adventus Coin of Hadrian.

Nero Citharœdus (from the Statue in the Capitol).

CHAPTER XXV.

LITERATURE FROM THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS TO TRAJAN.

§ 1. LITERATURE UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO. Literary tastes of these Emperors. Memoirs of Agrippina, Corbulo, and Antistius Vetus. History of Q. Curtius. § 2. Seneca. His prose works, and § 3. Tragedies. The *Octavia*. § 4. Columella. Pomponius Mela. Asconius. Valerius Probus. Jurists. § 5. Poetry. *Panegyric on the Consul Piso*. *Satires* of Persius. Cæsius Bassus. § 6. Lucan. The *Pharsalia*. § 7. Calpurnius Siculus. The *Ætna* of Lucilius. *Homerus Latinus*. § 8. *Satiricon* of Petronius Arbiter. § 9. LITERATURE UNDER THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS. Imperial patronage. Professorial chairs founded by Vespasian, and contests instituted by Domitian. § 10. The elder Pliny: The *Naturalis Historia*. § 11. Historians. § 12. Rhetoric and oratory. Quintilian. § 13. Frontinus. § 14. Valerius Flaccus; *Argonautica*. Saleius Bassus. § 15. Silius Italicus; *Punica*. § 16. Statius; (1) *Thebaid*, (2) *Achilleid*, (3) *Silvæ*. § 17. Epigram. Martial. § 18. Arruntius Stella. Sulpicia. Turnus. § 19. LITERATURE UNDER TRAJAN. § 20. Juvenal. § 21. Tacitus. His life. § 22. Works. § 23. Estimate of him as an historian. § 24. Pliny the younger. § 25. Florus. Specialists. § 26. GREEK LITERATURE. Josephus and Philo. § 27. Plutarch. § 28. Dion Chrysostom.

SECT. I.—LITERATURE UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

§ 1. AFTER the lull during the reign of Tiberius, literary activity was awakened again under his successors. But it has no longer the freshness of inspiration which characterised the epoch of Augustus. The golden age has passed; the silver age has begun. There is no doubt that the political events at Rome exercised an unfavourable influence on literature. The despotism of Tiberius in his later years, the wild career of Caligula, the vicissitudes under the rule of the wives and freedmen of Claudius, the follies of Nero, did not constitute a genial atmosphere for the development of successors to Virgil, Horace, and Livy. The contemporaries of Augustus had witnessed order arisen out of disorder, and the world set to rights; but to Romans under Claudius and Nero the world seemed to have gone mad. The men who write are no longer proud of their age, or confident of the future. They regard the government with distrust, knowing not what a day may bring forth. They look upon the Cæsar's palace as a scene of intrigues, guile, and violence. There is nothing in public life to inspire them; literature retreats into itself. Most of the works produced during this period are either of a reflective character, or concerned with scientific subjects, or mere imitations of older literature. In both poetry and history, the great Augustan writers are regarded as the models to be followed, and earlier authors are looked down upon as vastly inferior. All kinds of composition are marked by rhetoric; the result being that the prose is poetical and the poetry prosaic.

It has been already mentioned that Claudius and Nero were themselves authors, Claudius an historian, Nero a poet. Claudius was incited in his youth to historical studies by Livy himself. None of his compositions remain, with the exception of part of the speech which he delivered in the senate (48 A.D.) for the admission of the Gallic nobility to Roman magistracies.* The memoirs of the Empress AGRIPPINA were an important source for the secret history of the court of Claudius, but they have also been lost, as well as other contemporary records of their own experiences by prominent men of the day. Thus DOMITIUS CORBULO wrote an account of his exploits in the Armenian wars. SUETONIUS PAULINUS, whose name we chiefly associate with Britain, described his deeds in Mauretania; and L. ANTISTIUS VETUS wrote a work on his experiences as commander in Germany (58 A.D.). All these works, whatever their literary value, would have had great historical

* The fragment is preserved on a bronze tablet discovered at Lyons. Tacitus gives a short abstract (*Ann.*, xi. 24).

interest, if they had been preserved. The only historian of this age, whose work has reached us, is Q. CURTIUS RUFUS, of whose life we know nothing. He wrote a history of Alexander the Great in ten Books, of which the two first are lost. He derived his information from Greek writers, but displayed no critical faculty in using his sources. His style is modelled on that of Livy, but is unconsciously influenced by the mannerisms of his own age. He strives after antithetic sentences and poetical expressions. He hardly appreciates the political greatness of Alexander, but regards his eastern expedition as a brilliant adventure. He has an eye for the more telling episodes, and hurries rapidly over all that is less striking, though perhaps more important.

§ 2. SENECA is the most characteristic and interesting literary figure of this age. All the great Augustan writers were Roman or Italian, but Seneca was a Spaniard of Corduba. We have already met his father, the rhetorician, a man of some literary note. The provinces are now beginning to play a prominent part in Roman literature; or rather Spain is setting the example to the other subject lands. Two other conspicuous authors at this time were of Spanish origin, Seneca's nephew Lucan, and Columella of Gades. The writings of Seneca reflect in many ways the spirit of the age. He wrote on a variety of subjects, but his most important works are philosophical and contemplative. His philosophy was popular in style as well as in matter.* He desired the applause of his contemporaries—literary vanity was a feature of the time—and did not write with a view to the judgment of posterity. His style was suitable to the taste of his age. He had a wide range of knowledge, a nice faculty of psychological observation, and was by no means pedantic; but his philosophy was neither original nor deep. He is always ready to sacrifice the thought to a verbal antithesis. He wrote too much and was "not sufficiently diligent in philosophy." He is often tediously diffuse, and the same sentiment meets the reader again and again, disguised in a new dress. An excellent Roman critic censures his style as vitiated by "agreeable faults," such as captivate boys.† It is possible that ambition was his chief motive in writing. He may have aimed at obtaining political influence by winning literary reputation. But it would be unjust to deny him a genuine interest in philosophy, especially in its practical aspect, although, from a higher point of view, philosophy can only regard him, like Cicero, as a dabbler. Most of his philosophical works, composed at various times, are collected in twelve Books under the title of Dialogues. They treat of the following subjects:—(1) "If there

* For some account of his philosophy, see below, Chap. XXX. § 7.

† Quintilian, x. 129: Dulcibus vitiis.

is a providence, why do good men meet with troubles?" (5) Leisure. Both of these treatises were written after his retirement from public life. (3) Anger (in three Books). (4) The happy life. (6) Tranquillity of mind. (7) Brevity of life. (2) "The wise man receives neither injury nor insult." Also three works of consolation: (8) to a lady on the death of her son, (9) to Polybius, the freedman, on the loss of a brother, and (10) to his mother Helvia, on his own banishment. Beyond these "Dialogues" there are extant the treatise "On clemency," written after Nero's accession, and seven Books *De Beneficiis*.

Seneca also wrote a work in seven or eight Books on questions of natural history (*naturales quæstiones*), which he dedicated to his young friend Lucilius, procurator of Sicily. We possess further a collection of letters * addressed to the same Lucilius, and written with the intention of publication. They do not possess in any degree the interest which belongs to the letters of Cicero and Pliny. Seneca's satire on Claudius has been noticed already in another connection. †

§ 3. Seneca wrote verse as well as prose. Nine tragedies have been preserved, all dealing with subjects of Greek mythology, and founded on Greek originals. They are:—*Hercules Furens*, *Troades* (or *Hecuba*), *Phœnissæ* (or *Thebais*), *Medea*, *Phædra* (or *Hippolytus*), *Œdipus*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Œtæus*. In the case of most of these plays we possess the Greek originals, and can judge of the deplorable taste of the Neronian age by the manner in which Seneca has spoiled the works of the great masters, omitting all the finer touches, and smothering the action with declamation. The purpose of the characters in Seneca is to declaim; the action and the plot are of subordinate importance. It has been a disputed question whether these tragedies were meant for representation on the stage, and although they are in every way unsuitable for acting, it is nevertheless not impossible that in that age they may have been acted with applause. But it is probable that Seneca in composing them had the recitation of separate scenes before select audiences chiefly in view. The versification of these plays is very strict, and conforms to the rules of the Augustan poets. Besides the iambic trimeters and anapæsts, sapphic, glyconic and asclepiad measures are also introduced, with little regard, however, to harmony of metre and subject.

More interesting historically is the *fabula prætexta*, or tragedy with Roman characters, entitled *Octavia*, which used to be attributed to Seneca, and is always included among his works. The subject of this drama is the tragic fate of Nero's wife, and Seneca

* 124 letters divided into twenty Books. | † See above, Chap. XV. § 29

himself is one of the characters. He cannot, however, have been the author, as there is an allusion to the fall of Nero. It seems probable that the work was composed under the Flavian Emperors, before the end of the first century; but even this cannot be regarded as certain.

§ 4. Seneca's contemporary and countryman, L. JUNIUS MODERATUS COLUMELLA, of Gades, devoted himself to the subject of agriculture, and tried to revive an interest in it, somewhat as Virgil had done nearly a century before. His uncle, a learned man, was an extensive farmer in Bætica, and so he had an opportunity of studying his subject practically. He wrote two prose treatises on agriculture (*De Re rustica*), the second much more elaborate than the first. Of the first we possess one Book, "On trees;" but the second, in twelve Books, has been preserved entire. One of these Books (the tenth) is composed in excellent hexameter verses. The author made this variation because horticulture, the subject of this Book, had been omitted by Virgil. He intended it as a sort of supplement to the Georgics, "the precepts," as he says, "of the sidereal bard." * Here may be mentioned other books on special subjects, such as the treatise on Medicaments by Scribonius Largus, and the work *De Chorographia*, in three books, by the geographer Pomponius Mela, of Tingentera, in Spain. Q. ASCONIUS PEDIANUS composed his commentary on the speeches of Cicero about 55 A.D. This highly important work has been preserved in fragmentary form. The language is pure, the comments acute. He also wrote a work against the detractors of Virgil, but it has not survived. Grammatical investigation was represented by M. VALERIUS PROBUS, of Berytus, who made eminent Latin writers the subject of criticism and explanations in the same way that the Alexandrine scholars treated classical Greek authors. He issued annotated editions of Virgil, Horace, and Lucretius, and he wrote and lectured on old Latin. He enjoyed a high reputation with later workers in the same subject, as an illustrious grammarian and an acute critic.† The most important writers on jurisprudence were Proculus, who gave his name to the Proculian school, and Cassius Longinus, who was banished by Nero to Sardinia, and recalled by Vespasian.‡

* Siderei vatis præcepta Maronis (l. 434).

† He is probably the Probus meant by Martial, when in sending a copy of Book iii. of his epigrams to the poet Faustinus, he writes (iii. 2. 12):

Illo vindice *nec Probum* timeto.

‡ As one of those who were punished by Nero owing to their wealth, he is linked with Seneca and Lateranus by Juvenal (x. 15):

Temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit et egregia Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.

§ 5. It is possible that some of Seneca's tragedies were composed in the reign of Claudius, but the only poetical work which we can set down as probably belonging to his age is a panegyric in hexameters on the Consul Piso, by an unknown youthful author (supposed by some to be Calpurnius). The poem is full of reminiscences of the Augustan poets, with whom the author was well acquainted. The versification is strict and elegant; there are only two elisions in the whole poem. Of Nero's effusions only a few odd lines have been preserved, but they seem to have been read and well-known long after his death. The two most important poets of his reign were Persius and Lucan, who resembled each other in their Stoic doctrines, their somewhat precocious talents, and in their early deaths.

A. PERSIUS FLACCUS was born (34 A.D.) at Volaterræ, in Etruria, and died at the age of twenty-eight (62 A.D.). He studied at Rome under the Stoic philosopher Annæus Cornutus, for whom he entertained an affectionate regard, to which he has given expression in his writings. Having read Lucilius, he was stimulated to write poetical satires, and he was also much under the literary influence of Horace.* His six Satires have come down to us; but only one of them (the First) is a satire in our sense of the word. In it he ridicules the poets of the day, and the prevailing public taste; but the others are merely tirades or sermons on Stoic texts, embroidered with some burlesque dramatic scenes. The persons introduced are generally borrowed from Lucilius or Horace, and the verses are full of phrases, beginnings and ends of lines, taken directly or in a modified form from these poets, especially from Horace. But in both style and spirit the Satires of Persius are vastly different from those of his master. The Augustan poet was a genial Epicurean, who laughed good-humouredly at the follies of mankind; the Neronian verse-writer was a Stoic preacher, who aspired to amend the world. The youthful Persius takes upon himself to instruct mankind; the more mature Horace is content to amuse. It is to be remarked that Persius does not deal at all with contemporary politics; he does not regret the Republic or condemn the Empire. In point of style, it is unfortunate that Persius did not profit more by his study of Horace. He could not manage the hexameter with ease. His thoughts were poor, and he laboured to express them with the utmost possible obscurity. His intentions were pure, but

* In *Sat.* i. 114 he contrasts the bitterness of Lucilius with the good-natured banter of Horace:

Secuit *Lucilius* urbem,
Te, Lupe, te, Muci et genuinum fregit in illis
Omne vafer vitium ridenti *Flaccus* amico
Tangit et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

he had no originality, and no poetical gift, and he tried to cover this defect by mannerism and affectation. A friend of Persius, CÆSIUS BASSUS may be mentioned as the chief representative of lyric poetry in Nero's reign. We do not possess any of his poetical works, but remains of his treatise on Metric have been preserved.

§ 6. Epic poetry was very popular. Virgil was the model, and national subjects were in vogue. Nero entertained the project of writing an epos on the history of Rome. The *Pharsalia* of LUCAN (39–65 A.D.), whom we have already met as one of the sufferers in connection with the conspiracy of Piso, is a poem on the civil wars, in ten books, left unfinished at the author's death.* Lucan was brought up in a cultivated family. His grandfather was Seneca the rhetor, his uncle Seneca the philosopher. † In his early years he was a great friend of Nero, who afterwards, however, became jealous of his literary reputation, and forbade him to compose poetry. The *Pharsalia* was begun before the breach with the Emperor, for the introductory verses contain a glowing panegyric on him. Lucan's epic must be considered a remarkable feat in its way, when it is remembered that the author died at the age of twenty-six, but it has not a spark of genius. The practice, which was then in fashion, of reciting literary works before private audiences, had a specially unfortunate effect on epic poetry. A poet, thinking of these recitations, was tempted to sacrifice the unity of the whole to the effectiveness of special scenes, which might be read aloud to applauding hearers. And for the same reason poetry became rhetorical; the reciter wanted stuff to declaim. The *Pharsalia* is versified oratory, not poetry; Lucan is "to be imitated," says Quintilian, hitting, as usual, the nail on the head, "by orators rather than by poets." The choice of subject was very natural to a Stoic, breathing the atmosphere of Thrasea and Helvidius, and reared up with a deep veneration for the senate, but from a literary point of view it was unfortunate. Pompey is the hero; but the miserable part which he played in the Civil Wars makes the poem ridiculous. Cato is a sort of second hero; though perhaps, as has been cleverly said,‡ the true hero is neither Pompey nor Cato, but the senate. The cause of Cæsar is denounced as crime; his victory is regarded not only as the death-

* Lucan's other works, including an *Iliacon*, *Saturnalia*, ten books of *Silvæ* (or miscellanies), a tragedy, *Medea*, have perished.

† Martial, i. 61:

Duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.

Martial has three epigrams on Lucan's birthday (vii. 21, 22, 23). Juvenal speaks of him as wealthy (vii. 79):

Contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
Marmoreis.

From another epigram of Martial we learn that the *Pharsalia* was very popular, and had an extensive sale.

‡ By Merivale.

blow to freedom, but as the destruction of Rome's greatness. The work is full of Stoical doctrine, pretentious phrases, sounding common-places, tedious speeches. The language is often difficult on account of its affectations, and the introduction of out-of-the-way geographical and mythological learning renders some parts of the work repulsive. But there are episodes which show considerable power of imagination, and there are many well-turned phrases, such as the epigram on Cato—

Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni,

and the famous words on Pompeius Magnus—

Stat magni nominis umbra.

§ 7. If Virgil's epic inspired Lucan and his Georgics Columella, his Bucolics found an imitator in CALPURNIUS SICULUS. It is uncertain whether *Siculus* designates the actual home of the poet or was assumed on account of the Sicilian associations of Theocritus. He was a poor man, and begs some patron whom he calls Melibœus —perhaps Seneca, or Calpurnius Piso—to bring his productions under the Emperor's notice. Seven Eclogues are preserved. They are metrically exact, like the rest of the poetry of the age, but devoid of all originality, being copied from Virgil and the Greek pastoral writers. Nero, spoken of in court style as a god, is described as inaugurating a new period of freedom and clemency, and the seventh Eclogue contains an account of magnificent games which he exhibited.*

The didactic poem entitled *Ætna* illustrates the tendency of the age, to put the most unpromising subjects into verse. It discusses the scientific causes of volcanic phenomena, and combats the popular views diffused by the poets. The authorship is uncertain, but the most probable view ascribes the poem to LUCILIUS, the friend of Seneca, the same to whom the philosopher addressed his Epistles. Lucilius was for a considerable time procurator in Sicily, and had an opportunity of studying the mountain. The poem contains echoes of Lucretius, but the author has none of Lucretius' power in investing a dry subject with poetic attraction. He rises higher when he is contrasting the pleasure of observing nature with the pettiness of human life. The poem ends with the story of two brothers who rescue their old parents in an eruption of the volcano. It is probable that to this age also belongs the *Homerus Latinus*, a short Latin version of the story of the Iliad,

* Two other eclogues by a contemporary of Nero, not Calpurnius, are preserved in a manuscript of Einsiedeln. In one of these the appearance of Nero in public as a citharœdus is celebrated.

in some parts almost a translation of Homer. This was intended for use in schools, and has no merit except its scrupulously exact metre.

§ 8. Perhaps the most interesting work of Nero's age was the satirical work of PETRONIUS ARBITER in twenty Books. It may be considered almost certain that this Petronius was the same as the æsthetic voluptuary whose death by Nero's orders, in 66 A.D., has been described in a foregoing chapter. His work (entitled *Satiræ* or *Satiricon*) recounted all sorts of imaginary adventures, in which he satirised the manners and weaknesses of his age. Unluckily only fragments of the book remain, of which the largest is the *Banquet of Trimalchio*, describing a feast given by a wealthy, uneducated upstart in a Greek town of Campania, probably Cumæ. The person who tells the tale is a freedman named Eucolpius, who recounts his travelling experiences in company with Ascyltos, another freedman, and Giton, a slave, in the last years of Claudius or the early years of Nero. The work is wonderfully clever and artistic, full of wit, humour, and delicate irony, displaying wide knowledge of the world, and great dramatic power in making the persons introduced speak in character. The motive which united the various parts of the composition was probably the anger of the god Priapus, who may have played a part meant to travesty that of Poseidon in the Odyssey. The work is quite devoid of any moral tendency. The author shows a fine appreciation of Greek art, and satirises pointedly the literary taste of the day. One of the characters is a vain poet named Eumolpus, who recites two poems of considerable length, the *Troiæ Halosis*, or "Capture of Troy," in iambic trimeters, and the *Bellum Civile*, in hexameters. But the prose narrative sometimes passes into verse in all sorts of metres, in the style of the Menippean Satire. The former is clearly allusive to the poem of Nero on the same subject, and the *Bellum Civile* might be a parody of the *Pharsalia*.

SECT. II.—LITERATURE UNDER THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS.

§ 9. All the Flavian Emperors patronised literature, although none of them was so devoted to it as either Claudius or Nero. Vespasian was not unskilled "even in Greek eloquence," and he wrote memoirs. We hear of Titus writing a poem on the appearance of a comet, and Domitian was devoted to poetry in his youth.* But Vespasian also actively encouraged literary talent. He was the

* It was supposed that Domitian intended to write a poem on his brother's capture of Jerusalem. Hence Valerius Flaccus, addressing Vespasian, says (*Argonaut.* i. 12):

Versam *proles tua* pandet Idumen
(Namque potest), Solymo migrantem pulvere *fratrem*, etc.

first who endowed Latin and Greek rhetoricians with a yearly allowance (100,000 sesterces) from the fisc. He gave rich rewards to distinguished poets, and encouraged art in the same way. Domitian promoted poetical activity by the Capitoline and Alban contests. The effect of Domitian's despotism on literature may be easily exaggerated. His rule, though absolute, was not despotic until the later years of his reign; and it was only a small class of people who had anything to fear from his suspicion or jealousy. There is no question that men were not free to criticise the government or write republican tirades, which were really an attack on the imperial system; but there were many other subjects for poets or prose writers to choose if they wished. The writing of contemporary history is the only branch of literature which must necessarily suffer under such a rule as that of Domitian.

§ 10. C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS (A.D. 23–79) of Comum in Cisalpine Gaul, generally called the Elder Pliny to distinguish him from his nephew, was perhaps the most learned man of his time. His death, in the great eruption of Vesuvius, has already been mentioned. He had filled the office of procurator in various provinces and had found time amid his official activities to pursue studies of the most varied and comprehensive character, and to write a great number of books. Besides lesser works, he wrote a history, in twenty Books, of all the wars that Rome ever waged with the Germans; a work entitled *Studiosi*, being a sort of introduction to rhetoric with examples; a grammatical treatise dealing with doubtful forms in declension and conjugation; a contemporary history (in thirty-one Books) probably reaching from the fall of Gaius to the year 71 A.D.; and a Natural History. Pliny's nephew gives us an interesting account of the manner in which his uncle disposed of his time, so as to be able to get through an amount of literary work, which another man, with all his time to himself, could hardly accomplish. Before dawn he used to attend on the Emperor Vespasian, in his capacity of *procurator Cæsaris*, and then proceed to the execution of his official business, which was thus finished early. On returning home, he devoted the rest of his time to study. After food, he read a book, making notes and extracts. "For he read nothing without making extracts from it." In the bath, he either dictated or listened to something read out. In travelling he always had at his side a secretary with book and note-book, whose hands in winter were protected by gloves. "He deemed all time lost that was not spent on study." As he wrote so much, Pliny could attend little to the form or style of his writing, and his works are memorable rather for the quantity of matter which he put

together than for the quality of the composition or the discretion of his criticism.

The only one of his works which has been preserved is his *Naturalis Historia*, dedicated to the Emperor Titus in 77 A.D. It consisted, according to the design of the author, of thirty-six Books, to which was prefixed a list of the contents, and an account of the sources which he used. This prefatory matter was afterwards issued, probably by his nephew, as the First Book; so that the work in its present form consists of thirty-seven Books. It gives an encyclopædic account of the results of natural science, and deals with physics, geography, zoology, anthropology, botany, and mineralogy. * Pliny was conscious of the dryness of his work, which sometimes becomes a mere enumeration of details, and he endeavoured to enliven it by introducing occasional descriptions in the rhetorical style, which was then in fashion. He introduces the different subjects of which he treats by general remarks, often in a moralising tone, and very concisely expressed. Like Seneca and Columella, he frequently deplores the degeneracy of the age. In religion he is hostile to the popular creed, but is not a follower of any particular philosophical system. His view of the universe is pantheistic. He inclines to the belief that the sun is the spirit and mind of the world, "the chief ruler and deity of nature."

§ 11. The most eminent historians under Vespasian were M. CLUVIUS RUFUS, an orator of consular rank, and VIPSTANUS MESSALLA, also an orator, and a friend of Tacitus in his youth. The work of Rufus embraced the reign of Nero and the events of the year of the Four Emperors. He took an unfavourable view of Seneca, whereas another historical writer of the time, FABIUS RUSTICUS, praised Seneca's political career. Messalla, who had taken part, as a military tribune, in the events of 69 A.D., wrote memoirs of his own experiences. Under Domitian, VIBIUS MAXIMUS wrote a universal history. None of these works have survived. Of orators, M. Aper was one of the most distinguished; of jurists, the Sabinian, Cælius Sabinus, a man of great influence under Vespasian, and the Proculian, Pegasus, reported to have been an incorruptible interpreter of the laws.†

§ 12. More eminent than Aper and the other pleaders of the day was the teacher and scientific student of rhetoric, M. FABIUS

* B. 2 contains a cosmology; B. 3–6 treat of geography; B. 7, of anthropology; B. 8, of mammals; B. 9, of fishes; B. 10, of birds; B. 11, of insects; B. 12–27, of botanical subjects, including exotic plants, fruit-trees, horticulture, medicinal botany; B. 28–32, of medicinal zoology; and B. 33–37, of mineralogy, with special reference to the use of stone and metal in art.

† Interpres legum sanctissimus (Juvenal, 4, 78).

QUINTILIANUS, who increases the goodly roll of Spaniards distinguished in literature. Born at Calagurris about 35 A.D., he came to Rome in the train of Galba, soon gained a reputation for his eloquence, and became "the glory of the Roman toga." * Like his countryman Seneca, he was entrusted with the education of the imperial princes—the grand-nephews of Domitian.† He was the first to hold the professorial chair of rhetoric at Rome, founded by Vespasian. He was very successful as a teacher and acquired wealth.‡ His great work, entitled *Institutio Oratoria*, "the Training of an Orator," consists of twelve Books, intended to be a complete guide to a man's education for a public career from childhood. He has a high ideal of the duties and rights of an orator.§ His treatise is not so superficial as those of Cicero on the same subject, but it is more popular than the technical handbooks on rhetoric. He has a sober, independent judgment, and remarkable insight in literary criticism. He is not blinded by great reputations or misled by the current ideas of his age. On the contrary, he is remarkable for his depreciation of Seneca's style and for his opposition to contemporary prejudices, especially in his admiration of Cicero, whom it was the fashion to under-rate as an orator, but whom he regards as a model. In his critical estimates he is more inclined to be too lenient than too severe.

Quintilian recognised clearly, and condemned judicially, the faults of taste, the mannerisms, the affectations, the marks of decadence which characterised the literature of his own age. The inspiration of nature, the natural expression of a simple feeling was regarded as a baseness—a defect of art; nothing was considered worth reading or at least worthy of admiration, that was not far-fetched, or that did not glitter with figures and phrases. "Almost all our speech is metaphor." The "antique, the remote, the unexpected," were the fashion of the day. Quintilian frequently uses the word *lascivia*, "wantonness," to describe the nature of the modern style of writing. But in spite of the protests of Quintilian, and some others like him, the modern style was victorious; men would not go back to the simple "uncombed antiquity,"‖ even when, after the first impulse of reaction, they came to admire its excellences.

§ 13. We have already met SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS as conqueror of the Silures in Britain, and afterwards as assisting Domitian

* Quintiliane, vagæ moderator summe iuventæ.
Gloria Romanæ, Quintiliane, togæ.
(Martial, ii. 90, 1.)

† See above, p. 390.

‡ Juvenal, vii. 188: Unde igitur tot Quintilianus habet saltus?

§ Cp. Pk. i. 9. Oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum, *qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest.*

‖ Impexam antiquitatem (Tacitus, *Dial. de Or.*, c. 20).

in establishing strategic posts beyond the Rhine. He was clearly an able man; Tacitus even describes him as "a great man," who would have approved himself great if he had not been hindered by the jealousy of Domitian.* Here he has to be spoken of as a writer on technical subjects. Two of his treatises have been preserved, and fragments of a third. The *Strategemata* consists of three Books illustrating the artifices of strategy by examples chiefly taken from Roman history. Some later writer added a fourth Book to the genuine work of Frontinus. The *De Aquis Urbis Romæ*, composed in 97 A.D., in which year he held the post of *curator aquarum*, and published after Nerva's death, furnishes us with a most valuable account of the aqueducts of Rome, their construction and administration. Frontinus also wrote a book on field-measurement (*Gromatica*), of which only some extracts are extant. He died about the year 103 A.D. Whenever he was not holding a public office, he lived a retired life on the Campanian coast.† His modesty seems to have been equal to his merits. He forbade a monument to be erected to his memory: "the expense," he said, "is unnecessary; our memory will endure if we have deserved it by our life."

Another technical writer of Domitian's time deserves mention, the grammarian Æmilius Asper, best known for his commentary on Virgil, which seems to have been a valuable work, but unfortunately only extracts remain.

§ 14. Epic poetry was diligently cultivated in the Flavian age, and we possess no less than four heroic poems, three of considerable length. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS began his *Argonautica* in the reign of Vespasian, whom he invokes in the opening verses. The composition of the work went on, during the following reign, until the poet died, before the year 90 A.D., leaving his poem unfinished in eight Books. The death of Medea's brother Apsyrtus, and the return of the Argonauts to Greece, were still to be told; and it seems probable that Valerius intended the whole work to consist of twelve Books, on the model of the *Æneid*. Valerius made the *Argonautica* of the Alexandrine poet Apollonius of Rhodes the basis of his composition; but took care not to borrow the tedious erudition of the Greek. He aims more than his model at sentimental and pathetic effects, and takes pains with the psychological development of his characters. He formed his style closely on that of Virgil, whom he imitates and echoes on every page, somewhat as Persius imitated Horace; and, like Persius, he is often difficult and

* This is the meaning of *vir magnus quantum licebat* (*Agr.* 17).

† Martial (x. 58) mentions literary conversations which he had with Frontinus in his villa on the Bay of Naples.

obscure by reason of his artificiality. In versification, he is as strict as Ovid.

Another epic writer under Vespasian was SALEIUS BASSUS,* but none of his works are preserved. It is related that Vespasian bestowed upon him a liberal present, in recognition of his poetry, and Tacitus calls him "a most perfect poet." In the same reign CURIATIUS MATERNUS wrote tragedies on Roman subjects and a Greek play on Thyestes.

§ 15. TI. CATIUS SILIUS ITALICUS (25–101 A.D.) † chose, after the example of Lucan, an episode of Roman history as subject of an epic poem. He chose the second Punic War, and his work, entitled *Punica*, in seventeen Books, has come down to us. Silius went through the usual stages of an official career, which was respectable, but not distinguished. He held the consulship in the year of Nero's death and was afterwards proconsul of Asia. As a senator, he was respected, but had no political influence; on the other hand he made no enemies. After his proconsulship he retired from public life, and devoted himself to the service of the muses. "Now," says his friend Martial, ‡ "Helicon is his Forum."

Proque suo celebrat nunc Helicona foro.

Silius suffered from an incurable tumour, and it finally became so irksome to him that he determined to put an end to his life, and starved himself to death in his villa at Naples.

Silius wrote his *Punica* in the reign of Domitian, whom he addresses in the usual tone of courtly flattery. "Thou," he cries, "O Germanicus, wilt transcend the deeds of thy kinsmen (Vespasian and Titus)"; § and he celebrates the Emperor as a greater bard than Orpheus. The poem was judged by a contemporary writer to display greater diligence than talent,‖ a judgment which might be extended to most of the writers of the age. To a modern reader the work is irredeemably dull. It abounds in imitations from Virgil in incident as well as in language, and is not marked by the least originality of any kind. Silius was an enthusiastic admirer of the poet of the Æneid; used to celebrate his birthday with religious solemnity, especially when he was at Naples, and

* Juvenal (vii. 80) speaks of him as poor:

At Serrano *tenuique Saleio*
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est.

† Silius can hardly have been, as is usually thought, a native of Italica in Spain; for his friend Martial, who was a Spaniard, never claims him as a countryman.

‡ vii. 63. 12.

§ At tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum, (3. 607).

‖ Maiore cura quam ingenio (Pliny). If we had only the criticisms of his friend Martial (who calls him "eternal," *perpetui Sili*, vi. 64), we might infer that he was considered a great luminary by his contemporaries. Cf. iv. 14. 1, Sili, Castalidum decus sororum.

used to visit the tomb of Virgil as if it were a temple.* He has by no means the same skill as his contemporary Valerius Flaccus in introducing Virgilian echoes. The Punica ends with Scipio's triumph after the battle of Zama, and like the Æneid is national in sentiment. But while Virgil's national sentiment is a genuine inspiration, that of Silius is a cold and correct reflection of the Virgilian spirit. Hannibal plays the part of Turnus. Like Turnus, too, Hannibal fights with a phantom; and Juno plays the same anti-Roman part in the poem of Silius that she had played in the poem of Virgil. The usual epic paraphernalia are duly worked in, the catalogue, the nekyia, the games, the description of a shield, the dream-god, the battle on a river's bank. A tendency to Stoicism can be distinctly traced in the poem. But, unlike Lucan, Silius never touches upon politics. "He neither reflects on the present nor regrets the past. To him the warriors of the old republic are no longer the men of the forum and the capitol, such as he sees before his own eyes: they have passed into the twilight of myths and demigods. To him, Scipio is a second Hercules, the achiever of labours, the tamer of monsters, the umpire of the divinities of Pleasure and Virtue. Hannibal is an ogre or giant of romance, who seems to vanish at the catastrophe of the story in a tempest of flame or cloud." † This contrast with Lucan is an instructive indication of the change in spirit which took place at Rome, even in Stoic circles, during the last forty years of the first century. In the technical construction of his verses, Silius is excessively strict, like all his contemporaries.

§ 16. P. PAPINIUS STĀTIUS of Naples, (45–96 A.D.) also composed epic poems in the reign of Domitian. He had inherited a taste for poetry from his father, who had celebrated in verse the Burning of the Capitol in 69 A.D., and was about to compose a work on the eruption of Vesuvius when he died. The younger Statius won the olive wreath at the Alban contest in poetry, instituted by that Emperor, three times; but he was defeated in the Capitoline competition. His circumstances were comfortable and he possessed a country place at Alba, which was perhaps a gift of the Emperor. He enjoyed the patronage of a nobleman named Metius Celer. At the beginning of Domitian's reign he composed a mime entitled *Agave*.‡ He promised, and perhaps began to write an epic celebrating the German expedition of the Emperor,§ but if begun, it was never

* He sets Virgil beside Homer (8. 593) thus:

Mantua Musarum domus atque ad sidera cantu
Evecta Aonio et Smyrnæis æmula plectris.

† Merivale. Chap. 64.

‡ See above, Chap. XXI. § 19.

§ See *Silvæ*, iv. 4. 95:

Sed vocat (from the *Achilleid*) arcitenens
allo pater armaque monstrat
Ausonii maiora ducis.

finished. Three works of Statius have been preserved, of which (1) the longest and most ambitious is the *Thebăid*, which occupied him for twelve years.* The subject of the poem is the war between Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Œdipus; and it is treated very unequally. The first ten Books are devoted to the preparations, and are lengthened out with digressions and prolix speeches; while all the important events, to which these preparations lead up, including the combat of the brothers, and the story of Antigone, are compressed into the last two Books. Books 5 and 6 are occupied with the episode of Hypsipyle and Archemorus. This want of artistic proportion is to some extent compensated for by careful finish in the detail; but there is little psychological skill in portraying the characters, and little poetical imagination. Like Valerius and Silius, he regards Virgil as the epic model. It is probable that he drew his material for the *Thebaid* from the Greek poet Antimachus. (2) Of another epic poem, dealing with the life of Achilles, only a small part was written, and this has come down to us. The first Book of the *Achilleid* tells how Thetis hid her son among the daughters of Lycomedes at Scyros, how the disguised hero made love to Deidamia and was discovered by Ulysses. Of the second Book only a short fragment remains. The style is less crabbed than in the Thebaid. (3) The *Silvæ* is a collection of "occasional poems," arranged in five Books, and is the most interesting of the works of Statius. Each poem was composed separately, and a number (from five to nine) afterwards collected in a Book, which was published with a prose preface. The greater number of these pieces are in hexameter metre, but some are in hendecasyllabic, Alcaic, and Sapphic metres. They were almost all written in the last six years of Domitian's reign. The first Book is dedicated to the poet Stella, and one of the poems included in it is an *Epithalamium* on the occasion of the marriage between Stella and Violentilla. Deaths and births, the handsome villas, the rich baths or the beautiful statues belonging to wealthy friends, form the subjects of other pieces. There is a lament composed on the death of the poet's father, and an *Eclogue*—really a sort of familiar epistle—to his wife Claudia. One poem celebrates the birthday of the poet Lucan, whom he extols with enthusiasm; and the circumstance that he praises Cato †

* Juvenal thus describes the favourable reception given to the *Thebaid* (*Sat.* vii. 82):

Curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, lætam cum fecit Statius urbem
Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
Adficit ille animos tantaque libidine volgi
Auditur.

† Libertate gravem pia Catonem,
Et gratum popularitate Magnum.

And:

Et te nobile carmen insonantem
Pompei comitantur et Catones (iv. 7).

and speaks sympathetically of the spirit of Lucan's poem, shows that Domitian's censorship of the press cannot have been as severe as it is sometimes made out to be. Statius, however, regarded Lucan entirely from a literary point of view. He was a court poet, and was ready to purchase the favour of Domitian by adulation, both of the Emperor himself and of his favourites. In celebrating the occasion of Domitian's seventeenth consulship, he adopted a tone of hyperbolic flattery. He composed a special poem to thank the Emperor for an invitation to dine at the imperial table. He wrote lines on the locks of the boy Earinus, a favourite of Domitian.

§ 17. In the poems of Statius we observe a tendency to epigrammatic writing, and an anxious care in the coinage of phrases. Skill in epigram is indeed the characteristic of the age, and Martial is the characteristic poet. "The verses of Martial," it has been said, "are the quintescence of the Flavian poetry." M. VALERIUS MARTIALIS (about 40–102 A.D.) was born at Bilbilis * in Spain, and thus makes the fourth Spaniard of the first century who holds a very distinguished place in literature. He lived for thirty-four years in Rome and returned to his native country at the end of his life (98 A.D.). He was poor and seems to have had no fixed employment. He possessed a small house in Rome and a small country place at Nomentum in the Sabine territory. Both Titus and Domitian conferred upon him, in recognition of his poems, the privileges which the law gave to those who were the fathers of three children (*ius trium liberorum*), † and he was made a military tribune, which gave him the standing of a knight. His flattery to Domitian is even more extravagant than that of Statius; he was a more needy and more eager bidder for court favour. Among his patrons were Earinus, Crispinus ‡ and Parthenius. As an example of his glorification of the Emperor may be quoted the verses in which he cries, "Under what leader was martial Rome fairer and greater? Under what Princeps did we enjoy such great liberty?" § Martial can be convicted of being a timeserver out of his own mouth, for after the death of Domitian he confesses that "the reign

* i. 61. 12: Nec me tacebit Bilbilis.

† Martial, iii. 95. 5:

Præmia laudato tribuit mih Cæsar uterque
Natorumque dedit iura paterna trium.

ii. 91 is a petition to Domitian to confirm the right bestowed by Titus. For the military tribunate, see iii. 95. 9: vidit me Roma tribunum.

‡ In vii. 99 he asks Crispinus to say a word for him, when his poems are read before Domitian (Carmina Parrhasia si nostra legentur in aula). Similarly in v. 6 he asks Parthenius to introduce this Book to the Emperor at a favourable moment: Nosti tempora tu Iovis sereni.

§ Pulchrior et maior quo sub duce Martia Roma?
Sub quo libertas principe tanta fuit? (v. 19, 5).

of terror is over." * It is conceivable, however, that here too he spoke less from conviction than from a desire to be agreeable to the new government. His epigrams were collected in fourteen Books, of which each contains about a hundred epigrams. Most of the Books are introduced by a preface, either in prose (like the *Silvæ* of Statius) or in verse. The thirteenth and fourteenth Books, entitled respectively *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, † consist altogether of distichs on presents suitable for the Saturnalian festival—epigrams in the original sense of the word. The other Books contain epigrams in the later sense of the word, short, and often with a fine point. Besides these, there is an unnumbered Book known as the *liber spectaculorum*, consisting of poems which refer to the public spectacles at Rome. In the art of epigram Martial regarded Catullus and Domitius Marsus as his models. ‡

A large number of his verses turn on filthy subjects, but he is careful to tell us that, if his page is wanton, his life is honest:

Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est.

He was, however, a man of no character; he prostituted his Muse to the taste of the populace. But he was a writer of the greatest talent; and his best verses are very good indeed. His works give a most valuable picture of the Roman life of his time, especially perhaps its shady sides, and we meet many notable literary persons in his pages, such as the younger Pliny, Silius and Stella. It is remarkable that he does not mention either Statius or Tacitus. In his stinging epigrams he always used fictitious names, such as Ponticus, Tucca, Tongilianus; he mentions living persons by their true names only when he praises or says something indifferent. §

§ 18. ARRUNTIUS STELLA of Patavium,‖ the friend of Statius and Martial, composed love poems, which were inspired by Violentilla, who afterwards became his wife. He celebrated her under the

* Longi terga dedere Metus, xii. 6. 4. Cp. 11, sub principe duro.

† See below Chap. XXXI, § 13.

‡ See vii. 99. 7: Nec Marso nimium minor est doctoque Catullo.

§ The dates of Martial's Epigrams are as follows: the *Liber Spectaculorum*, and Books 1 and 2 in the early years of Domitian, before 87 A.D.; Book 3 about 87, and Book 4 in 88 and 89 A.D.; Book 5, 90 A.D.; Book 6, end of 90 and beginning of 91 A.D.; Books 7 and 8, 92, 93 A.D.; Books 9, 10, 11, 94–96 A.D. Book 11 was not published until after the death of Domitian, in December 96 A.D. In 98 A.D. appeared the second expurgated edition of Book 10, which has come down to us. Book 12 appeared probably in 101 A.D. Books 13 and 14 must be placed between 88 and 93 A.D.

‖ Martial, i. 61. 3:

Censetur Apŏna Livio suo tellus
*Stella*que nec Flacco minus.

(Apona tellus = district of Patavium). Flaccus (not Valerius) was a poor poet, a friend of Martial.

fictitious name of Asteris, but in the pages of Martial she appears as Ianthis, a Greek rendering of her true name. The death of her pet dove is the subject of one of Martial's epigrams. Another writer of erotic poems was SULPICIA, the wife of Calenus; her verses were remarkable for their wantonness.* TURNUS, a distinguished satiric poet, also deserves mention. Many other verse-writers in various styles, whose works have perished, are mentioned by Martial, Statius, and Pliny; but they are now nothing more than names.

SECT. III.—LITERATURE UNDER TRAJAN.

§ 19. After the death of Domitian, there was, according to contemporary writers, a revival of literature. This revival has probably been exaggerated, but it is certain that history, at least, and oratory regained their freedom. Nerva would doubtless have been a patron of men of letters, but his reign was too short to affect literature. Trajan was not a man of culture, and did little directly to further learning, but he was certainly not against it. He showed special favour to the Greek rhetorician, Dion Chrysostom; and he wrote himself memoirs of the Dacian war. His answers to Pliny's letters are brief and to the point. The private recitations of literary compositions, which had been a marked feature in the reign of Domitian, are now less conspicuous. This may be partly due to the greater liberty which orators enjoyed under Trajan.

§ 20. D. JUNIUS JUVENALIS was born at Aquinum,† probably about 55 A.D. He busied himself in his youth with rhetorical studies, and served in the army. In the year 81 A.D. he served under Agricola in Britain, as the tribune or prefect of a Dalmatian cohort. He lived far into the reign of Hadrian, by whom he seems to have been banished to Egypt, in the year 135 A.D., at the age of eighty. But the question of the banishment is very difficult. There is some evidence for supposing that the populace declaimed certain offensive verses‡ of Juvenal in the theatre in the Emperor's presence, and that Hadrian, unable to punish the people, punished the innocent poet.

Juvenal's sixteen *Satires* were published in five Books at different times, like the Silvæ of Statius; the exact dates at which

* Martial, however, praises the moral tendencies of her poems, x. 35:

Omnes Sulpiciam legant, puellæ,
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere;
Omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti
Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptæ.

† *Satire* iii. 319: Roma *tuo* refici properantem reddet *Aquino*. An inscription which he dedicated in the temple of Ceres at his birthplace is still extant. See Notes and Illustrations at end of this chapter.

‡ *Satire* vii. 90 sqq.: Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio, etc.

they appeared are not certain.* He states that indignation at crime and folly drove him to write satire:

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum.

And he paints in vivid and dark colours, often with revolting realism, the social vices of his age. The persons whom he introduces have either fictitious names or belong to the past, especially to the reigns of Nero and Domitian. His verses are forcible and pointed; and the standard of morality which he sets up has been so much admired in modern times that some churchmen have thought that he must have owed something to the inspiration of Christianity. But his morality was really the stock virtue of the rhetorical schools, well and eloquently expressed. We cannot take too seriously the declamatory invectives and biting epigrams which he launches against his contemporaries. He was not concerned to give a true picture of his times; he wrote his satires at once to make an effect and gratify his spleen. Their value for us lies in the accessory parts of the pictures. They enable us to realise more vividly than we could otherwise do, life and manners at Rome under Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian.

The *First Satire* gives a general description of the follies and vices of the day, and forms a general introduction to the Satires. The poet defines his subject as the whole of human life, men's passions, pleasures and business:

Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
Gaudia discursus nostri farrago libelli est.

It may be dangerous to attack the living, but he may at all events show up the sins of the dead, "whose ashes are interred on the Flaminian and Latin Ways:"

Experiar quid concedatur in illos
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

The Second deals with gross vices practised by hypocritical philosophers and hidden under a cloak of austerity; the *Third* with the dangers and vexations of life in Rome. The *Fourth* contains the travesty of Domitian's Consilium, of which a brief account has been given in a previous chapter. The *Fifth* describes the wretched life of a parasite and the rebuffs and scorn which he endures for the sake of a poor dinner. The *Sixth*, which is the most powerful of all, paints in heightened colours the fashions, follies, and vices of contemporary women. The *Seventh* portrays the struggles and

* Bk. 1 = Sat. 1–5, later than 100 A.D.; Bk. 2 = Sat. 6, later than 116 A.D.; Bk. 3 = Sat. 7–9, about 120 A.D.; Bk. 4 = Sat. 10–12, about 125 A.D.; Bk. 5 = Sat. 13–16, after 127 A.D.

poverty of men of letters. The *Eighth* holds up to ridicule pride in long pedigrees. "It were better to be the son of Thersites and able to wield the arms of Achilles, than to have Achilles for sire and be a Thersites oneself:"

> Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
> Æacidæ similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
> Quam te Thersitæ similem producat Achilles.

The *Ninth* treats of vices common in the time of Juvenal. The theme of the *Tenth* is the "vanity of human wishes."* It is shown that what seems to be best is often worst, and that men know not what is really best for them.† They are often ruined if the gods take them at their word:

> Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
> Di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
> Militia.

The *Eleventh*, in the form of an invitation to a friend to a simple dinner, holds up to ridicule the prevalent luxury at table. The *Twelfth* celebrates the safe return of a friend from a voyage, and describes the perils of the ocean; it also satirises fortune-hunters (*captatores*) who pay court to the rich and childless. The *Thirteenth*, a consolation to a certain Calvinus who had been cheated of ten sestertia (£80), is full of Stoic doctrines epigrammatically expressed. Calvinus is admonished that such crimes are the order of the day, perjury is general, and it would be absurd to raise an outcry for such a trifle; besides, only small minds desire revenge, it is a feminine weakness:

> Quippe minuti
> Semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
> Ultio: continuo sic collige quod vindicta
> Nemo magis gaudet quam femina.

Calvinus is bidden to leave his false friend to his own devices, for he is not likely to stop at the first crime and will probably sooner or later come to a bad end. The *Fourteenth* enlarges on the theme that children learn vice, and especially avarice, from the example of their parents. The *Fifteenth* describes a quarrel between Ombi (Kum Ombu), and Tentyra (Denderah) in Upper Egypt, at a religious feast held by the Ombites and interrupted by the Tentyrites. The latter were put to flight, and one of them was

* Dr. Johnson imitated it under this title.

† O Juvenall lord, true is thy sentence
That little wenen folke what is to yerne
That they ne finden in hir desire offence.
(Chaucer, *Troilus and Creseide*, iv. 25.)

caught and devoured by the Ombites.* The *Sixteenth* sketches the advantages of a soldier's life.

The Seventh satire is interesting and important for literary history and deserves special notice in this place. The bulk of it seems to have been written under Trajan, but the introduction to have been added in the reign of Hadrian, under whose auspices poetry and other studies are described as reviving:

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum.

Hitherto men of letters have been forced, in order to support life, to engage in the meanest pursuits. The poets have had no Mæcenas to patronise them; the most a rich man, who pretends to have a taste for poetry, will do is to lend a dusty and inconvenient room for the poet to give a recitation, and send his freedmen to applaud. The best poets, like Statius, had to write verses to order for the stage in order to get a living. The historians are worse off than the poets; their task is more laborious, and they get less. Who will give an historian as much as one would give to the *actuarius* † who reads aloud the daily chronicle?

Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?

The rhetoricians were miserably paid too; the profession of a music-master was far more lucrative. Rich Quintilian was quite an exception.

The fact that so little encouragement was given to poetry by Trajan may have been partly the cause why there were no distinguished poets in his reign, with the exception of Juvenal himself. There were a few of less note, and known to us only by name. CANINIUS, who set himself to the task of an epic on the Dacian war of Trajan, and PASSENNUS PAULLUS, who wrote elegies, figuratively "in the house of Propertius,"‡ may be mentioned.

§ 21. The most striking literary figure of Trajan's principate, and one of the greatest historians of the world, was CORNELIUS TACITUS. In a history of the early Empire he and his works claim special attention, because his writings, so far as they have been preserved to us, are our chief authority. We have to thank him for most of the details which we know about the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero, and about the civil wars which followed Nero's death. If his works had been entirely preserved, he would have been our main guide from the death of Augustus to the death of

* The scene is unlikely, as Tentyra and Ombi were separated by a distance of 100 miles.

† An *Actuarius* copied out the *Acta diurna* and read them aloud at dinner to amuse the company.

‡ The expression is Pliny's (ix. 22).

Domitian. It is because large portions of his writings have been lost that we are so ill-informed about the history of Caligula and that of the Flavian Emperors.

Of the life of Tacitus * we know little. He was born about 54 A.D.; and in his early years studied jurisprudence and rhetoric. He went through the ordinary senatorial career, beginning as military tribune under Vespasian, becoming quæstor under Titus, ædile (or tribune), and then prætor (in 88 A.D.) under Domitian. While prætor, he was also one of the *quindecim viri*, to whom the care of the Sibylline books was entrusted. We have already seen that he married a daughter of Agricola. After the return of Agricola to Rome, Tacitus, probably in the year 90, obtained a post in the provinces, either as legatus of a legion in Lower Germany or as governor of Belgica, and was absent from Rome for four years, during which his father-in-law died. Under Nerva in 98 A.D. he was promoted to the consulship. Of the rest of his life we only know that he was occupied with his great historical works. It seems possible that his death took place in the first years of Hadrian.

§ 22. The works of Tacitus which have come down to us, wholly or partially, are five in number:—

(1) His earliest work—a consequence of his rhetorical studies—was the *Dialogus de oratoribus* † which perhaps appeared soon after 80 A.D. The dialogue is supposed to have taken place in the sixth year of Vespasian (75 A.D.), and the speakers are the most celebrated rhetoricians and men of letters of that time, including Curiatius Maternus, Vipstanus Messalla, Aper, and Julius Secundus. The object of the work is to trace and explain the decline of oratory under the Empire. The causes which he assigns are both political and social; and in this earliest work the republican sympathies and anti-imperial bias of the author can be seen plainly. It also exhibits the same psychological acuteness and the same skill in saying sharp things, which are distinguishing marks of his historical works. In point of style, he is under the influence of Cicero.

(2) The next composition of Tacitus, the "Life and Character of Julius Agricola," his father-in-law, has been already noticed in connection with Agricola's work in Britain.‡ It was written at the beginning of Trajan's reign. The influence of Sallust is conspicuous and the very form of the work, as a historical monograph, re-

* His prænomen is uncertain; possibly Publius. There is no good ground for supposing him to have been born at Interamna.

† Some have denied the Tacitean authorship, but it is now generally admitted.

‡ See above, Chap. XXII. § 7.

sembles the Catiline and Jugurtha. The same influence is also evident in

(3) the *Germania*, which appeared in the same year, and of which some account has already been given.* It was the result of the researches which the author had been making for some years back with a view to a large historical work, but which he now published in a separate form *à propos* of the work of Trajan on the Rhine. In describing the manners and institutions of German communities, Tacitus cannot resist pointing comparisons between the simplicity of the barbarians, and the corruption of Roman civilisation. He remarks, for example, that "good manners are of more avail there than good laws elsewhere," and that "there no man laughs at vices."† But it is absurd to suppose, as some have done, that the book was written merely as a hit at Rome.

(4) The *Historiæ*, consisting of about twelve or fourteen Books was written under Trajan and embraced the period from the elevation of Galba to the death of Domitian. Unluckily, only the first four Books and part of the fifth have come down. These are taken up with the events of 69 and 70 A.D. Owing to the loss of the later Books, our knowledge of the reign of the Flavian Emperors is very fragmentary; and this loss is especially to be regretted as the author was a contemporary of the events about which he wrote.

(5) The "Annals" (entitled "From the death of the Divine Augustus") was likewise written under Trajan, and was published between 115 and 117 A.D. It embraced the period between Augustus and Galba, (14–68 A.D.), and as the material is arranged chronologically, all the various events of each year being (with few exceptions) grouped together, the work is designated by the author himself as *Annales*. The first six Books, which contain the reign of Tiberius, are extant, with the exception of the greater part of Book v. The next Books (vii.–x. and a portion of xi.), which comprised the reign of Gaius, and the first years of Claudius, are lost. Books xii.–xv. and a part of xvi., bringing us down to the year 66 A.D., are preserved; but the end is lost, and it is not certain of how many Books the work originally consisted.

Tacitus had made further plans for historical work, but they were not carried out. He intended, if he had lived, to lead up to his *Annals* by a work on the principate of Augustus, and also, at the other extremity, to continue his *Histories* by a work on the principates of Nerva and Trajan. If these designs had been exe-

* See above, Chap. XXIII. § 8.

† Cap. 19: Plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges; *and* Nemo illic vitia ridet. Such hits at Rome occur in almost every chapter.

cuted, he would have covered the whole imperial period down to the death of Trajan.

§ 23. The political sympathies of Tacitus penetrate his whole work, and while they give it much of its literary flavour, they also diminish its historical value. He was an aristocrat in his views, sympathised with the senate of the Republic, and disliked the imperial constitution. Although his common sense obliged him to confess that the Empire was a necessity, it was a necessity against which his heart revolted, and which the events which he saw with his own eyes in the last years of Domitian rendered still more odious to him. It was a calamity, he thought, due to the anger of the gods against the Roman state. His historical works are written to arraign the Empire, and he sees everything in the worst light, even if he does not intend to misrepresent. We have already seen how he sets up Germanicus as a foil to Tiberius, and Corbulo as a foil to Nero. The aggressions of the Emperors on the functions of the senate are crimes in his eyes; and he regards the Roman world as in a state of servitude. Yet, on the other hand, he despised the vain talk about liberty by which such men as Helvidius Priscus courted martyrdom; and he laid down the principle that, seeing monarchy to be a necessity, we should "pray for good Emperors and put up with whatever kind we get." *

Connected with his prejudice in favour of the senate is his prejudice in favour of Rome and Italy. He tolerates the provinces, but takes no interest in them, and has not the slightest conception that their needs justified the Empire. In estimating the work of an Emperor, the character of his provincial administration would have small weight with Tacitus, who thinks far more of a disturbance in Rome than of distant events, affecting a whole country. With these narrow and old-fashioned views, he was unable to see the true significance of the Empire, on which he pondered so much, and on which he has made many acute observations. His lack of interest in provincial matters affects his history in another way which is much more irritating. It makes him indifferent to geographical details; and thus it is often hopeless to follow on the map his vague descriptions of warfare in Britain, Germany, Armenia, or Thrace. Like Livy, he cared little for historical research, and was far more concerned with the form than with the matter of his work. The military parts of his history are generally judged to be untrustworthy.

Yet in spite of these faults Tacitus is always regarded as one of the greatest historians. This is mainly due to his excellence as an artist in style. He wrote for effect, and he was ready to sacrifice

* *Histories*, iv. 8.

facts to art. His picture of Tiberius is a great literary achievement, but at the expense of historical truth. His work abounds in telling epigrams, and in acute and cynical observations which show great psychological insight. Many of his phrases have become familiar quotations, such as *omne ignotum pro mirifico; maior ex longinquo reverentia.* His style is concise, but always dignified and cold, never passionate or declamatory. His points of contact with his contemporaries should be observed. In bitterness, in his view of the degeneracy of society, in writing for effect, he resembles Juvenal; while in his taste for pointed epigram he shows that he belongs to the same age as the court-poet Martial. *

§ 24. PLINY, the Younger, belonged originally to the family of the Cæcilii, which was settled at Comum (Como), in trans-Padane Italy. His father was L. Cæcilius Cilo, and his own name before adoption was probably P. Cæcilius Secundus. He was eighteen years old at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius, 79 A.D., so that he must have been born about 61 A.D. During his boyhood there was no school at Comum, but he was taught well, and wrote a Greek tragedy at the age of fourteen. On his father's death, he was placed under the guardianship of Verginius Rufus, and was presently sent to Rome to finish his education, where he attended the lectures of Quintilian in rhetoric. But it was the young man's uncle on the mother's side—C. Plinius Secundus, whom we have already met—who exercised most influence on his studies and his future career. He and his mother were staying with his uncle at Misenum, when the fatal eruption of Vesuvius took place, which caused his uncle's death. The young Cæcilius was adopted by his uncle's will into the Plinian family, and henceforward his name was C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus.† A year later Pliny pleaded his first cause before the court of the centumviri in the Basilica Julia. Soon after this he was appointed one of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, who, by a regulation of Augustus, presided over the centumviral court, under the general control of a prætor. He next became a military tribune of the legion III. Gallica, which was stationed in Syria (82–83 A.D.) On returning to Rome he was appointed a *sevir* of the Roman knights,‡ and held this office until he became quæstor (probably in 89 A.D.). His next step was the tribunate of the plebs (10th December, 91 A.D.), and he was promoted to be prætor in 93 A.D., the Emperor having dispensed him from the interval fixed by the Lex Annalis. In this rapid advancement in the senatorial career

* The chief sources which Tacitus used for his historical works were: the *Acta Diurna* and *Acta Senatus* (see above, pp. 37, 44), the memoirs of Agrippina, and of Corbulo; the elder Pliny; Cluvius; Fabius Rusticus; Sisenna; and Vipstanus Messalla.

† In earlier times it would have been C. Plinius Secundus Cæcilianus.

‡ See above, Chap. III. § 7 (5).

Pliny was supported by his former guardian Verginius Rufus. About this time he successfully aided in the prosecution of a proconsul of Bætica, but this action seems to have injured him in the favour of Domitian. The death of the tyrant was a relief to him. He had been already appointed prefect of the *ærarium militare*. Nerva promoted him to be prefect of the *ærarium Saturni* likewise. These duties so much engrossed his time, that he renounced pleading in the courts, and it was with much difficulty that he was persuaded to plead the cause of the provincials of Africa against the extortionate proconsul Marius Priscus (100 A.D.). The accusers were successful; Marius was condemned. In the same year Pliny was advanced by Trajan to the consulship, which he held in September and October. It devolved upon him to thank the Emperor on the first day of this office, and he did so in a *Panegyric* which has been preserved, and which, though not interesting from a literary point of view, is of great historical value, as it gives an account of the acts of Trajan, in the first years of his reign. In the following year Pliny was again induced to act as the advocate of provincials against an oppressive governor. He undertook the cause of Bætica against Classicus. Some time after this he received the honour of an augurship. He had given up his treasury appointment and returned to his occupation as a pleader. He was also appointed *curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis*. Two important cases occurred in 104 and 106 A.D., in connection with Bithynia, and were successfully conducted by Pliny. This led to his appointment (111 A.D. probably) as a special legatus in that province, as we have already seen. The date of his death is unknown, but was probably before 115 A.D. He was married three times, but had no children. Trajan granted him, however, the *ius trium liberorum*.

The career of Pliny is interesting, as it illustrates how citizens belonging to an Italian or provincial municipium rose to the highest offices in the state. His letters are interesting as illustrating the life, opinions, and feelings of an enlightened and generous Roman gentleman. But he was neither a great writer nor a great statesman. He could discharge meritoriously the ordinary duties of a senator. He was an ardent reader, a careful and pleasant writer, but had no ideas. He was rich and liberal. We find him giving pecuniary help to Quintilian and Martial. He remedied the want of a school at Comum, by paying one-third of the salary of a teacher. He also gave his native town a public library at the cost of a million sesterces (£8000); and granted half a million more for the maintenance of poor children. His letters prove that he was a warm friend, a loving husband, a kind master to

his slaves, and that he always honestly wished to do the right thing.

The Letters of Pliny consist of (1) nine Books of letters, dating from 97 to 109 A.D., and (2) the correspondence with Trajan, (chiefly from the Bithynian period), of which specimens were given in the preceding chapter. They concern all sorts of subjects and show the character of the author and his relations with his friends in a most favourable light. He is very vain, but then he is very candid. The letters were written with a view to publication, and therefore they have not the freshness and directness of the letters of Cicero, who was Pliny's model, as he tells us himself. He owns that his great desire is to be remembered by posterity. There is consequently a great deal of self-consciousness in the epistles.

Tacitus and Pliny were intimate friends. In one of his letters Pliny tells a story, how at the Circensian games Tacitus sat next an unknown person who entered into learned conversation with him, and after some time asked, "Are you an Italian or a provincial?" "You know me," said Tacitus, "from your reading." "Are you Tacitus or Pliny?" asked the stranger.

§ 25. Besides the *Panegyric* of Pliny, which is a specimen of the style of rhetoric then in fashion, we have a fragment of a dialogue on the theme "Was Virgil an orator or a poet?" (*Vergilius orator an poeta?*) by P. ANNIUS FLORUS. An African by birth, he had competed under Domitian at the Capitoline Agon, and—unfairly, according to himself—had not been crowned. Leaving Rome, he travelled about and finally settled as a man of letters at Tarraco, where he lived under Trajan. At a later time, he returned to Rome and interchanged light verses with the Emperor Hadrian.* For he was also a verse-writer, and some small fragments of verse under the name of Florus have come down.

The work of HYGINUS on the jurisprudence of field-measurement, of which fragments have come down to us; the treatise of SICULUS FLACCUS *de condicionibus agrorum;* the works on orthography of CAPER and VELIUS LONGUS, which belong to this period, can only be mentioned.

SECT. IV.—GREEK LITERATURE.

§ 26. The growing importance of the Jews in the Hellenic world is illustrated by the circumstances that two of the most important Greek writers of the first century A.D., whose works have come

* It is generally supposed that Florus poeta is the same as the author of the dialogue. See below Chap. XXIX. § 3.

down to us belonged to the Hebrew race. These were the historian Josephus and the philosopher Philo.

We have already met FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS in the tale of the Jewish rebellion under Nero and Vespasian. Born about 37 A.D., he belonged to a distinguished sacerdotal family, and on the mother's side to the royal house of the Maccabees. In religion he inclined to the sect of the Pharisees. He first visited Rome in 63 A.D., to defend some of his countrymen, and succeeded in his object through the influence of Poppæa. The part which he played in the last struggle of the Jews for independence has been already told. Received into favour by Vespasian, he lived henceforward at Rome, and wrote his historical works there. His purpose in writing was to make the Greeks acquainted with the history and character of his own people. (1) The best known and most interesting of his writings is the story of the Jewish war, in seven Books, which has all the value of a contemporary witness who had taken part in it himself and been present at the most striking scenes; and a witness, who, although a Jew, was able to see the Roman as well as the Jewish side of the question. He wrote this work in Hebrew and then got it translated into Greek. (2) His "Jewish Archæology," in twenty Books, reaching from the Creation to Nero, is a much larger work. The later books are very valuable for the history of the first Roman Emperors, and in Book xviii. occurs the earliest notice in literature of the founder of Christianity. (3) Josephus also wrote his own autobiography ("Life of Flavius Josephus"), and (4) two Books against Apion, an Alexandrian grammarian who on occasion of the Jewish embassy to Caligula had attacked the Jews, and (5) a treatise "On the Sovranty of Reason."

Like Josephus, PHILO of Alexandria also appears in political as well as in literary history. We met him as one of that embassy of Alexandrian Jews which waited on the Emperor Gaius in 39 A.D., and of which he wrote an account. As a philosopher, he was one of the earliest who attempted to combine Greek and Jewish ideas into a philosophical system. On the one hand he makes Moses speak with the lips of Socrates, on the other he derives the views of Plato, Heraclitus, and other Greek philosophers from Mosaic sources. He interprets the Old Testament allegorically; but his chief inspiration is drawn from Plato. In his treatment of Plato, in whose writings he finds more than Plato ever dreamed of, he is a precursor of the Neoplatonists.

§ 27. PLUTARCH was born at Chæronea about 46 A.D., and educated at the University of Athens. Under Vespasian he visited Rome as an envoy from his native place; and seems to have won some influence at the imperial court. Trajan granted him consular rank,

and directed the governor of Achæa to avail himself of his counsels. But the favour which he enjoyed at Rome did not induce him to quit his home, where he lived a happy domestic life, and died at an advanced age.* His attachment to Bœotia was a feature of his character; Hesiod and Pindar, as the two great Bœotian poets, had always a special charm for him. He seems to have occupied himself with informal teaching and lecturing, as well as with writing his historical and philosophical works.

His historical work consists of the "Parallel Lives," a series of forty-six biographies of great Greek and Roman statesmen, grouped in pairs.† In every case, except in that of the Gracchi, a Greek is compared with a Roman. This way of setting Greek and Roman history side by side was natural enough in a Greek under the Empire, recognising the greatness of his conquerors as well as that of his own nation. The example of such parallels had been set by Cornelius Nepos. In some cases, such as Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Cæsar, the comparisons are obvious; in others, such as Pyrrhus and Marius, less striking. In most cases, Plutarch appends to the pair of lives a formal statement of the points of likeness and contrast. Besides these parallel lives, there are four single biographies of Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba, and Otho. In compiling this historical gallery, Plutarch thought far less of finding out and relating what actually occurred than of edifying his readers and promoting virtue. He has no idea of historical criticism; he is much more at home in ethical disquisition. He loved anecdotes which point a moral. The consequence is that perhaps no ancient history has been more popular down to the present day than his Lives.

His other works consist of numerous essays and treatises on various subjects, chiefly ethical, and generally grouped together under the title of *Moralia*. Among them may be mentioned the "Platonic Questions;" controversial pamphlets against the Stoics and the Epicureans, and against superstition; an attempt to explain the myth of Isis and Osiris; a large number of sermons on moral subjects, such as "Virtue is teachable," "Fortune," "Cheerfulness;" a physical treatise on the Face in the Moon;‡ a discussion of the question "Should an old man take part in public life?" Literary

* He was alive in the third year of Hadrian.

† Theseus, Romulus; Lycurgus, Numa; Solon, Valerius Publicola; Themistocles, Camillus; Pericles, Fabius Maximus; Alcibiades, Coriolanus; Timoleon, Æmilius Paullus; Pelopidas, Marcellus; Aristides, Cato Major; Philopœmen, Flamininus; Pyrrhus, Marius; Lysander, Sulla; Cimon, Lucullus; Nicias, Crassus; Eumenes, Sertorius; Agesilaus, Pompey; Alexander, Cæsar; Phocion, Cato Minor; Agis, Cleomenes; Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus; Demosthenes, Cicero; Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antony; Dion, Brutus.

‡ Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφαινομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης.

questions are considered in "The Malice of Herodotus" and "A comparison of Aristophanes and Menander." His dialogue on "Music" is very important for the history of ancient music and metre. Perhaps the most attractive of all Plutarch's works is the *Symposiaca*, in nine Books, containing discussions on all sorts of subjects in the form of tabletalk. The scene constantly changes; the symposia are sometimes at Athens, sometimes at Rome, sometimes at the author's house. As examples of the questions discussed may be mentioned, the number of the Muses; the grafting of trees; the most suitable form of entertainment at table; the abstinence of Jews from pork.

§ 28. Another Greek essayist, contemporary with Plutarch, was DION of Prusa, in Bithynia, surnamed *Chrysostomos*, "gold-mouthed," from his eloquence. He had come to Rome under Vespasian, but fell under suspicion with Domitian, and, banished from Italy, retired to the north shore of the Black Sea. Of the old-fashioned life at Olbia on the Borysthenes, of the enthusiasm for Homer which prevailed in that remote Greek colony, and of the dangers which constantly threatened Greek civilisation in those regions from the Scythians, he has given an interesting account in his "Borysthenic Discourse" Under Nerva he was recalled to Rome, and when he afterwards returned to his native town Prusa, he obtained some privileges for it by his influence with Trajan. Although Dion is counted among the sophists,* and went about as a rhetorician, it must be said to his honour that he was by no means a typical specimen. He did not, like the ordinary sophist, sacrifice thought to expression; he was a deeper thinker—inclined to Stoicism—than most of his class, and he sometimes makes a hit at the vapid sophistic style. Of his discourses or essays, seventy-nine are extant, and many of them are most interesting. In the *Alexandrina* he inveighs against the extravagant luxury of life in Alexandria; in the *Olympica* he places in the mouth of Phidias a description and explanation of that sculptor's great statue of Zeus at Olympia. In his four discourses on monarchy he sketches, for the benefit of Trajan, the rule of an ideal sovran. One of the most pleasing essays is the *Euboica*, in which an idyllic description is given of the life of two rustic families in a desolate part of Eubœa, and a counter-picture is drawn of life in the town. Dion aimed at writing pure Attic; his chief models were Plato and Xenophon.

* In later times ten sophists of the imperial age were counted, on the analogy of the ten Attic orators. Dion was one of the ten; also Aristides, Herodes, and Philostratus.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

INSCRIPTION OF JUVENAL AT AQUINUM.

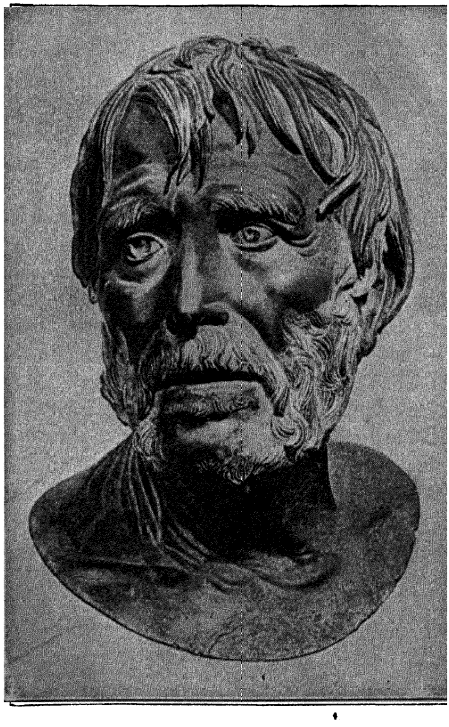
The inscription on the altar of Ceres which Juvenal dedicated at his birthplace, is as follows:—

[CERE]RI SACRVM
[D. IV]NIVS IVVENALIS
TRIB. COH. DELMATARVM
II. QVINQ. FLAMEN
DIVI VESPASIANI
VOVIT DEDICA[VITQ]VE
SVA. PEC.

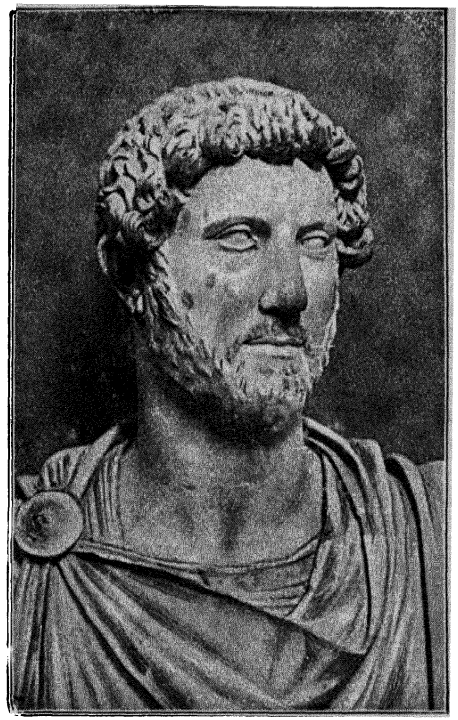
That is: Cereri sacrum De imus Junius Juvenalis Tribunus Cohortis Delmatarum, duumvir quinquennalis, flamen divi Vespasiani, vovit dedicavitque sua pecunia.

As the ordinary legionary cohorts had prefects, not tribunes—and we actually find on inscriptions prefects of the *cohors I. Delmatarum* mentioned—it has been questioned whether *tribunus* is not a mistake for *præfectus*.

The story of Juvenal's banishment to Scotland seems to have arisen from a confusion with his military service, as a young man, in Britain.



Seneca (so called) (from a bust in the Museum at Naples).



Hadrian (from a bust in the British Museum).

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PRINCIPATE OF HADRIAN (117–138 A.D.

§ 1. The circumstances of Hadrian's accession. § 2. Hadrian's family and career. His letter to the senate. § 3. Hadrian's personality. § 4. Character of his statesmanship. He abandons Trajan's policy and surrenders the new provinces in the east. § 5. New ideas which mark Hadrian's reign. § 6. Hadrian settles affairs in the east and returns to Rome. § 7. Conspiracy of Avidius Nigrinus, Lusius Quietus, and two others discovered and suppressed. § 8. The journeys of Hadrian through the provinces. § 9. Military reforms. § 10. The Sarmatian danger. Q. Marcius Turbo, commander on the Danube. Measures for the defence of Mœsia and Dacia. § 11. Defence of Pannonia. § 12. The *limes trans-Danubianus*. § 13. Britain. Description of the wall of Hadrian. § 14. Hadrian in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. § 15. Relations with Parthia. § 16. Hadrian in Greece. § 17. His visit to Asia. § 18. Egypt. § 19 Jewish rebellion. § 20.

Political tendencies of Hadrian's government. § 21. Institution of the Consular Judges in Italy. Administrative changes in the provinces. § 22. The organisation of a civil service. Increased importance of the knights. Position of the Prætorian prefects. § 23. New organisation of the imperial *consilium*. Position of lawyers. The Perpetual Edict. § 24. Hadrian's relations with the senate. § 25. Financial administration. § 26. Legislation in regard to slaves. Minor legislation. § 27. Buildings. The Temple of Venus and Rome. The Mausoleum. § 28. Hadrian's last years. Adoption of Verus. New meaning of *Cæsar*. Character and death of Verus. § 29. Adoption of Titus Antoninus. § 30. Death of Hadrian. Results of his principate.

SECT. I.—THE ACCESSION OF HADRIAN, AND THE CHARACTER OF HIS REIGN.

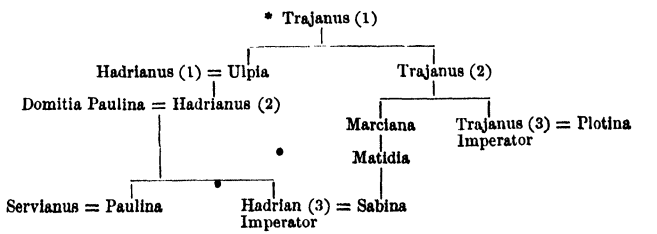
§ 1. NOTWITHSTANDING his advanced age, Trajan had gone forth on his great eastern expedition without having taken the precaution of settling the succession to the Principate by adopting a son. He had indeed made it clear enough, by various marks of favour, that he designed P. Ælius Hadrianus, his relative, to be his successor. Perhaps, confident that he had still many years to live, he wished to postpone as long as possible the act of adoption and did not care for the notion of delegating to another any portion of the supreme power. Or perhaps he may have thought that even without the usual measure of adoption the succession of Hadrian was sufficiently assured, and may have been willing to leave the senate to elect as Princeps, without any apparent constraint, one who was not the son of an Augustus or a Cæsar. There is, certainly, little reason to suppose that he had not himself decided on his successor, and that he looked forward to testing the merits of possible candidates in the Parthian expedition. He had already shown such favour to Hadrian that to have preferred another would have inevitably led to civil war, and Trajan could not have failed to foresee the result. In any case, he found himself in the presence of death before he had formally declared his will on this important question. Plotina, who was a warm supporter of Hadrian's interests, seems to have induced the dying Emperor to sign at the last moment a "letter of adoption," or at least signify his consent to the act. It was reported, however, at the time, that this consent was a fiction contrived by Plotina. Whether genuine or not, the letter reached Hadrian at Antioch on August 9, two days before the news of Trajan's death arrived, and there can be little doubt that it represented Trajan's real wishes.

§ 2. The family of Hadrian belonged originally to Hadria, a municipality of Picenum, but had settled in the Roman colony of

Italica. His father, Hadrianus Afer, was a first cousin of Trajan.* Hadrian himself was born at Rome (January 24, 76 A.D.). He entered early upon the usual official career, and, after the vigintivirate, became a legionary tribune. Under Trajan he was promoted to be quæstor (101 A.D.) and tribune of the people (105 A.D.). The Empress Plotina showed marked favour to him, and through her influence he was permitted to contract a marriage with Julia Sabina, the grand-daughter of Marciana, Trajan's sister. As Trajan had no children, this alliance was naturally held to be significant. In the second Dacian war Hadrian commanded a legion, and in recognition of his services the Emperor presented him with a diamond ring which he had himself received from Nerva. He became prætor in due course of time, and in 108 A.D. was elected as a suffect consul. About the same time he was appointed legatus of Lower Pannonia. After the death of Licinius Sura, his influence with Trajan doubtless increased. He took part in the eastern expedition, and in 117 A.D. was appointed legatus of Syria, with an extraordinary military command during the Emperor's absence; and in the same year was a second time consul.

On receiving the news of Trajan's death, Hadrian was proclaimed Imperator by the soldiers, having secured their allegiance by promising them a donative of double the usual amount. He then wrote a modest letter to the senate, asking, as the adopted son of Trajan, for their recognition, and excusing the unconstitutional action of the soldiers in acknowledging him as Emperor before he had been elected by the senate. Although there were many members of the senate adverse to Hadrian, no opposition was organised against his claim; his respectful letter produced a favourable impression; and the various powers which belonged to the Princeps were duly conferred on him.†

§ 3. Hadrian had received as a boy an education in Greek letters, perhaps at Athens, and he showed such a decided leaning to Greek life and thought that he was jestingly called the "Greekling."



† His title was: Imp. Cæs. Divi Trajani f. Divi Nervæ nep. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos.

But his interest in things not Roman went further than Greece. He was attracted by the antiquities, the mysteries and the romance of the east, and studied oriental philosophies and religions with curiosity. He was, in fact, a cosmopolitan, and liked to place himself in touch with all the various races and creeds and institutions which had been gathered together in the complex of the Roman Empire. He was eminently susceptible of new ideas, and must have been impatient of the narrow prejudices of the aristocracy of Rome. It may be readily imagined that such a man could not win the sympathy of the senate; and though the nobles had to cloke their feelings during his lifetime, their antipathy expressed itself after his death in detraction and calumny. The note of his character was a certain restless curiosity. He desired to see all that was to be seen, to know all that was to be known, to do all that was to be done. He visited all the provinces of the Empire, and in each province he was as much a sightseer as an administrator. He wrote poetry; attempted painting; acquainted himself with all the systems of philosophy. It accorded with his character that he had an extravagant passion for the excitement of the chase. The personality of this "searcher out of all curiosities" * is indicated in his countenance as we see it in his numerous busts. The head is bent a little, as if to catch every sound; the eyes and mouth suggest the quickness and liveliness of an intellect determined that nothing shall escape it. The type of face is neither Roman nor yet Greek. In the gallery of imperial busts, his is the first marked by a beard. Whether he wore it, as some said, to disguise a scar, or whether it was characteristic of the "Greekling," it may be regarded as an outward sign of a new type of Emperor. Hadrian had his faults and foibles as well as his striking qualities. Although he took wide views as a statesman and a thinker, he was not above petty ambitions; although he was eminently tolerant, he was not superior to feeling jealousy at the merits of men who followed as their special calling pursuits in which he engaged as a dilettante. He was suspicious and distrustful of those who surrounded him; and naturally was not able to awaken their confidence or engage their affection. The rhetorician Fronto says that he regarded Hadrian rather as a god to be propitiated than as a man to be loved.

§ 4. Hadrian was a statesman of great ability, but by no means of transcendent genius. Indeed, at this time, there was little scope

* Curiositatum omnium explorator (Tertullian). Semper in omnibus varius (Spartian). Merivale has well remarked that in Hadrian, as in other great men of the time, "we miss that unity of aim and complete subordination of all the faculties to a ruling idea which exalt the man o talent into a man of genius."

for a man of genius. What makes him so remarkable, and his reign so unique, is the circumstance that he embodied and represented in his own person the tendencies of the period, and revealed and developed those tendencies in his policy. It rarely happens that the most typical man of an age is selected by destiny to be a sovran. It happened in the case of Hadrian; and his reign derives much of its peculiar interest from this coincidence. He was not a military monarch; and here, conspicuously, he was in touch with his age. The Roman world wanted peace and rest; men did not yearn for conquest; and the military policy of Trajan, however plausible it may have seemed from a theoretical point of view, however necessary it may have been up to a certain point, was not in harmony with the spirit of his time. In this respect, Hadrian marked his position clearly at the outset. The first important act of his reign was the surrender of the three new eastern provinces, which Trajan had annexed, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The new Emperor thus declared that he regarded Trajan's oriental expedition as a huge mistake, that he definitely abandoned the project of extending the empire eastward, and that he recurred to the policy of Augustus. It may be questioned whether it might not have been wiser to retain Armenia, while abandoning Mesopotamia and Assyria. Dislike of Trajan's war policy as a whole may have carried Hadrian too far in his reaction. It is even said that he contemplated the surrender of Dacia, but if so, he was wise enough to abandon the idea. Dacia, in which a large number of Roman colonists had taken up their abode, was in quite a different position from the annexations beyond the Euphrates, where no Roman settlements had yet been made. Of resigning Arabia, Trajan's other new province, there was no question.

§ 5. This first act of Hadrian struck the keynote of his reign, and inaugurated that remarkable period of nearly half a century, in which the Roman world enjoyed a measure of peace and happiness, which it had never enjoyed before and was never to enjoy again. The thought was beginning to force itself on people, more or less consciously, that men were not made for the state, but that the state was made for men; and Hadrian's policy expressed and realised this thought. Trajan had been tempted to make the extension of the Empire, and military glory, ends in themselves; Hadrian regarded the defence of the frontiers and the maintenance of the army merely as means to the prosperity of his subjects. He fully recognised the necessity of maintaining a strong military force, and of being prepared to fight in case of need; and he devoted himself to the reform of the military service. Closely connected with this view of the state, and at the same time characteristic of

his cosmopolitan temper, was Hadrian's interest in the provinces. The importance of the welfare of the provinces had been recognised by Julius Cæsar, and had been always a political principle under the Empire. But Hadrian sympathised with the provincials more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, and really felt that the provinces were not made merely to serve Rome and Italy. He was himself less at home in Rome than in any part of his Empire, and hardly a third part of his reign of twenty-one years was spent on Italian soil. He saw that personal acquaintance on the part of the ruler with the affairs of each province was requisite for a sound administration; and his journeys through the provinces are a unique and striking feature of his reign. His other great work was the creation of a civil service.

We must not fail to note that in the period of peace and prosperity which was inaugurated by Hadrian and continued by his two next successors, a great social and spiritual change, of deep significance for the future of the Empire and also for the future of the world, was being accomplished. The process was silent and almost escapes our observation; but the results are clear. The principle of humanity, as opposed to Roman exclusiveness, was becoming widely recognised; and a spirit of cosmopolitanism was taking possession of the world. The way was being prepared for the diffusion of Christianity. This new spirit was injurious to the power of Rome, but advantageous for the future development of Europe. It helped on the decline of the Empire, but it was also the beginning of the transformation of the ancient into the modern world. Hadrian is the first great representative of this new spirit.

SECT. II.—HADRIAN'S VISITS TO THE PROVINCES. MILITARY REFORMS.

§ 6. The last months of the year (117 A.D.) were occupied with ordering the affairs of the east. The Parthian question was settled, as has been already said, by surrendering Trajan's conquests, abandoning the cause of Parthamaspates, and recognising king Chosroes. In order to retain the new conquests it would have been necessary to increase the army, and the financial condition of the Empire would not have admitted such a step without an increase of taxation. Moreover, under Trajan's military reign, too little attention had been paid to internal administration. These considerations alone were sufficient to move Hadrian to adopt a totally different policy from that of his predecessor. The danger of extending the frontier may have also been brought home to him by the reports which arrived of disturbances breaking out in remote

corners of the realm. The Britons in the far north, the Sarmatians on the Danube, the Moors in the west were all giving signs of rebellion; while the rising of the Jews in Palestine and Libya, not yet completely allayed, was in itself an adverse comment on oriental expeditions. Hadrian probably visited Palestine and Egypt himself, to hasten the suppression of the Jewish revolt, which was carried out by his able officer Q. Marcius Turbo. He appointed Catilius Severus to the post of legatus of Syria, which he had occupied himself before his elevation to the Principate. He removed Lusius Quietus from the governorship of Judea, and sent him to his native land, Mauretania, apparently in order to quell a revolt which was breaking out among his countrymen. But Lusius, who was by no means well disposed to the new Emperor, and disliked the change of policy, showed no energy in crushing the movement, or perhaps encouraged it. At all events Hadrian found it necessary to send Turbo, who had already suppressed the Jews, to suppress the Moors also; and we are told that he "disarmed Lusius Quietus."

Hadrian travelled by way of Illyricum to Rome, which he reached early in 118 A.D. He was favourably received by the senate, to which he now renewed in person the respectful overtures which he had already made by letter. The title *Pater patriæ* was offered to him, but he refused it, on the ground that Augustus had received it at a late period of his reign; and did not accept it until 128 A.D. He celebrated the Parthian triumph of Trajan, the image of the dead Emperor being borne in the triumphal car.

§ 7. Hadrian was not long at Rome before he had to hurry away to the Danube to meet a Sarmatian invasion, and during his absence his throne was threatened by a conspiracy in which four men of great distinction were implicated. The leader was a consular named Avidius Nigrinus, whom the Emperor seems to have regarded with special favour, and perhaps intended to choose as his successor in the Principate. Besides another consular, Publilius Celsus, two officers of high military reputation, Cornelius Palma, the conqueror of Arabia, and Lusius Quietus, who had already displayed a disloyal spirit in Mauretania, took part in the plot. The implication of these two generals suggests that dissatisfaction was felt in military circles at the peace policy of the new Emperor. The intention of the conspirators was to kill Hadrian when he was either hunting or performing a sacrifice. But the plot was discovered, and the senate showed their zeal and loyalty by ordering the four conspirators to be put to death. When the news of the affair reached Hadrian, he placed the conduct of affairs on the Danube frontier in the hands of his trusted officer, Marcius Turbo, and hastened back to

Rome (August). He regretted the execution of the culprits, which was an unpopular act; and although the senate had acted without consulting him, he was blamed for it. To dissipate the feelings of alarm which the occurrence had caused, and to show that terrorism was not to be the policy of his reign, he voluntarily took an oath never to pass sentence of death on a senator, as Trajan had done before him.

During the next years, Hadrian seems to have devoted himself to internal reforms in Rome and Italy. In 119 A.D. he was consul for the third, and last time, and in the same year he undertook a journey through southern Italy. In 121 A.D., having laid the foundation-stone of the Temple of Rome and Venus (April 21), he started on his first great journey through the provinces. As he intended to be absent for a considerable time, it was necessary to leave the control of Rome in trustworthy hands. The safety of the city lay with the commanders of the prætorian guards. Hadrian had not full confidence in Attianus and Similis, the two prefects who were in office at his accession. Attianus had given him support at the critical moment when his installation as Princeps was doubtful, and on that account might have proved presumptuous; while Similis was a man of independent ideas. Accordingly they were removed, and Q. Marcius Turbo, along with C. Septicius Clarus, appointed in their stead.

§ 8. Hadrian undertook two great journeys through the provinces. The first began in spring 121 A.D. and ended with his return to Rome at the end of 126 A.D. The second began in spring 129 A.D. and ended with his return to Rome early in 134 A.D. On the first occasion he visited almost all the provinces of the Empire, both western and eastern. But on the second occasion he only visited the eastern. This was probably due to the outbreak of the Jewish rebellion, which recalled him to Judea as he was retracing his path to the west (131–132 A.D.); so that at this point his second long absence from Rome ceases to be a provincial tour. Besides these two great journeys, he undertook, in the interval between them, a lesser journey to the African provinces (128 A.D.).

The exact route of his first journey is not in all respects certain, but it seems to have been as follows. Having made a progress through eastern Gaul, and probably visited Lugudunum, he proceeded to the province of Upper Germany, and thence along the northern frontier of Rætia and Noricum, into Pannonia. Returning, doubtless by a different route, through these provinces, he reached the Rhine again, proceeded to Lower Germany, and passing through the land of the Batavians, crossed over to Britain (122 A.D.). Having remained there for some months he returned to Gaul, and

travelled through the western regions of that country to Spain, where he visited Tarraco. A revolt of the Moors induced him to visit Mauretania, though this perhaps was not part of his programme, and thence he went on to Africa, and possibly to Libya. Crossing over to Asia Minor, he first visited the cities on the coast, and then travelled through the interior to the Euphrates (123 A.D.). Returning by the coast of the Euxine, he traversed Pontus and Bithynia, and crossed over into Thrace, whence, advancing through Macedonia, he reached successively Epirus and Thessaly. In autumn 125 A.D. he arrived at Athens, where he spent the winter and spring, and made a tour in the Peloponnesus in the following summer, whence he returned to Rome, taking Sicily on the way (126 A.D.).

His second journey began by a second visit to Athens, where he spent another winter (129–130 A.D.). Then he sailed to the south coast of Asia Minor, and landing in Caria or Lycia travelled through Pisidia and Cilicia, into Syria, reaching Antioch by June. In the same summer he visited Palmyra, Judea, and Arabia, and proceeded in autumn to Egypt, where he spent the greater part of a year, returning in the later part of 131 A.D. to Syria, whence he set out for the west. He was then recalled by the Jewish revolt, and spent two years on the scene of warfare.

These imperial visits may in some cases have been burdensome and expensive to the provincials at the time, but there can be no doubt that they conduced to the prosperity of the subject lands. The Emperor saw with his own eyes the condition and needs of each province, and also the exact importance of each in relation to the rest of the Empire. We cannot trace all that he did in the correction of abuses, or in furthering the economical interests of the lands which he visited. But we know how he tried to secure the indispensable condition of peaceful development, namely, the safety of the Empire against invaders. Hadrian never lost sight of this end. His care in providing for it was exhibited in two ways: (1) he introduced a number of vital reforms into the army, and the military system; (2) he developed, with more consistency than any Emperor before him, the method of defending the frontiers by artificial means.

§ 9. The military reforms of Hadrian went into the minutest details, and he may be considered the originator of the military system of the later Empire. His changes affected both tactics and discipline.

His great reform in tactics was the introduction of the phalanx, not exactly the Macedonian phalanx, but an improved form. The necessity of superseding the old legionary battle-array seems to have

been proved in recent warfare. Hadrian directed all his officers to study carefully the tactics and arms of the barbarians, Parthians and Armenians in the east, Sarmatians beyond the Danube, Celts in Britain. He also introduced oriental armour and heavily-armed cavalry. His Batavian squadrons were so well drilled that they could swim across rivers in panoply.* Improvements were made in the military engines, with a view to facilitating the rapid motion of the army.

Hadrian found that the discipline of the camp had degenerated, and he spent the greatest pains in restoring it, and made it stricter than ever. He increased the number of centurions, and only allowed those to be appointed who were of strong body and good character. He admitted none to the legionary tribunate who were not of mature age. Leaves of absence were rarely granted, and everything that could have an enervating effect on the soldiers was removed from the camps. But notwithstanding his strictness he was very popular with the men, and there was not a single mutiny throughout his peaceful reign. This was due to the fact that he shared with the soldiers their exercises and privations, whenever he visited the camps, and required of them to undergo no hardships which he was not ready to undergo himself. His dress was severely simple; his repast consisted of the same plain food—lard, cheese, and sour wine—as that of the legionaries themselves. On the march, he used to walk or ride in full armour and bareheaded, amid the snows of Caledonia or beneath the hot sun of Egypt; and never made use of a vehicle. He concerned himself with every detail of military life. He used to visit the ambulances every day, used to attend to the commissariat, and inspect the arms, dress, and baggage of the soldiers. On coins he is often represented as addressing his legions. At Lambæsis in Africa, where he founded a new camp, of which the *prætorium*, or general's quarters, still stands, a pedestal has been found, on which is inscribed a speech which he delivered to legion III. Augusta. He praises the soldiers for their performance of the most difficult exercises, for executing in a single day works which would employ others for a week, for their sham battles, and other achievements. Under no Emperor was the army in more efficient condition than under Hadrian.

In regard to the fleet, Hadrian introduced the regulation that all the marines should possess *ius Latinum*. Thus no Roman citizen,

* This is mentioned by the historian Dion, and finds an interesting confirmation in the rude verses of a Batavian horse-soldier found on an inscription in Lower Pannonia (C. I. L. 3, 3676):

Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris
Inter mille viros fortis primusque Batavos
Hadriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi
Æquora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis, etc.

whether Italian or provincial, could serve in the fleet. The service was only open to those who possessed Latin rights, or those who possessed neither Roman nor Latin rights; the latter received *ius Latinum* on entering the service.*

SECT. III.—THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS; AND THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

§ 10. The Sarmatian races which were separated from each other by the province of Dacia, the Roxolani on the east and the Jazyges on the west, kept up mutual communication, and formed a league against the Empire after the accession of Hadrian. The immediate cause of the war is said to have been that the Roman government refused to continue the subsidy which Trajan had consented to pay to the king of the Roxolani. The barbarians probably invaded Dacia, and Hadrian, as we have seen, was obliged to leave Rome shortly after his arrival and take the field against them (118 A.D.). Although successful in this war, he consented to a compact by which he agreed to renew the subsidy claimed by the Roxolani, and the king of that people received Roman citizenship and became a Roman vassal. Recalled to Rome by the conspiracy of Nigrinus, Hadrian appointed Q. Marcius Turbo to a special military command over both provinces of Pannonia and Dacia, although Turbo was only of equestrian rank, and gave him the same title and dignity which the prefect of Egypt possessed.

But Hadrian was not content with averting the present danger. He sought to guard against future invasions, on the one hand of Pannonia by the Jazyges, on the other hand of Mœsia by the Roxolani, and with this view constructed lines of fortification. The new fortress of Troesmis (Iglitza), in the delta of the Danube, commanded the route of invaders coming through Bessarabia, and formed one of a number of posts along the Euxine coast—Odessus (Varna), Tomi (Küstendje), Troesmis, Tyras at the mouth of the Dniester, Olbia at the mouth of the Dnieper, Panticapæum in the Tauric peninsula, between which constant connection was kept up by the Pontic fleet. Panticapæum was at this time under the government of a Sarmatian prince, who professed warm friendship for Hadrian and the Empire.

It is said that Hadrian, in order to protect the provinces south of the Danube from the chance of an invasion by way of Dacia, broke down the upper part of the great bridge which Trajan had con-

* Here may be mentioned the imperial bodyguard entitled *equites singulares Augusti*, and instituted either by Trajan or Hadrian. The soldiers of this corps possessed *ius Latinum*.

structed at Turnu Severin. The truth of this statement has been questioned; but it may have been found that the intercourse between the northern and southern banks of the Danube was still carried on chiefly by boat, and was little facilitated by the existence of one bridge, and the Emperor may have determined to sacrifice it. Possibly he substituted a drawbridge. To him, perhaps, were due many of the forts which protected the valleys and passes of the eastern Carpathians. But though he regarded the province as outlying and insecure, he did much for developing its resources and Romanising it. Under him began the settlements of veteran soldiers, and a vigorous prosecution of the mining works. The administration of Dacia was changed (129 A.D.) by its division, like Pannonia and Mœsia, into two provinces, Upper and Lower Dacia, governed by *legati*.

§ 11. Hadrian busied himself equally with the defence of the middle Danube in Pannonia. It was here most conspicuously that he put into practice a new principle of investing with a municipal character the most important frontier stations, and combining civil with military life. This was easy. For not only did many tradespeople settle close to important camps, but the veterans, after their discharge, used for the most part to remain in the same place; and thus were formed town settlements, separate from the camp, and known as *canabæ* or "the booths." Trajan had tried the experiment in the case of Castra Vetera and Ulpia Noviomagus. Hadrian transformed into colonies the two head-quarters of the troops of Lower Pannonia, Aquincum, which is now the capital of Hungary, and Mursa (Eszeg), where the Drave flows into the Danube. In Upper Pannonia, the three chief stations of legions were Vindobona (Vienna), Carnuntum (Petronell), and Brigetio (O-Szöny). These he converted into Roman cities, as well as other stations of less renown.* Viminacium and Nicopolis, in Upper Mœsia, and Augusta Vindelicorum, in Rætia, were treated in the same way. These changes were probably inaugurated during Hadrian's visit to these regions in 121 A.D. It is also to be observed that he transferred a considerable part of southern Pannonia to Italy: and colonised anew the Flavian foundation of Siscia on the Save. Thus, while he was providing for the defence of the Empire, Hadrian was also carrying on the work of Romanisation.

§ 12. As far as Regina Castra (Regensburg) it was only necessary to reinforce the natural defence of the Danube by a line of forts. Now the idea which Hadrian endeavoured to carry out systematically was to supplement natural defences of water by artificial defences of

* These foundations of Hadrian are generally recognised by their bearing the epithet "Ælian" in inscriptions: e.g., *Municipium Ælium Carnuntum*.

wall. To him we may attribute with great probability the construction of the Roman wall which protected the corner between the Rhine and the Danube, and marked the *limes trans-Danubianus.** Trajan had doubtless already defended the exposed region by a line of forts, which Hadrian now connected by a wall which can still be traced from the Danube (a little above Kehlheim), to the *limes trans-Rhenanus* (near Wetzheim). It is quite possible that part of the line of wall, running southward from the Main and bounding the *agri Decumates*, may be also due to him, and not to the Flavian Emperors.

The Germans seem to have given no trouble in this reign. One tribe accepted a king appointed by the Emperor. In his progress through Lower Germany Hadrian founded Forum Hadriani in an island close to the Batavian Lugudunum.

The administration of the two provinces of Germany was changed. Hitherto, it will be remembered, their legati were only military commanders, and the civil administration was in the hands of the legatus of Belgica. Henceforward, Upper and Lower Germany have each a legatus possessing civil powers; but they are still financially connected with Belgica, inasmuch as the Belgic procurator collects the taxes in the Germanies.

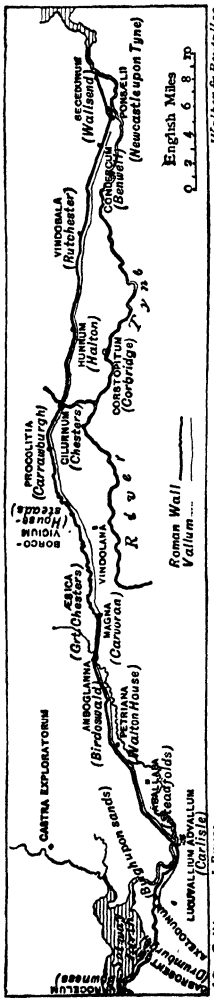
§ 13. In Britain, which he reached in 122 A.D., there was much to be done and some cause for serious anxiety. Little hold could be kept on the lands beyond the Tyne, which Agricola had tried to conquer, and even south of the Tyne the Brigantes, by no means wholly subdued, held out in their strong places.† The Romans suffered most severe losses in continuous warfare with the Britons,‡ and the IXth legion, which had been in the island since the conquest of Claudius, was annihilated. It was replaced by VI. Victrix, which had hitherto had its quarters at Castra Vetera, and was now stationed at Eburacum, which became the most important Roman position in the north. Hadrian took the field himself against the barbarians, but the great result of his visit to Britain was the elaborate system of fortification which he devised to facilitate not only the defence, but also the extension of the province. For he did not surrender the design of occupying the northern half of Britain, as he had surrendered Trajan's annexations beyond the Euphrates; he did not intend to make the Tyne and Solway the limit of the province. To complete the conquest of a half-conquered island was a widely different project from advancing into the heart of a vast continent. It is uncertain how far we are

* See above, Chap. XXII. § 10.

† *Cf.* Juvenal, xiv. 196: Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum.

‡ Among the *legati* who succeeded Agricola were the orator Salvius Liberalis and the jurist Neratius Marcellus.

to accept the statement of a contemporary historian,* that from an economical point of view Britain was quite useless to Rome. But the Roman government evidently considered that the acquisition of North Britain was politically, if not economically, desirable. Hadrian saw that this end could only be attained by a slow and methodical advance. Accordingly a line of fortifications, on an immense scale, was drawn across the island, from the Tyne to the Solway, and the remains of this construction constitute the most striking record of Roman dominion in Britain.



Map of the Roman Wall, with the principal Stations.

The Roman wall—it used to be called the Picts' wall—is a system of walls, earthworks, fosses, and forts, connected by a road. On the east side it began at Segedunum, whose modern name, *Walls-end*, reminds us of the fact; its western extremity was at Glannibanta (near Bowness) on the Solway Firth. Its course was straight, and its entire length about seventy miles. It consisted of three parts: a stone wall, a series of stations connected by the road, and an earth-wall. (1) The stone wall, on the north, was from six to eight feet broad and nearly twenty feet high. Turrets, of rectangular † shape, occurred in it at unequal distances. At longer intervals (about a Roman mile) were fortified gates, generally called "mile-castles." A fosse runs along the northern side of the wall. (2) The earth-wall, or *vallum*, on the south, consists of three parts itself: a single mound, a fosse, and a double mound. The single mound is on the north side of the fosse which is about thirty feet broad, and the double mound is on the south. The distance between the vallum and the stone wall varies considerably, but is on a rough average about 120 yards. (3) The road runs

* Appian.

† In one case, circular.

between the stone wall and the vallum, and along it are situated, at unequal distances, fourteen large camps (called *prætenturæ*). Belonging to this line of camps, but situated at a short distance south of the vallum, are three others, so that we must count seventeen camps as part of the system of fortification. The best preserved of these camps are Borcovicium (now called Housesteads) and Cilurnum, where the memory of the Roman site is retained in the name "Chesters." A long and continuous stretch of the stone wall may be seen at Borcovicium.*

The work was probably begun during Hadrian's visit to Britain (122 A.D.) and was executed, under the direction of the legatus, Aulus Platorius Nepos, by the labours of the three Britannic legions (II., VI., XX.,); while the other military service temporarily devolved upon detachments sent from Spain and Upper Germany. The auxiliary troops also assisted, and a large number of inscriptions bear witness to the part taken in the work by the various centuries, and cohorts, and *alæ*. Hadrian's connection with the wall is commemorated in the name of the second station, on the eastern side, Pons Ælii (Newcastle). There can be little doubt that some of the stronger positions, which formed the sites of the camps, had been previously occupied by Agricola and other commanders as detached forts. This consideration will help to explain the inequality of the distances between the stations.

The significance of the wall cannot be appreciated if it is not observed that the Brigantes were not yet thoroughly subdued, and that the continuous fortification was designed to serve as a barrier, hindering effectual communication or co-operation between the enemies to the south and the enemies to the north. With the wall as basis of operations the subjugation of the northern tribes could be gradually effected, and this work was carried on by detached forts and camps, such as that of Bremenium (High Rochester), north of the wall. The line of the wall was crossed by roads leading northwards. Thus, Watling Street crosses it near Cilurnum. This circumstance alone indicates that Hadrian's wall is not to be regarded as a frontier barrier, not intended to be passed, against a foreign foe, but as a sort of huge elongated camp established in a country which the Romans purposed to make their

* It is not certain whether the whole of this system of fortification was due to Hadrian. It is held by some that he only constructed the *vallum*, while the stone wall was built about eighty years later by the Emperor Septimius Severus, who died during a visit to Britain. It is quite credible that the western part of the wall was the work of Severus, but until some clearer evidence is forthcoming we may be content to ascribe to Hadrian the general design of the fortification and at all events the eastern part of the wall. For names of camps, see Notes and Illustrations, B.

own. It marked a stage, but was by no means intended to mark the last stage, in the conquest of the island.

§ 14. Of Hadrian's acts in Gaul we only know that he showed great liberality in all the provinces. We have no record as to what cities he visited, except Nemausus (Nîmes), where he erected a basilica in honour of his adopted mother Plotina. Crossing the Pyrenees, he spent a winter (122–123 A.D.) at Tarraco, where he held a meeting of representatives of the Spanish cities, and made himself acquainted with the needs and wishes of the provincials. Of his visit to Sicily we only know that he ascended Mount Ætna to see a sunrise. These internal provinces, the Gauls, the Spains, and Sicily, were prosperous, and had less need of imperial care than those whose borders were exposed to invasion, like Pannonia, Britain, and Africa. He visited the African provinces twice, in 123 A.D. on the occasion of a Moorish rising, which he quelled, and again in 128 A.D. Of his activity there we have many, though slight, traces. A new road was constructed from Carthage to Theveste: and having completed this work, under the direction of the legatus, P. Metilius Secundus, the legion was established in a new permanent camp at Lambæsis. The object of this change was that the army should be nearer Mauretania, in which there were no legionary troops. In founding colonies Hadrian seems to have been as active in Africa as he had been in Pannonia. Utica was raised to colonial rank. "Ælian" colonies were founded at Thenæ (on the coast, south of Carthage), at Zama Regia and Lares in Numidia, at Banasa in Tingitana. A new road was constructed from Cirta to the coast at Rusicade (Philippeville). These facts, among others, known to us entirely from inscriptions, illustrate the universal activity of Hadrian in all parts of the Empire.

SECT. IV.—THE EASTERN PROVINCES.

§ 15. The progress of Hadrian through the Latin portion of the Empire, as far as we can trace it, is chiefly marked by his measures for the defence of the frontiers; in the eastern provinces he had more room for manifesting and gratifying his personal tastes. There was no cause for apprehension on the oriental frontier. Parthia was afraid of Rome. The tranquillity was threatened some years after Hadrian's accession, but matters were smoothed by a personal meeting with the Parthian king. During his second visit to the east, the Emperor held a friendly gathering of client kings and princes. He visited Chosroes, and sought to maintain a good understanding with that potentate by sending back his

daughter, whom Trajan had captured. A difficulty arose (about 134 A.D.) when Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, invaded Media. Vologeses, the successor of Chosroes, complained to Hadrian, who, however, refused to call his vassal to account, and even enlarged his kingdom. Vologeses was not strong enough to press the matter. The efficiency of the Roman army, trained under the new reforms, was made evident at the same time, when the Alans threatened to invade Armenia and Cappadocia. Armenia was saved by the Parthian king, who gave the barbarians money; Cappadocia, by the resolute attitude of its governor, Arrian, a capable commander, who, however, obtained more celebrity as a writer than as a general. The attention of Hadrian to the military exigencies of the Empire in the east is shown by the official tour of inspection round the Euxine sea, which Arrian made by his orders, and wrote an account of in his *Periplus*, from which work we learn what Hadrian expected from his generals.

§ 16. No land was so much patronised by Hadrian as Greece, which he visited twice. Almost every town of importance or ancient distinction was enriched by new buildings or gifts. At Corinth he built an aqueduct and baths; at Megara, a temple of Apollo. Olympia was adorned with several splendid buildings, and a statue was erected there to the Emperor by all the Greeks. He restored the horse-races, which had fallen into disuse, at the Nemean games. At Mantinea he erected a temple of Poseidon, and engraved on the tomb of Epaminondas an inscription composed by himself. In the temple of Eros at Thespiæ he dedicated the skin of a bear, which he had killed, with Greek verses of his own. In the temple of Hera at Argos he offered the goddess's favourite bird, a peacock of gold, the tail brilliant with precious stones. But it was Athens for which Hadrian showed a special predilection, both by his two long visits there and by his liberality in beautifying the city. He desired that Athens should once more be the capital of Greece, and his patronage called forth a sort of Greek Renaissance. He gave the Athenians the revenues of the island of Cephalenia; and the city, which in the time of Augustus had been called "empty" by Horace, soon became so flourishing that it surprised travellers by the size of its population. Hadrian adopted Greek dress while he resided at Athens; he presided at public games, and took part in the Eleusinian mysteries. He permitted himself to be elected archon, and fulfilled the functions of the office. He spent his time in associating with the philosophers, sophists, and artists, and superintending the progress of the architectural works which he was constructing in the plain of the Ilissus. Here a "new Athens" arose which was called Hadrianopolis. It has disappeared,

but its limit is still marked by an arch of triumph, south-east of the Acropolis, on one face of which is inscribed, "Athens, the city of Theseus," on the other, "The city of Hadrian, not of Theseus." He completed the temple of Zeus Olympius, known as the *Olympieum*, which had been designed on a vast scale by Pisistratus and left unfinished for seven hundred years. An inaugural address, on the occasion of its dedication, was pronounced by Polemon of Smyrna, a sophist famous for his eloquence. Fifteen of the hundred and twenty columns of this building still stand.

But besides finishing the edifice which had waited so long for its completion, Hadrian carried out an idea which the Greeks had dreamed of and striven after for centuries, but had never succeeded in realising. This idea was the unity of Hellas. It was at length effected by the condescension of a stranger, when it had no longer any political meaning. Representatives of all the Greek cities, both those which were free, and those which belonged to the Achaian province, were constituted as a college of *Panhellenes** and met yearly in Athens. Their special charge was the worship of Zeus Panhellenios and Hadrian in a new temple called the *Panhellenion*, which was built in Hadrianopolis and intended to serve in Greece somewhat the same purpose as the temple of Rome and Augustus served at Lugudunum. It was ordained that annual games should be celebrated close to the *Panhellenion*, and on this occasion an offering was made to Zeus the Deliverer at Platæa in memory of the Greeks who fell there, on the anniversary of the battle, the fourth day of Boedromion. Hadrian himself received the divine title "Olympian."

In the honour of enlarging Athens a distinguished share was borne by the accomplished and wealthy rhetor, Herodes Atticus. He built a bridge over the Ilissus in the new town, and constructed a Stadium, which he covered with Pentelic marble. On one of the hills which overlooked it he raised a temple to Fortune. He also founded a library, which Hadrian surrounded with splendid porticos.

§ 17. In the Asiatic provinces there are many traces of Hadrian's progress. Everywhere he came to the relief of cities which had been injured by earthquakes; everywhere he appeared as a restorer. To Smyrna, the Athens of eastern Greece, the home of his friend Polemon the sophist, he was specially gracious. At his instance a new gymnasium was erected there by subscription, and we still possess the list of subscribers. At Ephesus he raised a temple to

* It is called κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, and τὸ Πανελλήνιον in inscriptions. It will be remembered that the κοινόν which Augustus permitted to be held at Argos represented only the subject, not the free Greek cities.

Roman Fortune. At Cyzicus a temple of imposing size was erected in his honour, and the famous rhetorician Aristides was engaged to pronounce an oration on the day of its consecration.* This speech is preserved. Trajan had placed Bithynia temporarily under an imperial legatus; Hadrian made this arrangement permanent, and compensated the senate by transferring Pamphylia to its control. In Bithynia he pursued his favourite pastime of hunting, and founded a new town called "Hadrian's Chase" (Hadrianotheræ), at a spot where he slew an enormous bear. He visited the Troad and beheld the places where the story of the Iliad was enacted—places which might have a peculiar attraction for a Roman who placed any faith in the tales connecting Roman with Greek antiquity. At Trapezus he had a fancy to look upon the sea on the same spot where Xenophon's Ten thousand had cried, Thalatta, Thalatta!

He was little pleased with the luxurious city of Antioch, and the inhabitants, always noted for a temper of insolence, seem to have given him some offence. He is said to have contemplated breaking up Syria into two provinces, in order to reduce the importance of Antioch. He did much for the development of the recently-formed province of Arabia. He visited Palmyra on the border of the desert, gave it the rank of a colony, and the privileges of *ius Italicum*, and adorned it with new buildings. Both this city and Petra assumed the title of Hadrianê.

§ 18. From Arabia he passed into Egypt (130 A.D.), which he entered at Pelusium. From this place he made an expedition to Mount Kasios, where the body of Pompey had been interred without honour, and erected a funeral monument to the rival of Cæsar. He travelled through Upper as well as Lower Egypt, and visited the chief antiquities of the land. One of the wonders which travellers generally went to see was the broken statue of Memnon, from whose limbs music miraculously issued at the hour of sunrise. An interesting reminiscence of the visit of the imperial party survives in some Greek elegiac verses scribbled on a leg of the statue by the court-poetess Balbilla, who was in the train of the Empress Sabina. A private misfortune befell Hadrian while he was in Egypt. Antinous, a beautiful youth, to whom he was deeply attached, was drowned in the Nile. The story went that an oracle required either the Emperor's life or the sacrifice of the object dearest to him, and that Antinous deliberately drowned himself. The event excited general sympathy throughout the Empire. Hadrian deified his lost favourite, dedicated a temple to him, and built Antinoopolis in his honour. Coins were struck with the head of the "Hero Antinous," and his statues were multi-

* See Chap. XXX. § 27.

plied in the cities of Asia. The people of Alexandria alone scoffed at the grief of the Emperor, although he had conferred many privileges and benefits on their city. Hadrian was repelled rather than attracted by Egypt,* and was disgusted by its capital, if we may believe in a remarkable letter which he is said to have written to Servianus some years later, and which may really represent his impressions, although it can hardly have been written by him in the form in which it has come down to us.†

§ 19. The peace of Hadrian's principate was interrupted by only one really serious war, another revolt of the Jews. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, theological schools had been established in Jabneh, Tiberias, and Lydda, to keep alive the knowledge of the law and the orthodox Jewish religion. The most famous doctor at this time was Akiba, to whose name strange legends were attached. He led this revival of Judaism and kept alive the hopes of his people to recover Jerusalem and establish a Jewish kingdom under the Messiah, who was expected to come. As long as these hopes were fostered the Jews were a dangerous element in the Empire, and their rising in the last year of Trajan gave Hadrian a lesson. He resolved to annihilate their hopes by founding a military colony at Jerusalem, from which the Jews should be entirely excluded. The new city was called Ælia Capitolina; pagan altars were erected where the temple of Jehovah had stood. Hadrian also conceived the idea of eradicating Judaism by forbidding the rite of circumcision. Such measures drove the Jews to despair, and they rose in arms. The priest Eleazar and a bold and able fanatic, who received the name of Bar-Cocaba, "son of the star," placed themselves at the head of the rebels (131 A.D.). It seems that Jerusalem, where the Romans were beginning the foundation of the new city, was captured by the Jews, and had to be retaken. The governor of Judea, Tineius Rufus, and the governor of Syria, Publicius Marcellus, proved unable to cope with the insurgents. The Emperor himself, who had just left Syria for the west, returned hastily to the scene of action, and finally committed the conduct of the war to an able commander, Julius Severus, who was then legatus of Britain. The war, waged chiefly in Samaria and Idumea, was protracted for three years; but Severus took fortress after fortress, and with the fall of Bether (a fortress not far from Jerusalem), and the death of Bar-Cocaba, the struggle was at an end. No mercy was shown. The old doctor Akiba, who had been the life and soul of the rebellion, was torn in pieces with hot

* The fanaticism of the Egyptians is satirized in Hadrian's reign by Juvenal (*Satire* XV.). See above, Chap. XXV. § 20.

† See Notes and Illustrations, D. at end of this chapter.

pincers. Judea was almost depopulated.* It was decreed that no Jew should set foot in Ælia Capitolina except once a year; and henceforward the province was called, not Judea, but Syria Palæstina. Julius Severus received the triumphal insignia; and it was the last occasion on which they were conferred. Henceforward victorious generals were recognised by the erection of their statues in the Forum of Trajan. Hadrian permitted the soldiers to greet him as Imperator, the only occasion on which he accepted that military honour.

Sect. V.—Hadrian's Administrative Reforms.

§ 20. The reign of Hadrian marks, in some important respects, the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Principate. In the course of imperial history we have observed two great tendencies: (1) the encroachment of the Princeps on the functions of the senate, and the consequent advance towards pure monarchy; (2) the levelling of the distinctions which existed between Rome and the provinces. Previous Emperors promoted one or other of these tendencies, by fits and starts, and sometimes unconsciously. Domitian took a great and deliberate step in the direction of absolutism; Trajan, the Spaniard, made a serious advance towards equalising Italy with the other subject lands. But under Hadrian these tendencies assume a systematic form. And it is to be observed, that this side of his policy is largely a result of very important administrative improvements which he introduced. Not only his interest in the welfare of the provinces, but also his creation of an administrative machinery, which had hitherto been a conspicuous want, promoted the tendencies which have been mentioned.

§ 21. The equalisation of Italy and the provinces was forwarded by placing Italy under the control of four judges† of consular rank. This institution was a step further in the course which Trajan had inaugurated by his appointment of *curatores reipublicæ*. But while the curators exercised control only in the sphere of municipal administration, the judges usurped important judicial functions, which had hitherto belonged to the local magistrates, and had often been very badly discharged by them. The chief matters which came under the cognizance of the judges were the

* It is stated that in this war 985 places were destroyed, and 580,000 men killed.

† Often called *iuridici*, the title which they bore under Marcus Aurelius. But under Hadrian it is safer to call them judges (*cf.* Life of Hadrian, 22: Quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam iudices constituit).

nomination of guardians, cases of *fidei commissa*,* and disputes connected with the decurionate. The districts in which these officials operated do not seem, at first, to have been strictly separated. This institution not only affected the position of Italy by placing it more directly under imperial control, but also affected the senate, by excluding that body almost completely from interference in the affairs of Italy, which had hitherto been looked upon as a specially senatorial domain.

There also seems to have been some attempt made to introduce the same institution in the provinces. Under Hadrian the provincials enjoyed great prosperity. We have seen that by visiting them himself he became acquainted with their needs, and spared no pains in furthering their welfare. He exercised a sharp control over the governors, and under his rule we hear of no cases of extortion. He employed special officers to check the finances of the town communities. It was his policy to increase the number of Roman cities, and this policy was especially pursued in Pannonia, a part of which seems to have been added to Italy.

It was a natural consequence of Hadrian's constant and extensive travels in the provinces, and also of his talent for organisation, that he should develope, extend, and place on a new footing the *cursus publicus*, or state post, which had been instituted by Augustus. Trajan had done something for its improvement, but Hadrian made it a fiscal institution, and thus relieved the local corporations of the expense. He also seems to have introduced definite districts and prefects.

§ 22. Perhaps the most obvious deficiency in the political machinery of Rome under the early Emperors, was the want of a regular civil service for carrying on the work of the central government at Rome. The senate had its officials; but the Emperor, on whom, practically, the whole administration had come to devolve, had no recognised body of public servants at his disposal. His correspondence and his finances were conducted by private dependents, who had no recognised official position—generally freedmen and slaves. But since the time of Claudius, some of these offices—the *ab epistulis*, and the *a libellis*—had been occasionally entrusted to persons of equestrian rank. Hadrian adopted this exceptional practice, and converted it into a permanent

* When a person made a bequest to another on trust, that is, with the obligation of transferring it to a third person, this was called a *fidei commissum*. The thing willed might be either the whole inheritance or some single thing. The obligation could only be imposed on the heir; and if the heir refused to accept the inheritance, the fidei commissum was lost. Hence a law of Vespasian (S. C. Pegasianum), allowing the heir in such cases to retain one-fourth of the *fidei commissaria hereditas*.

principle. Henceforward freedmen were excluded from all important administrative posts, and only knights appointed. By this means an official body of civil servants was organised, and there was a definite career of civil service, with regular grades of promotion, open to knights, who were thus no longer obliged to begin with military service in order to obtain civil appointments. The highest procuratorship in this career was that of the imperial fisc.

The increased importance, which the reforms of Hadrian gave to the knights—also a tendency which can be traced from the beginning of the Empire—was a further blow to the senate; and it is worth remarking that the only extensive command delegated by Hadrian to a subject—somewhat like that which Corbulo held under Nero—was given, not to a senator, but to a knight. To Q. Marcius Turbo was committed an exceptional control over the two Pannonian provinces and Dacia.

In the same connection it must be observed that the power of the prætorian prefect—who was necessarily not a senator—is recognised under Hadrian in quite a new way. The influence of this officer had already made itself felt on several occasions; but it was an influence which depended on the character of the prefect—and also on the character of the Emperor—rather than on the office itself. Thus Sejanus under Tiberius, Titus under Vespasian, Tigellinus under Nero, were the most powerful persons in the Empire, next to the Emperor. But other prefects had exercised comparatively little political power. The importance of the prefecture, as such, was first openly recognised under Hadrian. The prefect now appears as the second man in the state, and his relation to the Princeps was compared with that of the master of horse to the dictator. He begins now to acquire that competence, in civil and criminal jurisdiction, which led up to his becoming, in the following century, a supreme judge of appeal.

§ 23. Augustus had been in the habit of summoning a *consilium* to help him in the decision of the cases which came before him. But this body was informal; it had no place in the constitution, and the Princeps was not in any way bound to consult it. Moreover, it was not defined either in point of number, or by any qualification for membership. It was composed of the friends of the Princeps. Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan had adopted this practice, but none of them gave the consilium a definite organisation. This step was reserved for Hadrian. Just as he had seized the floating idea of employing the equestrian order for the civil service, and realised it as a definite system, so he seized the informal habit of summoning experienced friends to give legal

advice, and organised a permanent institution. The new Council consisted of men of senatorial and equestrian rank, formally appointed and in receipt of a salary. They were called *consiliarii Augusti*. The approval of the senate was necessary for their appointment—a concession on the part of Hadrian to the senate, but one of little political importance. They were obliged to hold themselves constantly in readiness to attend the Emperor in the palace. The Council was largely composed of experienced jurists. It does not seem that Hadrian gave greater weight to the senatorial members, but he respected the privileges of senators, in so far that in trials where they were concerned as parties, only those councillors who belonged to senatorial rank sat in judgment. There is no evidence to show that the Council had any power to act in the absence of the Emperor; on the contrary, it seems—sometimes at least—to have accompanied Hadrian in the provinces.

Having thus surrounded himself with jurists, Hadrian exercised great influence on law. He made two very important changes: (1) The *ius respondendi*, or right of replying officially to queries on legal difficulties, was granted to a number of skilled jurists (*prudentes*), and when their opinion was unanimous he gave it the force of law. This did much to encourage legal studies. (2) The Perpetual Edict of the prætors was reduced to a final form. Salvius Julianus was entrusted with the task of editing, and co-ordinating in a consistent form, the immense body of law which had gradually grown up, by the edicts of successive prætors. A *senatus-consultum* (131 A.D.) gave the force of law to Julian's edition of the Edict, which may be considered as the earliest approach to the *Corpus juris civilis*. Henceforward law could not be modified by the prætors, but only by the legislation of the Emperor or the senate. All the prætors and provincial governors were bound to act strictly in accordance with the Edict.

§ 24. But while Hadrian governed as an autocrat, and worked towards the political annihilation of the senate, he treated that body and its individual members with the greatest deference and courtesy. He followed Nerva and Trajan in admitting no charges of *maiestas*. He "deigned to admit the best of the senators freely to his private society.* He repudiated the games of the circus voted in his honour, excepting those on his own birthday only, and often declared publicly that he would so administer the republic that it should know that it belonged to the people and not to himself. As he made himself consul thrice, so he advanced several personages to a third consulship; and the number to whom he granted a second was very considerable. His own third consul-

* But this may refer to the *consilium*.

ship he held for four months only, and in that time sat often in judgment. He always attended the regular meetings of the senate, whenever he was in or near the city. He cherished highly the dignity of the order, and was chary of admitting new members; so much so, that when he thus advanced Attianus, who was already prefect of the prætorians, and enjoyed the triumphal ornaments, he showed that there was no higher eminence to which he could exalt him. He expressed his detestation of princes who paid the senate less deference than he showed himself. To Servianus, his sister's husband, whom he treated with such respect as always to meet him when he issued from his chamber in the morning, he gave a third consulship unasked, taking care that it should not coincide with his own, that Servianus might never be required to speak second in debate." * But notwithstanding all his endeavours, he was unable to win the confidence of the Roman nobility.

§ 25. In the history of the financial administration of the Empire Hadrian's reign is very important. As we have seen, the financial minister was no longer a freedman but a knight, and the financial bureau became a definite branch of the civil service. A very large body of officers were employed in it, and the administration was carefully watched by the Emperor himself. The old system of farming the revenue, which had been gradually becoming superseded under the Empire, was now almost entirely abolished, and all the taxes—even the *vicesima hereditatum*—were collected directly by the imperial procurators. To represent the interests of the imperial treasury in law-suits, special officers, called *advocati fisci*, were appointed.

At his accession Hadrian found that the enormous sum of 900,000,000 sesterces† was due to the fiscus, as arrears of taxes. It was quite hopeless to recover this sum, which covered the previous fifteen years, and the Emperor boldly and wisely remitted it, and erased the debt from the state accounts (118 A.D.). The bonds were publicly burned in the Forum of Trajan. To prevent the accumulation of bad debts, and also in the interests of equity, Hadrian ordained that arrears should be examined and the taxation revised every fifteen years, so that account could be taken of changes in the value of money and property, and the taxes regulated accordingly.‡

Hadrian also remitted in Italy the *aurum coronarium*, which the

* This is taken from Spartian's *Life of Hadrian*. The translation of Merivale (viii. p. 198), but with some modifications, is borrowed.

† About £7,200,000.

‡ This regulation, though not carried out, is important, because it anticipates the celebrated system of indictions introduced by the Emperor Constantine in 312 A.D.

subjects were expected to pay to a new Emperor. In the provinces he reduced its amount. He always refused to accept inheritances willed to him by citizens who had children; and he often remitted part, or even the whole, of the property of men condemned to confiscation, in favour of their sons. "I prefer," he said, "to enrich the state with men than with money."

He occasionally, but not often, spent large sums on magnificent spectacles, such as the populace loved. Once he exhibited gladiatorial combats for six successive days; and he once celebrated his birthday by the slaughter of a thousand wild beasts.

§ 26. The growth of humanity in the treatment of slaves has already been noticed. It was a conspicuous feature in the legislation of Hadrian and marks a reaction against the policy of Trajan, who in this respect was inclined to be retrogressive. Hadrian revived the old law, that a master could not kill his slave, but must hand him over to the law; and he punished the ill-treatment of slaves. He condemned to five years' banishment a matron who had cruelly treated her maids. He forbade the sale of male or female slaves for immoral purposes or for employment in the arena; and he forbade human sacrifices to Mithras and Baal. The cruel practice of putting all the slaves to death in case of a master's murder was modified; only those were to suffer who were near enough to give their master help if they had chosen.

Hadrian also introduced a number of small reforms intended to improve the manners and morals of his subjects. The public baths were subjected to a stricter supervision. Senators and knights were compelled to wear the toga in public, except when they were returning from supper; and the Emperor himself always wore the national dress when he was in Italy. He was punctilious about etiquette in other ways too. On one occasion, seeing a slave of his own walking familiarly between two senators, he ordered his ears to be boxed, with an injunction not to walk between men whose slave he might live to become. He endeavoured to repress luxury in food, after the fashion of the ancient Republic. He facilitated traffic by forbidding great vehicles, which blocked up the narrow streets, to pass through Rome.

In regard to the alimentary institutions, the work begun by Nerva and Trajan was carried on. More money was advanced, and it was definitely prescribed that boys up to the age of eighteen and girls up to fourteen should receive the alimentary support.

§ 27. In the number and magnificence of the buildings erected throughout the Empire under his auspices no Emperor surpassed Hadrian. There is evidence to show that building was never more active in the capital than under his reign, though we cannot

follow in detail his smaller works. He did much in restoring and improving older buildings, such as the Pantheon of Agrippa and the Basilica Neptuni in the Campus, and the Forum of Augustus. He built, as in duty bound, a temple to his "father" Trajan, and this was the only one of his edifices on which he inscribed his name. But his two great buildings were the temple of Venus and Roma, and his mausoleum.

The temple of Venus and Roma was built on the eastern slope of the Velia, just above the site of the Colosseum. In order to make room for it, the Colossus of Nero, which still stood on the site of his demolished palace, and which Vespasian had converted into a statue of the Sun, had to be removed to lower ground near the Colosseum. The new temple was built according to an architectural design of Hadrian's own. It was a double temple, with its two cells (*apsides*) placed back to back, facing east and west. It was the largest and most splendid of all the religious buildings of Rome; its ruins still remain. The temple was in an open place surrounded by porticoes and thus resembled the imperial *fora*. Moreover, the imperial *fora* were all dedicated to deities who stood in special relation to the greatness of Rome—Venus Genetrix, Mars, Pax; so that Hadrian's temple to Venus and Roma resembled them also in this point. It may be regarded, then, as part of a series of buildings of a special kind stretching from the Campus Martius to the Esquiline. There was indeed a great gap between Hadrian's temple and Vespasian's, but this was filled up at a much later period by the Basilica of Constantine, and then the series was completed.

This temple was dedicated in 128 A.D. (21st April), on which occasion Hadrian probably accepted the title of *pater patriæ* and permitted Sabina to receive the title Augusta.

The district beyond the Tiber had been gradually losing its rural appearance and becoming an important suburb of Rome. Communication between the city and the Vatican region was facilitated by a new bridge which Hadrian built across the river, where it takes an easterly turn and skirts the Campus Martius on the north. At the further extremity of the Pons Ælius, as it was called, he erected in the gardens of Domitia an immense mausoleum, known as the Moles Hadriani, which played a part in modern history as the castle of St. Angelo, and is still an important strategic point as well as a conspicuous object in Rome. Consisting of a square structure below and a massive dome, crowned with the statue of Hadrian, it outdid in size and splendour the burying-place of Augustus, which was over against it on the other side of the river. The building was not finished at the Emperor's death

and was completed by his successor. It was the burying-place of the Emperors for the rest of the second century and even longer.

SECT. VI.—LAST DAYS OF HADRIAN.

§ 28. When Hadrian returned to Rome, at the beginning of 134 A.D., he did not again quit Italy. His health was giving way, and he spent much of his time at his magnificent villa at Tibur. He is said in these last years to have been suspicious, jealous, and cruel, and to have put to death or disgraced distinguished men who had committed no fault but that of awakening his suspicions. How far these accusations are true, how far they are the calumnies of the senatorial party, who hated him, it is impossible to determine. The fact remains that Hadrian conspicuously failed to conciliate the aristocracy; and for this misfortune he was doubtless himself largely to blame. As he had no children, and felt that his health was precarious, he made provision for the succession to the Principate by adopting, in 136 A.D., L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, a son-in-law of that Nigrinus who had conspired against him at the beginning of his reign. This choice seems to have been highly unpopular, and the Emperor was compelled to buy the goodwill of the soldiers and people for his new son by bestowing immense donatives. Men of approved ability like Catilius Severus, the prefect of the city, or Platorius Nepos, who had done good work in Britain, might feel indignant at being passed over in favour of a youth who was only distinguished for his handsome figure and his luxurious life. But Servianus, the Emperor's brother-in-law, felt the adoption of Verus as an injury. For though he was ninety years old, and could not hope to become Emperor himself, he had a grandson named Fuscus, on whom he would doubtless have wished Hadrian's choice to fall. Their disappointment must have betrayed them into something more decisive than mere murmurs; for they were both executed. It is not credible that, unless there were some overt act of conspiracy, Hadrian would have increased his unpopularity by killing an old man of ninety. About this time the Empress Sabina died. She had accompanied him on some at least of his journeys, but his relations with her were never satisfactory. She was suspected of infidelity, and, whether these reports were true or not, she seems to have heartily hated him. On her death, rumours were spread that she had been poisoned at the Emperor's instigation, or that she had killed herself on account of his ill-treatment.

In adopting Verus, Hadrian made him assume the name Cæsar, but did not at once raise him to the position of consort. Thus a

new significance was given to *Cæsar;* it meant the prospect of becoming Augustus. A special command in the Pannonian provinces was assigned to L. Ælius Verus Cæsar, as he was now called, and he showed there that he was not incapable. He received the tribunician power before the end of 136 A.D., and held the consulate for the second time in the following year. We cannot tell whether Hadrian was wise or not in selecting Verus, for he fell sick and died prematurely. He seems to have been a man of pleasure, but, like Otho, he may have had a strain of vigour too. Curious anecdotes are told about his voluptuous life. He is said to have "recommended himself to the Emperor by the invention of a pasty which became the favourite dish at the imperial table. He was wont to take his midday rest, with his concubines, on an ample couch enclosed in mosquito-nets, stuffed with rose-leaves, and strewn with a coverlet of woven lilies, amusing himself with the perusal of Ovid's most licentious compositions. He equipped his pages as Cupids, with wings on their shoulders, and made them run on his errands with a speed which human muscles could not maintain, till they dropped. When his spouse complained of his infidelities, he gaily bade her understand that *wife* is a term of honour, not of pleasure." * When Hadrian heard that Verus was sick and likely to die, he was sorely disappointed, and lamented aloud that he had spent so much in donatives and leant on a rotten wall. The bitter word was reported to Verus, and made his illness worse. He died on January 1, 138 A.D., and was buried in Hadrian's mausoleum.

§ 29. It was impossible to let the Empire devolve immediately upon his son Lucius, who was only a child of seven years. Accordingly Hadrian chose T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus, a man of consular rank, who had reached his fifty-second year, and seemed in every way a safe choice. Hadrian, on January 24th, his own birthday, notified his intention to the senate, and recommended Antoninus. When, after a month's consideration, Antoninus consented to accept the honour which was proposed, he was duly adopted (February 25th), and was at once raised to a higher position than Verus had occupied, receiving the proconsular imperium, with the title Imperator, and the tribunician power. He was thus a consort in the full sense, and all that still failed him was the title Augustus, and probably the special privileges conferred by the *lex de imperio*. The new Cæsar † was childless, and Hadrian called upon him to adopt two sons, in order to make the succession sure. The imperial choice fell on M. Annius Verus, a

* Merivale, Cap. 66.

† His name was Imperator T. Ælius Cæsar Antoninus, or T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Cæsar.

youth of eighteen years, and nephew of Antoninus, and on the son of Lucius Verus, who, through his father's adoption, was grandson of Hadrian. By these acts of adoption Marcus received the name M. Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius that of L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus. Neither of them bore the name Cæsar, as long as Hadrian lived and their father, Titus, was only a Cæsar himself. The appointment of Antoninus was highly displeasing to Catilius Severus (who was the maternal great-grandfather of Marcus), the prefect of the city. He aspired to the Principate himself, and now showed his disappointment in some way, which caused Hadrian to deprive him of his office.

§ 30. The illness of Hadrian, which seems to have been dropsical, induced him to seek relief in the salubrious air of Baiæ, and Antoninus was left at Rome to conduct the government. But change of air proved as useless as medical advice. He resorted to the aid of magicians, and even besought his servants to put him out of pain by killing him. The curse which his brother Servianus had called down upon him, that he should pray for death but should be unable to die, was literally fulfilled. Death at length freed him from his suffering on July 10 (138 A.D.). In his last hours, in a happy moment of inspiration, he composed some verses, an address to his soul, which has become famous:

Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula rigida nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis iocos?*

Few principates have been more important in results than that of Hadrian, which lasted nearly twenty-one years. The creation of a regular civil service was destined to transform completely the character of the Principate, and work in the same direction as the idea which animated Hadrian's policy, of governing the whole Empire as homogeneous. Both these tendencies were opposed to the maintenance of the power of the senate. What Hadrian did for the defence of the frontiers and the reform of the army, also stamps his reign as an epoch; and his limitation of the name Cæsar to the chosen successor was a change, though only formal, of some significance.

* It is impossible to render the effect of the diminutives and the tribrach feet in a modern version. Lord Byron attempted to translate it; but Merivale's version is rather better, though not successful:

Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play.'

Hadrian's lines suggested to Pope his "Vital spark of heavenly flame."

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

A.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF HADRIAN'S JOURNEYS.

The reconstruction of Hadrian's provincial progresses worked out by Dürr (in *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*) is now accepted by most scholars in its general outline, though there are still many points which must be regarded as highly uncertain. Dürr's arrangement has been adopted in the foregoing chapter, except in regard to the Emperor's movements in 118 A.D., where Dürr places his Sarmatian expedition before his arrival in Rome, but it seems more probable, from the evidence, that he went to the Danube from Rome (so Herzog). The following table of the imperial movements may be of service to the reader.

A.D. 117. After his accession (Aug. 11) two and a half months in the east. Starts for Rome.

A.D. 118. Reaches Rome early in the year. Proceeds to Dacia and Mœsia for the Sarmatian War. Returns to Rome in August.

A.D. 119. At Rome. Visits southern Italy.

A.D. 120. At Rome.

A.D. 121. *First great journey in the provinces* (starts later than April 21). Visit to Gaul (eastern); Upper Germany; Rætia; Noricum; northern Pannonia.

A.D. 122. Returning, he proceeds to Lower Germany, thence to Britain; in autumn back to Gaul; through western Gaul to Spain, reaching Tarraco at end of the year.

A.D. 123. Mauretania, Africa, possibly Libya. In summer, Asia Minor, autumn to the Euphrates.

A.D. 124. Through Pontus, Bithynia, and Mysia to Thrace.

A.D. 125. Through Thrace and Macedonia. Epirus; Thessaly; northern Greece. August or September, Athens.

A.D. 126. Athens. In summer; through the Peloponnesus. Return to Rome.

A.D. 127. At Rome.

A.D. 128. Visit to Africa, (starts later than April 21). Return to Rome.

A.D. 129. At Rome. In spring, *second great journey in the provinces*. Through the Peloponnesus to Athens.

A.D. 130. Athens. Proceeds to Asia Minor in spring; travels through the countries of the south coast. Antioch; through Syria to Judea and Arabia. Egypt.

A.D. 131. Egypt. Returns to Syria.

A.D. 132. In Judea on occasion of Jewish revolt.

A.D. 133. Judea.

A.D. 134. Returns to Rome.

A.D. 135–138. Rome and its vicinity.

It is worth while observing how totally Durr's researches have changed the general arrangement of Hadrian's reign. Let us take, for example, the arrangement adopted by Merivale, who, however, acknowledges the uncertainty of his own dates. According to it, Hadrian returns to Rome from his Sarmatian expedition in the beginning of 119 A.D. In the same year he proceeds by Gaul and the Rhine into Britain, and in 120 A.D. returns to Gaul and visits Spain, and in 121 A.D. Mauretania. He then appears on the Parthian frontiers, and thence proceeds to Athens, by Asia Minor (122, 123 A.D.); thence to Sicily, thence to Africa, (123 A.D.), and back to Rome. His second journey begins in 125 A.D. and lasts till 134 A.D. (for on the time of the final return to Rome there was no room for dispute), the sojourn at Athens lasting from 125 to 130 A.D. It will be observed that this arrangement (1) antedates the first journey by two years, (2) makes the second long absence from Rome last nine years instead of five, (3) knows nothing of the visit to the provinces of the Upper Danube, (4) makes the visit to Africa the last stage of the first journey instead of being an episode distinct from both journeys.

B.—THE SEVENTEEN STATIONS OF HADRIAN'S WALL IN BRITAIN.

The names of the stations from east to west are as follows:—

(1) Segedunum, Wallsend, (2) Pons Ælii, Newcastle, (3) Condercum, Benwell, (4) Vindobala, Rutchester, (5) Hunnum, Haltonchesters, (6) Cilurnum, Chesters, (7) Procolitia, Carrawburgh, (8) Borcovicium, Housesteads, (9) Vindolana Chesterholm, (10) Æsica, Great Chesters,

(11) Magnæ, Carvoran, (12) Amboglanna, Birdoswald, near Gilsland Spa, (13) Petriani, Castlesteads (doubtful), (14) Congavata, Stanwix, (doubtful), (15) Luguvallium, Carlisle, (16) Gabrosentum, Burgh-upon-Sands, (17) Glannibanta, Bowness. (See Hübner, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vii.). Our knowledge of these names is derived from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official handbook to the administration of the provinces, drawn up in the beginning of the 5th century.

"The camps are all alike of the well-known oblong form. Their extent varies, according to the nature of the ground, between three and six acres. Walls of about five feet in thickness, mounds, and fosses, surrounded them. In almost all, the four principal gates and the chief streets intersecting one another at right angles are still clearly visible. Round some of them, as round the larger *coloniæ*, great suburban buildings have clustered; baths, small temples, in one instance even an amphitheatre," [at Borcovicium]. (See Mr. Hodgkin's translation (p. 109) of Hübner's paper on the "Roman Annexation of Britain," *Deutsche Rundschau*, May 8th, 1878). They were garrisoned by auxiliaries, not by legionaries.

C.—AULUS PLATORIUS NEPOS.

The name of this officer occurs on a slab (said to have been found in a mile-castle near Borcovicium) with an inscription which has an important bearing on the origin of the wall.

IMP CAES TRAIAN
HADRIAN AVG
LEG II AVG
A PLATORIO NEPOTE LEG PRPR.

That is: Imperatoris Cæsaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti legio ii. Augusta Aulo Platorio Nepote legato proprætore. "The second legion Augusta, by authority of A. Platorius Nepos, legatus proprætore, (erects this for the safety) of Imperator Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus." If this slab was originally put up in a mile-castle, it would prove definitely the Hadrianic origin of part of the wall.

D.—AN EXTANT LETTER ASCRIBED TO HADRIAN.

In his Life of the Emperor Saturninus, Vopiscus inserted a letter which he states was written by Hadrian. It describes his impressions of Egypt, and runs as follows:

"Hadrian Augustus to the consul Servianus greeting. I have come to know Egypt, which you praise so much, from end to end; and have found it fickle, unstable, and in a flutter at every breath of opinion. In Egypt the worshippers of Serapis are really Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are votaries of Serapis. There is not a chief of a Jewish synagogue, there is not a Samaritan nor a Christian priest (*presbyter*) who is not an astrologer, a haruspex, and an aliptes. Why, when the patriarch himself, of whom you speak, comes to Egypt, one party forces him to worship Serapis, the other to adore Christ. They (the Alexandrians) are an excessively seditious, vain, and insulting people. Their city is wealthy and prosperous, and admits of no one living idle in it. Some manufacture glass, others paper, others are linen-workers, all profess some trade or other. Those whose feet are lamed by gout have something to do; the blind have an occupation; even those who suffer from gout in the hands do not live idle there. They have one god, money; he is worshipped alike by Christians, Jews, and all nations. I wish the city had better manners and morals; its prosperity and its size really entitle it to be the first city of Egypt. I granted to it all it asked for; I restored its old privileges, and added new; and they could not avoid giving me a vote of thanks when I was there. Then as soon as I had gone, they said many (malicious) things against my son Verus; what they said of Antinous, I believe you have already heard. I wish them no worse fate than that they should feed on their own chickens, which they hatch in a way that I am ashamed to mention. [The Egyptians hatched their fowls' eggs in dung.] I am sending you over drinking-cups of changing colour, which the priest of the temple presented to me. They are specially dedicated to you and my sister. Pray use them at banquets on feast-days; but take care that our friend Africanus use them not too freely."

The genuineness of this letter has been very reasonably doubted. Verus was not adopted by Hadrian until 136 A.D. and before that year he would hardly have called him my son. The tenor of the

letter suggests that it was written not long after Hadrian's visit to Egypt, and certainly before his return to Rome in 134 A.D. But if the superscription *Serviano consuli* is right, it would have been written in 134 A.D., in which year Servianus was ordinary consul. Again the words "Christians, Jews, and all nations (*gentes*)" could hardly have been written by Hadrian, could hardly have been written by anyone but a Christian. Moreover, suspicions are excited by the want of connection in the letter. The writer begins to talk about Egypt, and then goes on to deal exclusively with Alexandria, as if he had mentioned it and not Egypt.

There are thus indications of forgery, and yet much of the letter has a genuine ring. It is hard to suspect Vopiscus. He states that he extracts the document from a work of Hadrian's freedman Phlegon; which was perhaps an autobiography of the Emperor, edited by Phlegon. Vopiscus, who wrote in or before 307 A.D., was as little likely to interpolate the sentence about the Christians as Hadrian was to write it. It looks like a later interpolation. If so, we may, as Dürr suggests, regard this document as a genuine letter of Hadrian, but tampered with and interpolated. (Schiller accepts this view of Dürr). On the other hand, it is not easy to see why any one should interpolate the sentence about Verus.

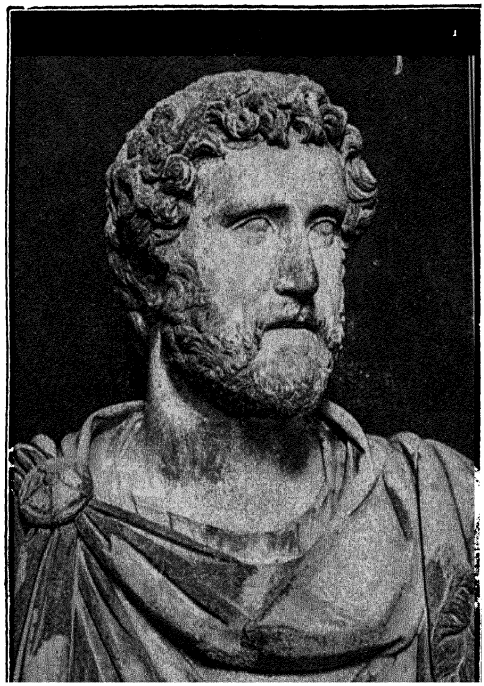
E.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF LEGIONS AT END OF HADRIAN'S REIGN.

The following table gives the results of the investigation of Pfitzner (*Gesch. der röm. Kaiserlegionen*, p. 97).

Spain: VII. Gem.
Britain: II. Aug., VI. Victr., XX. Victr.
Germany, Lower: I. Minerv., XXX. Ulp.
Germany, Upper: VIII. Aug., XXII. Prim.
Pannonia, Lower: II. Adjutr.
Pannonia, Upper: I. Adjutr., X. Gem., XIV. Gem.
Mœsia, Lower: I. Ital.
Mœsia, Upper: IV. Flav., VII. Claud.
Dacia: V. Maced., XI. Claud., XIII. Gem.
Syria: IV. Scyth., XVI. Flav.
Judea: VI. Ferr., X. Fret.
Phœnicia: III. Gall.
Cappadocia: XII. Fulm., XV. Apoll.
Arabia: III. Cyren.
Egypt: II. Traj.
Africa: III. Aug.

This gives a total of twenty-eight legions, two less than the number which existed in Trajan's reign; the IXth having suffered so much in the Britannic wars, and XXII. Deiotar. in the Jewish wars, that they ceased to exist. There is, however, great uncertainty as to the exact time at which these legions disappeared, as we have no direct evidence on the subject.

Bust of Sabina.



Antoninus Pius.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PRINCIPATE OF ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161 A.D.).

§ 1. Accession of Antoninus. Deification of Hadrian. Family and career of Antoninus. Marriage of the younger Faustina and Marcus Aurelius. Position of Marcus and Lucius. § 2. Characteristics of Antoninus as a statesman. Reaction against Hadrian. Financial policy. § 3. Peace policy. Relations with Parthia. § 4. Britain. The wall of Antoninus. § 5. Importance of his reign in the history of law. Characteristics of his legislation. The jurists of the *Consilium*. Gaius. § 6. Improved condition of slaves. Reforms in criminal legislation. Distinction of *humiliores* and *honestiores* recognised in law. §. 7. The State religion under Antoninus. § 8. Private life of Antoninus. Character of the elder Faustina. The correspondence of Fronto. § 9. Philosophers at court. The imperial villas. § 10. Antoninus and Polemon. § 11. Picture of Antoninus by Marcus Aurelius. § 12. Death of Antoninus. § 13. His apotheosis.

SECT. I.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTONINUS.

§ 1. THE death of Hadrian was welcome to the Roman nobility, to whom he was odious, and the installation of Titus Antoninus as Princeps was attended with no difficulties. The senate wished to signify their dislike of the dead Emperor by condemning his memory, but their malice was overcome by the influence of Antoninus, and perhaps also by fear of the soldiers, with whom Hadrian was extremely popular. The dead Emperor was duly enrolled among the gods. His body was conveyed from Baiæ to Rome, and lodged in his own mausoleum. It has been supposed that the name Pius, which Antoninus bore before the end of 138 A.D., was given to him on account of his piety towards his adoptive father; but this is not certain, and others think that he won it by the general clemency of his character.

The family of Antoninus belonged to Nemausus, in Gallia Narbonensis. It is probable that the amphitheatre, of which the remains are still to be seen there, and the aqueduct known as the Pont-du-Gard, were built by this Emperor. Both his father and grandfather were consulars. He had himself gone through the usual career of public honours, had been appointed one of the four consulars of Italy, and had been proconsul of Asia. He married the sister of Ælius Verus, Annia Galeria Faustina, by whom he had two sons, who died young, and two daughters. Hadrian had willed that one of these daughters, who bore her mother's name Faustina, should marry Lucius Verus, while Marcus Aurelius should marry the sister of Verus. But as Verus was only a child, Antoninus upset this arrangement and united the younger Faustina with Marcus Aurelius (probably 146 A.D.). Shortly afterwards (147 A.D.), he made Marcus his consort in the Empire, by conferring on him the proconsular imperium and the tribunician power, along with the special right of proposing five measures at one session of the senate. Marcus bore the title Cæsar, which meant that he was presumptive successor; and occupied, theoretically, the same position which Antoninus had occupied before Hadrian's death. But he took no active part in the administration, and did not bear the title Imperator. The other adopted son of Antoninus, L. Verus, was not admitted to the dignities which were granted to Marcus. His image, indeed, appeared on imperial coins, but he was not entitled Cæsar, only *Augusti filius*. It is quite clear that Antoninus did not contemplate the idea of two Emperors of equal authority. Marcus was to be his successor; and it was for Marcus hereafter, if he chose, to elevate his brother Verus to the position of Cæsar.

§ 2. The universal consent of antiquity represents Antoninus as a most estimable man. Honourable and dignified, yet affable and condescending, he won golden opinions from all men. His promotion to the highest position in the state did not change his temper or his manners. In private life he was singularly simple and temperate.

But however estimable as a man, Antoninus was hardly a great statesman. The rest which the Empire enjoyed under his auspices had been rendered possible through Hadrian's activity, and was not due to his own exertions; on the other hand, he carried the policy of peace at any price too far, and so entailed calamities on the state after his death. He not only had no originality or power of initiative, but he had not even the insight or boldness to work further on the new lines marked out by Hadrian. The wall in North Britain is the sole exception. The only administrative changes in his reign were retrogressive. Thus he did away with the four Judges of Italy. This was a concession to the senate; and concession to the senate was one of the notes of policy, which distinguished his reign as a reaction against that of Hadrian. If he had been equally estimable as a man, but stronger as a ruler, and less obliging to the senate, a very different account of his character would have been transmitted to us. He troubled himself little with the provinces, except in so far as to hinder oppression in collecting the taxes, and probably only left Italy once during his reign. He disapproved of imperial progresses, on the ground that they were a burden on the provincials, but he was also doubtless influenced by the fact, that Hadrian's long absence from Rome had given dissatisfaction. We hear, however, of roads built in various provinces, and of a few other public works, such as a temple of Neptune at Lambæsis. He adopted the reasonable principle of retaining provincial governors and other officials at their posts for long terms.

The financial policy of Antoninus was marked by care and economy. The only unfavourable thing that has been said of him is that he was a "cheese-parer." * No extravagance was permitted at his court. Although he reduced the taxes, he left in the treasury at his death a sum of 2700 million sesterces (£21,600,000). In public largesses, however, he was excessively liberal. There were no less than nine congiaria during his reign, and his games were not less magnificent than those of his predecessors. In A.D. 147 he celebrated the *Ludi Seculares*, on the nine hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the city. He built a temple to the deified Hadrian, and completed that Emperor's mausoleum.

* Κυμινοπρίστης.

§ 3. The reign of Antoninus, as has been already said, was marked by peace, the result of Hadrian's able policy on the frontiers. The only serious warfare was in Britain. There were some trifling disturbances, which do not deserve to be dignified by the name of wars, in other quarters. The governors of the Danube provinces had to deal with a Dacian revolt; and Greece was surprised by the invasion of a marauding band of Kostobōks (probably a Sarmatian people), who penetrated as far as Elatea in Phocis. Olbia had to be protected against the attacks of the Scythians of Taurica, and the Alans had to be beaten back more than once from the Armenian borders. There were, again, some Jewish disturbances in the east, and some Moorish disturbances in Africa. A revolt in Egypt induced the Emperor to leave Italy, seemingly the only occasion on which he made a provincial expedition during his long reign (about 154 A.D.). About the same time difficulties had arisen with King Vologeses IV., in reference to Armenia, and here perhaps Antoninus was led, by his love of peace, into adopting a weak policy, and sacrificing to temporary tranquillity the interests of a more permanent settlement. Peace was made in 155 A.D., but the inevitable war broke out in the following reign. The prestige which Rome enjoyed at this time, in the eyes of neighbouring peoples, is shown by the fact, that the Lazi of Colchis and the Quadi asked the Emperor to appoint their kings.

§ 4. The activity which was displayed in Britain is contrasted with the inactivity in other parts of the Empire. The Brigantes rebelled, and were defeated and thoroughly reduced by Q. Lollius Urbicus (140 A.D.), the legatus. Under his direction a new line of fortifications was constructed, between the firths of Clota and Bodotria (Clyde and Forth), at the narrowest part of the island. The work was begun in 142 A.D. It was not such an elaborate construction as that of Hadrian's, but consisted of a fosse (about 40 feet wide and 20 feet deep) and an earth-wall (now known as Graham's dyke) on the southern side of the fosse. It did not run along hills, like Hadrian's wall, but through level country, for a distance of about thirty-seven miles, from Carridden on the Forth to West Kilpatrick on the Clyde. South of the fosse ran a military road, along which were ten camps, surrounded with mound and ditch. The north side of these camps, which coincides with the wall, is always closed up. The wall of Antoninus, like the wall of Hadrian, was intended to be both a check on the country to the south of it, and a basis of operations for further conquests to the north. The Roman government had not abandoned the design of subjugating the whole island. This is proved by the circumstance, that the camps of the wall of

Antoninus are not the most northerly Roman positions. The remains of a Roman camp are still to be seen at Ardoch, north of Stirling.

The energetic policy pursued by Antoninus in Britain secured for that country peace and prosperity for sixty years. This fact suggests, that he might have better consulted the interests of the Empire, and averted the troubles which befel in the reign of his successor, if he had acted with like vigour on the Danube and on the Oriental frontier.

§ 5. It is in the field of law that the chief importance and credit of the principate of Antoninus lie. The same temper which made him somewhat weak in his foreign policy, made him strong in jurisprudence and legislation. The importance of his reign in the history of Roman law is not due to any single sweeping reform—like the final redaction of the perpetual Edict by Hadrian—but to the spirit which guided his measures. Antoninus laid special stress on equity. While, on the one hand, he was no rash innovator, ready to tamper unscrupulously with the written law, he entertained, on the other hand, no superstitious reverence for the letter. He invariably consulted the dictates of equity and humanity, and introduced into Roman law many important new principles, conceived in this spirit. The view which he took of the administration of justice is thus expressed by himself: "Although traditional forms must not be lightly altered, yet, when demonstrable equity demands, it is necessary to intervene." *

The activity in jurisprudence which marked the reign of Antoninus, and prepared the way for the golden age of Roman law at the beginning of the third century, must be partly, at least, imputed to Hadrian's reform of the imperial consilium, described in the last chapter. One of Hadrian's *consiliarii*, P. Salvius Julianus, who had codified the Edict, was also active under Antoninus, by whom he was promoted to be consul and prefect of the city. The chief lawyers by whom the Emperor was assisted were five in number: L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens, an author of legal treatises; L. Volusius Mæcianus, chosen to conduct the legal studies of Marcus Aurelius, and author of a large work on *Fidei Commissa* (Testamentary Trusts); L. Ulpius Marcellus, a prolific writer; and two others. Some of these lawyers belonged to the Proculian school, like Ulpius Marcellus, others to the Sabinian, like Valens; so that the decisions of the imperial council steered a mean way between the two opposite schools.† The attention which was given to the study of law at this period is shown by the appearance of the *Institutes* of Gaius, an elementary manual for beginners, probably

* *Digest*, iv. 1. 7.

† For these schools see above, Chap. XI. § 8.

published about 161 A.D. Of the author we know absolutely nothing; even his name is uncertain.

§ 6. It has already been seen that there was a tendency under the Empire to alleviate the condition of slaves; and this tendency was zealously promoted by Antoninus. He passed measures to facilitate enfranchisement. His decision, in one case, will illustrate his spirit. A female slave was to have been made free by a *fidei commissum*, but chance circumstances caused the act of enfranchisement to be delayed. In the meantime she gives birth to children, and the question arises, are the children to be slaves or free? Antoninus decided that in such a case the children shall be free, as it would be unfair that they should suffer on account of the accident which retarded their mother's emancipation.

In criminal law, Antoninus introduced the important principle, which, though now universally recognised in theory, is not always respected in practice, that accused persons are not to be treated as guilty before trial. He also asserted the principle, that the trial was to be held, and the punishment inflicted, in the place where the crime had been committed. He mitigated the use of torture in examining slaves by certain limitations. Thus he prohibited the application of torture to children under fourteen years, though this rule had exceptions. It would be as absurd to blame this humane prince for not abolishing the practice of torture altogether, as it would be to blame him for not abolishing slavery. He deserves great credit for what he did in mitigation of both institutions, but the abolition of either was quite beyond the scope of the imagination of any man of his time. The universal use of torture in Christian countries until recent times, illustrates the supposed necessity of its use.

One of the most striking features in the criminal legislation of Antoninus, is the account taken of social rank. There was always, under the Empire, a social distinction of freemen into two classes: the *humiliores*, men of low degree, and the *honestiores*, men of high degree. The criterion of this distinction was mainly wealth. The *honestiores* were practically the rich, the *humiliores* the poor. Under Antoninus, this unwritten distinction is recognised by law; but we cannot tell whether he was the first to give it official recognition. There can be little doubt that it had influenced practice, actually, if not confessedly, before his time. But now the law becomes openly, and officially, a respecter of persons. There is a different justice for the base and for the noble. Different penalties are assigned for the same offence, according as it is committed by a *humilior* or a *honestior*. "Show me the man, and I will show you

the law," is not merely the practice of the judge, but the principle of the legislator. And it was a principle against which no one grumbled.

§ 7. Antoninus differs from his predecessors in being personally a religious man, and really devoted to the worship of the national gods. With Augustus religion had been mainly a matter of policy. Trajan had been indifferent; Hadrian was a sceptic. But Antoninus took very seriously the religious duties which devolved upon him as Pontifex Maximus, and member of other colleges. In this respect, contemporaries compared him to Numa. The senate erected a monument to him on account of his zeal for public religious ceremonies.* One can discern in the *Correspondence* of Fronto, the instructor of Marcus in Latin rhetoric, that a certain spirit of piety prevailed in the circle of the imperial family. Closely connected with zeal for the maintenance of the national religion, was the Emperor's interest in the antiquities of Roman history. The coins issued on the occasion of the Secular Games represent the arrival of Æneas at Lavinium, the birth of Romulus and Remus, the shields of Numa, the miracle of the augur Nævius, the exploits of Horatius Cocles, and other events of the story of ancient Rome. Pallantium, the Arcadian home of Evander, was promoted to be a city, and immunity was granted to the people of Ilium, the city of Æneas. New privileges were granted to Lavinium. But devoted as he was to the Pagan religion and traditions of Rome, Antoninus was tolerant of other creeds. He did not indeed repeal the laws which were in force against Christians, but he discouraged persecution.†

SECT. II.—THE PRIVATE LIFE OF ANTONINUS, AND HIS DEATH.

§ 8. The significance of the reign of Antoninus lies just in the fact, that it was singularly devoid of striking events. Hence our attention, undistracted by wars or great administrative changes, is naturally turned to the personality of the Emperor himself and his private life. And perhaps nothing will better serve to convey an impression of the tranquillity of his reign, than the glimpses which we get, in the *Correspondence* of Fronto, of the simple daily life of the imperial family, and the peaceful atmosphere in which they lived. The loss of his wife Faustina, who died in 140 (or 141) A.D., was a great blow to the Emperor, who loved her deeply, as we know from his own words. Writing to Fronto, who had praised

* Ob insignem erga cærimonias publicas curam et religionem. (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi. 1001.)

† See below, Chap. XXX. § 24.

her in a speech in the senate, he says: "The part of your speech which related to the honouring of my Faustina [by the title Augusta] seemed to me even more true than eloquent. For it is really the case. I would prefer to live with her at Gyaros, than in the palace without her." Faustina was a beautiful woman, and scandal was busy with her name. But there is no conclusive evidence for the truth of the charges of infidelity, which rumour brought against her. It seems clear that Antoninus had no suspicions. He heaped honours upon her memory after her death. She was deified; a temple was erected in her honour, and priestesses instituted for her worship. Her image was publicly displayed at the Circensian games. A new alimentary endowment was made (in pursuance of the policy of Nerva and Trajan) for orphan girls, who were called *Faustinianæ*. Antoninus did not run the risk of endangering the peace of his family by taking another wife. Galeria Lysistrata, a freedwoman of Faustina, lived with him in the relation of concubinage, which among the Romans was a legal bond, though inferior to marriage, and involved certain rights. For an Emperor it corresponded somewhat to a morganatic marriage.

§ 9. The two adopted sons of Antoninus lived continually with their father. True affection and sympathy seemed to have bound together Antoninus and Marcus. This comes out in the *Correspondence* of Fronto and in the *Meditations* of Marcus. At Rome the imperial family lived in the house of Tiberius on the north side of the Palatine. Here the Emperor kept up the same social intercourse with his friends as before his elevation. He was not a lover of formality and rigorous etiquette, and he used often to wear the tunic at receptions, instead of the official toga. He was obliged, however, to resign himself to maintaining the immense staff of domestics, which had come to be considered indispensable in the imperial "palace." Although he was excessively simple in his dress, he had several officers of the wardrobe. We meet at his court a servant, whose sole duty it was to announce the names of visitors (*nomenclator*), a *silentiarius*, on whom it devolved to keep silence among the slaves, a *pædagogus puerorum*, who instructed the pages, and many others. Antoninus did not take the same personal interest in philosophy and literature, which had been a characteristic feature in Hadrian. But he patronised men of letters, and gathered them about him at his court, mainly for the sake of his son, by whom they were really appreciated. M. Cornelius Fronto shared the intimacy of the Emperor as well as of Marcus, his pupil. Herodes Atticus, the master of Marcus in Greek rhetoric, was also highly favoured. Junius Rusticus, a Stoic

philosopher, who exercised a great influence over the mind of the young Cæsar, also belonged to the court circle.

But it is in the country, not in the city, at his villas, not on the Palatine, that we get the most pleasing picture of Antoninus and his family. He was born and brought up in the country, and he loved nothing so well as rural life. Whenever he could, he left Rome for his house at Lorium on the Aurelian Way, or for Trajan's villa at Centumcellæ, overlooking the sea, for Signia in Latium, or for Campania. The villa of Lorium, not far from Rome, seems to have been his favourite residence; it was there that he died. In the country his pastimes were hunting and angling. Letters of Marcus to his beloved master describe how the days passed by in simple occupations, riding, reading, writing, talking nonsense with Faustina (the younger), whom he calls "my little mamma."* There is a delightful description of the vintage at Signia. The Emperor and his family all dine in the winepress, and listen to the jests of the peasants.

§ 10. A characteristic anecdote is told of Antoninus and the sophist Polemon. When Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, he entered the house of Polemon at Smyrna, without being invited, assuming that he would be welcome. Polemon happened to be absent, but he returned in the course of the night, and turned the governor, bag and baggage, out of his house. Antoninus said nothing at the time, but sought shelter with some more hospitable inhabitant. But he did not forget the insult, and had afterwards opportunities of revenging himself by witty words. When he was Emperor, Polemon visited Rome, and Antoninus made him welcome. "Give Polemon apartments," he said, "and see that no one turn him out of doors." An actor of tragedy complained that he was expelled from a dramatic representation, at which Polemon was presiding, just when he was about to begin his part. "At what hour of the day," Antoninus asked, "do you say that he drove you from the stage?" "At midday." "Ah! he drove me out of his house at midnight, and I made no complaint."

§ 11. But perhaps the liveliest idea of his personality will be gained from the picture of him, which has been drawn by his adopted son. "In my father," Marcus writes in his *Meditations*, "I had an example of mildness of manners and firmness of resolution, contempt of vain-glory, industry and perseverance. He was accessible to all who had counsel to give on public matters, and invariably allowed to everyone his due share of consideration. He knew when to relax, as well as when to labour; he taught me to forbear from licentious indulgences; to conduct myself as an

* *Matercula mea.*

equal among equals; to lay on my friends no burden of servility, neither changing them capriciously, nor passionately attaching myself to any. From him I learned to be self-sufficing and cheerful in every fortune, to exercise foresight in public affairs, and not to be above examining the smallest matters without affectation; to rise superior to vulgar acclamations; to worship the gods without superstition, and serve mankind without ambition; in all things to be sober and steadfast, not led away by idle novelties; to be content with little, enjoying in moderation the comforts within my reach, but never repining at their absence. Moreover, from him I learned to be no sophist, no pedant; but a practical man of the world; yet, at the same time, to give due honour to true philosophers; to be polite in manner, neat in person, and to attend to my health so far as to rid myself of the need of medicine and physicians. Again, to concede, without a grudge, their pre-eminence to all who specially excel in legal or any other knowledge, to act in all things after the usage of our ancestors, yet without pedantry . . . . My father was ever prudent and moderate; he neither indulged in private buildings, nor in excessive largesses, or extravagant shows to the people. He looked to his duty only, not to the opinion that might be formed of his actions. He was temperate in the use of baths, modest in dress, indifferent to the beauty of his slaves. Such was the whole character of his life and manners: nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing rude, nothing over-done. It might be said of him as of Socrates, that he could both abstain from and enjoy the things, which men in general find it hard to abstain from at all, and cannot enjoy without excess." *

§ 12. The appearance of Antoninus, as we know it from his busts, corresponds to the written records of his character and temperament. They present the features of a man, who was grave yet gentle, firm yet kind, robust and earnest, but neither austere nor coarse. He died in his villa at Lorium, from the consequences of a cold, on March 7, 161 A.D., in the seventy-fourth year of his age. In his last hours he was careful to show forth clearly his wishes as to the succession. The prætorian prefects, L. Furius (Fabius) Victorinus and Sextus Cornelius Repentinus, were summoned to his bedside, and in their presence he recommended Marcus Aurelius as his successor, and made no mention of L. Verus. He then commanded that the golden statue of Fortune, which stood continually in the imperial bedchamber, should be removed to that of Marcus, in token of the transference of the Principate to the presumptive successor. The tribune of the prætorian cohort in attendance then

* Bk. i. 16. The paraphrase is Merivale's (chap. lxvii.), with modifications.

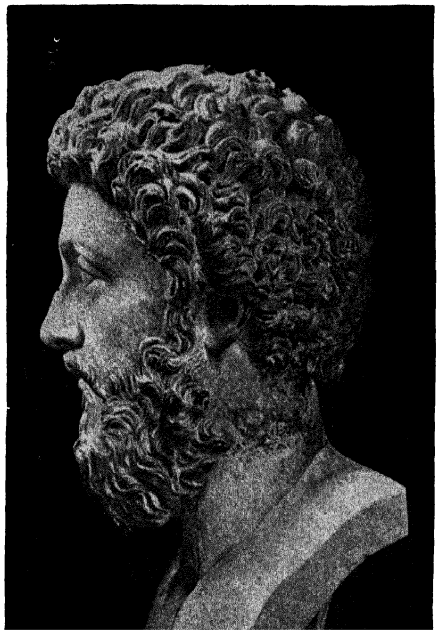
entered, and asked for the watchword. "Equanimity," replied the Emperor, expressing in this, his last utterance, the spirit of his reign. His end, says the historian Quadratus, was most peaceful, like a sweet sleep.

§ 13. There was no dissenting voice in the senate, when it was proposed to decree to this beloved sovran a public funeral, and to consecrate his memory. An immense funeral pile, in the shape of a pyramid, was erected in the Campus Martius, crowned by a statue of the dead Emperor standing in a chariot. As the pyre was being consumed, an eagle was allowed to escape, as a token of the apotheosis of the dead; and then Marcus and Lucius pronounced funeral orations in the Forum. A great spectacle of gladiators, in the Flavian amphitheatre, was an indispensable part of the solemnities.

Antoninus had erected a temple to the divine Faustina, on the Sacred Way, close to the Forum (140 A.D.). This temple was now transformed in such a way as to serve for the worship of both Antoninus and Faustina. It still stands, one of the best-preserved ancient buildings of Rome, and the inscription on the façade may still be read.

DIVO ANTONINO ET
DIVÆ FAVSTINÆ EX. S. C.

Consecratio of Antoninus and Faustina (from pedestal of the column of Antoninus Pius).



Marcus Aurelius.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PRINCIPATE OF MARCUS AURELIUS (161–180 A.D.).

§ 1 Character and philosophy of Marcus Aurelius. § 2. His statesmanship. § 3. Lucius Verus. The two Augusti. § 4. Relations of Marcus and the senate. § 5. Growth of centralisation. *Juridici Curatores.* § 6. Financial administration. § 7. Legislation. § 8. THE PARTHIAN WAR. Battle of Elegeia. Verus in the East. Recovery of Armenia by the Romans. Battles of Sura and Zeugma. Result of the War. § 9. The plague. § 10. FIRST MARCOMANNIC WAR. Invasion of Rætia and Italy by a coalition of German tribes. § 11. Difficulties of Marcus. New legions. § 12. Marcus and Verus take the field and make terms with some of the barbarians. § 13. Death of Verus. Campaigns and victories of Marcus (169–175 A.D.). § 14. Design of two new provinces, Sarmatia and Marcomannia. Terms made with the enemy. § 15. Revolt of Avidius Cassius. § 16. Faustina. Commodus created Augustus. § 17. SECOND MARCOMANNIC WAR. Victory of Paternus. Death of Marcus. § 18. Beginnings of the Military Colonate.

SECT. I.—MARCUS AND VERUS. THE TWO AUGUSTI.

§ 1. MARCUS AURELIUS had reached the age of forty (born at Rome 121 A.D.) when he succeeded Antoninus. His family belonged to Succubo, a municipal town near Corduba in Spain; his grandfather was one of the new patricians created by Vespasian. He had shown an early predilection both for the study of Stoic philosophy and for the practice of Stoic austerity. When he was twelve years old, his mother Domitia Lucilla could hardly induce him to lie on a bed spread with sheepskins. His whole life was marked by similar asceticism. As his constitution was weak, he was obliged to spend some care in husbanding the forces of his body, and had constantly to consult the medical skill of the famous physician Galen, and others; but he did this as a duty. His only pleasures were meditation and the society of philosophers and men of letters.

No man has ever carried further than Marcus Aurelius the desire of moral perfection, and he accounted, like other Stoics, the service of humanity indispensable to the attainment of such perfection. The idea which runs through all his *Meditations*—a collection of thoughts jotted down in the leisure moments of a busy life, much of it written in the camps on the Danube during the Marcomannic War—is that of a "natural unity," embracing not only mankind, but nature and God, in which every individual has a distinct place of his own, and distinct functions to fulfil. Each man is expected to act so as to promote not his own good, at least directly, but the general good of the great Whole, of which he forms part, and on whose welfare his own welfare depends. The *Meditations* in fact show how the Stoic theory of Pantheism is to be applied in detail to life and morality. Thus Marcus Aurelius enjoins service to others as the special function for which we are adapted by nature. "What more dost thou want," he asks, "when thou hast done a man a service? Art thou not content that thou hast done something conformable to thy nature, and dost thou seek to be paid for it, just as if the eye demanded a recompense for seeing or the feet for walking?" He considered the social principle as the chief in the constitution of human nature. Yet he had himself a passion for solitude, which he set himself strictly to keep under. "Men seek retreats for themselves," he says, "houses in the country, sea-shores, and mountains, and thou too art wont to desire such things very much. But this is altogether a mark of the most common sort of men, for it is in thy power, whenever thou shalt choose, to retire into thyself;" and he goes on to advise constant self-communing

His view of life is austere and even sad. "The things which are much valued in life are empty and rotten and trifling." But he cultivated a cheerful temper. His teacher Maximus, he tells us, had taught him cheerfulness in all circumstances as well as in illness. The precepts on which he is always dwelling are to love all men as brothers, to forgive injuries, and to sacrifice everything to duty. Few men have more nearly approached in practice their own ideal.

§ 2. Plato had prophesied that there would be no end of the sufferings of mankind until a philosopher should become a king or until a king should become a philosopher. This had at length come to pass. A philosopher now ruled over a far greater state, a far larger portion of mankind, than Plato had dreamed of. The philosophic ruler, whom the world had at length obtained, did not attempt to establish the ideal Republic of Plato, or any other *a priori* constitution; but he treasured up Plato's words and made it his aim to mitigate suffering and to help humanity. He desired to show that Plato's saying was really true. The idea of helping humanity and alleviating its burdens was one of the leading sentiments of the new Stoicism which Marcus represented. But after all he was only doing on system, what Antoninus had been already doing instinctively. Antoninus indeed was also in some measure imbued with Stoic ideas.

Two different views have been taken of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Some regard the Empire as fortunate to have been ruled by such a noble model of Pagan virtue, such an unselfish and high-minded prince. Others pity the subjects of a mere philosopher, who took more interest in the disputations of sophists and rhetoricians than in the affairs of the state which he governed. There is a certain measure of truth in this censorious criticism, but it may easily be exaggerated. His fault was that he thought more of doing his "duty," than of what was good for the state. He regarded every question from the standpoint of personal ethics rather than from that of political wisdom. He was excessively self-conscious, and used to ask himself in a difficulty, not "What is the best course?" but rather "How should the philosopher act?" On the other hand it must be remembered to his credit that he did not, as many serious philosophers—as Plato himself—might have been tempted to do, make any attempt to apply *a priori* theories to politics or perform experiments with the fabric of the constitution. The single innovation in constitutional practice, which he introduced, was, as we shall see, not a very happy one. In general, he clung to the traditions of the Empire, and walked on the lines marked out by his predecessors. He did not try to reform the world on a

model constructed in the philosopher's workshop. He was a precisian in ethics, but he was not a doctrinaire in politics. He honoured philosophers above all men, but did not allow them to interfere in the management of the state.

But if Aurelius was determined to show by righteous and beneficent government that Plato was right, fortune was equally determined to show that Plato was wrong. Men were to learn by the reign of Aurelius that their happiness cannot be secured by political government independently of external circumstances, unless indeed they adopt the maxims of Stoicism and feel indifferent to external circumstances themselves. The imperial philosopher fell on evil times. His principate was marked by a series of formidable wars on the Euphrates and the Danube, with hardly an interval of peace; and the Empire was devastated by one of those terrible plagues—like the Black Death of the fourteenth century—which produce permanent effects on the lands which they visit. It required all the stoical resignation and patience that Marcus could command, to stand firmly at the helm throughout these tempests, which were the heralds of the beginning of the Decline of the Empire.

§ 3. The first act of Marcus on being elected Emperor by the senate was highly characteristic of the man, and shows his weak point. He did not know men. His adoptive brother L. Commodus had been kept in the background by Antoninus, and received no honours except such as might be permitted to any member of the imperial house. He was a young man without much character or ability, and fond of pleasure, though his dissoluteness has perhaps been exaggerated. According to the example set by Hadrian and Antoninus, it would have been proper for Marcus to make Lucius his consort, with the title of Cæsar and subordinate proconsular power. But Marcus was not content with this. He regarded Lucius as having an equal right with himself to the supreme dignity, and deemed it his duty to share the Principate equally with his brother. He therefore insisted that the senate should confer all the titles and privileges, which he had himself received, on Lucius also. Thus Marcus and Lucius (henceforward called L. Verus) were colleagues, co-equal and each ruling, in his own right, over the whole Empire. Lucius, like Marcus, was an Augustus and a Princeps. The theory of the Principate was quite compatible with such collegiality, but in practice it was an innovation. Two Augusti had never ruled together over the Empire before. Marcus assuredly did not look into the future or consider the probable consequences of introducing this system. But it was clear enough that the joint rule of two coequal Emperors must in most cases lead to rupture and disunion, unless either (1) one

of them were to keep himself in the background, or (2) the territory of the Empire were to be divided between them into two huge provinces. In the case of Marcus and Lucius, harmony was preserved, because Lucius was goodnatured, insignificant and unambitious, and willingly left all initiation to his elder brother. If he had been a strong and energetic man, the harmony would have been as little imperilled, for in that case Marcus would have gladly resigned the chief conduct of affairs to him. But though the precedent which Marcus introduced made little difference in his own case, it was fraught with grave consequences in a later age,* when the second alternative came to pass, and the Empire ruled by two Augusti was split up into two distinct realms.

Sect. II.—Administration of Marcus.

§ 4. The points which chiefly call for notice in the internal policy of Marcus Aurelius are (1) the further growth of the aristocratic power of the Princeps, combined with punctilious outward deference to the senate; (2) the further growth of centralisation on the lines of Trajan and Hadrian; (3) an injudicious financial administration; (4) a marked advance, on the lines of Antoninus Pius, in humanity and equity in legislation.

The deference which Marcus paid to the senate has been made much of, and was duly appreciated. When at Rome, he was constantly in attendance in the curia, and when in Campania, he used often to come all the way to Rome to introduce a proposal. He never quitted the assembly until the consul pronounced the words of dismissal—*Nihil vos moramur, Patres Conscripti* ("We no longer detain you, P.C."). He used regularly to refer foreign affairs to the senate, and present treaties to receive its confirmation. In all this Marcus followed the policy of Trajan. But, at the same time, he not only surrendered none of the prerogatives or powers which the Emperors had gradually usurped, but rather increased them. This path had been marked out for him by Antoninus Pius, for on his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, he had received the right of bringing five *relationes* in writing before the senate, which should have precedence before all others. The power of the Emperor to introduce one bill (*relationem facere*) in writing at each sitting, which should be read before all others by an imperial quæstor, had been established by Augustus and practised by his successors; Antoninus himself had the right of four *relationes*; but we have no evidence that, until Marcus, any Emperor possessed the right of so many as five *relationes*. The imperial *relatio* took the form of an

* At end of the following century, under Diocletian (285 A.D.).

"oration" or "letter" to the senate, and the fiction that the Emperor was proposing it in person seems to have been kept up.

Hadrian had felt himself obliged to follow Nerva's example, and take oath in the senate that he would never condemn a senator to death. But Marcus could not be moved to take this step, although he endeavoured throughout his reign to act as if he had. He thus refused to recognise the principle that the senators were exempt from being tried at the imperial tribunal, or could not be condemned by their peers. It is also important to observe that he made large use of the powers which lay in his hands to determine the constitution of the senate. He employed the right of adlection to raise "many of his friends" to the rank of prætorian and ædilician senators.

The title *vir clarissimus* (abbreviated in inscriptions to V.C.)* was in general use in the second century as a title of honour for senators. It was perhaps Marcus who first gave it regular official sanction. It is known with more certainty that he divided the public officials of equestrian rank into three classes: (1) *viri eminentissimi*, confined to the prætorian prefects; (2) *viri perfectissimi*, including the heads of departments at Rome; (3) *viri egregii*, procurators and less important subordinate officials.† The title of a municipal knight (in Italy) who did not hold office was *splendidus eques Romanus*.

§ 5. Marcus contributed to the improvement of the new Civil Service, which had been organized by Hadrian, by appointing "under-secretaries" in the various departments, and thus diminishing the burdens which fell on the chiefs. It is probable that he fixed certain salaries for the members of the imperial *Consilium*. But what is of more importance, the strange development of the office of prætorian prefect—which, beginning as a purely military, ultimately became a purely civil office—enters on a new stage. Under Marcus the prætorian prefecture is occasionally filled by eminent jurists, and the prefect is thus more clearly designated as representative of the Emperor. In the administration of Italy, he revived the four Judges who had been instituted by Hadrian, and, to please the senate, abolished by Pius. But in reviving this institution, he modified it. The *juridici*—for so they were now called, if not before—were no longer consulars, but prætorians, and thus the appointment was accessible to a larger class. The institution of the *curatores reipublicæ*, chosen from either the senatorial or the equestrian order, seems to have been developed further, and doubtless from financial motives. Thus Marcus encouraged that advance of

* In Greek, λαμπρότατος.

† The Greek terms are respectively: ἐξοχώτατος, διασημότατος, κράτιστος.

centralisation which soon paralyzed public life in the municipal towns of Italy. On the other hand, he seems to have accorded greater freedom to the public associations and guilds—*collegia*—which were regarded with such suspicion by Trajan. He gave them the power of making wills and performing the act of manumission; in fact, to a certain extent, the privileges of a legal person. But he took the precaution of making a regulation that no one should belong to more than one *collegium* at the same time.

§ 6. Pius had left a large sum in the treasury, notwithstanding the numerous buildings which he had undertaken; but the imprudent and lavish administration of Marcus involved the fiscus in serious financial difficulties. His errors in this respect were chiefly due to his good-nature. On his accession he indulged in an act of liberality which was uncalled for, and indeed mischievous. He gave each soldier of the prætorian guard a sum of 20,000 sesterces (about £160) and a proportionable sum to the other soldiers. He repeatedly bestowed large *congiaria* on the people, and he increased the number of those entitled to receive the public corn. Towards the end of his reign he remitted an immense sum of arrears (178 A.D.). Much of the extravagant expenditure may, perhaps, be set down to the account of L. Verus, but it is not known how the two colleagues arranged between themselves the control of the fiscus. In all financial matters Marcus was indulgent and easy-going, in accordance with his philosophical theories on the duties of a prince. But in his reign the Empire was called to face dangers, which required all its strength and entailed heavy expenses; so that greater stringency in the taxation and greater economy in the administration were urgently required. Marcus, under the pressure of his military expenses, was forced to pawn his crown jewels, and to depreciate the gold coinage. Things went so far that, at the end of his principate, the issue of gold came altogether to a stop, and the silver coinage was called in, in order to be issued in a depreciated form. It is, therefore, not surprising that very little was done by Marcus in the way of public buildings.

§ 7. That which above all things links together the reigns of Antoninus and Marcus, and makes them appear as an epoch animated by a single spirit, is the policy in legislation and administration of justice common to both. What has already been said, in these respects, of Antoninus applies to Marcus. To come to the aid of the weaker, to mitigate the estate of slaves, to facilitate manumission, to protect the condition of wards, were the objects of Marcus as of his predecessor. A special officer (*prætor tutelarius*) was instituted to regulate difficulties between wards and guardians. The law permitting a creditor to seize the goods of a debtor was modified

Children no longer suffered disgrace for the crimes of their fathers. The Emperor was himself untiring in hearing causes, and his sentences were marked by leniency. Like Antoninus, he was anxious to defend the provinces against the oppression of procurators, and to come to the assistance of communities in the case of public disasters.

SECT. III.—THE PARTHIAN WAR.

§ 8. Almost immediately after his accession, Marcus Aurelius was threatened by hostilities both in the east and in the west. The dangers in the west were easily dealt with. The Picts threatened Britain, and at the same time the Britannic legions formed a design to make the legatus, M. Statius Priscus, Emperor in place of Marcus. These movements were speedily checked, and attacks of the Chatti and Chauci in the Rhine provinces were also repelled. But it was impossible to avert the greater danger which had been long looming in the east. Hadrian and Antoninus had succeeded in deferring the evil day, but when Marcus came, it could be deferred no longer. The Parthian king, Vologeses, was an able and ambitious man. He had pulled together the Parthian realm, which he had found split up into a number of kingdoms, and having firmly established its unity, he resolved to get Armenia into his power. No sooner was Pius dead, than a Parthian general invaded Armenia, and set Pacorus, an Arsacid, on the throne.* The governor of Cappadocia, P. Ælius Severianus Maximus, immediately led a legion across the Euphrates, and at Elegeia—the place at which Parthomasiris had bowed the knee to Trajan—a battle was fought, and the Roman legion was annihilated. Severianus slew himself. The Parthians, elated by this victory, invaded Syria and defeated the Roman army, then under L. Attidius Cornelianus. In consequence of these disasters, which proved that the oriental legions were as demoralised and inefficient as they had been a hundred years before, when they were taken in hand by Corbulo, it was necessary to transport western legions to defend the eastern provinces. Statius Priscus was appointed to succeed Severianus in Cappadocia, while Julius Verus became governor of Syria. The supreme command in the war was undertaken by the Emperor Verus (162 A.D.), who, however, had neither military gifts nor a sense of duty, and spent most of his time at Antioch in amusements, leaving the actual conduct of the war to his generals, Avidius Cassius, Priscus and Martius Verus. At first overtures of peace were made, for Marcus Aurelius

* It is not known whether the Armenian throne was at this moment vacant or filled by some unknown vassal of Rome.

would have been glad to avoid the war; but Vologeses rejected them, and left the Romans no choice. Armenia was soon recovered by Priscus, who captured Artaxata, and burned it to the ground (163 A.D.). Near its site *Kainêpolis* or New City (in Armenian, *Nor-khalakh*) was built, and became the capital of the country. Pacorus and his Parthians were driven out, and Sohæmus, a prince of Arsacid family, but a Roman senator and devoted to Rome, was raised to the throne (163 A.D.). Thus the war led to no theoretical change in the position of Armenia. This country still remained a Roman dependency, ruled by a prince of Parthian blood. But in actual fact it was now bound more closely to Rome than before, owing to the personal interests of Sohæmus. After this success Verus assumed the name Armeniacus, but Syria and Mesopotamia were the scene of the most serious events of the war, which was chiefly conducted by Avidius Cassius, who became governor of Syria (about 164 A.D.). Of the details we know very little. A Roman victory at Sura was followed by the capture of the fortress Nicephorium on the Mesopotamian side of the Euphrates. At Zeugma the Parthians offered strenuous resistance to the Romans crossing the river, but were wholly defeated in a battle at Europus. Having thus opened their way into Mesopotamia, the legions stormed Dausara, laid siege to Edessa, and captured Nisibis. The satraps forsook their king, and the victorious army marched on Ctesiphon. The Greek city of Seleucia opened its gates, but the inhabitants were subsequently accused of collusion with the enemy, and it was burnt to the ground. Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital, was taken and destroyed. The Romans also penetrated into Media. In 165 A.D. the war was practically finished, and Verus was able to return to Rome to celebrate a brilliant triumph, in conjunction with his brother (166 A.D.). Lucius bore the titles *Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus*, and *Medicus*; Marcus that of *Armeniacus Parthicus*.

Through this war Rome not only won immunity from Parthian aggressions for many years and increased her prestige, but also slightly enlarged her territory. The district of Mesopotamia known as Osroene was made a Roman dependency, and Carrhae became a free city under Roman protection. Thus Marcus committed himself, though on a very small scale, to the same policy which Trajan had inaugurated on a very large scale, and which Hadrian had disapproved of. Seeing that Marcus was by no means a grasping or acquisitive ruler, this circumstance suggests that there was something to be said, on grounds of policy, for Trajan's enterprise.

§ 9. Fate willed that these successes in the east should be bought at a terrible cost. The army of Avidius Cassius contracted the germs

of a pestilential disease in the Tigris regions, and brought the infection back with them into Roman dominion. The plague spread in the eastern provinces, and was carried to the west by the legions who returned with Verus. The army was terribly ravaged by this visitation. Italy was devastated, and many districts left without inhabitants. In Rome immense numbers died, and Marcus ordained that both poor and rich should be buried at the public expense. He essayed all the ceremonies of the national religion to save the state, and performed a lustration of the city. He even attempted to propitiate foreign deities. There is no doubt that this virulent pestilence, which spread in every direction, produced far-reaching effects on the population of the Empire. The historian Niebuhr even goes so far as to think that "the ancient world never recovered from the blow." But we know very little about it beyond some details given by the physician Galen. No account has been preserved like that which Thucydides gives us of the plague at Athens, or that which Procopius wrote of the great pestilence in the reign of Justinian, or like Boccaccio's description of the Black Death in the fourteenth century.*

SECT. IV.—THE MARCOMANNIC WAR.

§ 10. Since the Dacian conquest of Trajan the Danube lands had enjoyed a long period of peace. The menaces of danger which had appeared at the opening of Hadrian's reign had been happily averted; and the chief nations on that frontier—the Roxolani in the east, the Jazyges in the strip of land between Dacia and Pannonia, the Marcomanni in Bohemia, the Quadi in Moravia—all acknowledged more or less the sovranty of Rome, and did not trouble her with hostilities. The Quadi had asked Pius to confirm the election of a new prince; but after the death of Pius a change came over the scene, and Marcus soon found himself involved in a great war with these frontier nations—generally known as the Marcomannic War.†

For this war the Romans were not to blame. The policy of Antoninus Pius had been essentially one of peace, and Marcus was not a man to provoke enemies. Nor yet was it due to the spontaneous rapacity or restlessness of the neighbouring barbarian peoples. The cause came from a strange quarter, quite beyond the limits of Roman politics. Shiftings took place among the German folks of central and northern Europe, on the Elbe and the Vistula; and these migratory movements induced pressure on the Marco-

* Or even that of the plague in the eighth century by Theophanes.

† It was at first called the Bellum Germanicum; afterwards, when the Jazyges took a principal part in it, the Bellum Germanicum Sarmaticum.

manni, Quadi, Buri, and other southern nations, who in turn pressed upon Roman territory. The Empire resisted their pressure, and the consequence was a serious war of thirteen years, which may be regarded as an early prelude of those historical events which took place two or three centuries later, known as the "Wandering of the Nations."

The first incident which declared the new danger and occasioned the war, was the appearance of a large number of Germans in Pannonia, seeking new abodes there. This multitude consisted of Langobardi, or Lombards, from the distant Elbe—their first appearance in the south—as well as of Marcomanni and others. But they were promptly driven back across the Danube; and then they sent as ambassador Ballomar, king of the Marcomanni, and ten others, representing ten tribes, to Ælius Bassus, governor of Pannonia, asking for an assignment of territory. But the request was not granted, and they had to return.* The migrations already mentioned seem to have produced some pressure westward as well as southward. For in Upper Germany we find the governor, Gaius Aufidius Victorinus, the father-in-law of Fronto, compelled to take the field against the Chatti, who had attacked the province.

The outbreak of the war in the east hindered Marcus from taking adequate measures to avert the dangers which, as it was easy to see, threatened the Danube provinces. It was at least lucky that the first great blow was not struck until Roman arms had been successful against the Parthians. It was probably about the time of the triumph of Marcus and Verus (166 A.D.) that a great though loose coalition of German tribes—Marcomanni, Quadi, Hermunduri, and others—burst into the empire and overran Dacia, Pannonia, Rætia, and Noricum. The Jazyges took part in this irruption, but the Sarmatian tribes to the east of Dacia were not implicated. In Dacia the town of Alburnus (*Verespatak*) was burnt down, and Sarmizegethuza itself was threatened. But the danger came far nearer to the heart of the Empire, and made Rome herself tremble. Since the day when the Cimbri and Teutons had been repelled by Marius on the field of Vercellæ no barbarian enemy had ever carried arms into Italy. But now they swooped down from Rætia to destroy Opitergium (*Oderzo*), and crossed the Julian Alps to lay siege to Aquileia. Of the measures which were taken to check the incursions by the commanders on the spot, we only know that Furius Victorinus was defeated and slain.

§ 11. The invasion took place at an awkward moment for the government. The Parthian War was over, but the plague which

* The date is not fixed, but the event must have taken place soon after the death of Pius.

it had brought in its train had made fearful havoc in Italy, and famine, the usual companion of pestilence, also set in. People were unable to pay the dues to the state, and the Emperors had not money to meet the expenses of the war. Marcus was compelled to sell by auction the imperial jewels, in order to provide immediate funds. New troops had to be raised, and measures had to be taken for the defence of the chief cities which lay in the path of the invaders, or tempted their progress. The walls of Salonæ in Dalmatia and those of Philippopolis in Thrace were restored. Two new legions were created—II. Pia and III. Concordia—and assigned to the defence of Rætia and Noricum, where a new frontier camp was established at Lauriacum (Lorch), near the mouth of the Enns, as well as a large number of small forts. The troops in Noricum and Pannonia were supported by the Danube fleet, which had its chief stations at Lauriacum and Carnuntum.

§ 12. Marcus, although not a soldier, was obliged to undertake the irksome task of directing in person the operations of the war. The matter could not be left to the several commanders of the provinces; the general control of one supreme commander was required; and this duty could not be safely consigned to the frivolous and incompetent Verus. The two Emperors left Rome and reached Aquileia (168 A.D.). Their advance frightened the invaders, who had no idea of acting together, and immediately began to retreat. The Quadi offered submission and begged for terms; but the Marcomanni held out. It was clearly premature to make peace until the barbarians had been taught a lesson, although the younger Emperor, eager to return to Rome, wished to consider the danger as past. But the devastations which the invaders had wrought could not be atoned for so easily. They had carried off enormous numbers of Roman captives—the Quadi, it is said, over 60,000, the Jazyges 100,000. Marcus saw the importance of teaching the barbarians a lesson, and prosecuted the war with vigour. Unfortunately we have no precise record of his movements. He made peace with the Quadi, on condition of their giving back the captives, and confirmed the election of a new king, Furtius. He proceeded to the Pannonian frontier, and seems to have made Carnuntum his headquarters. In the meantime his son-in-law, Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus, was appointed commander in Rætia and Noricum, and with the help of his lieutenant, P. Helvius Pertinax—who at a later period became Emperor—cleared these lands of their invaders, who, in Rætia at least, were probably the Chatti. Some of the barbarians, it is worth noting, were seduced by Roman pay into fighting in Roman service against their fellow-barbarians.

§ 13. By this policy the war was soon practically reduced

to a war against the Marcomanni and Jazyges. The Emperor returned to Rome in 169 A.D., but Verus died at Altinum on the way, and Marcus had to carry on the war alone. He returned to the Danube in the same year and remained on the scene of action, making Carnuntum, Vindobona, or Aquincum, his headquarters, as occasion demanded. The operations were for a long time unsuccessful, and the Romans met with severe defeats. A special command over Dacia and Upper Mœsia had been intrusted to Marcus Claudius Fronto, but he fell in a battle against the Jazyges. Another victim of the war was Marcus Macrinius Vindex, the prefect of the prætorian guard. It was not until 172 A.D. that the first decisive success was gained. The Marcomanni sustained a grave defeat, and the Emperor assumed the title *Germanicus*. But in the meantime the Quadi had rebelled, driven out their king, Furtius, the client of the Romans, and elected a new king, Ariogæsus, who entered into alliance with the Marcomannic king Ballomar. Marcus set a price of 1000 pieces of gold on the head of Ariogæsus; he was soon surrendered to the Romans, and sent to the distant city of Alexandria.

The curious legend of the "Thundering Legion" arose in connection with a great victory over the Quadi. A storm seems to have burst over the armies during battle, and while a grateful shower of rain fell upon the Romans, the enemy were disconcerted by thunder and lightning. The event was considered miraculous, and was said to be the answer of Heaven to the prayers of a legion consisting of Christians. That some such occurrence did take place is confirmed by a sculpture on the Column of Aurelius, but of course at this time there was no such thing as a Christian legion; and the legion *Fulminata* existed under Augustus. The reduction of the Quadi was soon followed by that of the Jazyges (175 A.D.), which was signalised by the Emperor's assumption of the name *Sarmaticus*.

§ 14. Marcus had the insight of a true statesman. He realized the permanent danger which threatened the Empire on the northern frontier; he foresaw the barbarian eruptions which were ultimately destined to break up the Empire. He perceived clearly that, in order to prevent these perils, it was not enough to gain victories—it was necessary to subjugate the enemy. He saw that Trajan had been right in annexing Dacia. In fact, this Marcomannic war had thoroughly justified Trajan's policy; for the fact that Dacia was in the hands of the Romans had kept the Roxolani and other folks in the Eastern Carpathians from joining in the invasion. Marcus decided that it was necessary to go further in the path marked out by Trajan, and round off the frontier on this side by annexing the lands of the Jazyges and the Marcomanni. The annexation of Jazygia, the strip between the Danube and the Theiss, was indeed obviously

expedient. Boiohæmum (Bohemia), which the Marcomanni occupied, is so well defended by nature within its mountain and forest walls that it would have proved a useful advanced position against the barbarians. Marcus therefore decided to erect two new provinces—Sarmatia and Marcomannia. Sarmatia, at all events, he would probably have formed at once by expelling the Jazyges; but he was obliged to postpone the execution of his plans by an insurrection which broke out in Syria. The terms which, in the meantime, he imposed on the conquered peoples were as follows. They had to contribute contingents to the Roman army; thus the Jazyges had to furnish 8000 horsemen. The Marcomanni and Jazyges had to evacuate a strip of land along the Danube, ten miles in breadth (afterwards reduced to five miles). And the Quadi and Marcomanni had to receive in their country Roman garrisons, to the number of 20,000 men. The conditions of trading were strictly regulated, in order to avoid possibilities of collision.

About the same time the tribe of the Astingi entered Dacia, and demanded permission to settle there, on the condition of military service. But another tribe, the Lacringi, fearing that their own interests might be endangered, and incited by the Roman governor of Dacia, attacked the Astingi, and destroyed them. This incident deserves mention here because it is an early example of the method of keeping enemies in check by stirring up one tribe against another which the Roman government afterwards developed into a system.

§ 15. The revolt which threatened the throne of Marcus in the East was organized by Avidius Cassius, the able governor of Syria, who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing the Parthian war to a successful issue. When Verus returned to Rome, Cassius had been appointed to a military command—like that which Corbulo had held under Nero—extending beyond his own special province over all the regions adjacent to the eastern frontier.

Cassius belonged by birth to this quarter of the Empire, being a native of Cyrrhus, and possessed great influence there. The soldiers seemed to have loved him, although his discipline was strict and even harsh. During the term of his special command, he rendered further services to the government by suppressing a rising in Arabia, and putting down a serious revolt of religious fanatics, who were known as "Bucolics," in Egypt. But he chafed under the rule of the imperial philosopher, and this feeling of dissatisfaction with the administration of Marcus seems to have prevailed in military circles in the east. The officers sneered at the "philosophical old woman" who wrote ethical essays in the camp. Verus had warned Marcus against him, but the imperial Stoic replied, in the spirit of fatalism:

"No prince ever killed his successor." At length, in 175 A.D., while Marcus was on the Danube waging war against the Marcomanni, Cassius had organised a sufficient party of adherents to declare openly his treasonable designs. He was supported by Flavius Calvisius, the prefect of Egypt. The significance of the movement, as expressed in the manifestoes of the pretender, lay in the contrast between the soldier and the philosopher. Cassius was willing to allow that Marcus was a very good man, but complained that, in his devotion to philosophy, he neglected the republic. The outbreak of the revolt was hastened by the diffusion of a false report that Marcus was dead, and this decided its failure. Avidius was proclaimed Imperator and recognised, in the belief that the Emperor was dead; but when this news proved false, men no longer cared to undertake the usurper's cause, and Cassius was murdered. On learning that the revolt had broken out, Marcus had immediately started for the east, prepared for civil war. He took the precaution of first investing his son Commodus, who was then fifteen years old, with the *toga virilis*. When Marcus on arriving in Syria found the pretender dead, he expressed much distress at being deprived of the pleasure of pardoning him. All who had been concerned in the treason were treated with lenity; but the principle was henceforth established that men should not be appointed as governors in their native provinces.

§ 16. The Empress Faustina, who had accompanied her husband in his expedition against the Marcomanni and had received from the army the name "Mother of the Camp" (*Mater Castrorum*), accompanied him also to the east. But she died on the journey, at Halala in Cappadocia, at the foot of Mount Taurus. The senate decreed her divine honours, and a temple was built to her at the place where she died. Her good name, like that of her mother, was assailed by the breath of slander. She is said to have been openly unfaithful to her husband; it was even whispered that Commodus was the son of a gladiator. The worst aspersion shed upon her fame was that she was privy to and favoured the treasonable design of Cassius, and promised to marry him in case he succeeded. But there is positively no evidence against her character, that can claim to be seriously considered.

Since the death of Lucius Verus, the Roman world had been governed once more by a single ruler. The Emperor's two sons, L. Aurelius Commodus (born 161 A.D.) and Annius Verus, had received the title of Cæsar in 166 A.D., and it is probable that, if they had both lived, Marcus would have committed the Empire to the joint rule of the two brothers. But Annius, the younger, died in 170 A.D., and Commodus was the only surviving son of a large

family. On the Emperor's return to Rome after the revolt of Cassius, he received the title *Imperator*, shared in his father's triumph, and was designated to the consulate for the following year, notwithstanding his extreme youth. At the same time he received the tribunician power (before Dec. 10th, 176), and in 177 A.D. was raised to hold the same place which L. Verus had held, and be his father's peer, with the title Augustus. Commodus was not indeed of a radically bad nature, but he was utterly weak, devoid of judgment, and self-indulgent. He was a man who could not possibly make a good or even a tolerable ruler. Marcus cannot have been blind to the faults of his son's character, and he has been severely blamed for sacrificing the good of the state to his feelings of paternal affection. His son-in-law Claudius Pompeianus, who had married Lucilla, the widow of Verus, would have been a better choice. On the other hand, if he set aside Commodus, who might naturally consider himself as having a right to succeed, there was the probability of a civil war. The imperial constitution provided no means of avoiding such a necessity of a choice between evils occasionally arising; and it would be difficult to say that of the two evils Marcus did not choose the lesser.

§ 17. In the meantime the conquered nations on the Danube frontier had violated the peace. Marcus had hardly turned his back, when the Quadi and Marcomanni, uneasy under the constraint of the Roman garrisons, determined to take advantage of the revolt of Cassius, and they rebelled. Thus Marcus, when he returned from the east, was forced to begin a second Marcomannic war, just as Trajan had been forced to undertake the second Dacian war; and if he had lived, this too would have been, like Trajan's, a war of extermination. This time Marcus was attended to the scene of war by his son Commodus. It is related that before he left Rome he conformed to the old custom of hurling a bloody javelin in front of the temple of Bellona. The details of this war (178–180 A.D.) are unknown. We hear of a great victory gained by a general named Paternus, in consequence of which Marcus was proclaimed Imperator for the tenth time. The Marcomanni seem to have been completely subjugated; and the Quadi suffered so severely that they wished to move northward and settle in the land of the Semnones, but were compelled to remain where they were and cultivate the land for the Roman garrisons. The Jazyges seem to have submitted more readily, and received favourable terms. The hardest burdens which had been before imposed upon them were abolished; and the important right was conceded to them of passing through Dacia, in order to keep up communication with their Sarmatian brethren in the east, the Roxolani. We may conclude that Marcus

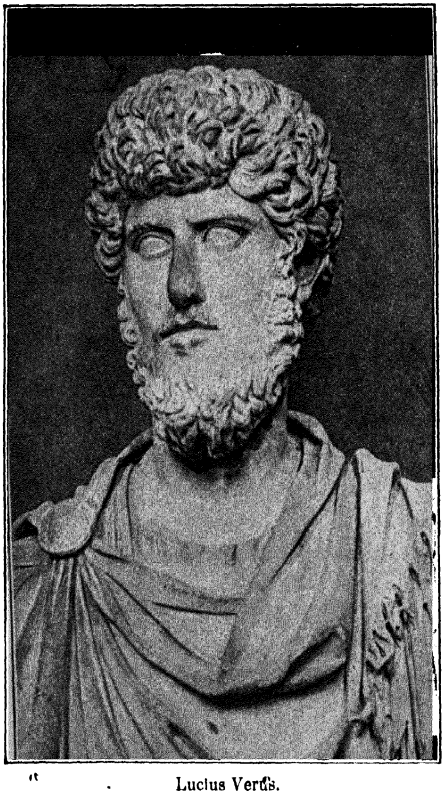
was on the point of organising Jazygia as a Roman province, and that Marcomannia would soon have been treated in the same way. It was a critical moment. The reduction of an important part of central Europe under direct Roman sway—which would have had its effect on the future history of those lands—was a matter of a few months. The frontier of the Empire was about to be extended to the Elbe, and a design, which had fallen through under Augustus well-nigh two centuries ago, was on the eve of being accomplished. But on March 17, A.D. 180, Marcus Aurelius died in the camp at Vindobona. He was not yet sixty years of age, but his body seems to have been exhausted by the fatigues of military life, and he was carried off by fever. His death doomed his plans to disappointment. His worthless son Commodus immediately abandoned the results which had been achieved by his father's statesmanlike resolution and admirable perseverance. Eager to return to Rome and get rid of the war, the young Emperor, instead of completing the work of annexation, granted favourable terms to the Marcomanni and the Quadi, and so stultified his father's long campaign.

§ 18. A very important result of these wars of Marcus must be briefly noticed here, though it really belongs to the history of the following century. The system of settling large bodies of Germans and Sarmatians on Roman soil as military *coloni* now regularly began. Marcus (172 A.D.) made such settlements in Pannonia, Mœsia, Dacia, and Germany. He even attempted to relieve the depopulation of Italy by establishing a barbarian colony near Ravenna, but the settlers tried to seize Ravenna, and the idea was abandoned. Land was assigned to them, and they were free; but their freedom was limited in so far as they were not permitted to leave their lands. They were also bound to perform military service. Thus both the cultivation and the military defence of frontier districts, where such settlements were made, depended upon the same persons. The development of the *colonatus* to its final form took place during the third century. It is to be carefully observed, however, that this institution did not arise solely from the settlement of foreign captives. The military *colonatus* was only one form of a system which resulted from the economic conditions of the Empire itself. Tenants by contract, who were unable to meet heavy arrears of rent, lapsed into the state of *coloni*, attached to their landlord's soil by a tie which was practically, though at first not legally, obligatory. It also happened that small proprietors who had failed and become bankrupt, voluntarily ceded their ownership to others and took upon themselves the yoke of the colonate as an improvement in their condition.

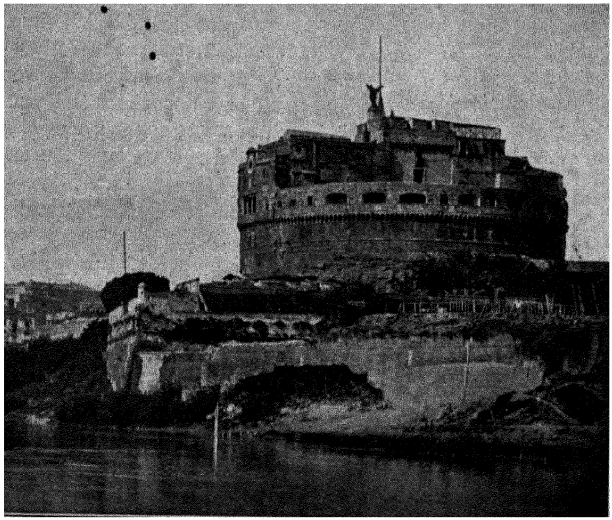
The beginning of the military colonate is one of the circum-

stances which show that in the reign of Marcus Aurelius we stand on the threshold of the Decline of the Roman Empire. For the breaking up of the Empire was due not only to the invasion of Teutonic nations from without, but also to the presence of a large Teutonic element within. It is also significant that the other great force, which, besides the Teutonic nations, was instrumental in disintegrating the Empire and transforming the condition of Europe, namely the Christian religion, appears prominently for the first time in the reign of Marcus, and comes for the first time into serious collision with the state.*

* See below, Chap. XXX. § 24.



Lucius Verus.



Mausoleum of Hadrian.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LITERATURE UNDER HADRIAN AND THE ANTONINES.

§ 1. Characteristics of Greek and Latin literature in this period. Archaism. Decline of nationality. § 2. Poetry. Hadrian and Florus. § 3. Suetonius Tranquillus. Florus. § 4. Fronto. § 5. The *Pervigilium Veneris*. § 6. Aulus Gellius. § 7. Terentius Scaurus. Sulpicius Apollinaris. L. Ampelius. Junius Rusticus. § 8. GREEK LITERATURE. Arrian. § 9. Appian. Polyænus. § 10. Ptolemy, the geographer. Pausanias, the traveller. § 11. Ælius Aristides. § 12. Lucian. § 13. Greek Poetry.

§ 1. THE reign of Hadrian inaugurated a new era in Latin literature, and was also marked by a renaissance of Greek literature. HADRIAN himself dabbled in literature and science, and assiduously cultivated the society of men of letters. He founded a sort of academy at Rome called the *Athenæum*, in which rhetoricians, philosophers, and poets could read their compositions. He produced some slight compositions both in verse and in prose, but they were only the work of a dilettante. He affected the style of the older Latin writers, preferring Cato to Cicero and Ennius to Virgil. Here he was following the tendency of his age. In fact it might almost be said that the

"note" of the literature of the second century was an affectation of archaic style. The man of letters spent much of his time in searching among old writers for unusual expressions and obsolete words, which he then introduced in his own compositions. Recondite learning was thus in fashion; rhetoricians and grammarians were the leaders in literary taste. The whole movement —revival of interest in the early national literature, and the taste for archaism in style—has parallels in similar movements in modern times. Only a few writers, trained on the precepts of Quintilian, escaped this prevailing tendency.

But on the other hand, the Roman literature of this period is distinctly becoming less national and more cosmopolitan. Greek and Latin come into closer contact, and many writers—such as Hadrian himself (like Claudius), Fronto, Suetonius, Apuleius—compose works in both tongues.

Literature and learning were patronised by the Antonines as well as by Hadrian. Antoninus Pius, following his predecessor's example, endowed chairs of philosophy and rhetoric in various cities throughout the Empire; and also accorded privileges of exemption from taxes to a certain number of sophists, grammarians, and physicians in both small and large towns. Under his reign both Fronto, the representative of Latin, and Herodes Atticus, the representative of Greek literature, had the honour of being consuls. MARCUS AURELIUS was not only a patron of learning, but a man of letters himself,* although the interest of his *Meditations* lies entirely in the matter, and not at all in the literary form, for which it can only be said that it is quite free from affectation.

SECT. I.—LATIN LITERATURE.

§ 2. In the reign of Hadrian, Juvenal wrote some of his Latin satires, but there was no other poet of distinction. ANNIANUS sang the pleasures of country life. FLORUS wrote pretty trifles, and interchanged verses with the Emperor. He jested at Hadrian's travels in the following lines: †

"I would rather not be Cæsar,
Have to haunt Batavian marshes,
Lurk about among the Britons,
Feel the Scythian frosts assail me."

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* His *Meditations*—the work is entitled "To Himself" (*εἰς ἑαυτόν*) — has been spoken of in the foregoing chapter (§ 1).

† Florus: Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per [Batavos,
Latitare per] Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

Hadrian: Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Calices pati rotundos.

The English version was supplied by Mr. Hodgkin.

To which Hadrian replied:

> "I would rather not be Florus,
> Have to haunt the Roman taverns,
> Lurk about among the cookshops,
> Feel the bossy bowl assail me."

The lines of Hadrian to his soul have already been quoted. The versatile Emperor, besides several works in Greek, wrote an autobiography, which was published by his freedman PHLEGON, but has not come down to us. Phlegon himself wrote a history, entitled *Olympiads*, in the Greek language.

§ 3. C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS (about 75–160 A.D.) had filled some posts under Trajan, and afterwards became private secretary (*magister epistularum*) to Hadrian. He was a polymath, the Varro of this period; and wrote on all kinds of subjects. His *Prata* or "Miscellanies" was an encyclopædic work giving an account of Roman institutions and customs, chronology and dress, with special attention to the interpretation of words; also dealing with natural philosophy, and keeping specially in view the favourite parallel between nature and man. Most of his works are lost. We possess only his *Lives of the Cæsars*, and fragments of his accounts of famous men (*De viris illustribus*). The *De vita Cæsarum* is divided into eight Books. The first six Cæsars, beginning with Julius,* occupy each one Book; the seventh is devoted to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the eighth to the three Flavian Emperors. The work is strictly biographical, not historical, and therefore a preponderance is given to anecdotes and personal details. The writer had good materials at his disposal, but is not critical, though, as far as we can judge, impartial in recording all that he could learn, and thought likely to be interesting. His *De viris illustribus* was confined to men who had made a mark in any branch of Roman literature. We possess the lives of Terence, Horace, and, in part, of Lucan, and fragments of the life of the elder Pliny.

FLORUS composed an abridgment of Roman military history † in two books, reaching down as far as Augustus, and founded chiefly on Livy. The first book deals with the best days of Rome, the second with her decline, the line of division being drawn at the Gracchan age. The work is written in a rhetorical and exaggerated style. His object, it has been said, was "not to record the wars of Rome, but to praise her empire." It is possible that this Florus was the same as the poet of that name. ‡

§ 4. The three great representatives of Latin literature in the

* The beginning of the life of Julius is missing.

† Title: Epitomæ de Tito Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo.

‡ See above, Chap. XXV. § 25.

age of the Antonines were Fronto, Aulus Gellius, and Apuleius. As Fronto was a native of Cirta, and Apuleius of Madaura, Africa is beginning to take the same place in Roman literature which Spain had taken in the previous century.

M. CORNELIUS FRONTO (about 100–175 A.D.) has been already mentioned as a teacher of M. Aurelius, and his correspondence with his pupil has been referred to. He was a learned rhetorician, and in point of style he may be said to have given the tone to the age. He cultivated what he called an *elocutio novella*, marked by quaint expressions, uncommon words, archaic images, and he found a host of imitators. In fact he headed a reaction against the style represented by Seneca, which reminds us in some ways of the reaction in English literature of the present century against the style of the eighteenth. He tried to return, partially at least, to pre-Ciceronian Latin. Besides the Letters, he wrote essays on eloquence, comparing its value with that of philosophy; a panegyric on L. Verus, for his conduct of the eastern war, entitled *Principia Historiæ*, and other treatises. The letters are very interesting, although they are full of mannerisms, and give little information as to contemporary history.

§ 5. Under the influence of the literary movement, of which Fronto was the chief representative, was composed a notable poem, of unknown authorship, entitled the *Pervigilium Veneris*, in trochaic septenarian metre. It is inspired by the spring-time, intended perhaps to be sung at a spring festival, and celebrates the power of Venus in nature. The refrain of the poem is—

Cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet.

§ 6. AULUS GELLIUS flourished under Marcus, and wrote a miscellaneous collection of details on ancient literature and language, in twenty books, called *Noctes Atticæ*. He was a man of very mediocre talent, but great diligence, and his work contains much valuable information. In fondness of archaic expression he went with the tendency of his age, of which, in his very mediocrity, he is a typical example. Hero-worship was a necessity to him; and like most of his contemporaries, he had no critical faculty.

Of a very different order of merit was APULEIUS (born about 125 A.D.), son of a duovir at Madaura. He studied at "Attic Athens," as he calls it in Plautine phrase, and for some time practised as a pleader at Rome. He married a rich widow, much older than himself, Æmilia Pudentilla, whom he met at Œa on a journey from Madaura to Alexandria; and her kinsfolk brought a suit against him for having won her affections by magic. To defend himself he composed his *Apologia*, which has come down to us, and

in which he seems to have easily disposed of his accusers. After this he lived at Carthage, from which he sometimes made tours through the cities of Africa to deliver public addresses, after the fashion of the Greek rhetoricians.

Apuleius had a decidedly original talent, a lively fancy, and considerable literary powers. But he was completely dominated by the mannerisms of his age, which have been already noted; and he had not a sufficient faculty of criticism to guide his taste, and determine the legitimate limits within which a literary stylist may affect a flavour of antiquity, or to discern the point at which quaintness passes into absurdity.

Besides the *Apologia*, the following works are preserved. The *Florida* is an "anthology" of his lectures and speeches, on various subjects. The *Metamorphoses*, in eleven Books, is the work on which his fame rests. The subject is probably borrowed from the *Lucius* of the contemporary Greek writer Lucian, who in turn derived it from the *Metamorphoses* of a certain Lucius of Patræ. The story recounts the experiences of a man who had been transformed into an ass. Apuleius introduced various episodes, of which the most striking is the charmingly told legend of Amor and Psyche. Besides these works, there are some philosophical treatises by Apuleius, who professed the Platonic philosophy. The *De deo Socratis* expounds the Platonic doctrine of God and the dæmons. The treatise on "Plato and his dogmas" deals with natural and moral science, and the *De Mundo* reproduces the tract "On the Kosmos" falsely ascribed to Aristotle.

§ 7. The activity of the jurists, the works of Julian and Gaius, have been already mentioned. Grammar was a very popular study at this time. Under Hadrian it was represented by Q. TERENTIUS SCAURUS, who wrote a Latin grammar and commentaries on Plautus, Virgil, and Horace. A little later C. SULPICIUS APOLLINARIS of Carthage wrote *Quæstiones Epistolicæ*, dealing with grammatical and literary questions, and composed metrical arguments to the plays of Terence and the *Æneid*. He was the teacher of Aulus Gellius.

The *Liber Memorialis* of L. AMPELIUS, describing the geography of the world, and the doings of mankind—with a résumé of Greek, Roman, and Eastern history—probably belongs to this age.

The most distinguished philosopher was the Stoic Junius Rusticus, a revered master of Marcus Aurelius, who mentions that Rusticus induced him to abandon the rhetorical trifling, to which he had devoted himself under the influence of Fronto, and study the books of Epictetus.

The first apology for Christianity in Latin was composed in this

age, by Minucius Felix. This curious and interesting work will be referred to in the following chapter.*

SECT. II.—GREEK LITERATURE.

§ 8. One of the most characteristic figures of the Greek renaissance under Hadrian was FLAVIUS ARRIANUS of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, who, as has been often noticed, has many points of resemblance with Xenophon. The same kind of influence that Socrates exercised on Xenophon was exercised on Arrian by the Stoic philosopher Epictetus. And though, like Xenophon, drawn to philosophy in his youth, like Xenophon also he chose a practical career. He was consul suffect in 130 A.D., and governor of Cappadocia from 131 to 137 A.D.; and we meet him as archon at Athens in 147 A.D. Like Xenophon again, he wrote on all subjects. (1) His philosophical works were devoted to the exposition of the teaching of his master. The *Enchiridion* is a short handbook to Stoic morality as taught by Epictetus; and the *Diatribæ Epicteti* (in eight Books, of which four are preserved) gave a fuller account of his doctrines. (2) In imitation of Xenophon's *Anabasis of Cyrus* in seven Books, Arrian wrote the *Anabasis of Alexander* in seven Books. This was the most important of his historical works, and has luckily been preserved. The author does not confine himself to the eastern expedition of his hero, but gives a full biography. The tale is told simply, on the model of Xenophon, and without rhetorical ornament. In connection with this work, Arrian also wrote an account of India (the *Indica*) chiefly geographical, in Ionic dialect.† His other historical works are lost. They included a history of the Diadochi; a history of Bithynia; biographies of Timoleon and Dion; a history of Trajan's Parthian wars; and a work on the Alans (of which an important fragment is extant). (3) Arrian's *Periplus*, or account of a circumnavigation of the Euxine Sea, has been already mentioned.‡ He also wrote (4) a treatise on *Tactics*, and (5) a work on hunting (*Cynegeticus*), being a continuation of Xenophon's tract on that subject. All these have come down to us.

The significance of Arrian in the history of Greek literature is that he belonged to the Atticising school, of which Lucian was the chief representative. The return to the style of Plato and Xenophon involved a reaction against the style represented by Polybius —that is, against the natural development of the Greek language—

* Chap. XXX. § 25.

† He chose this dialect in imitation of Herodotus' description of strange countries.

‡ See above, Chap. XXVI. § 15

and could not be permanent. It may be added, that notwithstanding all his care to write pure Attic, Arrian often falls into errors.

§ 9. APPIAN of Alexandria wrote his History of Rome * about 160 A.D. He had come to Rome in the reign of Hadrian, and through Fronto's influence obtained the post of a *procurator*. The most remarkable point about Appian's history is its arrangement. He abandoned the chronological method, adopted by most historians of that time, and arranged his work in subject groups. Thus his history consists of a number of special histories. One Book dealt altogether with Spanish events, and was entitled *Iberikê*, another with Illyricum (*Illyrikê*); five books were devoted to the civil wars (*Emphylia*).† Appian wrote without any regard to style, and his pages are full of Latinisms.

POLYÆNUS of Macedonia wrote a work entitled *Strategemata*, in eight Books, which he dedicated to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus. This has come down to us almost entire. It is a collection of strategic tricks which had been actually used by generals in the course of Greek history. The writer shows no discrimination in the choice or use of his material.

§ 10. The great astronomer and geographer PTOLEMY of Alexandria flourished under Marcus Aurelius. His chief works are the *Great System of Astronomy*, and the *Guide to Geography*, containing, besides the text, a number of maps based on mathematical computations. Both these works may be said to have been epoch-making. A short work by Ptolemy on the theory of music is also preserved. Here may be mentioned also a hexameter poem of DIONYSIUS ("the Periegete" ‡) describing the world, which afterwards came to be used in schools.

Of PAUSANIAS, who wrote a "Tour round Greece," § we know nothing personally, except that he was born or lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor, and that he wrote under Marcus Aurelius. His work, in ten Books, describes a tour he made through the greater part of Greece. He professes to describe all the buildings, statues, and works of historical or artistic interest which he saw in his travels, and he often goes into long historical and mythological digressions.‖ But while there can be no doubt that he visited all the countries which he describes, he seems

* Ῥωμαικά.

† These Books (Ἰβηρική = Bk. 6; Ἰλλυρική = part of Bk. 9; Ἐμφύλια = Bks. 13–18), along with Ἀννιβαική = Bk. 7, Λιβυκή = Bk. 8, Συριακή = Bk. 11, Μιθριδάτειος = Bk. 12, and fragments of the Μακεδονική (part of Bk. 9) have been preserved. This arrangement of his history according to subject was suggested to Appian by the example of the historian Ephorus.

‡ The name of his work is Περιήγησις τῆς οἰκουμένης.

§ Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

‖ Bk. 1 describes Attica; Bk. 2 Corinth and Argolis; Bk. 3 Laconia; Bk. 4 Messenia; Bks. 5 and 6 Elis; Bk. 7 Achaia; Bk. 8 Arcadia; Bk. 9 Boeotia; Bk. 10 Phocis.

to have written his work from memory, on his return home, or not to have kept a very careful note-book. For he omits all mention of many important monuments which we know to have been in existence in his time. But notwithstanding his many omissions, his book is priceless now to the archæological student. It was through a notice of Pausanias that Schliemann was enabled to discover the royal sepulchres in the agora of Mycenæ. For the Messenian wars, the fourth Book of Pausanias is our chief source.

§ 11. The great sophist, ÆLIUS ARISTIDES, was a native of Mysia (born in 117 A.D.). He sat at the feet of the most celebrated masters of the sophistic art, Herodes Atticus at Athens, Polemo at Smyrna, and others. When his education was finished, he travelled about, through Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, seeing the world and delivering lectures. He also visited Rome. But his head-quarters were at Smyrna. He died about 185 A.D. Fifty-five of his discourses nave come down to us; most of them are speeches in the proper sense of the word, but some are in the form of letters. Many of them turn on events and situations of ancient history. In one he declaims on the Athenian expedition to Sicily, in another on the peace with Sparta; while no less than five are devoted to the situation of Athens, in respect to Sparta and Thebes, after the battle of Leuctra. Two declamations discuss the question at issue in the speech of Demosthenes in reply to Leptines. The *Panathenaikos* is a panegyric on Athens, in imitation of the like-named speech of Isocrates; and the glory of the same city is the keynote of the discourse *On Behalf of the Four*,* that is, the four Athenian statesmen, Themistocles, Miltiades, Cimon, and Pericles, whom Plato attacked in the *Gorgias*. The *Panegyric on Rome* was delivered in 160 A.D. The five *Sacred Discourses*,† give an account of the author's long illness, and of the miraculous cures which at last gave him relief. They are interesting as a picture of the superstitions of the age. The Discourses in honour of gods illustrate the tendency then prevailing to interpret legend allegorically. The Discourse to Poseidon was delivered at a celebration of the Isthmian games, and that to Æsculapius on the occasion of the dedication of his temple at Cyzicus. The general impression left upon the reader by the works of Aristides is that he is dealing with an author who operates entirely with words, and cares nothing about ideas. And Aristides confessed, or rather boasted, himself, that he set words above everything. He was not a ready speaker; he rather despised extempore speech. He polished his sentences to the highest point, and through his extreme artificiality and subtlety is often obscure.

* Ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων. † Ἱεροὶ λόγοι.

§ 12. LUCIAN of Samosata (born about 125 A.D.) not only is by far the greatest figure in the Greek literature of the second century, but holds a distinguished place in the literature of the world. He tells us in his *Dream* how an accident saved him from becoming a sculptor and made him a man of letters. His parents had been in doubt whether they should apprentice him to his uncle, who was a sculptor, or give him a literary education. The consideration that a course of study required so much money and time decided them in favour of the former alternative; and, besides, the boy had displayed some skill in making wax figures. But in the first days of his apprenticeship Lucian smashed a block of marble in pieces, by striking it with too much force, and was beaten by his master for his awkwardness. This incident, reinforced by a dream which had appeared to him, decided him to abandon the sculptor's trade. Techne (Art) and Paideia (Culture) had come to him in his sleep, each inviting him to follow her way; and the promises of Paideia, who pointed to the glories of a rhetorician's career, had forced her rival to retire. Lucian's parents allowed him to return to his studies. When his education was finished, he travelled about, like Aristides, delivering public addresses. Of these some have survived, and one especially deserves mention, as displaying that literary talent which was afterwards developed in other kinds of composition. This is the *Lawsuit of Letters;* a lawsuit between Sigma and Tau, brought before the court of the Vowels. Sigma complains of having been ousted from a number of Greek words in Attic speech, to make room for Tau (like *thalatta* for *thalassa*).

But although he was successful as a sophist or rhetorician, a man with Lucian's powers could not rest satisfied with an art which after all was so hollow. He took up his quarters at Athens and devoted himself to philosophy. This new study had an effect on the form of his literary compositions, leading him to discover and adopt the style which suited his genius best. He now composed dialogues instead of speeches, and abandoned the elaborate periods which were considered an essential feature of rhetoric. He is the creator of satirical Dialogue. In the later years of his life, indeed, when the freshness of his muse was exhausted, he returned to the composition of Discourses. He also left Athens, and accepted a public post in Egypt, where he died (probably in the reign of Commodus, certainly later than 180 A.D.).

The "Dialogues of the Gods"* are the best known and most original of Lucian's works. Among the most witty and amusing

* Under this general heading we may include (1) Dialogues of the (celestial) Gods; (2) Dialogues of the Sea; (3) Dialogues of the Dead; (4) Prometheus or Caucasus; (5) Cataplus; (6) Charon; (7) Menippus; (8) Icaromenippus.

are those in which the satirical philosopher Menippus recounts his experiences in the under-world and describes visits which, having put on the wings of Icarus, he made to the moon and Olympus. The subject of the *Charon* is a visit which the ferryman of Styx made to the upper-world. Parnassus is placed on the top of Ossa and Olympus, and from the summit Charon gazes upon the world of men and their follies. In all these dialogues Lucian contends against superstition with the weapons of ridicule, and exposes the absurdities of pagan theology by ludicrous situations. In others he attacks the gods more directly. In *Zeus under Examination*,* an Epicurean philosopher examines the god as to the incompatibility of the necessity of fate with the free-will of the gods, and reduces him to a dilemma. The dialogue entitled *Timon* (the misanthrope) is also very clever. Of those dialogues which ridicule philosophical imposture, the most striking perhaps is the *Hermotimus*, which aims at showing the mistake of accepting any philosophical system. The *Cynic* is very bitter against the Cynics and shows the follies of rejecting the good things which nature offers us. The *Philosopher's Auction* and the *Parasite* must also be mentioned. The *Lexiphanes* is an attack on the "euphuists" of his own day.

Lucian also composed some works in epistolary form. *Alexander or the False Prophet* gives a biography of the Cagliostro of that day, an impostor who professed to have divine powers and work all sorts of miracles and who closely resembled Apollonius of Tyana. The *Peregrinus* is another attack on the Cynics. The *Professor of Rhetoric*† is a bitter caricature of a rhetorician or sophist, and was probably aimed at some particular person. The celebrated pamphlet *How History should be written*‡ ridicules writers who undertook to describe the contemporary Parthian war of 165 A.D. in the style of Thucydides or Herodotus.

Other works, which deserve mention, are the *True Stories*, a satire on contemporary novelists; and the romance entitled *Lucius or Ass* which has already been referred to in connection with Apuleius.

There is a great charm about Lucian's graceful and easy style. He had mastered with marvellous thoroughness the Attic idiom; and his is one of the few cases in which a return to the speech and style of ancient models has been happy and effective. He was unusually well read in the great works of classical literature, and not the least attraction in his writings is that one is ever

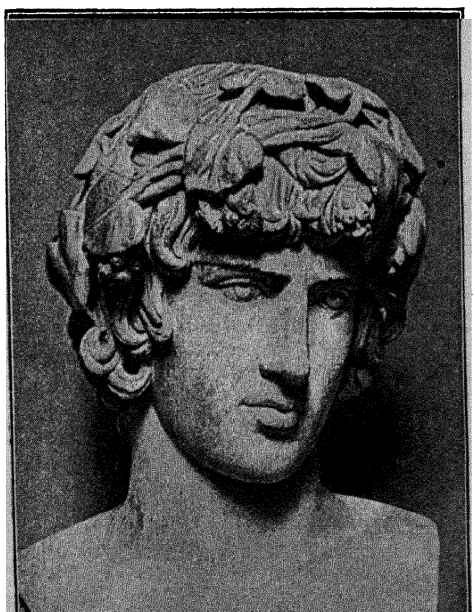
* Ζεὺς ἐλεγχόμενος, "Zeus being confuted." The Epicurean appears under the guise of a cynic.

† Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος, "teacher of rhetors."

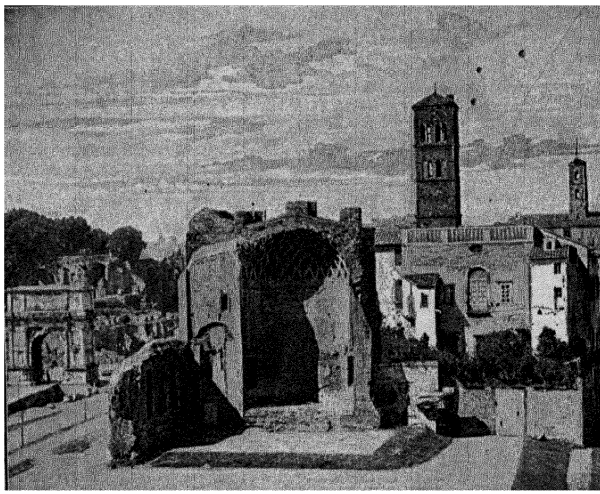
‡ Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν.

coming across a phrase from Homer, an echo of Aristophanes, or a reminiscence of Plato.

§ 13. Greek poetry had wholly declined. The only kind of poetical composition still practised with any success was epigram. The poetess BALBILLA has been already mentioned as accompanying the Empress Sabina on her visit to Egypt. OPPIAN of Corycus in Cilicia wrote a work on fishing in five Books, entitled *Halieutica*. The hexameters flow easily enough, but it has no poetic merit. Oppian's father was banished, but the son won the favour of Marcus Aurelius (169 A.D.), and procured his father's pardon. The date of BABRIUS is uncertain, but he certainly lived in the first or second century A.D. He wrote a collection of Æsopic fables (in two books). The metre is choliambic. Nearly all the stories are taken from older sources; but a few seem to have been invented by the author.



Head of Antinous (from the bust in the British Museum).



Temple of Venus and Rome (as it appears at the present day)

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ROMAN WORLD UNDER THE EMPIRE. POLITICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, AND ART.

§ 1. Tendency of the Principate to absolutism. Defects of the Principate as a form of government. Tendency to a military monarchy. § 2. Growing importance of provinces. Edict of Caracalla. Tendency to uniformity. Elements of disintegration in the second century. Financial mistakes. § 3. Felicity of the second century. Brilliant legislation. Spirit of humanity. § 4. PHILOSOPHY. Diffusion among the Romans. § 5. Epicureanism. § 6. Stoicism. § 7. Seneca. § 8. Musonius Rufus. § 9. Epictetus. § 10. Marcus Aurelius. § 11. Cynicism. Demetrius, Demonax, and Peregrinus. § 12. General resemblance of these philosophies. § 13. Natural antipathy of Romans to philosophy. Difference in the attitude of the government in first and second centuries. § 14. Philosophers unpopular with the masses. § 15. Quarrels between philosophers and rhetoricians. § 16. Sham philosophers. § 17. Cosmopolitanism. § 18. Suicide. § 19. RELIGION. Strength and permanence of the national Roman and Greek religions. § 20. Different attitude to religion in the first and in the second century A.D. Superstition. § 21. Religion maintained by Emperors. § 22. Judaism. § 23. Christianity. Causes of its success. § 24. Attitude of the Emperors to Christianity. Its unpopularity. Rescripts of Marcus Aurelius. § 25. Apologies of Aristides, Justin, and Minucius Felix. § 26. Christian heresies. § 27. ART. Architecture. § 28. Sculpture. § 29. Painting.

SECT. I.—THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE.

§ 1. IT will be well here to recapitulate the chief features which we have observed from time to time in the foregoing pages as marking the political development of the Principate, from its inauguration by Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius.

(1) In the first place, the relations between the Emperor and the senate in their joint rule, gradually shift to the advantage of the Emperor at the expense of the senate. The dyarchy instituted by Augustus has set a long way in the direction of pure monarchy by the time of Marcus. In general, the unlimited autocratic power which the Emperor possessed in the large dominions subject to his *imperium*, reacted on his limited power in Rome and Italy. The man who was absolute monarch abroad could hardly help working towards the acquisition of absolute power at home also; and if he worked towards it, he could not help winning it. (1) In particular the constitutional position of the Princeps was strengthened by new prerogatives, especially by the censorial power, which was openly usurped by Domitian, and silently adopted by his more tactful successors. (2) The sphere of the Emperor's competence in Italy and Rome was enlarged. (3) His "province" was enlarged, by the acquisition of new territories, especially Britain and Dacia. (4) His power of interfering in senatorial provinces by virtue of his *maius imperium* was more clearly recognised, and more frequently exercised. None of these tendencies has reached its final consummation at the end of the second century, but it is already quite evident to what point the Empire is drifting. The dyarchy will be subverted, and the Princeps will become an absolute monarch; the distinction between Italy and the provinces will disappear; and the distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces will be obliterated. And therefore, when those characteristic principles, which distinguish the Principate from other forms of monarchical government, have been undermined, the Principate itself will come to an end (285 A.D.), and an undisguised autocracy will take its place.

Practically, indeed, though not theoretically, the Emperors of the second century were very nearly absolute monarchs. Ovid had distinguished Augustus from Romulus as a *princeps* from a *dominus*; but, a hundred years later, the Princeps is generally addressed as Dominus. In the first century there is a continuous struggle, sometimes acute, between the two members of the dyarchy. In the second century, this struggle is over; the senate acknowledges its master without murmuring; and the Emperors

find it convenient to be extremely conciliatory and considerate in their relations with that body.

As a political machine, the Principate cannot be pronounced a success. It is hardly, perhaps, fair to say that it rested on a transparent falsehood. It certainly professed to be a republic, whereas in reality it was a monarchy; it disguised monarchical government under republican forms. But this want of candour, which was essential to it, cannot in itself be reasonably called a fault. If the maintenance of republican forms had given general satisfaction, it could not be censured. The real fault was that the disguise did not succeed. The Principate did not accomplish the object which was the sole justification of such a cumbrous machine. It did not satisfy the higher classes, in whose hands the government had rested before and after the dictatorship of Cæsar. The aristocracy had governed so badly that monarchy was necessary; but when monarchy was established, the aristocracy could not with impunity be disregarded. Thus the problem set to the new monarch was to frame a constitution of such a kind that the aristocracy should have a sufficient share in the government to satisfy them, and congenial political employment. That the ingenious experiment which Augustus made to solve this problem was a failure, is proved by the history of the first century, and the writings of Tacitus. A form of government in which a large and influential class, or a large section of such a class, does not acquiesce, or only acquiesces through fear, is, so far, a failure. One cannot sympathise with the desire of men like Thrasea and Helvidius to recall the Republic, but their opposition shows the weak point of the Principate. The aristocracy no longer felt themselves *free*. If Augustus had had the experience of modern Europe, and known something about the working of ministries, he might have made a better attempt at establishing a monarchy, to which the nobles would have been more easily reconciled.

(2) The military side of the Empire becomes more pronounced. The elevation of both Claudius and Nero was due to the attitude of the military forces at Rome. The events of the year 69 A.D. proved still more clearly that the creation of Emperors depended on the armies, and showed, too, that they need not be created at Rome. Trajan was a military monarch, and in his time the title Imperator begins to come into common use, instead of Princeps, to designate the Emperor, without special reference to his position as commander-in-chief.

§ 2. (3) Another tendency which we have frequently noticed is the growing importance of the provinces. It was the provincial administration which above all things had made the Empire a

necessity; and it was in the provincial administration above all things that the Empire was a success. The elevation of Emperors of provincial family—beginning with Trajan—is in itself an important sign of the tendency to promote the provinces to the level of Italy. The Roman senate, ever since the censorship of Vespasian, was recruited from provincial, as well as Italian families. The extension of Roman citizenship was destined to reach its culmination, only thirty-two years after the death of Marcus, when the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of Caracalla conferred it on all the subjects of the Empire (212 A.D.).

(4) The tendency to political uniformity between the various parts of the Empire is (1) one of the many tendencies, perceptible in the second century, which were destined to weaken and disintegrate the empire. Closely connected with it is (2) the policy of limiting the local self-government of both Italian and provincial communities, a policy which was ultimately to result in a thoroughgoing centralisation, and to paralyse municipal life throughout the Roman world. On the other hand the policy of converting non-municipal into municipal communities was largely adopted. Another sign of what was to come hereafter may be seen in (3) the revolt of Avidius Cassius, which suggests the division and opposition of interests between the eastern and western halves of the Empire.* (4) The wars of Marcus on the Danube are a foretaste of the danger which menaced the Empire from the barbarians of central Europe. A hundred years before, the war of Civilis had shown conspicuously the strength of the Empire; but the Marcomannic war rather displayed its weak points. (5) The system of foreign settlements in Roman territory, and its significance have been set forth in the foregoing chapter. (6) The institution of two *Augusti* is also a step in the direction of disintegration. (7) Christianity, which was destined to help in the weakening of the state, begins to attract attention. But the weakest point of the Empire was its (8) financial administration. The ancients had very little knowledge of economical causes and effects; but it is difficult to see how even they could fail to discern the results to which the cheap distribution of grain at Rome necessarily led. An immense sum was spent every year in order "to keep bread cheap in a city where a variety of circumstances tended to make it dear. This singular system of annihilating capital, and ruining agriculture and industry, was so deeply rooted in the Roman administration, that similar gratuitous distributions of grain were established at Antioch and Alexandria, and other cities."† The depreciation of coinage had begun with

* This is shown a few years later by the struggle between the Emperor Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger.

† Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 43.

Nero, and paved the way for the public frauds committed by this means, on a gigantic scale, by some of the Emperors of the third century. This policy tended to diminish, and ultimately destroyed a large part of the trading capital in the Empire. "The laws which regulate the distribution, the accumulation, and the destruction of wealth, the demand for labour and the gains of industry, attest that the depreciation of the currency was one of the most powerful causes of the impoverishment and depopulation of the Roman empire in the third century." *

Manners have an important influence on economy; and luxury was one of the direct causes of the financial difficulties which induced Emperors to adopt the dangerous experiment of depreciating the currency. The costliest articles of Roman luxury were imported from the east, and immense sums of specie were drafted every year to oriental countries, and never returned. The elder Pliny speaks of the Arabs as the richest people in the world, "for the treasures of the Romans and the Parthians flow in to them." The same writer mentions that the luxury of Roman women cost the state a hundred million sesterces (about £800,000) yearly, which went to Arabia, India, and China.

§ 3. But though we can detect in the second century these small beginnings of causes which were subsequently fatal to the Roman state, no one at that time could possibly dream of such results. The period from Trajan to the outbreak of the plague under Marcus, is the most brilliant period of the Empire. Never was prosperity more widely diffused, seldom was the individual subject more respectfully considered, than under Antoninus Pius. This general happiness of a large portion of the world is a pleasant prospect, though rendered somewhat melancholy by the thought of the troubles which immediately followed. But the second century has a far higher significance in the history of the world. Then began a period of legislation, the like of which men have never seen, either before or since. The Roman genius for legal construction entered on the highest phase of its development. Hadrian inaugurated, Pius and Marcus fostered, the movement which was to produce Papinian and Ulpian. The principles of jurisprudence which were developed then, form the basis of the law which at present prevails in most countries of continental Europe. But it is worthy of note that the spirit of humanity which animated the Roman legislators of this period, was probably a source of weakness for the Empire. It was a departure from the general traditions of Roman antiquity, a simultaneous movement in the direction to which not only Christianity but also the later Greek philosophies were pointing.

* Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 52.

Having reviewed the political tendencies of the Empire, we may now proceed to a brief survey of contemporary philosophy and religion.

Sect. II.—Philosophy and Philosophers.

§ 4. The later Greek philosophies, which subordinated theory to practice and pursued knowledge mainly as a means to happiness, had been introduced at Rome in the second century B.C. Cicero made a special study of them, and his numerous treatises contributed largely to making the Latin world familiar with the tenets of the Stoics and the Epicureans, the Academicians, the Peripatetics, and the Sceptics. The three last-named schools, although they possess considerable interest in the special history of philosophy, were not prominent under the Empire, and did not at this time exercise much influence on the spiritual development of mankind. The Peripatetics, who were the most important of the three, chiefly confined themselves to the exposition of the writings of Aristotle. But Stoicism and Epicureanism claim our attention as representing an important side of the spiritual life of our period.

§ 5. The Epicurean school held that the supreme good was happiness, and that happiness consisted in pleasure. Virtue, they said, has no value except in so far as it is a means to enjoying pleasure. But the wise man will seek pleasure for the whole of life, not merely for the moment. Hence he will reject many momentary pleasures which may entail pains afterwards; and he will pay greater attention to the pleasures of hope and memory, and to spiritual joy, than to sensual pleasures. The supreme good is thus reduced to a mental condition of tranquillity, which nothing can shake; and this condition is impossible, according to Epicurus, without the practice of virtue, and especially of temperance. Above all, man must learn not to fear death, and not to be superstitious. The Epicureans adopted the atomic theory of the universe, and did not believe in the existence of the gods or of a guiding providence. Their theories were presented to the Roman world in the great poem of Lucretius, who came forward as a champion against the terrors of religion. Under the Empire the school continued to exist, and attracted those who desired to lead a tranquil life, and were repelled by the austerer system of the Stoics. Horace, who calls himself "a pig of the drove of Epicurus," * endeavoured to realize this cheerful tranquillity.

§ 6. The Stoic philosophy, which was originated by Zeno † and

* *Epist.*, i. 4. 16: Epicuri de grege porcum.

† Juvenal, xv. 106: Melius nos Zenonis præcepta monent.

developed by Chrysippus,* based its system of morality on a physical theory of the universe. The Stoics held that all things are corporeal; there is no spiritual, as distinguished from material, substance. Hence they considered God and nature to be the same. God is the soul of nature, and nature the body of God. The universe is a whole, of which all the parts are bound together by law in a rational order. The parts are strictly subordinate to the whole. No single thing is at liberty to isolate itself. From this principle of the rational order of the world they deduced their ethics. The supreme good (*summum bonum*) for the individual, is to live in harmony with the whole of which he is a part—"to live suitably to nature" (*vivere convenienter naturæ*). This is virtue, and virtue is the supreme good. Hence the Stoics reject pleasure as of no moral worth; for it is merely a personal end of the individual, and has no part in the supreme good. They also reject all external goods, regarding them as morally "indifferent."† Such things may be used well or ill; to be without them does not affect a man's true happiness. The only good is virtue; and the only evil vice. Moreover, they did not admit any degree in virtue and vice. All good acts, they said, are equally right, all bad acts equally wrong. Their ethics culminated in the paradoxical idea of the wise man. He, the perfect Stoic philosopher, knows everything. He is the true lawgiver, the true physician, the true poet, the true friend; for he alone has true knowledge of all things human and divine. He may have never stitched a shoe in his life, but yet he is a good shoemaker.‡ He is only responsible to himself for his actions; therefore he is lord of himself and king.

§ 7. This ethical ideal of Stoicism, in its purest and original form made it exclusive and highly unpopular. A philosophy, which set up virtue as the sole good, and accounted all other things as valueless, could not be acceptable to ordinary people. A system which upheld the absolute sovranty of reason, was not likely to spread widely. Hence some thought it necessary to soften these hard sayings, and SENECA, who was essentially a man of compromise, presents us with a much milder form of Stoicism than that of his Greek masters. He even goes so far as to say that he is best who is least bad. Like the older Stoics, he holds that the distinction between God and nature is not primary, but he emphasizes more strongly the ethical importance of God's

* Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 3. 44: Chrysippi porticus et grex.

† ἀδιάφορα.

‡ Horace, *Sat.*, i. 3. 124:

Si dives qui sapiens est
Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,
Cur optas quod habes? "Non nosti quid pater," inquit,
"Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
Nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens."

providence. He also goes further than they, in making morality the main purpose of philosophy. It is easy to see that the circumstances of the age influenced the spirit of the Stoic teaching. The decadence of morals, and the despotism of such Emperors as Caligula and Nero, made men take with great seriousness the problem of finding a firm vantage-ground within the mind itself, from which to defy fortune. The feeling of human weakness was also brought home to men in new ways, and this produced a feeling of sympathy and indulgence, which softened the rigorous principle of Stoic self-sufficingness. We can mark these effects in the writings of Seneca. No one has taught with more enthusiasm than he the independence on external things, which philosophy can give. The chief condition of happiness is contempt of death. And no ancient philosopher has insisted more strongly on the importance of universal philanthropy, which does not exclude even the slave. God, he says, dwells in the soul of the slave, as well as in that of the knight.

§ 8. MUSONIUS RUFUS, a younger contemporary of Seneca, taught philosophy at Rome in the reign of Nero and Vespasian, and enjoyed a high reputation. He was a friend of Pætus Thrasea and a member of the Stoic party of opposition, and was banished by Nero in 65 A.D. It has been mentioned before that he was honourably excepted, when Vespasian ejected the philosophers from Rome. He seems to have been a man of strong nature, and to have exercised a great influence on his pupils in strengthening their moral character. "Every one of us," said a distinguished pupil of his,* "thought, as he sat listening, that he was personally meant; so vividly did our master bring the evil qualities of each home to him." Musonius did not introduce new doctrines; the distinctive character of his teaching lay in emphasizing strongly, and perhaps extravagantly, special doctrines. Philosophy, he said, is the only way to virtue; a philosopher and a good man are synonymous.

§ 9. Musonius was the teacher of the celebrated EPICTETUS, a native of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a slave of Nero's freedman Epaphroditus. He was lame and of weakly body. He heard the lectures of Musonius and devoted himself to philosophy. Afterwards he acquired his freedom. Under Domitian he was banished with the other philosophers from Rome, and retired to Nicopolis, where Arrian was one of his pupils. Hence he is described by a modern poet as

> "That halting slave, who in Nicopolis,
> Taught Arrian, when Vespasian's brutal son
> Clear'd Rome of what most shamed him."†

* Epictetus. † Matthew Arnold.

Like Seneca and Musonius he laid the whole weight of philosophy in ethics. Socrates had taught that the beginning of philosophy is a painful consciousness of one's ignorance. Epictetus taught that the beginning of philosophy is a painful consciousness of one's weakness. In order to be good, a man must be convinced that he is evil. There are two rules for realizing happiness. The first is to bear with resignation all outward circumstances; the second is to renounce desires of outward things. These may be expressed in two words *sustain* and *abstain*.* He insists strongly on divine providence, the paternal care of God for the world, and the faultless perfection of the universe. He tries to reconcile the popular religion with his philosophical pantheism, by explaining the gods as subordinate beings, derived from the Supreme Being. "All things are full of gods and dæmons." He seems to have believed in the immortality of the soul, though it is not clear what form his theory of the life after death assumed. He looks upon the soul as a stranger to the body, longing to leave it. "Thou art a little soul," he said, "bearing up a corpse."† The brotherhood of mankind is a prominent feature of his teaching.

§ 10. MARCUS AURELIUS was a great admirer of Epictetus, whom he follows closely. He neglects physics and dialectics, and denies that much knowledge is necessary for leading the life of the wise man. The chief theories on which he builds up his ethical precepts are the doctrine (which the Stoics derived from Heraclitus), that all things are in a constant flux, every moment passing into some new form, and that, in this great stream of the world, the life of an individual is of absolutely no account. On the other hand, this eternal process of Becoming is controlled by a supreme law, and serves the aims of supreme Reason. Like Epictetus, he believes in gods, and even says, that it would not be worth living in a world without gods. He also believes in special revelations to men, by means of dreams and prophecies. Perhaps the chief difference in spirit between Marcus and Epictetus lies in the stronger emphasis, which the Emperor lays on the duties of the individual to society.

§ 11. In the first century B.C., the CYNIC philosophy seems to have been regarded as practically obsolete. But it was revived under the Empire, and in Nero's reign we met a Cynic named Demetrius, of high repute, a great friend of Seneca and Thrasea Pætus. He was afterwards banished to an island by Vespasian. His principles differed little from those of the Stoics; he only carried them out more unscrupulously and rudely. What chiefly distinguished the

* Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου. *Sustine et abstine.*

† Ψυχάριον εἶ, βαστάζον νεκρόν. "A little soul for a little bears up this corpse which is man" (Swinburne).

practical side of the Stoic from the Cynic teaching was that the Stoics admitted, that of indifferent things some were more desirable than others, whereas the Cynics rejected this distinction. In this matter Epictetus had approximated to Cynicism. The Cynics, who affected simplicity in matters like dress, did not wear tunics; hence Juvenal describes the Stoic doctrines as "differing only by the tunic from the Cynic." * In the second century DEMŌNAX was head of the Cynic school at Athens, and Lucian, who was no lover of philosophers, especially of Cynics, gives a favourable picture of his life and teaching. On the other hand, he gives a caricature of the Cynics in his description of the adventurer PEREGRINUS, who after a dissolute youth embraced Christianity, then became a Cynic, and finally, in order to make himself notorious, cast himself into a funeral pyre at a celebration of the Olympian games (165 A.D.) in the presence of a large concourse of spectators. It seems possible, however, that the true Peregrinus was a man of moral earnestness, who wished to enforce his views on the desirability of suicide by a striking example.

§ 12. The tone and spirit of these philosophies was much the same, however widely different their first principles, their systems and their methods. Both Stoics and Epicureans believed that happiness is attainable in this life by a man's own efforts. When a man is educated by philosophy to recognise that bodily pains are not real, and that the true self is independent of external circumstances, he attains to resignation; and happiness, they agreed, consists in resignation. Knowledge makes a man free; for it makes him independent of circumstances. The precept of Epictetus "Sustain and abstain" strikes the note of all these later philosophies. Men of serious and austere temperament were attracted to the Porch of Chrysippus; men of milder and weaker character to the Garden of Epicurus.† It is also observable that, while the Epicureans held their own special tenets exclusively, the Stoics and other schools mutually approximated their views. *Eclecticism*—the combining of various doctrines selected from different systems—was thus rendered easy. Those who professed adhesion to Plato were quite ready to adopt parts of the Stoic teaching; and Peripatetics were anxious to assimilate Aristotle to Plato. Of this spirit of compromise, which was characteristic of the age, Plutarch was a typical example. "In philosophy his adherence to the Academy was loose even for that very broad and undogmatic school. It would be hard to say whether the number of Stoic dogmas which he

* xiii. 120:
Et qui nec Cynicos nec Stoica dogmata legit
A Cynicis tunica distantia.

† Juvenal, iii. 122: Epicurum—exigui lætum plantaribus horti; xiv. 319: Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis.

rejects exceeds that which he quotes with approval." "He will not adopt with Plato the equality of the sexes, or with the Stoics the injustice of slavery, or with the Pythagoreans the rights of the lower animals to justice at the hands of men, yet he goes a long way with all three—magnifying the position and the dignity of the house-mother both by example and precept, inculcating everywhere kindness and consideration to slaves, adopting even vegetarian doctrines in some of his earlier treatises."*

§ 13. Though Greek philosophy spread among the Romans and exercised considerable influence on their leading men, there was a certain lurking antipathy to it in the Roman character, which was never wholly removed. Both Epicureans and Stoics taught their pupils to hold aloof from public life. Both, likewise, regarded celibacy as preferable to marriage; Musonius indeed was an exception. Here were points in which their teaching directly clashed with the interests of the community, and which provoked aversion and contempt on the part of practical Romans. Tacitus suggests that the most common function of philosophy is to serve as a cloak for idleness;† and he ridicules the "unseasonable wisdom" of the Stoic, Musonius Rufus, who when the Flavian army approached Rome (69 A.D.) went about among the maniples, discoursing philosophically to the soldiers on the advantages of peace and the dangers of war. Quintilian opposed the practical statesman to the mere philosopher. Avidius Cassius ridiculed Marcus Aurelius for his philosophical studies.

But in the attitude adopted to philosophy, if not by the educated public, at all events by the government, there is a marked difference between the first and second centuries of the Empire. In the first century philosophers are regarded with suspicion. Nero was not allowed to learn philosophy, as a study likely to prove injurious to the character of a ruler. Seneca felt himself called upon to make an attempt to remove the prevailing prejudices and to show that philosophy was not inconsistent with the performance of public duties. The fact that most of the leading nobles, who under Nero and the Flavians were irreconcilable adversaries of the imperial government, were professed Stoics, may have had a good deal to do with the attitude of distrust which the Emperors assumed towards philosophy. Stoicism became associated and identified with disloyalty. After Domitian there was a reaction, and the Emperors of the second century, from Trajan the soldier, to Marcus the philosopher, favour and encourage philosophy. Under Marcus it was fashionable even

* Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, pp. 300, 301.

† *Hist.*, iv. 5: Non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret. He excepts Helvidius from the general rule.

for women to study the subject; and men like the Stoic Junius Rusticus and the Peripatetic Claudius Severus held high and influential positions.

§ 14. Philosophers were always unpopular with the mass of the people. Their pretentions to superiority, their strict moral precepts, and their severe moral judgments made them disliked. Their weak points and their external appearance—the long beard, bare feet, coarse cloak* of the Stoics—were unsparingly ridiculed. Moreover, philosophy was despised as unproductive and useless. Persius, in his satires, introduces centurions mocking at philosophy as a useless art. "Big Vulfenius gives a hoarse laugh, and bids a bad farthing for a hundred Greeks." † Another laughs at the idea of growing pale or going without one's breakfast in order to meditate on a sick man's dream, "that nothing arises out of nothing, and nothing returns into nothing." ‡ It need hardly be said that the mercantile world agreed with the centurions. The rich freedman Trimalchio, in the *Satiricon* of Petronius, ordered that his epitaph should end with the words, "He left thirty million sesterces, and never heard a philosopher." §

§ 15. Philosophy was also despised and disliked by rhetoricians. The controversy which has been raised in modern times as to the respective educational values of classical literature and science has its parallel in the controversy which was vehemently waged under the Empire between the merits of philosophy and rhetoric. The rhetoricians made little of philosophy as useless for practical purposes, just as votaries of science in the present century have been inclined to make little of the "humanities." Quintilian mentions as a subject set for a declamation: "A man who had three children, an orator, a philosopher, and a physician, divided his property into four parts; each son received a part, and the fourth was to belong to him who was most useful to the state. Whose is the fourth to be?" The elder Seneca hated philosophy. In the second century Aristides was a vehement defender of rhetoric versus philosophy, and Fronto shared the same antipathy to the favourite studies of his imperial pupil. Lucian makes out in his *Hermotimus* a striking case for the utter futility of philosophic pursuits.

§ 16. Another circumstance which gave philosophy a bad name

* *Abolla.* Cf. Juvenal, iii. 115: Facinus maioris abollæ.

† v. 184:
Continuo crassum ridet Vulfenius ingens
Et centum Græcos curto centusse licetur.
iii. 74:
Aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum.

‡ Ib. 83:
Ægroti veteris meditantes somnia, gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti,
Hoc est quod palles? cur quis non prandeat hoc est?
His populus ridet.

§ Petronius, 71: Nec unquam philosophum audivit.

was that she frequently served as a mask for vice. Men who pretended to be Stoics or Cynics, wearing long beards and professing extreme strictness, often led most dissolute lives.* Models of propriety in public, they held shameless orgies at home. Many avaricious sycophants wore the guise of philosophers; nor were even the genuine professors of philosophy always above the suspicion of greed of gold. Aristides described them as a vicious class, without a redeeming virtue. The towns of Greece swarmed with them. Everywhere, Lucian tells us,† one meets in the streets their long beards, their rolls of books, their threadbare cloaks, and their big sticks. Poor cobblers and carpenters leave their shops to rove about the country as begging Cynics, and the Cynic school, which had gained a new lease of vitality under the Empire, helped especially to bring philosophy into disrepute. In the second century the country was infested with begging philosophers, carrying scrip and staff like the begging monks of the Middle Ages. This trade was often adopted by runaway slaves, and the whole class was distinguished for shamelessness and filth.

§ 17. But, although unpopular and mercilessly jibed at, the philosophers exercised great influence; and the very existence of a multitude of spurious philosophers proves the repute which the true philosophers enjoyed. It was not uncommon among the better classes at Rome to retain a philosopher as a perpetual inmate of the house, to be consulted on all difficulties, somewhat like a father confessor of modern times. In this capacity, and as the heads of schools, and also as travelling missionaries, they exercised an important influence on public opinion. The teaching of all the schools tended to promote a cosmopolitan spirit; Epicureanism by its opposition to national sentiment and patriotism, Cynicism by denying all bonds of family and country, Stoicism by the positive doctrine that all men are brothers. External circumstances, the immense traffic and lively intercourse which were kept up between the various peoples of the Empire and its remotest provinces, were favourable to cosmopolitanism. "We have not," says Seneca, "shut ourselves up in the walls of a city, but opened an intercourse with the whole world; we have declared ourselves citizens of the world." It is clear that the growth of this spirit prepared mankind for the reception of the Christian idea of human fellowship.

§ 18. One of the most striking facts in the early Empire was the frequency of suicide among the higher classes in Rome. No system of philosophy regarded self-destruction as a crime, and the ancients in general did not look upon it with the same eye as

* Juvenal lashes such in his Second Satire.

† *Piscator*, 34.

modern societies. In the age of the early Cæsars the doctrine was emphatically preached, that it was each man's inalienable right to leave the world at pleasure. The Stoics, who held that death was not an evil,* regarded the power of self-destruction as an inestimable privilege. Familiarity with the bloody scenes in the arena blunted men's horror of death; and, on the other hand, the example of their hero Cato (*Catonis nobile letum*) made suicide popular with the aristocracy. Thus the discontented nobles were ready to engage in desperate conspiracies, which had little chance of success, and betake themselves to a voluntary death when the plot was discovered. The admiration in which Arria, the wife of Pætus, was held, shows how honourably suicide was esteemed in the first century A.D. When her husband was sentenced for conspiring with Scribonianus, she determined to die with him, and having given herself the first blow, handed him the dagger, saying, "It is not painful." † Her relations had attempted to dissuade her from her resolution, and when Thrasea, her son-in-law, asked her whether she would wish her daughter to destroy herself under similar circumstances, she answered, "Yes, if she shall have lived with you as long and as harmoniously, as I have with my Pætus." When they kept watch over her actions, she said, "You can make me die painfully, but cannot hinder me from dying," and leaping up, dashed her head against the wall. "I told you," she said, on recovering from the shock, "I would find a way of death, however hard, if you denied me an easy one." The younger Pliny tells the story with the greatest admiration.

Sect. III.—Religion.

§ 19. It would be a great mistake to suppose that scepticism and disbelief in the national religion, which were prevalent enough among the educated classes in the first century A.D., had made any way among the uneducated masses. The great majority of the people of the Empire believed as firmly as their ancestors, in the existence of the gods. Evidence of this fact must be sought, not so much in literature, which is misleading because it represents the opinions of cultivated society, as in inscriptions, which directly reflect popular beliefs. Besides the abundant evidence of inscriptions, there are three considerations, which show the strength of the old religion. Its vitality is proved (1) by its power of assimilating elements from oriental creeds; (2) by the creation of

* Nothing natural (they said) is evil, and death is natural. Juvenal, x. 357: Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem.

† Pæte, non dolet (Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 16).

new deities, such as *Annona*, the goddess of the corn-market; the deification of Emperors both living and dead; the multiplication of the *genii;* (3) by the resistance which it offered to Christianity for nearly five hundred years, and by the remarkable fact that the early Christians themselves never thought of disbelieving in the existence of the Pagan gods, whom they regarded as really existing powers of darkness.

§ 20. In regard to the religious attitude of educated people there was a notable difference between the first and second centuries.

In the first century, men who read and reflected, but did not embrace any definite philosophical system, wavered between polytheism and monotheism. Tacitus seems to have believed in the gods. Quintilian veered towards monotheism, but does not seem to have absolutely rejected polytheism or come to any clear conclusion. Pliny the elder definitely denied the existence of the gods, and identified God with nature. He held especially that God is not omnipotent; for he cannot kill himself, or make immortal what is mortal, or undo the past, or make twice ten anything but twenty. Some of the Stoics, as we have seen, made a systematic attempt to reconcile the received religion with enlightened thought. They believed in one supreme god; but set under him a number of gods of lower rank, whom they call *dæmons*, and with whom the popular gods could be identified. But these streams of doubt and disbelief did not affect the masses.

In the second century we become aware of a great reaction. There was a general return, on the part of educated men, to the old religion. Superstition prevailed, and miracle-mongering became the fashion. This change is clearly reflected in the literature of the age. Even the younger Pliny, whose philosophic beliefs approximated to Stoicism, believed firmly in dreams, and built two temples. Suetonius was childishly superstitious. During an illness of Faustina, Fronto prayed to the gods for her health every morning. Aulus Gellius was extremely conservative in matters of religion. Turning to Greek literature, we meet the same phenomenon. Credulity is one of its distinguishing notes. Lucian and Galen are the two exceptions. Plutarch is deeply religious; Pausanias is absurdly superstitious; the credulity of Aristides, the rhetorician, rises to enthusiasm. It is necessary to be fully aware of this wide-spread superstition, in order to appreciate the satirical wit of Lucian.

The prevalence of superstition is illustrated by the story which the sophist Philostratus composed (early in the third century) of the wonder-worker Apollonius of Tyana, who, having

travelled throughout the whole world, having learned wisdom from the Brahmins of India, and mystic lore from the priests of Egypt, suddenly appeared in Greek lands in the reign of Claudius, wrought miraculous cures, raised the dead, walked through shut doors, rendered himself invisible at pleasure, and performed all kinds of miracles. It is not to be regarded as sober history. It is merely a romance; but the picture which it draws of the general credulity, is probably true to life. Astrology was encouraged, both by the higher and lower classes. Noble houses often kept private astrologers (*mathematici*) to consult about future events. As these seers were suspected of revealing the succession to the Principate, and were consulted in the case of treasonable conspiracies, the Emperors regarded them with suspicion, and edicts were issued again and again, banishing them from Italy, but it proved impossible to suppress them.*

§ 21. The Emperors, however widely their policies differed in other respects, were all alike solicitous to maintain the religion of the Roman republic, as became the high pontiffs. Augustus had perceived that the close connection of the Principate with religion would be a support for his government, and this principle was recognised as a political tradition by his successors. The higher classes at Rome, the senate and the knights, were ready to follow the example of the Emperors, and were glad to distinguish themselves from freedmen and foreigners by clinging to the ceremonials of the old Roman religion. The national worship, however, was not held incompatible with foreign cults, which owing to the increased communication between the east and west, rapidly made their way into Rome; and the worship of Isis, in particular, had so securely established itself, that she seemed almost to hold a place in the Roman Olympus. "We have received Isis," says a poet of Nero's age, "into the Roman temples."

§ 22. Besides the criticism of philosophy, there were at work other forces hostile to the pagan religion. These were the two rival religions, Judaism and Christianity. Being both monotheistic, they were both alike diametrically opposed to polytheism. The chief Jewish doctrines spread with the Jewish *diaspora* in the west as well as the east, and commanded attention. Popularly, indeed, the Jews were regarded with the greatest contempt. Their poverty, their dirty habits, their curious customs—such as circumcision, abstinence from pork, and the keeping of the Sabbath †—were a constant theme for ridicule. Yet Judaism

* Tacitus (*Hist.*, i. 22) speaks of them as a class of men *quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*

† Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiv. 96 *sqq.* Hor., *Sat.*, i. 9. 70: Judæis curtis. On their credulity, *ib.* 500. 5: Credat Judæus Apella. Persius, v. 184: Recutitaque sabbata palles.

possessed attractions, especially for women. The Jews were ready "to compass sea and land to make one proselyte," and though their efforts in this direction were never attended with such results as the preaching of Christianity, they were not altogether unsuccessful. Poppæa, the wife of Nero, was a convert to Judaism. Under Tiberius, Fulvia, a lady of high rank, adopted the Jewish faith, and sent gifts to the temple at Jerusalem. It is said that the banishment of the Jews from Rome by Tiberius was caused by the complaints of her husband. Horace, to get rid of his bore, affected respect for "the thirtieth Sabbath." * Augustus praised his grandson Gaius for having passed through Judea without worshipping in Jerusalem.

§ 23. In the meantime, Christianity was silently spreading in the west as well as in the east. The causes which chiefly promoted its rapid diffusion were (1) its all-embracing character: it opened its fold to sinners and slaves; (2) the attraction which it possessed for women, who felt themselves placed on a spiritual equality with men; (3) the promise of a future life; (4) when persecution began, the examples of noble martyrdom produced their effect. In order to contend successfully with heresies, which were rife, especially with Gnosticism, the orthodox majority were forced to form a close organisation, which soon came to be called the "Catholic Church." This organisation, this state within the "state," was ultimately destined to exercise a decisive influence on the Empire; but it attracted little notice in the second century. For Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, as well as for Trajan and Hadrian, the Christian question was of quite minor importance.

§ 24. We have seen that Christianity was a prohibited religion. This principle had probably been laid down by Domitian and was affirmed by Trajan in his rescript to Pliny. But the actual practice of Emperors varied. Trajan did not discourage informations against Christians; but forbade his officials to seek them out. Hadrian tolerated this religion, and there is no evidence that Christians suffered during his principate. Under Antoninus the same practice seems to have been followed as under Trajan. Thus several Christians at Rome, who confessed their faith before Lollius Urbicus, prefect of the city, were condemned. Antoninus, although more sincerely devoted to the established religion than any other Emperor, was mild and tolerant, and disliked persecution; and towards the end of his reign at least, he interfered to prevent it. His interference was called forth by the occurrence of tumults, directed against the Christians in cities of Asia and Greece. For at this time, the feeling of hostility

* Hor., *Sat.*, i. 9. 69.

against the Christians was very bitter. They were believed, even by such a well-informed person as Fronto, to practise horrible enormities. The three charges popularly brought against them were sacrilege, incest, and cannibalism. It is remarkable, however, that the government seems to have paid no attention to the second and third charges. Evidence of the prevailing prejudice against Christianity is found in the writings of Lucian, and of the rhetorician Aristides. A little later Celsus wrote a treatise, entitled the *True Word*, to prove the absurdity of the prohibited religion. In consequence of the hostile feeling, popular tumults often broke out in the cities of the east, where the people were enthusiastically devoted to the divine worship of the Emperor. The mob cried for vengeance on the Christians; many of the Christians were themselves eager for martyrdom, and the official authorities could not protect men who were shown, by their own confession, to be guilty of *sacrilegium*. Thus the Christians were practically exposed to a persecution, which was not organized or ordained by the authorities, but which the authorities, if they maintained the law, could not put a stop to, without the special intervention of the Emperor. Antoninus intervened, and sent rescripts to Thessalonica, Athens, and other cities, to prevent these persecutions. A letter, purporting to have been written by him to the provincial council of Asia, is extant; and though it is a forged document, the very fact of its forgery proves the reputation for toleration and clemency which he enjoyed among the Christians. They looked upon Antoninus as not only tolerant, but even favourable to their creed.

Under Marcus, popular tumults were frequent. It was in a tumult of this kind that Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna suffered martyrdom.* Marcus Aurelius, like Antoninus, was of a tolerant disposition, but his strict sense of duty led him into countenancing persecution. He regarded the resoluteness of the Christians in refusing to take part in the worship of the gods as "sheer obstinacy."† About 177 A.D. he issued a rescript, providing for the punishment of new sects, which caused popular tumults by spreading doctrines "by which the ill-balanced minds of men are excited." This was not directed specially against Christianity, but it led to an outbreak at Lugudunum, and the arrest of a number of Christians. The legatus of Lugudunensis did not feel sure how he ought to deal with his prisoners, especially with those who denied the faith; and Marcus issued a second rescript, directing that those who denied

* Perhaps in 166 A.D.; almost certainly under Marcus. 155 A.D. is only a guess of Waddington, which has been too hastily accepted.

† Ψιλὴ παράταξις. This is the sole reference to Christianity in the Meditations.

should be set free, and those who confessed beaten to death.* It is clear that the first rescript placed the Christians in a more unfavourable position than that which they had occupied under the rescript of Trajan. For it gave provincial governors a warrant to hunt down the illegal sects to which it applied; whereas, Trajan had expressly withheld such a warrant.

§ 25. On their part, meanwhile, the Christians made some attempts to protect themselves, by repelling the charges which were popularly brought against them. An apologetic Christian literature, seeking to remove the prevailing prejudices, came into being, and is a feature of the second century. A certain Aristides addressed a defence of Christianity to Antoninus; and this *Apology*, which was supposed to have been lost, has been lately recovered. But the most celebrated Apologies are the two composed by Justin Martyr, a Samaritan, born at Flavia Neapolis. He had been trained in his youth in Greek philosophies, and thought that he had found in Platonism a satisfactory solution of the problems of existence. But one day at Ephesus, he met an old man by the shore of the sea, who revealed to him the doctrines of Christianity. This led to his conversion. Encouraged, perhaps, by the tolerant spirit of Antoninus, he wrote (about 148 A.D.) an "Apology for the Christians," which he addressed to Antoninus, Marcus—whom he calls "Verissimus the philosopher,"—Lucius Verus, "the sacred senate, and the whole Roman people." He undertakes the defence of "the men who are hated and reviled by the whole human race." He calls upon the Emperor and his sons to listen to his pleas, and judge the cause fairly, if they would sustain their reputation of being "pious, philosophical, guardians of justice, and lovers of education." The treatise falls into three parts. In the first, the apologist points out that the Christians should not be condemned unheard, and shows that their conduct is innocent and harmless. They are good citizens; they render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and pay their taxes regularly and punctually. In the second part, he professes to prove that the Christians alone teach the truth, that the Son of God was really made flesh; and that the pagan myths were invented by evil spirits (*dæmons*), in order that the coming of Christ might be rejected as fabulous. In the third part, the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist, which the pagans were always disposed to regard with suspicion, are explained. The second Apology, which appeared some years later, is a sort of appendix to the first. It was called forth by the execution of some Christians by the prefect Lollius Urbicus, to which reference has

* This, of course, did not apply to Roman citizens, over whom a governor had not the right of life and death.

been already made. It has been supposed by some that these manifestoes of Justin induced Antoninus to send his rescripts to the cities of the east, for the prevention of persecution. Justin himself was destined to suffer martyrdom. In 163 A.D., he was denounced at Rome by a philosopher named Crescens, and sentenced to death by the prefect of the city, Q. Junius Rusticus, the Stoic.

The first Latin apology for Christianity was the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, which probably appeared in the reign of Marcus. Minucius does not appear to have been a Christian in the full sense of the word. He can hardly have believed in the divine nature of Christ. But he recognised that many of the Christian doctrines were true and acceptable, and tried to offer the religion to his pagan friends in a somewhat rationalized form. He was a sort of Christian Seneca. His work is in the form of a Ciceronian dialogue between Cæcilius, who attacks the Christians, their works and their beliefs, and Octavius, who defends them. The scene of the conversation, is laid on the seashore, near Ostia.

§ 26. The Christians had not only enemies without to contend against, they had also heresies within. The three great gnostic heresies of Basilides, Carpocrates, and Valentinus, originated in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus. These men, all three of oriental origin, propounded different theories, to explain the creation of the world, the origin of evil, and the nature of the Deity. These theories are medleys, combining doctrines taken from all sorts of philosophies and oriental religions; and they illustrate the tendency to *Eclecticism*, which has been already noticed as a feature of the age. But far the most powerful gnostic sect, and that most dangerous to the Church, was founded by Marcion of Sinope, who came to Rome in the reign of Antoninus. It was known as Marcionism, and was characterized by exclusive adhesion to the writings of St. Paul, and by very vigorous asceticism. The effect of these heresies was to force the Church to define her teaching and explain her doctrines in writing. Thus persecution and heresy called into being an ecclesiastical literature, apologetical on the one hand, and polemical on the other.

SECT. IV.—ART.

§ 27. ARCHITECTURE.—The chief architectural works of the various Emperors from Augustus to Hadrian have been mentioned under their several reigns. It remains to say something here of architecture under the Antonines. Although architects were still as skilful as ever, there was at this time a distinct decadence in

taste, which manifested itself especially in a striving after novel effects by means of gigantic proportions. The most celebrated example of this fashion was the colossal temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus, in Bithynia. Its construction occupied the whole reign of Antoninus, and was not finished till the first years of Marcus. The rhetorician Aristides, who gave an address on the occasion of its dedication, can hardly find words to express his admiration of its enormous size. "Your city is now the only one which does not need lighthouses or high towers to guide mariners to its harbours. The temple fills, as it were, the whole horizon, and marks the situation of the city. Every block of marble is as big as a complete temple." But the size was the only wonderful thing about it. It does not seem to have been beautiful, and its sculptures were poor.

But if taste at Cyzicus and in other provincial places was so deplorable, better things were not yet forgotten at Rome. One of the most interesting buildings of the second century is the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the Sacred Way—the most perfect specimen of the Corinthian style at Rome. The origin of this temple has given rise to considerable discussion. It seems most probable that the temple which Antoninus built to his wife after her deification (140 A.D.) was pulled down wholly or partly after his death, and replaced by a new building dedicated both to him and to Faustina.* The ten columns are each of a single piece of rich Carystian marble, standing on bases of white marble and supporting capitals likewise of white marble. The edifice was entirely constructed of stone and marble; and the common system of using brick and cheap material in the parts not intended to be seen was not adopted here. Its modest proportions were a protest of good taste against such buildings as the temple of Cyzicus.

In Italy fine buildings were not confined to Rome. In the splendid remains at Verona we can form some idea of the public buildings which, under the Empire, adorned most Italian cities of this size, but of which now hardly a trace remains. The colonies and municipal towns imitated the capital in the erection of amphitheatres, baths, temples, and basilicæ.† The same architectural principles which were adopted at Rome were adopted throughout the Empire. There were no local schools or provincial styles of architecture.

Of the building of ordinary private houses we know little, except as far as concerns Pompeii. The style was Greek, but cheap imi-

* This seems more probable from the data than that the temple of Faustina was left untouched and his name merely added to hers, as has been very generally supposed. See above, Chap. XXVII. § 13.

† This love of imitation was carried even to local names. Beneventum had an Esquiline, Arminum an Aventine. The fashion went even beyond Italy. Lyons had a Vatican.

tation of Greek ornament; and the use of stucco mouldings instead of stone were the great feature. In one case a colonnade has been "turned from the Doric into the Corinthian order by the addition of stucco capitals laid round the original echinus." * An interesting comparison has been instituted between the Pompeian houses and private dwellings which have been recently discovered at Delos, and are probably of much the same date. The difference is that "while there was much less decoration by painting, and while the Delian householder was content with plain panels upon his wall with no ornament, the materials of his pillars and the general construction were far superior to the very shoddy building of Pompeii." †

§ 28. SCULPTURE.—The history of "Roman sculpture" is really a continuation of the history of Greek sculpture. For it is a chronicle not of Roman talent, but of Greek talent displayed under Roman influence and in a Roman atmosphere. With the disappearance of Greek freedom, the inspiration which had shaped the form of the best Greek art had also disappeared. But the art of captured Greece had conquered her Roman captors, and their demands called forth a new development of Greek artistic talent. The taste of the Romans for sculpture was part of their love of luxury; and it could not be expected that a school of sculptors called into being to supply such a demand should be inspired by any new creative power. They contented themselves with reproducing the motives of the older masterpieces; and they wrought with such wonderful technical skill, with such accurate delicacy, that, if we had not works of Phidias, Praxiteles, and the other great masters to set beside them, we should think it almost impossible that they could be surpassed. But the art of the Roman school is marked by a striving after effect, which is quite absent from the older works. The works were designed to satisfy the Roman love of ostentation; the artists were affected by the end to which their works were destined, and the works themselves have the stamp of self-consciousness. At the beginning of the Empire the chief schools were the New Attic and the Asiatic. One of the most admired works of the "New Attic" school is the Farnese Hercules (at Naples). Hercules leans upon his club, with his head, which is very beautiful, bent forward; the impression he gives us is that he is conscious of his muscles. In the same way, the Medicean Venus and the Venus of the Capitol are conscious of their nudity. The Borghese gladiator of the Louvre, a bold and striking work of the Asiatic school, "expressing most powerfully and most artistically the straining of all the force to the utmost, but distinguished by an elasticity and rapidity of movement

* Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 216.

† Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 217.

which seems to defy the rigidity of the marble,"* is characterised and perhaps spoiled by the impression it gives of a premeditated effect. But notwithstanding this feature, these imitations of older art have a great charm. Nothing can be more beautiful in its way than the Sleeping Ariadne of the Vatican, where the folds of the rich drapery are treated with singular delicacy.

In the reign of Hadrian, which was marked by a renaissance in many kinds of culture, the sculptors invented a new ideal—the Emperor's favourite, Antinous, of whom innumerable statues were set up after his strange death. He was represented in many ways, but all his images have the same type—the curls overshadowing the brow, a certain sadness in the sensual mouth, the head drooping as if in some melancholy contemplation.

Under the Antonines there were three famous sculptors of Aphrodisias in Caria. Their names were Zeno, Aristeas, and Papias. Two Centaurs in dark grey marble, discovered in the Villa of Hadrian, and now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, are the work of the two last-named artists. The anatomy is faultless, and wonderful skill is shown in treating a very hard kind of marble. But there is no genius or originality displayed in these works; sculptors had long since given up even trying to be original. The best that we can look for is purity of taste combined with skill in execution, such as we find in these Centaurs or in the equestrian bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius.

The decline of art in the second century is shown by two barbarous fashions: the employment of costly and showy materials, and the construction of images of colossal size. Gold and silver are used for statues. Hadrian introduced a taste for statues in Egyptian style, and caused some to be executed for his Tiburtine villa.

Besides the sculpture which was characteristically Greek, there was also a kind of sculpture which had a Roman character about it, and was called into being by Roman customs. This was portrait statues. The Roman desired to preserve the exact likeness of his ancestors, and the *imagines*, masks moulded in wax, which he kept in his house, aimed at being close resemblances, not at being works of art. Through contact with the Greeks, marble and bronze came to be used instead of wax. But "whilst Hellenistic art idealized the individual form, and only made such use of drapery, even in the airy disposition of it about the figure, as seemed to be demanded for the interpretation of characteristics, the Romans started with the idea of representing the individual appearance with the utmost exactness, either in the voluminous drapery of peace, the toga, or in complete warlike paraphernalia: hence the portrait statues

* Lübke, *History of Art*, i. 305.

are distinguished as *togatæ* and *thoracitæ*." An example of the latter is the marble statue of Augustus in the Vatican. Thus Roman portrait statues are an expression of the practical, realistic character of the Roman mind. But as Greek dress began to supersede the native costume of the Romans in ordinary life, portraiture became more ideal, yet without abandoning the life-like representation of the individual. In many of the statues and busts of the Emperors and Empresses which have been preserved, we have this reality touched by idealism, which is the perfection of portraiture. The seated figures of the "Women of Herculaneum," in the Dresden Museum, are fine examples of this type. The familiar busts of the Emperors have, many of them, an individuality, evidently life-like and true; and it has been justly said that "the critical inspection of, for instance, the large collection of portrait-busts in the Capitoline Museum is of high interest in a psychological point of view; one of the most complete sets of plastic illustrations to Roman history being here preserved to us."

Portrait images of the Emperor and his family were made and circulated in immense numbers throughout the Empire. Fronto writes thus to Marcus Aurelius (140 A.D.): "You know how in all the banks, all the shops, taverns, house-fronts, porches, and windows, your images are everywhere exposed to view. Most of them, truly, are badly painted and coarsely chiselled."

In the plastic representation of historical scenes—as on the Arch of Titus or the Column of Trajan—we have a still more conspicuous illustration of the Roman tendency to realism. The Romans wished to see reproduced what actually occurred—the details of a march, a battle, or a triumph. "The necessity of grouping, for the most part, in as limited a space as was consistent with reality, a large number of figures, led to an arrangement of the relievo, which is widely removed from the fine and polished treatment of Hellenic art. Sculpture loses itself in the realm of painting when, taking a deeper background, it arranges its figures on different planes by gradations of modelling, those in the foreground often standing out completely from the surface, and thus retaining that substantial form which appeared so essential to the Roman conception, while the remaining figures, crowded together, gradually recede into the background."* The reliefs on the Column of Trajan have been described in a previous chapter. Two reliefs of a triumphal arch erected by Marcus Aurelius in the Via Flaminia have been preserved, one of which represents the deification of the younger Faustina, who is borne aloft by the goddess of victory from the funeral pyre. There is a similar representation of the apotheosis of Pius and the elder

* Lübke, *History of Art*, i. 312.

Faustina on the front of the postament of the column erected to that Emperor after his death. The genius of immortality is mounting up from earth, and the Emperor and Empress are supported on his great wings. Two eagles accompany them in their upward flight. On the earth are two figures—an Amazon, representing Rome, and a young man, personifying the Campus Martius. On the other sides of the same postament are delineated processions of galloping horsemen—being the *decursio*, a series of military evolutions, executed round the pyre of the dead Emperor. The representations of the Marcomannic and Quadic wars on the pillar of Marcus Aurelius do not equal, but come very near to, the reliefs of the pillar of Trajan.

Here must be mentioned the art of cutting gems, which reached great perfection in the period of the early Empire. Dioscorides was the great master of this branch of skill under Augustus. There is a splendid cameo at Vienna, of enormous size, measuring nine inches wide by eight high, on which Augustus as Jupiter and personified Rome are represented.

§ 29. PAINTING.—Our knowledge of Roman painting is almost altogether confined to mural painting, of which abundant and most interesting remains have been preserved. The wall-paintings discovered at Rome and those of the Campanian cities, Pompeii and Herculaneum, must be treated separately. But it should be remembered that the object of all these pictures is the decoration of rooms, and their pictorial character is subordinate to this end.

In style, mural painting passed through several stages. At first Greek artists used to imitate marble incrustations; the next stage was to paint imitations of architecture, columns and pediments. Open rooms were adorned with backgrounds, corridors with landscapes; and the pictures were always copies of things actually existing. Then fantastic fashions began to be introduced into the realistic imitations, and then grotesque devices gradually came to take the chief place in wall decoration. Under Augustus, the architect Vitruvius inveighs against this degeneration in style, and describes how "reeds take the place of columns in a design, ribboned and streamered ornaments, with curling leaves and spiral tendrils, take the place of pediments; diminutive temples are supported upon candelabra; vegetable shapes spring from the tops of pediments, and send forth multitudes of delicate stems with twining tendrils and figures seated meaninglessly among them—nay, from the very flowers which the stalks sustain are made to issue demi-figures, having the heads sometimes of human beings and sometimes of brutes." *

* This translation is taken from the *History of Painting*, by Woltmann and Woermann (Eng. tr.), i. 111, from which work this account of Roman painting is chiefly derived.

Of the mural artists we know nothing personally, except of one Ludius,* who flourished in the time of Augustus. The elder Pliny describes with enthusiasm the kind of wall-painting which he brought into vogue: "Villas, colonnades, examples of landscape gardening, woods and sacred groves, reservoirs, straits, rivers, coasts —all according to the heart's desire; and amidst them passengers of all kinds on foot, in boats, driving in carriages or riding on asses to visit their country properties; furthermore fishermen, bird-catchers, hunters, vintagers; or, again, he exhibits stately villas, to which the approach is through a swamp, with men staggering under the weight of the frightened women whom they have bargained to carry on their shoulders; and many another excellent and entertaining device of the same kind. The same artist also set the fashion of painting views—and that wonderfully cheap—of seaside towns in broad daylight."† It is possible that we have specimens of the work of this Ludius in a celebrated painting of the villa of Livia in Rome, which represents the plan of a garden on the four walls of a room, so that one sitting in the room might imagine himself in the middle of a garden. This work is an interesting example of that stage mentioned above in which fantastic ornament was introduced, but had not driven out the older, more sober style.

A brilliant example of that older, sober style, approved of by Vitruvius, are the great landscapes illustrating the Odyssey, which were discovered in excavations on the Esquiline in the middle of the present century. Six pictures are complete, and half of the seventh. They represent the episode of the Læstrygones, the story of Circe, and the *Nekuia*, or the visit of Odysseus to the Shades. They ran round a room, as a frieze or dado, the panels being divided by bright red pilasters. The colours in the paintings are chiefly a yellowish brown and a greenish blue. But the chief interest which these works possess is as examples of ancient landscape painting. "The country of the Læstrygones bordered with its jutting yellow crags, the wide blue inlet of the sea, from the mountains overhanging which the giants hurl destruction upon the Greek ships; the court of Circe's palace; the mighty opening in the rocks on the seashore which proclaims itself the entrance to the nether world, and with vivid pictorial effect, lets a broad ray of light stream into the dark and thickly-peopled kingdom of shadows—all these furnish examples of completed landscape painting, for which, up to the time of their

* There is an uncertainty about his name, as there are other readings, Studius and Tadius.

† Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 35. § 116. The translation is taken from the Eng. tr. of the *History of Painting*, by Woltmann and Woermann, i. 67.

discovery, we should not have given any age of antiquity credit." Their date is the end of the Republic or beginning of the Empire; but they were, doubtless, copies of older compositions.

A famous wall-painting preserved at Rome is the so-called Aldobrandini marriage, representing a bride and bridegroom, with eight other figures, on the day of their nuptials. More interesting is the picture of fair women of legend, notable for their strange love-stories—such as Pasiphaë and Phædra—preserved in the Vatican gallery, having been removed, like many other mural paintings, from the original wall, along with the plaster-ground. In excavations on the Palatine, striking paintings were discovered, especially in the house of Livia; a landscape in which the tale of Polyphemus and Galatea is represented may be specially mentioned. It has been justly observed that in choosing their mythical subjects mural painters were generally guided by the opportunities given for landscape.

Turning to the paintings of the Campanian decorators, which are to be seen in the private houses at Herculaneum and especially at Pompeii, we must first observe the double division of the walls. They are divided horizontally into a dado, generally tinted dark, and an upper wall, generally light, separated by a bright band. They are also divided vertically by painted stripes, instead of the pilasters of the older style, which we saw in the Odyssey landscapes. The middle band is thus divided into panels, painted usually red, yellow, black, or white. The architectural designs are in the fantastic style condemned by Vitruvius.

The pictures themselves have been classified into five groups, according to the part they play in the general design of the room or the wall which they decorate. (1) Landscapes which cover a whole wall or the four walls of a room, and where the usual division into panels is abandoned. (2) Large paintings, of which, however, more than one, separated by pilasters, are wrought on the same wall. These are often pictures of the chase, or representations of mountain scenery. (3) Those which look like panel pictures set in the walls. These are very often copies of old pictures. (4) Small accessory frescoes, which really form part of the ornamentation. They are often subjects of still life. (5) Pictures which have no frame or background, especially human figures, forming part of no scene, but merely intended as ornament. These airy figures floating about in any unoccupied space are sometimes allegorical, often Satyrs, Bacchants, or Graces.

The mythological pictures are always of a light kind. The only ones, perhaps, marked by seriousness or solemnity are those in the house of the Poet at Pompeii, representing the marriage of Zeus,

the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the release of Chryseis, and the Rape of Briseis. Favourite subjects were the loves of Venus and Mars, the judgment of Paris, Bacchus and Ariadne, Narcissus seeing his reflection in the water. The colouring was bright and gay, and the whole effect was cheerful; and the same spirit is displayed in the genre pictures, whose subjects are taken from daily life. These frescoes have been divided * into two classes: the *Hellenistic* and the *Romano-Campanian*. The former has a certain idealism which is wanting in the latter. They represent idealized scenes from the ordinary life of women and young people. "A woman sits lost in love dreams, with Eros leaning at her side; or two women are engaged in friendly dialogue; or a girl sits at her painting or her music. Scenes of the toilet, too, are not forgotten. Then there are youths and maidens assembled at festive gatherings, or explicit love-scenes of more or less levity; as well as groups of poets and actors, and occasionally actual stage-scenes, especially one lovely concert-piece which breathes the purest spirit of Greek art." † The others—the Roman-Campanian class—are technically very inferior, and are marked by the coarsest realism that Dutch painters ever reached, without the compensation of good work. Scenes from taverns and houses of ill-fame, the incidents of the market, brutal scenes of gladiatorial life, are the favourite subjects.

The objects of still life which are represented are as various as those treated by modern painters: fruit and flowers, dead and live fish, dead and live fowl, all sorts of vessels and utensils. Caricatures also occur. That of Æneas fleeing from Troy, holding his son by the hand, and bearing his father on his shoulders, may be mentioned.

Who the decorative artists were is unknown. It is possible that those who were inspired by Greek traditions were Greeks, and the executors of the realistic genre paintings Italian natives. One of the most striking things about the frescoes is their durability; and the question as to the materials and methods used has not been yet satisfactorily answered.

Something has still to be said about *mosaic* pictures—that is, pictures constructed by putting together small cubes of coloured stone or glass. It is said that Sulla was the first to introduce this art at Rome. In imperial times the decoration with mosaic not only of floors, to which it was first applied, but of walls, was very fashionable. Mosaic pavements with patterns were, of course, common. One of the most celebrated and excellently executed mosaic pictures is that of the battle of Issus, found (in 1831) in the House of the Faun at Pompeii. It represents the moment at which Darius saves himself from the pursuit of the Macedonians by throwing

* By Helbig. † Woltmann and Woermann, i. 132.

himself on a horse which is offered to him. The artist has most happily and effectually rendered a complicated battle-scene with few materials. "So far as we know, the heads—especially that of Darius, whose face, notwithstanding its look of anguish, is full of manly fire—are unsurpassed for emotional expression in any work of ancient painting."* The large Nile mosaic of Palestrina, representing an Egyptian landscape, may be also mentioned. A number of landscapes on tessellated pavement in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli are preserved.

* Woltmann and Woermann, i. 97

Bas-relief of Triumph of Marcus Aurelius (from Palace of the Conservators, the Capitol, Rome).

Baineæ at Pompeii: Tepidarium.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS.

§ 1. Foreigners at Rome. § 2. Slaves. § 3. Disadvantages of life at Rome. Epidemics; fires; dear prices; noise of streets; dangers at night. § 4. Wealth. Luxury: two periods to be distinguished. Apicius. § 5. Clients. *Salutatio. Sportula. Cena recta.* § 6. Life of parasites. § 7. Follies and vices of women. § 8. SCHOOLS. The *litterator; grammaticus;* and *rhetor.* § 9. HOUSES.—*Domus* and *insulæ.* Description of Roman house. § 10. Imperial palaces. § 11. Country villas. § 12. MEALS.—Hours. Fare. § 13. Entertainments. Art of carving. § 14. Manners at table. § 15. *Convivia publica.* The black banquet of Domitian. § 16. AQUEDUCTS.—List and description of Roman aqueducts. § 17. Construction and organisation of the aqueducts. *Specus* and *Castella.* § 18. BATHS.—*Balneæ.* Description of a public bath. *Thermæ.* Private baths. § 19. AMUSEMENTS.—Public games and spectacles. Political significance. Scrambles. § 20. The theatre. Plan of building. § 21. Character of performances. Pantomimes. § 22. Description of the Circus Maximus. § 23. The games. Procession. Charioteers and horses. The factions. § 24. Amphitheatres. Description of the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum). § 25. Gladiators. *Ludi. Lanistæ.* Various kinds of gladiators. § 26. Beast-baiting (*venatio*). *Pegmata.*

SECT. I.—LIFE AT ROME.

§ 1. UNDER the Empire Rome wore a very different appearance from that which she had presented in the days of the Republic. We have already seen that the principate of Augustus inaugurated a new era in the history of her architecture. Numerous splendid buildings are a feature of Rome in the imperial age. Ovid and Martial call her "Golden Rome."* But she has taken upon herself more decidedly, not only in external dignity, but also in the constitution of her inhabitants, the character of a capital of the world. Hundreds of races met within her gates; many languages were spoken in her streets. Eastern princes and tattooed Britons, rough Dacians and grim Sugambrians, Arabians and Ethiopians, Thracians and Sarmatians, were to be encountered in the Forum. Hadrian's friend, the Sophist Polemon, called the city "a compendium of the world." The chief portion of the foreign population were Greeks. "I cannot bear this Greek city," says a speaker in a Satire of Juvenal,† but he goes on to confess that the Greeks are perhaps not the worst feature. There was also a large multitude of Syrians: "the Syrian Orontes has long since emptied itself into the Tiber."‡

Most of these strangers were adventurers who lived by their wits. The versatility of the Greeks was proverbial, and the men who flocked to Rome from Achaia and Macedonia, from Asia Minor and the islands, were ready to undertake any employment that was required, and make themselves useful in the houses of the wealthy people who lived in the Esquiline, the "West End" of Rome.§ "The starveling Greek knows everything. He is a grammarian, a rhetorician or engineer, a painter or a trainer, an augur or a rope-dancer, a physician or a magician, anything you please. He will go to heaven, if you bid him."‖ These Greek adventurers were adepts at ingratiating themselves by flattery, and outran the needy Roman competitors in the race for the favour of the great. Rome was the great hunting-field for adventurers and knights of fortune.

§ 2. A large portion of this foreign population were slaves, a class which formed more than half the total population of Rome.¶

* Ovid, *Ars Am.*, iii. 113. Martial, ix. 59, 2: Hic, ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes.

† *Sat.*, iii. 60: Non possum ferre, Quirites, Græcam urbem.

‡ *Ib.*, 62: Iampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.

§ *Ib.*, 71. The house of Mæcenas was on the Esquiline.

‖ *Ib.*, 76:
Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
Augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus; omnia novit
Græculus esuriens; in cælum iusseris ibit.

¶ 900,000 out of 1,600,000 (according to calculation of Marquardt)

The number of slaves in all the large towns of the Empire was enormous.* The price was cheap. A young male slave of good character could be bought for £20, a girl of six years old for about £8. Notwithstanding the feelings of humanity which began to pervade society in the second century, owing partly to the spreading of the Stoic doctrine on the subject, the condition of slaves was often very deplorable. This was especially the case with the immense gangs which speculators employed in industry and manufacture. Apuleius gives a harrowing description of slaves working in a mill. These wretches, pale and almost naked, wore rings on their feet; their skin was discoloured and furrowed with the black marks of the lash; their eyes were nearly blind from smoke and steam. The condition of slaves in private families, and even in small private *ergastula*, was comparatively exempt from such rigours.*

§ 3. The disadvantages and dangers of life at Rome are often enlarged upon by Latin writers. Both Horace and Pliny the Younger contrast the advantage of country life with the miseries and hardships of the capital. Juvenal, in his Third Satire, represents Umbricius starting for Cumæ and relating the causes which have driven him from Rome

To begin with, the outbreak of epidemics was a constant occurrence at Rome. Serious pestilences broke out in 23 and 22 B.C.; in 65 A.D. after the great fire; in 79 A.D. just after the eruption of Vesuvius. On the last occasion, 10,000 deaths sometimes occurred on the same day. The most virulent of all was the plague in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Fires were a much more frequent evil.† Moreover living was very dear at Rome compared with the municipal towns of Italy. The yearly rent of a garret at the top of a Roman lodging-house would have purchased a house and garden at Sora or Frusino.‡ The city was consequently full of poor people (*humiles*) in straitened circumstances, trying to keep up appearances. Men who made a great show were often bankrupt. §

Besides this great drawback of dear prices, the man of modest means found everything adverse to comfort and tranquillity in Rome. During the daytime, the ordinary traffic made the streets very noisy,‖ and at night there was the rumbling of the vehicles

* But see below, § 7.

† See below, § 9.

‡ Juvenal, iii. 222:

Si potes avelli Circensibus optima Soræ
Aut Fabrateriæ domus aut Frusinone paratur,
Quanti nunc *tenebras* unum conducis in annum.

Tenebras means a dark garret.

§ Martial (ii. 57) mentions a dandy lounging along the Septa, and followed by a long train of dependants, who has just pawned his ring to get 8 sesterces (1*s.* 4*d.*), the price of a dinner.

‖ See Martial, xii. 57.

which were not allowed to pass through the streets by day. Sleep was the luxury of the rich.* Even walking in the narrow, crowded streets was a disagreeable and dangerous necessity for the man who was not rich enough to afford to be carried at his ease in a litter (*lectica*). He ran the risk of being struck in the side by planks of timber, of being trodden on by a soldier's hob-nailed boots, of being crushed to death under a waggon-load of stone. At night a poor man in the streets was exposed to all sorts of dangers. There were the chances of being struck on the head by things thrown out of high windows, and there was the possibility of being assailed by thieves or bidden to stand by quarrelsome bullies,† or one of those bands of profligate young men, which were brought into fashion by the example of Nero. Those who fell into their hands were unmercifully beaten, sometimes tossed in blankets.‡

Even the rich were glad to leave their houses on the Esquiline and Cælian § for their villas on the Campanian coast or in the Tuscan hills. Literary men are never tired of contrasting the pleasures of the country with the weariness of town life. "Country, when shall I see you?" cries Horace, "and be restored to my book, and sleep, and pleasant idleness?" ‖ Pliny and Juvenal echo the same cry.

§ 4. Thus imperial Rome presents many points of comparison with a large modern capital. Wealth there had the same advantages; there were the same vast inequalities in its distribution, and the same glaring contrasts between indigence and luxury. Seneca who was "very rich," ¶ was said to have amassed 300,000,000 sesterces (£2,400,000) within four years. The fortune of the freedman Narcissus was 400,000,000 (£3,200,000). One of the favourite extravagances, not only of the wealthy but of men of moderate income, was the possession of a number of houses and villas in different places. Cicero and the younger Pliny, for example, kept up several country houses. In regard to luxury of living the fashion set by the court exercised doubtless considerable influence, and it is expressly stated by Tacitus that a great change for the better took place after the death of Nero. To illustrate the extravagance of the earlier period, it may be mentioned that Seneca possessed five hundred tables with ivory feet, and that at a dinner given in winter to Nero, more than four million sesterces (£32,000)

* Juvenal, iii. 235: Magnis opibus dormitur in urbe.

† Juvenal, iii. 289: Tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

‡ This was called *sagatio*.

§ The house of the wealthy Lateranus (who perished in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero) was on the Cælian. Cp. Martial, xii. 18. 4:

Dum perdimina te potentiorum
Sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque
Maior Cælius et minor fatigant.

‖ *Sat.*, ii. 6. 60.

¶ Juvenal, x. 17: prædivitis.

were spent on roses. A gourmand named Ăpīcius, who lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, became proverbial for the pleasures of the table. But although Vespasian's moderate example seems to have brought about a reaction, and the Emperors of the second century were simple in their way of living, the age of Juvenal seems to have had many a rival of Apicius.* In a letter to his friend Persicus, inviting him to a dinner of simple fare—suggested perhaps by the invitation of Horace to Torquatus†—Juvenal satirizes the extravagant dinners of the rich,‡ more vehemently than Horace.§

§ 5. Under the Empire the relation of patron and client still played a part in Roman life, but clients had no longer the same political importance for the patron as under the Republic, and consequently their morning visits were less welcome. The habit of receiving retainers, however, was kept up by the wealthy; but the patron, instead of occasionally asking the client to a "right dinner" (*cena recta*), as it was called, used to give him at the morning reception‖ a dole of food, which he carried away in a small basket, *sportula*, whence the dole itself was called *sportula*.¶ The next step was to convert the gift in kind into a gift in money; and the amount fixed by custom was 100 quadrantes. Domitian made an attempt to revive the old practice of the *cena recta*,** but did not succeed in introducing it permanently. If we can trust the satirist Juvenal, many persons of low degree supported themselves entirely on the doles of patrons, and even men of high position did not disdain to accept the *sportula*.

§ 6. The poor client was glad to buy his patron's hospitality by all arts and kinds of flattery and obsequiousness; but in the rôle of the parasite, the Roman was generally less successful than the more versatile Greek. Juvenal has given us a vivid, and doubtless heightened, picture of the life of the needy parasite, who was in his day as marked a feature of imperial Rome as, in Menander's day, of republican Athens. Trebius, in order to fill occasionally a vacant place at the table of his rich patron, Virro, has to break his sleep before dawn and expose himself to the cold night air, in order

* Juvenal, iv. 22:
Multa videmus
Quæ miser et frugi non fecit Apicius.

† *Epist.*, i. 5 (*beginning:* Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis).

‡ *Sat.*, xi.

§ In *Sat.*, ii. 2.

‖ Juvenal, i. 128: Sportula, deinde forum.

¶ *Ib.*, i. 95:
Nunc *sportula* primo
Limine parva sedet turbæ rapienda *togatæ*.
The receptions were always attended in full dress—in the *toga*.

** Martial, iii. 7. 1: Centum miselli iam valete quadrantes. 5: regis superbi sportulæ recesserunt. iii. 30. 1: Sportula nulla datur; gratis conviva recumbis (where Martial puts it as if attendance at dinner were part of the client's services for which he should be paid).

to attend an early morning reception and present himself to the patron before his rivals. For two months, perhaps, he goes without an invitation; at length he receives one. At the dinner, for which he pays so dear, he gets the worst wine while his host drinks choice Setine.* The cup of Virro is jewelled, that of Trebius is of cracked glass; or if he too has a jewelled one placed before him, a slave stands by to see that he does not steal it. The patron and his dependant do not even drink the same water. Trebius has to eat a piece of mouldy black bread, and if he ventures to help himself from Virro's loaf, the slave makes him restore it. Virro eats lobster stewed with oil of Venafrum, choice truffles, and fruit; Trebius a common crab, dressed with lamp-oil, wretched fungi, and rotten apples. But it is not from stinginess that Virro treats the parasite thus; no, he is bent on mortifying him.† "You think you are a free guest; he knows that you are the slave of the savour of his kitchen." ‡

But the satirist also complains that patrons are less generous than they used to be. Among the Virros of his day there are none who bestow such generous presents on their modest friends as Seneca or Piso in the time of Nero. Years later, Lucian draws a similar picture of the parasite Nigrinus.

§ 7. It would be a mistake to draw any conclusions as to the morality of Roman society from the stories which are told by ancient writers of the profligacy of Emperors like Gaius or Nero or from the licentiousness of Messalina. This occasional wickedness in high places might have been compatible with an average standard of morality among the mass of the senators, the knights, and the people. We must also beware of taking too literally, or applying too generally, the heightened pictures of Juvenal. He devotes his longest satire to a description of the depravity of the women of his day; but most of the follies which he lashes are common to all ages. He describes the women who fall in love with actors and gladiators, harp-players and flute-players; those who affect Greek and profess to be quite ignorant of Latin; § those who tyrannize over weak husbands, and those who have eight husbands in five years. He satirizes their love of finery, their love of gossip, and their pride of birth.‖ He ridicules the literary matron

* Cp. Martial, iii. 60. 9:
Cur sine te ceno, cum tecum, Pontice, cenem?
Sportula quod non est prosit; edamus idem.

† Hoc agit ut doleas; nam quæ comœdia, mimus
Quis melior plorante gula? (Juv., v. 157.)

‡ *Ib.*, 161.

§ Juvenal, vi. 187: Omnia Græce.

‖ Juv., vi. 167:
Malo Venusinam quam te, Cornelia mater
Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus affers
Grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.

who, when she goes out to dine, institutes comparisons between Virgil and Homer; all the philologists and rhetoricians are hushed by her chatter, which is like the noise of basins and bells.* Messalina is introduced as a type of female licentiousness; and Hippia, the wife of Veiento, who eloped to Egypt in the company of Sergius, an ugly gladiator, is mentioned as an instance of vulgar passion in noble dames for men of mean calling. Of all the follies of Roman ladies, that which we can least understand is the practice of the gladiator's art. Women of the lowest class often appeared in the arena, and no one thought anything of it; but ladies of high family, both under Nero and under Domitian, dressed as gladiators, with helmets and greaves, and fought in the amphitheatre. This scandalized Juvenal, but Martial speaks of it with an approving smile.

The superstition of women is ridiculed by Juvenal, who describes them as ready to fall under the influence of every oriental impostor. Priests of Isis, Jewish hags, Chaldæan astrologers, haruspices from the east, are all consulted and believed. The cruelty of ladies to their slaves is portrayed vividly. If they get up in a cross temper, their maids and tire-men (*cosmetæ*) are flogged. Some, he says, pay so much a year for the use of the public torturers, in order to punish their slaves.†

Juvenal seeks for the causes of the degeneracy of morals, and indicates three:‡ (1) the evils of a long period of peace, which induces idleness and luxury; (2) the great increase of wealth, which produces the same effects; and (3) the influx of foreign nations, who brought with them effeminacy and debauchery. "Since Roman poverty departed," he says, "every lust is in our midst." There can be no doubt that these were the chief causes of the difference between Rome in the third century B.C. and Rome in the first century A.D. The close connection between the three causes assigned is evident.

* Juv., vi. 441:

Tot pariter pelves, tot tintinnabula dicas
Pulsari.

† Juvenal's picture of the girl Psecas, who has her dress torn by her mistress, and is beaten with a bull's-hide whip, because she has not arranged one curl of the lady's hair to her liking (vi. 491), is borne out by Martial's well-known epigram (ii. 66) on Lalage, who for the same reason—a ringlet insecurely fastened by a hair-pin had fallen from its place—cruelly lashed her maid Plecusa: Et cecidit sævis icta Plecusa modis (Palmer: vulg. comis).

‡ vi. 292:

Nunc patimur *longæ pacis mala*; sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit: hinc fluxit ad istos
Et *Sybaris* colles, hinc et *Rhodos et Miletos*
Atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.
Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
Intulit.

§ 8. SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.—At Rome education was not compulsory, but it was general. The fees at the elementary schools were low, not more than 15s. a year. Under the Empire men of the highest rank sent their children to public schools; members of the imperial family, however, were always taught at home. The elementary school of the *litterator*, or *ludi magister*, must be distinguished from the advanced schools of the *grammaticus* and the *rhetor*. The schools seem to have been held in porticoes opening on the street,* and the noise of the classes was often a nuisance to the neighbours. Martial assigns the din of a school near his lodgings † as one of the causes which drive him to seek rest at his Nomentane villa. Children began to attend school at about seven years old, and boys and girls were taught together.‡ The school year began on the 24th of March, the day following the Five-day festival of Minerva, called *Quinquatrus*,§ and the new pupil then paid his first fee, which was called *Minervale*. These five days in March and the week of the Saturnalia in December were the only school vacations; but the *Nundinæ* were always free days. School began before dawn; the boys used to bring their own lamps.‖ There was an interval for breakfast (*prandium*). Children were accompanied to school by a servant called the *pædagogus*,¶ who had control over them and probably superintended the preparation of their lessons. Another slave, the *capsarius*, carried the books.** The discipline both of the *litterator* and of the *grammaticus* was strict; we hear much of the schoolmaster's "ferule."†† Orbilius, the schoolmaster who taught Horace, was famous for his severity.‡‡

On leaving the *litterator*, children who were destined to have a higher education could go to the *grammaticus*, who gave instruction in the recitation and interpretation of the Greek and Latin poets. Acquaintance with Greek began at an early age, and we read of a

* The schoolroom is spoken of as *pergula* and *porticus*.

† xii. 57. 4: Negant vitam
Ludi magistri mane.

‡ Mart., ix. 68:
Ludi scelerate magister,
Invisum pueris virginibusque caput.
Cp. viii. 3. 15.

§ Juvenal, x. 114:
Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat, etc.

‖ Juvenal, vii. 222: Mediæ quod noctis ab hora sedisti; 225: Totidem olfecisse lucernas.
Martial, ix. 68. 3:
Nondum cristati rupere silentia galli:
Murmure iam sævo verberibusque tonas.

¶ Often called *custos*. Horace, *Sat.*, i. 6. 86: Ipse mihi *custos* incorruptissimus omnes circum doctores aderat (of his father). Juvenal, vii. 218: Discipuli custos.

** Juvenal, x. 117: Custos angustæ vernula capsæ.

†† Pav., i. 15: Et nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus. Martial (x. 62, 10: Ferulæque tristes sceptra pædagogorum) mentions ferules as used by the pedagogues.

‡‡ Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 1. 70: plagosum.

Greek maid being kept to exercise young children in talking the language, just as English children have French and German nursery-governesses.* Great stress was laid on the art of elocution. The master used to read passages aloud and the pupils used to repeat them after him and practise the right emphasis.† The meaning was explained in great detail. Of Greek poets, Homer‡ and Menander were the favourites. Statius gives a list of those who were read at his father's school in Naples.§ It includes Hesiod and Pindar, Alcman, Stesichorus and Sappho, Sophron Callimachus and Lycophron. Of later poets, Virgil, Horace‖ and

School Flogging.

Lucan were the most popular in the first century. Statius seems to have been read at schools in his own lifetime.¶ In the second century the school course was affected by the reaction in taste, and early writers were introduced, such as Ennius and Plautus. Music and geometry also came into the "encyclic education," which was preliminary to the study of rhetoric.** At the schools of the rhetoricians, prose authors were studied instead of the poets, and the art of prose composition and declamation was practised.

* Tacitus, *Dial. de Or.*, 29.

† Quintilian, i. 5. 11: Auctores quos prælegunt.

Horace, *Epist.*, i. 18. 13:

Ut puerum sævo credas *dictata* magistro
Reddere.

‡ Horace learned Homer. *Epist.*, ii. 2. 42:

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.

§ In the *Epicedium* on his father. *Silv.*, v. 3. 150 *sqq.*

‖ Juvenal, vii. 226:

Cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et hæreret nigro fuligo Maroni.

Horace looked forward to this fate himself. *Epist.*, i. 20. 17:

Hoc quoque te manet ut pueros elementa docentem
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus

¶ *Thebaid*, xii. 815:

Itala iam studio discit memoratque iu ventus.

** Quintilian at the beginning of his *Institutio* gives an account of the necessary preliminary studies.

"Do you teach to declaim?" was a way of asking "Are you a rhetorician?"* The classes were very large.† The lecturer sat on a high chair (*cathedra*), and the pupils sat on benches (*subsellia*) or stood. The subjects of the declamations frequently turned on historical questions, such as, "Should Hannibal have marched on Rome after his victory at Cannæ?" or "Advice to Sulla to abdicate."‡ Such declamations were called *suasoriæ*, and are distinguished from the *controversiæ*, which handled legal questions. Juvenal satirizes the tedious sameness of the subjects discussed in these essays.§ The parents used to come on special days to hear their sons declaim.‖

SECT. II.—HOUSES.

§ 9. The houses in Rome were of two kinds, *domus* and *insulæ*. The *domus* was a private house, generally inhabited by one family, and of not more than one storey above the ground floor. The *insula* was a building of three or four storeys,¶ let out in flats or rooms, and inhabited by people of small means. The *insula* was so called because it was detached, and stood, like an island, surrounded by streets. The ground floor was generally let out in shops. The garrets of the fourth floor were called *cenacula*.** The upper storeys had windows,†† and sometimes balconies, fro mwhich people could shake hands across the narrow streets, and sometimes the higher storeys projected over the lower. These houses were often cheaply and badly built by speculators. They were generally of wood, and they were constantly either tumbling‡‡ or being burnt down.§§ Augustus made some attempt to remedy these evils, and fixed a limit for the height of houses; but Nero was the great reformer. He ordained that the outer walls should be built of

* Juvenal, vii. 150: Declamare doces?

† *Ib.*, 151: Classis numerosa.

‡ *Ib.*, 160, and x. 166:
I demens et sævas curre per Alpes
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.
i. 16:
Consilium dedimus Sullæ, privatus ut altum
Dormiret.

§ Juvenal, vii. 152 *sqq.* 154: Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

‖ *Ib.*, 166: Ut totiens illum pater audiat.

¶ Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 199: Tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant.
Martial, i. 117. 7: Scalis habito tribus, sed altis.

** Horace, *Epist.*, i. 1. 191: Quid pauper? ride; mutat cenacula.
Juvenal, x. 18: Rarus venit in cenacula miles; iii. 201: Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur a pluvia.

†† One of the dangers of the streets of Rome at night was the chance of being hit by things thrown out of the windows. Juvenal, iii. 275: Adeo tot fata quot illa
Nocte patent vigiles te prætereunte fenestræ.

‡‡ *Ib.*, iii. 193:
Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
Magna parte sui: nam sic labentibus obstat
Vilicus et, veteris rimæ cum texit hiatum,
Securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.

§§ *Ib.*, 197 *sqq.*

peperino stone, and introduced other improvements. It has even been suggested that he caused the great conflagration in order to be able to carry out his reforms.

In the *domus*, the dwelling of the rich man, most of the rooms were on the ground floor. The two most important rooms were the *atrium*, which was the original nucleus of the house, and the *peristylium*, both open to the sky. The hearth, beside which the household gods were kept, was in the *atrium*, where also were arranged the ancestral images (*imagines*).* The space exposed to the rain in the centre of the *atrium* was called the *impluvium*, and in it was a marble fountain. The *peristylium* had likewise a fountain in the centre; the open space in the middle was planted with shrubs and flowers and surrounded by columns. The dining-rooms, sitting-rooms, withdrawing-rooms, bed-rooms and kitchens opened out from the *peristylium*, which was kept as a sort of private court, while the *atrium* was used as a reception-room.

The floors on the ground-floor were generally of stone or "pavement," † that is, pieces of stone and brick beaten down to a smooth surface; in the upper storeys the floors were of wood or concrete. The walls were usually decorated with paintings on a prepared white ground; but wealthy and fashionable people at Rome used to line their walls with marble slabs, or adorn them with mosaics of brilliant colours. Ceilings were ornamented with paintings or relief in stucco work. Sometimes they were divided into small sunken panels resembling lakes (whence the name *lacunar*). ‡ There were windows in the upper storey looking both into the street and into the inner court; but the ground-floor rooms were chiefly lit from the *atrium* and *peristylium*. There seems to be little doubt that glass and other transparent substances were used in the windows. The rooms were heated by braziers or by pipes of hot air.

§ 10. Of the imperial palaces, we know most about the Flavian palace of Domitian, of which there are considerable remains on the Palatine. It was not a comparatively modest dwelling-place, like the house of Augustus, but consisted of a number of stately rooms for public purposes. "At one end is a very splendid throne-room with a *lararium* or imperial chapel on one side, and a *basilica* for

* Juvenal, viii. 19: Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ atria.

Martial, iv. 40. 1: Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto.

† Juvenal, xiv. 60: Verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas.

The floor was called *orbis*. *Ib.*, xi. 175: Qui Lacedæmonium pytismate lubricat orbem,

where *Lacedæmonium* means that the floor was of marble from Mount Tænarus. Cp. Tibullus, iii. 3, 16: Marmoreumque solum.

‡ Horace, *Odes*, ii. 18. 1:

Non ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar.

Juvenal, i. 56: Doctus spectare lacunar (perhaps to admire the decoration).

judicial business on the other. At the other end of the peristyle is the *triclinium*, for state banquets; and beyond it a series of stately halls, which may possibly be libraries, and an *Academia* for recitations and other literary purposes. A sort of nymphæum, a room containing a fountain, with flowers, plants, and statues of nymphs and river-gods, was placed at one side of the triclinium, if not on both, so that the murmur and coolness of the water, and the scent of the flowers might refresh the wine-heated guests. The whole of this magnificent palace was adorned with the greatest richness, both of design and materials, with floors, wall-linings, and columns of oriental marbles, alabaster, and red and green porphyry. Even the rows of colossal statues, which decorated the throne-room, were made of the very refractory basalts and porphyry from the quarries of Egypt, at a cost of an almost incredible amount of labour. Remains of these were found early in the last century. The position of the Flavian palace is very remarkable: it is built on an immense artificial platform, which bridges over a deep valley or depression in the summit of the Palatine." *

§ 11. The Roman villa, or country-house of the rich, was generally situated on the seashore or among the hills, for the sake of coolness. The Laurentine villa of Pliny overlooked the Tyrrhenian Sea. "It consisted of numerous rooms of various forms and dimensions, and designed for various uses, united by open galleries. Most of these chambers commanded, as may be supposed, a sea-view and enjoyed nearly a southern aspect. Some were circular, and looked forth in all directions; others semi-circular, and screened only from the north; others, again, excluded the prospect of the water, and almost its noises; some faced west, some east, to be used at different seasons, or even different times of the day. Behind this long line of building, the outward appearance of which is nowhere indicated [by Pliny in his description of it] but which seems in no part to have risen above the ground-floor, lay gardens, terraces, and covered ways for walking and riding; and among these were placed, also, some detached apartments, such as we might call summer-houses; while still farther in the rear, rose the primeval pine-woods of the Latian coast, which supplied the baths with fuel, and formed a chief recommendation of the locality." Pliny's villa among the Tuscan hills, seems to have been still more extensive. He describes in a letter "the silvan beauties of the spot, the wide range of plain and meadow stretching before it to the Tiber, the slope of leafy hills on the skirt of which it lay, the massy amphitheatre of the Apennines behind it." "It is approached by a long portico,

* *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. "Domus."

leading to an atrium or central hall, such as formed the nucleus of the town-residence; but there the likeness ends, for whereas in the house at Rome all the living-rooms open upon the atrium, and lie compactly arranged within the four outer walls, in the villa almost every apartment is substantially independent of the rest, and only slightly connected with them by suites of open galleries. The Tuscum seems to have abounded also in gardens and plantations, its situation being better adapted for such luxuries than the sea-shore. But neither in this case is there any mention of the exterior appearance, nor any hint that the reader might be expected to derive pleasure from the description of it. It is evident that an architectural design did not enter into the ideas either of Nero, when he flaunted over Rome with his palace of palaces, or of the elegant master of the patrician villa by the sea or on the hillside." *

The villa of Hadrian, at Tibur, was laid out as a sort of miniature world. It contained a representation of the under-world, and a number of buildings called after the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, and the Poecile Stoa, at Athens. The vale of Tempe was imitated with artificial mountains. There were libraries, temples, and a small theatre. The villa was full of works of art, some of which have been recovered in modern excavations.

SECT. III.—MEALS.

§ 12. The first meal of the day, among the Romans, was the *ientaculum*, or breakfast, generally taken about the third hour. It was very light, generally consisting of bread, seasoned with salt or honey, or dipped in wine. School-boys in some cases had their breakfast at cock-crow, and got a sort of pancake. The next meal was the *prandium*, corresponding to our lunch, or more nearly to the French *déjeuner*. It was taken at the sixth hour (about eleven o'clock), and might be as simple as a piece of bread, or consist of a number of courses of fish, flesh, and fowl.† The regular hour for the *cena* or "dinner," the chief meal of the day, was the ninth,‡ but it was often later. A fashionable entertainment was marked by the earliness of the hour, and early dining was considered a sign of luxury. § The dinner always lasted a long

* These descriptions are taken from Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, cap. 64.

† When the *prandium* was omitted for any reason, an early afternoon meal, called *merenda*, was taken instead.

‡ Half-past one in winter; half-past two in summer.

Martial, iv. 8. 6: Imperat extructos frangere *nona* toros.

Horace, *Epist.*, i. 7. 70: Post nonam venies.

§ Horace, *Odes*, i. 1. 20: Nec partem solido demere de die.

time: three hours was considered a moderate length. The ordinary Roman, of modest means, dined in the *atrium*, with his wife and children; but rich men had separate dining-rooms, called *triclinia*. The men reclined on a *lectus* or couch, the women sat. An elaborate *cena* consisted of three parts: the *gustatio*, somewhat like the Zakuska of Northern Europe, consisting of shell-fish, olives, eggs, and other "hors-d'œuvre," to stimulate the appetite; then the *cena* proper, of several courses of all sorts of viands,* after which offerings were made to the Lares, and the the third part of the dinner, called *mensæ secundæ*, "second course," was served, consisting of pastry and fruit, and corresponding to our "sweets" and dessert. Augustus used to give three courses (*fercula*, "trays") of viands, or at the outside six. Juvenal mentions seven as luxurious.† The arrangement of the dishes on the trays, and the carving of the joints became, with the development of luxury, a special art. ‡ One tray often contained a large number of viands. At the dinner of Trimalchio, described by Petronius, a *ferculum* was served with twelve dishes of fish, meat, fowl, vegetables, and fruit, arranged to represent the signs of the zodiac; and when the guests seemed disappointed, the upper part was removed and richer dishes, such as hares, capons, were discovered underneath. The Romans ate with their fingers, and hence used to wash their hands after each course. They wiped their hands on pieces of bread, which were afterwards thrown to the dogs. §

§ 13. At dinner-parties nine was the usual number. Three couches (*lecti*) were arranged on three sides of a square, and each accommodated three people. To make up parties it was usual for invited guests to bring uninvited persons who were called "shadows" (*umbræ*); sometimes the host asked a client to fill a vacant place.‖ Thus at the dinner of Nasidienus, described by Horace,¶ there

* Martial (x. 48) mentions as the food at a simple dinner, kid, cutlets or sausages "which do not require carving," beans, early cabbage, chicken, and ham. The fare to which Juvenal invites Persicus is similar (xi. 65–76): a tender kid, mountain asparagus, chicken, eggs, apples, pears, and grapes.

† *Sat.*, i. 94: Quis fercula septem secreto cenavit avus?

‡ The arranger of the dishes was termed *structor*; he also carved with much gesture and flourish, and in this capacity was called *carptor*.

Juvenal, v. 120: Structorem . . . saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti cultello, etc. Cp. also: Sed non structor erit. . . . Sonat ulmea cena Subura. *Sat.* xi. 136.

Cp. xi. 136, where a carving school kept by Professor Trypherus is described (tota sonat ulmea cena Subura).—The development of the art of cookery at Rome in the time of Augustus may be judged by the lecture which Horace puts in the mouth of Catius (*Sat.*, ii. 4).

§ Called in Greek ἀπομαγδαλίαι Cp. Martial, x. 5. 5, where a beggar asks for "caninas panis improbi buccas."

‖ Juvenal, v. 16:

Neglectum adhibere clientem
Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto.

¶ *Sat.*, ii. 8.

were nine at table, and Mæcenas, the guest of the evening, had two "shadows." The Romans dressed for dinner, the garment consisting of a coloured tunic (*vestis cenatoria*). When they reclined, they took off their sandals, which the guests gave into the charge of their slaves, whom they brought with them for the purpose. The Latin for "he rose from table" is "he called for his sandals." During the meal, the guests were entertained by reading or music (*acroama*). Literary hosts used often to bore their parties by reading their own compositions. At the entertainments of the fashionable, there were frequently dancing-girls and singing-girls to amuse the guests by their performances, which were of a very loose kind. Dancers from Gades were especially in request. Juvenal tells his friend Persicus, whom he invites to a modest meal, that he will not see girls singing the lascivious songs of Gades to the sound of castanets, but will hear a recitation of Virgil or Homer.

It was a frequent practice, at the end of entertainments, to give presents to the guests to carry home with them. These were called *apophoreta*.*

The style of the slaves, who waited, was considered important by fashionable people. Africans and handsome Greeks from Asia Minor seem to have been the favourites. They were either dressed in showy silk or went without clothing of any kind.† It was the custom for the guests to address the slaves in Greek.‡

§ 14. In third-rate society manners at meals were often coarse and violent. Horace says that "to fight with cups" is a custom which should be left to the Thracians;§ but it seems to have been common in the civilized world. The vulgar freedman Trimalchio, in the satire of Petronius, throws a cup at the face of his wife Fortunata, who has just called him a "dog." Juvenal hints at quarrels and bloody faces as a feature of entertainments given to freedmen by their patrons.‖ Lucian in his *Lapithæ* gives an account of philosophers fighting at a wedding feast. Diphilus fights with the slaves for a fowl. Zenothemis, seeing that a larger fowl has been set before Hermon than that which he has got himself, snatches it; they throw the birds at one another and tear one another's beards. Zenothemis flings a cup at his antagonist, and, missing him, hits the bridegroom. Then the women throw themselves between the opponents, and the Cynic Alcidamas uses his club with great effect. A general fray ensues, and cups are freely

* See above, Chap. XXV. § 17.

† Juvenal (xi. 146) says that his attendant will not be a dear-bought Phrygian or Lycian, but a country boy clad in warm clothes, "a frigore tutus."

‡ Juvenal bids Persicus (xi. 148) ask for what he wants in Latin: "Cum poscas, posce Latine."

§ *Odes*, i. 27. 1:

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est.

‖ v. 26.

hurled. Allowing for exaggeration, this description shows that scenes of the kind sometimes occurred.

§ 15. The public banquets (*convivia publica*) given by the Emperors to their "friends," must be briefly mentioned. An invitation to these was considered a great honour by senators of the highest rank. Statius was so elated at being invited to dine with Domitian that he wrote a special poem on the occasion. The wives of senators were sometimes present, as, for instance, at a banquet given by Otho. Claudius used to give large dinners constantly to about 600 guests. A story is told that on one occasion a guest was suspected of having carried off a gold drinking-cup, and that on the next day an earthen cup was set before him. The fare provided by Augustus was very simple; that of Tiberius was said to have been hardly decent. Under the three subsequent Emperors there was a reign of luxury. Vespasian's dinners were costly without being extravagant. Gold plate was a privilege reserved for the Emperor since 16 A.D. All the guests appeared in the toga, and all, irrespective of rank, enjoyed the same fare. The treatment of the guests by the various Emperors at their state banquets was very different. Augustus, in his rôle of a true princeps, was friendly. Trajan also showed himself very sociable, and the Antonines doubtless knew how to make their guests feel at home. Domitian was condescending, according to his admirer Statius, haughty according to the adverse testimony of Pliny, who states that he used to dine by himself before midday and sit at the public banquet as a mere spectator. A curious story is told of a grim practical joke which he played upon a select number of distinguished guests. He decorated a room in funereal black. The walls, the ceiling and the floor, were all black, and stone seats, also black, were arranged in order. The guests were ushered in at night, without their attendants, and each man saw a pillar, like a gravestone, at the head of his seat, and his own name graven on it and a sepulchral lamp hanging above it. A band of blackened naked boys then entered, danced round the room with hideous gestures, and offered the guests fragments of food such as are presented to corpses. The guests were terribly frightened; they expected death at every instant, and Domitian spoke of funereal subjects. But presently, when the Emperor was sufficiently amused with their terror, he ordered that the silver cup and plate on which the food had been served should be given as a present to each guest, and likewise the slave who had waited on him.

SECT. IV.—THE AQUEDUCTS. THE BATHS.

§ 16. During the last three centuries of the Republic and under the Empire, Rome obtained her supply of water from the surrounding hills by means of aqueducts, some of which have been mentioned in the foregoing pages. When Frontinus wrote his treatise "On the Aqueducts of the City of Rome," * there were nine aqueducts, of which four dated from the Republican period: (1) *Aqua Appia*, begun by Appius Claudius, the censor, B.C. 312; (2) *Anio Vetus*, derived from the river Anio, begun by M.'Curius Dentatus, censor in B.C. 272; (3) *Aquâ Marcia*, built by the prætor Q. Marcius Rex in B.C. 144; (4) *Aqua Tepula*, built by the censors Servilius Cæpio and Cassius Longinus, B.C. 127, and so called because its water had a slightly warm temperature. The courses of the Aqua Appia, the Anio Vetus, and the Aqua Marcia were almost entirely underground. The Aqua Marcia, which began south of the Via Valeria, at a distance of thirty-six miles from Rome, supplied the coldest and purest water of all. There are still remains of it to be seen near Tivoli. It was repaired by Agrippa, and Augustus reinforced its supply from a new spring, which he connected with it by the *Aqua Augusta*. †

The two new aqueducts of Agrippa (33 B.C.), (5) *Aqua Julia*, and (6) *Aqua Virgo*, have been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The Aqua Julia came from a source two miles to the right of the twelfth milestone on the Via Latina; it joined the Aqua Tepula, and afterwards both joined the Aqua Marcia, so that the three channels travelled for some distance, one above the other, on the same substructions, and entered Rome on an arch (now the *Porta San Lorenzo*), erected by Augustus in 5 B.C. The Aqua Virgo, ‡ renowned like the Marcia for the purity of its water, was designed to supply the Baths of Agrippa. (7) The *Aqua Alsietina*, derived from the Lacus Alsietinus, was on the other side of the Tiber; the water was remarkably bad, and was probably intended for the *Naumachia*, the basin which Augustus made for sham sea-fights. (8) The *Aqua Claudia*, and (9) the *Anio Novus* were begun by Gaius and finished by Claudius (52 A.D.). The length of the former, which began near the thirty-eighth milestone on the Via Sublacensis, was between forty and fifty miles, and about a third of it was above-ground, resting on arches and substructions. The Anio Novus, which began a few miles further on the same

* See above, Chap. XXV. § 13.

† A branch of the Aqua Marcia passed over the Porta Capena. Martial, iii. 47. 1: Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta.

‡ Martial, vii. 32. 11: Sed curris niveas tantum prope Virginis undas; vi. 42. 18: Cruda Virgine Marciave mergi.

road, was still longer (nearly sixty miles) and higher, but less of it was above-ground. These two aqueducts joined near the city, which they entered one above the other. Of the Claudian aqueduct, whose arches still remain in the Campagna, the elder Pliny wrote thus: "If anyone will carefully calculate the quantity of the public supply of water for baths, reservoirs, houses, trenches, gardens, and suburban villas, and, along the distance which it traverses, the arches built, the mountains perforated, the valleys levelled, he will confess that there never was anything more wonderful in the whole world."

It has been estimated that the water supplied by these nine aqueducts was "equal to that carried down by a river, thirty feet broad by six deep, flowing at the rate of thirty inches a second," and that if the population of Rome was a million, the supply was equivalent to 332 gallons a head daily.*

To these aqueducts Trajan added a tenth, the Aqua Trajana.† It is interesting to observe that some of the ancient aqueducts still supply Rome with water; namely, the Aqua Virgo (still called by the same name, *Acqua Vergine*), restored by Pope Pius IV.; the *Acqua Paola*, named after Pope Paul V., who constructed it by uniting the Aqua Trajana and Aqua Alsietina; and the *Acqua Marcia-Pia*, restored in 1870. Splendid aqueducts were built also in other parts of the empire, and perhaps the finest remains of these achievements of Roman engineering are to be found at Segovia in Spain, and at Nemausus (the *Pont-du-Gard*).

§ 17. The channel (*specus*) through which the water flowed had a slight slope. It consisted of stone or brick, lined with cement, and was provided with vent-holes. Sometimes the water did not pass through the *specus* itself, but through pipes (*fistulæ*) of pottery or lead laid along inside the *specus*. At the source of the aqueduct there was a large reservoir (*piscina*), and other reservoirs were placed at stages along the course. When the water reached the city it flowed into a large chamber, from which it was conducted into three smaller basins, the middle one of these being filled from the overflow of the other two. The two outer basins supplied private houses and the public baths; the middle one, the public fountains and ponds; so that in the case of a deficiency in the supply, the most useful purposes were first satisfied. These reservoirs formed what was called the chief *castellum*, and were usually contained in a handsome building. From the chief castellum the water was diverted into lesser local castella, distributed over the regions of the city. The *castella* were either public or private. The former supplied the circus and amphitheatres, the public fountains, the baths, the prætorian camp.

* Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 150. † See above, Chap. XXIII. § 6.

The private *castella* were built at the joint cost of the families who used them, but were under the supervision of the public officers, who controlled the aqueducts (*curatores aquarum*). The water was measured by the size of the tube (*calix*) through which it passed out of the *castellum*.

A very large number of officials were employed in managing the water-supply, in keeping the aqueducts in repair, and in preventing fraudulent diversion of the water. The *curatores aquarum* had 460 slaves under them in the time of Frontinus. They were divided according to their duties as follows:* (1) the *vilici*, who managed the pipes and the tubes; (2) the *castellarii*, who had charge of the *castella*; (3) the *circuitores*, who went round and inspected the aqueducts; (4) the *silicarii*, who took up the pavement and laid it down again, when subterranean pipes had to be examined; (5) the *tectores*, who attended to the masonry. This will give an idea of the elaborate organisation which the Emperors developed for the supply of the city with water.†

§ 18. BATHS.—In early times the Romans made use of the bath only for health or cleanliness. They washed their arms and legs once a day, and their whole body every week. But in later times bathing came to be regarded, not merely as a necessity, but as a luxury, and in the imperial period was a conspicuous feature of Roman life. At first, public baths were only intended for the use of poor people of low rank, who were unable to have the luxury of a bath-room at home; but before the end of the Republic, people of all classes resorted to the *balneæ*,‡ and the Emperors themselves used to bathe in public with their fellow-citizens. The bath was a very cheap luxury, which the poorest men could indulge in, as the fee was only a *quadrans*, the smallest Roman coin.§ Women had probably to pay a higher price. The usual time for bathing was about the eighth hour,‖ before the chief meal of the day: but idle

* They were also divided into two *familiæ*: (1) *familia aquaria publica*, (2) *familia aquaria Cæsaris*.

† Martial wrote an epigram (ix. 18) to Domitian, supplicating for permission to have water laid on to his house in Rome from the Aqua Marcia (Cum mihi vicino Marcia fonte sonet), and also to have his small country house (probably at Nomentum) supplied with water.

‡ Originally, in strict language, *balneæ* meant the public baths; *balneum*, a private bath; *balnea*, a private bath of more than one room. But the distinction of these terms became gradually obliterated in use.

§ Martial, iii. 30. 4: Unde datur quadrans? Horace, *Sat.*, i. 3. 137: Quadrante lavatum.

‖ Martial, xi. 52. 3: Octavam poteris servare; lavabimur una.

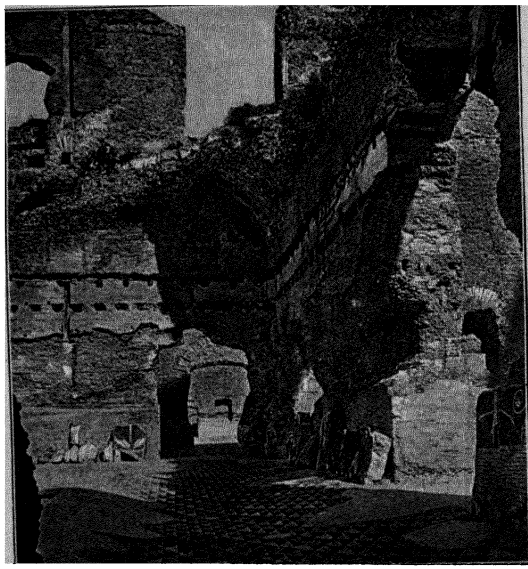
The tenth hour was considered late (*Ib.*, iii. 36. 5). Some bathed at the sixth hour (*Ib.*, x. 48. 3):

Nimios prior hora vapores
Halat et immodico sexta Nerone calet.

Juvenal proposes to Persicus to bathe an hour before the sixth (xi. 204):

Iam nunc in balnea salva
Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
Ad sextam.

and luxurious people often bathed several times a day. Gourmands used to take a bath after eating as well as before, in order to get a fresh appetite; this practice is ascribed, for instance, to Caligula and to Nero, and a contemporary writer, Pliny the elder, considered it partly the cause of the degeneration of morality.* It was an ordinary practice in the time of Cicero to take emetics for the same purpose. †



Baths of Caracalla.

The number of public Baths—some built by the state, others by private speculators ‡—was enormous. Agrippa is said to have added one hundred and seventy to those already in existence; by

* Horace, *Epist.*, i. 6. 61: Crudi tumidique lavemur. Persius, iii. 98: Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur. He goes on to describe the sickness and death which ensue. So Juvenal, i. 142:

Pœna tamen præsens cum tu deponis amictus
Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitæ mortes atque intestata senectus.

† Cicero, *Pro Deiot.* 21. *De Finibus*, ii. 23: Qui in mensam vomant et qui de convivis auferantur crudique postridie se rursus ingurgitent.

‡ Juvenal mentions the Baths of Phœbus (vii. 232). The Baths of Stephanus were close to the abode of Martial (Martial, xi. 52. 4).

the beginning of the fourth century, their number was nearly a thousand.* The bathing did not consist merely of a hot or cold bath, but was a long process, somewhat like that of our Turkish baths, only more elaborate. Hot air was employed as well as water. The chief rooms of a Bath were the *apodyterium* or stripping-room, in which the bathers took off their garments, and committed them to slaves, who were proverbial for their dishonesty; the *elæothesium*, or oil-room, where the unguents were kept; the *frigidarium*, or cold room, for those who only wished for cold baths; the *tepidarium*, a chamber heated by moderately warm air, in which the bather sat and was anointed, before proceeding into the hot atmosphere of the *caldarium*. In some rich Baths there was a special anointing room (*unctorium*). The *caldarium* was heated by a hypocaust, over which its floor was suspended. At one end of this room, in the old Baths of Pompeii, was a bath of warm water, at the other end a tub of cold water, which was poured over the head before leaving the room. In some Baths, there was a sweating-chamber of higher temperature, known as the *laconicum*, which was a round room with a domed ceiling. When he had duly perspired, the bather was scraped all over with a *strigil*, a sharp instrument of bone or metal, whose edge was softened with oil.* The rich man was scraped by his slaves, whom he brought with him for the purpose; the poor man scraped himself. It was a disagreeable experience for fastidious people to bathe at the same time as those who used rank-smelling oil.† After anointing, the bathers remained some time in the tepidarium, so as not to pass suddenly into the cold air.

This general description applies both to the ordinary Baths (*balneæ*), and to the special kind of baths called *Thermæ*,‡ which were introduced by Agrippa, and formed a feature of imperial Rome. Baths were only a part of the *thermæ*, which were really "a Roman adaptation of a Greek *gymnasium*."§ In the period with which we are concerned four great *thermæ* were erected at Rome,

* Juvenal (iii. 262) says of a private house at the hour of bathing that it

Sonat unctis
Striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto.

The towels (*lintea*) were of linen. The luxurious Trimalchio (in Petronius, *Sat.*, 28) was rubbed with woollen rugs. The bottle containing the oil was called *gutus*. It was often of horn (*gutus corneus*, Martial, xiv. 52), and was sometimes called a *rhinoceros*. Juvenal, vii. 130: Cum rhinocerote lavari.

† Horace, *Sat.*, i. 6. 123:

Unguor olivo,
Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.

Juvenal, v. 90: Romæ cum Boccare nemo lavatur (an allusion to the rank oil used by Numidian snake-charmers).

‡ *Balnea* are distinguished from *thermæ* in Juvenal, vii. 232:

Dum petit aut thermas aut Phœbi balnea.

§ Thus Dion Cassius uses the word γυμνάσιον to designate the Thermæ of Agrippa and those of Nero.

those of Agrippa, Nero, Titus, and Trajan.* They were extensive and splendid establishments, fitted up with conveniences for every exercise and pursuit. Here the youth of Rome could learn and practise athletics; † here there were cool colonnaded halls (*exedræ*), where the idler could lounge and talk, where the philosophers could lecture, and the poets recite their verses.

It was usual for clients to escort their patrons to the public baths, and these large crowds of shabby and dirty retainers were a nuisance to others. ‡

At the *balneæ* (not in the *thermæ*) there were separate sets of baths for women. A story is told of a consul's wife, who wished to bathe in the men's baths at Teanum in Campania, and an order was consequently issued that all the men should be turned out. The men's establishment was probably better provided with conveniences than the women's. But although there were separate departments, it was a common practice in the imperial age for men and women to bathe promiscuously in the same baths. § Respectable women, of course, did not do so, but the habit was so widespread that both Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius had to make attempts to check the scandal.

Rich men had private baths (*balnea*) in their own houses, though they used to frequent the public baths also. Juvenal mentions 600,000 sesterces (£4800) as a large price for building a set of bath-rooms. ‖ The baths of Fronto cost more than half that sum (£2800).

SECT. V.—PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS.

§ 19. THE GAMES AND SPECTACLES.—The public games at Rome were not only a striking feature of Roman life, but they possessed under the Empire an important political significance. They were one of the two great baits which the Emperors used to divert the mass of the people from political life. The other was the cheap or free distribution of bread. Fronto says that it seems to be very politic in the Emperor not to neglect actors and performers in the circus and amphitheatre, knowing that the Roman people is held

* Martial, iii. 36. 5:
Lassus ut *in thermas* decima vel serius hora
Te sequar *Agrippæ*, cum laver ipse *Titi*.
In x. 51. 12 he calls the thermæ of Agrippa, Nero, and Titus, "triplices thermæ."

† For ball-playing in the baths, cp. Martial, xii. 82.

‡ Juvenal, vii. 131: Vexat lutulenta balnea turba. Cp. Martial, iii. 36.

§ Juvenal, in satirising the depravity of women, describes a lady visiting the baths with a crowd of retainers at night (vi. 419):
Balnea nocte subit; conchas et castra moveri
Nocte iubet; magno gaudet sudare tumultu.

‖ vii. 178: Balnea sescentis.

especially by two things, the corn-supply and the spectacles (*annona et spectaculis*), and that the success of a government depends on amusements as well as on serious matters of policy.* These two seducements are set together in Juvenal's famous expression *panem et circenses*.† For the cheap supply of food, and the cheap exciting amusements, which the Emperors provided for them, the degenerate populace of Rome were contented to surrender their political rights. The public games, under the Empire, increased in number, variety, and splendour. We must distinguish between (1) the *ludi scenici*, consisting of dramatic performances in the theatre, and the *ludi circenses*, including both (2) the races in the circus and (3) exhibitions of gladiators and beasts in the amphitheatre. Games were given either by the consuls, or the prætors, or the quæstors, or the Emperor himself. The consuls had charge of the Actian Games, which were celebrated at Rome annually on September 2, the anniversary of Actium and of the games in honour of Augustus's birthday (September 23). Early in the second century, the duty of giving gladiatorial shows (*munera*, as they were called) devolved upon consuls elect, and, later in the same century, on consuls entering upon office. The duties of administering public games, which under the Republic had belonged to the ædiles, were transferred by Augustus to the prætors.‡ But the gladiatorial shows, which under the Empire were exhibited publicly as well as by private persons, devolved not upon the prætors, but upon the quæstors, who in the reign of Claudius were relieved from the duty of paving the streets, in order to undertake this new burden. This arrangement lasted for about seven years, but was revived under Domitian.

It is important to observe that the public games gave an opportunity for the expression of public opinion. "In republican times much importance was attached to the manner in which public men were greeted in the theatre by the people. In imperial times we hear of the audience rising up when the Emperor or a distinguished man entered, or waving handkerchiefs and vociferously addressing complimentary titles or good wishes, often in a kind of song. Of course there was the most clamorous outcry for the liberation of slaves or criminals who had made a good exhibition in the contests, for the discharge of distinguished gladiators, and many a gibe was directed at unpopular people, and even the Emperor himself. The people also made use of these occasions to declare against laws,

* Fronto, *Principia historiæ*, p. 210.

† x. 80: Duas tantum res anxius optat panem et Circenses. Cp. i. 118: Urbem circo scenæque vacantem. Tacitus designates "histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque certamina" as special vices of Rome (*Dial. de Or.* 29).

‡ Juvenal, x. 36: Prætorem curribus altis exstantem.

against detested ministers, *e.g.* Tigellinus, and make many other appeals and demonstrations. Indeed, these were pretty much the only occasions on which the feelings of the people could be expressed or gauged under the Empire; and the importance which was attached to this expression of the popular will may be seen from the fact that Titus, in order to carry out certain executions which he considered advisable, put people throughout the theatre to demand them." *

A feature of the games in imperial times were the scrambles. The giver of the games often provided presents to be thrown among the audience, and scrambled for. These were called *missilia*. They consisted of fruits and other eatables, but more often of tickets (*tesseræ*), by which various entertainments could be enjoyed.† Another practice was to sprinkle the stage and seats with perfumes, especially saffron. ‡

§ 20. THE THEATRE.—There were three theatres in Rome in the imperial period. (1) That of Pompeius, erected in 55 B.C., was the first stone building of the kind at Rome. It was constructed on the model of the theatre at Mytilene, and contained 40,000 seats. (2) The theatre of Marcellus held 20,500 spectators. § (3) The theatre of L. Cornelius Balbus had room for 11,510 people.

The Roman theatre was like the Greek, from which it was copied, but with certain differences. As the Dionysiac chorus of Greek drama played no part in Roman representations, the orchestra or "dancing floor" was not required for its original use, and its shape was modified. It no longer forms almost an entire circle, but only a semicircle, and is appropriated to seats for a portion of the audience. The consequence of this was that the part of the theatre occupied by the audience (the *cavea*) was semicircular also. A further change was that whereas in the Greek theatre the stage and the seats of the audience were not connected, but open passages ran between them, in the Roman theatre the walls of the stage-buildings and the walls of the *cavea* were continuous. The orchestra was approached by vaulted passages at the sides. Awnings of various colours were spread over the building to protect the people from rain or sun. Before the beginning of a play, the stage (*pulpitum*)

* From the article *Ludi* in *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ii. 88.

† Martial, viii. 78. 9:
Nunc veniunt subitis lasciva nomismata nimbis,
Nunc dat spectatas tessera larga feras.
The *tessera frumenti* in Juvenal vii. 174 was a ticket for a share in a corn-distribution (*largitio*). Cf. Persius, v. 74:
Publius emeruit scabiosum tesserula far.
These tickets must not be confounded with those scrambled for at Spectacles.

‡ Martial, v. 25. 7:
Rubro pulpita nimbo
Spargere et effuso permaduisse croco.

§ See above, Chap. X. § 4. Martial x. 51. 11:
Sed nec Marcelli Pompeianumque, nec illic
Sunt triplices thermæ.

was concealed by a curtain (*aulæum*) *; and at the falling of the curtain—not, as with us, at its rising—the play began.

The seats in the orchestra were reserved for senators; † distinguished foreigners were sometimes admitted. The "fourteen rows" in the *cavea*, nearest the orchestra, were assigned to the knights by the Law of Roscius Otho (67 B.C.). ‡ The beadle who arranged the spectators and looked after the seats was called *designator*. Such an official named Lēitus is often mentioned by Martial, as clearing the equestrian seats of intruders. § Augustus made further regulations in the allocation of special parts of the theatre to special classes of persons. There was a *tribunal* or imperial "box" reserved for the Emperor, or the person who presided at the performance, over the stage, to the left of the spectators. Opposite, on the right, was a similar tribunal occupied by the Vestal virgins, and the Empress had her place among them.

§ 21. The pieces performed were, as under the Republic, comedies, tragedies, Atellane farces, and mimes. The mimes, which represented vulgar characters speaking in vulgar language, were especially popular, and the composition of mimes was much cultivated.

The female parts were acted by women, and the performances were often of a very licentious nature. ‖ The plots generally turned on some loose love affair. Some mimes had ghosts in them, for example, the Phasma of Catullus; ¶ and Laureolus, who has been called "the Dick Turpin of the ancients," was the subject of

* The *siparium* was a smaller curtain behind; Juvenal, viii. 185:

Consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti
Sipario.

(That is, "you hired out your voice to the stage.")

† Juvenal, iii. 178: Orchestram et populum (= the senators and the ordinary public). In vii. 46 a room for a private recitation, fitted up on the model of a theatre, is described:

Et quæ conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
Quæque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris,

where *anabathra* means tiers of seats one above the other.

‡ Horace, *Epod.*, iv. 15:

Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques *Othone* contempto sedet.

* *Epist.*, i. 1. 62:

Roscia dic sodes melior *lex* an puerorum est
Nenia, quæ regnum recte facientibus offert.

Juvenal, iii. 154:

De pulvino surgat equestri
Cuius res legi non sufficit.

159: Sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni.

xiv. 324: Bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.

§ For example, v. 25. 1:

Quadringenta tibi non sunt, Chærestrate; surge,
Leitus ecce venit: st! fuge, curre, late.

‖ Arbuscula is the name of a *mima* mentioned by Horace (*Sat.*, i. 10. 77) as having said, "Satis est equitem mihi plaudere."

Martial (Preface to Bk. viii.) speaks of "*mimicam* verborum licentiam."

¶ Juvenal, viii. 186: Clamosum ageres ut *Phasma* Catulli. This Catullus was a popular composer of mimes. Juv., xiii. 111: Urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli. Martial, v. 30. 3: Facundi scena Catulli.

another.* In this mime Laureolus was represented as being crucified, and Martial relates, that a criminal was set to act the part, and actually nailed to a cross and lacerated by a bear.† But a new kind of performance came into vogue under the Empire, and became, among the higher classes at least, more popular than the mime. This was the pantomime,‡ in which a whole story was represented by the movements and gestures of a single dancer. Such a grave personage as the philosopher Seneca owned that he delighted in these performances; and such men of literary distinction as Lucan and Statius composed "saltatory" dramas.§ "The rage for exhibitions of dancing that arose about the time of the empire cannot be better exemplified than by the fact that poems of Ovid, not written for the theatre at all, were 'pantomimised' (just as our second-rate novels are dramatised), and actually orations were set to music, and adapted for dancing."‖ The subjects were of all kinds, generally love stories. The actor appeared successively in various characters, and a chorus sang *cantica* during the dancing. There is much evidence in ancient writers to show that these performances were extremely fascinating.¶ The art of the dancer, as far as the reproduction of the character which he impersonated is concerned, soon became quite conventional. Lucian tells of an actor, who, having to dance Cronos eating his children, danced instead Thyestes eating his children. There is no doubt that these pantomimic performances, in which passion and tenderness were represented by the voluptuous motions of the dancer, had a serious effect on morality; and we hear of Roman ladies of high birth falling in love with the pantomimi, who were fêted somewhat in the same way as distinguished musicians are made much of among us. Some of the actors—a *histrio* in imperial times generally means *pantomimus***—were influential at court, like Mnester and Paris. But legally they were *infames*, disqualified from public and certain private rights; and they were generally

* Juvenal, viii. 187:
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
Iudice me dignus vera cruce.

† Martial, *Spect.*, vii. (4: Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus).

‡ It must be observed, that while *mimus* may mean either the piece or the actor, *pantomimus* is only used of the performer, never of the piece, which was called a *fabula saltica*.

§ Juvenal, vii. 93: Vati quem pulpita pascunt.

Ib., 87 (of Statius): Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.

‖ *Dict. of Antiquities*, ii. 335.

¶ For the popularity of the Egyptian Paris, see above, Chap. XXI. § 19, and cp. the epigram of Martial on his death (xi. 13):
Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator,
Noli nobile præterire marmor,
Urbis delic'æ salesque Nili;
Ars et gratia, lusus et voluptas,
Romani decus et dolor theatri
Atque omnes Veneres Cupidinesque
Hoc sunt condita, quo Paris, sepulchro.

** So in Juvenal, vii. 90: Quod non dant proceres, dabit *histrio* (to the poet).

slaves, freedmen, or foreigners. The fact, however, that men of equestrian rank often appeared on the stage in imperial times bettered the social position of the actors in general. The interference of Tiberius and Domitian with the histrionic profession has been mentioned under their reigns; but these cases were exceptional.

§ 22. THE CIRCUS.—The Circus Maximus, which stood in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, was for a long time the only circus at Rome; and it was the model of the Circus Flaminius (217 B.C.), and all later buildings of the kind. It was a long building, at least two thousand feet long and six hundred feet wide, curving in a semicircle at the eastern end (towards the Porta Capena) and at the western, in the Forum Boarium, closed by the chambers (*carceres*) from which the chariots started. All round the building were tiers of seats,* divided into blocks (*cunei*, "wedges"), and this part of the edifice was called the *cavea*. The *cavea* was also divided horizontally into bands (*mæniana*), of which there were probably three. At the foot of the cavea, separating it from the racecourse, a marble platform, called the *podium*, ran all round the building, and on the podium were arranged marble seats for distinguished persons. Augustus introduced new regulations for the distribution of the spectators, like those which he made for the theatre. He assigned the podium to senators and other persons of high position, and defined special parts of the cavea for soldiers, for women, for boys and their tutors, and for married plebeians. Before this, men and women used to sit together. In restoring the circus after the fire of 31 B.C., Augustus added a marble *pulvinar* or box for the use of the imperial family. In the cavea, some of the seats were marble, but others, even in the second century A.D., were of wood, and when the building was crowded accidents often happened. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, it is recorded that the seats gave way and a thousand people were killed.

The *carceres* were low vaulted rooms, each large enough to contain a chariot with its horses, and closed by grated doors, which were thrown open at the start. Above the carceres towered high state boxes, where the consuls or others sat; and the whole structure was called the *oppidum*, from its likeness to the turreted gates of a town. The racecourse was divided into two arms by the *spina*, a long platform, on which were placed statues, small obelisks, trophies. When Augustus restored the circus, he placed in the centre an Egyptian obelisk, which at the present day stands in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome. At each end of the *spina* there was a set of seven marble eggs, one of which was removed, according as each lap (*curriculum*) of the race (*missus*) was run;

* *Gradus* or *subsellia*.

for there were generally seven laps. The turning-points, or *metæ*, consisted of three tall cones, set together on a semicircular base, close to each end of the *spina*. The start was made from a chalk-line drawn across the arena opposite the *metæ*, which were nearest the *carceres*. The signal was given by the president of the games, who waved a napkin (*mappa*).* The goal was a chalk line drawn at a point between the two turning-points, and opposite to the box in which the judges sat.

Considerable damage was done to the Circus Maximus by a fire in 36 A.D. Claudius restored it. He rebuilt the carceres, which were hitherto of tufa, in white marble, and set up new *metæ* of gilt bronze, instead of the old wooden ones. The circus then contained room for two hundred and fifty thousand people. Domitian made some further improvements, but under Trajan the building became really magnificent. "The whole *cavea*, with its tiers of seats, the *carceres*, the Emperor's *pulvinar*, and the central spina were then of gleaming white marble, decorated with gold and colours, studded with jewel-like glass mosaics, and adorned with long lines of columns made of richly coloured oriental marbles, and rows of large statues in marble and gilt bronze, together with costly metal screens and richly sculptured thrones for officials of rank." † The other circi of Rome were the Circus Flaminius, that of Gaius and Nero in the gardens of Agrippina, at the foot of the Vatican, and that of Hadrian, north-west of his mausoleum.

§ 23. The games of the circus were opened by a procession, which assembled on the Capitoline Hill, and, descending into the Forum, passed by the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum into the Forum Boarium, where it entered the Circus Maximus by the "Procession Gate" (*Porta Pompæ*) at the western end. It then passed round the spina, stopping to sacrifice, and to salute the Emperor's *pulvinar*. The procession was headed by the presiding magistrate or by the Emperor, driving in a chariot, and dressed as a triumphant *imperator*; a slave held a golden wreath over his head.‡ He was followed by a band of nobles; then came the chariots and riders who were to take part in the races; then the priests according to their *collegia*, with the images of the gods. The games consisted

* Martial, xii. 29. 9: Cretatam prætor cum vellet mittere mappam. Hence Juvenal (xi. 193) calls the spectators of the Megalesian games "Megalesiacæ spectacula mappæ."

† *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, i. 430.

‡ Juvenal, x. 36:

Quid si vidisset prætorem curribus altis
Exstantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
In tunica Iovis et pictæ Sarrana ferentem
Ex umeris aulæa togæ magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?

Quippe tenet suadens hanc servus publicus.

The *tunica Iovis* is the triumphal *tunica palmata*, a tunic wrought with gold. The *aulæa togæ* are the ample folds of the *toga picta*, stiff with embroidery.

chiefly of chariot races; and the chariots were drawn by various numbers of horses, generally two or four, but sometimes as many as ten. The races were extremely dangerous, and required extraordinary courage and skill on the part of the charioteers (*aurigæ*). Each driver aimed at upsetting his competitors, and there were probably few games at which some unfortunate charioteers were not crushed to death or seriously injured. It was the custom for the charioteer to keep the reins looped round his waist, and this made the danger much greater; for though he carried a knife in his belt to cut himself free, it must have been often impossible to use it in the sudden shock of an accident.* There was heavy betting (*sponsio*) on the races, † and successful drivers often received immense sums from those who backed their horses. Scorpus, a charioteer in Domitian's reign, is recorded to have gained fifteen purses of gold within an hour. ‡ The popularity of the jockeys is shown by the fact that statues of them were erected §—a feature of Rome which surprised Lucian. The race-horses were bred chiefly in Northern Greece, Spain, Mauretania, and Sicily, and carefully trained. ‖ No horse was allowed to run before the age of five years. The most famous race-horse in the age of Juvenal and Martial was Hirpinus. Martial mentions as one of the marks of the "man about town" (*bellus homo*) knowledge of the ancestors of Hirpinus. ¶

When a magistrate, or any other person, gave an exhibition of games at the circus, he merely supplied the money, and committed the whole management of the arrangement, the providing of the horses and charioteers, to certain established companies, which

* In spite of these dangers some drivers lived to win an enormous number of victories. The monument of the *auriga* Diocles (*circ.* A.D. 150) records that he defeated Scorpus, the winner of 2048 races; Pomp. Musclosus, the winner of 3559; and Pomp. Epaphroditus, who had won 1467 times. Diocles himself, when he retired from his profession at the age of forty-two, had won 3000 races of *bigæ*, and 1462 with more than two horses.

† Juvenal, xi. 201:

Spectent iuvenes quos clamor et audax
Sponsio, quos cultæ decet adsedisse puellæ.

Martial, xi. 1. 15:

Sed cum *sponsio* fabulæque lassæ
De Scorpo fuerint et Incitato.

Scorpus and Incitatus were famous charioteers. Incitatus was also the name of a horse of the Emperor Gaius.

‡ Martial, x. 74. 5. They also received large sums from the *prætor*, on the demand of the people. Juvenal, vii. 243:

Accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.

Martial has a witty epigram (iv. 67) on this usage. A friend of his named Gaurus asked the prætor for 100,000 sesterces to make up the income of a knight. The prætor replies that he has to give far more than that sum to the charioteers Scorpus and Thallus. Martial's comment is: Quod non das equiti, vis dare, prætor, equo.

§ Martial, v. 25. 10:

Aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet.

‖ Juvenal, viii. 58:

Sic laudamus equum facili cui plurima palma
Fervet et exsultat rauco victoria circo.

¶ iii. 63. 12: Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos. Cp. Juvenal, viii. 62:

Sed venale pecus Coryphæi posteritas et
Hirpini, si rara iugo Victoria sedit.

were called "factions" (*factiones*). These factions were distinguished by colours (*panni*). The two oldest were the White (*albata*) and the Red (*russata*); then in the early days of the Empire came the Blue (*veneta*) and the green (*prasina*).* Domitian added a fifth, distinguished by purple and gold. The Green and Blue came ultimately to be far the most important. Each faction was elaborately organised, and had an enormous number of officials and slaves. It was only natural that rivalry should be developed among these factions, and riots and disturbances often took place in consequence. Under the later Empire, at Constantinople, they obtained the significance of political parties, and their rivalry sometimes issued in horrible scenes of bloodshed.

§ 24. AMPHITHEATRE.—The most characteristic amusement of the Romans were the gladiatorial shows, and the combats of wild beasts. Notwithstanding the advance of their civilisation in other respects, the love of these cruel sports prevailed among all classes, and is a mark of barbarism which conspicuously distinguishes Rome from Greece. At first the shows of gladiators used to take place in the Forum, and the shows of wild beasts in the Circus. But the want was felt of a new kind of building, not long and narrow like the circus, but such that all the spectators could have a good view of the whole space at the same time. The first attempt to supply this want was that of Scribonius Curio, who (B.C. 50) constructed two theatres placed on pivots, so that they could be turned either front to front, so as to form one building—a double, or *amphi*-theatre—for exhibitions of gladiators, and wild beasts; or else back to back, and form two theatres for dramatic performances. This building was wooden, and likewise the amphitheatre built by Julius Cæsar, a few years later. The stone amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, as has been already related, was burnt down in the reign of Nero. Augustus had contemplated erecting an edifice of this kind in the middle of Rome, but the design was not carried out until Vespasian began, and Titus and Domitian completed, the Flavian Amphitheatre.†

* Juvenal, vii. 114: Parte alia solum russati pone Lacernæ (name of a charioteer).

xi. 197:

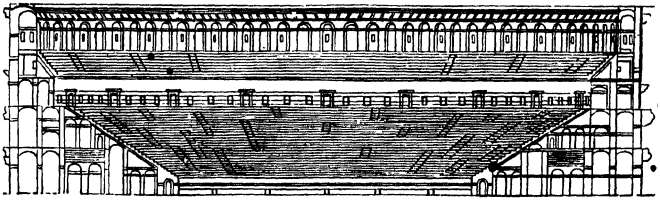
Totam hodie Romam circus capit et fragor aurem
Percutit, eventum *viridis* quo colligo *panni*.

Martial used to cheer the Greens, whom he vindicates from the suspicion of having won victories owing to the favour of Domitian (xi. 33. 4: Vicit nimirum non Nero sed *Prasinus*). Cp. x. 48. 23: De *Prasino* conviva meus *Venetoque* loquatur.

† See above, Chap. XXI. § 1. It is probable that the higher parts of the building were at first of wood. For in the structure which now exists, these parts date from the third century at earliest.

The shape of this wonderful building,* which occupied about six acres of ground, was an ellipse. The seats of the spectators were ranged in tiers all round the building, and were reached by four corridors, each corridor corresponding to a storey. The corridors of the three lower storeys received air from without by eighty great arched openings, separated by piers. In front of each pier stood a column, and over the arches, round the whole building, ran a continuous entablature. The columns of the lowest storey were Roman Doric, of the second Ionic, and of the third Corinthian. The fourth storey has no arches, but a windowed wall, and is adorned with pilasters in Composite style.

A wall ran round the arena, high enough to protect the spectators against danger from the wild beasts. From the top of this wall rose, as in the circus, the *podium*, a terrace wide enough to accommodate two or three rows of marble seats, which were reserved for the



Section, Flavian Amphitheatre.

senators, the ambassadors of foreign nations, and probably the Vestal virgins. The Emperor and the person who exhibited the games had raised seats on the *podium*. The *gradus*, or "stairs," rose in tiers above the *podium*, and accommodated the other spectators. They were divided into *mœniana*, or storeys. The lowest of these consisted of the fourteen rows of seats reserved for the knights, the next was appropriated to the populus, and the third to the common people.† Higher still, there was a gallery which was set apart for women, who were not allowed into the other parts of the building. Between each storey there was a landing-place (*præcinctio*). Moreover the *mœniana* were not continuous, but were divided into *cunei* or "wedges"‡ by flights of stairs. Each spectator had a

* Martial, *Spect.*, 1. 7:
Omnis Cæsareo cedit labor amphitheatro;
Unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus.

† Juvenal, ii. 143, describes a nobleman appearing as a gladiator, who is more noble than "the Catuli, Paulli, Fabii, and all the spectators at the *podium*" (omnibus ad podium spectantibus). Cp. Martial, iv. 2. 3:
Cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque
Sancto cum duce candidus sederet.
(*Minor ordo* = knights; *maximus ordo* = senators; *duce* = Domitian.)

‡ Martial, i. 26 (on a knight who used to drink an enormous quantity of wine in the amphitheatre):

ticket marking the exact place where he was to sit. The space in the centre consisted of boards, covered with sand (to absorb blood), whence it was called the *arena*. Underneath the arena were elaborate substructures, being dens from which the animals were raised in movable cages, and let loose into the arena by trap-doors. They cannot, however, have been kept long in these places, as sometimes, between the exhibitions of animals, the arena used to be flooded with water for the purpose of a sea-fight.*

The general effect of the Flavian Amphitheatre, and its spectacles, is happily given in a celebrated description of Gibbon. "The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave, which formed the inside, were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats, of marble likewise, covered with cushions,† and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators. Sixty-four *vomitories* (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages and staircases were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which, in any respect, could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice the arena, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of these scenes the Roman Emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver or of gold or of amber." In the wooden amphitheatre temporarily erected by Nero, the nets designed to protect the spectators were of gold wire.

Sextillane, bibis quantum *subsellia* quinque—
Nec consessorum vicina nomismata tantum
Æra sed a *cuneis* ulteriora bibis.

The nomismata seem to have been tokens entitling the bearer to a certain quantity of wine.

* Martial, *Spect.*, 24. *Tableaux vivants* on the water are described in 26 (cp. 28).

† This is only true of the seats of the senators and knights.

§ 25. Gladiators were of two classes. There were those who were forced to fight, such as slaves, captives, condemned criminals,* and there were those who of their own free will undertook to fight, and took an oath of obedience when they entered on the gladiatorial career. Men of all classes, even senators and knights, † and not only men, but women, ‡ fought as gladiators under the Empire. The places where gladiators were kept were called "schools" (*ludi*). § Four *ludi* were built by Domitian at Rome. The training-masters were called *lanistæ*; ‖ and the gladiators sometimes belonged to the trainers, who hired them out for exhibition, sometimes to private citizens who hired *lanistæ* to train them. In B.C. 68 the Senate fixed a limit for the number of gladiators which a citizen could keep, but this was removed by the Emperor Gaius. The Emperor, however, appointed an officer to inspect and control the *ludi*. The gladiatorial practice in the schools was carried on with wooden swords, called *rudes*, ¶ and when a gladiator was discharged he received a *rudis* as a token of his release. At the public shows the real fighting was preceded by a sham fight, or "prolusion," ** fought with these wooden weapons. When a gladiator received a wound, the people used to cry *habet!* "a hit," or *hoc habet!* "a palpable hit," and if the wounded man was at his adversary's mercy, the spectators, when they wished him to be slain, used to turn up their thumbs; †† when they wished him to be spared, they probably waved their handkerchiefs. The most usual occasion for the gladiatorial shows (*munera*) was a funeral.

* Martial, *Spect.*, 4. 3: Nec cepit harena nocentes.

† It was said that Domitian ordered Acilius Glabrio to be killed because he was jealous of his skill as a gladiator. Juvenal, iv. 95:

Cum iuvene indigno quem mors tam sæva maneret
Et domini gladiis tam festinata.

Cp. xi. 8, and viii. 199.

‡ Tacitus states that "illustrious women" fought in the arena under Nero (*Ann.*, xv. 32), and Statius applauds the feats of the weaker sex under Domitian (*Silv.*, i. 6. 53):

Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri
Et pugnas capit improbus viriles.

Juvenal, in *Satire* vi. (246 *sqq.*), gives an account of women gladiators. In *Sat.*, i. 22, he mentions Mevia fighting with a boar as a sign of the depravity of the age:

(Cum) Mevia Tuscum
Figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma.

§ Juvenal, viii. 199: Hæc ultra quid erit nisi *ludus?* ("What worse remains except the school of the *lanista?*"). xi. 20: Sic veniunt ad miscellanea *ludi*. ("Miscellanea" means the food served to the gladiators.)

‖ Juvenal, xi. 8: Scripturus leges et regia verba lanistæ.

¶ Horace, *Epist.*, i. 1. 2:

Spectatum satis et donatum iam *rude* quæris,
Mæcenas, iterum antiquo me includere *ludo?*

Juvenal, vii. 171: Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem.

** Hence the metaphor in Juvenal, v. 26, iurgia proludunt.

†† Juvenal, iii. 36: Verso pollice vulgus quem iubet occidunt populariter. Cp. Horace, *Epist.*, i. 18. 66: Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum (where "utroque pollice" means by keeping both thumbs pressed down, not turned up).

Gladiators fought in different ways and with various arms.* There were the *Samnites*, who wore a helmet with a high crest and bore the oblong *scutum*; there were the *Thracians*, who had the round buckler worn by that people, a short sickle-like sword, and greaves; † the *Mirmillones*, armed like the Gauls, ‡ and generally matched against the *Retiarii*; the *Andabatæ*, who fought blindfold, as their helmets had no eye-holes; the *Essedarii*, who fought in chariots; the *Retiarii*, who were armed with a net (whence their name) to entangle their adversary, and a three-pointed spear to attack him when he was enmeshed; and the *Secutores*, who were matched with the *Retiqrii*, and possibly received their name "pursuers" because when the *Retiarius* failed in casting the net he had to fly, and the *Secutor* pursued him around the arena. § Gladiatorial combats were a common subject of Roman painters and sculptors.

§ 26. The combat of men with beasts, or of beasts with beasts, was called a *venatio*, a "hunting;" we should call it a "beast-baiting." All sorts of animals were exhibited. We hear of bull-fights, of battles of bulls and elephants; combats of men with elephants, lions, tigers, bears and boars were common. The number of beasts slaughtered at a *venatio* was sometimes enormous; it is said to have reached 11,000 in Trajan's games after the Dacian Conquest. Some scenes from these beast-baitings are commemorated in Martial's "Book of Spectacles." He describes a rhinoceros tossing a bull, ‖ a bear sticking fast in the blood-moistened sand of the arena, the feats of the beast-slayer (*bestiarius*) Carpophorus in dealing with bulls and lions. The taming of wild animals was also

* Martial has an epigram on a famous gladiator named Hermes (v. 24. 1: Hermes martia sæculi voluptas), and describes him as skilled in two modes of combat; as (1) a Velite, 11: Belligera superbus hasta; (2) a retiarius, 12: Æquoreo minax tridente.

The Samnite was matched with a *pinnirapus* ("crest snatcher"): Juvenal, iii. 158: *Pinnirapi* cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistæ.

† Horace, *Epist.*, i. 18. 35: Ad imum Thrax erit aut olitoris aget mercede caballum; and Juvenal, viii. 201: Nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina.

‡ Juvenal, viii. 200: Nec mirmillonis in armis.

§ Juvenal describes this combat (viii. 203):

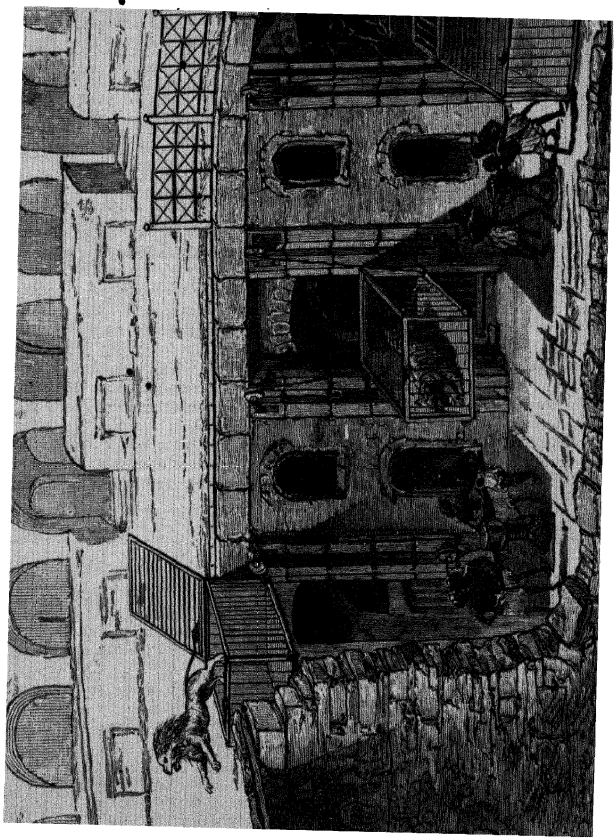
Movet ecce *tridentem* et
Postquam vibrata pendentia *retia* dextra
Nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
Erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
Credamus tunicæ, de faucibus aurea cum se
Porrigat et longo iactetur *spira galero*.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
Vulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare *secutor*.

The *galerus* was a leather or metal guard worn on the left arm. *Spira aurea* is the lasso of gold cord.

‖ The rhinoceros was first seen at Rome in Domitian's reign, and the event was commemorated by a representation of the animals on some of his coins.

carried to great perfection. We hear of elephants dancing, leopards yoked, stags and bears bridled.*

Various scenes were represented in the amphitheatre by means of



Method of raising wild beasts in the arena.

pageants (*pegmata*), † lofty structures of wood of several storeys, which could be raised and lowered, or open out and close in, by

* Martial, 1. 104. For accidents to beast-trainers (*magistri*), cp. Juvenal, xiv. 246:

Trepidumque *magistrum*
In cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.

Martial, *Spect.*, 10. 1: Læserat ingrato leo perfidus ore *magistrum*.

† Martial, *Spect.*, 2. 2: Et crescunt media *pegmata celsa* via.

machinery.[1] Strabo saw a pageant of this kind exhibited in the Forum. The scene represented Ætna, and a condemned Sicilian brigand was placed on the summit. The pageant suddenly collapsed and he fell among wild beasts who were concealed beneath. We hear of boys being caught up from the top of a pageant to the awning of the Flavian amphitheatre.*

[1] Juvenal, iv. 122: Et *pegma* et pueros inde ad *velaria* raptos.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE LUDI.

The great votive games which were established under the Republic were seven in number: the *Ludi* (1) *Romani*, said to date from Tarquinius Priscus; (2) *Plebeii*, dating from about 216 B.C.; (3) *Ceriales*, not before 493 B.C.; (4) *Apollinares*, instituted in 212 B.C.; (5) *Megalenses*, in honour of Cybele, the "Great Goddess," dating from 194 B.C.; under the Empire the ceremonial became far more elaborate; (6) *Florales*, instituted in 238 B.C.; it gradually came to last six days, and the celebration was attended with much licentiousness; (7) *Victoriæ Sullanæ*, 82 B.C.

Under the Empire a variety of new games were added, chiefly in honour of Emperors either living or dead. Such were the *ludi Actiaci* instituted by Augustus on the occasion of his victory to the Actian Apollo, the *ludi Parthici*, instituted by Hadrian in honour of Trajan's victories, the *Juvenales*, founded by Nero in memory of the first shaving of his beard (59 A.D.). Birthday games (*natalicii*) were celebrated in honour of reigning Emperors, but seem to have ceased after death, except in the case of those who were consecrated. For the *Ludi seculares*, see above, p. 62.

Faustina as Mater Castrorum.