THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

IN

FOUR VOLUMES.

To which are prefixed,

Political DISCOURSES

Upon That

AUTHOR.

VOL II.

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

VOL. II.

The SUMMARY.

THE rise and character of SEJANUS, *captain of the Prætorian guards. His arts and wicked courses to gain the Empire. His court to the Soldiery and Senate; he debauches the younger* LIVIA, *wife to* DRUSUS *the Emperor's son, and prompts her to poison her husband. The administration changes for the worse, chiefly by his means. Its lenity and plausibleness hitherto.* TIBERIUS, *upon the death of* DRUSUS, *recommends to the Senate the two sons of* GERMANICUS. SEJANUS, *in pursuit of his designs, lays snares for* AGRIPPINA *and her children.* TIBERIUS *hears the deputies of divers cities and provinces. The Players and Pantomimes, for their insolent behaviour, banished from Italy. A new priest of Jupiter, with new regulations about his office. The zeal of the Pontifs and other Magistrates towards the sons of* GERMANICUS, *resented by* TIBERIUS, *and of fatal tendency to the young Princes.* C. SILIUS *his accusation and condemnation. A capital charge against* CN. PISO, C. CASSIUS, *and* PLAUTIUS SILVANUS. *The war raised by* TACFARINAS *in Africa, ended by the conduct of* P. DOLABELLA; TACFARINAS *himself slain. A servile war ready to break out in Italy, but presently suppressed.* Q. VIBIUS SERENUS *accused of treason by his own son.*

P. SUILIUS *and others condemned, particularly* CREMUTIUS CORDUS *the Hiſtorian, for praiſing* BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS—*his fine defence and voluntary death. His book ordered to be burnt, yet continued to be read. The City of Cyſicus bereft of its liberties.* TIBERIUS *rejects the offer of a temple and divine honours from the people of Spain.* SEJANUS, *as a ſtep to empire, deſires the widow of* DRUSUS *in marriage. The artful anſwer and refuſal of* TIBERIUS.—SEJANUS, *alarmed by this, deviſes the removal of the Emperor from Rome. Deputies from* Greece *heard concerning their right to certain ſanctuaries.* L. PISO *commanding as Prætor in Spain, murdered by a Peaſant. The Thracians of the higher country revolt, and are ſubdued by* POPPÆUS SABINUS, *who is thence honoured with the triumphal ornaments.* CLAUDIA PULCHRA *accuſed of adultery and condemned.* AGRIPPINA *deſires leave of the Emperor to marry, but is refuſed. A conteſt between eleven Aſiatic cities about erecting a Temple to* TIBERIUS: *Smyrna is preferred to all the reſt.* TIBERIUS *retires from Rome. His great peril in a certain cave:* SEJANUS, *to ſave the Emperor, expoſes himſelf: Hence the freſh increaſe of his power. He ſuborns inſtruments to procure the deſtruction of* NERO, *the eldeſt ſon of* GERMANICUS, *with a further purpoſe to overthrow his whole houſe. The tragical accident at Fidenæ from the fall of the Theatre there, whence many thouſands periſhed. A great fire at Rome. The Emperor ſhuts himſelf up in the iſland Capreæ.* TITUS SABINUS, *a faithful friend to* GERMANICUS *and his family, wickedly enſnared and betrayed. His tragical doom, and its effects upon the minds of men. The death of* JULIA, *grand-daughter of* AUGUSTUS. *The Friſians revolt; the unſucceſsful attempts of* LUCIUS APRONIUS *to ſubdue them.* AGRIPPINA *the younger given in marriage to* CN. DOMITIUS.

WHEN CAIUS ASINIUS and CAIUS ANTISTIUS were Conſuls, TIBERIUS was in his ninth year, the ſtate compoſed, and his family flouriſhing (for the death of GERMANICUS he reckoned amongſt the incidents of his proſperity) when ſuddenly fortune began to

to grow boiſterous, and he himſelf to tyrannize, or to furniſh others with the weapons of tyranny. The beginning and cauſe of this turn aroſe from ÆLIUS SEJANUS, Captain of the Prætorian Cohorts. Of his power I have above made mention; I ſhall now explain his original, his manners, and by what black deeds he ſtrove to ſnatch the Sovereignty. He was born at Vulſinii, ſon to SEJUS STRABO, a Roman Knight; in his early youth he was a follower of CAIUS CÆSAR (grand-ſon of AUGUSTUS) and lay then under the contumely of having for hire expoſed himſelf to the conſtupration of APICIUS, a debauchee wealthy and profuſe. Next by various artifices he ſo enchanted TIBERIUS, that he who to all others was dark and unſearchable, became to SEJANUS alone deſtitute of all reſtraint and caution; neither did he ſo much accompliſh this by any ſuperior efforts of policy (for at his own ſtratagems he was vanquiſhed by others) as by the rage of the Gods againſt the Roman State, to which he proved alike deſtructive when he flouriſhed and when he fell. His perſon was hardy and equal to fatigues, his ſpirit daring, ſedulouſly diſguiſing his own counſels, prone to blacken others, alike fawning and imperious, his deportment exactly modeſt, his heart foſtering all the luſt of domination, and, with this view, engaged ſometimes in profuſion and luxury, often in notable application and vigilance, qualities no leſs perni-

cious, when perſonated by ambition for the acquiring of Empire.

THE authority of his Command over the Guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one Camp all the Prætorian Cohorts then diſperſed over the City, that, thus united, they might all at once receive his orders, and, by continually beholding their own numbers and ſtrength, conceive confidence in themſelves and prove a terror to all other men. He pretended, "that "the ſoldiers, while ſcattered, were looſe and "debauched; there could, in any haſty emer-"gency, be more reliance upon their ſuccour "when together; and, when encamped re-"mote from the allurements of the town, "their diſcipline would be more exact and "ſevere." When the encampment was finiſhed, he gradually engaged the affections of the ſoldiers, by affability and familiar uſage; it was he too who choſe the Centurions, he who choſe the Tribunes. Neither did the Senate eſcape his court, whilſt he daily diſtinguiſhed his followers in it with offices and provinces; for TIBERIUS was intirely complying, nay, ſo paſſionate for him, that not in converſation only, but in his ſpeeches to the Senate and people, he extolled him, as *the ſharer of his burdens*, and even allowed his Effigies to be publicly adored, in the ſeveral Theatres, in all places of popular convention, nay at the head of the Legions.

BUT

But the Imperial houſe was yet full of Cæſars, the Emperor's ſon a grown man, and his grand-ſons of age; and becauſe the cutting them off all at once, was dangerous, the treaſon which he meditated, required pauſes and a gradation of murders. He, however, choſe the darkeſt method, and to begin with Drusus; againſt whom he was tranſported with a freſh motive of rage. For, Drusus, impatient of a rival, and in his temper inflammable, had, upon ſome occaſional conteſt, ſhaken his fiſt at Sejanus, and, as he prepared to reſiſt, given him a blow on the face. As he therefore caſt about for every expedient of revenge, the readieſt ſeemed to apply to Livia his wife; ſhe was the ſiſter of Germanicus, and from an uncomely perſon in her childhood, became afterwards exceeding lovely. As he perſonated a vehement paſſion for this Lady, he tempted her to adultery, and having accompliſhed the firſt iniquity (nor will a woman, who has ſacrificed her chaſtity, ſtick at any other) he prompted her to higher views, thoſe of marriage, of a partnerſhip in the Empire, nay, the murder of her husband. Thus ſhe, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, defiled herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with an adulterer from one of the Municipal Towns, and all to exchange an honourable condition poſſeſſed, for purſuits altogether flagitious and uncertain. Into a fellowſhip in the guilt was aſſumed Eudemus, Phyſician to

LIVIA, and, under colour of his profeſſion, frequently with her in private. SEJANUS too, to avoid the jealouſy of the adultereſs, diſcharged from his bed APICATA his wife, by whom he had three children. But ſtill the mightineſs of the iniquity terrified them, and thence created delays, and frequently oppoſite counſels.

DURING this, in the beginning of the year, DRUSUS, one of the ſons of GERMANICUS, put on the manly Robe, and upon him the Senate conferred the ſame honours decreed before to his brother NERO. A ſpeech was added by TIBERIUS, with a large Encomium upon his ſon, "That with the tenderneſs of "a father he uſed the children of his brother." For, DRUSUS, however rare it be for power and unanimity to ſubſiſt together, was eſteemed benevolent, certainly not ill-diſpoſed, towards theſe youths. Now again was revived by TIBERIUS the propoſal of a progreſs into the Provinces, a ſtale propoſal, but often feigned. He pretended for cauſe, "The multitude of "Veterans diſcharged, and thence the neceſ-"ſity of recruiting the armies; that Volun-"teers were wanting, or if already ſuch there "were, they were chiefly the neceſſitous and "vagabonds, and deſtitute of the like courage "and obedience." He likewiſe curſorily recounted the number of the Legions, and what Countries they defended, a detail which, I think, it behoves me alſo to repeat, that thence may appear what was then the complement of the

the Roman forces, what Kings their confederates, and how much more narrow than now the limits of the Empire.

ITALY was on each ſide guarded by two fleets, one at Miſenum, one at Ravenna; and the coaſt joining to Gaul, by the Gallies taken by AUGUSTUS at the Battle of Actium, and ſent powerfully manned to Forojulium. But the chief ſtrength lay upon the Rhine, even eight Legions, as a common guard upon the Germans and the Gauls. The reduction of Spain, lately completed, was maintained by three. Mauritania was poſſeſſed by King JUBA, a Realm which he held as a gift from the Roman people; the reſt of Africa by two Legions, and Ægypt by the like number. Four Legions kept in ſubjection all the mighty range of country, extending from Syria as far as the Euphrates, and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other Principalities, who by our might are protected againſt foreign Powers. Thrace was held by RHEMETALCES, and the ſons of COTYS; and both banks of the Danube by four Legions, two in Pannonia, two in Mœſia. In Dalmatia likewiſe were placed two, who, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and had not far to march into Italy, were any ſudden ſuccours required there; though Rome too had her peculiar ſoldiery, three City-Cohorts, and nine Prætorian, liſted chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman Colonies. In the

ſeveral Provinces, beſides, were diſpoſed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral confederates, with their ſquadrons of horſe and battalions of foot; a number of forces not much different from all the reſt; but the particular detail would be uncertain, ſince, according to the exigency of times, they often ſhifted ſtations, with numbers ſometimes enlarged, ſometimes reduced.

IT will, I believe, fall in properly here to review alſo the other parts of the Adminiſtration, and by what meaſures it was hitherto conducted, till with the beginning of this year the Government of TIBERIUS began to change terribly for the worſe. Firſt then, all public, and every private buſineſs of moment, was determined by the Senate; to the great men he allowed liberty of debate, thoſe who in their debates lapſed into flattery, he checked; in conferring preferments, he conſidered ancient nobility, renown in war abroad, and civil accompliſhments at home; inſomuch that it was manifeſt, his choice could not have been better. There remained to the Conſuls, there remained to the Prætors, the uſual marks of their dignities, to inferior Magiſtrates the independent exerciſe of their charges; and the Laws, where the power of the Prince was not concerned, were in proper force. The tributes, duties, and all public receipts, were directed by companies of Roman Knights; the management of his own revenue he committed to thoſe well known to himſelf for

their

their qualifications, and to ſuch whom he knew by reputation alone; and when once taken, they were continued, without all reſtriction of term, ſince moſt grew old in the ſame employments. The populace were indeed aggrieved by the dearth of proviſions, but without any fault of the Prince, nay, he ſpared no poſſible expence nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenneſs in the earth, and of wrecks at ſea. He provided that the Provinces ſhould not be oppreſſed with new impoſitions, and that no extortion, or violence ſhould be committed by the Magiſtrates in raiſing the old; no infamous corporal puniſhments were inflicted there, no confiſcations of goods.

THE Emperor's poſſeſſions through Italy were thin, the behaviour of his ſlaves modeſt, the freedmen who managed his houſe, few; and in his diſputes with particulars, the Courts were open and the Law equal. All which reſtraints he obſerved, not, in truth, in the popular ways of complaiſance, but always ſtern, and for the moſt part dreaded, yet ſtill he retained them, till by the death of DRUSUS they were quite abandoned; for, as long as he lived they continued; becauſe SEJANUS, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, ſtudied to recommend himſelf by good counſels, and had then an avenger to fear, one who diſguiſed not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints, "That when the ſon "was in his prime, another was called, as "Coadjutor, to the Government; nay, how "little

" little was wanting to his being declared Col-
" legue in the Empire? The firſt advances to
" Sovereignty are ſteep and perillous, but, when
" once you are entered, parties and inſtruments
" are ready to eſpouſe you. Already a Camp for
" the Guards was formed, by the pleaſure and
" authority of the Captain; into his hands the
" ſoldiers were delivered; in the Theatre of
" POMPEY his Statue was beheld; in his grand-
" children would be mixed the blood of the
" DRUSI with that of SEJANUS. After all
" this, what remained but to ſupplicate his
" modeſty to reſt contented here." Nor was it rarely that he uttered theſe diſguſts, nor to a few; beſides, his wife being debauched, all his ſecrets were betrayed.

SEJANUS therefore judging it time to diſpatch, choſe ſuch a poiſon as by operating gradually, might preſerve the appearances of a caſual diſeaſe. This was adminiſtered to DRUSUS by LYGDUS the Eunuch, as, eight years after, was learnt. Now, during all the days of his illneſs, TIBERIUS diſcloſed no ſymptoms of anguiſh (perhaps from oſtentation of a firmneſs of ſpirit) nay, when he had expired, and while he was yet unburied, he entered the Senate, and finding the Conſuls placed upon a common ſeat, as a teſtimony of their grief, he admoniſhed them of their dignity and ſtation; and, as the Senators burſt into tears, he ſmothered his riſing ſighs, and animated them by a Speech uttered without heſitation. " He,
" in truth, was not ignorant that he might be
" cenſured,

" cenſured, for having thus in the firſt throbs " of ſorrow, beheld the face of the Senate, " when moſt of thoſe who mourn can ſcarce " endure the ſoothings of their kindred, ſcarce " behold the day; neither were ſuch to be " condemned of weakneſs: but for himſelf, " he had more powerful conſolations, ſuch as " aroſe from cheriſhing and guarding the " Commonwealth." He then lamented " the " extreme age of his mother, the tender " years of his grand-ſons, his own days in " declenſion," and deſired that, " as the only " alleviation of the preſent evils, the Children " of GERMANICUS might be introduced." The Conſuls therefore went for them, and having with kind words fortified their young minds, preſented them to the Emperor. He took them by the hand, and ſaid, " Conſcript " fathers, theſe infants, bereft of their father, " I committed to their uncle, and beſought " him that, though he had iſſue of his own, " he would rear and nouriſh them no other- " wiſe than as the immediate offspring of his " blood, that he would appropriate them as " ſtays to himſelf and poſterity. DRUSUS be- " ing ſnatched from us, to you I addreſs the " ſame prayers, and in the preſence of the " Gods, in the face of your country, I adjure " you, receive into your protection, take under " your tuition the great grand-children of AU- " GUSTUS, children, deſcended from anceſtors " the moſt glorious in the State. Towards " them fulfil your own, fulfil my duty. To " you,

" you, NERO, and to you, DRUSUS, theſe Se-
" nators are in the ſtead of a father, and ſuch
" is the ſituation of your birth, that on the
" Commonwealth muſt light all the good and
" evil which befalls you."

ALL this was heard with much weeping, and followed with propitious prayers and vows; and had he only gone thus far, and in his ſpeech obſerved a medium, he had left the ſouls of his hearers full of ſympathy and applauſe. But, by renewing an old project, always chimerical and ſo often ridiculed, about " reſtoring the Republic, reinſtating it again in " the Conſuls, or whoever elſe would under-" take the adminiſtration," he forfeited his faith even in aſſertions which were commendable and ſincere. To the memory of DRUSUS were decreed the ſame ſolemnities as to that of GERMANICUS, with many ſuperadded, agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights in ſurpaſſing and additions. Moſt ſignal was the luſtre of the Funeral in a pompous proceſſion of Images, when at it appeared, in a long train of anceſtors, ÆNEAS, father of the Julian race, all the Kings of Alba, ROMULUS founder of Rome, then the Sabine Nobility, ATTUS CLAUSUS, and his deſcendents of the Claudian family.

IN relating the death of DRUSUS, I have followed the greateſt part of our Hiſtorians, and the moſt faithful. I would not, however, omit a rumour which in thoſe times was ſo prevailing that it is not extinguiſhed in ours,

" That

" That SEJANUS having by adultery gained " LIVIA to the murder, had likewiſe engaged " by conſtupration the affections and concur- " rence of LYGDUS the Eunuch, becauſe LYGDUS " was, for his youth and lovelineſs, dear to " his maſter, and one of his chief attendants; " that when the time and place of poiſoning " were by the conſpirators concerted, the " Eunuch carried his boldneſs ſo high, as to " charge upon DRUSUS a deſign of poiſoning " TIBERIUS, and ſecretly warning the Em- " peror of this, adviſed him to ſhun the firſt " draught offered him in the next entertain- " ment at his ſon's; that the old man liſtening " to this impoſture, after he had ſate down " to table, having received the cup delivered " it to DRUSUS, who ignorantly and gaily " drank it off, and this heightened the jealouſy " of TIBERIUS, as if through fear and ſhame " his ſon had ſwallowed the ſame deadly " draught which he had prepared for his fa- " ther."

THESE rumours current amongſt the popu- lace, beſides that they are ſupported by no certain Author, may be eaſily refuted. For, who of common prudence (much leſs TIBE- RIUS, ſo long practiſed in great affairs) would preſent to his own ſon, without hearing him, the mortal bane, with his own hands too, and cutting off for ever all poſſibility of retrac- tion? Why would he not rather have tor- tured the miniſter of the poiſon? Why not inquired into the contriver? Why not ob- ſerved

ſerved towards his only ſon, a ſon hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that inherent ſlowneſs and heſitation, which he practiſed even in his proceedings towards ſtrangers? But as SEJANUS was reckoned the framer of every wickedneſs, therefore, from the exceſſive fondneſs of TIBERIUS towards him, and from the hatred of others towards both, things the moſt fabulous and direful were believed of them; beſides that common fame is ever moſt fraught with tales of horrour upon the departure of Princes. In truth, the plan and proceſs of the murder were firſt diſcovered by APICATA, wife of SEJANUS, and laid open upon the rack by EUDEMUS and LYGDUS. Nor has any Writer appeared ſo outrageous to charge it upon TIBERIUS, though in other inſtances they have ſedulouſly collected and inflamed every action of his. My own purpoſe in recounting and cenſuring this rumour, was to blaſt, by ſo glaring an example, the credit of groundleſs tales, and to requeſt of thoſe into whoſe hands our preſent undertaking ſhall come, that they would not prefer hear-ſays, void of credibility and raſhly ſwallowed, to the narrations of truth not adulterated with romance.

Now, whilſt TIBERIUS was pronouncing in public the Panegyric of his ſon, the Senate and people aſſumed the port and accent of mourners, rather in appearance than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to ſee the houſe of GERMANICUS begin to revive. But this dawn of fortune, and the conduct of AGRIPPINA, ill diſ-

diſguiſing her hopes, quickened the overthrow of that houſe. For SEJANUS, when he ſaw the death of DRUSUS paſs unrevenged upon his murderers, and no public lamentation following it, undaunted now in villainy, ſince his firſt efforts had ſucceeded, deviſed with himſelf, how to deſtroy the ſons of GERMANICUS, whoſe ſucceſſion to the Empire was now unqueſtionable. There were three of them, and, from the diſtinguiſhed fidelity of their Governours, and incorruptible chaſtity of AGRIPPINA, could not be all circumvented by poyſon. He therefore choſe to arraign her for the haughtineſs of her ſpirit, to rouſe the old hatred of LIVIA the elder, and the guilty heart of his late accomplice, LIVIA the younger; that they might charge her to the Emperor, "as elated with pride for her numerous iſſue; "and that, confiding in the zeal of the po- "pulace, ſhe was panting after the ſovereignty." The young LIVIA acted in this engagement by crafty calumniators, amongſt whom ſhe had particularly choſen JULIUS POSTHUMUS, a man every way qualified for her purpoſes, as he was the adulterer of MUTILIA PRISCA, and thence a confident of her grand-mother's; (for, over the mind of the Empreſs, PRISCA had powerful influence) and by their means the old woman, in her own nature tender and jealous of her power, was rendered utterly irreconcileable to the widow of her grand-ſon. Such too as were neareſt the perſon of AGRIPPINA, were prompted

prompted to be continually enraging her tempeſtuous heart by perverſe repreſentations.

TIBERIUS the while, no ways relaxing the cares of Government, but applying for conſolation to affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at Rome, and diſpatched the petitions from the Provinces. By a Decree of Senate, at his motion, the City of Cibyra in Aſia, and that of Ægyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an earthquake, were eaſed of tribute for three years. VIBIUS SERENUS too, Proconſul of the furthermoſt Spain, was condemned for arbitrary adminiſtration, and for the ſavageneſs of his conduct baniſhed into the iſle of Amorgos. CARSIUS SACERDOS, charged with ſupplying corn to the enemy TACFARINAS, was acquitted, as was CAIUS GRACCHUS of the ſame crime. This CAIUS was in his childhood carried by his father SEMPRONIUS into the iſland Cercina, as a companion in his exile, he grew up there amongſt fugitives, and men deſtitute of liberal education, and afterwards ſuſtained himſelf by ſordid traffic between Africa and Sicily. Nor thus low did he eſcape the perils that wait on elevated fortune; but, had not ÆLIUS LAMIA and LUCIUS APRONIUS, ſucceſſively Proconſuls in Africa, protected him, he muſt have fallen an innocent victim to the obnoxious ſplendor of his illuſtrious unhappy race, and to the calamitous fate of his father.

THIS

THIS year alſo brought deputations from the Grecian cities, one from the people of Samos, one from thoſe of Coos, the former to requeſt that the ancient right of Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno might be confirmed; the latter to ſolicit the ſame confirmation for that of Æſculapius. The Samians claimed upon a Decree of the Council of Amphictions, the ſupreme Judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their cities founded in Aſia, poſſeſſed the maritime coaſts. Nor had they of Coos a weaker title to Antiquity; to which likewiſe accrued the pretenſions of the place to the friendſhip of Rome; for they had ſecured in the Temple of Æſculapius all the Roman citizens there, when by the order of King MITHRIDATES, ſuch were univerſally butchered throughout all the cities of Aſia and the Iſles. And now, after many complaints from the Prætors, for the moſt part ineffectual, the Emperor at laſt made a repreſentation to the Senate, concerning the licentiouſneſs of the Players, "that in many inſtances they raiſed "ſeditious tumults, and violated the public "peace; and, in many, promoted debauchery "in private families; that the *Oſcan Farce*, "formerly only the contemptible delight of "the vulgar, was riſen to ſuch a prevailing "pitch of credit and enormity, that it required "the authority of the Senate to check it." The Players therefore were driven out of Italy.

THE ſame year carried off one of the twins of DRUSUS, and thence afflicted the Emperor with freſh woe; nor with leſs for the death of a particular friend. It was LUCILLIUS LONGUS, the inſeparable companion of all the traverſes of his fortune, ſmiling or ſad, and, of all the Senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reaſon, though but a new man, the Senate decreed him a public funeral, and a ſtatue to be placed, at the expence of the Treaſury, in the ſquare of AUGUSTUS. For by the Senate even yet all affairs were tranſacted, inſomuch that LUCILLIUS CAPITO, the Emperor's Comptroller in Aſia, was, at the accuſation of the Province, brought upon his defence before them; the Emperor too, upon this occaſion, proteſted, with great earneſtneſs, "that from him LUCILLIUS had no authority but over his ſlaves, "and in collecting his domeſtic rents; that if "he had uſurped the juriſdiction of Prætor, "and employed military force, he had ſo far "violated his orders; they ſhould therefore "hear the allegations of the Province." Thus the accuſed was upon trial condemned. For this juſt vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on CAIUS SILANUS, the cities of Aſia decreed a Temple to TIBERIUS, and his Mother, and the Senate, and obtained leave to build it. For this conceſſion NERO made a ſpeech of thanks to the Senators and his grandfather, a ſpeech which charmed the affections of his hearers, who, as they were full of the memory

memory of GERMANICUS, fancied it was him they heard, and him they ſaw. There was alſo in the youth himſelf an engaging modeſty, and a gracefulneſs becoming a princely perſon; ornaments, which, by the known hatred that threatened him from SEJANUS, became ſtill more dear and revered.

ABOUT the ſame time the Emperor made a diſcourſe "about the choice of a new Prieſt "of Jupiter, in the room of SERVIUS MALU-"GINENSIS deceaſed; for that it was the an-"cient cuſtom to name three, born of parents "who had in their nuptials obſerved the form "of Confarreation; but now that the buſineſs "of Confarreation was quite omitted, or by "few obſerved, there remained not then, as "formerly, the ſame ſcope for choice. There "were ſeveral cauſes of that omiſſion, the "principal, a want of zeal both in men and "women for that rite, together with the "difficulties attending it, whence they were "prompted to avoid it; beſides that the pa-"ternal authority was for ever loſt over any "ſon who acquired that prieſthood, and over "any daughter who married him. The Senate "therefore ought by ſome expedient to remove "theſe diſcouragements, after the example of "AUGUSTUS, who had ſoftened ſome rigid "uſages of antiquity, and adapted them to "the genius of the times." The Senate therefore, having diſcuſſed the grounds and qualifications of that prieſthood, agreed "to make "no change from the firſt inſtitution." Only

a Law paſſed, "that the Prieſteſs of Jupiter, "ſhould, in the adminiſtration of things ſacred, "be under the dominion of her husband, but "be ſubject, in other things, to the common "treatment of other women." To conclude, MALUGINENSIS the ſon ſucceeded his father. And, to raiſe the reputation of the Prieſthood, and warm the affections of the Prieſts themſelves towards ſacred ſolemnities, a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces* was decreed to CORNELIA, choſen Superior of the Veſtal virgins in the place of SCANTIA; and to AUGUSTA a privilege granted, that as often as ſhe went to the Theatre, ſhe ſhould ſit amongſt them.

IN the Conſulſhip of CORNELIUS CETHEGUS and VISELLIUS VARRO, the Pontifs, and by their example the other Prieſts, while they were offering vows for the proſperity of the Emperor, recommended likewiſe NERO and DRUSUS to the care of the ſame Gods, not ſo much from any tenderneſs towards theſe youths, as from flattery, a practice which, when the public manners are corrupt, it is dangerous to exceed in, and alike dangerous to forbear. For, TIBERIUS, never benevolent to the houſe of GERMANICUS, was now provoked beyond all patience, that "no difference was made "between their youth and his years," and, ſending for the Pontifs, examined them, "whe-"ther to the entreaties, or menaces of AGRIP-"PINA, they had paid that compliment?"

* About fifty thouſand Crowns.

And

And though they denied both, he reproved them, but reproved them gently, for moſt of them were his own kinſmen, or men of the firſt diſtinction in Rome. But in the Senate he made a ſet ſpeech, warning all of them for the time to come, "not to intoxicate the "giddy ſpirit of the youths with the pride of "over-early and precipitate honours." He was in truth inſtigated continually by SEJANUS, who urged, "that Rome was rent into con-"tending parties, rent as in a Civil war; al-"ready there were thoſe who boldly called "themſelves the Partizans of AGRIPPINA; "and if no ſtop were put, the faction would "increaſe. Nor was there any other remedy "for the prevailing ſpirit of faction, than the "cutting off one or two of the moſt formi-"dable."

WITH this view he fell upon CAIUS SILIUS and TITIUS SABINUS. The friendſhip of GERMANICUS was fatal to both; but to SILIUS there were other exceptions: he had for ſeven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been diſtinguiſhed with the enſigns of Triumph; he had ſubdued the revolting Gauls under SACROVIR; ſo that from the noiſe and eclat of his fall, proportionable terror would ſeize others. It was believed by many, that by his own intemperate ſpeeches he had heightened the diſpleaſure conceived againſt him, while he boaſted without meaſure, "that his ſoldiers perſiſted "in obedience, when others lapſed into ſedi-

" tion; nor had the Empire remained to " TIBERIUS, if in his Legions too there had " been a thirſt of change." By theſe pretenſions of his, the Emperor thought his own fortune degraded, and too low to recompence ſuch mighty ſervices. For benefits are only ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to diſcharge them; when they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude.

SOSIA GALLA was wife to SILIUS, and, for her dearneſs to AGRIPPINA, hated by TIBERIUS. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to poſtpone for ſome time the trial of SABINUS. Againſt them was engaged, as an accuſer, VARRO the Conſul, who, under colour of " revenging his father's quarrel," gratified, by his own infamy, the vengeance of SEJANUS. The requeſt of the accuſed for a ſhort reſpit, till VARRO ceaſed to be Conſul, was oppoſed by the Emperor, " for that it was " cuſtomary for other Magiſtrates to bring par- " ticulars upon trial; nor ought the prero- " gative of a Conſul in the like inſtance to be " infringed, ſince upon his vigilance it de- " pended that no damage accrued to the Com- " monweal." It was a policy peculiar to TIBERIUS, to ſhelter under venerable old names the methods of violence lately invented. The Senate is therefore ſummoned with great parade, as if SILIUS were to be dealt with by the Laws, or as if VARRO had been in truth acting as Conſul, and protecting the public, or as if the preſent domination had been the ancient Republic.

Republic. SILIUS made no defence, or only enough to ſhew by whoſe fury he was oppreſſed. To him were objected, "his confederacy with "SACROVIR, and thence the revolt ſo long "concealed, his deteſtable avarice after vic-"tory, and the behaviour of his wife. Without doubt, neither could be acquitted of public rapine; but the whole charge was brought under the article of Treaſon, and SILIUS prevented by a voluntary death the impending condemnation.

HIS eſtate however eſcaped not the cruelty of the ſentence, not that out of it might be repaid the money extorted from the Gauls; for none of the Gauls reclaimed it; but the precedent of AUGUSTUS *, being now rejected, an exact calculation and payment was made of all the effects of SILIUS claimed by the Exchequer. This was the firſt time TIBERIUS manifeſted any paſſion for another man's wealth. SOSIA was ſentenced to baniſhment at the motion of ASINIUS GALLUS, who propoſed, "that "half her effects ſhould be forfeited, half left "to her children." MARCUS LEPIDUS, on the contrary, propoſed "the fourth part to "the accuſers, as the Law required, all the reſt "to the children." This LEPIDUS I find to have been, for thoſe times, a wiſe and upright man; for, by him the exceſſive flattery, and cruel counſels of others were often mitigated.

* AUGUSTUS was wont to beſtow the fortunes of perſons condemned upon their children.

Neither did he in these his interpositions neglect a temperament, since he still maintained at an equal heigth his character with the public, and the favour of TIBERIUS. Hence I am driven to doubt, whether the good liking of Princes to some, and their antipathy to others, be, like other things, owing to blind fate and the lot of nativity, or whether the difference be determined by the wisdom and conduct of men; and whether it be possible to proceed in a safe path, at an equal distance from abrupt contumacy, and slavish submission, neither courting power, nor threatened by it. COTT MESSALINUS, a man descended from ancestors no less illustrious than LEPIDUS, but of a different spirit, proposed to provide by a Decree of Senate, "that the Magistrates of the several "Provinces, however innocent themselves, "and even unacquainted with the mismanage-"ment of others, should yet be equally pu-"nished for the crimes of their wives, as for "their own."

THE next proceeding was against CALPURNIUS PISO, a man of noble descent, and an undaunted heart. For, it was he who, as I have related, loudly protested in the Senate, "that he would abandon Rome, to escape the "implacable bands of the accusers;" it was he who had, in defiance of the power of AUGUSTA, dared to prosecute her favourite URGULANIA, and to demand her out of the palace of the Emperor. All which TIBERIUS passed over for the present courteously; but in a soul like

like his, brooding over vengeance, though the tranſports of reſentment had abated, the deep impreſſions remained. QUINTUS GRANIUS charged PISO with treaſonable words privately uttered againſt the Majeſty of the Emperor; and added, "that he kept poiſon in his houſe, "and came into the Senate armed with a "dagger;" an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropped. Yet for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was put upon his trial, but, through the intervention of a ſeaſonable death, never condemned. Then too came before them the buſineſs of CASSIUS SEVERUS, the exile, a man ſordid in his birth, in his life miſchievous, but a powerful ſpeaker, who, in conſequence of the enemies he had made, powerful and many without meaſure, had drawn upon himſelf an order of Senate, paſſed with the ſolemnity of ſwearing, for his baniſhment into Crete; where, by following continually his wonted practices, he excited a combination of old enmities and new: So that he was now bereft of his eſtate, interdicted from fire and water, and grew old in exile upon the rocks of Seriphos.

ABOUT the ſame time PLAUTIUS SILVANUS the Prætor, for what cauſe is uncertain, killed APRONIA his wife, by throwing her headlong. When he was carried by APRONIUS his father-in-law, before the Emperor, he anſwered, in confuſion of ſpirit, "as if, while he was found "aſleep, and unapprized, his wife had wil-"fully diſpatched herſelf." TIBERIUS inſtantly

ſtantly haſted to viſit the chamber, where were ſtill apparent the marks of his violence and her ſtruggling. This he reported to the Senate, and Judges being appointed, URGULANIA the grand-mother of PLAUTIUS ſent him a dagger, which it was believed ſhe did by the advice of TIBERIUS, in regard of the friendſhip of AUGUSTA for her. The criminal having in vain eſſayed to uſe the ſteel, cauſed his veins to be opened. Preſently after NUMANTINA, his former wife, was accuſed of having by charms and potions diſordered the underſtanding of her husband, but declared innocent.

THIS year, at laſt, relieved the Romans from a long war with TACFARINAS the Numidian. For, the former Generals, as ſoon as they believed their exploits had intitled them to the ornaments of triumph, always abandoned the enemy. Inſomuch that there were already in Rome three Statues adorned with victorious laurel, and ſtill TACFARINAS ravaged Africa. He was ſtrengthened by auxiliaries from the Moors, who, governed by Royal freedmen under the thoughtleſs reign of the youth their King, (PTOLEMY ſon of JUBA) had exchanged even for war the domeſtic domination of ſlaves. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the King of the Garamantes; not that this King marched at the head of an army, but only detached out light parties, which were magnified by great diſtance and report. From the province itſelf too flowed in all that were indigent in their fortune, all that

that were diſorderly in their lives, the more readily, becauſe the Emperor, after the feats performed by BLÆSUS, as if there had no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth Legion to be brought back; nor durſt PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, that year Proconſul there, retain it, as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince, than the caſualties of the war.

TACFARINAS therefore diſperſed a rumour, "that ſeveral other nations too were tearing "piecemeal the Roman ſtate; hence their "forces were by degrees drawing off from "Africa; and the remainder might be wholly "deſtroyed, if all, to whom liberty was dearer "than bondage, would, with all their might, "engage them." By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he begirt the city of Thubuſcum. But DOLABELLA, drawing together what ſoldiers there were, at his firſt approach raiſed the ſiege, by the terror of the Roman name, and as the Numidians can never ſtand the attack of our foot. He likewiſe fortified the proper places, and at the ſame time executed the chiefs of the Muſulanians, juſt ready to revolt. Now, becauſe by many expeditions againſt TACFARINAS, it was manifeſt that, not by a heavy army and a ſingle onſet, ſuch a rambling foe was to be effectually puſhed; the Proconſul having therefore called to his aid King PTOLEMY, with a body of his ſubjects the Moors, formed four bands. Theſe he committed to the Commanders of the Legions and

15267

and Tribunes; certain parties appointed to ſcour and pillage the country, were conducted by ſome choſen Moors; he himſelf moved from quarter to quarter, to direct the whole.

NOT long after tydings came, "that the "Numidians had pitched their huts about a "ruinous caſtle, burnt down formerly by "themſelves, its name Auzea, truſting now "to its ſituation, becauſe it was ſhut in on "every ſide by vaſt foreſts." Forthwith were diſpatched the horſe and foot, a rapid march, themſelves not knowing whither; and juſt at dawn of day, with trumpets ſounding, and dreadful ſhouts, they were upon the Barbarians ſtill half aſleep, their horſes fettered, or ſtraggling looſly at graſs. The Romans were come prepared, their foot in cloſe array, their troops marſhalled, all things diſpoſed for battle; the enemy, on the contrary, intirely unapprized, without arms, or order, or counſel, were, with the paſſiveneſs of ſheep, caught, ſlaughtered, and dragged away captive. The ſoldiers, embittered by the remembrance of all their labours, and againſt a foe which had ſo long eluded the fight ſo often courted, had each his fill of vengeance and blood. Through all the ranks the word ran, "that they muſt particu-"larly make ſure of TACFARINAS, known to "them all by ſo many conflicts; nothing be-"ſides killing the leader could extinguiſh the "war." His Guards were already fallen round him, his ſon was already in bonds, and the Romans on every ſide pouring upon him; he there-

therefore desperately rushed amongst the darts; and, by a death accompanied with many of ours, escaped captivity. And thus was an end put to the war.

DOLABELLA desired the ensigns of triumph, but was refused by TIBERIUS, in compliment to SEJANUS, that the late glory of his uncle BLÆSUS might not thence be obliterated. But this derived no new lustre upon BLÆSUS, while to DOLABELLA more glory accrued from honour denied, since with a smaller army he had slain the General, led many distinguished captives, and bore the renown of having wholly concluded the war. He was also attended with Embassadors from the Garamantes, a rare sight in Rome! That nation, struck with the death of TACFARINAS, and conscious of guilt, had sent them to appease the resentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of PTOLEMY, during that war was known, in his favour was revived a custom of remote antiquity, and one of the Senators sent to deliver him the ivory staff and painted robe; (the usual presents of the ancient Roman Senate) and to salute him *King*, *Friend*, and *Confederate*.

THE same summer, the seeds of a servile war spreading through Italy, were by chance suppressed. The author of the stir was TITUS CURTISIUS, formerly a soldier of the Prætorian Guards. His first essays were at clandestine meetings in Brundusium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by declarations publicly hung up, he was inciting to liberty the Agrarian

rian ſlaves, who, from living in wild and remote foreſts, were themſelves wild and fierce; when, as it were, by the benignity of the Gods, three galleys belonging to the merchants landed on that coaſt. CURTIUS LUPUS too, the Quæſtor, was then in theſe parts, as to him had fallen for his juriſdiction, according to ancient eſtabliſhment, the reſtraining of robberies in the woods and roads of the foreſts. LUPUS marſhalled the ſeamen, and by them defeated the conſpiracy, juſt breaking out; ſo that STAIUS the Tribune diſpatched thither by the Emperor, with a ſtout band, dragged the leader himſelf and his moſt reſolute partizans to Rome, which was already in a terror, on account of the multitude of domeſtic ſlaves, that were ſtill augmenting immenſly, while the genuine commonalty daily dwindled.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, were brought into the Senate a father arraigned, and his ſon the accuſer, both named VIBIUS SERENUS; a ſad example of horror and calamity of the times! the father already an exile, now haled back to a freſh trial, covered with rags and naſtineſs, then too bound in chains, heard himſelf impleaded by his ſon. The young man, dreſſed with mighty elegance, with a countenance chearful and elate, alledged "a plot "framed againſt the Emperor, and that ſome "of the conſpirators were ſent into Gaul, to "inſtigate a rebellion there." Thus he became againſt his father a witneſs as well as an informer. He likewiſe "charged CÆCILIUS "COR-

" CORNUTUS, formerly Prætor, with having " furniſhed money." CORNUTUS had, in truth, with his own hands diſpatched himſelf, only from the pain of anxiety, and becauſe he held accuſation for a certain ſignal of deſtruction. The accuſed, on the other ſide, with a ſpirit nothing dejected, turning full upon his ſon, and ſhaking his chains, invoked " the avenging " Gods, that to himſelf they would firſt reſtore " his place of exile, where, far from ſuch " direful doings he might paſs his days; and " that juſt vengeance might one day overtake " his ſon." He inſiſted too, " that CORNUTUS " was innocent, and only terrified with forged " crimes, as might be eaſily learnt, if other " accomplices were produced; for it was not " probable that, with one confederate only, " he ſhould have meditated the murder of the " Prince, and a change of the State."

THE accuſer then named CNEIUS LENTULUS, and SEIUS TUBERO, to the great confuſion of TIBERIUS, when men of the firſt figure in Rome, his own intimate friends, LENTULUS extremely old, TUBERO broken with infirmities, were charged with deviſing hoſtile inſurrections againſt the State. But they were both paſſed over without a pauſe. Againſt the father his ſlaves were examined upon the rack; and their examination went againſt the accuſer, who, diſtracted with guilt, and frightened beſides with the threatnings of the populace, dooming him to the dungeon, the rack, and the pains of parricide, fled out of

of Rome. He was dragged back from Ravenna, and compelled to proſecute his accuſation; TIBERIUS, no wiſe concealing his old hatred to the exile SERENUS, for that, after the condemnation of LIBO, he had by letters upbraided the Emperor, that his ſignal zeal in that trial remained without reward; he had likewiſe inſerted ſome expreſſions more contumacious than ſafe in the tender ears of a Prince naturally proud and prone to reſentment. His words were eight years after rehearſed by TIBERIUS, who alſo charged him with many miſdemeanours during that interval, though through the obſtinacy of his ſlaves nothing, he ſaid, could be diſcovered by torture.

THE votes being taken, and SERENUS ſentenced "to death, according to the rigour of antiquity," TIBERIUS, to ſoften the public odium, oppoſed it. Then ASINIUS GALLUS propoſed, "to ſhut him up in the iſle of "Gyarus or Donuſa:" a motion which TIBERIUS alſo rejected, arguing, "that both theſe "iſles were deſtitute of water, and that to "whom they granted life, the conveniencies "of life ought likewiſe to be granted." Thus SERENUS was carried back to Amorgos. And now that CORNUTUS had died by his own hands, it was moved, "to abrogate the rewards "of the accuſers, as often as any perſon, "charged with treaſon, ſhould, before judg-"ment paſſed, put an end to his own life." And this motion had been followed, but that TIBERIUS complained, with ſternneſs, and now, contrary

contrary to his wonted reſerves, an open advocate for the accuſers, "that by it the laws "would be defeated, and the Commonwealth "overthrown; let them rather, he ſaid, diſ-"ſolve the laws, than diſmiſs their guardians." Thus the accuſers, a ſort of men formed for the deſtruction of human kind, and indeed, by no pains or terrors, ever ſufficiently curbed, were now allured and prompted by wages.

In ſuch a continued ſeries of doleful proceedings, a ſmall inſtance of joy intervened; Caius Cominius a Roman Knight, convicted of a ſcurrilous Poem againſt the Emperor, was pardoned by him at the ſupplication of his brother, who was a Senator. Hence it was reckoned the more aſtoniſhing, that he who knew better things, and what public renown attended clemency, ſhould yet rather chuſe the ways of tyranny and horror. For neither did he tranſgreſs through want of diſcernment; nor is it ever too intricate to be diſtinguiſhed, whether the doings of Princes be applauded with ſincerity, or whether only with the falſe guiſe of joy. Nay, Tiberius himſelf, who, upon other occaſions, ſtudied his words, and whoſe ſpeech ſeemed to labour, yet, whenever he ſpoke as an advocate, ſpoke with readineſs and volubility. At this time, Publius Suilius, formerly Quæſtor to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a Judge, was, for his puniſhment, to be expelled Italy; a ſentence too mild for the Emperor, who ad-

judged him to baniſhment into an Iſland, with ſuch impetuoſity, that, with the tye and ſolemnity of an oath, he declared it "for the inte-"reſt of the Commonwealth;" a behaviour which at that time was ſharply cenſured, but turned afterwards to his praiſe, when SUILIUS was again returned to Rome, a following reign ſaw that exile a powerful minion, and an abandoned mercenary, one who long poſſeſſed the confidence of CLAUDIUS powerfully, but never honeſtly. CATUS FIRMIUS the Senator, was adjudged to the ſame puniſhment, "for having forged treaſonable crimes againſt "his own ſiſter." CATUS, as I have before declared, had lured LIBO into his pernicious ſnares, and then, by informing againſt him, procured his overthrow. TIBERIUS, mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, beſought a reverſal of the ſentence of baniſhment, but to his expulſion from the Senate, made no oppoſition.

I am aware, that moſt of the tranſactions which I have already related, or ſhall hereafter relate, may, perhaps, appear minute, and too trivial to be remembered. But, none muſt compare theſe my Annals with the writeings of thoſe who compiled the Story of the ancient Roman people. They had for their ſubjects mighty wars, potent cities ſacked, great Kings routed and taken captive; or, if they ſometimes reviewed the domeſtic affairs of Rome, they there found the mutual ſtrife and animoſities of the Conſuls and Tribunes, the

Agrarian

Agrarian and Frumentary laws, puſhed and oppoſed, and the ſtruggles between the Nobles and Populace; noble topics, and recounted by the old Hiſtorians with free ſcope. To me remains a ſtreightened task, and void of glory, ſteady peace, or ſhort intervals of war, the proceedings at Rome ſad and tragical, and a Prince careleſs of extending the Empire. Nor yet will it be without its profit to look minutely into ſuch tranſactions, as, however ſmall at firſt view, give often riſe and motion to great events.

For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by ſingle rulers. The frame of a ſtate choſen and compacted out of all theſe three, is eaſier applauded than accompliſhed, or if accompliſhed, cannot be of long duration. So that, as dureing the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief ſway; it was neceſſary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what meaſures they were to be humoured and reſtrained; and ſuch too who were throughly acquainted with the ſpirit of the Senate and leading men, came to be eſteemed skilful in the times, and men of proweſs: ſo now, when that eſtabliſhment is changed, and the preſent ſituation ſuch, that one rules all; it is of advantage to collect and record theſe later incidents, as matters of public example and inſtruction; ſince few can, by their own wiſdom, diſtinguiſh between things crooked and upright, few between

counſels pernicious and profitable, and ſince moſt men are taught by the fate and example of others. But the preſent detail, however inſtructive, yet brings ſcanty delight. It is by the deſcriptions and accounts of nations, by the variety of battles, by the memorable fall of illuſtrious Captains, that the ſoul of the reader is engaged and refreſhed. For myſelf, I can only give a ſad diſplay of cruel orders, inceſſant accuſations, faithleſs friendſhips, the deſtruction of innocents, and endleſs trials, all attended with the ſame iſſue, death and condemnation; an obvious round of repetition and ſatiety! Beſides that the old Hiſtorians are rarely cenſured; nor is any man now concerned whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under TIBERIUS ſuffered puniſhment, or were marked with infamy, the poſterity are ſtill ſubſiſting; or if the families themſelves are extinct, there are others found, who from a ſimilitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themſelves are charged: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expoſe in a light too obvious the oppoſite characters. But I return to my undertaking.

WHILST CORNELIUS COSSUS and ASINIUS AGRIPPA were Conſuls, CREMUTIUS CORDUS was arraigned, for that, "having publiſhed "Annals, and in them praiſed BRUTUS, he "had ſtiled CASSIUS the laſt of the Romans;" a new crime, then firſt created. SATRIUS SECUNDUS

CUNDUS and PINARIUS NATTA were his accuſers, creatures of SEJANUS; a mortal omen this to the accuſed; beſides that TIBERIUS received his defence with an implacable countenance. He began it on this wiſe, caſting away all hopes of life:

"As to facts, I am ſo guiltleſs, Conſcript "Fathers, that my words only are accuſed; "but neither are any words of mine pointed "againſt the Emperor, or his Mother, the "only perſons comprehended in the Law con- "cerning violated Majeſty. It is alledged, that "I have praiſed BRUTUS and CASSIUS, men "whoſe lives and actions have been compiled "by a cloud of writers, and their memory "treated by none but with honour. TITUS "LIVIUS, an hiſtorian eminently famous for "eloquence and veracity, celebrated POMPEY "with ſuch abundant encomiums, that he was "thence by AUGUSTUS named POMPEIANUS; "nor did this prejudice their common friend- "ſhip. Neither SCIPIO, nor AFRANIUS, nor "even this ſame CASSIUS, nor this ſame BRU- "TUS, are any where mentioned by him as "*traitors* and *parricides*, the common nick- "names now beſtowed on them, but often as "great and memorable men. The writings "of ASINIUS POLLIO have conveyed down "the memory of the ſame men under ho- "nourable characters. CORVINUS MESSALA "gloried to have had CASSIUS for his Gene- "ral: Yet both POLLIO and CORVINUS be- "came ſignally powerful in wealth and ho-

" nours under AUGUSTUS. That Book of CI-
" CERO's, in which he exalted CATO to the
" skies, what other animadverſion did it draw
" from CÆSAR the Dictator, than a written
" reply, in the ſame ſtile and equality as if
" before his Judges he had made it? The
" letters of MARC ANTHONY, the ſpeeches of
" BRUTUS, are full of reproaches, and recri-
" minations againſt AUGUSTUS, falſe in truth,
" but urged with ſignal aſperity. The Poems
" of BIBACULUS and thoſe of CATULLUS, ſtuffed
" with virulent ſatires againſt the CÆSARS, are
" ſtill read. But even the deified JULIUS, even
" the deified AUGUSTUS, bore all theſe invec-
" tives, and left them unſuppreſſed, whether
" with greater moderation or wiſdom, I can-
" not eaſily ſay. For, if they are deſpiſed,
" they fade away; if you wax wroth, you ſeem
" to avow them for true.

" INSTANCES from the Greeks I bring none:
" with them not the freedom only, but even
" the licentiouſneſs of ſpeech, is unpuniſhed;
" or if any correction be returned, it is only
" by revenging words with words. It has been
" ever allowed, without reſtriction or rebuke,
" to paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom
" death has withdrawn from the influence of
" affection and hate. Are CASSIUS and BRU-
" TUS now in arms? Do they at preſent fill
" with troops the fields of Philippi? Or do I
" fire the Roman people, by inflammatory
" harangues, with the ſpirit of civil rage?
" BRUTUS and CASSIUS, now above ſeventy
" years

" years ſlain, are ſtill known in their Statues,
" which even the conqueror did not aboliſh;
" and what do the Hiſtorians, but preſerve
" their characters? Impartial poſterity to every
" man repays his proper praiſe; nor will there
" be wanting ſuch as, if my death is deter-
" mined, will not only revive the ſtory of
" CASSIUS and BRUTUS, but even my ſtory."
Having thus ſaid, he withdrew from the Senate, and ended his life by abſtinence. The Fathers condemned the Books to be burned by the Ædiles; but they ſtill continued to be ſecretly diſperſed. Hence we may juſtly mock the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine that they can, by preſent power, extinguiſh the lights and memory of ſucceeding times; for, quite otherwiſe, the puniſhment of writers exalts the credit of the writings; nor did ever foreign Kings, or any elſe, who exerciſed the like cruelty, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves, and glory to the ſufferers.

Now for this whole year the courſe of accuſations was ſo conſtant, that even during the ſolemnity of the Latin feſtival, when DRUSUS for his inauguration, as Governor of Rome, had aſcended the Tribunal, he was accoſted by CALPURNIUS SALVIANUS with a charge againſt SEXTUS MARIUS; a proceeding openly reſented by the Emperor, and thence SALVIANUS was baniſhed. The city of Cyzicus was accuſed, " of not obſerving the worſhip of the deified
" AUGUSTUS;" with additional crimes, " of
" violences committed upon ſome Roman

" citizens." Thus that city loſt her liberties, which by her behaviour during the Mithridatic war, ſhe had purchaſed, having in it ſuſtained a ſiege, and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of LUCULLUS, repulſed the King. But FONTEIUS CAPITO, who had as Proconſul governed Aſia, was acquitted, upon proof that the crimes brought againſt him by VIBIUS SERENUS were forged. Yet the forgery drew no penalty upon SERENUS; nay, the public hate rendered him the more ſecure; for, every accuſer, the more eager and inceſſant he was, the more ſacred and inviolable he became. Only the ſorry and impotent were ſurrendered to chaſtiſement.

ABOUT the ſame time, the furthermoſt Spain beſought the Senate by their embaſſadors, " that, after the example of Aſia, they might " erect a Temple to TIBERIUS and his Mo- " ther." Upon this occaſion, the Emperor, always reſolute in contemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute thoſe, who expoſed him to the popular cenſure, of having deviated into ambition, ſpoke in this manner. " I know, Conſcript Fathers, that it is aſcribed " to a defect of firmneſs in me, that when the " cities of Aſia petitioned for this very thing, " I withſtood them not. I ſhall therefore now " unfold at once the motives of my ſilence " then, and the rules which for the future I " am determined to obſerve. Since the deified " AUGUSTUS had not oppoſed the founding " at Pergamus a Temple to himſelf and the

" city

" city of Rome, I, with whom all his actions
" and ſayings have the force of laws, followed
" an example already approved, becauſe to
" the worſhip beſtowed upon me, that of the
" Senate was annexed. But as the indulging
" of this, in one inſtance, will find pardon;
" ſo a general latitude of being adored through
" every province, under the ſacred repreſen-
" tations of the Deities, would denote a vain
" ſpirit, a heart ſwelled with ambition. The
" glory too of AUGUSTUS will evaniſh, if by
" the promiſcuous courtſhip of flattery it comes
" to be proſtituted.

" FOR myſelf, Conſcript Fathers, I am a
" mortal man; I am confined to the functions
" of human nature; and if I well ſupply the
" principal place amongſt you, it ſuffices me.
" This I acknowledge to you, and this ac-
" knowledgment I would have poſterity to
" remember. They will do abundant right
" to my memory, if they believe me to have
" been worthy of my anceſtors, watchful of
" the Roman ſtate, unmoved in perils, and in
" maintaining the public intereſt, fearleſs of
" private enmities. Theſe are the Temples
" which in your breaſts I would raiſe, theſe
" the faireſt pourtraitures, and ſuch as will en-
" dure. As to Temples and Statues of ſtone,
" if the Idol adored in them come to be hated
" by poſterity, they are deſpiſed as his ſepul-
" chres. I here therefore invoke the Gods,
" that to the end of my life they would grant
" me a ſpirit undiſturbed, and diſcerning in

duties

" duties human and divine: hence too I here " implore our Citizens and Allies, that when- " ever my diſſolution comes, they would with " approbation and benevolent teſtimonies of " remembrance, celebrate my actions and re- " tain the odour of my name." And thence- forward he perſevered in ſlighting, upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, this divine worſhip of himſelf. A conduct by ſome aſcribed to modeſty, by many to a con- ſcious diffidence, by others to degeneracy of ſpirit; " ſince the moſt ſublime amongſt " men naturally covet the moſt exalted ho- " nours: thus HERCULES and BACCHUS " amongſt the Greeks, and with us ROMULUS, " were added to the ſociety of the Gods. " AUGUSTUS too had choſen the nobler part, " and hoped for deification. All the other " gratifications of Princes were inſtantly pro- " cured; one only was to be purſued inſati- " ably, the praiſe and perpetuity of their name. " For by contemning fame, the virtues that " procure it, are contemned."

NOW SEJANUS, intoxicated with exceſs of fortune, and moreover ſtimulated by the im- portunity of LIVIA, who, with the reſtleſs paſ- ſion of a woman, craved the promiſed mar- riage, compoſed a Memorial to the Emperor. For, it was then the cuſtom to apply to him in writing, though he were preſent. This of SEJANUS was thus conceived; " That ſuch " had been towards him the benevolence of " AUGUSTUS, ſuch and ſo numerous, ſince, " the

" the inſtances of affection from TIBERIUS, " that he was thence accuſtomed, without ap- " plying to the Gods, to carry his hopes and " prayers directly to the Emperors. Yet of " them he had never ſought a blaze of ho- " nours; watching and toils like thoſe of com- " mon ſoldiers, for the ſafe-guard of the Prince, " had been his choice and ambition. How- " ever, what was moſt glorious for him he had " attained, to be thought worthy of alliance " with the Emperor; hence the ſource of his " preſent hopes, and, ſince he had heard that " AUGUSTUS, in the diſpoſal of his daughter, " had not been without thoughts even of ſome " of the Roman Knights; he begged, that if " a husband were ſought for LIVIA, TIBE- " RIUS would remember his friend, one whoſe " ambition aimed no higher than the pure and " diſintereſted glory of the affinity. For he " would never abandon the burden of his " preſent truſt, but hold it ſufficient to be en- " abled to ſupport his houſe againſt the inju- " rious wrath of AGRIPPINA; and in this he " only conſulted the ſecurity of his children. " For himſelf; his own life would be abun- " dantly long, whenever finally ſpent in the " miniſtry of ſuch a Prince."

FOR a preſent anſwer, TIBERIUS praiſed the loyalty of SEJANUS, civilly recounted the inſtances of his own favours towards him, and required time, as it were for a thorough deliberation. At laſt he made this reply; " That " all other men were, in their purſuits, guided

" by

" by the notions of conveniency; far different
" was the lot and ſituation of Princes, who
" were in their actions to conſider chiefly the
" applauſe and good liking of the public. He
" therefore did not delude SEJANUS with an
" obvious and plauſible anſwer; that LIVIA
" could herſelf determine whether, after
" DRUSUS, ſhe ought again to marry, or ſtill
" perſiſt his widow, and that ſhe had a mother
" and grand-mother, nearer relations and more
" intereſted, to adviſe. He would deal more
" candidly with him; and firſt as to the en-
" mity of AGRIPPINA, it would flame out
" with freſh fury, if, by the marriage of LIVIA,
" the family of the CÆSARS were rent, as it
" were, into two contending parties; even as
" things ſtood, the emulation of theſe Ladies
" broke into frequent ſallies, and, by their
" animoſities, his grand-ſons were inſtigated
" different ways. What would be the conſe-
" quence, if, by ſuch a marriage, the ſtrife
" were inflamed; For you are deceived, SE-
" JANUS, if you think to continue then in the
" ſame rank as now; or that LIVIA, ſhe who
" was firſt the wife of the young CAIUS
" CÆSAR, and afterwards of DRUSUS, will be
" of a temper to grow old with a husband no
" higher than a Roman Knight. Nay, allow-
" ing that I ſuffered you afterwards to remain
" what you are; do you believe that they
" who ſaw her father, they who ſaw her bro-
" ther, and the anceſtors of our houſe, co-
" vered with the ſupreme dignities, will ever
" ſuffer

" ſuffer it? You, in truth, propoſe, to ſtand " ſtill in the ſame ſtation; but the great Ma- " giſtrates and Grandees of the ſtate, thoſe very " Magiſtrates and Grandees who, in ſpight of " yourſelf, break in upon you, and in all af- " fairs court you as their Oracle, make no " ſecret of maintaining that you have long " ſince exceeded the bounds of the Equeſtrian " Order, and far outgone in power all the " confidents of my father; and from their " hatred to you, they alſo cenſure me. But, " it ſeems, AUGUSTUS deliberated about giving " his daughter to a Roman Knight. Where " is the wonder, if, perplexed with a crowd " of diſtracting cares, and apprized to what an " unbounded height above others he raiſed " whomſoever he dignified with ſuch a match, " he talked of PROCULEIUS, and ſome like " him, remarkable for the retiredneſs of their " life, and no wiſe engaged in the affairs of " ſtate? But if we are influenced by the he- " ſitation of AUGUSTUS, how much more " powerful is his deciſion, ſince he beſtowed " his daughter on AGRIPPA, and then on me? " Theſe are conſiderations which in friendſhip " I have not with-held; however, neither " your own inclinations, nor thoſe of LIVIA, " ſhall be ever thwarted by me. The ſecret " and conſtant purpoſes of my own heart to- " wards you, and with what further ties of " affinity, I am contriving to bind you ſtill " faſter to me, I at preſent forbear to recount. " Thus much only I will declare, that there is

" nothing

" nothing ſo high, but thoſe abilities, and your " ſingular zeal and fidelity towards me, may " juſtly claim, as, when opportunity preſents, " either in Senate, or in a popular aſſembly, I " ſhall not fail to teſtify."

IN anſwer to this, SEJANUS, no longer ſoliciting the marriage, but filled with higher apprehenſions, beſought him " to reſiſt the " dark ſuggeſtions of ſuſpicion, to deſpiſe the " pratings of the vulgar, nor to admit the ma- " lignant breath of envy." And as he was puzzled about the crouds which inceſſantly haunted his houſe, leſt by keeping them off he might impair his power, or by encouraging them, furniſh a handle for criminal imputations, he came to this reſult, that he would urge the Emperor out of Rome, to ſpend his life remote from thence in delightful retirements. From this counſel he foreſaw many advantages; upon himſelf would depend all acceſs to the Emperor; a lletters and expreſſes would, as the ſoldiers were the carriers, be in great meaſure under his direction; in a little time the Prince, now in declining age, and then ſoftened by receſs, would more eaſily transfer upon him the whole charge of the Empire; he ſhould be removed from the multitude of ſuch as to make their court, attended him at Rome, and thence one ſource of envy would be ſtopt. So that by diſcharging the empty phantoms of power, he ſhould augment the eſſentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of buſineſs at Rome, the throng of people,

people, the flock of ſuitors; he applauded "retirement and quiet, where, while they "were ſeparate from irkſome fatigues, nor ex- "poſed to the diſcontents and reſentments of "particulars, all affairs of moment were beſt "diſpatched."

OPPORTUNELY for SEJANUS, there happened about that time the trial of VOTIENUS MONTANUS, a man of celebrated wit; a trial which determined TIBERIUS to ſhun all aſſemblies of the fathers, and thence eſcape hearing the true and painful reflections which to his face were there uttered. For, as VOTIENUS was charged with contumelious ſpeeches againſt CÆSAR; ÆMILIUS the witneſs, a man of the ſword, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehearſed every tittle he had heard, and, notwithſtanding the clamour raiſed to ſtop his mouth, he perſiſted in the detail with notable obſtinacy. By this means TIBERIUS heard the bitter reproaches by which he was ſecretly goaded, and was ſo ſtricken, that he waxed vehement, and cried, "he would inſtantly clear "himſelf in their preſence, or before an aſ- "ſembly of the people;" nor ſcarce could the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, calm him. VOTIENUS ſuffered the pains of treaſon. For TIBERIUS having learnt that he was upbraided with cruelty towards the accuſed, and growing thence more obſtinately cruel, puniſhed AQUILA with exile, for adultery with VARIUS LIGUR, though ſhe were already ſentenced by LENTULUS GETULICUS,

LICUS, Conſul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He alſo razed APIDIUS MERULA from the liſt of Senators, "becauſe he had "not ſworn upon the Acts of the deified "AUGUSTUS."

NEXT were heard embaſſadors from the Lacedemonians and Meſſenians, about the right that each people claimed to the Temple of Diana Limenetis, which the Lacedemonians aſſerted to be theirs, "founded in their terri-"tory, and dedicated by their anceſtors," and offered as proofs the ancient authority of their Annals, and the Hymns of the old Poets; "It had been in truth taken from them by "the ſuperior force of PHILIP of Macedon, "when at war with him, but afterwards "reſtored by the judicial deciſion of JULIUS "CÆSAR and MARC ANTHONY." The Meſſenians, on the contrary, pleaded "the ancient "partition of Peloponneſus amongſt the de-"ſcendants of HERCULES, whence the territory "where the Temple ſtood, had fallen to their "King, and the monuments of that allotment "ſtill remained, engraven in ſtone and old "tables of braſs; but, if the teſtimony of "Hiſtories and Poets were appealed to, they "themſelves had the moſt and the fulleſt. "Nor had PHILIP, in his deciſion, acted by "power, but from equity; the ſame afterwards "was the adjudgment of King ANTIGONUS, "the ſame that of the Roman Commander "MUMMIUS. Thus too the Mileſians had "awarded, they who were by both ſides "choſen

" choſen arbitrators; and thus laſtly it had " been determined by ATIDIUS GEMINUS, " Prætor of Achaia." The Meſſenians therefore gained the ſuit. The citizens alſo of Segeſtum applied on behalf of the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx, " which, having fallen " through age, they deſired might be reſtored." They repreſented the ſtory of its Origin and Antiquity, a well pleaſing flattery to TIBERIUS, who frankly took upon himſelf the charge, as kinſman to the Goddeſs. Then was diſcuſſed the petition from the citizens of Marſeilles, and what they claimed according to the precedent of PUBLIUS RUTILIUS, was approved; for RUTILIUS, though by a law expelled from Rome, had been by thoſe of Smyrna adopted a citizen; and as VOLCATIUS MOSCHUS, another exile, had found at Marſeilles the ſame privilege and reception, he had to their Republic, as to his country, bequeathed his eſtate.

THERE died this year thoſe noble Romans, CNEIUS LENTULUS and LUCIUS DOMITIUS. LENTULUS to his public honours, thoſe of the Conſulſhip, and the enſigns of triumph over the Getulæans, had added that of private poverty honourably borne, and afterwards the ſplendor of mighty wealth, virtuouſly acquired and modeſtly enjoyed. Upon DOMITIUS devolved the luſtre of his father, who in the Civil War held the dominion of the ſea, till he eſpouſed firſt the intereſt of MARC ANTHONY, and anon that of AUGUSTUS. His grand-father had fallen for the cauſe of the Patriots and Senate,

in the battle of Pharſalia. He himſelf was choſen for the husband of the younger ANTONIA, daughter of OCTAVIA. He afterwards led an army over the Elb, and advanced farther into Germany than any Roman before him. Theſe things procured him the enſigns of triumph. There alſo died LUCIUS ANTONIUS, of a race greatly illuſtrious, but unhappy; for, JULIUS ANTONIUS his father having ſuffered death for adultery with JULIA, AUGUSTUS removed this LUCIUS, then a child, and the grand-ſon of his ſiſter, to the city of Marſeilles, where, under the guiſe of his ſtudies, the name of his exile might be hid. To his death, however, public honour was paid, and by a decree of Senate his bones were repoſited in the tomb of the OCTAVII.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, a bloody aſſaſſination was perpetrated in the nethermoſt Spain, by a boor in the territory of Termes. By him LUCIUS PISO, Governor of the Province, as he travelled careleſs and unattended, relying on the eſtabliſhed peace, was diſpatched at one deadly blow. The aſſaſſin, however, eſcaped to a foreſt, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, and there diſmiſſed him; from thence travelling over rocks and pathleſs places, he baffled his purſuers; but his lurking laſted not long; for his horſe being taken and ſhewn through the neighbouring villages, it was thence learned who was the owner; ſo that he too was found: but when put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaimed with a mighty and aſſured voice,

voice, in the language of his country, "that "in vain they queſtioned him; his aſſociates "might ſtand ſafely by and witneſs his con- "ſtancy, for that no force of torture could be "ſo exquiſite as from him to extort a diſco- "very." Next day as he was dragged back to the rack, he burſt with a vehement effort from his guard, and daſhed his head ſo deſperately againſt a ſtone, that he inſtantly expired. PISO is believed to have been aſſaſſinated by a plot of the Termeſtinians, as, in exacting the repayment of ſome money, ſeized from the public, he acted with more aſperity, than a rough people could bear.

In the Conſulſhip of LENTULUS GETULICUS and CAIUS CALVISIUS, the triumphal enſigns were decreed to POPPÆUS SABINUS, for having routed ſome clans of Thracians, who, living wildly on the high mountains, acted thence with more daring outrage and contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, not to mention the ſavage genius of the people, was their ſcorn and impatience, to ſee recruits raiſed amongſt them, and all their ſtouteſt men liſted in our armies, accuſtomed as they were not even to obey their native Kings further than their own humour, nor to aid them with forces but under Captains of their own chuſing, nor to fight againſt any enemy but their own borderers. Their diſcontents too were inflamed by a rumour then current amongſt them, that they were to be diſperſed into different regions, exterminated from their own,

and to be mixed with other nations. But before they began hoſtilities, they ſent Embaſſadors to SABINUS, to repreſent "their paſt friendſhip and ſubmiſſion, and that the ſame ſhould "continue, if they were provoked by no freſh "impoſitions; but if, like a people ſubdued "by war, they were doomed to bondage, "they had able men and ſteel, and ſouls "determined upon liberty or death." The Embaſſadors, at the ſame time, pointed to their ſtrong holds founded upon precipices, boaſted that they had thither conveyed their wives and parents, and indeed threatened a war intricate, hazardous, and bloody.

SABINUS amuſed them with gentle anſwers, till he could draw together his army, while POMPONIUS LABEO was advancing with a Legion from Mœſia, and King RHEMETALCES with a body of Thracians who had not renounced their allegiance. With theſe, and what forces he had of his own, he marched towards the foe, now ſettled in the paſſes of the foreſt; ſome, more bold, preſented themſelves upon the hills. Againſt the laſt, the Roman General firſt bent his forces in battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with ſmall ſlaughter of the Barbarians, becauſe of their immediate refuge. Here he ſtreight raiſed an encampment, and with a ſtout band took poſſeſſion of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortreſs, which was garriſoned by a great hoſt of armed men and rabble; and as the moſt reſolute were,

in

in the way of the nation, rioting without the fortification in dances and songs, he forthwith dispatched against them his select archers. These, while they only poured in volleys of arrows at a distance, did thick and extensive execution; but, approaching too near, were by a sudden sally put in disorder. They were however supported by a Cohort of the Sigambrians, purposely posted by SABINUS in readiness against an exigency, a people equally terrible in the boisterous and mixed uproar of their voices and arms.

HE afterwards pitched his camp nearer to the enemy, having in his former entrenchments left the Thracians, whom I have mentioned to have joined us. To them too was permitted "to lay waste, burn, and plunder, "on condition that their ravages were con- "fined to the day, and that, at nights, they "kept within the camp, secure under guard." This restriction was at first observed; but anon, falling into riot, as they grew opulent in plunder, they neglected their guards, and resigned themselves to gaiety and banquetting, to the intoxication and sloth of wine and sleep. The enemy therefore, apprized of their negligence, formed themselves into two bands, one to set upon the plunderers, the other to assault the Roman camp, with no hopes of taking it, but only that the soldiers, alarmed with shouts and darts, and all intent upon their own defence, might not hear the dinn of the other battle; moreover, to heighten the terror, it

was to be done by night. Thoſe who aſſailed the lines of the legions, were eaſily repulſed; but the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the ſudden encounter, as they were utterly unprepared. Part of them lay along the entrenchments, many were roaming abroad; and both were ſlain with the keener vengeance, as they were upbraided "for fugitives and "traitors, who bore arms to eſtabliſh ſervitude "over their country and themſelves."

NEXT day SABINUS drew up his army in view of the enemy, on ground equal to both, to try, if, elated with their ſucceſs by night, they would venture a battle; and, when they ſtill kept within the fortreſs, or on the cluſter of hills, he began to begird them with a ſiege, and ſtrengthening his old lines, and adding new, encloſed a circuit of four miles. Then, to deprive them of water and forage, he ſtreightened his entrenchment by degrees, and hemmed them in ſtill cloſer. A bulwark was alſo raiſed, whence the enemy, now within throw, were annoyed with diſcharges of ſtones, darts, and fire. But nothing aggrieved them ſo vehemently as thirſt, whilſt only a ſingle fountain remained amongſt a huge multitude of armed men and families; their horſes too and cattle, penned up with the people, after the barbarous manner of the country, periſhed for want of provender. Amongſt the carcaſſes of beaſts lay thoſe of men, ſome dead of thirſt, ſome of their wounds, on all hands a horrible ſcene of putrefaction, ſtench, and loath-

loathſomneſs. To theſe diſtreſſes alſo accrued the laſt and moſt conſummate of all calamities, that of diſcord; ſome were diſpoſed to ſurrender, others propoſed preſent death, and to fall upon one another. There were ſome too who adviſed a ſally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were theſe laſt mean men, though diſſenting from the reſt.

But one of their leaders, his name Dinis, a man ſtricken in years, by long experience acquainted with the power and clemency of the Romans, argued, "that they muſt lay "down their arms, the ſame being the ſole "cure for their preſſing calamities," and was the firſt who ſubmitted, with his wife and children to the conqueror. There followed him all that were weak through ſex or age, and ſuch as had a greater paſſion for life than glory. The young men were parted between Tarsa and Turesis, both determined to fall with liberty, but Tarsa declared earneſtly "for inſtant death, ſince by it all hopes and "fears were at once to be extinguiſhed," and, ſetting an example, buried his ſword in his breaſt. Nor were there wanting ſome who diſpatched themſelves the ſame way. Turesis and his band ſtaid for night; of which our General was aware. The Guards were therefore ſtrengthened with extraordinary reinforcements; and now with the night darkneſs prevailed, its horror heightened by outrageous rain; the enemy too with tumultuous ſhouts, and by turns with profound ſilence, alarmed

and puzzled the beſiegers. SABINUS therefore going round the camp, warned the ſoldiers, "that they ſhould not be miſguided by "the deceitful voice of uproar, nor truſt to a "feigned calm, and thence open an advantage "to the enemy, who by theſe wiles ſought "it; but keep immoveably to their ſeveral "poſts, nor throw their darts at random."

JUST then came the Barbarians, pouring in droves; here, with ſtones, with wooden javelins hardened in the fire, and with the broken limbs of trees, they battered the paliſade; there with hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies, they filled the trench. By others, bridges and ladders, both before framed, were planted againſt the battlements, which they violently grappled and tore, and ſtruggled hand to hand with thoſe who oppoſed them. The Romans, on the other ſide, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, and hurled upon them great mural ſtakes and heaps of ſtones. On both ſides were powerful ſtimulations; on ours, the hopes of victory almoſt gained, if we perſiſted, and thence the more glaring infamy, if we recoiled; on theirs, the laſt ſtruggle for their life, moſt of them too inſpired with the affecting preſence of their mothers and wives, and made deſperate by their dolorous wailings. The night was an advantage to the cowardly and the brave. Blows were dealt, the ſtriker knew not upon whom, and wounds received, the wounded knew not whence: ſuch was the utter indiſtinction of friend and foe. Moreover,

over, the eccho from the cavities of the mountain repreſented to the Romans the ſhouts of the enemy as behind them, and created ſuch general diſorder and alarm, that in ſome places they deſerted their lines, as believing them already broken and entered; yet ſuch of the enemy as broke through were very few. All the reſt, their moſt reſolute champions being wounded or ſlain, were at the returning light driven back to their fort; where they were at length forced to ſurrender; as did the places circumjacent of their own accord. The remainder could then be neither forced nor famiſhed; as they were protected by a furious winter, always ſudden about Mount Hæmus.

At Rome diſcord ſhook the Prince's family; and, to begin the ſeries of deſtruction which was to end in AGRIPPINA, CLAUDIA PULCHRA her couſin was accuſed, DOMITIUS AFER the accuſer. This man, juſt out of the Prætorſhip, in eſtimation ſmall, but haſty to ſignalize himſelf by ſome notable exploit, however heinous, alledged againſt her the "crimes of proſtitu-"tion, of adultery with FURNIUS, of magical "execrations, and poiſon prepared againſt the "life of the Emperor." AGRIPPINA, ever vehement, and then in a flame for the peril of her kinſwoman, flew to TIBERIUS, and by chance found him ſacrificing to the Emperor his father. Having got this handle for upbraiding him, ſhe told him, "that it ill became the "ſame man to ſlay victims to the deified Au-"GUSTUS, and to perſecute his children; his "divine

" divine ſpirit was not transfuſed into dumb " Statues; the genuine images of AUGUSTUS " were the living deſcendents from his celeſtial " blood; ſhe herſelf was one, one ſenſible of " impending danger, and now in the mournful " ſtate of a ſupplicant. In vain were foreign " crimes pretended againſt PULCHRA, when " the only cauſe of her concerted overthrow " was her affection for AGRIPPINA, fooliſhly " carried even to adoration; forgetful as ſhe " was of the fate of SOSIA, a condemned ſuf- " ferer for the ſame fault." All theſe bitter words drew ſmall anſwer from the dark breaſt of TIBERIUS; he rebuked her, by quoting a Greek verſe, " that ſhe was therefore aggrieved, " becauſe ſhe did not reign." PULCHRA and FURNIUS were condemned. AFER, having thus diſplayed his genius, and gained a declaration from TIBERIUS, pronouncing him *eloquent in his own independent right*, was ranked with the moſt celebrated Orators. Afterwards, in proſecuting accuſations, or in protecting the accuſed, he flouriſhed more in the fame of eloquence than in that of uprightneſs. Old age, however, eminently ſunk the credit and vigour of his eloquence, whilſt, with parts decayed, he ſtill retained a paſſion for haranguing.

AGRIPPINA ſtill foſtering her wrath, and ſeized too with a bodily diſorder, received the Emperor, come purpoſely to ſee her, with many tears and long ſilence. At laſt ſhe accoſted him with invidious expoſtulations and prayers,

prayers, "that he would relieve her ſolitude, "and give her a husband. She was ſtill endowed with proper youth; to virtuous women "there was no conſolation but that of marriage, "and Rome afforded illuſtrious men, who "would readily aſſent to entertain the wife of "GERMANICUS, and his children." TIBERIUS was not ignorant to what mighty power in the State that demand tended; but, that he might betray no tokens of reſentment or fear, he left her, though inſtant with him, without an anſwer. This paſſage, not related by the Authors of our Annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter AGRIPPINA, her who was the mother of the Emperor NERO, and has publiſhed her own life, with the fortunes of her family.

As to AGRIPPINA, ſtill grieving and void of foreſight, ſhe was yet more ſenſibly diſmayed by an artifice of SEJANUS, who employed ſuch as under colour of friendſhip warned her, "that poiſon was prepared for her, and that "ſhe muſt ſhun eating at her father-in-law's "table." She was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation; ſo that as ſhe ſat near him at table, ſhe continued ſtately and unmoved; not a word, not a look eſcaped her, and ſhe touched no part of the meat. TIBERIUS obſerved her, whether accidentally, or that he was before apprized, and, to be convinced by a more powerful experiment, praiſing the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only

increaſed the ſuſpicion of AGRIPPINA, and, without ever putting them to her mouth, ſhe delivered them to the waiters. For all this, the reſerved TIBERIUS let not a word drop from him openly, but, turning to his mother, "It was no wonder, he ſaid, if he "had really taken harſh meaſures with her "who thus charged him as a poiſoner." Hence a rumour ſpread, "that her doom was con-"trived, and that the Emperor, not daring to "purſue it publicly, choſe to have her diſpatched "in ſecret."

TIBERIUS, as a means to divert upon other matters the popular talk, attended aſſiduouſly the deliberations of the Senate, and there heard for many days the ſeveral Embaſſadors from Aſia, mutually contending, "in what city "ſhould be built the Temple lately decreed." For this honour eleven cities ſtrove, with equal ambition, though different in power; nor did the pleas urged by all, greatly vary, namely, "the antiquity of their original, and their "diſtinguiſhed zeal for the Roman people, "during their ſeveral wars with PERSEUS, "ARISTONICUS, and other Kings." But, the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magneſians, and thoſe of the Hypæpis, were at once diſmiſſed, as inſufficient for the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who repreſented, "that "Troy was the mother of Rome," any ſuperior advantage, beſides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnaſſians took ſome ſhort conſideration; they aſſerted, "that for "twelve

" twelve hundred years, no earthquake had " ſhaken their town, and that they would fix " in a ſolid rock the foundations of the " Temple." The ſame conſiderations were urged by the inhabitants of Pergamus, where already was erected a Temple to AUGUSTUS; a diſtinction which was judged ſufficient for them. The cities too of Epheſus and Miletus ſeemed fully employed in the ceremonies of their own diſtinct Deities, the former in thoſe of Diana, the other in thoſe of Apollo. Thus the diſpute was confined to Sardes and Smyrna. The firſt recited a decree of the Etrurians, which owned them for kinſmen; " for that TYR- " RHENUS and LYDUS, ſons of King ATYS, " having between them divided their people, " becauſe of their multitude, LYDUS reſettled " in his native country, and it became the lot " of TYRRHENUS to find out a freſh reſidence; " and by the names of theſe chiefs the parted " people came afterwards to be called, Ly- " dians in Aſia, Tyrrhenians in Italy. That " the opulence of the Lydians ſpread yet far- " ther, by their Colonies ſent under PELOPS " into Greece, which from him afterwards " took its name." They likewiſe urged " the " letters of our Generals, their mutual leagues " with us during the war of Macedon, their " plenty of rivers, temperate climate, and the " fertility of the circumjacent country."

THE Smyrneans having likewiſe recounted their ancient eſtabliſhment, " whether TAN- " TALUS, the ſon of Jupiter, or THESEUS, the ſon

" ſon alſo of a God, or one of the old Ama-
" zons, were their founder," proceeded to conſiderations in which they chiefly truſted, their friendly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in thoſe which infeſted Italy. " It was they who firſt reared
" a Temple to the city of Rome, in the Con-
" ſulſhip of MARCUS PORCIUS, then, in truth,
" when the power of the Roman people was
" already mighty, but however not yet raiſed
" to its higheſt glory; for the city of Car-
" thage ſtill ſtood, and potent Kings governed
" Aſia. Witneſs too their generoſity to SYLLA,
" when the condition of his army, ready to
" famiſh in a cruel winter and a ſcarcity of
" cloaths, being related to the Citizens of
" Smyrna then aſſembled, all that were pre-
" ſent diveſted themſelves of their rayments,
" and ſent them to our Legions." Thus when the votes of the Senators were gathered, the pretenſions of Smyrna were preferred. It was alſo moved by VIBIUS MARSUS, that MARCUS LEPIDUS, to whom the province of Aſia had fallen, ſhould be attended by a Legate extraordinary to ſuperviſe the building of the Temple; and as LEPIDUS himſelf, through modeſty, declined to chuſe one, ſeveral who had been Prætors were drawn by lot, and the lot fell upon VALERIUS NASO.

IN the mean time, according to a purpoſe long meditated, and from time to time deferred,

ferred, TIBERIUS at laſt retired to Campania, in profeſſion to dedicate a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to AUGUSTUS; but in truth determined to remove, for ever, from Rome. The cauſe of his departure I have before referred to the ſtratagems of SEJANUS; but though in it I have followed moſt of our authors, yet, ſince after the execution of SEJANUS, he perſiſted for ſix years in the like dark receſs, I am rather influenced by a ſtronger probability, that the ground of his abſence is more juſtly to be aſcribed to his own ſpirit, while he ſtrove to hide in the ſhades of ſolitude, what in deeds he proclaimed, the rage of his cruelty and luſt. There were thoſe who believed that, in his old age, he was aſhamed of the figure of his perſon; for he was very lean, long and ſtooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and for the moſt beſmeared with ſalves; he was moreover wont, during his receſs at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and cover his debauches in ſecrecy. It is alſo related, that he was driven from Rome by the reſtleſs aſpiring of his Mother, whom he ſcorned to admit a partner in the Sovereignty, nor yet could intirely ſeclude, ſince as her gift he had received the Sovereignty itſelf. For, AUGUSTUS had deliberated about ſetting GERMANICUS at the head of the Roman ſtate, his ſiſter's grand-ſon, and one adored by all men; but, ſubdued by the ſollicitations of his wife, he adopted TIBERIUS, and cauſed TIBERIUS to adopt GERMANICUS. With this

grandeur

grandeur of her own procuring, LIVIA upbraided her ſon, and even reclaimed it.

HIS going was narrowly accompanied by one Senator, COCCEIUS NERVA, formerly Conſul, and accompliſhed in the knowledge of the Laws, and, beſides SEJANUS, by one dignified Roman Knight, CURTIUS ATTICUS. The reſt were men of Letters, chiefly Greeks, whoſe converſation pleaſed and amuſed him. The skilled in Aſtrology declared, "That he had left Rome in ſuch a conjunction of the Pla-"nets, as for ever to exclude his return." Hence a ſource of deſtruction to many, who conjectured his end to be at hand, and publiſhed their conjectures; for, it was an event too incredible to be foreſeen, that for eleven years he ſhould of choice be withdrawn from his country. The ſequel diſcovered the ſhort bounds between the art and the falſhood of the art, and what obſcurities perplex even the facts which it happens to foretell. *That he ſhould never return to Rome*, proved not to be falſly ſaid; as to every thing elſe about him they were perfectly in the dark, ſince he ſtill lived, never far diſtant, ſometimes in the adjacent champain, ſometimes on the neighbouring ſhore, often under the very walls of the city, and died at laſt in the fulneſs and extremity of age.

THERE happened to TIBERIUS, about that time, an accident, which, as it threatened his life, fed the empty Prognoſtics at Rome; but to himſelf proved matter of more confidence

in the friendſhip and faith of SEJANUS. They were eating in a Cave at a villa, thence called *Spelunca*, between the Amyclean ſea and the mountains of Fundi. It was a native cave, and its mouth fell ſuddenly in, and buried under it ſome of the attendants; hence dread ſeized all, and they who were celebrating the entertainment, fled. As to SEJANUS, he covered the Emperor's body with his own, and ſtooping upon his knees and hands, expoſed himſelf to the deſcending ruin. Such was the poſture he was found in by the ſoldiers who came to their relief. He grew mightier from thence; and being now conſidered by TIBERIUS as one regardleſs of himſelf, all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive, were liſtened to with blind credulity; ſo that he aſſumed the office of a Judge againſt the offſpring of GERMANICUS, and ſuborned ſuch as were to act the parts of accuſers, and eſpecially to purſue and blacken NERO, the next in ſucceſſion, a young prince modeſt indeed, but forgetful of that reſtraint and circumſpection which his preſent ſituation required. He was miſguided by his freedmen and the retainers to his houſe, who, eager to be maſters of power, animated him with intemperate counſels, "That he would ſhew a ſpirit reſolute and "aſſured; it was what the Roman people "wiſhed, what the armies longed for; nor "would SEJANUS dare then to reſiſt, though "he now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an "old man, and the ſloth of a young one."

WHILE he liſtened to theſe and the like ſuggeſtions, there eſcaped him, no expreſſions, in truth, of any criminal purpoſe, but ſometimes ſuch as were reſentful and unguarded; theſe were catched up by the ſpies placed upon him, and charged againſt him with aggravations; neither was he allowed the privilege of clearing himſelf. Several threatening appearances moreover diſmayed him; ſome avoided to meet him; others having juſt paid him the ſalute, turned inſtantly away; many, in the midſt of converſation, broke off and left him, while the creatures of SEJANUS ſtood ſtill fearleſly by, and ſneered upon him. For TIBERIUS; he always entertained him with a ſtern face, or a hollow ſmile; and whether the youth ſpoke or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence. Nor was he ſafe even in the dead of night, ſince his uneaſineſs and watchings, nay, his very ſighs and dreams were, by his wife, divulged to her mother LIVIA, and by LIVIA to SEJANUS, who had alſo drawn his brother DRUSUS into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate proſpect of Empire, if his elder brother, already ſinking, were once ſet effectually aſide. The genius of DRUSUS, naturally furious, inſtigated beſides by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual hate and competition between brothers, was further kindled by the partiality of AGRIPPINA, who was fonder of NERO. However, SEJANUS did not ſo far favour DRUSUS, but that againſt him too he was even then

ripening the ſtudied meaſures of future deſtruction, as he knew him to be violent, and thence more obnoxious to ſnares.

In the end of the year departed theſe eminent perſons, Asinius Agrippa, of anceſtors more illuſtrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of them; and Quintus Haterius, of a Senatorian family, and himſelf, while he yet lived, famous for Eloquence; but the monuments of his genius, ſince publiſhed, are not equally eſteemed. In truth, he prevailed more by rapidity than accuracy; inſomuch that, as the elaborate compoſitions of others flouriſh after them, ſo that enchanting melody of voice in Haterius, with that fluency of words which was perſonal to him, died with him.

In the Conſulſhip of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, the caſualty of an inſtant, its beginning unforeſeen, and ended as ſoon as begun, equalled in calamity the ſlaughter and overthrow of mighty armies. One Atilius had undertaken to erect an Amphitheatre at Fidena, there to exhibit a combat of Gladiators; he was of the race of freedmen, and as he began it from no exuberance of wealth, nor to court popularity amongſt the inhabitants, but purely for the meanneſs of gain, he neither eſtabliſhed ſolid foundations, nor raiſed the timber-work with ſufficient compactneſs. Thither thronged from Rome thoſe of every ſex and age, eager for ſuch ſhews, as during the reign of Tiberius

they were debarred from diverſions at home; and, the nearer the place, the greater the crouds. Hence the calamity was the more dreadful; for, as the Theatre was ſurcharged with the multitude, the ſtructure burſt, and ſinking violently in, while its extremities ruſhed impetuouſly out, huge was the preſs of people, who, intent upon the Gladiators within, or gathered round the walls, were cruſhed by the deadly ruin, and even buried under it. And verily, they who in the firſt fury of the havock were ſmitten with final death, eſcaped, as far as in ſuch a doleful diſaſter they could eſcape, the miſery of torture; much more to be lamented were thoſe, who, bereft of joints and pieces of their body, were yet not forſaken of life; thoſe who by day could with their eyes behold their wives and children impriſoned in the ſame ruins, and by night could diſtinguiſh them by their groans, and howlings.

Now others from abroad excited by the ſad tidings, found here their ſeveral ſorrows; one bewailed his brother, one his kinſman, another his parents: even they whoſe friends or kindred were abſent on a different account, were yet terrified; for, as it was not hitherto diſtinctly known upon whom the deſtruction had lighted, the dread was widened by uncertainty. When the ruins began to be removed, great was the concourſe of the living about the dead, frequent the kiſſes and embraces of tenderneſs and ſorrow, and even frequent the contention about the propriety of the dead, where

where the features distorted by death or bruises, or where parity of age or resemblance of person, had confounded the slain, and led into mistakes their several claimers. Fifty thousand people were destroyed or maimed by this sad stroke; it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of Senate, "That no man "under the qualification of four hundred thou- "sand sesterces [a], should exhibit the spectacle "of Gladiators, and no Amphitheatre should "be founded but upon ground manifestly "solid." ATILIUS was punished with exile. Now during the fresh pangs of this calamity, the doors of the Grandees were thrown open, medicines were every where furnished, and by proper hands administered; and at that juncture the City, though sorrowful of aspect, seemed to have recalled the public spirit of the ancient Romans, who, after great battles, constantly relieved the wounded, sustained them by liberality, and restored them with care.

THE public agonies from this terrible blow, were not yet deadened, when another supervened, and the City felt the affliction and violence of fire, which with uncommon rage utterly consumed Mount Cælius. "It was a "deadly and mournful year, they said, and "under boding omens the Prince had formed "the design of his absence." It is the way of the multitude, who to malignant counsels are wont to ascribe events altogether fortuitous.

[a] About ten thousand Crowns.

But the Emperor diſſipated their murmurs, by beſtowing on each ſufferer money to the value of his ſufferings; hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the Senate, and was by the populace rewarded with applauſes, "for that, "without the views of ambition, without the "application of friends, he had, of his own "accord, even ſought out the unknown, and "by his bounty relieved them." It was likewiſe moved and decreed in Senate, "That "Mount Cælius ſhould be for the future ſtiled "*Mount Auguſtus*, ſince there the Statue of "TIBERIUS, ſtanding in the houſe of JUNIUS "the Senator, eſcaped unhurt in the flames, "though devouring all round them." It was remembered, "that the ſame rare exemption "had formerly happened to CLAUDIA QUINTA, "that her Statue being twice ſpared by the "fury of fire, had thence been placed and "conſecrated by our anceſtors in the Temple "of the Mother of the Gods. Thus ſacred "were the Claudian race, and dear to the "Deities, and therefore the place, where the "Gods had teſtified ſuch mighty honour to-"wards the Prince, ought to be dignified with "conſecration."

IT will not be impertinent to inſert here, that this Mount was of old named *Querquetulanus*, from a grove of Oak which grew thick upon it. It was afterwards called *Mount Cælius*, from CÆLES VIBENNA, who, having led to Rome a body of Tuſcan auxiliaries, was preſented with that ſettlement by TARQUINIUS

NIUS PRISCUS, or ſome other of our Kings, for in this particular writers differ; about other circumſtances there remains no diſpute, that theſe forces were very numerous, and extended their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the Forum. Hence the *Tuſcan ſtreet*, ſo called after theſe ſtrangers.

BUT as the univerſal zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the Prince, had adminiſtered public relief againſt the blind blows of fortune; ſo the ſtudied fury of the accuſers, which grew daily more prevailing and deadly, rioted in deſtruction without controul or alleviation. QUINCTILIUS VARUS, a wealthy man and the Emperor's couſin, was aſſailed by DOMITIUS AFER, the ſame who had procured the condemnation of CLAUDIA PULCHRA his mother; nor did any man wonder that he who had long lived needy, and already waſted the reward lately earned, ſhould be prompt to engage in freſh iniquity and ſpoil. The amazement was, that PUBLIUS DOLABELLA appeared his aſſociate in the accuſation, becauſe, as he was nobly deſcended, he ſhipwrecked, by ſuch proſtitution, the antient glory of his houſe, and, being the kinſman of VARUS, was wilfully ſpilling his own blood. The Senate, however, ſtemmed the proceſs, and voted, "That the Emperor's return was "to be awaited;" a temporary refuge, and the only one againſt theſe pointed and urging evils.

TIBERIUS, having dedicated the Temples in Campania, though he had by an Edict warned the public, "that none ſhould interrupt his "quiet," and though ſoldiers were poſted to keep off all confluence from the neighbouring towns; nevertheleſs, hating the towns themſelves, and the colonies, and every part in the continent, impriſoned himſelf in Capreæ, an Iſland disjoined from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I ſhould chiefly believe that he was taken with its ſolitude, as the ſea about it is void of havens, as the ſtations for the ſmalleſt veſſels are few and difficult, and as none could put in unperceived by the Guards. The genius of the climate is mild in winter, from the ſhelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds; its ſummers are refreſhed by gales from the Weſt, and the ſea open all round it, makes a delightful view. From thence too was beheld a moſt lovely landskip, before the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius had changed the face of the proſpect. It is the tradition of fame, that the Greeks occupied the oppoſite region, and that Capreæ was particularly inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, TIBERIUS then confined his retirement to twelve Villas, their names famous of old and their ſtructure ſumptuous. And the more intent he had formerly been upon public cares, he became now ſo much the more buried in dark debauches, and reſigned over to miſchievous privacy, for, there remained ſtill in him his old bent to ſuſpicions,

ſuſpicions, and raſh faith in informers, qualities which even at Rome SEJANUS had always foſtered, and here inflamed more vigorouſly; his devices againſt AGRIPPINA and NERO being no longer a ſecret. About them Guards were placed, by whom every petty circumſtance, the meſſages they ſent or received, their viſits and company, their open behaviour, their private converſation, were all, as it were, minuted into journals. There were others too inſtructed to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany, or that, embracing the Statue of the deified AUGUSTUS in the great Forum, they would there implore the aid and protection of the Senate and people of Rome. And theſe counſels, though rejected by them, were fathered and charged upon them, as juſt ripe for execution.

JUNIUS SILANUS and SILIUS NERVA being Conſuls, the year began tragically, as TITIUS SABINUS, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, was hurried to priſon, his crime a conſtant friendſhip for GERMANICUS, whoſe wife and children, he only of all his followers, never ceaſed to reverence, never ceaſed to frequent them at home, never to attend them in public; a conſtancy applauded by the good, and grievous to their perſecutors. There combined againſt him LATINIUS LATIARIS, PORCIUS CATO, PETILIUS RUFUS, and MARCUS OPSIUS, who haveing been all Prætors, were now all paſſionate for the Conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by SEJANUS, and the kindneſs of

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SEJANUS to be purchaſed only by iniquity. It was ſettled amongſt them, that LATIARIS, who had a ſmall acquaintance with SABINUS, ſhould manage the guile, the reſt be witneſſes, and then all together begin the accuſation. LATIARIS therefore accoſted him at firſt with occaſional diſcourſe, and then proceeded to praiſe his conſtancy, "that he had not, like "others, been only a friend to that family in "its glory, and deſerted it in affliction." He at the ſame time ſpoke noble things of GERMANICUS, and bewailed AGRIPPINA. This affected SABINUS; and, as the human ſoul is ſoftened by calamity and ſorrow, he burſt into tears and complaints, and, being heated, inveighed daringly againſt SEJANUS, his cruelty, his pride, his traiterous deſigns; nor, in truth, did TIBERIUS eſcape his invectives. And now, as if they had mutually truſted each other with matters ſecret and forbidden, this their converſation created a ſhew of cloſe friendſhip; ſo that SABINUS henceforward ſought out LATIARIS, frequented his houſe, and carried to him, as to a moſt faithful confident, all his griefs and diſcontents.

THE next conſultation was, how to have theſe complaints and invectives uttered in the hearing of all four; for, the place in which they met to over-hear, muſt retain a ſolemn look of ſecrecy; and if they ſtood behind the door, there was danger of being ſpied, or their own noiſe might diſcover them, or perhaps ſome ſudden apprehenſion might tempt SABI-

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NUS to inſpect. They therefore choſe the void over head, between the roof of the houſe and the covering of the room. Into this lurking-hole thruſt themſelves three Roman Senators, a concealment as vile, as the treachery for which they did it, was execrable, and there baſely liſtened, with their ears laid to the chaſms and crannies. LATIARIS the while found out SABINUS abroad, and, as if full of ſome late diſcoveries which he meant to recount, drew him home, and into the ſubdolous chamber; there he diſplayed the paſt and inſtant cruelties (for of both there was abundant ſtore) with an accumulation too of freſh and impending terrors. SABINUS then took up his former detail and reſentments, and even with greater prolixity, as the diſcharges of grief once broached, are with difficulty reſtrained. This was enough; the accuſation was forthwith diſpatched, and, in a written Memorial to TIBERIUS, theſe Senators opened the order and dexterity of the fraud, and made him a narrative of their own deteſtable infamy. At no time was the city ever ſeized with deeper anxiety and dread; one relation feared another; men were afraid to meet, afraid to diſcourſe; ſilence and diſtruſt extended to ſtrangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided; even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, raiſed terror and circumſpection.

THE Emperor ſent preſently a Letter to the Senate, and, after the uſual compliment and wiſh

wiſh at the entrance of the new year, fell upon SABINUS. He charged him with "having corrupted ſome of his ſervants, and "aimed at his own life;" and, in words no wiſe obſcure, required vengeance. The condemnation paſſed without delay, and the condemned was dragged away to inſtant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat girt with a rope; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, "That with theſe "ſolemnities the year began, and ſuch were "the victims ſlain to SEJANUS." Which ever way he caſt his eyes, whither ſoever he directed his words, nought appeared but the effects of univerſal terror, even flight and ſolitude. All along, as he paſſed, the people diſappeared, the ſtreets were empty, the public places deſerted. There were ſome who having fled, returned, and again ſhewed themſelves; dreading this very thing, that they had diſcovered dread. "What day, they cried, "will be free from executions? when even in "the midſt of public aſſemblies, in the midſt "of vows and ſacrifices, a time when cuſtom "has eſtabliſhed a forbearance even from pro"fane words, fetters and halters are yet exer"ciſed? It is not at random that TIBERIUS "has thus done an action ſo publicly odious; "it is a ſtudied artifice. He would not be "thought to debar the new Magiſtrates from "their ancient privilege of opening the priſons "as well as the temples. SABINUS is there"fore, during the Feſtival, executed without

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" impriſonment." There followed his Letter of thanks to the Senate, " for having puniſhed " an enemy to the Commonwealth." He added, " that he lived a life of fear and ſolli- " citude, in conſtant apprehenſions of the " ſnares of his enemies," but named none. It was, however, no wiſe doubted that AGRIPPINA and NERO were deſigned.

WERE it not my purpoſe to refer the ſeveral incidents to their proper year, my ſpirit longs to poſtpone the immediate events, and inſtantly to relate the juſt doom of LATIARIS, OPSIUS, and the other contrivers of this perfidious wickedneſs, not only after CALIGULA came to the Empire, but even while TIBERIUS yet reigned, who, though he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his cruelties to be cruſhed by others, yet, as he generally became ſurfeited with their infamy, and as freſh ones daily offered for the ſame vile ſervices, was himſelf wont to hew down the old and over odious. But, we ſhall in its order remember the ſevere fate of theſe and other ſons of blood. Now ASINIUS GALLUS, to whoſe children AGRIPPINA was aunt, moved " that the Prince ſhould " be deſired to explain his fears, and ſuffer the " Senate to remove the cauſes." TIBERIUS was fonder of his diſſimulation than of all his other virtues; for ſuch he conceived it. He therefore took it the more heinouſly to find thus laid open what he anxiouſly ſmothered. But SEJANUS mollified him; not from any love to GALLUS, but to wait the lingering grada-

gradations of the Prince's vengeance; for, he knew him ſlow in ripening his wrath, but that after the firſt eruption, he would be ſure to link tragical executions to ſad denunciations. About the ſame time died JULIA, grand-daughter to AUGUSTUS, by him condemned for adultery, and baniſhed to the iſland Trimetus, not far from the coaſt of Apulia. She there ſuffered exile twenty years, ſuſtained by relief from AUGUSTA, who having by dark devices diſpatched, in the midſt of their hopes and glory, the brothers of JULIA, made a public ſhew of compaſſion towards others of the family, when under the preſſures of adverſity.

THE ſame year the Friſians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebelled, rather enraged by our avarice, than impatient of allegiance. The tribute laid on them by DRUSUS, was eaſy, and ſuited to their poor ſubſtance; namely, "to "furniſh certain hides for the uſes of the ſol-"diers." Nor did any one think or inſiſt on the particular ſize or thickneſs, till OLENNIUS, an officer ſent to govern them, having procured the large hides of ſome wild bulls, demanded that according to that meaſure the tribute ſhould be paid; a hard task even upon any nation, and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their foreſts abound in beaſts of mighty bulk, and their domeſtic cattle are very ſmall. Yet they bore a ſeries of oppreſſions, firſt parted with the herds themſelves, next reſigned their lands, laſt of all ſurrendered

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their wives and children to bondage. Hence much bitterneſs and anguiſh, and ſad complaints. But as theſe brought no relaxation, grown at laſt deſperate, they ſought relief from war. At once they ruſhed upon the ſoldiers appointed over the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. OLENNIUS by flight prevented their vengeance, and found ſanctuary in a neighbouring caſtle, its name Flevum, ſituated on the ſea coaſt, and garriſoned by a ſtout band of ſoldiers, Romans and Auxiliaries.

LUCIUS APRONIUS, Governor of the lower Germany, as ſoon as he was apprized of the inſurrection, called down, from the upper province, ſome companies of the Legions, with the choice auxiliary foot and horſe; and, carrying his army down the Rhine, made a deſcent on the Friſians; the revolters having now abandoned the ſiege of the caſtle, and marched back to cover their own country. He therefore, by bridges and cauſeways laid over the neighbouring fenns, rendered them paſſable to the body of his forces; and in the mean while, having diſcovered certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates and all the German foot in our pay, to ſurround the rear of the enemy, who, being already drawn up in battle, repulſed the ſocial troops, and even ſome legionary horſe, ſent to ſupport them. So that a freſh aid was ordered of three Cohorts, then two more, and, after ſome ſpace, the whole cavalry of the Legions; forces ſufficient, had they fallen on in

in a body; but as they advanced by intervals, they not only inſpired no freſh courage into thoſe who were already diſordered, but were themſelves carried away by the fright of ſuch as fled. To CETHEGUS LABEO, therefore, Legate of the fifth Legion, he committed all the reſt of the auxiliary troops. But he too, being hardly beſet, and his men in danger of giving way, diſpatched meſſages to implore the intire force of the Legions. Thoſe of the fifth ran before the reſt to his relief, and, in a ſharp encounter, repulſing the foe, protected our Cohorts and Cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman General neither purſued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead, though many Tribunes, many horſe officers, and many Centurions of the firſt rank, were ſlain. It was afterwards learnt from deſerters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themſelves in the wood called Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſeat of one CRUPTORIX, once our tributary, and coming to fear being delivered into the hands of the enemy, had fallen by the hands of one another.

HENCE the name of the Friſians became renowned amongſt the Germans, whilſt TIBERIUS diſſembled the public loſs, that he might truſt no man with the conduct of the war. For the Senate, it was no part of their anxiety, what diſgraces were received on the extremities of the Empire: domeſtic terror had poſſeſſed

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their ſouls, a diſtemper for which they ſought a cure from flattery; inſomuch, that though they met upon far different deliberations, yet they decreed "an Altar to Clemency, an Altar "to Friendſhip, and round them the Statues "of TIBERIUS and SEJANUS;" and, with repeated ſupplications importuned both, "that "they would pleaſe to afford their preſence to "the public." But, with all theſe intreaties, they neither viſited Rome, nor the neighbourhood of Rome. To them it ſeemed condeſcenſion ſufficient, juſt to leave the iſland, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the ſhore of Campania. Thither crouded the Senators, the Knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitous for admiſſion to SEJANUS, who was harder of acceſs than the Emperor; nor was it at all to be obtained but by being confederate with him in his counſels and purſuits, or by courting thoſe that were. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was exalted, from ſurveying that filthy hoſt of ſlaves, ſpread all abroad, and crouching before him. For at Rome the throng of ſycophants were not ſo diſtinctly perceived; the greatneſs of the City, the ordinary hurry of men, and variety of affairs, rendered it uncertain whither they went, or whence they came. But here they appeared in a body, the noble and mean, lying along on the fields and ſhores, days and nights, no diſtinction of ranks, the buſineſs of all the ſame, and bore with equal patience the favour and inſults of his porters, till they were finally

forbid to apply even to theſe. So that all, whom he condeſcended not to ſee, others whom he deigned not to ſpeak to, returned to the City ſtruck and trembling, ſome exulting with deceitful joy, as over them hung the dreadful iſſue of his tragical friendſhip.

FOR the reſt; TIBERIUS having here betrothed to CNEIUS DOMITIUS the younger AGRIPPINA, his grand-daughter by GERMANICUS, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In DOMITIUS he preferred, beſides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the CÆSARS; for OCTAVIA being his grandmother, AUGUSTUS was his great uncle.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK V.

The SUMMARY.

THE death and character of the Empreſs LIVIA. *Thence freſh power to* SEJANUS, *and tyranny of the Government.* AGRIPPINA *and her ſon* NERO *openly accuſed to the Senate by a letter from the Emperor. The ardent zeal of the people for them. This incenſes* SEJANUS, *who thence alarms* TIBERIUS. *Part of a Speech of one condemned, with his manner of dying. More accuſations. A counterfeit* DRUSUS *in the Cyclades. The diligence and addreſs of* POPPÆUS SABINUS *upon that occaſion. Heats between the two Conſuls.*

IN the Conſulſhip of RUBELLIUS and FUSIUS, each ſirnamed GEMINUS, died JULIA AUGUSTA, in the extremity of age. She was deſcended from the Claudian houſe, adopted through her father into the Livian family, into the Julian by AUGUSTUS; and both by adoption and deſcent, ſignally noble.

Her first marriage was with TIBERIUS NERO, and by him she had children. Her husband, after the surrender of Perusia, in the Civil War, became a fugitive; but, upon peace made between SEXTUS POMPEIUS and the Triumvirate, returned to Rome. Afterwards, OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, smitten with her beauty, snatched her from her husband, whether with or against her own inclinations, is uncertain, but with such precipitation, that, without staying for her delivery, he married her yet big with child by TIBERIUS. Henceforward she had no issue; but, by the marriage of GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA, her blood came to be mixed with that of AUGUSTUS in their great grandchildren. In her domestic deportment she conformed to the venerable model of antiquity, but with more complaisance than was allowed by the Ladies of old; an easy courteous wife, an ambitious mother, well comporting with the nice arts of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son. Her funeral was moderate, and her last will lay long unfulfilled. Her encomium was pronounced in public by CALIGULA, her grandson, afterwards Emperor.

TIBERIUS by a Letter excused himself to the Senate for not having paid his last offices to his Mother; and, though he rioted in private luxury without abatement, pleaded "the "multitude of public affairs." He likewise abridged the honours decreed to her memory, and, of a large number, admitted but very few.

few. For this reſtriction he pretended modeſty, and added, "that no religious worſhip ſhould "be appointed to her, for that the contrary "was her own choice." Nay, in a part of the ſame Letter, he cenſured *feminine friendſhips*, obliquely upbraiding the Conſul FUSIUS, a man highly diſtinguiſhed by the favour of AUGUSTA, and dexterous to engage and cajole the affections of women, a gay talker, one accuſtomed to play upon TIBERIUS with biting ſarcaſms, the impreſſions of which never die in the hearts of Princes.

FROM this moment, the domination waxed completely outrageous and devouring; for while ſhe lived, ſome refuge ſtill remained, as the obſervance of TIBERIUS towards his Mother was ever inviolate; nor durſt SEJANUS arrogate precedence of the authority of a parent; but now, as let looſe from all reſtraints, they broke out with unbridled fury. So that Letters were diſpatched avowedly againſt AGRIPPINA and NERO; and as they were read in the Senate ſoon after the death of AUGUSTA, the people believed them to have been ſent before, and by her ſuppreſſed. The expreſſions were elaborately bitter; and yet by them no hoſtile purpoſe of taking arms, no endeavour to change the State, was objected to the youth, but only "the love of boys, and other im-"pure pleaſures." Againſt AGRIPPINA he durſt not even feign ſo much, and therefore arraigned "her haughty looks, her impetuous and ſtub-"born ſpirit." The Senate were ſtruck with

deep ſilence and affright; but as particular men will always be drawing perſonal favour from public miſeries, there were ſome who, having no hopes founded upon uprightneſs, demanded that "they ſhould proceed upon "the Letters." Amongſt theſe the foremoſt in zeal was COTTA MESSALINUS, with a terrible motion; but, the other leading men, and chiefly the Magiſtrates, were embaraſſed by fear; for TIBERIUS, though he had ſent them a flaming invective, left all the reſt a riddle.

IN the Senate was one JUNIUS RUSTICUS, appointed by the Emperor to keep a Journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purpoſes. This man, by ſome fatal impulſe (for he had never before ſhewn any inſtance of magnanimity) or blinded by deceitful policy, while forgetful of preſent and impending dangers, he dreaded future poſſibilities, joined the party that heſitated, and even warned the Conſuls, "not to begin "the debate:" he argued, "that in a ſhort "moment the higheſt affairs might take a new "turn, and an interval ought to be allowed "to the old man to change his paſſion into "remorſe." At the ſame time, the people, carrying with them the Images of AGRIPPINA and NERO, gathered about the Senate, and proclaiming their good wiſhes for the proſperity of the Emperor, cried earneſtly, "that the "Letters were counterfeit, and againſt the "conſent of the Prince the doom of his "family was purſued." So that nothing tragical

gical was that day tranſacted. There were alſo diſperſed amongſt them ſeveral ſpeeches, ſaid to have been uttered in Senate by the Conſulars, as their motions and advices againſt SEJANUS; but all framed, and with the more petulance as the ſeveral authors exerciſed their ſatirical wit in the dark. Hence SEJANUS boiled with greater rage, and hence had a handle for branding the Senate, "that by them "the anguiſh and reſentments of the Prince "were deſpiſed, the people were revolted; "popular and diſaffected harangues were pub-"licly read and liſtened to; new and arbi-"trary acts of Senate were paſſed and pub-"liſhed. What more remained, but to arm "the populace, and place at their head, as "leaders and Imperial Commanders, thoſe "whoſe Images they had already choſen for "ſtandards?"

TIBERIUS having therefore repeated his reproaches againſt his grand-ſon and daughter-in-law, having chaſtiſed the people by an edict, and complained to the Senate, "that by the "fraud of a ſingle Senator the Imperial dig-"nity ſhould be baffled and inſulted, required "that the whole affair ſhould be left to him-"ſelf, intire and untouched." The Senate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly proceeded, not now in truth to decree penalties, and capital vengeance; for that was forbid them; but to teſtify "how ready they were to inflict juſt "puniſhments, and that they were only in-"terrupted by the power and pleaſure of the "Prince." ******* [HERE

[HERE *begins a lamentable chaſm in this Annal for almoſt three years; and by it we have loſt the detail of the moſt remarkable incidents in this reign, the exile of* AGRIPPINA *into the iſle of Pandataria; of* NERO *into that of Pontia; and the murder of both there, by the orders of* TIBERIUS; *the conſpiracy and execution of* SEJANUS, *with that of all his friends and dependents; the further wickedneſs of* LIVIA, *and her death.*]

*** UPON this ſubject four and forty ſpeeches were made, ſome few upright, but cramped by fear; many ſuited to the ſervile genius of the time ******* "I judged "that either upon myſelf it would bring in- "famy, or upon SEJANUS hatred *** his "fortune has now ſuffered a mighty turn; "and he who even choſe him for his ſon-in- "law, choſe him for his collegue, forgives "himſelf. For others, as they flattered his "living pride with the vileneſs and proſtitu- "tion of ſlaves, they now purſue him dead, "with the fury of baſe enemies *** Which "is the more wretched fate, I can hardly "decide, that of accuſing a friend, or of being "accuſed for ſhewing him friendſhip *** I "ſhall riſque no man's cruelty, I ſhall court "no man's mercy, but, free as I am, and ap- "proved to my own conſcience, will maſter "danger by preventing it. As to all you pre- "ſent; I adjure you that you do not preſerve

"my

" my memory in ſorrow, but rejoice over it, " and add me too to the number of thoſe " who by a noble end have eſcaped the ſad " view of public miſeries."

HE then ſpent part of the day in converſation with thoſe that came to ſee him, received one, took leave of another, talked to all indifferently, as they ſtood about him, with perfect calmneſs and preſence of ſpirit. A throng of company yet remained, and, while they all beheld his countenance ſtill eaſy and void of perturbation, and thence believed that he meant to live ſome longer ſpace, he fell upon a ſword which under his robe he had concealed. Nor did TIBERIUS, after his death, perſecute his memory with any reproach, or blacken him with any crime; whereas he had loaded BLÆSUS with many and hideous imputations.

NEXT were tried PUBLIUS VITELLIUS, and POMPONIUS SECUNDUS. The former was charged by the informers, " that as he pre- " ſided over the exchequer, he had offered the " public treaſure, and the whole military cheſt, " towards compaſſing a revolution." To the other, his accuſer CONSIDIUS, lately Prætor, objected " the friendſhip of ÆLIUS GALLUS, " who, after the execution of SEJANUS, had " fled to the gardens of POMPONIUS, as to a " moſt faithful ſhelter." Againſt the impending peril there remained to neither of the accuſed any aid but from the magnanimity of their brothers, who frankly became their ſureties. However, in ſome time, VITELLIUS, after many

many delays, alike diſtracted with the ſlipperineſs of hope, and the agonies of fear, called for a pen-knife, under pretence of writing, and with it pricked his veins, but timorouſly and without effect; ſo that at laſt he died broken-hearted. POMPONIUS, a man of great elegance of manners, and noble wit, bore with equanimity his adverſe fortune, and outlived TIBERIUS.

Now, though the rage of the populace was expiring, and though moſt men were mollified by former executions, it was determined to condemn the other children of SEJANUS. They were therefore carried both to priſon, the boy ſenſible of his impending doom, but the girl ſo ignorant, that ſhe frequently asked, "for what offence? and whither did they drag "her? ſhe would do ſo no more, and they "might take the rod and whip her." The Writers of that time relate, "that as it was a "thing unheard, for a virgin to ſuffer capital "puniſhment, ſhe was deflowered by the exe-"cutioner juſt before he tied the rope; and "that being both ſtrangled, the tender bodies "of theſe children were caſt into the place "where the carcaſſes of malefactors are expoſed, "before they are flung into the Tiber."******

ABOUT the ſame time Greece and Aſia were diſmayed, by a rumour rather vehement than laſting, "that DRUSUS the ſon of GERMANICUS "had been ſeen in the Cyclades, and anon "upon the Continent." It was indeed a youth near of the ſame age, accompanied by ſome of

of the Emperor's freedmen, who, while they owned him for DRUSUS, meant to enſnare him. His followers were multiplied by the ſplendor of the name, a lure which excited ſuch as were ignorant about him; as the Greeks are ever paſſionate for all things new and wonderful.

THEY therefore imagined, and believing their own imaginations, they at the ſame time publiſhed, "that he had eſcaped from cuſtody, "and was proceeding to the armies of his "father, with them to ſubdue Syria or Ægypt." Already he was ſtrengthened by the confluence of the young men, already courted with public honours, and elated in himſelf with the preſent ſucceſs, and foſtering airy hopes, when the ſtory reached POPPÆUS SABINUS. He was at that juncture engaged in Macedon, though likewiſe Governor of Greece. To obviate therefore the conſequences of the rumour, true or falſe, he haſtily paſſed the bay of Toronis, and that of Thermes, next Eubœa, an iſland of the Ægean Sea, and Piræum the port of Athens, then the coaſt of Corinth, and the Streights of the Iſthmus; and, by another ſea, he entered Nicopolis a Roman colony. There at laſt he learnt, that this counterfeit DRUSUS, being artfully queſtioned, had declared himſelf the ſon of MARCUS SILANUS; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to ſail to Italy. SABINUS ſent this account to TIBERIUS, and further than this

this we have found nothing of the origin or iſſue of that affair.

TOWARDS the concluſion of the year, the animoſity of the Conſuls, which had been long heightening, broke out into a flame; for TRIO, ever forward to create himſelf enemies, and an exerciſed pleader, had obliquely cenſured REGULUS, "as ſlothful in cruſhing the inſtru-"ments of SEJANUS." REGULUS, a man moderate and inoffenſive, unleſs provoked, not only repulſed the charge of his collegue, but arraigned him as confederate with that traitor, and even ſummoned him to his trial. Many Senators interpoſed, and beſought them, that each would drop his hate, tending to the overthrow of both; but they perſiſted threatning and incenſed to the expiration of their Magiſtracy.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK VI.

The SUMMARY.

THE ſtrange and libidinous revellings of the ancient Emperor in his ſolitary retreat at Capreæ. Many accuſations; that of MARCUS TERENTIUS, *and his ſingular defence.* L. PISO, *his death and fine character. The office of Governor of Rome, how it began, and by whom exerciſed. Debate concerning the Sybilline books, and the reſtrictions to be obſerved in admitting them. A ſedition at Rome upon a dearth of bread-corn. Two daughters of* GERMANICUS *married, one to* L. CASSIUS, *another to* MARCUS VINICIUS. *Regulations againſt uſury. Freſh accuſations upon the law of Majeſty. Numbers executed at once as confederates with* SEJANUS, *and their coarſes expoſed.* CALIGULA *married to* CLAUDIA; *his character and diſſimulation.* TIBERIUS *preſages the ſovereignty of* GALBA. *His dealings with the aſtrologers: A remarkable ſtory of* THRASULLUS. *The miſerable and violent end of* DRUSUS *the ſon of* GERMANICUS, *as alſo of* AGRIPPINA. *The character and voluntary death of* NERVA *the great lawyer, with the end of other illuſtrious men. A Phœnix ſeen in Ægypt, with traditions concerning that miraculous bird. Freſh*

Freſh accuſations and deaths. Deputies from Parthia for a King. TIBERIUS *eſtabliſhes a King there, then another.* LUCIUS VITELLIUS *ſent to ſettle the Eaſt; his various character. Wars between the Parthians and Armenians.* ARTABANUS *expulſed from his kingdom, ſeeks refuge in Scythia.* TIRIDATES *ſettled in his room by the conduct and army of* VITELLIUS. *More illuſtrious Romans accuſed, with their condemnation and ends. The Clitæans, a people of Cappadocia, their revolt and defeat.* TIRIDATES *dethroned, and* ARTABANUS *recalled. A terrible conflagration at Rome: The liberality of* TIBERIUS *at that conjuncture. He deliberates with himſelf about a ſucceſſor. His ſickneſs, death and character.*

CNEIUS DOMITIUS and CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS had begun their Conſulſhip, when the Emperor, having croſſed the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, ſailed along the ſhore of Campania, unreſolved whether he ſhould proceed to Rome, or counterfeiting a ſhew of coming, becauſe he had determined not to come. He often approached to the neighbourhood of the City, even viſited the Gardens upon the Tiber; but at laſt reſumed his old retirement, the gloomy rocks and ſolitude of the ſea, aſhamed of his cruelties, and abominable luſts, in which he rioted ſo outrageouſly, that, after the faſhion of Royal Tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution; nor in them was he ſtruck with a lovely face only, or the graces of their perſons; but in ſome their boyiſh and bluſhing innocence, in others their nobility and the glory of their anceſtors, became the provocatives of his unnatual paſſion. Then likewiſe were deviſed the filthy names,

names, till then unknown, of the *Sellarii* and *Spintriæ*, expreſſing the odious lewdneſs of the place, and the manifold methods of proſtitution practiſed in it. He moreover entertained profeſſed procurers, to look out and carry off the willing by the allurements of preſents, the backward by terror and threats; and when their parents or kindred with-held their children, they had recourſe to force, ſeiſure, treated them like captives, and with all licentious rage.

AT Rome, in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of LIVIA had been but juſt diſcovered, and not even long ſince puniſhed, furious orders were paſſed even againſt her Statues and memory, as alſo, "That the effects "of SEJANUS ſhould be taken from the pub-"lic treaſury, and placed in that of the Em-"peror:" as if ſuch tranſlation availed the ſtate. Yet ſuch was the motion of the SCIPIOS, the SILANI, and the CASSII, who urged it, each almoſt in the ſame words, but all with mighty zeal and earneſtneſs; when, on a ſudden, TOGONIUS GALLUS, while he would be thruſting his own meanneſs amongſt names ſo greatly illuſtrious, became the object of deriſion; for he beſought the Prince "to chuſe "a body of Senators, of whom twenty, drawn "by lot and under arms, ſhould wait upon "him, and defend his perſon, as often as he "entered the Senate." He had weakly credited a Letter from the Emperor, requiring "the guard and protection of one of the Con-

"ſuls,

" ſuls, that he might return in ſafety from " Capreæ to Rome." TIBERIUS, however, returned thanks to the Senate for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but, as he was wont to mix pleaſantry with things ſerious, he asked, " How " was it to be executed? What Senators were " to be choſen? Who to be admitted? Whe- " ther always the ſame, or a continued ſuc- " ceſſion? Whether young Senators, or ſuch " as had borne dignities? Whether thoſe who " were Magiſtrates, or thoſe exerciſing no " Magiſtracy? Moreover, what a becoming " figure they would make, grave Senators, men " of the gown, under arms at the entrance of " the Senate! In truth, he held not his life of " ſuch importance, to have it thus protected " by arms." So much in anſwer to TOGONIUS, without aſperity of words; nor did he, farther than this, preſs them to cancel the motion.

BUT JUNIUS GALLIO eſcaped not thus. He had propoſed, " That the Prætorian ſoldiers, " having accompliſhed their term of ſervice, " ſhould thence acquire the privilege of ſitting " in the fourteen rows of the Theatre allotted " to the Roman Knights." Upon him TIBERIUS fell with violent wrath, and, as if preſent, demanded, " What buſineſs had he with " the ſoldiers? men whoſe duty bound them " to obſerve only the orders of the Emperor, " and from the Emperor alone to receive their " rewards. GALLIO had, forſooth, diſcovered " a recompence which had eſcaped the ſagacity

" of

" of the deified AUGUSTUS! Or, was it not rather " a project ſtarted by a mercenary of SEJANUS, " to raiſe ſedition and diſcord, to debauch the " rude minds of the ſoldiers with the ſhew " and bait of new honour, to corrupt their " diſcipline, and ſet them looſe from military " reſtrictions?" This reward had the ſtudied flattery of GALLIO, who was inſtantly expelled the Senate, and then Italy: Nay, it became a charge upon him, that his exile would be too eaſy, having for the place of it choſen Lesbos, an Iſland noble and delightful; he was therefore haled back to Rome, and confined in the houſe of a Magiſtrate. TIBERIUS, in the ſame Letter, demanded the doom of SEXTUS PACONIANUS, formerly Prætor, to the extreme joy of the Senate, as he was a man bold and miſchievous, one armed with ſnares, and continually diving into the purpoſes and ſecret tranſactions of all men, and one choſen by SEJANUS, for plotting the overthrow of CALIGULA. When this was now laid open, the general hate and animoſities long ſince conceived againſt him, broke violently out, and had he not offered to make a diſcovery, he had been inſtantly condemned to death.

As the perſon he arraigned, proved to be LATINIUS LATIARIS, the accuſer and the accuſed, two men equally deteſted, adminiſtered a moſt grateful ſcene. LATIARIS, as I have recounted, had been the chief in betraying TITIUS SABINUS, and was now the firſt that ſuffered. During theſe tranſactions, HATERIUS

AGRIPPA encountered the Conſuls of the preceding year; "How came they to be ſilent "now, they who had impeached each other "of treaſon then? In truth, common dread, "and conſciences equally guilty, ought to be "reckoned the bonds and articles of their pre-"ſent ceſſation. But the fathers muſt not paſs "unobſerved what from themſelves they had "heard." It was anſwered by REGULUS, "That there ſtill remained time to procure "puniſhment, and he would do it effectually "when the Prince ſhould be preſent." TRIO pleaded "the uſual emulation between col-"legues, and that what they two had uttered "in the heat of diſſenſion, were better blot-"ted out of remembrance." AGRIPPA ſtill perſiſting, SANQUINIUS MAXIMUS, one of the Conſulars, beſought the Senate, "That they "would not thus heighten the anxieties of the "Emperor, by wantonly hunting after matter "of freſh aſperity; and that, where remedies "were wanting, he alone was abundantly ſuf-"ficient to apply them." Thus was ſafety procured to REGULUS, and to TRIO a delay of his doom. For HATERIUS; he became the more deteſted, ſince, emaciated with debauches and lubricity, and protected by his voluptuous ſloth againſt all peril from the Prince's cruelty, he meditated, in the midſt of cups and harlots, the deſtruction of illuſtrious men.

THE next impeached was COTTA MESSALINUS, the author of every the moſt bloody counſel, and thence long and intenſely hated.

The

The firſt opportunity was therefore ſnatched to fall upon him with a combination of crimes, as that he had called CAIUS CALIGULA by the feminine name of *Caia Caligula*, and branded him with conſtuprations of both kinds; that when he celebated among the prieſts the birth-day of AUGUSTA, he had ſtiled the entertainment a *funeral ſupper*; and that complaining of the great ſway of MARCUS LEPIDUS, and of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, with whom he had a ſuit about money, he had added, "They, "indeed, will be ſupported by the Senate, "but I by my little TIBERIUS." Of all this he ſtood expoſed to conviction by men of the firſt rank in Rome, who being earneſt to attack him, he appealed to CÆSAR, from whom ſoon after a Letter was brought in behalf of COTTA; in it he recounted "the beginning "of their friendſhip," repeated "his many "good ſervices to himſelf," and deſired "that "words perverſly conſtrued, and humorous "tales told at an entertainment, might not be "wreſted into crimes."

Moſt remarkable was the beginning of that Letter; for in theſe words he introduced it; "What to write you, Conſcript Fathers, or "in what manner to write, or what at all "not to write at this inſtant, if I can deter-"mine, may all the Deities, Gods and God-"deſſes, doom me ſtill to more cruel agonies "than thoſe under which I feel myſelf periſh-"ing daily." So cloſely did the bloody horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this

man of blood, and became his torturers! Nor was it at random what the wiſeſt of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of Tyrants were diſplayed, they would be ſeen full of deadly wounds and gorings, ſince what the ſeverity of ſtripes is to the body, the ſame to the ſoul is the bitter anguiſh of cruelty, luſt, and execrable purſuits. To TIBERIUS not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitudes, could enſure tranquillity, nor exempt him from feeling, and even avowing, the rack in his breaſt, and the avenging furies that purſued him.

AFTER this it was left to the diſcretion of the Senate to proceed as they liſted againſt CÆCILIANUS the Senator, "who had pro-"duced againſt COTTA a charge of many "heavy articles;" and it was reſolved, "to "ſubject him to the ſame penalties inflicted "upon ARUSEIUS and SANQUINIUS, the ac-"cuſers of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS." A more ſignal inſtance of honour than this had never befallen COTTA, who, noble in truth, but through luxury indigent, and, for the baſeneſs of his crimes, deteſtable, was, by the dignity of this amends, equalled in character to the moſt venerable reputation and virtues of ARRUNTIUS. Thereafter were arraigned QUINTUS SERVÆUS, and MINUTIUS THERMUS; SERVÆUS formerly Prætor, and once the follower of GERMANICUS; MINUTIUS, of the Equeſtrian rank, and though diſtinguiſhed, yet never elated, with the friendſhip of SEJANUS: hence the greater

greater commiſeration upon both. TIBERIUS, on the contrary, charged them "as the leaders "and principals in treaſon," and directed CAIUS CESTIUS the elder "to declare to the "Senate what he had written to him." Thus SESTIUS undertook the accuſation. This was the moſt peſtilent calamity of thoſe times, when the illuſtrious chiefs of the Senate degraded themſelves to the vile office of the meaneſt informers, ſome in the face of the ſun, many in the treacherous ways of ſecrecy, and both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers, none of the familiar from the unacquainted; no means left to diſcover, whether for recent imputations, or for facts covered in a courſe of years with oblivion. For words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at entertainments, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, the ſpeakers were accuſed; every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, and to arraign his man; ſome for their own protection, but moſt, as it were, ſmitten with the diſeaſe of informing, and captivated with a common contagion. MINUTIUS and SERVÆUS were condemned, but to ſave themſelves became evidence; and thus there were drawn into the ſame miſhap JULIUS AFRICANUS, and SEIUS QUADRATUS, the former from Saintes a City of Gaul; from whence was the other I have not diſcovered. Neither am I unaware that by moſt Writers the doom and ſufferings of many of the accuſed, are wholly omitted; either that they were weary

of the exceſſive multiplicity, or apprehenſive that the tedious recital, which to themſelves proved ſurfeiting and melancholy, would with equal irkſomneſs affect their readers. But to me, many peculiar paſſages have occurred deſerving to be known, however not publiſhed by others.

FOR, at a juncture when all men elſe affected to renounce the character of friends to SEJANUS, a Roman Knight, his name MARCUS TERENTIUS, and then upon his trial on this very account, dared to avow it before the Senate in a ſpeech on this wiſe: "In my preſent circumſtances, to deny the charge were, "perhaps, more expedient than to acknowledge it; but, whatever be the reſult, I will "own, that I was the friend of SEJANUS, that "I even ſought to be his friend, and gloried "when I had gained his friendſhip. I ſaw "him collegue with his father STRABO in the "command of the Prætorian Cohorts, and "next governing the ſtate and the ſoldiery at "once as a Miniſter and a General. His kinſmen and friends were covered with public "honours, and prevalent with the Prince was "every man's credit in proportion to his intimacy with SEJANUS. Thoſe, on the contrary, under his diſpleaſure, were the deſpairing objects of perſecution and wretchedneſs. Names and inſtances I bring none; "but with myſelf I will vindicate, and at my "own ſingle peril, all thoſe friends of his, "who, like myſelf, were guiltleſs of his laſt

"deſigns.

" deſigns. SEJANUS the Vulſinian was not " the man whom we courted; no; for the " object of our adorations we choſe SEJANUS " a part of the Claudian, a part of the Julian " houſe, into which, by alliance, he was in- " grafted; SEJANUS thy ſon-in-law, O CÆSAR, " thy collegue in the Conſulſhip, and that " SEJANUS who, under thee, adminiſtered the " Empire. To us it belongs not to judge " who is he whom above all others thou doſt " exalt, nor for what cauſes thou haſt exalted " him. Upon thee the Gods have devolved " the ſupreme diſpoſal of things, and to us " remains the glory of obedience. Facts and " things obvious we all behold; we perceive " who it is upon whom thou doſt accumulate " wealth and honours, who they are that hold " and diſtribute the ſupreme terrors and bleſ- " ings of power; and that all theſe were the " characteriſtics of SEJANUS, no man will " deny. But to pry into the profound thoughts " of the Prince, and the counſels which he " induſtriouſly hides, is forbidden and hazard- " ous, nor even with hazard can it be effected. " Recal not to mind, Conſcript Fathers, the " laſt day of SEJANUS; remember him for the " ſpace of ſixteen years, a time when we " adored even ſuch of his retainers as SATRIUS " and POMPONIUS; and to be then acquainted " with his porters and franchized ſlaves, was " eſteemed a grand honour. What therefore " is the reſult? Is this defence univerſal, and " does it ſerve indifferently all the friends of

" SEJANUS? Far from it; let juſt limits bound " it. Let the conſpiracy againſt the State, let " the bloody deſigns upon the Prince, be pu- " niſhed. As to the offices of friendſhip, as " to the inſtances of benevolence towards " SEJANUS, the ſame meaſure of juſtice will " acquit thee, CÆSAR, and us."

THE magnanimity of the ſpeech, added to the joy, that one was at laſt found, who reaſoned aloud as in their hearts they did all, produced ſuch powerful effect, that his accuſers were for this, and other delinquencies, ſentenced to baniſhment or death. Thereafter followed Letters from TIBERIUS againſt SEXTUS VESTILIUS, formerly Prætor; one whom he had long ſince, as a man exceeding dear to his brother DRUSUS, adopted into the claſs of his friends. The diſpleaſure conceived againſt him aroſe from his either having compoſed an invective againſt the impurities of CALIGULA, or from his having been calumniated to have done it, which being believed, he was forbid the Prince's table, and thence purpoſed to die. Having with an aged hand tried the ſteel, and feebly pierced his veins, he bound them up, and, by a Memorial, beſought TIBERIUS; but receiving a mercileſs anſwer, opened them again for ever. Next were charged with treaſon, all in a band, ANNIUS POLLIO, APPIUS SILANUS, MAMERCUS SCAURUS, CALVISIUS SABINUS, and VINICIANUS added to his father POLLIO; a band of illuſtrious men, all noble in deſcent, ſome diſtinguiſhed with the firſt dignities.

dignities. Horror ſeized the Fathers; for what Senator was exempt from friendſhip or alliance with ſo many men of ſuch ſignal quality? But one of the evidence, his name CELSUS, Tribune of a City-Cohort, acquitted APPIUS and CALVISIUS. The trial of POLLIO, VINICIANUS, and SCAURUS, was, by the Emperor poſtponed, till he could himſelf attend it in Senate. Upon SCAURUS, however, he beſtowed ſome tragical and boding notes of vengeance.

NOR could even women eſcape the rage of accuſations. With deſigns to uſurp the government, they could not be charged; their tears are therefore made treaſon, and VITIA, mother to FUSIUS GEMINUS, once Conſul, was ſentenced to execution in her old age, for bewailing the blood of her ſon. Theſe were the proceedings in Senate; nor was the Emperor employed elſewhere in different ſtrains of cruelty. By him VESCULARIUS ATTICUS and JULIUS MARINUS, were doomed to death, two of his oldeſt friends, men who had followed him to Rhodes, and never forſook him at Capreæ. VESCULARIUS was his ſecret inter-agent in the plot againſt LIBO; and by the co-operation of MARINUS had SEJANUS effected the ruin of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Hence the more joy followed their fall, to ſee them overtaken by precedents of their own traiterous contriving. About the ſame time died LUCIUS PISO, the Pontiff; and, by a felicity, then rare in ſo much ſplendour and elevation, died by the courſe of nature. The author he never

never himſelf was of any ſervile motion, and ever wiſe in moderating ſuch motions from others where neceſſity enforced his aſſent. That his father had ſuſtained the ſublime office of Cenſor, I have before remembered. He himſelf lived to fourſcore years, and, for his warlike feats in Thrace, had obtained the glory of Triumph. But from hence aroſe his moſt diſtinguiſhed glory, that being created Governor of Rome, a juriſdiction newly inſtituted, and the more difficult, as not yet ſettled into public reverence, he tempered it wonderfully, and poſſeſſed it long.

FOR, of old, to ſupply the abſence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Conſuls, that the City might not remain without a ruler, a temporary Magiſtrate was appointed to adminiſter juſtice, and watch over exigencies; and it is ſaid that by ROMULUS was deputed DENTER ROMULIUS, NUMA MARCIUS by TULLUS HOSTILIUS, and by TARQUIN the Proud SPURIUS LUCRETIUS. The ſame delegation was made by the Conſuls; and there remains ſtill a ſhadow of the old inſtitution, when, during the Latin Feſtival, one is authorized to diſcharge the Conſular function. Moreover, AUGUSTUS, during the Civil Wars, committed to CILNIUS MÆCENAS, of the Equeſtrian Order, the Government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when ſole maſter of the Empire, and moved by the immenſe multitude of people, and the flowneſs of relief from the Laws, he choſe a Conſular to bridle the licentiouſneſs

tiouſneſs of the ſlaves, and to awe ſuch turbulent citizens as are only quiet from the dread of chaſtiſement. MESSALA CORVINUS was the firſt inveſted with this authority, and in a few days diſmiſſed, as a man inſufficient to diſcharge it. It was then filled by TAURUS STATILIUS, who, though very ancient, ſuſtained it with ſignal honour. After him PISO held it for twenty years, with a credit ſo high and uninterrupted, that he was diſtinguiſhed with a public funeral, by decree of Senate.

A motion was thereafter made in Senate by QUINCTILIANUS, Tribune of the people; concerning a Book of the Sybil, which CANINIUS GALLUS, one of the College of fifteen, had prayed "might be received by a decree "amongſt the reſt of that Propheteſs." The Decree paſſed without oppoſition, but was followed by Letters from TIBERIUS. In them, having gently chid the Tribune, "as young, "and therefore unskilled in the ancient uſages," he upbraided GALLUS, "that he, who was ſo "long practiſed in the ſcience of ſacred cere-"monies, ſhould, without taking the opinion "of his own College, without the uſual reading "and deliberation with the other Prieſts, deal, "by ſurprize, with a thin Senate, to admit a "prophetic Book of an uncertain author." He alſo advertiſed them "of the conduct of Au-"GUSTUS, who, to ſuppreſs the multitude of "fictitious predictions every-where publiſhed "under the ſolemn name of the Sybil, had "ordained, that within a preciſe day, they "ſhould

" ſhould be carried to the City-Prætor, and " made it unlawful to keep them in private " hands." The ſame had likewiſe been decreed by our anceſtors, when, after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War, the Rhymes of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were every-where ſought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily, and all the Roman Colonies, with injunctions to the Prieſts, that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would ſeparate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occaſion alſo, the Book was ſubjected to the inſpection of the Quindecemvirate.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls, the dearth of corn had nigh raiſed a ſedition. The populace for many days urged their wants and demands in the public Theatre, with a licentiouſneſs towards the Emperor higher than uſual. He was alarmed with this bold ſpirit, and cenſured the Magiſtrates and Senate, " that " they had not by the public authority quelled " the people." He recounted " the continued " ſupplies of grain which he had cauſed to be " imported, from what provinces, and in how " much greater abundance than thoſe procured " by AUGUSTUS." So that for correcting the populace, a decree paſſed, framed in the ſtrain of ancient ſeverity; nor leſs vigorous was the edict publiſhed by the Conſuls. His own ſilence, which he hoped would be taken by the people as an inſtance of moderation, was by them imputed to his pride.

IN

In the end of the year GEMINIUS, POMPEIUS, and CELSUS, all Roman Knights, were for a conſpiracy ſentenced to the pains of treaſon. Of theſe, GEMINIUS had by prodigal expence, and voluptuous living, gained the friendſhip of SEJANUS, but never any participation in his counſels. JULIUS CELSUS the Tribune, as he lay in fetters, ſtretched his chain over his head, and, by vehement ſtraining againſt it, broke his neck. But over RUBRIUS FABATUS a guard was ſet, as to him it was objected, that, deſpairing of the Roman State, he meant to fly for refuge to the Parthians. He was, in truth, apprehended in the Streights of Sicily, and when by a Centurion haled back to Rome, he aſſigned no ſatisfactory motives for ſo long a voyage. He remained however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

IN the Conſulſhip of SERVIUS GALBA and LUCIUS SYLLA, TIBERIUS diſpoſed of his grand-daughters. He had long deliberated upon whom to beſtow them; and now the young Ladies were of age, he choſe for their husbands LUCIUS CASSIUS and MARCUS VINICIUS. The laſt was originally from Cagli a Roman colony in Campania, and of an Equeſtrian family; but his father and grand-father had been Conſuls; himſelf of a gentle temper and polite eloquence. CASSIUS ſprung from a Plebeian ſtock, but ancient and honourable, was brought up under the ſtrict tuition of his father, and more admired for the eaſineſs than vigour of his ſpirit. To him the Emperor married

married DRUSILLA, and to VINICIUS JULIA, both daughters of GERMANICUS, and upon this ſubject wrote to the Senate, with a brief commendation of the young men. Then accounting for his abſence by cauſes extremely foreign, he proceeded to conſiderations more weighty, what animoſities and hate upon himſelf he had drawn by his zeal for the Republic; and deſired, "that MACRO, Captain of his "Guards, with ſome few Tribunes and Cen-"turions, might always accompany him into "the Senate." To this purpoſe an ordinance paſſed, copious, and without limitation as to number or condition. Yet ſo far was TIBERIUS from coming near the public deliberations there, that he never entered the walls of Rome; even in the feint approaches which he made, he choſe chiefly crooked and ſolitary ways, heſitating, guilty, and flying his country.

IN the mean while, the whole band of accuſers broke looſe upon thoſe who augmented their wealth by Uſury, in contradiction to a Law of CÆSAR the Dictator, "for aſcertain-"ing the terms of lending money, and hold-"ing mortgages in Italy;" a Law become long ſince obſolete, through the ſelfiſh paſſions of men, ſacrificing public good to private gain. Uſury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the eternal cauſe of civil diſcord and ſeditions, and therefore reſtrained, even in ancient times, while the public manners were not yet greatly corrupted. For, firſt it was ordained by a Law of the twelve Tables, "that no man

" ſhould take higher Intereſt than twelve in " the hundred;" when before it was exacted at the pleaſure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the Tribunes it was reduced to ſix, and at laſt was quite aboliſhed. By the people too repeated Statutes were made, for obviating all eluſions, which, by whatever frequent expedients repreſſed, were yet through wonderful devices ſtill ſpringing up afreſh. GRACCHUS the Prætor was therefore now appointed to inquire into the complaints and allegations of the accuſers; but, appalled with the multitude of thoſe threatened by the accuſation, he had recourſe to the Senate. The Fathers alſo were diſmayed, (for of this fault not a ſoul was guiltleſs) and ſought and obtained impunity from the Prince; and a year and ſix months were granted for balancing all accounts between debtors and creditors, agreeably to the direction of the Law.

HENCE a great ſcarcity of money; for, beſides that all debts were at once called in, ſo many delinquents were condemned, that by the ſale of their effects, the current coin was ſwallowed up in the public treaſury, or in that of the Emperor. Againſt this ſtagnation, the Senate had provided, " that two thirds of the " debts ſhould by every creditor be laid out " upon lands in Italy." But the creditors warned in the whole; nor could the debtors without breach of faith divide the payment. So that at firſt, meetings and intreaties were tried; and at laſt it was conteſted before the Prætor.

Prætor. And the project applied as a remedy; namely, that the debtor ſhould ſell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation: for the uſurers hoarded up all their treaſure for purchaſing of lands, and the plenty of eſtates to be ſold miſerably ſinking the price, the more men were indebted, the more difficult they found it to ſell. Many were utterly ſtript of their fortunes; and the ruin of their private patrimony drew headlong with it that of their reputation, and all public preferment. The deſtruction was going on, when the Emperor adminiſtered relief, by lending a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces * for three years, without intereſt, provided each borrower pawned to the people double the value in inheritance. Thus was credit reſtored, and by degrees private lenders too were found; ſo that the order of Senate injoining the purchaſe of lands, was no longer obſerved; like moſt other reformations, keen in the beginning, and ſlighted at laſt.

ROME was next re-viſited with her former terrors, and CONSIDIUS PROCULUS ſuddenly queſtioned for treaſon. While he celebrated his birth-day, void of every apprehenſion, he was hurried to the Senate, and underwent, in the ſame inſtant, the ſentence and the pains of death. SANCIA too, his ſiſter, was interdicted fire and water, at the accuſation of QUINTUS POMPONIUS, a man of turbulent

* About two Millions, and five hundred thouſand Crowns.

temper,

temper, who pretended, "that he followed "these and the like practices, to ingratiate him- "self with TIBERIUS, and thence to obviate "the fate which threatened his brother POM- "PONIUS SECUNDUS." POMPEIA MACRINA was also sentenced to exile; she whose husband ARGOLICUS and his father LACO, two of the prime nobility of Greece, had already fallen by the cruelty of TIBERIUS. Her father, an illustrious Roman Knight, and her brother formerly Prætor, when they saw their own hastening doom, slew themselves. The crime imputed to them was, "that their great grand- "father, THEOPHANES of Mytelene, had "been one of the confidents of POMPEY the "Great, and that to THEOPHANES, when "dead, the flattering Greeks had paid divine "honours."

THESE were followed by SEXTUS MARIUS, the most wealthy man of Spain. He was accused of incest with his daughter, and thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock; but, as an indisputable proof that his abundant riches procured his bane, his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public, were by TIBERIUS appropriated to himself. His cruelty, at last, being but inflamed by incessant executions and blood, all those kept in prison under accusation of any attachment to SEJANUS, were by his command put to the slaughter. Exposed to the sun lay the sad monuments of the mighty butchery, those of every sex and age, the illustrious and the mean; their carcasses

ignominiouſly thrown, apart or on heaps; neither was it permitted to their ſurviving friends or kindred, to approach them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. But, round the dead, Guards were placed, who watched faces, and marked the ſigns of ſorrow; and, as the bodies putrified, ſaw them dragged to the Tyber, where they floated in the ſtream, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourſes of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every ſymptom of commiſeration was baniſhed.

ABOUT the ſame time, CLAUDIA, daughter to MARCUS SILANUS, was given in marriage to CALIGULA, who had accompanied his grand-father to Capreæ, having always hid under a ſubdolous guiſe of modeſty, his ſavage and inhuman ſpirit; even upon the condemnation of his mother, even for the exile of his brothers, not a word eſcaped him, not a ſigh, nor groan. He was ſo blindly obſervant of TIBERIUS, that he ſtudied the bent of his temper, and ſeemed to poſſeſs it, practiſed his looks, imitated the change and faſhion of his dreſs; and affected his words and manner of expreſſion. Hence the obſervation of PASSIENUS, the Orator, grew afterwards famous, "that there never lived a better ſlave, nor a "worſe maſter." Neither would I omit the preſage of TIBERIUS concerning GALBA, then Conſul. Having ſent for him, and ſifted him

upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him, in Greek, "and thou, GALBA, ſhalt hereafter "taſte of Empire;" ſignifying his late and ſhort ſovereignty. This he uttered from his skill in Aſtrology, which at Rhodes he had leiſure to learn, and had THRASULLUS for his teacher, whoſe capacity he proved by this following trial.

As often as he conſulted this way concerning any affair, he retired to the roof of the houſe, attended by one freedman truſted with the ſecret. This man, ſtrong of body, but deſtitute of letters, guided along the Aſtrologer, whoſe art TIBERIUS meant to try, over ſolitary precipices (for upon a rock the houſe ſtood) and, as he returned, if any ſuſpicion aroſe that his predictions were vain, or that the author deſigned fraud, caſt him headlong into the ſea, to prevent his making diſcoveries. THRASULLUS being therefore led over the ſame rocks, and minutely conſulted, his anſwers were full, and ſtruck TIBERIUS, as approaching Empire and many future revolutions were ſpecifically foretold him. The artiſt was then queſtioned, "whether he had calculated his "own nativity, and thence preſaged what was "to befall him that ſame year, nay, that very "day?" THRASULLUS ſurveying the poſitions of the ſtars, and calculating their aſpects, began at firſt to heſitate, then to quake, and the more he meditated, being more and more diſmayed with wonder and dread, he at laſt cried out, "that over him juſt then hung a boding danger

" and well-nigh fatal." Forthwith TIBERIUS embraced him, congratulated " him upon his " foreſight of perils, and his ſecurity from " them;" and eſteeming his predictions as ſo many oracles, held him thenceforward in the rank of his moſt intimate friends.

FOR myſelf, while I liſten to theſe and the like relations, my judgment wavers, whether things human are in their courſe and rotation determined by Fate and immutable neceſſity, or left to roll at random. For upon this ſubject the wiſeſt of the ancients and thoſe addicted to their Sects, are of oppoſite ſentiments. Many are of opinion, " that to the Gods nei- " ther the generation of us men, nor our " death, and, in truth, neither men nor the " actions of men, are of any importance or " concernment; and thence ſuch numberleſs " calamities afflict the upright, while pleaſure " and proſperity ſurround the wicked." Others hold the contrary poſition, and believe " a " Fate to preſide over events; a Fate however " not reſulting from wandring ſtars, but coeval " with the firſt principles of things, and ope- " rating by the continued connection of natural " cauſes. Yet their Philoſophy leaves out " courſe of life in our own free option; but " that, after the choice is made, the chain of " conſequences is inevitable: neither is that " good or evil which paſſes for ſuch in the " eſtimation of the vulgar; many who ſeem " wounded with adverſity are yet happy, num- " bers that wallow in wealth, are yet moſt " wretched:

" wretched: ſince the firſt often bear with " magnanimity the blows of fortune, and the " latter abuſe her bounty in baneful purſuits." For the reſt, it is common to multitudes of men, " to have each their whole future for- " tunes determined from the moment of their " birth; or if ſome events thwart the predic- " tion, it is through the miſtakes of ſuch as " pronounce at random, and thence debaſe " the credit of an art, which, both in ages " paſt and our own, hath given ſignal inſtances " of its certainty." For, to avoid lengthening this digreſſion, I ſhall remember in its order, how by the ſon of this ſame THRASULLUS the Empire was predicted to NERO.

DURING the ſame Conſulſhip was divulged the death of ASINIUS GALLUS: that he periſhed through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord, or by conſtraint, was held uncertain. The pleaſure of the Emperor being conſulted, " whether he would ſuffer him to " be buried," he was not aſhamed to grant ſuch a piece of mock mercy, nor even to blame the anticipations of caſualty, which had with- drawn the criminal, before he was publicly convicted; as if during three intermediate years between his accuſation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of an ancient Conſular, and the father of ſo many Conſulars. Next periſhed DRUSUS, condemned by his grand-father to be ſtarved; but by gnawing the weeds upon which he lay, he by that mi- ſerable nouriſhment protracted life the ſpace

of nine days. Some Authors relate, that, in caſe SEJANUS had reſiſted and taken arms, MACRO had inſtructions to draw the young man out of confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and ſet him at the head of the people. Afterwards, becauſe a report ran, "that the Emperor was about to be reconciled to his daughter-in-law and grand-ſon," he choſe rather to gratify himſelf by cruelty, than the public by relenting.

TIBERIUS, not ſatiated with the death of DRUSUS, even after death purſued him with cruel invectives, and, in a Letter to the Senate, charged him with "a body foul with "proſtitution, with a ſpirit breathing deſtruction to his own family, and rage againſt the "Republic;" and ordered to be recited "the "Minutes of his words and actions, which had "been long and daily regiſtered." A proceeding more black with horror could not be deviſed! That for ſo many years there ſhould be thoſe expreſly appointed who were to note down his looks, his groans, his ſecret and extorted murmurs; that his grand-father ſhould delight to hear the treacherous detail, to read it, and to the public expoſe it, would appear a ſeries of fraud, meanneſs and amazement, beyond all meaſure of faith, were it not for the Letters of ACTIUS the Centurion, and DIDYMUS the freedman; who in them declare, particularly, the names of the ſlaves ſet purpoſely to abuſe and provoke DRUSUS, with the ſeveral parts they acted; how one ſtruck

ſtruck him going out of his chamber, and how another filled him with terrors and diſmay. The Centurion too repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to DRUSUS, full of outrage and barbarity, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of famine; that, at firſt, feigning diſorder of ſpirit, he ventured, in the ſtile of a madman, diſmal denunciations againſt TIBERIUS; but, after all hopes of life had forſaken him, then, in ſteady and deliberate imprecations, he invoked the direful vengeance of the Gods, "that, as he had "ſlaughtered his ſon's wife, ſlaughtered the "ſon of his brother, and his ſon's ſons, and "with ſlaughters had filled his whole houſe; "ſo they would, in juſtice to the anceſtors of "the ſlain, in juſtice to their poſterity, doom "him to the dreadful penalties of ſo many "murders." The Senators, in truth, upon this, raiſed a mighty dinn, under colour of deteſting theſe imprecations; but it was dread which poſſeſſed them, and amazement, that he who had been once ſo dark in the practice of wickedneſs, and ſo ſubtle in the concealment of his bloody ſpirit, was arrived at ſuch an utter inſenſibility of ſhame, that he could thus remove, as it were, the covert of the walls, and repreſent his own grandſon under the ignominious chaſtiſement of a Centurion, torn by the barbarous ſtripes of ſlaves, and imploring in vain the laſt ſuſtenance of life.

BEFORE the impreſſions of this grief were worne away, the death of AGRIPPINA was

publiſhed. I ſuppoſe ſhe had lived thus long upon the hopes which from the execution of SEJANUS ſhe had conceived; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, death grew her choice: Unleſs perhaps ſhe were bereaved of nouriſhment, and her deceaſe feigned to have been of her own ſeeking. For, TIBERIUS raged againſt her with abominable imputations, reproaching her "with lewdneſs, as "the adultereſs of ASINIUS GALLUS, and that "upon his death ſhe became weary of life." But theſe were none of her crimes. AGRIPPINA, impatient of an equal lot, and eager for rule, had thence ſacrificed to maſculine ambition all the paſſions and vices of women. The Emperor added, "that ſhe departed the ſame "day on which SEJANUS had ſuffered as a "traitor two years before, and that the ſame "ought to be perpetuated by a public memo-"rial." Nay, he boaſted of his clemency, in "that ſhe had not been ſtrangled, and her "body caſt into the charnel of malefactors." For this, as for an inſtance of mercy, the Senate ſolemnly thanked him, and decreed, "that on "the ſeventeenth of October, the day of both "their deaths, a yearly offering ſhould be "conſecrated to Jupiter for ever."

NOT long after, COCCEIUS NERVA, in full proſperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, formed a purpoſe of dying. As he was the inceſſant companion of the Prince, and accompliſhed in the knowledge of all Laws, divine and human, TIBERIUS having learned his deſign,

deſign, was earneſt to diſſuade him, examined his motives, joined entreaties, and even declared, "how grievous to his own ſpirit it "would prove, how grievous to his reputation, "if the neareſt of his friends ſhould relinquiſh "life, without any cauſe for dying." NERVA rejected his reaſoning, and compleated his purpoſe by abſtinence. It was alledged by ſuch as knew his thoughts, that the more he ſaw into the dreadful ſource and increaſe of public miſeries, the more, tranſported with indignation and fear, he reſolved to make an honeſt end, in the bloom of his integrity, before his life and credit were aſſaulted. Moreover, the fall of AGRIPPINA, by a reverſe hardly credible, procured that of PLANCINA. She was formerly married to CNEIUS PISO; and, though ſhe exulted publicly for the death of GERMANICUS, yet, when PISO fell, ſhe was protected by the ſollicitations of AUGUSTA, nor leſs by the known animoſity of AGRIPPINA. But, as favour and hate were now withdrawn, juſtice prevailed; and, being queſtioned for crimes long ſince ſufficiently manifeſt, ſhe executed, with her own hand, that vengeance which was rather too ſlow than too ſevere.

WHILE the City yet bewailed ſo many tragical deaths, it was an acceſſion to the public affliction, that JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS, and lately the wife of NERO, was eſpouſed to RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, whoſe grandfather was remembered by many to have been only a Roman Knight from Tibur. At the iſſue of the year,

year, happened the death of ÆLIUS LAMIA, and was celebrated with a public funeral. For his laſt employment, he was Governor of Rome; having been at length diſcharged from the mock adminiſtration of Syria, which he was never ſuffered to viſit. In his deſcent he was noble, enjoyed a lively old age, and upon his character was derived freſh glory from the with-holding of his Province from him. As POMPONIUS FLACCUS, Proprætor of Syria, died ſome time after, there arrived Letters from TIBERIUS. In them he complained, "That all "the Senators of diſtinguiſhed name, and qua- "lified to command Armies, refuſed that "office; hence he was reduced to the neceſ- "ſity of entreaties, to engage ſome of the "Conſulars to undertake the rule of pro- "vinces." He thought fit to forget ARRUNTIUS, Governor of Spain, already for ten years detained at Rome. The ſame year alſo died MARCUS LEPIDUS, of whoſe wiſdom and moderation I have in the former Books inſerted abundant inſtances. Nor does it require more room here to diſplay his nobility, ſince his race was that of the ÆMILII, a race fertile in good citizens; and even thoſe of the ſame family who lapſed into corruption, continued ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed by their illuſtrious dignities and fortune.

IN the Conſulſhip of PAULUS FABIUS and LUCIUS VITELLIUS, after a long viciſſitude of ages, the Phœnix arrived in Ægypt, and furniſhed the moſt learned of the natives and Greeks,

Greeks, with matter of large and various obſervations concerning that miraculous bird. The circumſtances in which they agree, with many others, that, however diſputed, deſerve to be known, claim a recital here. That it is a creature ſacred to the Sun, and, in the faſhion of its head, and diverſity of feathers, diſtinct from other birds, all, who have deſcribed its figure, are agreed; about the length of its life, relations vary. It is by the vulgar tradition fixed at five hundred years: but there are thoſe who extend it to one thouſand four hundred and ſixty one, and aſſert that the three former Phœnixes appeared in reigns greatly diſtant, the firſt under SESOSTRIS, the next under AMASIS; and that one was ſeen under PTOLEMY the third King of Ægypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the City of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vaſt hoſt of other birds gazing upon the wonderful ſtranger. But theſe are, in truth, the obſcure accounts of antiquity: between PTOLEMY and TIBERIUS the interval was ſhorter, not two hundred and fifty years; hence ſome have believed that the preſent was a ſpurious Phœnix, and derived not its origin from the territories of Arabia, ſince it obſerved nothing of the inſtinct which ancient tradition attributes to the genuine; for that the latter, having compleated his courſe of years, juſt before his death builds a neſt in his native land, and upon it ſheds a generative power, from whence ariſes a young one, whoſe firſt care, when he is grown, is to bury

bury his father; neither does he undertake it unadviſedly, but by collecting and fetching loads of myrrh, tries his ſtrength in great journies; and as ſoon as he finds himſelf equal to the burden, and fit for the long flight, he rears upon his back his father's body, carries it quite to the altar of the Sun, and then flies away. Theſe are uncertain tales, and their uncertainty heightened by fables; but that this bird has been ſometimes ſeen in Ægypt, is not queſtioned.

AT Rome, as the courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting, POMPONIUS LABEO, whom I have remembered to have been Governor of Mœſia, choſe, by opening his veins, to let out his own blood; as, by his example, did his wife PAXEA hers. Such efficacy had the terror of falling by the executioner, that, to eſcape him, deaths of this ſort were readily undergone. Beſides, that they who ſtaid to be ſentenced, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarred the rites of burial; of ſuch, on the contrary, as anticipated condemnation, the bodies were interred, and their wills remained in force. The motive this, and price of diſpatch! TIBERIUS, however, in a Letter to the Senate, argued, "That it was "the uſage of our anceſtors, when they would "renounce friendſhip, to forbid the perſon "obnoxious their houſe, and by it ſhut up all "intercourſe; a uſage repeated by himſelf to-"wards LABEO. Whereas LABEO, who was "charged with male-adminiſtration, and other "crimes,

" crimes, had now, by leaving upon the Prince " the odium of his death, ſought a veil to his " own guilt, and thence falſly terrified his " wife, to whom, however criminal, no pu- " niſhment was meant." MAMERCUS SCAURUS was thereafter queſtioned afreſh, a man of ſignal quality, a noble orator, but profligate liver. In his overthrow, the friendſhip of SEJANUS had no ſhare, but an engine no leſs potent to deſtroy, the enmity of MACRO, who purſued, but with more ſubtlety, the ſame depraved politics. He was furniſhed with a handle from a Tragedy compoſed by SCAURUS, in which were ſome lines capable of being pointed againſt TIBERIUS. But by the accuſers, SERVILIUS and CORNELIUS, the crimes objected were thoſe of " adultery with LIVIA, " and the myſteries of magic." SCAURUS, as became the magnanimity of the ancient ÆMILII, prevented condemnation by the perſuaſion of SEXTIA his wife, who animated him to die, and died with him.

AND yet the accuſers, when opportunity occurred, were ſurrendered to vengeance, as were this ſame SERVILIUS and CORNELIUS, men become famous by the doom of SCAURUS; but for accepting from VARIUS LIGUR a bribe to drop proſecution, they were interdicted fire and water, and exiled into different iſlands. ABUDIUS RUFO too, once Ædile, whilſt he brought a charge againſt LENTULUS GETULICUS, under whom he had led a Legion, " That he had eſpouſed his daughter to

" a ſon

" a ſon of SEJANUS," was himſelf condemned and baniſhed Rome. GETULICUS was at this time Commander of the Legions in upper Germany, and by them wonderfully beloved, for his unbounded clemency, and diſcipline void of rigour. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, through his intereſt in LUCIUS APRONIUS his father-in-law. Hence he was univerſally believed to have, by a Letter, repreſented to the Emperor, " That by no " choice of his own had he joined affinity " with SEJANUS, but in compliance with the " counſel of TIBERIUS, and was as liable as " TIBERIUS to be deceived; nor ought one " and the ſame error to paſs unblamed in the " Prince only, and upon all others draw down " deadly vengeance. For his own faith; it " was pure and inviolate, and, if againſt him " no plots were framed, would continue un- " ſhaken. A ſucceſſor he would receive as no " other than the herald of death. It remained " therefore, that between them two they " ſhould, as it were, eſtabliſh a league, by " which the Prince ſhould ſtill enjoy all the " reſt of the Empire, and he himſelf always " retain his province." This proceeding, however amazing, derived credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to SEJANUS, remained in ſafety, and even in high favour. TIBERIUS, indeed, conſidered himſelf under the preſſure of public hatred, under the weight of extreme age; and that more by reputation than force his authority was upheld.

IN

IN the Conſulſhip of CAIUS SESTIUS and MARCUS SERVILIUS, there came to Rome ſome noble Parthians, unknown to ARTABANUS their King. He had formerly, through dread of GERMANICUS, reigned with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his ſubjects with cruelty. His confidence grew from the ſucceſsful wars which he had waged againſt the circumjacent nations, from his contempt of TIBERIUS, as enfeebled through age and unwarlike, and from a greedy paſſion to poſſeſs Armenia, over which Kingdom, upon the death of ARTAXIAS, he eſtabliſhed ARSACES his eldeſt ſon. This uſurpation was followed by an inſult, having ſent to reclaim "the treaſure left by "VONONES in Syria and Cilicia," as alſo "the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient boundaries between the Perſians and Macedonians." He even threatened, in the fulneſs of vainglory, "That he would invade all the countries poſſeſſed by CYRUS, and ſince by ALEXANDER." Of this ſecret embaſſy from the Parthians, the moſt powerful promoter was SINNACES, of a noble family, and correſpondent wealth, and, next to him in authority, ABDUS the Eunuch, a character no wiſe deſpiſed amongſt the Barbarians, but even entruſted with power. Theſe two, in concert with other Grandees, whom they had engaged in the combination, ſent to Rome for PHRAHATES, ſon of King PHRAHATES; becauſe, of all

all the race of the ARSACIDES, many being murdered by ARTABANUS, and the reſt too young, none elſe remained to whom they could commit the State. The deputies repreſented, "That there needed no more than a "name and a leader, no more than a deſcen-"dent of ARSACES eſpouſed by CÆSAR, and "beheld upon the banks of the Euphrates."

IT was what TIBERIUS wiſhed. He inveſted PHRAHATES in the pomp of Royalty, and diſpatched him with military ſtate to recover his father's Monarchy; retaining however his old maxims, ſtill to tranſact foreign affairs by artifice and counſels only, and warily avoid engaging in war. ARTABANUS the while having learnt the combination, was perplexed between different paſſions; now fear alarmed and retarded him, then thirſt of revenge fired and excited him. By the Barbarians too, diſſimulation and delay are reckoned ſervile meaſures; but inſtantly to ſatiate preſent paſſion, was the ſpirit and part of Royalty. Intereſt, however, prevailed: thus he invited ABDUS to a banquet, and ſecured him by a lingering poiſon; SINNACES he managed by preſents and diſſimulation, and engaged him in the entanglements of buſineſs. NOW PHRAHATES arriving in Syria, and there diſuſing the Roman dreſs and œconomy, to which for ſo many years he had been inured, to reſume the cuſtoms of the Parthians, proved unequal to the precipitate change, which brought a malady upon him that carried him off. But TIBE-

RIUS

RIUS forſook not the enterprize; to ARTABANUS he ſubſtituted TIRIDATES, a freſh competitor, one of the ſame blood. For the recovery of Armenia, he choſe MITHRIDATES, and reconciled him to his brother PHARASMANES, who inherited the ſovereignty of Iberia; and over the Eaſt, for executing all his ſchemes there, he placed LUCIUS VITELLIUS. I am not unaware, that in Rome this man bore an evil eſtimation, and that many inſtances of depravity are related of him; yet in governing of Provinces he acted with primitive uprightneſs and virtue. It was after his return from thence, that his dread of CALIGULA, and then his intimacy with CLAUDIUS, transformed him into ſuch an odious ſlave, that he is reckoned to poſterity as a pattern of the vile abaſement and ſhocking deformities of flattery: his laſt character has ſwallowed up his firſt, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by an old age black with flagitious crimes.

OF the petty Kings, MITHRIDATES was the firſt in motion, and incited PHARASMANES to promote, both by arms and ſnares, his efforts againſt ARSACES; ſo that inſtruments of ſubornation were found, who, with ſtore of gold, urged his ſervants to murder him. At the ſame time, the Iberians broke into Armenia with numerous forces, and gained the chief City Artaxata. Upon the firſt tidings of theſe diſaſters, ARTABANUS diſpatched, as the champion of his vengeance, his ſon ORODES, at

the head of the Parthian army, and ſent abroad to hire auxiliaries. PHARASMANES, on the other hand, joined the Albanian forces to his own, with additional aids from the Sarmatæans, whoſe Princes engaged themſelves on both ſides, according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in oppoſite quarrels. But the Iberians were maſters of the paſſes, and thence poured the Sarmatæans over the Caſpian Mountains into Armenia: whereas thoſe that advanced to join the Parthians, were with eaſe debarred entrance, the enemy having ſhut up every approach, except one between the ſea and the uttermoſt mountains of Albania; and that one was ſtopped by the tide, which, by the force of the Eteſian winds, is during the ſummer driven over the fords; but in the winter the ſouth wind rolls back the flood, and exhibits a naked ſtrand.

WHILE ORODES was thus bereft of his Allies, PHARASMANES, ſtrengthened with ſuccours, provoked him to battle, and, as he declined it, inſulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, haraſſed his forragers, and often begirt, as it were with a ſiege, the quarters of his camp. This enraged the Parthians, who, ſcorning the unwonted reproach, ſurrounded the Prince in crowds, and demanded the combat. Their only forces were in horſe; but PHARASMANES was likewiſe powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit the rough foreſts, are thence more inured to hardneſs and patience. They ſay, "that

"they

" they are ſprung from Theſſaly, by the " means of JASON, who having carried away " MEDEA, and had children by her, returned " again to Colchos, upon the death of ÆETA, " and filled the vacant throne." And many are the traditions which they retain concerning him and the Oracle of PHRYXUS, in reverence to which none of them will ſacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe PHRYXUS to have been carried thither; whether the ſame were a ram, or only the ſign of a ſhip. Now both armies being embattled, ORODES animated his men with " the grandeur of the " Parthian Empire, the Empire of the Eaſt, " the laſting glory of the ARSACIDES; and, on " the other ſide, the ignoble name of the Ibe- " rians and their hireling ſoldiery." PHARASMANES repreſented to his, that " they had " ever defended themſelves from the uſurpa- " tion of the Parthians, and now ſought more " than defence, even a Kingdom; hence the " higher their aims, the more renown to the " victors; but if they fled, the greater reproach, " and the ſame peril." He bade them to view and compare their own horrid and threatening arms with the bands of Medes blazing with gold, and behold here the bravery of men, there that of plunder.

WITH the Sarmatæans, however, the ſpeech of their General is not the only exhortation; it is their way to animate one another. It was now their united cry, " That they muſt not " begin their fight by a diſcharge of arrows,

" but break in at once upon the foe, and ſur-
" prize them by a cloſe engagement." They did ſo; and hence began a ſcene of battle ſtrangely diverſified: the Parthians, accuſtomed with equal dexterity to purſue or fly, ſcattered their troops, thence ſeeking ſcope for their arrows: the Sarmatæans intirely renounced the bow, a weapon which they weild with leſs vigour and perſeverance, and ruſhed in with their ſwords and pikes. Sometimes, as in an encounter of horſe, were beheld the viciſſitudes of charging and flying; again, as in condenſed battles of foot, with the ſhocks of their bodies breaſt to breaſt, and with the efforts of their arms, they overthrew and were overthrown. Now the Albanians and Iberians grappled the enemy, dragged them from their horſes, and confounded the attacks of the Parthians; who, beſides the aſſaults from the horſe, were ſtill more cloſely galled by the foot. Whilſt, during this conflict, the two Generals ſcoured from place to place, to countenance the brave, or to ſupport the wavering, themſelves conſpicuous to all, and therefore known to each other, they encountered fiercely, horſe to horſe, with terrible cries and lances darted, but PHARASMANES with moſt violence, for he wounded ORODES through the helmet, but, hurried away by the velocity of his horſe, could not repeat his blow, and the wounded Prince was reſcued by the moſt reſolute of his guards. Fame, however, falſly reported him for ſlain, and terrifying the Parthians, they yielded the victory.

AGAIN

AGAIN ARTABANUS prepared for revenge, and, to make it ſure, marched with the whole ſtrength of Parthia; but was again beaten by the Iberians, through their ſuperiour knowledge of the country. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that VITELLIUS, by drawing together his Legions, and thence exciting a rumour, as if he were juſt upon invading Meſopotamia, alarmed him with the terror of war from the Romans. Armenia was therefore abandoned, and the affairs of ARTABNUS finally ruined; for VITELLIUS the while, prompted the Parthians "to renounce "a King cruel to his ſubjects in peace, and "deſtructive to their ſtate by his fatal wars." SINNACES therefore, whom I have mentioned as already incenſed, conſults his father ABDAGESES and others, who had hitherto diſguiſed their diſaffection, and finding them now emboldened by ſo many continued overthrows, draws them to an open revolt. To them flowed in, by little and little, all thoſe who had been rather retained in obedience through fear, than ſecured by affection; and, having thus found leaders, aſſumed courage to follow them. So that to ARTABANUS none now adhered, except ſome few foreigners, the guards of his perſon, out-laws and fugitives from their ſeveral homes, deſtitute of all ſentiments of honour, and of every worthy affection, equally untouched with public or private diſgrace, hirelings by profeſſion, and the retained inſtruments of villainy and blood. Taking theſe for

his attendants, he haſtily fled to regions far remote, and bordering upon Scythia, from thence hoping for ſuccours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was joined in alliance. He expected too that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their Princes after expulſion, ever fickle and uneaſy under thoſe in poſſeſſion, might lapſe into remorſe.

ARTABANUS being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclined to a new King, VITELLIUS exhorted TIRIDATES "to lay hold on a "Kingdom prepared to receive him;" and, with the bulk of the Legions and auxiliaries, marched to the banks of Euphrates. Whilſt they ſacrificed to the river, the one after the rites of the Romans, a ſwine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horſe; the inhabitants informed them, "That the Euphrates, without "any acceſſion of rain, ſwelled miraculouſly, "and that the white froth upon the ſurface "wound itſelf into circles in the faſhion of a "diadem, as a propitious type of ſucceſs after "paſſing." Some explained it with more ſubtlety, "That the firſt attempts would be "attended with immediate proſperity, but "ſuch as was fleeting and tranſient; for that "only upon events portended by ſigns from "the earth and the heavens, was there any "ſure reliance: rivers were, in their nature, "fleeting and unſtable; and what omens they "ſuddenly ſhewed, they, with the ſame rapi-"dity ſnatched away." Over a bridge of boats the army croſſed; and the firſt who arrived

arrived in the camp was ORNOSPADES with many thouſand horſe. He was formerly an exile, and had then, with no contemptible forces, aided TIBERIUS to finiſh the war in Dalmatia; a merit which procured him the right of a Roman Citizen: being afterwards recalled, he recovered the friendſhip of the King, and continued high in his favour; ſo that he was placed over all thoſe territories which being waſhed on every ſide with the celebrated rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, are thence named Meſopotamia. Soon after came SINNACES with more forces, as alſo ABDAGESES, the pillar of the party, with the King's treaſure, and all the decorations of Royalty. VITELLIUS thought it enough to have countenanced them with a diſplay of the Roman arms, and now admoniſhed TIRIDATES and the chiefs, him "to remember, that he had "for his grand-father PHRAHATES, and was him-"ſelf reared by CÆSAR; ſignal honours, and "equal incitements to glory:" upon them he preſſed "obedience to their King, and reve-"rence towards us; that they would all con-"ſult their own reputations, and preſerve their "plighted faith." Thence he repaſſed with his Legions into Syria.

THESE tranſactions, though the work of two campaigns, I have laid together, to relieve my ſoul from the ſad recital of domeſtic evils. For, TIBERIUS, though now three years ſince the execution of SEJANUS, was ſo far from being aſſwaged by time, ſupplications, and

ſatiety of blood, means which are wont to ſoften all other men, that with rage and puniſhment he ſtill purſued even ſtale and dubious imputations, as the moſt heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread FULCINIUS TRIO, unable to bear the prevailing perſecution of his accuſers, compoſed his laſt will, and in it compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives againſt MACRO and the Emperor's principal freedmen: the Emperor himſelf he upbraided with "a ſpirit ſunk through age, "and his continued abſence, as a ſtate of exile." Theſe invectives, which the heirs of TRIO had ſmothered, were, by TIBERIUS, ordered to be recited; whether in oſtentation that he could bear ſuch liberties, and deſpiſed a public rehearſal of his own infamy; or whether from having been long ignorant of the black enormities of SEJANUS, he came afterwards to prefer the divulging of whatever was ſaid, however ſaid, concerning himſelf and his adminiſtration; and ſince truth is ever diſguiſed by flattery, he meant at leaſt to learn it from the mouth of reproach. During the ſame Conſuls, GRANIUS MARTIANUS the Senator, charged with treaſon by CAIUS GRACCHUS, laid violent hands upon himſelf; and TATIUS GRATIANUS, who had been Prætor, under the ſame charge, was ſentenced to capital baniſhment.

THE like ends had TREBELLIENUS RUFUS and SEXTIUS PACONIANUS. For, TREBELLIENUS fell by his own hand; and PACONIA-

NUS

NUS for Verſes made in priſon againſt the Emperor was there ſtrangled. With theſe executions TIBERIUS was acquainted, not now ſeparated from Italy by the ſea, nor by meſſengers diſpatched from afar, but in the neighbourhood of Rome; ſo near to it that he received and anſwered the Letters from the Conſuls the the ſame day, or only after the interval of a night; as if he were from thence beholding the houſes floating in blood, or the buſy hands of the executioners opening its ſources. In the end of the year expired POPPÆUS SABINUS, of ordinary deſcent, but by the friendſhip of the Emperors he had acquired the Conſulſhip and triumphal honours. He was alſo entruſted for four and twenty years with the Government of great provinces, for no ſignal ability of his, but that he had talents equal to buſineſs, and not above it.

THE following Conſuls were QUINTUS PLAUTIUS and SEXTUS PAPINIUS. It was marked as no matter of horror or ſurprize, that LUCIUS ARUSEIUS and *** underwent this year the pains of death; ſo familiar were civil miſeries grown. But terrifying proved the tragedy of VIBULENUS AGRIPPA, a Roman Knight, who, after his accuſers had finiſhed their pleadings, pulling out poiſon, which under his gown he had concealed, ſwallowed it in open Senate, and as he fell expiring, was by the Lictors haſtily dragged to the dungeon, where, though already dead, his neck was faſtened and ſtrained in a rope. Not even

TIGRA-

TIGRANES, who had ſome time reigned in Armenia, but was now accuſed, could by the name of a King, eſcape ſuffering, in common with citizens, the puniſhment of death. But CAIUS GALBA a Conſular, and the two BLÆSI, fell by their own hands, GALBA, upon receiving a diſmal Letter from CÆSAR, which forbid him to meddle with drawing his lot for a Province; the BLÆSI, becauſe the Prieſthoods which in the proſperity of their family he had aſſigned them, and again in its calamity withheld, he now beſtowed, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they underſtood as a ſignal of death, and obeyed it. ÆMILIA LEPIDA too, who, as I have related, was married to the young DRUSUS, ſhe who had purſued her huſband's life, by urging againſt him inceſſant crimes, and during the days of her father LEPIDUS, remained unpuniſhed, though deteſtable, was after his death attacked by the accuſers, for adultery with a ſlave: nor of this her infamous defilement was any doubt made; renouncing therefore all defence, ſhe put an end to her own life.

ABOUT the ſame time the Cliteans, a people ſubject to ARCHELAUS the Cappadocian, aggrieved to be after the Roman manner brought under a rate, and compelled to pay tribute, betook themſelves to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the ſituation defended themſelves againſt the unwarlike forces of the King; till VITELLIUS, Preſident of Syria, diſpatched to their relief his Lieutenant MARCUS

MARCUS TREBELLIUS, with four thouſand Legionary ſoldiers and ſome choſen auxiliaries. TREBELLIUS begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamped, the leſſer named *Cadra*, the other *Davara*, and forced them all to ſurrender: ſome who attempted to ſally, he ſubdued by the ſword; the reſt he overcame by thirſt. TIRIDATES, with the approbation of the Parthians, took poſſeſſion of Nicephorium, Anthemuſias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence called by Greek names, as likewiſe of Halus and Artemita, Parthian cities; the inhabitants of each contending in joy for the change, as they all deteſted ARTABANUS, bred amongſt the barbarous Scythians, and himſelf barbarouſly cruel, but from TIRIDATES hoped a humane ſpirit, civilized by a Roman education.

PARTICULARLY exceſſive was the flattery practiſed on this occaſion by the citizens of Seleucia; a powerful city ſurrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous uſages of the Parthians, but ſtill retaining the inſtitutions of SELEUCUS, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, choſen for wealth or wiſdom, compoſe, as it were, a Senate; to the populace too remains their ſhare of power; and when all act with unanimity, they deſpiſe the Parthians; but when diſcord reigns, while each ſide calls in foreign aid againſt their competitors, he who is invited prevails againſt the whole: A conſequence which had befallen them

them in the reign of ARTABANUS, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure ſubſervience to the maxims and intereſt of his own power. For the ſovereignty of the People is an eſtabliſhment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked luſt of ſimple Monarchy. Upon the coming of TIRIDATES, they heaped on him all the honours paid to the ancient Kings, with all ſuch as the preſent age has improved or invented, and to the praiſes of the new Prince added contumelies againſt ARTABANUS, "that only by his father "he was akin to the ARSACIDES, and in "every other inſtance an apoſtate from their "race." TIRIDATES committed to the People the government of Seleucia. As he was next conſulting about ſettling a day for ſolemnizing his inauguration, he received letters from PHRAHATES and HIERO, who preſided over potent Provinces, entreating a ſhort reſpit; ſo that he agreed to wait the arrival of men ſo ſignally powerful, and proceeded the while to Cteſiphon, the ſeat of the Empire. But as from day to day they delayed coming, the Surena in a great preſence, and with their applauſes, put the Royal Diadem, according to the ceremony of the country, upon his head.

AND had he ſtrait advanced into the center of the Kingdom and the further Provinces, he had over-awed the ſuſpence of ſuch as halted, and found ſubmiſſion from all Parthia. But, by beſieging a fortreſs, whither

ARTA-

ARTABANUS had conveyed his money and miſtreſſes, he furniſhed the fickle Parthians with leiſure to violate their late aſſociation. For, PHRAHATES and HIERO, with ſuch others as had not joined with the reſt in celebrating his coronation, returned to their old allegiance, part through fear, ſome from envy to ABDAGESES, who then governed the new King and his whole court. They found ARTABANUS in Hyrcania, covered with naſtineſs and miſery, and with his bow labouring for food. At firſt he was terrified, and apprehended treachery. When they aſſured him of their faith, and that to reſtore him to ſovereignty they were come, he asked, "whence the ſudden change?" HIERO, in anſwer, reproached "TIRIDATES "as a boy, and that the Empire was no longer "adminiſtered by one of the brave ARSACIDES; "but a lad ſoftened by foreign effeminacy, "poſſeſſed the empty title, whilſt in the fa- "mily of ABDAGESES the whole power "remained."

HE diſcerned, politic as he was, and old in reigning, that, however falſe in their affections, their hate was unfeigned. Neither tarried he longer than to get together ſome Scythian ſuccours, and then marched with diſpatch, to fruſtrate the meaſures of his enemies, and to obviate the defection of his friends. Nor changed he yet his noiſome dreſs, as by it he meant to draw the commiſeration of the populace. In his march he left untried no expedient, no prayers nor wiles, to engage in his intereſt

intereſt ſuch as wavered, to confirm ſuch as adhered, and he was already in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, before TIRIDATES, diſmayed at once with the tidings of ARTABANUS, and with ARTABANUS in perſon, could determine whether to make head againſt him, or protract the war. His counſels were diſtracted. They who preferred a battle and ſpeedy iſſue, argued, "that the enemy's forces were ſtill in "diſarray and ſpent with long journeys: nor "in truth were they in their hearts ſincerely "reconciled to obedience; they, who were "lately the betrayers and open enemies of "that ſame Prince whom thus, after expulſion, "they eſpouſed." But ABDAGESES adviſed "a retreat into Meſopotamia, that there, de-"fended by the interpoſition of the river, "they might have time to arm the Armenians "and Elymæans, with other adjacent nations; "and, being thus ſtrengthened by confederate "troops, and ſuch as the Roman General "ſhould ſend, might try with theſe advan-"tages the fortune of war." This advice prevailed, as ABDAGESES held the higheſt authority, and TIRIDATES was fearful of dangers. But their departure had all the appearance and conſequences of a rout: for the Arabs beginning the deſertion, the reſt followed, and retired to their ſeveral homes, or to the camp of ARTABANUS; ſo that TIRIDATES with a few croſſed over to Syria, where he diſcharged them all, as well from his ſervice,

vice, as from the infamy of being betrayed by them.

THE ſame year the City ſuffered the grievous calamity of fire, which burnt down that part of the Circus contiguous to mount Aventine, and the Mount itſelf; a loſs which turned to the glory of the Prince, as he paid in money the value of the houſes deſtroyed. A hundred thouſand great ſeſterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever ſparing in private buildings. In truth, his public works never exceeded two, the Temple of AUGUSTUS and the Scene of POMPEY's Theatre; nor, when he had finiſhed both, did he dedicate either, whether obſtructed by old age, or deſpiſing popularity. For aſcertaining the damage of particulars, the four ſons-in-law of TIBERIUS were appointed, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, CASSIUS LONGINUS, MARCUS VINICIUS, and RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, aſſiſted by PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, nominated by the Conſuls. To the Emperor likewiſe were decreed ſeveral honours, variouſly deviſed, according to the different drift and genius of ſuch as propoſed them. Which of theſe he meant to accept, or which to reject, the approaching iſſue of his days has buried in uncertainty. For not long after, CNEIUS ACERRONIUS and CAIUS PONTIUS commenced Conſuls, the laſt Conſuls under TIBERIUS. The power of MACRO was already exceſſive, who, as he had at no time neglected the favour of CALIGULA, courted

courted it now more and more earneſtly every day. After the death of CLAUDIA, whom I have mentioned to have been eſpouſed to the young Prince, he conſtrained ENNIA his own wife to ſtimulate the affections of CALIGULA, and to ſecure him by a promiſe of marriage. The truth is, CALIGULA was one that denied nothing that opened his way to ſovereignty; for although of a tempeſtuous genius, he had yet in the ſchool of his grand-father, well acquired all the hollow guiſes of diſſimulation.

HIS ſpirit was known to the Emperor; hence the Emperor was puzzled about bequeathing the Empire: and firſt as to his grand-ſons; the ſon of DRUSUS was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child; the ſon of GERMANICUS had arrived at the vigour of youth, and the zeal of the people followed him; a motive to his grand-father, only to hate him. He had even debates with himſelf concerning CLAUDIUS, becauſe of ſolid age, and naturally inclined to honeſt purſuits; but the defect of his faculties withſtood the choice. In caſe he ſought a ſucceſſor apart from his own family, he dreaded leſt the memory of AUGUSTUS, leſt the name of the CÆSARS ſhould come to be ſcorned and inſulted. For, it was not ſo much any ſtudy of his, to gratify the preſent generation, and ſecure the Roman State, as to perpetuate to poſterity the grandeur of his race. So that his mind ſtill wavering, and his ſtrength decaying, to the deciſion of fortune he permitted

mitted a counſel to which he was now unequal. Yet he dropped certain words whence might be gathered, that he foreſaw the events and revolutions which were to come to paſs after him; for, he upbraided MACRO, by no dark riddle, "that he forſook the ſetting ſun, and "courted the riſing;" and of CALIGULA, who upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe ridiculed SYLLA, he foretold, "that he would have all SYLLA's "vices, and not one of his virtues." Moreover, as he was, with many tears, embracing the younger of his grandſons, and perceived the countenance of CALIGULA implacable and provoked; "Thou, ſaid he, wilt ſlay him, and "another ſhall ſlay thee." But, however his illneſs prevailed, he relinquiſhed nothing of his vile voluptuouſneſs, forcing patience, and feigning health. He was wont too to ridicule the preſcriptions of Phyſicians, and all men who, after the age of thirty, needed to be informed by any one elſe, what helped or hurted their conſtitutions.

AT Rome, the while, were ſown the ſanguinary ſeeds of executions, to be perpetrated even after TIBERIUS. LÆLIUS BALBUS had charged ACUTIA, (the wife formerly of PUBLIUS VITELLIUS) with high treaſon; and, as the Senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuſer, the ſame was obſtructed by the interpoſition of JUNIUS OTHO, Tribune of the people: Hence their mutual hate, which ended in the exile of OTHO. Thereafter ALBUCILLA, who had

been married to SATRIUS SECUNDUS, him that revealed the conſpiracy of SEJANUS, and herſelf famous for many amours, was impeached of impious rites deviſed againſt the Prince. In the charge were involved, as her aſſociates and adulterers, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, VIBIUS MARSUS, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS. The noble deſcent of DOMITIUS I have above declared: MARSUS too was diſtinguiſhed by the ancient dignities in his houſe, and himſelf illuſtrious for learning. The Minutes, however, tranſmitted to the Senate, imported, "that in the examination of the witneſſes, "and torture of the ſlaves, MACRO had pre-"ſided;" neither came theſe Minutes accompanied with any letter from the Emperor againſt the accuſed. Hence it was ſuſpected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privity, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged by MACRO, in conſequence of his notorious enmity to ARRUNTIUS.

DOMITIUS therefore, by preparing for his defence, and MARSUS, by ſeeming determined to famiſh, both protracted their lives. ARRUNTIUS choſe to die; and to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evaſions, he anſwered, "that the ſame meaſures "were not alike honourable to all men; his "own life was abundantly long; nor had he "wherewithal to reproach himſelf, ſave that "he had ſubmitted to bear thus far an old "age loaded with anxieties, expoſed to daily "dangers, and the cruel ſport of power; long

"hated

" hated as he was by SEJANUS, now by " MACRO, always by ſome reigning Miniſter; " hated through no fault of his own, but as " one irreconcilable to baſeneſs and the iniqui- " ties of power. He might, in truth, out-live " and avoid the few and laſt days of TIBE- " RIUS; but how eſcape the youth of his heir? " If upon TIBERIUS at ſuch an age, and after " ſuch conſummate experience, the violent " ſpirit of unbridled dominion had wrought " with ſuch efficacy, as intirely to tranſport " and change him; was it likely that CALI- " GULA, he who had ſcarce outgrown his " childhood, a youth ignorant of all things, " or nurſt and principled in the worſt, would " follow a courſe more righteous under the " guidance of MACRO; the ſame MACRO, " who, for deſtroying SEJANUS, was employed " as the more wicked of the two, and had " ſince by more miſchiefs and cruelties torn " and afflicted the Commonweal? For him- " ſelf; he foreſaw a ſervitude yet more vehe- " ment, and therefore withdrew at once from " the agonies of paſt and of impending ty- " ranny." Uttering theſe words, with the ſpirit of a prophet, he opened his veins. How wiſely ARRUNTIUS anticipated death, the following times will terribly demonſtrate. For ALBUCILLA; ſhe aimed at her own life, but the blow being impotent, ſhe was by order of Senate dragged to execution in the priſon. Againſt the miniſters of her luſts it was decreed, " that GRASIDIUS SACERDOS, formerly

" Prætor, ſhould be exiled into an iſland, " PONTIUS FREGELLANUS be degraded from " the Senate; and that upon LÆLIUS BALBUS " the ſame penalty ſhould be inflicted:" his puniſhment particularly proved matter of joy, as he was accounted a man of peſtilent eloquence, and prompt to attack the innocent.

ABOUT the ſame time, SEXTUS PAPINIUS, of a Conſular family, choſe on a ſudden a frightful end, by a deſperate and precipitate fall. The cauſe was aſcribed to his mother, who, after many repulſes, had, by various allurements and the ſtimulations of ſenſuality, urged him to practices and embaraſſments from whence only by dying he could deviſe an iſſue. She was therefore accuſed in the Senate; and, though in a proſtrate poſture ſhe embraced the knees of the Fathers, and pleaded " the tenderneſs and grief of a mother, with " the imbecillity of a woman's ſpirit under " ſuch an affecting calamity;" with other motives of pity in the ſame doleful ſtrain, ſhe was baniſhed Rome for ten years, till her younger ſon were paſt the age of lubricity.

As to TIBERIUS; already his body, already his ſpirits failed him; but his diſſimulation failed him not. He exerted the ſame vigour of mind, the ſame energy in his looks and diſcourſe, and even ſometimes ſtudied to be gay, by it to hide his declenſion, however notorious. So that, after much ſhifting of places, he ſettled at the Promontory of Miſenum, in a villa of which LUCULLUS was once lord.

There

There it was diſcovered that his end was at hand, by this device. In his train was a Phyſician, his name CHARICLES, ſignal in his profeſſion, one, in truth, not employed to direct the Prince's health, but wont however to afford his counſel and skill. CHARICLES, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, under the appearance of paying duty and kiſſing his hands, touched his pulſe. But the artifice beguiled not TIBERIUS, for he inſtantly ordered the entertainment to be ſerved up, whether incenſed, and thence the more ſmothering his wrath, is uncertain. But, at table he continued beyond his wont, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend. But for all this, CHARICLES ſatisfied MACRO, "that the flame of life was expiring, and could "not outlaſt two days." Hence the whole court was filled with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were diſpatched to the Generals and Armies. On the ſixteenth of March, ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have paid the laſt debt of mortality; inſomuch that CALIGULA, in the midſt of a great throng, paying their congratulations, was already appearing abroad, to aſſume the firſt offices of Sovereignty, when ſudden notice came, "that "TIBERIUS had recovered his ſight and voice, "and, to ſtrengthen his fainting ſpirits, had "called for ſome refreſhment." Hence dread ſeized all, and the whole concourſe about CALIGULA diſperſed, every man aſſuming falſe ſorrow, or feigning ignorance. He himſelf

ſelf was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and thus fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death. MACRO continued undiſmayed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, cauſed the feeble old man to be ſmothered with a weight of coverings. Thus expired TIBERIUS in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age.

HE was the ſon of NERO, and on both ſides a branch of the Claudian houſe, though his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian ſtock. From his firſt infancy, his life was checquered by various turns and perils. For, then he followed, like an exile, his proſcribed father; and when taken in quality of a ſtep-ſon into the family of AUGUSTUS, he long ſtruggled there with many potent rivals, during the lives of MARCELLUS and AGRIPPA, next of the young Cæſars, CAIUS and LUCIUS. His brother DRUSUS too eclipſed him, and poſſeſſed more eminently the hearts of the Roman people. But above all, his marriage with JULIA moſt egregiouſly threatened and diſtreſſed him, whether he bore the proſtitutions of his wife, or relinquiſhed the daughter of AUGUSTUS. Upon his return thereafter from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the Prince's family, now bereft of heirs, and nigh three and twenty ruled the Roman State. His manners alſo varied with the ſeveral junctures of his fortune: he was well eſteemed while yet a private man, and, in diſcharging public dignities under AUGUSTUS, of ſignal reputation; covert and ſubdo-

ſubdolous in feigning virtue ſo long as GERMANICUS and DRUSUS ſurvived; a mixed character of good and evil during the days of his mother; deteſtably cruel, but ſecret in his lewdneſs, while he loved or feared SEJANUS. At laſt he abandoned himſelf, at once, to the rage of tyranny and the ſway of his luſts: for, he had then conquered all the checks of ſhame and fear, and thenceforth followed only the bent of his own abominable ſpirit.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

The SUMMARY.

THE condemnation and death of VALERIUS ASIATICUS, *by the procurement of* MESSALINA. *The iniquity and venality of the public Pleaders. Their fees aſcertained. Civil combuſtions in Parthia. Secular Plays exhibited at Rome.* CLAUDIUS *adds three letters to the Alphabet. A ſhort Diſſertation concerning the origin of Letters.* ITALUS *eſtabliſhed King over the Cheruſcans.* CORBULO *made Commander in lower Germany, his ſevere and excellent diſcipline.* CURTIUS RUFUS *diſtinguiſhed with the Triumphal Ornaments. The riſe and ſtory of that Roman. Of the inſtitution of the office of Quæſtor, and its variations. The Nobility of Gaul admitted to all the rights of Roman Citizens. The number of Patricians augmented.* MESSALINA *the Empreſs, her wild lewdneſs. She openly marries* C. SILIUS: *is accuſed to the Emperor, and her adulterers puniſhed. Her execution how procured and effected.*

**** FOR, MESSALINA, implacable towards VALERIUS ASIATICUS, one twice Conſul, whom ſhe believed to have been POPPÆA's adulterer, and equally panting after his fine gardens, begun by LUCULLUS, but by him beautified with ſignal magnificence, ſuborned SUILIUS to accuſe both him and her. In the plot was joined SOSIBIUS, Tutor to BRITANNICUS, who, under the mask of zeal, was to warn CLAUDIUS, "that mighty wealth "in private hands, was ever miſchievous and "threatening to Princes. In the aſſaſſination "of CALIGULA, ASIATICUS had been the "principal director, nor feared to avow it in "a public congregation of the people, nor "even to claim the glory of the parricide: "hence his popularity and renown in Rome; "inſomuch that his purpoſe of withdrawing "and putting himſelf at the head of the Armies, was already a prevailing rumour through "all the Provinces; for that being born at "Vienne, and ſupported there by numerous "and powerful families, all his own relations, "it depended upon his pleaſure to excite an "inſurrection of his countrymen the Gauls." This ſufficed CLAUDIUS, who, in order to ſeize him, inſtantly diſpatched away CRISPINUS, Captain of the Prætorian guards, with a body of ſoldiers, as if a war had been to be cruſhed. He was found at Baiæ, and hurried to Rome in chains.

NEITHER

NEITHER was it indulged him to be heard by the Senate; he was privately tried in a chamber in the preſence of MESSALINA. SUILIUS charged him "with corrupting the ſoldiery, as having by money and abominable "pleaſures engaged them in his intereſt, and "prepared them for every the moſt flagrant "iniquity; with his adulterous amours with "POPPÆA, and with ſurrendering his perſon "to unnatural defilements." This laſt article overcame his patience, and breaking in upon the accuſation, "Ask thy own ſons, SUI-"LIUS, ſaid he; thy ſons will ſatisfy thee that "I am a man." As he proceeded in his defence, he forced tears even from MESSALINA, and in CLAUDIUS raiſed agitations ſtill more powerful. But the Empreſs leaving the room to dry her eyes, warned VITELLIUS, "not to "ſuffer the accuſed to eſcape." She herſelf haſtened to accompliſh the doom of POPPÆA, by ſuborning perſons who urged her, through the terrors of impriſonment, to a voluntary end; a cataſtrophe of which the Emperor was ſo utterly unapprized, that a few days after, as her husband SCIPIO was at table with him, he continued asking why he ſat down without his wife? till SCIPIO anſwered, that ſhe was no more.

NOW as CLAUDIUS was deliberating about clearing ASIATICUS, the hollow VITELLIUS wept, and recounting their ancient friendſhip, with the dutiful obſervance which they had equally paid to ANTONIA, the Prince's mother;

ther; then diſplaying the good ſervices of ASIATICUS to the Commonwealth, particularly his late exploits in Great-Britain, with other arguments which ſeemed proper to excite mercy; he at laſt propoſed to grant him the free choice of his own death; a ſort of clemency of which CLAUDIUS declared his approbation. There were ſome who exhorted him to die gently, by abſtinence only; an indulgence which he rejected, but perſiſting in his wonted exerciſes, he bathed, and even ſupped chearfully. He ſaid, he ſhould with more credit have been ſacrificed to the dark artifices of TIBERIUS, or to the fury of CALIGULA, than thus periſh by the devices of a woman, and the proſtitute lips of VITELLIUS; then opened his veins, but firſt viewed his funeral pile, and directed its removal into another place, leſt the ſmoke ſhould ſcorch the heads of the trees, and leſſen their cool ſhade. Such was his firmneſs, even in the arms of death.

THE Senate was thereafter ſummoned, and SUILIUS proceeded alſo to accuſe the illuſtrious Roman Knights, ſirnamed *Petræ*. The real cauſe of their bane was, that for a place of aſſignation, they had accommodated VALERIUS and POPPÆA with the uſe of their houſe; but to one of them a dream was objected, as if he had beheld CLAUDIUS crowned with a chaplet of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, and thence foretold a public famine. Others have related, that the chaplet he beheld was of vine-branches with white leaves, which he

he conſtrued to portend the death of the Prince at the cloſe of autumn. Whatever he dreamt, this is undoubted, that for a dream both he and his brother were ſacrificed. To CRISPINUS was decreed the Prætorſhip, and a reward of thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred crowns, and to SOSIBIUS five and twenty thouſand, at the motion of VITELLIUS, who recommended him as one that aſſiſted BRITANNICUS with good inſtructions, and CLAUDIUS with wholeſome counſels. SCIPIO, who was alſo asked his opinion, ſaid; "Seeing I entertain of POPPÆA's miſdeeds the ſame thoughts with all "others, believe me to vote as all others "vote;" a delicate temperament between the affections of a husband, and the danger of provoking by his diſſent her powerful enemies.

SUILIUS continued thenceforward an inceſſant and mercileſs accuſer; and many laboured to emulate his abandoned occupation. For, the Emperors, by uſurping all the authority of the Magiſtrates, and the arbitrary diſpenſation of all the Laws, had opened a field for endleſs cruelties and depredations; nor of all the commodities of price was aught ſo ſaleable, as the faithleſs ſpirit of the pleaders; inſomuch that SAMIUS, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, having given SUILIUS a fee of ten thouſand crowns, and finding himſelf betrayed in the cauſe, fell upon his ſword in the houſe of his traiterous advocate. A complaint of this grievance being therefore begun by CAIUS SILIUS

SILIUS Conſul elect, whoſe power and overthrow I ſhall in its place remember, the whole Senate concurred, and demanded, that the Cincian Law might be reſtored to force; an old Law, which enjoined "that no man ſhould, "for pleading a cauſe, accept of gift or pay-"ment."

HENCE they, over whom the infamy was impending, raiſing a clamour againſt the motion; SILIUS, who entertained an animoſity againſt SUILIUS, perſiſted with the more aſperity, and quoted "the examples of the an-"cient Orators, who had eſteemed preſent "applauſe and the praiſes of poſterity, the "moſt illuſtrious recompence of their elo-"quence. Otherwiſe, an accompliſhment the "moſt dignified of all others, were debaſed "into ſordid proſtitution. Nor, in truth, was "the faith of pleaders to be truſted, where the "greatneſs of gain was their end. Beſides, if "no man found his merchandize in defending "ſuits, there would be fewer ſuits to defend; "whereas, upon the preſent foot, enmities, "accuſations, mutual hate and mutual oppreſ-"ſions were promoted and inflamed to ſuch a "degree, that as an inundation of diſeaſes was "the market of Phyſicians, ſo the contagion "of the Bar proved the revenue of the Plead-"ers. They might remember CAIUS ASINIUS "and MARCUS MESSALLA, and more lately "ARRUNTIUS and ESERNINUS; men who "arrived to the ſupreme dignities of the ſtate "by a life unblemiſhed, and an eloquence

"never

" never expoſed to price." This reaſoning from the Conſul elect found the concurrence of the Senate, and a decree was about to paſs, to ſubject them to the penalties of the Law againſt extortion, when SUILIUS, COSSUTIANUS, and the reſt, who apprehended not a regulation only, but even their own puniſhment (for their guilt was manifeſt) gathered round the Prince, beſeeching remiſſion for what was paſſed; and after he had, by a motion of his head, ſignified his aſſent, they thus proceeded:

" WHO was the man of ſuch unbounded " vanity as to preſume upon an eternity of " fame? The practice of pleading was in- " tended only for the preſent purpoſes of ſo- " ciety, a common refuge for all men, eſpe- " cially that none might for want of pleaders " be cruſhed by the powerful: neither was " eloquence itſelf acquired, or exerted with- " out pains and expence; ſince they who pro- " feſſed it forſook their own domeſtic cares, " to apply themſelves to the buſineſs of others. " Many followed the profeſſion of war, many " that of husbandry, and by both profeſſions " a livelihood was gained; and nothing was " purſued by any man, but with a view to the " advantages it produced. Eaſily might ASI- " NIUS and MESSALLA, enriched by the event " of the war between ANTHONY and AU- " GUSTUS; eaſily might the ESERNINI and " ARRUNTII, heirs of wealthy houſes, all poſ- " ſeſs a ſpirit above the price of pleading. " But equally obvious were the examples of PUBLIUS

" PUBLIUS CLODIUS and CAIUS CURIO, for " what immenſe rewards they were wont to " plead. For themſelves; they were mean " Senators, and, as the Commonwealth en- " joyed a perfect calm, only aimed at ſubſiſt- " ing by the emoluments of peace. Nay, there " were thoſe of the commonalty, who ſtrove " to ſhine by the Gown and the Bar; but were " the price and encouragement of ſtudying " withdrawn, the Studies themſelves muſt pe- " riſh." Conſiderations theſe far from honourable; but to CLAUDIUS they appeared of no ſmall force. He therefore ſettled the utmoſt meaſure of fees at two hundred and fifty crowns, and ſuch as exceeded were ſubjected to the penalties of extortion.

DURING the ſame time MITHRIDATES, whom I have mentioned to have reigned in Armenia, and to have been brought in bonds to the tribunal of CÆSAR, returned by the direction of CLAUDIUS into his Kingdom, confiding in the power and aſſiſtance of his brother PHARASMANES King of the Iberians, who had ſent him advice, " that diſſentions " prevailed amongſt the Parthians, and that, " while the fate of their own crown was in " ſuſpence, foreign conqueſts, as things of leſs " moment, muſt be neglected." For, the many cruelties of GOTARZES, particularly the ſudden murder of his brother ARTABANUS, with that of his wife and ſon, and thence the dread of his tyranny to the reſt of the nobility, prompted them to call BARDANES to the throne,

throne, a Prince of great activity and enterprize, ſo much that in two days he travelled three thouſand furlongs, then inſtantly invaded, utterly terrified and ſurprized, and even exterminated GOTARZES. With the ſame expedition he ſeized the neighbouring provinces, all but Seleucia, which alone diſowned his ſway: ſo that, more tranſported with wrath againſt the Seleucians, as a people who had likewiſe revolted from his father, than conſulting his preſent intereſt, he entangled himſelf in the ſiege of a city encompaſſed with ſtrong walls, repleniſhed with ſtores, and a river one of its bulwarks. For, GOTARZES the while, ſtrengthened by forces from the Dahans and Hyrcanians, renewed the war; ſo that BARDANES being neceſſitated to relinquiſh the ſiege, retired to the plains of Bactria, and there encamped.

IN this combuſtion and diſunion of the powers in the Eaſt, and uncertainty how the ſame would terminate, an occaſion of poſſeſſing Armenia was adminiſtered to MITHRIDATES, aſſiſted by the Roman ſoldiers, who demoliſhed the ſtrong holds, and by the Iberians, who over-ran and waſted the country. For, the Armenians made no longer reſiſtance, after the fate of DEMONAX their Governor, who had ventured a battle, and was defeated; only ſome of the Nobles countenanced COTYS, King of Armenia the leſs, who thence became a ſhort obſtacle, but by letters from the Emperor was awed into acquieſcence. Hence the whole

whole devolved upon MITHRIDATES, who fell however into meaſures more violent than befitted a Prince newly eſtabliſhed. As to the Parthian competitors; in the heat of their preparations for a battle, they all on a ſudden ſtruck a league, alarmed as they were by a conſpiracy of the Parthians againſt both, but firſt diſcovered to GOTARZES, and by him to his brother BARDANES. In the beginning of their interview, they were ſhy and diffident, at laſt ventured to join hands, then ſwore upon the altar of the Gods, to revenge the treaſon of their mutual enemies, and even to reſign to each other. But, as BARDANES was held more worthy to retain the Monarchy; GOTARZES, in order to remove with himſelf all ground of jealouſy, retired far into Hyrcania. To BARDANES, upon his return, Seleucia was ſurrendered in the ſeventh year of its ſiege; ſo long had that ſingle city ſuſtained its independency, and baffled the power of Parthia, to the ſignal diſgrace of the Parthian Monarchy.

HE next took poſſeſſion of the moſt potent provinces, and had recovered Armenia, but that VIBIUS MARSUS, Lieutenant of Syria, reſtrained him, by threatening him with war. In the mean time, GOTARZES, regretting his conceſſion of the Kingdom, and again recalled by the nobility, whoſe bondage is ever moſt rigorous during peace, formed an army, and was met as far as the river Charinda by BARDANES, who, after an obſtinate fight in diſputeing the paſſage, remained conqueror, and

thence, by a continued courſe of victories, ſubdued all the nations lying between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There the torrent of his conqueſts was obſtructed; for, the Parthians however victorious, refuſed proſecuting a war ſo remote from home. Structures being therefore raiſed, as monuments of his grandeur and conqueſts, and to ſignify, that none of the ARSACIDES before him had from theſe nations exacted tribute, he returned, mighty, in truth, in glory, but thence the more imperious and inſupportable to his ſubjects, who therefore, by guile before concerted, ſlew him, while, deſtitute of guards or apprehenſions, he was only intent upon the chace, in the flower of his youth, but poſſeſſed of ſuch high renown as few of the oldeſt Kings could have claimed, had he equally ſtudied the love of his people, as he did to awe his enemies. The aſſaſſination of BARDANES begot freſh ſtruggles amongſt the Parthians, divided as they were about filling the throne. Many adhered to GOTARZES; ſome propoſed MEHERDATES, the grand-ſon of PHRAHATES, and by him given in hoſtage to the Romans. GOTARZES prevailed, but was no ſooner eſtabliſhed, but by an abandoned courſe of cruelties and luxury, he forced the Parthians upon ſecret recourſe to the Roman Emperor, ſolliciting for MEHERDATES to occupy the dominions of his anceſtors.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls were celebrated the Secular Games, eight hundred years after

the founding of Rome, ſixty-four ſince they had been exhibited by AUGUSTUS. The ſeveral purpoſes of theſe Princes in theſe Games I paſs over here, as already largely recounted by me in my Hiſtory of the Emperor DOMITIAN; for he too preſented Secular Games, at which I aſſiſted in perſon, and the more aſſiduouſly, as I was inveſted with the Quindecemviral Prieſthood, and at that time Prætor; a circumſtance which from no vain-glory I inſert, but becauſe formerly the College of fifteen preſided in that feſtival, and the Magiſtrates chiefly diſcharged the offices of the ſolemnity. Whilſt CLAUDIUS was beholding the Games in the Circus, and the boys of quality repreſented on horſeback the ſiege of Troy, amongſt them particularly BRITANNICUS the Emperor's ſon, with LUCIUS DOMITIUS, who was afterwards adopted into the Claudian family by the name of NERO, and ſucceeded to the Empire; the affections of the populace appeared more paſſionate for DOMITIUS; a thing which paſſed then for a propitious omen, and thence furniſhed a common tradition, "That in his in-"fancy two dragons, poſted like guards, were "ſeen about him;" a fable framed in imitation of the miraculous tales current in foreign nations. For, NERO himſelf, a Prince who never abridged his own fame, was wont to declare, that in his chamber was never beheld but one ſnake only.

IN truth, this partiality of the people accrued from the memory of GERMANICUS, from

whom he was the only deſcendent of the male kind; and the popular commiſeration towards his mother AGRIPPINA, roſe in proportion to the cruel vengeance of MESSALINA, always her inveterate enemy, and now inflamed with freſh rage; inſomuch that, if ſhe did not juſt then forge crimes and ſuborn accuſers to deſtroy that Lady, it was owing only to a new amour which poſſeſſed her with a paſſion bordering upon fury. She was ſo vehemently enchanted with the perſon of CAIUS SILIUS, the moſt beautiful of all the Roman youth, that ſhe obliged him to divorce his wife JUNIA SILANA, a Lady of high quality, in order to poſſeſs alone the embraces of the adulterer. Nor was SILIUS unapprized of his crime, nor of the doom which threatened him; but, it was deſtruction without reſource, if he withſtood MESSALINA, and glorious rewards were to be the fruits of his compliance. There were ſome hopes too of blinding CLAUDIUS; ſo that he held the pleaſanteſt counſel the ſafeſt, to wait future and diſtant conſequences, and to indulge preſent proſperity. The Empreſs, far from purſuing her amour by theft and privacy, frequented his houſe openly, with a numerous train, accompanied him inceſſantly abroad, loaded him with wealth, covered him with honours; and, in ſhort, as if the fortune of the Empire had been transferred with the Emperor's wife, at the houſe of her adulterer were already ſeen the ſlaves, freedmen, and equipage of the Prince.

CLAU-

CLAUDIUS was a ſtranger to the diſorders of his wife, and then exerting the authority of Cenſor. He corrected the people by ſevere Edicts for ſome late inſtances of their licentiouſneſs, as they had, at the repreſentation of a dramatic piece compoſed by PUBLIUS POMPONIUS, reviled that Conſular in the public Theatre, with ſeveral Ladies of illuſtrious quality. He was likewiſe the author of a Law to reſtrain the mercileſs iniquity of the Uſurers, in lending money to young men, to be repaid with increaſe upon the death of their fathers. The ſprings that riſe in the Simbruine Hills were by him brought to Rome; and to the Roman Alphabet he added new Letters, having learnt that even thoſe of Greece were not at once deviſed and compleated.

THE Ægyptians firſt of all others repreſented their ſentiments by the figures of animals; and theſe Hieroglyphics carved upon ſtone, the moſt ancient monuments of human memory, are ſtill to be ſeen. That nation boaſt themſelves "the original inventors of Types, and that "the Phœnicians having thence learnt them, "they, who were mighty in commerce and "the dominion of the ſeas, carried the ſame "into Greece, and aſſumed the glory of an "invention which they themſelves were "taught." For, the general tradition is, "that "CADMUS arriving there in the Phœnician "fleet, inſtructed the Greeks in that art, a "people as yet rude and uncultivated." Some hold, that "Cecrops the Athenian, or LINUS

" of Thebes, and PALAMEDES the Argive, " who lived during the times of Troy, deviſed " ſixteen Letters; and that by others after- " wards, eſpecially by SIMONIDES, the reſt " were added." As to Italy, the Etruſcans learned them of DAMARATUS the Corinthian, the native Latins of EVANDER the Arcadian; and the faſhion of the Latin Types were the ſame with thoſe of the ancient Greeks. But we too had few at firſt, till from time to time the reſt were ſupplied; and now CLAUDIUS, by the example of others, added three more, which continued in uſe during his own reign, and were thenceforth aboliſhed, but are to this day ſeen in the tables of braſs on which are publiſhed the decrees of the people, and which hang in the Temples and great ſquares.

HE next made a repreſentation to the Senate concerning the College of Soothſayers; " that " they would not ſuffer the moſt ancient diſ- " cipline of Italy to be loſt through diſuſe. " The Commonwealth was ever wont, dure- " ing her times of calamity, to have recourſe " to thoſe of that ſcience, in order to re- " trieve by their counſel the ſacred ceremo- " nies from neglect and corruptions, and to " cultivate them thereafter with more ſtrict " obſervance. Thus the nobility of Etru- " ria, whether from their own zeal, or by " appointment of the Roman Senate, had al- " ways preſerved thoſe myſteries themſelves, " and conveyed the ſame down to their poſte- " rity; a laudable uſage, but now faintly ob- " ſerved,

" ſerved, through an univerſal indifference for " all worthy arts, and more eſpecially through " the prevalence of foreign ſuperſtitions. It " was true, indeed, that the Republic at pre- " ſent proſpered, but her proſperity was purely " to be referred to the benignity of the Gods; " nor during proſperity ought they to abandon " thoſe ſolemn rites, which in ſeaſons of dif- " ficulty had been ever zealouſly cultivated." Hence the Senate decreed, " That the Pontiffs " ſhould enquire what parts in the myſtery of " Soothſaying ought to be retained and con- " firmed."

THE ſame year, the Cheruſcan nation had recourſe to Rome for a King. The rage of their own domeſtic wars had ſwept away their principal chiefs; and of the Royal ſtock only one remained, who reſided in the City, his name ITALICUS, ſon to FLAVIUS the brother of ARMINIUS, and by his mother grand-ſon to CATUMERUS Prince of the Cattians. He was himſelf a handſome perſon, and in horſe- manſhip and the exerciſe of arms ſpecially trained, as well according to the manner of his own country as that of ours. The Emperor therefore furniſhed him with expences and guards, and exhorting him, " to aſſume with " magnanimity his hereditary grandeur," re- minded him withal " that being born at " Rome, nor held as a hoſtage there, but living " in the full immunity of a native Citizen, he " was the firſt who went in that character to " rule over a ſtrange people." His acceſſion

was, indeed, at firſt, matter of joy to the Germans, and ſo much the more, for that having had no ſhare in their civil diſſenſions, he acted with equal courteſy towards them all. Hence his conduct became popular and renowned, as ſometimes he ſtudied only affability and moderation, habits that could provoke none; often gave a looſe to carrouſels and the gratifications of wantonneſs, ſuch as the Barbarians delight in. So that his name was already famous amongſt the adjacent nations, and even amongſt nations more remote; when they, who had borne ſway in the reign of factions, taking umbrage at his prevailing power, betook themſelves to the ſeveral neighbouring people, and repreſented to them, "That the ancient liberty "of Germany was extirpated, and over the "Germans the Roman yoke eſtabliſhed. Could "not, indeed, their whole country furniſh one "native Cheruſcan worthy to ſuſtain the Sove-"reignty; but at the head of their State they "muſt ſet the offſpring of FLAVIUS, the off-"ſpring of a traitor and a ſpy for the Ro-"mans? In vain was alledged his kindred to "ARMINIUS; ſince even the ſon of ARMI-"NIUS were to be dreaded in the ſame ſta-"tion, if bred in a hoſtile ſoil, poiſoned with "foreign nurture, debaſed by foreign ſlavery, "inured to foreign manners, and every thing "foreign. But, for this ſon of FLAVIUS, if "he inherited the ſpirit of his father, never "had man waged war with fiercer enmity "againſt his native country and his own houſe-

"hold

" hold Gods, than the father of this ITA-
" LICUS."

By theſe and the like ſtimulations, they procured and aſſembled numerous forces; nor was ITALICUS followed by fewer, as on his behalf his followers argued, " That he had by no " invaſion ſeized the throne, but held it " by their own invitation; and ſince in " blood he excelled all others, it became " them to try whether in bravery he would " ſhew himſelf worthy of his grand-father " CATUMERUS. Nor was it any ground of " ſhame to the ſon, that his father had never " violated that faith towards the Romans, " which with the approbation of the Ger- " mans he had ſworn. But ſhameleſly and " falſly was the ſound of liberty urged by thoſe, " who, degenerate in their own lives, and " deſtructive by their practices to the public " weal, placed their only hopes in rending " their country by civil diſcord." The King had the zeal and acclamations of the people, and in a great battle between theſe hoſts of Barbarians, he acquired the victory. Thenceforward he became tranſported with his good fortune, grew imperious, and was expelled, but again reſtored by the forces of the Longobards; and, in theſe ſtruggles he continued, as well by his ſucceſſes as misfortunes, to afflict the Cheruſcan ſtate.

ABOUT the ſame time the Chaucians, engaged now in no domeſtic diſſentions, and animated by the death of SANQUINIUS, Governor

vernor of lower Germany, made incurſions into that Province, before CORBULO arrived to ſucceed him. For their leader they had GANNASCUS, of the country of the Caninefates, one who had long ſerved the Romans amongſt their auxiliaries, but deſerted, and following the practice of pyracy, infeſted the neighbouring coaſts, and above all terribly ravaged the coaſts of Gaul, a nation whom he knew to be rich and unwarlike. But when CORBULO entered the province, where, in this his firſt military command, he laid the foundation of his eminent future glory, he diſpatched with great diligence the galleys down the Rhine, and the other veſſels along the lakes and canals, according to their different ſizes and burden. Thus, having ſunk the enemy's wherries, and put GANNASCUS to flight, he took order firſt for ſettling effectually the ſtate of the Province, and then reſtored the ancient diſcipline amongſt the Legions, who were now utter ſtrangers to military toils and application, and had been long employed in depredations only. Under CORBULO no man durſt ſtir from his rank, none, without expreſs orders, durſt attack the foe. Accoutred with all their arms, they were forced to keep guard and ſtand centry; and whatever duties they performed, under all their arms they performed them. It is even reported, "That he puniſhed a ſoldier with "death, for digging in the trenches without "his ſword, and another for being there armed "only with his dagger." Inſtances, in truth,

of

of ſeverity without meaſure; but whether forged or aggravated, they ſtill owed their riſe to the rigid ſpirit of that Captain: ſo that it was manifeſt how inexorable in flagrant enormities he muſt be, who was thought capable of ſuch unrelenting aſperity for offences ſo ſmall.

THIS terror, however, affected the army and the enemy different ways; by it the Romans increaſed in bravery, and the ferocity of the Barbarians was abated. Hence the Frizians, who after their rebellion, begun with the defeat of LUCIUS APRONIUS, had continued in hoſtility, or in uncertain and faithleſs allegiance, ſent us new hoſtages, and ſettled themſelves in the territory aſſigned them by CORBULO. Over them he inſtituted a Senate, Magiſtrates, and Laws; and, to enſure their ſubjection, amongſt them planted a garriſon. He likewiſe diſpatched proper perſons to ſollicit the Chaucians to ſubmiſſion, and at the ſame time, by guile to aſſail GANNASCUS. The ſnare ſucceeded; neither did the practice of ſnares towards a deſerter, one who had broke his faith, debaſe the Roman magnanimity. Yet, by his aſſaſſination, the minds of the Chaucians were enflamed, and by it CORBULO furniſhed them with matter of rebellion. Thus, his proceedings, though applauded by many, gave umbrage to others. "Why, they "ſaid, would he be wantonly exciting a people "to arms? Upon the Commonwealth muſt "light all the diſaſters of the war; but, if "ſucceſs attended him, then would ſuch a "ſignal

" ſignal Commander prove terrible to the quiet " of the State, and, to a daſtardly Prince, in- " ſupportable." Hence CLAUDIUS became ſo thoroughly bent againſt all further irruptions into Germany, that he ordered him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine.

CORBULO was already encamping in the enemy's country, when theſe orders were delivered him; and though many different apprehenſions at once overwhelmed his ſpirit, his dread of the Emperor, the ſcorn of the Barbarians, the deriſion of the Allies; yet without uttering more than, that " happy were the " Roman Captains of old," he ordered the retreat to be ſounded. However, to prevent the ſoldiers from relapſing into a habit of idleneſs, he employed them in digging a Canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuſe and the Rhine; by it to open a receptacle for the high tides, and prevent inundations. The Emperor nevertheleſs allowed him the decorations of Triumph, though he had denied him the proſecution of the war. Shortly after, the ſame honour was conferred on CURTIUS RUFUS, who, in the territory of the Mattiacians had opened ſome ſilver mines, a ſource of ſmall advantage, nor of long continuance; but to the Legions it created eminent labour and damage, as they were forced to cut deep ſluices, and toil under the earth at works which even in open air are hard and rigorous. The ſoldiers therefore, overcome by theſe hardſhips, and perceiving that the ſame drudgeries were

were exacted from them in ſeveral Provinces, wrote ſecretly to the Emperor, and in the name of the Armies beſought him, "that "whomſoever he intended for the Command "of the Legions, he would firſt reward them "with the triumphal honours."

CONCERNING the original of CURTIUS RUFUS, who by ſome is repreſented as the ſon of a Gladiator, I ſhould be ſorry to publiſh a falſe account, and I am alſo tender of recounting that which is true. As ſoon as he was grown to a man, he followed a Roman Quæſtor into Africa; and, at the City of Adrumetum, while he walked under the piazza, in the midd'e of the day, the viſion of a woman above human ſize appeared before him, and accoſted him with theſe words; "Thou, RU-"FUS, art one who ſhalt hereafter come into "this Province with Proconſular authority." Inſpired with hopes from this preſage, he returned to Rome, where, by the largeſſes of his friends, and the vigour of his own ſpirit, he gained the Quæſtorſhip; and ſtanding afterwards for the office of Prætor againſt the ſeveral candidates of the Nobility, carried it by the intereſt of TIBERIUS, who, as a ſhade to the ſordidneſs of his birth, gave him this encomium; "To "me CURTIUS RUFUS ſeems to be deſcended "from himſelf." After this, always a ſervile flatterer of thoſe above him, arrogant to his inferiors, and perverſe to his equals, he lived to a great age, arrived to the Conſular power, the honours of Triumph, laſtly to the Government

ment of Africa; and, dying there, fulfilled the fatal preſage.

ABOUT the ſame time CNEIUS NOVIUS a Roman Knight, was diſcovered armed with a dagger in the throng of thoſe who were paying their court to the Prince; but, upon what motives, was no wiſe apparent then, nor ever afterwards learnt. For though, when rent by the rack, he at laſt confeſſed his own deſign, his accomplices he never diſcloſed; whether he would not, or had none, is uncertain. Under the ſame Conſuls it was moved by PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, "that a public enter-"tainment of Gladiators ſhould be yearly ex-"hibited at the charge of ſuch as obtained the "office of Quæſtors." An office, which in the days of our anceſtors was only the price of virtue; and indeed to every Roman, if he confided in his own qualifications, it was free to ſue for every Magiſtracy; nor was want of years held any obſtruction, but that ſome, even in their early youth, might become Conſuls and Dictators. As to the Quæſtorſhip, it was as ancient as our Kings, as is manifeſt from the Law Curiata, revived by LUCIUS BRUTUS; and the power of chuſing Quæſtors continued in the Conſuls, till the people would aſſume the conferring of that honour alſo. So that VALERIUS POTITUS and ÆMILIUS MAMERCUS, the firſt popular Quæſtors, were created twenty-three years after the expulſion of the TARQUINS, and appointed to attend the armies; upon the multiplication of buſineſs, two more were

were afterwards added, to officiate at Rome. After a long interval, all Italy being now tributary, and large revenues growing from the Provinces, the number was doubled. SYLLA next, in order to fill the Senate, upon which he had devolved the authority of adjudging cauſes, created twenty; and though the Equeſtrian Order had ſince recovered the deciſion of ſuits, yet the Quæſtorſhip continued ſtill to be, by the rule of merit, gratuitouſly granted, till by this motion of DOLABELLA, it was expoſed, as it were, to ſale by auction.

IN the Conſulſhip of AULUS VITELLIUS and LUCIUS VIPSANIUS, counſels were on foot about ſupplying the vacancies of the Senate; and, as the Nobility of that part of Gaul entitled Comata, had long ſince acquired the diſtinction of Confederates and Citizens of Rome, they now ſued for a common participation of her offices and honours. Hence many and various were the reaſonings of the public upon theſe their pretenſions, and the Prince was beſet with oppoſite parties and ſtruggles. He was told, "that Italy was not fallen ſo low, "but to her own Capital ſhe could furniſh a "ſupply of Senators. Of old her natives only, "they who were of the ſame blood with the "Romans, ſufficed for ſuch recruits to the "Roman State. Nor was there any pretence "to condemn or amend the inſtitutions of the "ancient Republic, a Republic which inſpired "her Citizens with ſuch noble manners, that "the ſpirit and actions of the old Romans

"were

" were ſtill urged as venerable patterns of virtue
" and glory to us their poſterity. Was it not
" ſufficient that already the Venetians and In-
" ſubrians had invaded the Senate, unleſs a
" hoſt of foreigners too be introduced, like an
" eſtabliſhment of captivity and conqueſt? Af-
" ter this, what dignity would remain to the
" native Nobility? What means of preferment
" to any poor Senator of Latium? By theſe
" opulent Gauls all public honours would be
" engroſſed, men whoſe fathers and fore-fathers
" were at the head of hoſtile nations, ſlaugh-
" tered our Armies, and at Aleſia beſieged the
" deified JULIUS; inſtances theſe of later days;
" but more horrible to recount were the ra-
" vages of the antient Gauls, who with impious
" hands demoliſhed the great Roman Altar,
" and defaced the Capitol. They might, in
" truth, enjoy ſtill the title of Roman Citi-
" zens; but, let not the glory of the Fathers,
" let not the luſtre of the Magiſtrates be pro-
" ſtituted, and rendered the purchaſe and ſpoil
" of nations."

THE Emperor was little affected by theſe and the like allegations, but, having preſently anſwered thoſe who made them, ſummoned the Senate and ſpoke thus. " The anceſtors of
" my family, and the oldeſt of them, ATTUS
" CLAUSUS, who, though a Sabine born, was
" at once adopted a Roman Citizen, and en-
" rolled in the number of Patricians, furniſh
" me with a leſſon, that with parallel meaſures
" I ought to maintain the Commonwealth,

" by

" by transferring to ourſelves all men of ſignal
" merit where-ever found. For, I am not igno-
" rant, that from Alba we had the JULII,
" from Camerium the CORRUNCANI, and the
" PORCII from Tuſculum. But, to avoid the
" detail of ancient and ſingle adoptions, were
" not the Nobles of Etruria, the Nobles of
" Lucania, nay, thoſe of all Italy, called into
" the body of the Senate? At laſt our city and
" her privileges became bounded only by the
" Alps; inſomuch that, beſides the admiſſion
" of particulars, whole States and Nations be-
" came ingrafted into the Roman name. We
" had then ſolid peace at home, and our arms
" and reputation flouriſhed abroad, when the
" nations on the other ſide the Po were pre-
" ſented with the rights of Citizens; and when,
" under the guiſe of planting, out of the Le-
" gions, Colonies all over the earth, and by
" incorporating with theſe our Colonies the
" moſt powerful of the natives, we thence
" ſupported and renewed our own exhauſted
" ſtate. Do we regret that the BALBI were
" tranſplanted to us from Spain, or men
" equally illuſtrious from the Narbon Gaul;
" they whoſe deſcendents remain yet with us,
" nor yield to us in their love of this our
" common country? What proved the bane
" of the Spartans and Athenians, States ſo
" potent in arms and conqueſts, but that they
" held for aliens whomſoever they conquered?
" Much greater was the wiſdom of ROMULUS,
" our founder, a Prince who ſaw ſeveral peo-

" ple his enemies and his citizens, in one and
" the ſame day. Even over us Romans fo-
" reigners have been Kings; and, to commit
" Magiſtracies to the children of freedmen, is
" no innovation, as many erroneouſly ſuppoſe,
" but a primitive practice of the old Roman
" people. But, it ſeems, we have had wars
" with the Gauls. What is the conſequence?
" Have the Volſcians, have the Equians never
" borne arms againſt us? It is true, our Capital
" has been taken by the Gauls; but by the
" Tuſcans we have been forced to give ho-
" ſtages, and by the Samnites to paſs under a
" gibbet. However, upon a review of all our
" wars, none will be found more quickly con-
" cluded than thoſe with the Gauls; and ever
" ſince has enſued a peace never interrupted,
" and faithfully obſerved. They are linked
" with us in private manners, in civil and
" military accompliſhments, and domeſtic al-
" liances; and in this conjunction with us let
" them rather introduce amongſt us their gold
" and abundance, than enjoy them without
" our participation. All the things, Conſcript
" Fathers, which are now held moſt ancient
" in our State, were once new: the Plebeian
" Magiſtrates were later than the Patricians;
" the Latin Magiſtrates later than the Plebeian;
" thoſe of other nations in Italy came after the
" Latin: the preſent admiſſion of the Gauls
" will alſo wax old; and what is this day ſup-
" ported by examples, will itſelf hereafter be-
" come an example."

By

By a Decree of the Fathers, which followed this ſpeech, the Eduans firſt acquired the right of admiſſion into the Senate; the reward this of their ancient confederacy with Rome, and as they only of all the Gauls are entitled the Brethren of the Roman people. About the ſame time, all the ancient Senators, with ſuch whoſe fathers had ſuſtained ſignal offices in the State, were by CLAUDIUS aſſumed into the claſs of Patricians. For, of all the families who by ROMULUS were named *the older Nobility*, or of thoſe added by LUCIUS BRUTUS, and called *the younger*, there were few remaining. Even ſuch whom CÆSAR the Dictator by the Caſſian Law, and ſuch whom the Emperor AUGUSTUS by the Senian Law, had created Patricians, were now extinct. As theſe reformations made in the State by CLAUDIUS, in quality of Cenſor, were acceptable to the public, he proceeded in them with great alacrity; yet, how to degrade from the Senate thoſe who were of infamous characters, held him ſome time in ſuſpence; but, as he determined to apply rather a new and tender expedient, than to purſue the rigorous example of antiquity, he warned them, "to conſult their own qua-" lifications, and then ask leave to reſign their " order; a requeſt eaſily to be obtained," and then he promiſed, "to name them as per-" ſons removed by abdication, at the ſame " time that he would pronounce others judi-" cially expelled; that thus the credit of a " modeſt and voluntary reſignation, might

" ſoften and hide the infamy of expulſion by " the judgment of the Cenſor." For theſe regulations, the Conſul VIPSANIUS propoſed, " that CLAUDIUS ſhould be called the *Father* " *of the Senate*; for that, the name of *Father* " *of his Country* was a common title; and his " extraordinary benefits to the Commonwealth " ought to be diſtinguiſhed with no ordinary " appellations:" but the Emperor thought the flattery extravagant, and checked the Conſul. He then numbered the Citizens, who in that ſurvey amounted to ſix millions, nine hundred thouſand. From this time he remained no longer a ſtranger to his domeſtic reproach, but was brought to hear and puniſh the abominations of his wife; whence was to ariſe a new paſſion, and an inceſtuous marriage with his niece.

MESSALINA now diſdaining her daily adulteries, as too eaſy and common, was abandoning herſelf to the gratifications of luſt never before deviſed; when SILIUS too, by a fatal intoxication, or judging that the dangers hanging over him were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, urged to her, " that all " diſguiſes muſt now be caſt off, for they were " gone too far to venture waiting for the death of " the Emperor. To none but the guiltleſs were " unblameable counſels adapted. In glaring " guilt determined intrepidity was the only re- " ſource. They had accomplices at hand, ſuch as " dreaded the ſame doom; and for himſelf, he " was ſingle, childleſs, ready to marry her, and to " adopt

" adopt BRITANNICUS: to MESSALINA ſhould " ſtill remain her preſent power; and certain " ſecurity would abide both, if they prevented " CLAUDIUS, one ſo eaſily circumvented, but " ſo prone withal to vengeance." Theſe words were but coolly received by MESSALINA, from no love to her husband; but ſhe feared that SILIUS, when he had gained the Sovereignty, would ſcorn his old adultereſs; and the treaſon, which, to avoid his preſent peril, he now recommended, would then be conſidered and repaid according to its genuine value. She, however, coveted the fame of this ſtrange matrimony, purely for the enormous meaſure of infamy; which to ſuch as are abandoned to debauchery, is the laſt improvement of voluptuouſneſs. Neither ſtaid ſhe longer than till CLAUDIUS went to Oſtia, to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice there, and then celebrated her new Nuptials with all the uſual ſolemnities.

I AM well aware how fabulous it will appear, that ſuch blind ſecurity ſhould poſſeſs any human heart, much more that a Conſul elect, ſhould, in a city informed of all things, and concealing nothing, dare to marry the Emperor's wife, at a ſtated day, witneſſes called to ſign the contract, with a declaration inſerted that by it children were intended; that the Emperor's wife ſhould eſpouſe another husband in form, hear the ſolemn words of the Augurs, ſacrifice ſolemnly to the Gods, celebrate with him in a great company the nuptial Feaſts, and in the preſence of all exchange kiſſes and em-

braces, and paſs the night in the conſummation of conjugal joys. Yet I frame no fiction, to excite wonder, but only relate what from the living or written teſtimony of our fathers I have learned.

HORROR ſeized the Prince's family, eſpecially thoſe who had the chief ſway, who dreaded a Revolution; and, uttering no longer their indignation in ſecret, they ſtormed aloud, "That while the Emperor's bed-chamber was "polluted by a player, high reproach was "in truth incurred, but diſſolution no wiſe "threatened the State. At preſent a young "man of the prime Nobility, in the beauty "of his perſon ſurpaſſing all men, of a ſpirit "vigorous and capable, and juſt entering upon "the Conſulſhip, was purſuing views much "higher; nor was it any riddle, what ſuch a "marriage tended to produce." It is true, when they recollected the ſtupidity of CLAUDIUS, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many lives ſacrificed to her fury, their own apprehenſions diſmayed them. But again, even the paſſive ſpirit of the Emperor revived their confidence, that, if they could firſt poſſeſs him with the horrid blackneſs of her crimes, ſhe might be diſpatched without trial; or, if ſhe obtained to be heard, and even confeſſed her guilt, they might yet ſtop his ears, and fruſtrate her defence.

BUT firſt it was in agitation, whether ſtill to diſſemble her paſt enormities, and by ſecret menaces deter her from her league with SILIUS.

This

This was a project proposed by the principal freedmen, by CALLISTUS, whom in relating the assassination of CALIGULA, I have already mentioned, by NARCISSUS, who plotted the sacrifice of APPIUS, and by PALLAS, then the reigning favourite; but a project afterwards dropped, as from alarming MESSALINA they apprehended their own doom. PALLAS was faint-hearted, and CALLISTUS, a courtier in the last reign also, had experienced, that power was supported more securely by wary measures, than by daring counsels. NARCISSUS persisted in his purpose, with this difference only, that she should be by no words of his pre-acquainted with the accusation or the accuser. Thus, watching all occasions, while the Emperor lingered at Ostia, he prevailed, by gifts and promises, with two courtezans, to undertake the accusation; since, as they were the chief mistresses of CLAUDIUS, the freedman urged to them, "That by the fall of his wife, their "own authority would become predomi-"nant."

CALPURNIA therefore, (for that was her name) upon the first offer of privacy, falling at the Emperor's feet, cried out, "That MES-"SALINA had married SILIUS," and at the same time asked CLEOPATRA, who purposely attended to attest it, "Whether she had not "found it to be true?" CLAUDIUS, upon a confirmation from CLEOPATRA, ordered NARCISSUS to be called. He, when he came, begged pardon, that he had concealed her adul-

teries with VECTIUS, and thoſe with PLAUTIUS; "nor meant he now, he ſaid, to urge "againſt her any of her adulteries, nor even "that the Emperor ſhould reclaim his palace, "his ſlaves, and the other decorations of his "Imperial fortune. Let her adulterer ſtill "enjoy even theſe; let him only break the "nuptial tables, and reſtore the Emperor his "wife. Knoweſt thou, CÆSAR, that thou art "in a ſtate of divorce? it is what all men "know, the people, and Senate, and ſoldiery, "and, if thou makeſt not diſpatch, her new "husband is Sovereign of Rome.

HE then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for TURRANIUS, Superintendant of the ſtores, next for LUSIUS GETA, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, and propoſed the queſtion to them. As they vouched it to be true, all the reſt contended in clamour and importunity, that he ſhould forthwith proceed to the Camp, ſecure the Prætorian Cohorts, and conſult his preſervation before his revenge. It is certain, that CLAUDIUS was confounded with ſuch a degree of dread, that he inceſſantly asked, "Whether he were yet Emperor? "Whether SILIUS was ſtill a private man?" As to MESSALINA, ſhe never wallowed in greater voluptuouſneſs; as it was then the middle of Autumn, in her houſe ſhe exhibited a repreſentation of the vintage. The wine-preſſes were plied, the wine-vats flowed, and round them danced women begirt with skins, practiſing the frantic agitations of the drunken

ſacri-

ſacrificers to Bacchus. She herſelf, with her hair looſe and flowing, held a Thyrſus and waved it, accompanied by SILIUS, who was crowned with ivy, his legs in buskins, and brandiſhing his head; and about him revelled, in wanton poſtures, the chanting choir of mock Prieſts. It is reported, that VECTIUS VALENS, having, in a frolic, vaulted to the top of an exceeding high tree, was asked, what he beheld, and anſwered, "a ſtorm from Oſtia." Whether he in truth ſaw a troubled sky, or ſpoke at random, it proved in effect a true preſage.

FOR, it was no longer a rumour only, but meſſengers were hourly arriving with tidings, "That CLAUDIUS was apprized of all, and "approached, bent upon vengeance." MESSALINA therefore betook herſelf to the Gardens of LUCULLUS; and SILIUS, to diſſemble his fear, reſumed the offices of the Forum. As all the reſt fled different ways, the Centurions caught and bound them, ſome abroad, ſome in private places, as faſt as they could diſcover them. MESSALINA, however bereft of reſources under ſuch weighty calamity, yet formed no daſtardly purpoſe, even that of meeting her husband, and moving him by her preſence, an expedient which had often proved her protection. She likewiſe ordered that BRITANNICUS and OCTAVIA ſhould go forth and embrace their father; and beſought VIBIDIA, the oldeſt Veſtal, to intercede with the chief Pontiff, and implore his mercy. She herſelf

herſelf the while wandered on foot all along the City, attended only by three perſons (ſo ſuddenly had her whole train forſaken her in diſgrace) and then, in a cart employed to carry dirt from the Gardens, took the road to Oſtia, but found no ſoul to pity her, as the deformity of her abominations had prevailed over all commiſeration.

THE Emperor was, notwithſtanding, poſſeſſed with no leſs affright; for, he could not intirely rely on the faith of GETA Captain of his guards, a man equally fickle to embark in deſigns honourable or baſe. NARCISSUS therefore in concert with thoſe who entertained the ſame fears and miſtruſt, aſſured the Emperor, "That "there was no other expedient to preſerve "him, than the transferring the command of "his guards upon one of his freedmen, for "that day only," and offered himſelf to undertake it. And, that LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and PUBLIUS LARGUS CÆCINA, might not, upon the road to Rome, prevail with CLAUDIUS to relent, he deſired leave to ſit in the ſame coach, and took it.

THERE was afterwards a prevailing report, that, though the Emperor was agitated different ways, and wavered in his talk, now taxing the abominations of his wife, then recalling the endearments of their marriage, and the tender age of their children, VITELLIUS uttered nothing but, "Oh heinous! oh the "iniquity!" NARCISSUS, in truth, laboured to drive him from his equivoques, and bring him

him to ſome expreſs declaration, but, with all his labour, gained nothing: VITELLIUS ſtill anſwered indirectly, in terms that would admit of any conſtruction, and his example was followed by LARGUS CÆCINA. Beſides, MESSALINA was already in ſight, and importunately cried, "that he would hear the mother of "OCTAVIA and BRITANNICUS?" To drown her cries, the accuſer ſtormed aloud againſt SILIUS, and her late marriage, and delivered at the ſame time to CLAUDIUS a memorial, reciting all her whoredoms, thence to divert him from beholding her. Soon after, as the Emperor was entering Rome, it was attempted to preſent him his children by her; but NARCISSUS ordered them to be taken thence; he could not, however, force away VIBIDIA, who inſiſted, with much earneſtneſs, "That CÆSAR "would not ſurrender his wife to deſtruction "without admitting her defence." So that NARCISSUS was obliged to aſſure her, that the Prince would hear MESSALINA, who ſhould have full opportunity of clearing herſelf, and adviſed the Veſtal to retire, and attend the ſolemnities of her Goddeſs.

WONDERFUL, during all this, was the ſilence of CLAUDIUS. VITELLIUS affected aſtoniſhment, and the freedman controuled all things. By his command, the houſe of the adulterer was opened, and the Emperor carried thither, where firſt he ſhewed him, in the porch, the Statue of SILIUS the father, though the ſame had been decreed to be demoliſhed by the Senate;

Senate; and, within, all the ſumptuous furniture belonging to the NEROS and DRUSI, now the price and monuments of his wife's proſtitution, and of his own diſgrace. Having thus inflamed him, and worked him up to threats and fury, he led him ſtreight to the camp, where the ſoldiers being already aſſembled, CLAUDIUS, prompted by NARCISSUS, made them a ſhort ſpeech; for the eruptions of his diſpleaſure, however juſt, were reſtrained by ſhame. Hence inſtantly began a general and importunate clamour for the names and doom of the criminals, and SILIUS was preſented before the Imperial Tribunal, where, neither offering any preſent defence, nor endeavouring to procraſtinate, he only beſought a diſpatch of his doom. The like paſſion for ſudden execution, alſo ſtimulated ſeveral illuſtrious Roman Knights. He therefore commanded TITIUS PROCULUS, given by SILIUS as a guard to MESSALINA, VECTIUS VALENS, who confeſſed his guilt, and offered to diſcover others, POMPEIUS URBICUS and SAUFELLUS TROGUS, as accomplices, to be all dragged to execution. On DECIUS CALPURNIANUS too, Præfect of the watch, SULPICIUS RUFUS, Comptroller of the Sports; and JUNCUS VIRGILIANUS, the Senator, the ſame pains were inflicted.

MNESTER only created ſome heſitation; he tore off his garments and cried, "That the "Emperor might behold upon his body the "impreſſions of the laſh; might remember "his

" his own commands, obliging him to gratify " MESSALINA without reſerve. Others had " been tempted to the iniquity by great pre- " ſents or mighty hopes; but his offence was " only owing to compulſion, nor would " any man have ſooner periſhed had SILIUS " gained the Sovereignty." Theſe conſiderations affected CLAUDIUS, and greatly biaſſed him to mercy; but his freedmen over-ruled him; " for that after ſo many illuſtrious ſacri- " fices, he would by no means think of ſave- " ing a Player, whoſe crime was of that enor- " mity, that it availed not whether through " choice or force he had committed it." As ſmall effect had the defence of TRAULUS MONTANUS. This was a youth of ſignal modeſty and lovelineſs, called by the expreſs order of MESSALINA to her bed, and, after one night, caſt off; with ſuch equal wantonneſs was her paſſion ſurfeited and inflamed! To SUILIUS CESONINUS, and PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, their lives were granted, to the laſt on account of the noble exploits of his uncle; the other was protected by his vileneſs, as one who, in the late abominable revel, had proſtituted himſelf like a woman.

MESSALINA was the while in the Gardens of LUCULLUS, ſtill ſtriving to prolong life, and therefore compoſing ſupplications to the Prince, in a ſtrain of ſome hopes, and even with ſallies of reſentment and wrath. Such were the ſwellings of her pride, though encompaſſed with the horrors of her approaching fate. In truth,

truth, had not NARCISSUS haſtened her aſſaſſination, the doom which he had prepared for her, would have rebounded upon his own head. For CLAUDIUS, upon his return home, having well feaſted upon the rarities of the ſeaſon, and becoming jovial, as ſoon as he became warm with wine, ordered them "to go and "acquaint the miſerable woman," (for this was the appellation which he is ſaid to have uſed) "that to morrow ſhe ſhould attend and "plead her cauſe." When theſe words were reported, as his reſentment alſo viſibly abated, and his wonted affections were returning; beſides, ſince the impreſſions of the following night, and of the conjugal chamber, were apprehended as the certain effects of delay, NARCISSUS ran haſtily forth, and directed the Tribune and Centurions then attending upon duty, "to diſpatch the execution, for ſuch was the "Emperor's command." With them he ſent EVODUS of the freedmen, as a watch upon them, to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfilled. EVODUS flew in a moment to the Gardens, and found her lying along upon the earth. By her ſat her mother LEPIDA, who, during her proſperity, had lived in no degree of unanimity with her, but, in this her deadly diſtreſs, was overcome by compaſſion for her, and now perſuaded her, "to anticipate the executioner; "the courſe of her life was now finally run, "and ſhe was now confined to one only pur- "ſuit, of dying with renown." But her ſoul, utterly corrupted by debauchery, retained no reliſh

reliſh of glory. She continued bewailing herſelf with tears and vain complaints, till the ſoldiers forced the doors. The Tribune ſtood before her, without opening his mouth, but the freedman abuſed her unmeaſurably, with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave.

She was then firſt convinced of the fate that hung over her, and, laying hold on the ſteel, aimed firſt at her throat, then at her breaſt, but while an irreſolute ſpirit and a quaking hand fruſtrated her aim, the Tribune ran her through. Her corps was granted to her mother. Claudius was yet purſuing his good cheer, when tidings were carried to him, "That Messa-"lina had ſuffered her deſtiny," but without the addition of particulars, whether by her own, or another hand; neither did he enquire; he even called for a bowl of wine, and proceeded in the uſual gayeties of banquetting. Nor did he, in truth, during the following days, manifeſt any ſymptom of deteſtation or joy, of reſentment or ſadneſs, nor, in ſhort, of any human affection; unmoved by beholding the accuſers of his wife exulting over her death, untouched by the ſight of his children bewailing the doom of their mother. The Senate helped him to forget her, by decreeing, "That "from all public and private places her Name "ſhould be razed, and her Pictures and Sta-"tues removed." To Narcissus were decreed the decorations of the Quæſtorſhip. This, however, was but a ſmall monument of his grandeur.

grandeur, ſeeing he had now exerted an inſtance of power ſuperior to that of PALLAS and CALLISTUS, an inſtance juſt in effect, but from whence, in time, aroſe moſt pernicious conſequences, as the deſerved puniſhment of MESSALINA proved the ſource of flagrant iniquities which eſcaped unpuniſhed.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

The SUMMARY.

Conteſts amongſt the freedmen about the choice of a wife for the Emperor. AGRIPPINA, *his own niece, is preferred, and the marriage decreed lawful by the Senate.* L. SILANUS *kills himſelf, and why.* SENECA *recalled from baniſhment.* OCTAVIA, *the daughter of* CLAUDIUS, *betrothed to* NERO, *his wife's ſon. Deputies from Parthia apply to Rome for* MEHERDATES *to be their King. He is vanquiſhed in battle by* GOTARZES. MITHRIDATES *tries to gain the Kingdom of Pontus, without ſucceſs. He is carried in chains to Rome.* LOLLIA, *a Lady of prime quality, condemned by the artifices of* AGRIPPINA. CLAUDIUS *enlarges the circuit of Rome: Who they were that did ſo before him.* NERO *is adopted by* CLAUDIUS *for his Son. A colony ſettled amongſt the Ubians. The Cattians commit great ravages and depredations, but are routed.* VANNIUS *King of the Suevians driven from his Kingdom.* PUB. OSTORIUS *his exploits in Britain: A victory gained over King* CARACTACUS *there.* BRITANNICUS *the Emperor's Son, by the arts of* AGRIPPINA, *ſlighted and poſtponed to* NERO. *All his moſt faithful*

domeſtics removed from him. Prodigies. Dearth of grain at Rome. War between the Armenians and Iberians: The Romans and Parthians take different parts in it. FURIUS SCRIBONIANUS *doomed to exile. Puniſhment decreed againſt Ladies marrying their ſlaves. Commotions in Judæa.* CLAUDIUS *cauſes a naval battle to be repreſented upon the lake Fucinus. With what power unlimited he inveſted his Comptrollers in the Provinces. An utter exemption from taxes granted to the Iſle of Coos; alſo to the City of Byzantium, a remiſſion of tribute for five years.* LEPIDA, *a lady of high rank, doomed to die.* CLAUDIUS *poiſoned by procurement of his wife* AGRIPPINA. NERO *her Son aſſumes the ſovereignty.*

UPON the execution of MESSALINA, diſtractions ſhook the Prince's family, as amongſt the freedmen a ſtrife aroſe, which of them ſhould chuſe a wife for CLAUDIUS, one impatient of a ſingle life, and always abandoned to the dominion of his wives. Nor were the Ladies animated by leſs emulation, whilſt they endeavoured preferably to recommend their own quality, wealth, and beauty, and each boaſted her juſt claim to imperial wedlock. The chief competition, however, lay between LOLLIA PAULLINA, daughter to MARCUS LOLLIUS a Conſular, and JULIA AGRIPPINA the daughter of GERMANICUS, the latter ſupported by the intereſt of PALLAS, the other by that of CALLISTUS. But, ÆLIA PETINA, of the Tuberonian family, had the countenance of NARCISSUS. For CLAUDIUS; as he was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his laſt adviſer, he called together theſe his jarring counſellors, and

and ordered them to produce their ſeveral propoſals, and defend them.

NARCISSUS alledged "his former marriage "with PETINA, and their common daughter (for by her he had ANTONIA) "that ſuch a "wife would never exerciſe the envious ſpirit "of a ſtep-mother towards BRITANNICUS and "OCTAVIA, in blood ſo nearly allied to her "own children." CALLISTUS argued, "that, "to recall her, after ſo long a diſlike and di"vorce, would be the very means to heighten "her indignation and pride. LOLLIA would "be a much more eligible match, who have"ing no iſſue of her own, was void of every "motive of emulation to his, but would uſe "theſe her ſtep-children with the tenderneſs "of a real mother." PALLAS chiefly recommended AGRIPPINA from theſe conſiderations, "That, with her ſhe would bring the grand"ſon of GERMANICUS, and was herſelf worthy "of imperial fortune, noble in her deſcent, "and a proper band to unite together to poſte"rity the Claudian family; that ſhe was of "tried fruitfulneſs, and in the prime of her "age; ſo that by this match, would be pre"vented her carrying into another houſe the "blood and ſplendor of the CÆSARS."

THE reaſonings of PALLAS prevailed, enforced, as they were, by the allurements and careſſes of AGRIPPINA, who, under ſhew of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle, and, though hitherto ſhe was only preferred to others, and not yet his wife; ſhe

already exerciſed the power of one. For, as ſoon as ſhe had ſecured her own marriage, ſhe was framing higher purpoſes, and concerting a match between DOMITIUS, her ſon by CNEIUS ÆNOBARBUS, and OCTAVIA, the Emperor's daughter, a deſign which without iniquity could not be accompliſhed, becauſe the Emperor had betrothed OCTAVIA to LUCIUS SILANUS, a youth of ſignal quality, whom CLAUDIUS had diſtinguiſhed with the triumphal ornaments, and, by the popular magnificence of an entertainment of gladiators in his name, recommended to the notice and favour of the people. But nothing appeared inſurmountable to the undiſcerning ſpirit of a Prince, who had no judgment, nor choice, nor averſion, but ſuch as were infuſed and managed by others.

VITELLIUS therefore, who foreſaw into whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtening, to purchaſe the favour of AGRIPPINA, became engaged in her counſels, and, under the plauſible name of Cenſor covering his own ſervile falſities, began to deviſe crimes againſt SILANUS, whoſe ſiſter JUNIA SILANA, a young lady gay and beautiful, had not long before been the daughter-in-law of VITELLIUS. Hence he took the ſource of the accuſation, and wreſted to a charge of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter, an affection no wiſe inceſtuous, however too free and unguarded. The Emperor liſtened to the charge, as his fondneſs for his daughter rendered him the more

more prone to entertain ſuſpicions againſt his ſon-in-law. SILANUS, unapprized of any machinations againſt him, and happening to be Prætor that year, was all on a ſudden, by an edict of VITELLIUS, degraded from the rank of a Senator, notwithſtanding that the Senate was reviewed, and the number fixed a good while before. CLAUDIUS, at the ſame time, withdrew his alliance, and SILANUS was even compelled to renounce his magiſtracy; inſomuch that his Prætorſhip, which of courſe expired next day, was for that day conferred upon EPRIUS MARCELLUS.

DURING the conſulſhip of CAIUS POMPEIUS and QUINTUS VERANIUS, the contract of marriage between CLAUDIUS and AGRIPPINA, was already aſcertained by the public voice, and indeed by their own criminal commerce. They durſt not however celebrate the nuptials, as there was no inſtance of an uncle's taking to wife his brother's daughter. Beſides, it was evidently inceſtuous, and if that conſideration were deſpiſed, it was apprehended that ſome avenging calamity might fall upon the ſtate. Theſe fears and delays continued, till VITELLIUS undertook to accompliſh it, by his own dexterity. He asked the Emperor, "whether he would ſubmit to the "expreſs pleaſure of the people, and to the "authority of the Senate?" CLAUDIUS anſwered, "that he himſelf was one of the "people, and could not withſtand the voice "and conſent of them all." VITELLIUS

then desired him to continue within the palace, and went himself to the Senate, where, after a solemn declaration, that he had somewhat to communicate of the highest importance to the commonwealth, he demanded leave to be heard before any other; then alledged, "that "the exquisite and incessant labours of the "Prince, even those of governing the world, "called for alleviation and support, such as, "relieving him from domestic cares, might "leave him at full leisure to attend the interest "of the whole. What, in truth, was a more "worthy consolation to the spirit of a Censor, "than that of a wife, a sharer in his crosses "and prosperity, one in whom he could re-"pose his most secret thoughts, and the care "of his tender infants? For, as to the ways "of sensuality and voluptuous pleasures, he "had never followed them, but from his early "youth practised strict obedience to the laws."

AFTER this plausible introduction, which he found received by the Senate with mighty sycophancy and applause, he again proceeded; "that seeing they all with one mouth per-"suaded the Prince to marry, a Lady must be "chosen signal in her descent, of distinguished "fruitfulness, and religiously virtuous; nor "for these qualifications needed there be long "search, since AGRIPPINA, in the illustrious-"ness of her race, excelled all others, had "given proofs of her fruitfulness, and was "endowed with suitable purity of manners. "It was indeed a happy circumstance, that

"through

" through the providence of the Gods, ſhe " proved then a widow, that the Prince might " take her to his bed, without violating that " of another, he who had ever confined him- " ſelf to his own wives. They had heard " from their fathers, nay, themſelves had ſeen, " that Ladies were raviſhed from their huſ- " bands, at the luſt and command of the CÆ- " SARS; a proceeding far from the moderate " ſpirit of the preſent government, when the " Emperor even eſtabliſhed a precedent by " what authority Princes ought hereafter to " marry. But, amongſt us it ſeemed an inno- " vation to marry our brother's daughters, " which yet is a uſage frequent in other na- " tions, nor by any law forbidden to ours. " The intermarriage of couſin-germans was a " practice long unknown, yet in time waxed " frequent. Cuſtoms were to be ſuited to " exigencies, and this very novelty was one of " thoſe things which would ſoon be followed " and practiſed."

THERE were ſeveral Senators who declared with contending zeal, " that if the Emperor " lingered longer, they would compel him," and ruſhed warmly out of the Senate. The mixed multitude were likewiſe aſſembled, and proclaimed with ſhouts, " that the ſame was " the voice and demand of the Roman peo- " ple." Nor did CLAUDIUS delay any further, but proceeded to the Forum, there to receive in perſon their acclamations, and thence entering the Senate, required " a decree to le-

" gitimate for ever the marriages between " uncles and their brothers daughters." But, notwithſtanding the law, no man was found addicted to this kind of alliance, except TITUS ALLEDIUS SEVERUS, a Roman Knight, and he only, as many believed, in court to AGRIPPINA. From this moment, the city aſſumed a different face, and all men tamely obeyed a woman, one who did not, like MESSALINA, render the Roman State ſubſervient only to her wantonneſs and amours, but over it eſtabliſhed a complete and maſculine bondage. Her carriage in public was ſevere, often haughty; at home ſhe indulged no impurity, unleſs where the ſame ſerved the purpoſes of her ſway; and for a guiſe to her inſatiate paſſion for money, ſhe pretended the ſupport of the ſovereignty.

ON the day of the nuptials, SILANUS ſlew himſelf; whether he had thus long entertained hopes of life, or invidiouſly choſe that day to accumulate public hate upon his perſecutors. His ſiſter CALVINA was baniſhed Italy, and to her ſentence CLAUDIUS added an injunction to the Pontifs, " that, according to the inſti- " tution of King TULLUS, they ſhould offer " expiatory ſacrifices at the grove of DIANA;" a ſource of mockery to all men, that penalties and luſtrations for inceſt ſhould be deviſed at ſuch a conjuncture, when inceſt was eſtabliſhed by law. For AGRIPPINA; that ſhe might not be diſtinguiſhed and notorious only for the blackneſs of her deed, ſhe obtained for ANNÆUS SENECA

SENECA a revocation from exile, and with it the Prætorſhip, favours which ſhe ſuppoſed would prove well pleaſing to the public, on account of his ſignal eloquence and accompliſhments; beſides her views to the education of her ſon DOMITIUS under ſuch a maſter, and to the uſe of his counſels for acquiring him the Empire. For SENECA, ſhe believed, would continue faithfully attached to her from ties of gratitude, and in ſecret enmity to CLAUDIUS, through reſentments of his ſufferings.

IT was now thought expedient to proceed without further delay, and MEMMIUS POLLIO, Conſul elect, was gained, by vaſt promiſes, to move the Senate, that CLAUDIUS might be beſought "to betroth OCTAVIA to DOMITIUS," a match not unſuitable, indeed, to the equality of their ages, but introductory to the higheſt views. POLLIO moved it much in the ſame words with thoſe lately uſed by VITELLIUS; OCTAVIA was betrothed, and DOMITIUS, beſides his former conſanguinity with the Emperor, becoming alſo his ſon-in-law, was raiſed to a parity with BRITANNICUS, an elevation derived from the efforts of his mother, and from the devices of thoſe who having been the accuſers of MESSALINA, dreaded the vengeance of her ſon.

I HAVE before related that Embaſſadors from the Parthians were ſent to Rome, to demand MEHERDATES for their King: they were at this time introduced into the Senate, where they opened their embaſſy to this effect; "That "they

" they came not to ſeek the violation of trea-
" ties, which they were aware ſubſiſted between
" us and them; nor as revolters from the fa-
" mily of the Arſacides, but to call home the
" ſon of VONONES, the grandſon of PHRA-
" HATES, as their deliverer from the tyranny
" of GOTARZES, equally inſupportable to the
" nobility and people. Already he had utterly
" butchered his own brothers, and his rela-
" tions, and already extended the ſame cruelty
" to diſtant nobles and places; to their ſlaughter
" he was daily adding that of their wives and
" tender children, ſome of them yet unborn.
" He was a ſluggard in peace, and of wretched
" fortune in war, but would with acts of
" cruelty diſguiſe his daſtardly ſpirit. With
" us the Parthians had an ancient friendſhip,
" founded upon public leagues; and it behoved
" us to ſuccour theſe our allies, in ſtrength
" great as ourſelves, and only in reverence
" yielding to us. It was true, the ſons of
" their Kings were given as pledges to the
" Romans; but therefore only given, that when
" the government of Parthia became grievous,
" they might have recourſe to the Emperor
" and Senate, for a King improved by the
" Roman manners, and thence worthier of
" the throne."

WHEN they had alledged theſe and the like arguments, CLAUDIUS made a ſpeech concerning the grandeur of the Romans, and the deferences ever paid to the ſame by the Parthians; and equalling himſelf with the deified

AUGUS-

AUGUSTUS, repreſented that from him alſo they had ſought a King. He omitted to mention TIBERIUS, though he too had ſent them Kings. Upon MEHERDATES (who was preſent) he beſtowed proper admonitions, "not "to conſider his government as a lawleſs do- "mination, nor his people as ſlaves, but to "remember himſelf and them in the tender "relation of magiſtrate and fellow citizens; "to cultivate juſtice and clemency, bleſſings "unknown to Barbarians, and thence the more "likely to pleaſe them." Then turning to the embaſſadors, he enlarged upon the praiſes of the young Prince, "as one educated in the "Roman diſcipline, himſelf of diſtinguiſhed "modeſty," yet adviſed them, "to bear with "the humours of their Kings, for in frequent "changes, they could never find their intereſt. "For the Roman State, it was arrived to a "ſatiety of glory, inſomuch that ſhe ſtudied "the repoſe likewiſe of foreign Nations." It was therefore given in commiſſion to CAIUS CASSIUS, governor of Syria, to conduct the young King to the banks of the Euphrates.

THIS CASSIUS ſurpaſſed all thoſe of that time in the knowledge of the laws; for, in a long and general receſs from war, the military arts were forgot, and, during a ſettled peace, no difference appears between the daſtardly and the brave. Yet he ſedulouſly exerciſed the legions, carefully revived the ancient diſcipline, as far as without war the ſame could be revived, and acted with the ſame care and circumſpection,

cumſpection, as if a formidable enemy had been at hand. Such conduct, he thought, became the renown of his anceſtors and the Caſſian family, a family celebrated even amongſt thoſe nations. He now encamped at Zeugma, a place where the river is moſt paſſable, and having called together thoſe by whoſe advice a King was ſought from Rome, as ſoon as the Parthian chiefs, and with them AGBARUS King of the Arabs, were arrived, he repreſented to MEHERDATES, "that the Barbarians, in the "firſt ſallies of their ſpirit, were always violent, "but cooled by delays, or warped into trea-"chery; ſo that, it behoved him to accelerate "the execution of his enterpriſe." This good counſel was fruſtrated by the fraud of AGBARUS, who detained the young King many days at the city of Edeſſa, yet unexperienced, and believing that the eſſence of Royal fortune was placed in luxury and riot. So that, though CARRHENES preſſed them by meſſengers, and aſſured them, that ſucceſs was certain, if they advanced with ſpeed, yet they neglected entering directly into Meſopotamia, though they were juſt upon its borders, but choſe, by a long circuit, to march to Armenia, an unſeaſonable march, for winter was already begun.

As they deſcended into the plains, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains, CARRHENES joined them with his forces. Thence they paſſed the Tigris, and croſſed the country of the Adiabenians, IZATES their King having publicly eſpouſed the intereſt of MEHERDATES,

HERDATES, though ſecretly his inclinations were more ſincerely attached to GOTARZES. In paſſing the river, they took the city Ninos, the ancient ſeat of the Aſſyrian Empire, as alſo the caſtle of Arbela, ſo renowned in ſtory, for that the laſt battle between DARIUS and ALEXANDER was there fought, and by it the Monarchy of Perſia diſſolved. GOTARZES the while was ſacrificing upon mount Sambulos to the Gods of the place Amongſt theſe HERCULES is principally adored, who, at ſtated times, is wont to warn the prieſts in a dream, "to prepare him horſes equipped for hunting, "and place them by the temple;" and theſe horſes, as ſoon as they have fixed upon them certain quivers ſtuffed with arrows, gallop off and ſcour the foreſts, nor return till night, their arrows all ſpent, and themſelves exhauſted and blowing. Again, the God, in another viſion of the night, deſcribes to the prieſts the ſeveral tracts of the woods where he had ranged, and in them are found ſcattered up and down, the beaſts by him hunted down and ſlain.

As the forces of GOTARZES were not yet ſufficiently ſtrengthened, he uſed the river Corma for a rampart, and though daily by inſults and heralds challenged to battel, he ſtill procraſtinated, ſhifted ſtations, and employed emiſſaries the while to bribe the enemy, and wean them from their plighted faith; inſomuch that firſt IZATES, leader of the Adiabenians, preſently after AGBARUS King of the Arabs, went

went off with both their armies; a deſertion agreeable to the native fickleneſs of thoſe barbarous people, and even to their uſual policy. We have learned too by ſeveral trials, that they would rather ask a King from Rome, than be governed by him. MEHERDATES, thus bereft of theſe powerful allies, and apprehending treaſonable purpoſes in thoſe who continued, determined, as his only remaining reſource, to commit the iſſue to chance, and riſque a battle; nor did GOTARZES refuſe it, who was grown reſolute as his enemy was become weak. The conflict was great and bloody, and the event long in ſuſpence, till CARRHENES, having overthrown all that oppoſed him, purſuing his victory too far, was ſurrounded in the rear by a body of reſerve. This blow utterly blaſted all the hopes of MEHERDATES, who therefore truſting to the faith and promiſes of PARRHACES, a dependant of his father's, was by the traitor delivered in bonds to the conqueror. GOTARZES diſowning him "for a kinſman, or one of the family of the "Arſacides," but reviling him, as "a foreigner "and a Roman," ordered him to live with his ears cut off, as a vain inſtance of his own clemency, and towards us a monument of ſcorn. A diſeaſe ſoon after carried off GOTARZES; and VONONES, then governor of Media, was called to the throne, a Prince diſtinguiſhed by nothing memorable, fortunate or diſaſtrous; his reign was ſhort and inconſiderable,

ſiderable, and the ſtate of Parthia devolved upon his ſon VOLOGESES.

DURING this, MITHRIDATES of Boſphorus, ſince the loſs of his territories, wandered from place to place; but, having learnt that DIDIUS, the Roman commander, was thence withdrawn with the ſtrength of his army, and that COTYS, a young Prince void of experience, was left in his new kingdom with only a few cohorts under JULIUS AQUILA, a Roman Knight; he ſlighted both, animated the neighbouring people to arms, drew over deſerters, and having thus aſſembled an army, exterminated the King of the Dandarides, and ſeized his dominions. Upon theſe tidings, and an apprehenſion, that he would inſtantly invade Boſphorus, AQUILA and COTYS diſtruſting the power of their own forces, and being diverted too by ZORSINES King of the Siracians, who had again taken up hoſtile arms, had recourſe themſelves to foreign aid, and diſpatched embaſſadors to EUNONES Prince of the Adorſians. Nor was it hard to accompliſh this alliance, when they who ſought it, repreſented the imperial power of the Romans, in competition with MITHRIDATES a vagabond and revolter. It was therefore accorded, "that EUNONES ſhould make head "with the cavalry, and the Romans beſiege "the towns."

THE army was then formed, and marched in this order; the Adorſians compoſed the front and rear, the cohorts occupied the center, with thoſe of Boſphorus, armed like Romans.

Thus

Thus they diſcomfited the enemy, and arrived at Soza, a city of the Dandarides, now deſerted by MITHRIDATES, but in it a garriſon was judged proper to be placed, as a bridle upon the doubtful affections of the people. Thence they proceeded againſt the Siracians, and croſſing the river Panda begirt the city of Uſpes, ſituated upon a hill and well fortified with walls and moats, only as the walls were not built with ſtone, but raiſed of rows of hurdles with earth between, they were unable to bear an aſſault; moreover, againſt them towers were raiſed high enough to overlook them, and from thence the beſieged were infeſted with flights of darts and flaming torches, and, had not night parted the combat, the city had been attempted and ſtormed within the limits of a day.

NEXT day the beſieged ſent deputies to ſollicit, that to the free inhabitants their lives might be ſpared, and offering, as an atonement, ten thouſand ſlaves: conditions rejected by the conquerors, ſince the maſſacring of ſuch as were ſurrendered to mercy would have been inhuman; and to ſecure ſuch an hoſt of priſoners, extremely difficult. It was therefore deemed the ſounder counſel to exerciſe the right of war, and put all promiſcuouſly to the ſword; hence to the ſoldiers, who already mounted the walls, the ſignal of ſlaughter was given. The overthrow of Uſpes, and the doom of its inhabitants, terrified their neighbours, who now believed that nothing could be

be ſecure or impregnable againſt the Romans, ſince arms and bulwarks, heights and faſtneſſes, deep rivers and fortified towns, were with equal bravery vanquiſhed by them. Hence ZORSINES, after long deliberation, whether ſtill to adhere to the deſperate fortune of MITHRIDATES, or conſult the ſecurity of his own paternal crown, at laſt preferred the intereſt of his ſtate, and having delivered hoſtages, came and proſtrated himſelf before the image of CLAUDIUS, to the ſignal glory of the Roman army, who had advanced, in a courſe of victory without blood, within three days journey of the river Tanais. In their return, the ſame fortune did not attend them; for, certain veſſels, as they ſailed back, were caſt by a ſtorm upon the coaſts of the Taurians, and by theſe barbarians ſurprized, who ſlew the leader of a cohort and moſt of the centurions.

MITHRIDATES the while, now deſtitute of all reſource from arms, was deviſing to what quarter he ſhould have recourſe for mercy. His brother COTYS he dreaded, as one who had formerly betrayed him, and became afterwards his open enemy. Amongſt the Romans in thoſe parts there was none whoſe authority and engagements could much avail him. To EUNONES therefore he determined to apply, as one who bore him no perſonal hatred, and, by virtue of his late alliance with us, a Prince of prevailing credit. Thus, in a countenance and equipage ſuitable to his preſent deſolate plight, he entered the palace, and

throwing himſelf at the feet of EUNONES, "I am MITHRIDATES, ſays he, the ſame who "have been chaſed and perſecuted by the "Romans for ſo many years through ſea and "land; behold me before you, of my own "choice. Uſe according to your pleaſure a "deſcendant of the great ACHÆMENES; it is "the only advantage of which my enemies "have not bereaved me."

EUNONES was affected with the illuſtrious quality of the man, with the ſad recollection of his fortune, and his magnanimous manner of ſupplication. He raiſed him up, and praiſing him for having thrown himſelf upon the friendſhip of the Adorſians, and choſen him as a mediator for pardon, diſpatched embaſſadors to CLAUDIUS with letters to this purpoſe. "The alliances of the Roman Emperors with "the Kings of other mighty nations, were firſt "founded upon a ſimilitude of their fortunes; "his own with CLAUDIUS was alſo confirmed "by a joint victory. But, all wars were then "concluded with moſt glory, when they ended "in pardoning the vanquiſhed. In this man-"ner was ZORSINES lately treated, beaten, but "deprived of nothing. MITHRIDATES, it was "true, had offended more grievouſly: Hence "for MITHRIDATES he neither beſought new "power or his former kingdom, but only an "exemption from capital puniſhment, and "from the ignominy of being led in triumph."

CLAUDIUS, though always benevolent to illuſtrious foreigners, was yet at a loſs whether it

it were more adviſeable to receive the captive on terms of mercy, or to have him by force of arms. For this laſt there pleaded the ſenſe of injuries, and the gratification of revenge. But againſt it was alledged, "That the war "was to be undertaken in countries wild and "trackleſs, upon a ſea boiſterous and deſtitute "of havens, againſt fierce and warlike Kings, "againſt rambling and vagabond nations; "where the ſoil was indigent and barren, "where haſty meaſures would be dangerous, "procraſtination vexatious and weariſom; ſmall "would be the glory in victory, much infamy "in a defeat. The Emperor ought therefore "readily to embrace the overture, and agree "to ſpare his life; he was indigent, and an "exile, and the longer he enjoyed his deſo-"late life, ſo much the ſeverer would be his "ſufferings." Theſe conſiderations convinced CLAUDIUS, and he writ to EUNONES, "That, "in truth, MITHRIDATES had merited the "puniſhment of death, nor wanted he power "to inflict it; but he choſe to follow the rule "of our anceſtors, who, as they purſued obſti-"nate enemies with unrelenting rigour, treated "the ſupplicant with equal benevolence. As "to triumphs, they were only to be acquired "by the conqueſt of entire kingdoms and "nations."

MITHRIDATES was thence delivered to JUNIUS CILO, the Imperial Procurator in Pontus, and by him carried to Rome, where, in the preſence of the Emperor, he is ſaid to have

ſpoke with more haughtineſs than ſuited with the abjectneſs of his fortune; for, as the ſame was reported abroad, he thus expreſſed himſelf. "I am not brought back to thee, CÆSAR, "but of my own choice have returned; or, "if thou doſt not believe me, diſmiſs me "again, then try to recover me." Moreover, when he was expoſed at the Roſtrum, to the view of the people, and encompaſſed with guards, his countenance continued perfectly undaunted. To CILO were decreed the Conſular ornaments, and to AQUILA thoſe of the Prætorſhip.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, AGRIPPINA, ever implacable in her hate, and enraged at LOLLIA, for having diſputed with her a right to the Emperor's bed, framed crimes againſt her, and ſuborned an accuſer, who charged her, "with dealings with the Magicians and "Chaldæans, and even conſulting the Oracle "of the Clarian Apollo, concerning that "match." CLAUDIUS, without hearing her in her own defence, after a long preface to the Senate, concerning the ſignal ſplendor of her birth, "that by her mother ſhe was niece "to LUCIUS VOLUSIUS, COTTA MESSALI-"NUS her great uncle, herſelf formerly mar-"ried to MEMMIUS REGULUS," (for of her marriage with CALIGULA he purpoſely ſaid nothing) added, "that ſhe purſued pernicious "devices againſt the Commonwealth, and "muſt be diveſted of the means, and oppor-"tunities of iniquity and treaſon, her eſtate

"be

"be confiſcated, and herſelf baniſhed Italy." Thus, of all her immenſe wealth, only thirty thouſand pounds were allotted her. CALPURNIA too, another illuſtrious Lady, was doomed to ruin, becauſe the Prince had praiſed her beauty, though from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in occaſional diſcourſe; a conſideration, which ſo much abated the fury of AGRIPPINA, that her puniſhment was on this ſide death. To LOLLIA, a Tribune was diſpatched, with orders, to compel her to die. CADIUS RUFUS was likewiſe condemned for extortion, at the ſuit of the Bithynians.

To the province of Narbon Gaul it was now granted, in regard of the diſtinguiſhed reverence ever by them paid to the Senate, that to Senators of that province ſhould be allowed the ſame privilege with thoſe of Sicily, of viſiting their eſtates there, without leave asked of the Prince; and the countries of Ituria and Judæa, were, upon the death of their Kings SOHEMUS and AGRIPPA, annexed to the government of Syria. The augury too of divine protection, which for five and twenty years had been diſuſed, was judged fit to be revived, and thereafter regularly obſerved; and the Emperor widened the circumference of Rome, by virtue of an ancient inſtitution, which empowered ſuch as had extended the limits of the empire, to enlarge alſo the bounds of the city; a right which yet was never aſſumed by any of the Roman captains, though they had

ſubdued mighty nations, before SYLLA the Dictator, and the deified AUGUSTUS.

WHAT was the ambition and practice of our Kings in this matter, or from what inſtances of renown, the diverſity of tradition has rendered utterly uncertain. But I cannot think it impertinent to ſhew where the firſt foundations began, and what was the circuit fixt by ROMULUS. Now, from the Ox-market, where ſtill is ſeen the brazen ſtatue of a bull, becauſe by that animal the plough is drawn, a furrow was cut to deſcribe the boundaries of the town, and extended ſo as to include the great Altar of HERCULES. From thence certain ſpaces were left marked at proper diſtances, with ſtones, and the line continued along the foot of Mount Palatine to the Altar of CONSUS, next to the *Curiæ veteres*, thence to the ſmall Temple of the Lares, and laſtly to the great Roman Forum, which, as well as the Capitol, it is believed, was added to the city, not by ROMULUS, but by TATIUS. With the increaſe of her empire the City afterwards continued to increaſe; and what were the boundaries now eſtabliſhed by CLAUDIUS, is eaſily learnt, as they are inſerted in the public records.

IN the Conſulſhip of CAIUS ANTISTIUS and MARCUS SUILIUS, the adoption of DOMITIUS was diſpatched by the prevalent counſel of PALLAS, who, as he had procured the match for AGRIPPINA, and afterwards became engaged

gaged to her in a league of adultery, and thence wholly addicted to her intereſt, continually ſollicited CLAUDIUS, "to provide for "the exigency of the Commonwealth, and "ſupport the infancy of BRITANNICUS with "a collateral ſtay. Such had been the policy "of the deified AUGUSTUS, who, though, for "the ſupport of his houſe, he had grand-"children of his own, yet had diſtinguiſhed "with power the ſons of his wife. Thus too "TIBERIUS, notwithſtanding he had iſſue of "his own, adopted GERMANICUS; and thus "he alſo ſhould fortify himſelf with the aid "of a young Prince, fit to bear in time a part "of his public cares." To theſe conſiderations CLAUDIUS yielded, and adopted DOMITIUS for his eldeſt ſon, though only three years older than his ſon, declaring the adoption to the Senate in a ſpeech of the very ſame ſtrain with that of his freedman to him. It was noted by men of obſervation, that never was any adoption made before this into the Patrician family of the CLAUDII, which from ATTUS CLAUSUS their firſt anceſtor, had ever ſubſiſted upon its own ſucceſſive ſtock.

THE thanks of the Senate were preſented to the Prince, but conceived in ſtrains of flattery ſtill more exquiſite towards DOMITIUS; and a law paſſed decreeing his aſſumption into the Claudian family, and to him the name of NERO. AGRIPPINA was alſo dignified with the title of AUGUSTA. When theſe meaſures were thus accompliſhed, no mortal was found ſo void of

compaſſion, as not to be affected with the ſorrowful lot of BRITANNICUS. By little and little he was even bereft of the attendance of his ſlaves, through the hollow officiouſneſs of his ſtep-mother, who would keep him unſeaſonably in a nurſery; a treatment of great deriſion, which himſelf perceived, as he was capable of diſcerning deceit. For, he is ſaid to have wanted no quickneſs of underſtanding: whether the ſame were his real character, or whether his ſad fortune was the only ſource of his praiſe, without living to give further proof, he ſtill retained it.

NOW AGRIPPINA, that ſhe might even to diſtant nations, our allies, ſignalize her power at Rome, procured a Colony of Veterans to be ſent to the capital of the Ubians; a town in which ſhe was born, and which ſhe called by her own name. It had alſo been the lot of her grandfather AGRIPPA, when that people came over the Rhine, to receive them under the protection of the Romans. At that ſame time, terror filled the higher Germany, from the approach of the Cattians, exerciſing as they went rapine and depredations. Hence LUCIUS POMPONIUS, the Roman General, ordered the auxiliary Vangiones and Nemetæans, ſtrengthened with ſome wings of horſe, "to advance "againſt thoſe bands of robbers, or, if they "found them ſtraggling, to pour in upon them "and beſet them by ſurprize." The vigour of the ſoldiers was anſwerable to the ſcheme of the commander; ſeparating themſelves into

to two bands, that which marched to the left, encloſed them juſt returned from the ſpoil, under the effects of a debauch, and ſunk in ſleep. To compleat their joy, they now releaſed from bondage ſome who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of VARUS and the Legions, forty years before. The body that turned to the right, had made a ſhorter march, and as the enemy ventured to fight, a greater ſlaughter. So that, laden with booty, and covered with glory, they returned to mount Taunus, where POMPONIUS waited with his Legions, prepared for battle, if the Cattians, from a paſſion for revenge, had miniſtered occaſion. But, as they dreaded being aſſaulted on every ſide, here, by the Romans, there, by the Cheruſcans, with whom they have inceſſant enmity, they diſpatched deputies and hoſtages to Rome. To POMPONIUS was decreed the honour of triumph, from which, however, he derives but a ſlender ſhare of his ſurviving fame, ſince to poſterity he is peculiarly known in the ſurpaſſing excellence of his Poems.

IT was at this time too that VANNIUS, formerly created King of the Suevians by DRUSUS CÆSAR, was driven from his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he lived in ſignal reputation, and in popularity with his people, but, intoxicated with long poſſeſſion of power, grew afterwards imperious; ſo that he became at once expoſed to the hate and hoſtility of his neighbours, and to a combination of his own

ſubjects,

ſubjects. It was conducted by his own ſiſter's ſons, VANGIO and SIDO, and by VIBILLIUS their confederate, King of the Hermundurians. Nor would CLAUDIUS, though often entreated, engage in the quarrel of the Barbarians; he only anſwered the ſuit of VANNIUS, by a promiſe of a ſafe refuge, in caſe of expulſion, and writ to PUBLIUS PALPELIUS HISTER, governor of Pannonia, "to cover the banks of the Danube with the Legion, and with a body of "auxiliaries raiſed in the ſame province; in "order to ſhelter the vanquiſhed, and to awe "the conquerors; leſt, elated by ſucceſs, they "might venture alſo to diſturb the quiet of "the Empire." For the Ligians and other nations were daily arriving in ſwarms, allured by the fame of the wealth of that kingdom, which for thirty years VANNIUS had been enriching by conſtant depredations and exactions. His own army of natives were foot, and his horſe the Jazigians of Sarmatia, a force unequal to the great hoſt of his enemies. Hence he determined to confine himſelf to his ſtrong holds, and protract the war. But the Jazigians, who could not reconcile themſelves to the reſtraints of a ſiege, roamed round the adjacent country, and being powerfully aſſailed by the Ligians and Hermundurians, brought him under a neceſſity of fighting. So that, iſſuing from his fortreſſes, to relieve them, he was overthrown in battle, but with this praiſe, notwithſtanding his defeat, that with his own hand he had bravely fought, and was honourably

ably wounded with his face to the foe. He then fled to his fleet, which ſtaid for him in the Danube, and was ſoon followed by his adherents, who were ſettled in Pannonia, and portions of land aſſigned them. VANGIO and SIDO parted his kingdom between them, and towards us continued in ſignal fidelity, paſſionately beloved too by their ſubjects, while they were yet acquiring royalty, and, after it was acquired, more vehemently hated, perhaps from the fickle temper of the people, perhaps from the genius of ſervitude.

NOW PUBLIUS OSTORIUS, Proprætor of Britain, found great uproar and combuſtion there; for the enemy had in predatory bands broke into the territories of our allies, with the more violence, as they ſuppoſed that a new General would not, with an army which he had never proved, and in the depth of winter, dare to make head againſt them. But as he was convinced that by the firſt events of war, confidence or conſternation was raiſed in an enemy, he led forth his troops againſt them with great ſuddenneſs, put to the ſword all who reſiſted, and cloſely purſued ſuch as were broken, ſo as to prevent their rejoining. And, ſince a peace made by conſtraint, and thence never ſincere, could enſure no repoſe to the General nor his troops, he determined to deprive of their arms all ſuch as he ſuſpected, and, by the means of forts, to confine them between the rivers Nen and Severn; a determination thwarted firſt by the Icenians, a powerful people,

people, who having of their own accord become our confederates, were weakened by no invaſion nor aſſaults of war; they were now joined by the bordering nations, an army was formed, and the place of battle choſen, a place defended by a ditch, and the approach to it ſo narrow as not to be paſſable by the horſe. The Roman General, though, without the ſupport of the Legions, he only led ſome ſocial troops, yet drew up to ſtorm theſe ruſtic fortifications, and ranging his Cohorts in order, diſmounted the horſe and aſſigned them the duty of foot. Upon the ſignal given, they forced the ditch and broke the enemy, who were alſo hampered and entangled with their own encloſures. But they who, from the guilt of rebellion, were animated with deſpair, cooped in on all ſides, and no way left for eſcape, performed many and memorable feats of bravery. In this battle MARCUS OSTORIUS, the ſon of the General, having ſaved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the Civic Crown.

FOR the reſt, the overthrow of the Iceni ans calmed all thoſe unſettled ſpirits, who before were wavering in their purpoſes between peace and war; and the army was led againſt the Cangians, waſted their territories, and committed general ſpoil. Nor durſt the foe encounter them openly, and were always beaten in their ſecret aſſaults. We had now approached near the ſea which waſhes the coaſt of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongſt the Brigantes,

gantes, obliged the General to return thither; as he had determined to proſecute no new enterprize till his former were completed and ſecure. The Brigantes, in truth, became ſoon compoſed, by executing a few who raiſed the revolt, and pardoning all the reſt; but, no rigour nor mercy could reclaim the Silures, who were bent upon war, and only to be reduced by the force of the Legions. To facilitate this deſign, a Colony, powerful in the number of Veterans, was conveyed to Camalodunum ſituate in the conquered lands, as a bulwark againſt the rebels, and for inuring our allies to the laws and juriſdiction of the Romans.

THENCE we marched againſt the Silures, a people reſolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the aſſiſtance and valour of CARACTACUS, one renowned for many victories, and many diſaſters, ſo that in credit he ſurpaſſed all the other Britiſh commanders. In the advantage and ſituation of the country he was more ſubtile and expert than the Romans, but weaker in men, and therefore tranſlated the ſeat of the war into the territory of the Ordovicans; and being joined by all ſuch as feared an unequal peace with the Romans, ventured to try the deciſion of the ſword. In order to it, he choſe a place againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was as difficult to retreat, every way incommodious to our army, every way favourable to his own. It was upon the ridges of mountains

tains exceeding ſteep, and, where their ſides were inclining and approachable, he reared walls of ſtone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and a hoſt of men guarded his entrenchments.

ADD to this, that the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, were buſy from quarter to quarter, exhorting and animating their followers, with repreſentations proper to diſſipate fear, to kindle their hopes, and to rouſe in them all the fierceſt incitements to war. CARACTACUS, particularly, flew through the whole army, and proclaimed, "That from "this day and this battle they muſt date their "liberty completely reſcued, or their ſervi- "tude eternally eſtabliſhed." He called upon "thoſe of their anceſtors who had exterminated CÆSAR the Dictator, men by whoſe "valour they yet lived free from tribute and "Roman axes, yet preſerved free from proſtitution the perſons of their children and "wives." As he thus harangued, he was anſwered by the acclamations of the multitude, and every particular bound himſelf by the oath moſt ſacred to each different nation, "Never to yield to arms, nor wounds, nor "aught ſave death."

THIS loud alacrity of theirs amazed the Roman General. Beſides, the river to be paſſed, the rampart to be forced, the declivities of the high mountains to be climbed, and all defended by hoſts of men, were terrible difficulties.

culties. But, the ſoldiers urged for the attack; All things, they cried, were conquerable by courage, and the Tribunes and other officers expreſſing the ſame ſpirit, heightened the ardour of the army. OSTORIUS, therefore, having carefully ſurveyed the ſituation, where inacceſſible, and where to be paſſed, led them on thus animated; and, without much difficulty, gained the oppoſite banks. In approaching the bulwark, while the encounter was yet managed by flights of darts, there were more of our men wounded, and many began to fall; but, after they had formed themſelves into the military ſhell, demoliſhed the huge and ſhapeleſs ſtructure of ſtones, and encountered hand to hand upon ground equal to both, the Barbarians betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains, and thither alſo mounted our ſoldiers after them, both the light and heavy armed. Here alſo was begun an unequal fight, by ours in cloſe order againſt the Britons, who only fought by diſcharges of arrows, and, as they cover themſelves with no armour, were thence ſtrait broken in their ranks; where they reſiſted the auxiliaries, they were ſlaughtered by the ſwords and javelins of the ſoldiers of the Legions, and by the great ſabres and pikes of the auxiliaries, where they faced thoſe of the Legions. Signal was this victory; the wife and daughter of CARACTACUS were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrendered to mercy.

HE himſelf had recourſe to the faith and protection of CARTISMANDUA, Queen of the Brigantes; but, as almoſt all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, now in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Great-Britain. So long had he ſuſtained it; hence his renown had reached all the iſles, ſpread over the neighbouring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy, where all longed to behold the man, who, for ſo many years, had defied the Roman arms. Nor, in truth, at Rome was the name of CARACTACUS without luſtre and applauſe; and the Emperor, by exalting his own glory in the conqueſt, accumulated freſh glory upon the conquered. For, the people were aſſembled to ſee him, as a rare and important ſpectacle; and the Prætorian bands ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. There proceeded firſt the ſervants and followers of the Britiſh King, with the military harneſs, golden chains, and the ſpoils by him taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife and daughter, and laſtly himſelf expoſed to view. All but he were dejected, and deſcended through fear to ſupplications unworthy of their quality. CARACTACUS, without either betraying a ſupplicant look, or uttering a word that implored mercy, as ſoon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal, ſpoke thus:

"IF, to the height of my quality and for-
"tune, I had joined an equal height of mo-
"deration

" deration in my proſperity and ſucceſs, I " ſhould have arrived in this city under another " character, that of a friend, and not of a cap- " tive, nor would you then have diſdained to " have received a Prince born of illuſtrious " anceſtors, and governing ſo many nations, " into terms of alliance. But, different is my " preſent lot, which derives upon you as emi- " nent renown, as upon me diſgrace and " abaſement. I was lately maſter of men and " arms, horſes and opulence. Where is the " wonder if againſt my inclination I was be- " reft of them? If you Romans aim at extend- " ing your dominion over all mankind; it " does not thence follow that all men will " embrace voluntary ſervitude from Rome. " Had I forthwith ſubmitted to captivity, nei- " ther had my fall nor your glory been thus " ſignal; and even now, if I am to ſuffer death, " the fame of my ſtory and of your conqueſt " will die with my puniſhment; but if you " preſerve my life, I ſhall be a deathleſs ex- " ample of your clemency." CLAUDIUS upon this pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. Being diſcharged of their chains, and having paid their duty and acknowledgment to the Prince, they alſo accoſted AGRIPPINA, exalted upon another tribunal hard by, in the ſame ſtrain of gratitude and veneration: A ſight remarkably new, to our anceſtors utterly unknown, for a woman to preſide amongſt the Roman Enſigns! ſhe, in truth, aſſumed to call

herſelf a partner in the Empire which her anceſtors had acquired.

THE Senate was thereafter aſſembled, where many and pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of CARACTACUS, as an event "no leſs illuſtrious than thoſe of "old, when SIPHAX was by PUBLIUS SCIPIO, "PERSES by LUCIUS PAULUS, or any other "conquered Kings were by any of our great "Captains, preſented in chains to the Roman "people." To OSTORIUS the triumphal ornaments were decreed; and thus far his adminiſtration had been ſucceſsful, but was afterwards chequered with misfortunes. Whether it was, that, upon the captivity of CARACTACUS, the war was thought concluded, and thence our vigilance and diſcipline abated; or that the enemy, in compaſſion for ſo great a King, burned more vehemently for revenge. They aſſailed by ſurprize the camp-marſhal and legionary cohorts, left to rear forts amongſt the Silures, and, but for ſudden ſuccours from the circumjacent garriſons, our troops had been cut in pieces; as it was, the Marſhal himſelf and eight Centurions were there ſlain, with the moſt reſolute ſoldiers. Soon after they entirely routed our forragers, and even the troops ſent to guard them.

OSTORIUS, it is true, diſpatched to their relief ſome cohorts lightly armed, who yet were not able to ſtay the flight, ſo that the Legions were drawn out to reſtore the battle, which

which by their ſtrength inſtantly became equal, and then favourable to us. The enemy fled, but, as night approached, with ſlight loſs. There continued thenceforward frequent encounters, many of them reſembling the parties and ſurprizes of robbers, ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in moraſſes, conducted by chance or boldneſs, and with anſwerable ſucceſs, here at a venture, there in concert, now from reſentment, anon for booty, at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge. Of all others the Siiures were the moſt implacable; they were incenſed by a ſaying of the Roman General current amongſt them, "that their name muſt be ut-"terly extinguiſhed, as was that of the Sugam-"brians, who had been partly cut off, and "the reſt tranſplanted into Gaul." Thus animated, they ſurprized and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, who were, without due circumſpection, plundering the country to ſatiate the avarice of their officers; and by diſtributing the ſpoil and captives amongſt the neighbouring nations, they were drawing them alſo into the revolt, when OSTORIUS, ſinking under the weight of his anxieties, expired, to the great joy of the enemy, that a captain ſo conſiderable, though he had not fallen in battle, had yet periſhed in the war.

THE Emperor, apprized of the death of his Lieutenant, that the province might not be without a governor, ſubſtituted in his room AULUS DIDIUS; but he, notwithſtanding his

expeditious arrival, found not things in their entire ſtate; for, the Legion commanded by MANLIUS VALENS, had the while been engaged, and ſuffered a defeat, a diſaſter magnified by the enemy, to terrify the new general, and even aggravated by him, thence to gain the greater glory, if he quelled the rebellion, or the juſter excuſe if it laſted. The late loſs too we ſuffered from the Silures, who were daily making large incurſions on all hands, till DIDIUS now ſet upon them and repulſed them. Their ableſt man of war, ſince the taking of CARACTACUS, was VENUSIUS, of the city of the Jugantes, as I have above remembered, one long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms, during his marriage with the Queen CARTISMANDUA; but being afterwards divorced from her, and then inſtantly at war with her, he likewiſe began hoſtilities againſt us. Their arms at firſt were only employed againſt each other; but the Queen having by ſubtil ſtratagems, poſſeſſed herſelf of the brother and other kindred of VENUSIUS, the enemy became exaſperated, and, ſcorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, aſſembled all their ableſt and moſt warlike youth, and invaded her territories; an event foreſeen by us; ſo that we had ſent ſome cohorts to her aid, and a fierce battle enſued, where the firſt onſet was doubtful, but the end ſucceſsful. With the like iſſue fought the Legion commanded by CESIUS NASICA. For, DIDIUS himſelf unwieldly

wieldy through age, and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, thought it ſufficient to act by his Lieutenants, and only reſtrain the foe. All theſe tranſactions, though the work of ſeveral years, under two Proprætors OSTORIUS and DIDIUS, I have thus connected, leſt the detail, if interrupted, might not have been ſo eaſily recovered. I now return to the order of time.

DURING the fifth Conſulſhip of CLAUDIUS and that of SERVIUS CORNELIUS ORFITUS, to qualify NERO for entering into the adminiſtration of the State, the manly Robe was preſented him, while yet under age, and the Emperor concurred chearfully with the flattering decrees of the Senate, "that in his "twentieth year, he ſhould exerciſe the Con- "ſulſhip; that the while, as Conſul deſigned, "he ſhould be inveſted with proconſular au- "thority out of Rome, and be ſtiled Prince "of the Roman Youth." CLAUDIUS moreover, in NERO's name, beſtowed a largeſs upon the ſoldiers, and another upon the people: and, at the Circenſian games, which were then ſolemnized, to draw upon him the eyes and affections of the populace, whilſt BRITANNICUS was carried along in the Prætexta (the uſual habit of boys) NERO appeared in the triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of imperial ſtate. So that the people, beholding them thus differently attired, could thence conclude the difference of their future fortunes. At the ſame time, ſuch of the Centurions and Tri-

bunes as manifeſted any compaſſion for the partial lot of BRITANNICUS, were, ſome under colour of more honourable functions, all upon framed pretences, removed from the palace; even amongſt the freedmen, thoſe whoſe faith and conſtancy were found incorruptible, were diſcarded upon the following occaſion. The two young Princes happening to meet, NERO ſaluted BRITANNICUS by that name, and BRITANNICUS him by his old name of DOMITIUS. This was by AGRIPPINA repreſented to CLAUDIUS with grievous expoſtulations, as the firſt ſtep to diſſention, ſince by it "the adoption of "NERO was ſet at nought and condemned, "the ſanctions of the Senate, with the autho- "rity of the people, were aboliſhed within "the walls of his own palace; and if the pra- "vity of thoſe who inſpired into BRITANNI- "CUS ſuch pernicious ſentiments, were not "repreſſed, it would break out into war and "public ruine." CLAUDIUS, alarmed and exaſperated by theſe ſuggeſtions of his wife, as if the ſame had been crimes really committed by the tutors of his ſon, puniſhed all the beſt of them with exile or death, and entruſted him to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother.

AGRIPPINA however durſt not yet proceed to the accompliſhment of her great deſign, till from the command of the Prætorian cohorts were removed LUSIUS GETA and RUFIUS CRISPINUS, as men whom ſhe believed grateful to the memory of MESSALINA, and zealouſly

louſly devoted to her children. When ſhe had therefore alledged to the Emperor, " that by " the competition and cabals of two comman- " ders, the guards were rent into factions, " whereas, were they under the authority of " one, they would be more eaſily ſubjected " to the laws of diſcipline and obedience;" CLAUDIUS ſubmitted to the reaſoning of his wife, and the charge of theſe bands was tranſ- ferred to BURRHUS AFRANIUS, an officer, in truth, of ſignal renown, but one however well apprized to whoſe credit he owed his advance- ment. AGRIPPINA likewiſe began to ſigna- lize her grandeur ſtill more, and even to enter the Capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction which of old was allowed to none but the prieſts and things ſacred, and, being now aſſumed by her, heightened the reverence of the people towards a Lady who was the daughter of a CÆSAR, and the mother of one, ſiſter to the laſt Em- peror, and wife of the preſent; an inſtance of imperial fortune and nobility till then unpa- ralleled. But in the mean time her chief cham- pion VITELLIUS, in the height of favour, and extremity of age (upon ſuch treacherous foun- dations great men ſtand!) was involved in an accuſation, and, by JUNIUS LUPUS the Senator, charged with treaſon, and even with aſpiring to the Empire. CLAUDIUS too would have liſtened to the charge, had not AGRIPPINA prevailed by menaces rather than prayers, and turned his reſentment upon the accuſer, who was thence interdicted from fire and water.

Further puniſhment than this VITELLIUS deſired not.

MANY were the prodigies that happened this year: upon the Capitol were ſeen birds of evil omen, frequent concuſſions of the earth were felt, and by them many houſes overthrown. But, as the dread was ſtill more extenſive than the calamity, in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy alſo was reckoned the barrenneſs of the ſeaſon, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to houſes and corners; they even gathered in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engaged in the public adminiſtration of juſtice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; ſo that, to eſcape their violence, he was forced with his guards to break through the incenſed multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but juſt proviſion for fifteen days, and by the ſignal bounty of the Gods and the mildneſs of the winter it was that the public was relieved in that its urgent diſtreſs. It was, in truth, otherwiſe with Italy in former days, when from her fruitful fields foreign provinces too were furniſhed with ſupplies; nor, at this time, is the ſterility of ſoil any part of our misfortune; but we now rather chuſe to cultivate Africa and Egypt, and the lives of the Roman people are entruſted to ſhips and the caſualties of the deep.

THE

THE ſame year, the war which aroſe between the Armenians and Hiberians, begot alſo mighty broils between the Parthians and Romans. Over the Parthians reigned VOLOGESES, who, though the ſon of a Greek concubine, had, by the conceſſion of his brothers, obtained the diadem. The Kingdom of Hiberia had been long held by PHARASMANES, and his brother MITHRIDATES was, by our aid and procurement, poſſeſſed of Armenia. PHARASMANES had a ſon graceful and tall, of ſignal ſtrength of body, trained up in all the politics of his father, and in high renown with the bordering nations. His name was RHADAMISTUS, a young Prince who, impatient that the ſmall kingdom of Hiberia ſhould be ſo long detained from him by the great age of his father, declared this his diſcontent with ſo much frequency and paſſion, that his ambition could not be concealed. PHARASMANES therefore, in regard of his own declining age, and fearing the ſpirit of his ſon, eager of himſelf to reign, and ſupported beſides with the affections of his ſubjects, choſe to divert his thoughts upon another purſuit, and tempted him with the proſpect of Armenia; "a kingdom which, having expulſed the Parthians, "he ſaid, he had given to MITHRIDATES; "but, in gaining it now, all methods of vio"lence were to be poſtponed; and thoſe of "guile firſt to be tried, in order to oppreſs "him unawares." Thus RHADAMISTUS, feigning to quarrel with his father, and to fly the

the perſecutions of his ſtep-mother, withdrew to his uncle, and, while he was by him cheriſhed like a child, with tranſcendent complacency, drew the nobility of Armenia into the conſpiracy; MITHRIDATES being ſo ignorant of his conduct, that upon him he was ſtill multiplying honours.

THEN, under ſhew of being reconciled to his father, he returned, and informed him, "that what fraud could effect, was accomplished, the reſt arms muſt execute." Hence PHARASMANES ſet himſelf to deviſe colours for the war, and declared, "that whilſt he was "at war with the King of the Albanians, he "had applied to the Romans for aid, but his "brother oppoſed its coming; and this injury "he was now about to revenge with his utter "deſtruction." At the ſame time, he committed a numerous army to the conduct of his ſon, who, by a ſudden invaſion, utterly diſmayed MITHRIDATES, and forced him out of the field into the fortreſs of Gorneas, a place ſtrong in the ſituation, and defended by a garriſon of our ſoldiers, under the command of CÆLIUS POLLIO Governor, and CASPERIUS a Centurion. The Barbarians are ſtrangers to nothing more than the uſe of machines, and the dexterity of aſſaulting places, a part of military skill which to us is throughly familiar. RHADAMISTUS therefore, having without effect, or with loſs to himſelf, attempted the fortifications, changed his efforts into a ſiege, and when all his attacks were deſpiſed, purchaſed

chaſed with a price the avaritious Governor, notwithſtanding the adjurations of CASPERIUS, "that he would not ſell a confederate King, "not ſell Armenia, the gift of the Roman "people, and convert his own truſt into per-"fidiouſneſs and money." But at laſt, ſince POLLIO perſiſted to plead the multitude of the enemy, and RHADAMISTUS the orders of his father; the Centurion procuring a truce, departed, in order either to deter PHARASMANES from purſuing the war, or otherwiſe to proceed to NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS Governor of Syria, and lay before him the condition of Armenia.

BY the departure of the Centurion, POLLIO being, as it were, diſcharged from the reſtraint of a keeper, exhorted MITHRIDATES to an accommodation. He alledged "the natural "ties between brothers, the ſeniority of PHA-"RASMANES, and their other mutual bonds "of affinity; that he was himſelf eſpouſed to "his brother's daughter, and to RHADAMISTUS "had eſpouſed his own; that the Hiberians, "however then ſuperior in forces, refuſed not "peace; and the perfidiouſneſs of the Arme-"nians was ſufficiently known; neither had "he any other ſanctuary but that caſtle, de-"ſtitute of ſtores. He therefore ought not to "ſcruple to prefer terms gained without blood, "to the caſualties and violence of war." But, as MITHRIDATES ſtill procraſtinated, ſuſpecting the counſels of the Governor, as one who had debauched a concubine of his, and was reckoned of

of a vile ſpirit, purchaſeable by money into every baſeneſs, CASPERIUS the while reached PHARASMANES, and urged him "to recall his "Hiberians from the ſiege." That Prince returned him openly equivocal anſwers, ſometimes ſuch as were more gentle and plauſible, and, during theſe amuſements, warned RHADAMISTUS by ſecret meſſengers, "to diſpatch "by whatever means the taking of the place." Hence the price of the treaſon was augmented to POLLIO, who alſo privately corrupted the ſoldiers, and prompted them to demand peace, or otherwiſe to threaten that they would relinquiſh the garriſon. MITHRIDATES, preſſed by this extremity, agreed to the time and place of capitulation, and went forth from the caſtle to meet RHADAMISTUS, who inſtantly flew to embrace him, feigned all the marks of duty and obedience, and called him his father: he even ſwore that he intended him no violence either by poiſon or the ſword, and drew him at the ſame time into a neighbouring grove, where a ſacrifice, he ſaid, was by his orders prepared, that by the ſolemn preſence of the Gods their league of peace might be confirmed.

IT is a cuſtom amongſt the Kings of theſe countries, whenever they ſtrike alliances, to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, ſtarting to the extremities, is by a ſlight cut diſcharged. This they mutually ſuck, and a league thus executed is eſteemed moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemnized

nized with the blood of the parties. But upon this occaſion, he who was applying the bandage pretending to fall, ſeized MITHRIDATES by the legs, and overthrew him, and inſtantly he was oppreſſed by many, then bound, and haled away dragging his chain, a circumſtance of conſummate contumely amongſt the Barbarians! The people too, over whom he had exerciſed rigorous tyranny, aſſaulted him with bitter reproaches, and even threatened him with blows. Yet there were ſome of a different temper, who uttered their commiſeration for ſuch a mighty change of his fortune; beſides, his wife following him with her little infants, was by her doleful lamentations every where heard. They were thruſt apart into covered carriages, till the commands of PHARASMANES were known. With him the paſſion for a kingdom was more prevalent than his regard for a brother or daughter, and he poſſeſſed naturally a ſpirit prone to every cruelty. He however conſidered the indecency of the ſpectacle, and ordered them to be put to death, but not in his ſight. RHADAMISTUS too, as if from an exact obſervance of his oath, employed neither ſword nor poiſon againſt his ſiſter and uncle, but cauſed them to be thrown upon the ground, and ſtifled with a vaſt weight of coverings. The children alſo of MITHRIDATES, for bewailing the murder of their parents, were butchered themſelves.

QUADRATUS, as ſoon as he knew the treaſon, with the doom ſuffered by MITHRIDATES, and

and that they who took his life held his kingdom, aſſembled his council, and repreſenting theſe events, ſought their advice whether vengeance ought to be purſued. Few had at heart the public honour, and moſt of them reaſoned from conſiderations of ſecurity; "that all the "injuries and cruelties committed by foreign "nations upon each other, ought to the Ro- "mans to be matter of joy; nay, the ſeeds of "diſſenſion were induſtriouſly to be ſown "amongſt them; a policy frequently practiſed "by the Roman Emperors, who, under colour "of beſtowing from time to time that ſame "kingdom of Armenia upon Princes Barba- "rians, deſigned thence to furniſh them with "matter of reciprocal feuds, and hoſtilities. "RHADAMISTUS might therefore enjoy a "crown wickedly acquired, ſince with it he "enjoyed public deteſtation and infamy, cir- "cumſtances which better ſerved the purpoſes "of Rome, than if by methods of glory he "had obtained it." With this advice they all concurred; but that they might not ſeem to have aſſented to a wickedneſs ſo flagrant, and leſt contrary orders ſhould arrive from the Emperor, they diſpatched a meſſage to PHARASMANES, "to retire from the frontiers of "Armenia, and recall his ſon."

OVER Cappadocia then ruled JULIUS PELIGNUS, with the title of Procurator, one equally deſpicable for his daſtardly ſpirit and the deformity of his perſon, but in great intimacy with CLAUDIUS, who, while yet a private

vate man, was wont to ſpend his idle life in liſtening to the drollery of ſuch buffoons. This PELIGNUS drew together a body of auxiliary forces from the adjacent provinces, and declared he would reconquer Armenia; but, as he committed greater ſpoil upon our allies than upon the enemy, he was by his own men abandoned, harraſſed by the inceſſant incurſions of the Barbarians, and, thus bereft of all defence, betook himſelf to RRADAMISTUS, by whoſe liberalities he was ſo intirely ſubdued, that of his own accord he exhorted him to aſſume the royal diadem, and even aſſiſted in perſon at that ſolemnity, as the author of the advice, and his vaſſal at arms. When this vile tranſaction came to be divulged, that the character of the other Roman Commanders might not be judged by that of PELIGNUS, HELVIDIUS PRISCUS was diſpatched at the head of a Legion, with general orders to apply ſuch remedies to the preſent combuſtions, as their circumſtances would bear. He therefore, haveing with much celerity croſſed mount Taurus, had already made many pacifications, rather by mildneſs than force, when an order overtook him, " for his return into Syria, by it to avoid " miniſtering to the Parthians any ground of " war."

FOR, VOLOGESES believing that an occaſion now offered for invading Armenia, a Kingdom inherited by his anceſtors, but now treaſonably occupied by a foreign uſurper, drew together an army, and prepared to inſtate his brother

brother TIRIDATES in the throne; that none of his houſe might be deſtitute of dominion. The march of the Parthians terrified the Hiberians; they were expelled without fighting a battle, and the Armenian cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, without a ſtruggle received the invaders. But, a tempeſtuous winter or want of proviſions, and the peſtilence ariſing from both, conſtrained VOLOGESES to relinquiſh his conqueſts. So that the throne of Armenia being once more vacant, was again invaded by RHADAMISTUS, now more outragious and bloody than ever, as incenſed againſt a people that had already abandoned him, and were ſtill ready, on the firſt occaſion, to revolt. They too, though inured to ſervitutde, loſt all patience, betook themſelves to arms, and begirt the palace; nor had RHADAMISTUS any reſource ſave in the fleetneſs of his horſes, and by them he eſcaped with his wife.

SHE was great with child, yet, from dread of the foe, and tenderneſs to her husband, bore at firſt, as well as ſhe could, the fatigue of the flight; but when, by continued hurrying, her heavy womb was ſorely agitated, and all her bowels bruiſed, ſhe beſought him, "to ſave "her by an honeſt death from the reproach "and miſery of captivity." At firſt, he embraced her, comforted and encouraged her, now admiring her heroic ſpirit, then ſtruck with fear, leſt, if he left her, ſome other might poſſeſs her; at laſt, in the rage of love, and well trained in acts of blood, he drew his ſcymitar,

ſcymitar, and wounding her deeply, haled her to the banks of the Araxes, committing her body to the flood, that even of her corps none might ever be maſter. He himſelf purſued his flight full ſpeed, till he reached Hiberia the kingdom of his father. ZENOBIA the while (for that was her name) was deſcried by the ſhepherds, floating gently on the ſurface with manifeſt appearances of life; and, as they gathered from the beautiful dignity of her aſpect that ſhe was of no mean rank, they bound up her wound, and to it adminiſtered their ruſtic medicines. Having then learnt her name and diſaſter, they carried her to Artaxata, from whence, at the charge and care of the city, ſhe was conducted to TIRIDATES, by him courteouſly received, and entertained with all the marks of Royalty.

IN the Conſulſhip of FAUSTUS SYLLA and SALVIUS OTHO, FURIUS SCRIBONIANUS ſuffered exile, upon a charge of having "conſulted the Chaldæans about the term of the Prince's life." In his crime was involved his mother JUNIA, "as having borne with impatience her own lot;" for ſhe too had been baniſhed. CAMILLUS the father of SCRIBONIANUS, had levied war in Dalmatia; hence CLAUDIUS vaunted his own clemency, that to a hoſtile race he perſiſted to grant their lives. That, however, of the preſent exile, remained not long; whether he died naturally or by poiſon, was differently reported as each diffe-

rently believed. For expelling the Aſtrologers from Italy, a decree of Senate was made full of rigour, but never executed. The Emperor thereafter uttered a diſcourſe in praiſe of thoſe Senators, who, from the narrowneſs of their fortunes, of their own accord renounced their dignity; and ſuch as by adhering to their order, added confidence to their poverty, were degraded.

DURING theſe tranſactions, in the Senate was propoſed a penalty to be inflicted upon Ladies who married ſlaves, and ordained, "That ſhe who thus debaſed herſelf, unknown "to the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould be adjudged "herſelf in a ſtate of ſlavery; but, where he "conſented, ſhe ſhould be held for a ſlave "manumitted." To PALLAS who was by CLAUDIUS declared to be the deviſer of this ſcheme, the ornaments of the Prætorſhip, and three hundred ſeventy five thouſand crowns, were adjudged by BAREAS SORANUS, Conſul deſigned. CORNELIUS SCIPIO added, "that "the public thanks ought likewiſe to be paid "him; for that, being deſcended from the old "Kings of Arcadia, he poſtponed the regard "of his moſt ancient nobility to the ſervice "of the ſtate, and deigned to be numbered "amongſt the miniſters of the Prince." CLAUDIUS avowed, "that PALLAS was content with "the honour only, and reſolved to live ſtill "in his former poverty." Thus a decree of Senate was publiſhed engraven in braſs, in which

which a franchized ſlave poſſeſſing an eſtate of more than ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the parcimony of the ancients.

His brother ſirnamed FELIX, he who for ſome time had governed Judæa, acted not with the ſame reſtraint, but as one who, relying upon ſuch potent protection, ſuppoſed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villainy. The Jews, in truth, by their ſedition, in the time of CALIGULA, had miniſtered ſome appearances of an inſurrection; and, after they were apprized of his aſſaſſination, ſcarce returned to obedience. Their dread remained, leſt ſome of the ſucceeding Emperors might ſubject them to the like odious injunctions. FELIX too, the while, by applying unſeaſonable remedies, inflamed their offence and diſaffection; a conduct imitated by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, who held under his juriſdiction part of the Province, and emulated FELIX in all his worſt courſes; for ſuch was the diviſion, that Galilæa was ſubject to CUMANUS, and Samaria to FELIX, two nations long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, leſs than ever reſtraining their mutual hate. Hence depredations on both ſides were committed, bands of robbers employed, ambuſhes formed, and ſometimes battles fought, and all the ſpoil and booty preſented to theſe their Governors, who, at firſt, rejoyced over it; but when, after the miſchief grew outrageous, they interpoſed their armed troops, their men were ſlain, and, but for the aid of QUADRATUS ruler

of Syria, the whole Province had been in a blaze of war. Nor, as to the Jews, who had carried their violence ſo far as to kill our ſoldiers, did any obſtacle ariſe againſt puniſhing them with death. The affair of CUMANUS and FELIX created ſome delay; for CLAUDIUS, upon a hearing of the cauſes of the revolt, had alſo granted a power to try and ſentence the Governors; but QUADRATUS, taking FELIX up to the Tribunal, and ſhewing him amongſt the Judges, awed the accuſers, and ſtopped one part of the proſecution: So that, for the guilt and evil-doings common to both, CUMANUS alone was doomed to puniſhment. Thus the repoſe of the Province was reſtored.

SHORTLY after this, the boors of Cilicia, they who are ſirnamed Clitæans, and had before raiſed many inſurrections, betook themſelves now, under the leading of THROSOBOR, to their ſteep and inacceſſible mountains and there encamped. From thence in prædatory bands they made excurſions as far as the ſhore, and round the adjoining cities, boldly committing ravages upon the villagers and husbandmen, and daily ſpoiling the merchants and ſeamen. They even beſieged the city of Anemurium, and repulſed a body of horſe ſent from Syria to its relief, under the command of CURTIUS SEVERUS; for, the rocky ſituation of the place proved a defence to an army of foot, and ſcarcely admitted the attacks of the horſe. But afterwards, ANTIOCHUS King of

of that territory, having by many courteſies gained the multitude, and by ſtratagem ſecured their leader, effectually disjoined the forces of the Barbarians; and putting to death THROSOBOR and a few more of the chiefs, pacified the reſt by methods of clemency.

ABOUT the ſame time, a naval fight was prepared upon the lake Fucinus, and, to accommodate the greater numbers with the advantage of beholding the mighty magnificence of the work, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levelled; in imitation of AUGUSTUS, who once exhibited the like ſpectacle upon an artificial pool on this ſide the Tiber, but with light ſhips, and fewer men. CLAUDIUS armed large gallies, ſome of three, ſome of four banks of oars, and manned them with nineteen hundred combatants. The circle aſſigned for the combat was ſurrounded with an encloſure of great rafts of wood, to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape: ſpace ſufficient was however allowed for the velocity of rowing, for the ſtratagems of the pilots, the mutual encounters of the ſhips, and for all the uſual feats in naval battles. Upon the rafts ſtood the Emperors guards, foot and horſe, with platforms before them, for weilding and diſcharging the engines of battery: all the reſt of the lake was poſſeſſed by the combatants upon covered veſſels. The ſhore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude, many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome

itſelf; ſome from a paſſion to behold the ſpectacle, ſome in compliment to the Prince; and the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre. The Emperor preſided in a ſplendid coat of mail, and with him AGRIPPINA in a mantle woven of pure gold. The battle, though between malefactors, was fought with a ſpirit becoming brave ſoldiers; ſo that, after many wounds and much blood, they were redeemed from utter ſlaughter.

WHEN the ſpectacle was concluded, and the water diſcharged, the negligence of the workmen became manifeſt, and the inſufficiency of the work, which was not ſunk ſufficiently low about the center of the lake. Its bed therefore ſome time after was hollowed deeper; and, to draw the multitude once more together, a ſhew of Gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it, in order to diſplay a foot fight. But, as a banquet was prepared juſt at the fall from the lake, the ſame proved the occaſion of great affright; for, the weight of the water breaking out with violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, ſhook what was more diſtant, and by its impetuoſity and roaring diſmayed all that were preſent. AGRIPPINA laying inſtant hold of the Emperor's fright, charged NARCISSUS, the director of the work, with avarice and rapaciouſneſs: nor did NARCISSUS ſpare AGRIPPINA, but attacked and upbraided, "the domineering ſpirit of "the woman, with her aſpiring and boundleſs "views."

DURING

DURING the Conſulſhip of DECIMUS JUNIUS and QUINTUS HATERIUS, NERO, now in the ſixteenth year of his age, eſpouſed OCTAVIA the daughter of CLAUDIUS, and, to ſignalize his accompliſhments in polite learning, and acquire the glory of eloquence, undertook the cauſe of the Ilians, and having floridly repreſented the Romans as deſcendents from Troy, and ÆNEAS as the founder of the Julian race, with other old traditions little remote from fables, he obtained for the Ilians entire immunity from all public charges. By the rhetoric of the ſame advocate, the Colony of Boulogne, which had been utterly conſumed by fire, were relieved by a bounty of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. To the Rhodians too their liberty was reſtored, which had been often withdrawn, and often re-eſtabliſhed, as a puniſhment or reward for their different behaviour, when they obliged us by their aſſiſtance in our foreign wars, or provoked us by their ſeditions at home. And, to the city of Apamea, overturned by an earthquake, a remiſſion of tribute was granted for five years.

THE policy all this of AGRIPPINA, who puſhed CLAUDIUS on the contrary upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe panted inordinately after the gardens of STATILIUS TAURUS, a nobleman of illuſtrious fortune, who had been Proconſul of Africa, ſhe procured his bane by the miniſtry of TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, who was his Lieutenant

there. After their return, he charged him with ſome few crimes of extortion, but the ſum of the accuſation, were the practices of Magic. Neither did TAURUS deign longer to bear the unworthy lot of proſecution from that traiterous accuſer, but, without waiting for the deciſion of the Senate, laid violent hands upon himſelf. TARQUITIUS was, however, expelled the Senate: ſuch was the deteſtation of the fathers towards the accuſer, that they carried his condemnation againſt the intrigues of AGRIPPINA.

THIS year, what the Prince had frequently declared, "That to the deciſions of his Imperial Procurators, the ſame force ſhould be allowed as to his own," was moreover confirmed and eſtabliſhed by a decree of Senate, (as a proof that the ſame was no declaration at random) nay, with more fulneſs than heretofore and greater enlargements. For, the deified AUGUSTUS had ordained too, that the Knights who ruled Ægypt, ſhould act judicially, and that the ſentences by them pronounced ſhould be equally valid with thoſe of the Roman Magiſtrates. Soon after, this juriſdiction of the Knights was extended to other Provinces, and, even in Rome itſelf, to their Tribunal were referred many things formerly determined by the Prætors. CLAUDIUS now conferred upon them univerſal juriſdiction, that juriſdiction for which ſo many ſeditions had been raiſed and ſo much blood ſhed, when, by the popular ordinances of the Tribune

SEMPRONIUS, the Equeſtrian Order was inveſted with the power of judicature, and when SERVILIUS the Conſul, by a contrary eſtabliſhment, reſtored to the Senate the judicial authority. This too chiefly was the end and incitement of the bloody wars between MARIUS and SYLLA. But, in thoſe days, the ſeveral Orders of the State were engaged in different and interfering purſuits, and the party that prevailed made public regulations at their pleaſure. CAIUS OPPIUS and CORNELIUS BALBUS were the firſt particulars, who (enabled by the power of CÆSAR the Dictator) arbitrated matters of peace and war. It would little avail to recount after this, the names of MATIUS and VEDIUS, and other Roman Knights, who once bore ſway; when to his franchized ſlaves, ſuch as were entruſted with his domeſtic concerns, CLAUDIUS thus aſſerted a power equal to his own and to that of the laws.

THEREAFTER, he propoſed for the inhabitants of Coos, a general immunity from impoſitions, and recounted their antiquity in a long detail; "how the Argives, or at leaſt "CEUS the father of LATONA, firſt cultivated "that iſland; and thither ſoon after arrived "ÆSCULAPIUS, and with him the art of me-"dicine and healing, an art, which had great "applauſe amongſt his deſcendents," whoſe names he rehearſed, and marked the ſeveral ages in which they flouriſhed. He even ſaid, that

that "XENOPHON his own phyſician, was a "branch of the ſame family, and to his ſup- "plications it ought to be granted, that his "countrymen the people of Coos ſhould be "for ever diſcharged from all tribute, and "only attend the cultivation of an Iſland ſolely "devoted to the miniſtry of that Deity." It is, without queſtion, that many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, might have been alledged, and even victories gained by their aid; but CLAUDIUS, led by his wonted weakneſs, coloured under no public conſiderations what he had thus perſonally granted to his phyſician.

THE deputies from Byzantium being heard, beſought of the Senate to be eaſed of their heavy impoſitions; and recapitulating things from the firſt, began with the confederacy which they had ſtruck with us ſo long ago as the war which we maintained againſt that King of Macedon, who from the degeneracy of his ſpirit was diſtinguiſhed by the name of PSEUDO-PHILIPPUS. Next they recounted the forces by them ſent againſt King ANTIOCHUS, PERSES, and ARISTONICUS; as alſo how they had ſupported ANTONIUS in the war to ſuppreſs the Pyrates, with the ſeveral aids which they had beſtowed upon SYLLA, LUCULLUS and POMPEY. They added the ſervices which more lately they had rendered to the CESARS, during their encampments and abode in theſe their territories, where our armies and their leaders,

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in all their progreſſes by land and water, were well accommodated, and all their ſtores carried after them.

For, Byzantium was founded by the Greeks, in the extremity of Europe, upon a ſtreight which disjoins Europe from Aſia. Thither the founders were directed by an Oracle of the Pythian Apollo, who, when conſulted by them, where to build a city, replied, "That they "ſhould ſeek a ſituation oppoſite to the habi-"tations of the blind-men." By this riddle the Chalcedonians were repreſented; for they, who were the firſt comers into thoſe parts, and had viewed the advantages of this ſhore, had yet choſen the oppoſite and the worſt. Byzantium, in truth, ſtands upon a fertile ſoil and a plentiful ſea; ſince, into her port are borne all thoſe infinite ſhoals of fiſh, which breaking out of the Euxine, ſhun the other coaſt, as they are ſcared by the rocks which, under the waters, ſhoot from it. Hence, at firſt the gain and wealth of the Byzantines, but, afterwards preſſed by the exceſs of their impoſitions, they now beſought that the ſame might be aboliſhed or abated. The Emperor too was their advocate, who repreſented them as late ſufferers in the war of Thrace, and in that of Boſphorus, and worthy to be relieved. They were therefore acquitted from tribute for five years.

In the Conſulſhip of Marcus Asinius and Marcus Acilius, a change of affairs for the worſe was portended, as was gathered from the frequency of Prodigies. The Enſigns of the

the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorched with fire from heaven; a ſwarm of Bees pitched upon the ſummit of the Capitol; children were born of compounded forms, and a Pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk. Amongſt the prodigies it alſo was reckoned, that the number of every order of Magiſtrates was then curtailed, one of the Quæſtors, one of the Ædiles, a Tribune, a Prætor, and a Conſul, being all deceaſed, within a few months. But, more particular was the fear of AGRIPPINA. She was alarmed by a ſaying of CLAUDIUS, uttered heedleſly in his wine, "That it was a fate upon him, to bear the "iniquities of his wives, but at laſt to puniſh "them." Hence ſhe determined to be quick and prevent him, but firſt to deſtroy DOMITIA LEPIDA, upon motives derived from the pride and reſentments of women. For LEPIDA, who was the daughter of the younger ANTONIA, the great niece of AUGUSTUS, couſin german to AGRIPPINA the elder, and ſiſter to CNÆIUS DOMITIUS (once husband to the preſent AGRIPPINA) accounted herſelf of equal nobility with the other. Neither were they much differing in beauty, age or wealth, both proſtitutes in their perſons, infamous in their manners, and violent in their tempers, nor leſs rivals in vices than in the luſtre and advantages of their fortune. Hence, however, aroſe the moſt vehement ſtruggle, whether the aunt or mother ſhould acquire the aſcendent over the ſpirit of NERO. LEPIDA laboured to engage

gage and govern his youthful mind, by careſſes and liberalities; AGRIPPINA, on the contrary, treated him with ſternneſs and threats, like one who would, in truth, confer the ſovereignty upon her ſon, but not bear him for her ſovereign.

THE crimes therefore charged upon LEPIDA, were, "That, by charms and imprecations, ſhe "had ſought to deſtroy the Emperor's Con- "ſort, and that by neglecting to reſtrain the "tumultuous behaviour of her numerous ſlaves "in Calabria, ſhe diſturbed the public peace "of Italy." For theſe imputations ſhe was doomed to die, notwithſtanding the laboured oppoſition of NARCISSUS, who was now become more and more diſtruſtful of AGRIPPINA, inſomuch that he is ſaid to have lamented amongſt his intimates, "That to himſelf no- "thing but certain deſtruction remained, whe- "ther BRITANNICUS or NERO ſucceeded to "the Empire; but ſuch towards him had been "the favour of the Emperor, that for the ſer- "vice of his maſter he would lay down his "life. Under CLAUDIUS he had procured "the conviction and doom of MESSALINA "and of SILIUS; and under NERO (if NERO "came to reign) there would be the like "cauſes for the like accuſation. If BRITAN- "NICUS was to ſucceed, neither from that "Prince had he any claim to favour, ſince he "had, by the death of his mother, made room "for a ſtep-mother, who by inſidious plots "was ruining all his houſe with ſuch notable

"wicked-

" wickedneſs, that better it were he had never " divulged to the Emperor the proſtitutions of " his former wife, though neither, in truth, was " the preſent free from proſtitution, as PALLAS " was notoriouſly her adulterer; inſomuch that " with no mortal could any doubt remain, " but to the luſt of rule ſhe poſtponed her " fame, her modeſty, her perſon, and all " things." Repeating theſe and the like ſpeeches, he tenderly embraced BRITANNICUS, and ſupplicated for him full and ſudden ripeneſs of age; now to the Gods, then to the young Prince, he lifted up his hands and poured out prayers, " That he might attain vigour of " years; that he might exterminate the ene- " mies of his father, and even be revenged on " thoſe who ſlew his mother."

AMIDST all theſe mighty agitations and anxieties, CLAUDIUS was taken ill, and for the recovery of his health had recourſe to the ſoft air, and ſalubrious waters of Sinueſſa. It was then that AGRIPPINA, long ſince bent upon the parricide, greedy of the preſent occaſion, and well furniſhed with wicked agents, conſulted concerning the quality of the poiſon: " if it were ſudden and rapid in its operation, " the dark deed might thence be betrayed; if " one ſlow and conſuming were adminiſtered, " there was danger that CLAUDIUS, when his " end approached, and perhaps having the " while diſcovered the deadly fraud, would " recall the tenderneſs and partiality of a father " for his ſon." A ſubtle poiſon was therefore judged

judged beſt, " ſuch as would diſorder his brain, " and not preſently kill." An experienced artiſt in ſuch preparations was choſen, her name LOCUSTA; lately condemned for poiſoning, and one long entertained amongſt the other machines of the Monarchy. By this woman's skill the poiſon was prepared; to adminiſter the ſame was the part of HALOTUS, one of the Eunuchs, ſteward of the Emperor's table and his taſter. Indeed, all the particulars of this deed were ſoon afterwards ſo thoroughly known, that the writers of thoſe times are able to recount, " how the poiſon was ſeethed in " a delicious meſs of muſhrooms, but, whe- " ther from the natural ſtupidity of CLAU- " DIUS, or that he was drunk, he felt not " inſtantly the virulence of the doſe." A looſeneſs too at the ſame time ſeemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation. AGRIPPINA became terribly diſmayed; but, as her own life lay at ſtake, ſhe deſpiſed the ſtain and odium which muſt accompany her preſent proceedings, and called in the aid of XENOPHON the phyſician, whom ſhe had already engaged in her guilty purpoſes. It is thought that he, as if he had meant to aſſiſt CLAUDIUS in his efforts to vomit, thruſt down his throat a feather dipt in outrageous poiſon, as one who well knew, that the moſt daring iniquities are attempted with hazard, but accompliſhed with rewards.

THE Senate was in the mean time aſſembled, and the Conſuls and Pontiffs were offering

ing vows for the recovery of the Emperor, when he was already dead; though coverings and reſtoratives were ſtill applied, till matters were diſpoſed for ſecuring the Empire to NERO. And firſt, AGRIPPINA, perſonating unconquerable ſorrow, and one who ſought on all hands for conſolation, claſped BRITANNICUS in her arms, ſtiled him "the genuine image of his "father," and, by various and feigned devices, withheld him from leaving the chamber. There ſhe likewiſe detained ANTONIA and OCTAVIA, his ſiſters, and, by poſting guards, ſhut up all the paſſages. From time to time too ſhe declared, that the Prince was upon recovery, thence to encourage the hopes of the ſoldiery, till the fortunate moment, according to the calculations of the Aſtrologers, were at hand.

AT laſt, on the thirteenth of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were ſuddenly thrown open, and NERO, accompanied by BURRHUS, walked forth to the cohort, which, according to the cuſtom of the army, was then upon guard. There, upon ſignification made by the Præfect, he was received with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. It is reported, that there were ſome who heſitated, diligently looking and frequently asking, where was BRITANNICUS? but that, as no one appeared to propoſe him, they preſently embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus NERO was borne to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency, and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late Emperor

Emperor his father, he was ſaluted Emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the Senate; nor was there any reluctancy in the ſeveral provinces. To CLAUDIUS were decreed cœleſtial honours, and the ſolemnity of his funeral the ſame as that of the deified AUGUSTUS, ſince in it AGRIPPINA would needs emulate the magnificence of her great grand-mother LIVIA. His teſtament, however, was not rehearſed in public, leſt the preference there given from his own ſon to the ſon of his wife, might grate and provoke the ſpirit of the populace.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIII.

The SUMMARY.

SILANUS, *Proconſul of Aſia, poiſoned at the inſtigation of* AGRIPPINA. NARCISSUS, *freedman to the late Emperor, doomed to die. The funeral of* CLAUDIUS. NERO's *Panegyric upon him.* NERO's *reign begins well. The Senate left to act independently. The Parthians aim at the poſſeſſion of Armenia.* CORBULO *employed againſt them.* NERO *his paſſion for* ACTE. AGRIPPINA *provoked by it, and thence loſes credit with her ſon.* PALLAS *removed from the adminiſtration.* BRITANNICUS *poiſoned.* AGRIPPINA *grows obnoxious to* NERO; *is accuſed before him, and acquitted.* NERO's *wild revellings during the night. Debate about recalling inſolent freedmen to their former bondage. Some eminent men condemned. Natural deaths. New broils with the Parthians about Armenia.* CORBULO *inures his men to ſevere and primitive diſcipline; invades Armenia, ſtorms ſeveral ſtrong holds, takes the city of Artaxata, and burns it.* TIRIDATES *flies before him.* P. SUILIUS *condemned.* OCTAVIUS SAGITTA, *in the rage of love, ſtabs* PONTIA, *his former miſtreſs, upon her refuſing to marry him. His freedman*

freedman takes the fact upon himself. NERO *conceives a passion for* POPPÆA SABINA: *Her history, character, and arts.* CORNELIUS, *through the Emperor's jealousy, banished to Marseilles. The exorbitance of the publicans restrained. The Frisians endeavour to settle near the Rhine, but are driven thence by the Roman horse, and routed. The Ansibarians make the same attempt, with the same ill fortune. Fierce war between the Hermondurians and Cattians; the latter almost utterly cut off in a great battle. Strange eruption of fire in the territory of the Juhones.*

THE first victim under the new Prince was JUNIUS SILANUS, Proconsul of Asia, dispatched unknown to NERO, by the fraud of AGRIPPINA; not that he had provoked his fate by any turbulence of spirit, having lived in such sloth and even such scorn, during the late reigns, that CALIGULA was wont to call him the golden sheep. But AGRIPPINA feared that he might prove the avenger of the murder of his brother LUCIUS SILANUS, by her formerly procured. For, it was now the current rumour amongst the populace, that, "as NERO "was scarce past his childhood, and by ini- "quity had acquired the Empire; such a man "was to be preferred to him, one of com- "posed age, spotless integrity, noble, and "(which was then highly prized) descended "from the CÆSARS." For, he too was the great grandson of AUGUSTUS. Such was the cause of his doom; the instruments were PUBLIUS CELER a Roman Knight, and HELIUS the freedman, both employed to manage the Emperor's domestic revenue in Asia. By them the Proconsul had poison given him at a ban-

quet, ſo openly, as if they meant not to diſavow it. Nor was leſs haſte uſed to diſpatch NARCISSUS, the late Emperor's freedman, whoſe bold invectives againſt AGRIPPINA I have mentioned. In a rigorous priſon, and through the miſerable extremity of want, he was conſtrained to die, ſore againſt the mind of NERO, who, however he hitherto ſmothered his vices, bore a wonderful conformity to the temper of NARCISSUS, profuſe and rapacious like his own.

A torrent of ſlaughters was about to have followed, had not AFRANIUS BURRHUS and ANNÆUS SENECA prevented it. Theſe were the governors of the Emperor's youth, and though engaged in partnerſhip of power, yet, by a rare example, well united, men different in their accompliſhments, but of equal weight and authority. BURRHUS his inſtructor in leſſons of arms, and the gravity of manners, SENECA in the precepts of eloquence, and polite addreſs. In this office they helped and ſupported each other, the eaſier to manage between them the dangerous age of the Prince; or, if he rejected the purſuits of virtue, to reſtrain him at leaſt within the bounds of guiltleſs pleaſures. One conſtant ſtruggle they both had againſt the tempeſtuous ſpirit of AGRIPPINA, who was tranſported with every luſt of lawleſs dominion, and, in her deſigns, upheld by PALLAS, the ſame who had led CLAUDIUS into that inceſtuous match, then into the fatal adoption, and by both, into his own deſtruction.

tion. But NERO's temper was not such as to be controuled by slaves; and PALLAS too having exceeded the liberties of a slave manumised, had by his horrid arrogance provoked NERO's disgust. Upon AGRIPPINA however, in public, he accumulated all kinds of honours, nay, to a Tribune once, who, according to the discipline of the soldiery, desired the word, gave that of *excellent mother*; by the Senate too were decreed her two Lictors, with the character of Priestess to CLAUDIUS. To him at the same time was ordained a censorial funeral, and afterwards deification.

THE day of burial, his funeral praises were pronounced by NERO, who, whilst he carefully recounted the antiquity of his lineage, the many Consulships, the many triumphs of his ancestors, others as carefully listened. The display too of his acquirements in Letters, was heard with attention and pleasure, as also the observation, that during his reign no calamity from foreigners had befallen the state. But when he fell into a commemoration of the wisdom and providence of CLAUDIUS, not a soul could refrain from laughter, though the speech was of SENECA's composing, and discovered much accuracy and fineness, as he had, in truth, a beautiful genius, and stile well suited to the taste of that time. Old men, who make it their recreation to draw parallels between things present and past, took notice, that NERO was the first Roman Emperor who needed the aid of another man's eloquence. For, CÆSAR

the Dictator was ranked with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators. AUGUSTUS too had an eaſy and flowing elocution, ſuch as became a Prince. TIBERIUS alſo poſſeſſed the art of marſhalling words; his ſentiments were likewiſe ſtrong, and it was from policy that ſometimes his expreſſions were obſcure. Even the diſordered ſpirit of CALIGULA impaired not his addreſs and energy in ſpeaking. Nor was CLAUDIUS wanting in elegance of diſcourſe, when his diſcourſe was the effect of ſtudy. NERO, even from his childhood, had abandoned his lively imagination to other occupations and diverſions, to graving, painting, ſinging, and managing the horſe, at times too in compoſing poems, whence ſome grounds of ſcience appeared to have been in him.

HAVING finiſhed this mimicry of mourning, he repaired to the Senate, where, after an introduction concerning his eſtabliſhment in the Empire by the authority of the fathers, and the common concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declared with what worthy purpoſes, and upon what good examples he aſſumed the Sovereignty; that his youth being never ruffled nor engaged in any of the animoſities of civil wars, or any domeſtic diſſenſions, he brought with him no ſpirit of hatred, no ſenſe of injuries, nor appetite of revenge. He then propoſed the ſcheme of his future rule, and in it avoided carefully all thoſe late meaſures of reigning which were ſtill freſh and odious; "for that he claimed not the judgment and

"deciſion

" deciſion of affairs, nor would allow the " ſhutting up thoſe who were accuſed in the " ſame houſe with their accuſers, and by " it ſuſtained the impotent tyranny of a few. " Nothing ſhould be ſaleable within his walls, " nor any acceſs there to intrigues of ambi- " tion. Between his family and the republic " a juſt diſtinction ſhould be maintained; the " Senate ſhould uphold her ancient juriſdic- " tion; Italy and all thoſe provinces, which " depended upon the People and Senate, ſhould " apply only to the tribunal of the Conſuls, " and by them procure acceſs to the Fathers. " To himſelf he reſerved what was eſpecially " committed to his truſt, the direction of the " armies."

THIS declaration wanted no ſincerity, and by the Senate many regulations were made, agreeable to their own good liking, particularly that no advocate ſhould defend a cauſe for gift or payment, and that thoſe who were deſigned Quæſtors, ſhould be no longer obliged to exhibit public ſhews of Gladiators. All this was oppoſed by AGRIPPINA, as what reſcinded the acts of CLAUDIUS; but the Fathers prevailed, though by her contrivance they were purpoſely aſſembled in the palace, that there poſted by a door behind a curtain, ſecure from ſight, ſhe might yet eaſily overhear. Nay, at a time when the Embaſſadors from Armenia were pleading before NERO a cauſe of their nation, ſhe was advancing to aſcend the Imperial Tribunal, and to ſit in joint judgment with the Emperor,

if SENECA, seeing all the rest mute through fear, had not remembered him "to descend and "meet his mother." Thus, under the guise of filial reverence, that public disgrace was prevented.

AT the end of the year, tidings were brought by the flying alarms of rumour, "that the "Parthians having broke out into fresh hosti-"lities, had seized Armenia, and exterminated "RHADAMISTUS," who, often Sovereign of that Kingdom, and as often a fugitive, had now too abandoned the war. At Rome therefore, a city fond of descanting upon the public, they began to inquire, "how a Prince, scarce "passed his seventeenth year, could undertake "so mighty a charge, how repulse such a po-"tent foe? what protection to the State from "a youth governed by a woman? would he, "upon this occasion also, act by the ministry "of his tutors? would his tutors fight battles, "storm towns, and execute the other func-"tions of war?" Others, on the contrary, alledged, "that it had thus better happened, "than if the weight and care of that war had "fallen upon CLAUDIUS, under all the defects "of old age and stupidity, one who would "have blindly obeyed the dictates of his slaves. "BURRHUS and SENECA were known for men "of long and various experience in affairs, "and to the Emperor himself how little was "wanting of mature age? when POMPEY, in "his eighteenth year, OCTAVIUS CÆSAR "in his nineteenth, each sustained the weight

"of

" of a civil war? Under public rulers, more " was accompliſhed by counſels and influence, " than by arms and force. NERO beſides " would ſoon exhibit a manifeſt proof, whe- " ther he employed worthy or unworthy " Counſellors, if his choice of a General fell, " without pique or partiality, upon a man of " ſignal reputation, rather than upon one that " was only wealthy, and truſted to favour and " intrigues."

WHILST theſe and the like diſcourſes employed the public, NERO, to ſupply the Legions in the Eaſt, ordered recruits to be raiſed through the neighbouring provinces, and the Legions themſelves to be poſted near to Armenia; as alſo that the ancient Kings, AGRIPPA and ANTIOCHUS ſhould make ready their forces, ſuch as might enable them to invade the territories of the Parthians; and that bridges ſhould be forthwith made upon the Euphrates. To ARISTOBULUS he moreover committed the leſſer Armenia, and the region of SOPHENES to SOHEMUS, with the enſigns of Royalty and title of Kings. There aroſe likewiſe to VOLOGESES a competitor for his Crown, even his own ſon VARDANES. Hence the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, yet ſo as if they meant to return, and only poſtponed the war.

BUT, in the Senate, all this was extolled above meaſure, by ſuch as voted, " that days " of public ſupplications ſhould be decreed to " the Gods, that on thoſe public days the " Prince ſhould wear the triumphal robe; " that

" that he ſhould enter the city in the pomp " of *Ovation*, that to him a ſtatue ſhould be " erected, of the ſame bulk with that of MARS " the Avenger, and in the ſame temple." Beſides their habitual proneneſs to flattery, they ſincerely rejoiced that, for the reconqueſt of Armenia, he had preferred DOMITIUS CORBULO, whence a door ſeemed to be opened for the reward of virtue and merit. The forces in the Eaſt were ſo divided, that part of the auxiliaries, with two Legions, were to remain in Syria, under the command of NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS governor of the province; an equal number of Romans and allies were aſſigned to CORBULO, with an addition of the cohorts, and other troops, which wintered in Cappadocia. The confederate Kings were ordered to obey either, according to the exigencies of the war; but their affections were much more devoted to CORBULO, who, in order to take advantage of fame, which in all new enterpriſes has ever moſt powerful influence, marched with expedition, and at Ægeas, a city of Cilicia, was met by QUADRATUS, who advanced purpoſely thus far, leſt CORBULO, if he had entered Syria to receive his forces there, ſhould draw upon himſelf the eyes of all men, large as he was in his perſon, a magnificent ſpeaker, and, beſides the eſteem of his wiſdom and great experience, even things empty in themſelves, his air and faſhion ſerved powerfully to recommend him.

BOTH, however, warned VOLOGESES by meſſages, "to prefer peace to war, and by "delivering hoſtages to preſerve towards the "Roman people that reverence which was "wont to be paid by his anceſtors." VOLOGESES too, in order to make the more effectual preparations for war, or perhaps to remove under the name of hoſtages, ſuch as he ſuſpected of aiming at the Diadem, yielded the moſt illuſtrious of the family of ARSACIDES. They were received by HISTEIUS the Centurion, who had been for this very end diſpatched to the King by NUMIDIUS. When this became known to CORBULO, he ordered ARRIUS VARUS, Prefect of a Cohort, to go and take them; hence a quarrel aroſe between the Centurion and the Prefect, but, to prevent the ſame from becoming the ſport of foreign nations, to the hoſtages themſelves and deputies who conducted them, the deciſion of the difference was committed, and they preferred the pretenſions of CORBULO, in regard of his late exaltation, and even from a certain biaſs towards him in the hearts of our enemies. Hence a ſource of diſcord between the Generals. NUMIDIUS complained that he was bereft of what he had by his own counſels atchieved; CORBULO, on the contrary, maintained that the King had not inclined to yield hoſtages, till he himſelf being appointed to conduct the war, had changed his hopes into fear. NERO, to compoſe their jarrings, ordered public declarations to be made, "that for the ſuc-

"ceſsful

" ceſsful conduct of QUADRATUS and COR-
" bulo, the laurel ſhould be annexed to their
" faſces." Theſe tranſactions, though they reached into the year of the ſucceeding Conſuls, I have thus laid together.

THE ſame year, NERO applied to the Senate for a ſtatue to his father DOMITIUS, and for the Conſular ornaments to ASCONIUS LABEO, who had been his Tutor. Statues to himſelf of ſolid ſilver and gold, he refuſed, and oppoſed ſuch who propoſed them; and, notwithſtanding an ordinance of Senate, that the year for the future ſhould begin on December, the month in which NERO was born, he preſerved the ancient ſolemnity of beginning the year with the firſt of January. Neither would he admit a criminal proſecution againſt CARINAS CELER the Senator, upon the accuſation of a ſlave; nor againſt JULIUS DENSUS of the Equeſtrian Order, charged as a delinquent for his devotion to BRITANNICUS.

IN the Conſulſhip of NERO and LUCIUS ANTISTIUS, as the Magiſtrates were ſwearing upon the acts of the Emperors, he withheld ANTISTIUS his collegue from ſwearing upon his; an action copiouſly extolled by the Fathers, with deſign that his youthful ſpirit, firſt animated by the glory reſulting from light things, might proceed to court the fame in things which were greater. There followed an inſtance of his mercy towards PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, formerly degraded from the order of Senator, for adultery with MESSALINA, but

now

now by NERO reſtored. He choſe to make many profeſſions of clemency in the frequent ſpeeches with SENECA, either to manifeſt what worthy counſels he gave, or in oſtentation of his own wit, uttered in public by the mouth of the Emperor.

IN the mean while, the authority of his mother became by little and little ſlighted and impaired; for NERO having fallen into a paſſion for a franchiſed damſel, her name ACTE, at the ſame time aſſumed as confidents in his amour OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENECIO, the firſt of a Conſular family, the other a ſon of one of the Emperor's freedmen, both youths of graceful perſons, who firſt, unknown to his mother, then in ſpight of her, had by fellowſhip in luxury and ſecret pleaſures crept into an unbounded intimacy with him. Nor did even his ſevereſt miniſters thwart this intrigue, when with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the Prince ſatisfied his youthful inclinations and pleaſures. For, OCTAVIA his wife, however illuſtrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue, he intirely nauſeated, whether from blind fatality, or that forbidden purſuits are more prevalent and attractive. Beſides, it was dreaded that, had he been withheld from that gallantry, he would have daringly polluted Ladies of high quality.

NOW AGRIPPINA ſtormed, "that a manumiſed ſlave was become her competitreſs, a "handmaid her daughter-in-law," with other the

the like angry invectives of an incenſed woman. Nor would ſhe practiſe the leaſt patience, till her ſon were reclaimed by being aſhamed or ſurfeited; though the fouler her reproaches were, the more vehemently ſhe fired his paſſion. So that, overcome at laſt by its ſuperior force, he ſhook off all reverence for his mother, and ſurrendered himſelf intirely to SENECA, who had a friend named ANNÆUS SERENUS, that had hitherto cloaked the Prince's paſſion for ACTE, by feigning one of his own, and furniſhed his name, that in it he might openly preſent to her whatever NERO in ſecret beſtowed upon her. And now AGRIPPINA, changing her arts and addreſs, aſſailed his youthful ſpirit with ſoftneſs and blandiſhments, ſhe offered him "her own chamber, that there, "and even within her own arms, he might "more covertly accompliſh whatever the "warmth of his youth and ſovereign fortune "prompted him to." She even acknowledged her unſeaſonable rigour, and tendered him the diſpoſal of all her wealth, not far ſhort of the Imperial treaſures. For, as ſhe had lately been over ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſo now ſhe was become beyond meaſure ſubmiſſive and condeſcending. This ſudden change deceived not NERO; and his cloſeſt friends dreading it, beſought him, "to beware of ſnares from a "woman always implacable, and then both "implacable and diſſembling." It happened about that time, that as NERO was ſurveying the precious ornaments, in which the wives

and

and mothers of the Emperors were wont to ſhine, he choſe out certain rich raiment with many jewels, and ſent them as preſents to his mother; nor were the ſame any wiſe ſtinted, ſince the choiceſt things, and ſuch as others paſſionately covet, were by him, unasked, preſented to her. But AGRIPPINA waxed violent, and ſaid, "that by theſe gifts, the adorning "of her perſon was not intended, but rather "her excluſion from all beſides; and her ſon "would thus divide with her what he had "wholly received from her." Nor were there wanting thoſe who related theſe her words with aggravations.

NERO therefore, provoked with thoſe who managed and upheld the imperious ſpirit of AGRIPPINA, diſmiſſed PALLAS from the employment which he had received from CLAUDIUS, and in it had acted like the ſovereign director of the Empire. It is reported that, as he departed the palace, attended by a mighty throng of followers, NERO ſaid, not unpleaſantly, "PALLAS is going to abdicate his ſove-"reignty." PALLAS had, in truth, ſtipulated, "That he ſhould be queſtioned for no part of "his paſt behaviour; and, for his accounts, the "public ſhould have no more demands upon "him, than he upon the public." After this AGRIPPINA quite abandoned herſelf to a ſtile of threats and terrors, nor ſpared ſhe to utter them in the Emperor's hearing, but declared, "that BRITANNICUS was now grown up, the "natural deſcendent from CLAUDIUS, and "worthy

" worthy to assume the Empire of his father;
" an Empire which one, who was a son only
" by adoption and ingraftment, swayed by
" trampling upon his own mother. She freely
" consented that all the crying calamities
" brought upon that unhappy house, should be
" laid open to the world, and first in the list
" her own incestuous marriage with her uncle,
" then her own guilt in poisoning her hus-
" band. One only consolation, by the pro-
" vidence of the Gods and her own, remained
" to her, that her step-son was still left alive;
" with him she would repair to the camp,
" where, on one side, would be heard the
" daughter of GERMANICUS, on the other,
" BURRHUS and SENECA, the first with his
" maimed hand, the second with the stile of
" a pedagogue, both engaged in a contest with
" her about the sovereign rule of human kind."
At the same time she tossed her menacing hands, accumulated reproaches, invoked the deified CLAUDIUS, with the manes of the SILANI, and of so many others whose murders she had in vain perpetrated!

ALL this alarmed NERO, and as the following day was that of the nativity of BRITANNICUS, who on it accomplished his fourteenth year, he revolved, within himself, now upon the violent spirit of his mother, then upon the promising genius of that youth, of which, during the late Festival of the Saturnalia, he had given a remarkable specimen, and by it acquired universal esteem. Besides other sports,

ſports, on that occaſion, amongſt them and others of the like age and condition, as they drew lots who ſhould be King of the play, the lot fell upon NERO. He therefore, in that quality, gave to all the reſt diſtinct commands, yet ſuch as expoſed them to no ridicule; but that to BRITANNICUS was, to ſtand forth in the center of the company, and there begin ſome ſong. From attempting this task he hoped the boy would become an object of laughter, untrained as he was even in the parts of ſober converſation, much more in the rants of drunkards. BRITANNICUS, however, with an addreſs ſteady and undiſturbed, raiſed his voice to ſome verſes which imported, how he "was bereft of his natural inheritance and the "Imperial power." Hence he drew compaſſion from thoſe who heard him, which was the more unreſtrained, for that their gaity and the night had baniſhed hypocriſy. NERO was ſtruck with the invidious application, and grew into ſtill more mortal hate; but, however urged to diſpatch by the menaces of AGRIPPINA, yet as his brother was without crime, and openly he dared not command his execution, he ſet about a ſecret machination. He ordered poiſon to be prepared, and as his agent in it employed JULIUS POLLIO Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept a woman under condemnation for poiſoning, LOCUSTA, famous for many black iniquities in that art. For, as to any obſtacle from thoſe who were neareſt about the perſon of BRITAN-

NICUS, care had been long ſince taken that they ſhould be ſuch as were to have no ſenſe of common honeſty, or conſcience of their faith and duty. The firſt poiſon he took was even adminiſtered by the hands of his governors, but without effect, being voided in a looſeneſs; whether in itſelf it wanted energy, or, to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden rage, had been qualified. NERO, who was impatient of ſlow progreſs in his cruelty, threatened terribly the Tribune, and was dooming the Sorcereſs to execution, "for that, whilſt they only appre- "hended the out-cries of the people, and were "meditating ways to acquit themſelves, they "poſtponed the ſecurity of the Prince." Hence they undertook to prepare a doſe which, ſudden as a dagger, ſhould diſpatch him, and in a chamber next to the Emperor's, the deadly potion was ſeethed, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienced rapidity.

AT meals, it was the manner of the children of Princes, accompanied with other young nobles, to be ſerved in a ſitting poſture, in the ſight of their neareſt kindred, at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly covered. While BRITANNICUS was thus at meat, the opportunity was taken; but, foraſmuch as whatever he eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of his, a taſter, to the end therefore that neither this uſage might be omitted, nor by the death of both, the iniquity be detected, the guile was thus concerted. To BRITANNICUS drink was preſented, ſuch as was yet free from

from all infection, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding hot, and for that reaſon returned by BRITANNICUS; hence it was qualified with cold water, in which the poiſon was poured, which ſeized all his organs with ſuch ſudden efficacy, that he was at once bereft of ſpeech and life. Fear and trembling poſſeſſed his companions; ſuch too as comprehended not the myſtery, inſtantly retired, but thoſe of deeper diſcernment remained, with their eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon NERO, who, as he lay in a reclining poſture, declared, with the air of one utterly ignorant, "That it was a uſual fit "of the falling-ſickneſs, with which BRITAN-"NICUS from his early childhood had been "afflicted, and by degrees his ſight and under-"ſtanding would return." But in AGRIPPINA ſuch tokens of dread and conſternation of ſpirit broke out, though by diſguiſed looks ſhe laboured to ſmother the ſame, that it was manifeſt ſhe was as much a ſtranger to the doom of BRITANNICUS as was his own ſiſter OCTAVIA; for, by his death ſhe was ſenſible, that her laſt refuge was ſnatched from her, and ſaw an awakening example of parricide before her. Even OCTAVIA, however raw in years, had learnt to hide under diſſimulation her grief and tenderneſs, and every other affection of her ſoul. So, after a ſhort ſilence, the pleaſantry of the entertainment was reſumed.

UPON one and the ſame night were ſeen the untimely fate of BRITANNICUS and his funeral pile; for beforehand had been prepared

all the appointments for his burial, which itſelf proved but moderate and ſtinted. In the Field of Mars, however, his remains were repoſited, during ſuch tempeſtuous rains as the populace believed to be denunciations of the wrath of the Deities againſt the crying deed; a deed which yet was in the judgment of many men, entituled to pardon, whilſt they conſidered the wonted diſſenſions eternally happening between rival brothers, and the incommunicable genius of ſovereignty. It is related by moſt of the writers of thoſe times, that, for ſome time before the murder, NERO had defiled the youth by frequent conſtupration; ſo that this his death, however ſuddenly procured during the inviolable hoſpitality of the table, and ſo precipitately that to his ſiſter not a moment was allowed for a laſt embrace, and under the eye of his capital enemy, yet could not appear too early incurred, nor even cruelly inflicted, though by it the laſt branch of the Claudian race was extirpated, ſince it was a branch vitiated by unnatural pollution before it periſhed by poiſon. NERO, by an edict, juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies; the ſame, he ſaid, was the inſtitution of our anceſtors, "preſently to withdraw from the eyes of the "public the coarſes of ſuch as fell before "their prime, nor to ſtay to lengthen the ſolemnity by pomp and funeral orations. He "too in BRITANNICUS had loſt the ſupport "of a brother; hence all his ſurviving hopes "reſted ſolely in the Commonwealth, and

"hence with the greater tenderneſs ought the "Senate and people to cheriſh a Prince, who "alone ſurvived of a family born to ſuſtain "ſovereignty."

HE then diſtinguiſhed his moſt noted friends with great donations; nor were there wanting ſuch as ſeverely cenſured ſome, who, notwithſtanding their avowed gravity, were yet parting amongſt themſelves, like ſpoils taken in war, the poſſeſſions of BRITANNICUS, his palaces in Rome, and his manors and villas throughout Italy. Others believed, that they were conſtrained to accept them, by the authority of the Emperor, who, ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hoped that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes he could engage in his intereſt the moſt powerful men in the ſtate. But his mother's wrath, no liberalities could aſſwage; ſhe was ſtill careſſing OCTAVIA, ſtill holding ſecret cabals with her confidents; and, beſides the uſual cravings of her inherent avarice, ſhe was on all hands exacting and amaſſing treaſure, as if by it ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport. The Tribunes and Centurions ſhe received with great court and affability, and to the quality and merit of ſuch of the virtuous nobility as even then remained, ſhe paid diſtinguiſhed honour; as if ſhe were thus ſtudying to create a party, and find a leader. Theſe her meaſures were known to NERO; and therefore the guards which attended at her gate (a pre-eminence which ſhe held as conſort to the late Emperor,

and had continued to her, as mother to this) were by his order withdrawn, together with the band of Germans which, as an additional honour, had been joined to the former. Moreover, to prevent her being followed by such a throng of courtiers, he separated her habitation from his, and conveyed her into the house which had belonged to ANTONIA. There, as often as he visited her, he went always surrounded with a crowd of officers, and after the short ceremony of returning her salute, immediately departed.

OF all mortal things there is nought so unstable and transitory, as the name of power which stands not upon its own native vigour and basis. Instantly the house of AGRIPPINA was deserted; none appeared to give her consolation, none to visit her, except some few Ladies, and whether from affection or hate they did it, is uncertain. Amongst these was JUNIA SILANA, she who was by MESSALINA divorced from CAIUS SILIUS, as above I have recounted, a Lady signal in her quality, beauty, and lewdness, and one, for a long while, very dear to AGRIPPINA; but, between them afterwards secret heart-burnings and resentments arose, for that SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, a noble youth, purposing to espouse SILANA, was diverted by AGRIPPINA, who urged, "that she "was lewd, and past her prime:" not that she meant to reserve AFRICANUS for herself, but lest by marrying SILANA, he should, as she had no children, with her possess all her wealth.

SILANA,

SILANA, who thought ſhe ſaw a proſpect of vengeance, inſtructed two of her own creatures, ITURIUS and CALVISIUS, to accuſe her; neither did ſhe attack her with ſtale charges often before alledged, ſuch " as her bewailing " the fate of BRITANNICUS, and publiſhing " the wrongs done to OCTAVIA, but with " deſigns to ſtir up RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS to " make a revolution in the ſtate, a nobleman " who, by his mother, was in blood as nigh " as NERO to the deified AUGUSTUS; that by " eſpouſing him and inveſting him with Em- " pire, ſhe meant once more to ſeize the Com- " monwealth." All this was by ITURIUS and CALVISIUS imparted to ATIMETUS freedman to DOMITIA, NERO's aunt. ATIMETUS, overjoyed at the diſcovery, (for between AGRIPPINA and DOMITIA a paſſionate competition was maintained) inſtigated PARIS the player, who was alſo DOMITIA's freedman, to proceed with all haſte to the Emperor, " and " there, in tragical colours, to announce the " crime."

IT was far in night, and NERO was waſting the remainder in carouſing, when PARIS entered, who elſe was wont at ſuch ſeaſons to heighten the voluptuous gayeties of the Prince; but now, with a face carefully framed into ſadneſs, he laid before NERO a minute and orderly detail of the conſpiracy, and by it ſo thoroughly affrighted him, that he not only determined the death of his mother and of PLAUTUS, but alſo to remove BURRHUS the captain of his

guards, as one who owed his promotion to the favour of AGRIPPINA, and would be ready to return her the like good office. We have it upon the authority of FABIUS RUSTICUS, "That to CÆCINA TUSCUS a codicil was al-"ready diſpatched, entruſting him with the "command of the Prætorian bands, but that, "through the credit and mediation of SENECA, "BURRHUS retained his dignity." According to the account of CLUVIUS and PLINY, no jealouſy was entertained concerning the fidelity of the Præfect. But, it muſt be owned that FABIUS manifeſts a conſtant zeal to extoll SENECA, by whoſe friendſhip his own fortune flouriſhed. As my own purpoſe is to follow the general conſent of authors, ſo I ſhall inſert under the name of each whatever they diverſly publiſh. NERO, poſſeſſed with dread, and with a blind paſſion to ſlay his mother, could not be brought to defer his cruel purpoſes, till BURRHUS undertook for her execution, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the imputed crimes; "but, to every one, whoever it were, a "liberty of defence, he ſaid, muſt be granted, "how much more to a mother? Nor, in "truth, againſt her did any accuſers appear, "but only the hearſay of one man, and by "him brought from the houſe of her enemy, "a hearſay too which the circumſtances and "unſeaſonable hour contributed to refute; it "was during the dead darkneſs and ſolitude "of the night, and during a night ſpent in "the feſtivity of banquetting, when all things

"con-

" conſpired to produce only raſh judgment and " uncertainty."

THE Emperor's fears being thus in ſome meaſure aſſwaged and day returned, recourſe was had to AGRIPPINA herſelf, that having notified to her the ſeveral charges againſt her, ſhe might invalidate the ſame, or bear the puniſhment. Theſe orders were performed by BURRHUS, in the preſence of SENECA; there attended likewiſe ſome of the Emperor's freedmen, to watch his diſcourſe. BURRHUS, after he had to her explained her crimes, and given her the names of thoſe who alledged them, proceeded to high words and menaces. AGRIPPINA retained ſtill the wonted fierceneſs of her ſpirit; " I wonder not, ſaid ſhe, that to " SILANA who never bore a child, the tender " affections of a mother are thus unknown; " for children are not ſo eaſily changed by " their parents, as by a harlot are her adul- " terers; nor, becauſe ITURIUS and CALVI- " SIUS, after having riotouſly devoured their " whole fortunes, proſtitute themſelves, for " their laſt reſource, to gratify the vengeance " of an old woman, by turning my accuſers, " does it therefore follow that I am to under- " go the foul infamy of parricide, or that any " apprehenſions ſhould thence alarm the mind " of CÆSAR. As to DOMITIA, I would thank " her even for all the efforts of her enmity to " me, if in inſtances of tenderneſs towards " my child NERO, ſhe would ſtrive to exceed " me. At preſent, by the miniſtration of ATI-

" METUS

" METUS her minion, and of PARIS the player,
" ſhe is framing a plot, like one for the ſtage;
" but ſhe was occupied in trimming the canals
" of her villa at Baiæ, at a time when by my
" councils and management, he was adopted
" into the Claudian name, inveſted with the
" Prpconſular authority, deſigned to the Con-
" ſulſhip, and all other meaſures taken proper
" for acquiring him the Empire. In ſhort,
" produce the perſon, who can charge me,
" either with attempting the faith of the guards
" at Rome, or with ſhaking the allegiance of
" the provinces, or with ſuborning the Prince's
" ſlaves and freedmen to treaſon againſt his
" perſon. Under the reign of BRITANNICUS,
" indeed, had he poſſeſſed the ſovereignty, I
" could have preſerved my life; but, were
" PLAUTUS or any other to gain the ſupreme
" rule, and thence a power of pronouncing
" judgment upon any proceſs againſt me, is it
" likely that I ſhould want accuſers, when,
" even under NERO, there are thoſe who ſtand
" up to accuſe me, not of words, ſometimes
" by me incautiouſly uttered in the heat of
" affection and pity, but of treaſon ſo flagrant,
" that only through the bowels of a ſon for
" his mother, can I be acquitted by mine?"
Compunction ſeized all who attended her; they voluntarily ſtrove to allay the ſwellings of her heart, and ſhe demanded an interview with her ſon. During it, ſhe alledged not a ſyllable in behalf of her innocence, like one who miſtruſted herſelf, nor of his engagements

to

to gratitude, like one who could reproach him for want of it, but inſiſted that vengeance ſhould be done upon her accuſers, recompences be conferred on her friends, and obtained both. To FENIUS RUFUS was granted the ſuperintendance of proviſions, to ARRUNTIUS STELLA the direction of the public ſhews, which the Emperor was preparing to exhibit, and to CAIUS BALBILLUS the government of Ægypt; that of Syria was aſſigned to PUBLIUS ANTEIUS, but by various feints and ſtratagems he was, from time to time, eluded of the poſſeſſion, and at laſt detained for good and all at Rome. SILANA was ſent into exile. CALVISIUS too and ITURIUS were baniſhed. Upon ATIMETUS capital pains were inflicted; but PARIS was of too prevailing conſequence to the Emperor in his debauches, to be ſubjected to puniſhment. PLAUTUS was for the preſent paſſed over in ſilence.

A CHARGE was thereafter brought againſt PALLAS and BURRHUS, "for having engaged "in a deſign of advancing to the Empire COR-"NELIUS SYLLA, in regard of his ſplendid "deſcent and alliance with CLAUDIUS," whoſe ſon-in-law he was, having eſpouſed his daughter ANTONIA. This accuſation was ſupported by one PÆTUS, a fellow infamous for buſily promoting confiſcations in the exchequer, and purchaſing the effects of ſuch as were condemned. Equally notorious too, upon this occaſion, was the vanity and falſhood of his allegations; yet, the apparent innocence of

PALLAS proved not ſo well pleaſing, as his arrogance proved ſhocking; for, upon naming to him thoſe of his freedmen who were ſaid to have been his accomplices, he anſwered, "That at home he never uſed any other way "of ſignifying his pleaſure than ſometimes by "a nod, ſometimes by a motion of his hand; "or, if his commands conſiſted of many par-"ticulars, he then committed the ſame to "writing; ſo that, at all adventures, he ever "avoided to mix in diſcourſe with his dome-"ſtics." BURRHUS, notwithſtanding he was arraigned, ſate and voted with the other judges, and upon the accuſer the doom of baniſhment was inflicted. His duplicates too were burnt, the inſtruments by which he was wont to exact freſh payment to the cancelled claims of the exchequer.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, was removed the band of men which, as a guard, was wont to attend at the celebration of the public plays, thence to exhibit a more plauſible appearance of popular liberty, as alſo to preſerve the ſoldiery from tainting their diſcipline by the diſſolute licentiouſneſs of the theatre, and moreover "to prove, whether "the populace would ſtill retain the ſame "modeſty of behaviour, now the guards were "removed." At the admonitions of the ſoothſayers, the Emperor purified the city by luſtration, for that the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been ſtruck with lightning.

IN

IN the Conſulſhip of QUINTUS VOLUSIUS and PUBLIUS SCIPIO, while profound quiet reigned all over the Empire abroad, abominable revellings prevailed at Rome, under the leading of NERO, who, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, went roaming about the ſtreets, and ſcoured the public inns and ſtews, followed by a ſet of companions, who ſeized as prey whatever ſtood expoſed to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met; and all theſe violences were committed upon people ſo unapprized of the author, that he himſelf was once wounded, and bore the ſcar in his face. When afterwards it came to be divulged, that it was the Emperor who rioted thus, and as freſh outrages were daily done to men and ladies of illuſtrious quality, the name of NERO being once uſed to warrant licentiouſneſs, was falſly aſſumed as a cloak by others, and many with their own ſeparate gangs boldly practiſed the ſame exceſſes. So that ſuch were the nightly combuſtions at Rome, as if the city had been ſtormed and the inhabitants taken captive. JULIUS MONTANUS, one in the rank of Senators, but hitherto inveſted with no Magiſtracy, having caſually encountered the Prince in the dark, reſolutely repulſed his aſſaults, and afterwards diſcovering him, implored his forgiveneſs; but, as if he had reproached the Emperor, by owning that he knew him, he was compelled to die. Thenceforward, however, NERO became more fearful, and in theſe his rambles fortified himſelf with a party of ſoldiers

diers and a great train of Gladiators. Theſe interpoſed not in the beginning of a fray, nor while the ſame continued but moderately high, as if it were only a quarrel between particulars, and they were unconcerned; but, if ſuch as were inſulted, reſiſted with vigour, inſtantly the men of arms fell on. Nay, at the diverſions of the theatre, the ſeveral parties that favoured particular players, were by him turned into hoſtile factions, encountering as it were in battle, animated, indeed, by the influence of impunity and rewards. Beſides, he greedily attended thoſe broils, ſometimes concealed, and often as an avowed ſpectator. Theſe tumults went on, till the people being heated and rent into diſſenſions, and commotions ſtill more terrible apprehended, no other remedy was found but that of driving the players out of Italy, and of recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre.

ABOUT the ſame time the Senate had under conſideration the inſolence and baſe dealings of the Freedmen towards their Lords; and it was demanded with great eagerneſs, "That "to patrons a privilege ſhould be granted of "revoking the liberty of ſuch as ungratefully "uſed it." For this many were ready to vote; but the Conſuls were afraid to propoſe the queſtion, without apprizing the Prince: they, however, acquainted him by writing, with the concurrence and biaſs of the Senate, and conſulted him whether he would be declared the author of this decree, which was oppoſed by

ſo few. They laid before him the reaſonings on both ſides, as ſome urged with great vehemence and reſentment, "That, ſince their inveſtiture with liberty, to ſuch an exceſs of inſolence they had ſoared, that they ſcarce allowed their patrons the common treatment of equals, but aſſailed them with inſults and violence, ſpurned at their motions in the Senate, lifted up their hands againſt them, threatened them with blows; and, with outrageous impudence, warned their patrons from proſecuting the delinquencies of theſe their former ſlaves. And, in truth, what higher ſatisfaction or amends was permitted to the abuſed patron, than to baniſh his criminal freedmen an hundred miles off, into the pleaſant confines of Campania? In every other circumſtance the privileges of the freedman were the ſame with thoſe of his patron. It was therefore expedient to arm the patron with ſome prerogative not to be deſpiſed; nor could it be deemed any grievance upon ſlaves manumiſed, to preſerve their liberty by the ſame dutiful obſervances by which they attained it. And, for thoſe already notoriouſly guilty, it was but juſt to remand them to the yoke of ſervitude, that through their example, fear might curb ſuch as benefits could not amend."

On the other ſide it was argued, "That the tranſgreſſion of a few ought to prove pernicious only to themſelves, and nothing be derogated from the eſtabliſhed rights of all; they

"were

" were a body widely diffuſed; from thence " in a good meaſure the tribes were ſupplied, " and the colleges of ſcribes often filled. From " the ſame ſource aroſe the ſeveral officers at- " tending the Magiſtrates and Pontiffs; from " thence too the city cohorts were enrolled, " nor from any other original did a multitude " of Knights and many Senators derive their " pedigree. Now if from the ſeveral ranks " the deſcendents of freedmen were ſeparated, " there would quickly be diſcovered a mani- " feſt ſcarcity of ſuch as were originally free. " Not without good ground had our anceſtors, " when they aſcertained the diſtinction and " privileges of the three orders, awarded un- " diſtinguiſhed liberty to all men. Beſides, " there were two kinds of manumiſſion ap- " pointed, on purpoſe to reſerve a latitude for " revoking liberty, where the grant was re- " pented, or for the exerciſe of freſh gene- " roſity, by rendering the favour irrevocable. " Thoſe who had not been by their patron " regularly freed before the Prætor, remained " ſtill bound to him by a certain tye of ſervi- " tude. Every patron muſt examine carefully " the merit of ſuch as he meant to diſcharge, " and grant with deliberation an immunity, " which once granted he could never annull." This opinion prevailed; and NERO wrote to the Senate, that they ſhould try the offences of freedmen ſingly, whenever they were proſe- cuted by their patrons, but in nothing retrench from the rights of the body. Not long after

NERO

NERO bereft DOMITIA, his aunt, of PARIS her freedman, an act done by pretended law, to the great infamy of the Prince, ſince by his ſpecial authority was obtained the judgment which aſſerted him free born.

THERE, however, ſubſiſted ſtill ſome reſemblance of the ancient Republic: for, in the conteſt which aroſe between VIBULLIUS the Prætor and ANTISTIUS Tribune of the people, about ſome turbulent partizans of the players, by the Prætor caſt into irons, and by order of the Tribune releaſed; the Senate affirmed the judgment of VIBULLIUS, and reprimanded the arbitrary conduct of ANTISTIUS. The Tribunes were moreover prohibited from entrenching upon the juriſdiction of the Prætors and Conſuls, as alſo from ſummoning before them out of any quarters of Italy ſuch as might be tried at tribunals of their own. It was added by LUCIUS PISO Conſul elect, "That "in their own houſes they ſhould not be "allowed to exert any act of power, nor that "under four months the Quæſtors of the Ex-"chequer ſhould regiſter the mulcts by them "laid; that in the interval there ſhould be "privilege to controvert their ſentence, and "that by one of the Conſuls the conteſt ſhould "be determined." The juriſdiction too of the Ædiles was further ſtraitened, and it was ſettled how high the Patrician Ædiles, how high the Plebeian, might exact ſureties, and to what value impoſe penalties. Theſe proceedings encouraged HELVIDIUS PRISCUS to gratify

his own perſonal pique againſt OBULTRONIUS SABINUS Quæſtor of the Exchequer, by charging him, "that by his prerogative of confiſ-"cating goods for taxes, he unmercifully ex-"torted upon the poor and inſolvent." After this, the management of the Exchequer was by the Prince removed from the Quæſtors, and committed to the Præfects.

VARIOUS had been the regulations of this office, and its form often altered; for, AUGUSTUS had left to the Senate the power of chuſing the Præfects. Thereafter, as the ſuffrages were ſuſpected to have been gained by caballing, out of the liſt of Prætors were drawn by lot ſuch as were to preſide there. Neither held this expedient long; for that the blind lot often ſtrayed, and fell upon thoſe who were little qualified. CLAUDIUS therefore once more reſtored the Quæſtors; and, that the fear of raiſing enemies might not ſlacken their activity and inſpection, he promiſed them, by ſpecial diſpenſation, an immediate deſignation to the greater Magiſtracies; but, as this was the firſt which they ſuſtained, ripeneſs of age was found wanting in them; hence NERO choſe into their places ſuch as had exerciſed the Prætorſhip, and were of tried abilities.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls was condemned VIPSANIUS LENAS, for his rapacious adminiſtration in Sardinia. CESTIUS PROCULUS charged with extortion (his accuſers acquieſcing) was acquitted. CLODIUS QUIRINALIS, Admiral of the galleys which rode at Ravenna,

as

as he ſtood convicted, "for having by his profligate manners and acts of cruelty, infeſted "Italy, and treated it as the moſt abject of all "nations," prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation. CANINIUS REBILUS, one of the firſt rank in Rome, for his abilities in the law, and his abundant treaſures, choſe a quick releaſe from the torments of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, a man never before eſteemed of magnanimity ſufficient to encounter a voluntary death, infamous as he was for a life of laſciviouſneſs and effeminacy. But, illuſtrious and amiable in fame, departed LUCIUS VOLUSIUS, after a long life of ninety three years, and the upright acquiſition of ſignal opulence, with the ſingular felicity of having never rouſed the cruel ſpirit of ſo many Emperors.

DURING the ſecond Conſulſhip of NERO, and that of LUCIUS PISO his collegue, few events occurred worthy commemoration, unleſs any writer liked to fill pages in magnifying the vaſt foundations and wooden ſtructure of the new Amphitheatre, an immenſe pile then erected by the Emperor in the Field of MARS. But, to the dignity of the Roman people it belongs, that in their Hiſtory ſhould be inſerted illuſtrious events only, and in the City-Journals ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe. The Colonies however of Capua and Nuceria were ſtrengthened by a ſupply of Veterans; to the populace was diſtributed a largeſs of four hundred ſmall te-

ſterces * a man; and into the Exchequer was conveyed the ſum of four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces †; as a fund to ſupport the credit ofthe Roman people. Moreover, the duty of four in the hundred upon the ſale of ſlaves, was remitted, an act rather ſpecious in appearance than of any efficacy; for, as the ſeller was obliged to pay it, he thence raiſed the price upon the buyer. The Emperor too iſſued an edict, "that no Procurator, or any other "Magiſtrate, who had obtained a charge in "any province, ſhould exhibit a ſpectacle of "Gladiators, or of wild beaſts, nor any other "popular entertainment whatſoever." For, before this, they had by ſuch acts of munificence no leſs afflicted thoſe under their juriſdiction, than by plundering them of their money, whilſt, under the influence of ſuch court to the multitude, they ſheltered their arbitrary delinquencies and rapine.

A DECREE of Senate alſo paſſed equally tending to the avenging of crimes, and providing for domeſtic ſecurity, "that if any one "was killed by his ſlaves, thoſe too, whom "by his laſt will he had made free, if they "ſtill continued under the ſame roof, ſhould "amongſt his other ſlaves ſuffer execution." LUCIUS VARIUS, one who had been Conſul, but for the crimes of rapine formerly branded with degradation, was now reſtored to his primitive dignity, and POMPONIA GRÆCINA a

* Betwixt twelve and thirteen Crowns.

† Three Millions one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds.

Lady

Lady of ſignal quality, arraigned of having embraced an extraneous ſuperſtition, was preferred to the inquiſition of her husband; for ſhe was married to PLAUTIUS, the ſame who upon his return from Britain, entered the city in the pomp of *Ovation*. PLAUTIUS aſſembled her kindred, and, in obſervance of primitive inſtitution, having in their preſence taken cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, adjudged her innocent. To a great age this Lady lived, and under inceſſant ſorrow; for ever after the untimely fate of JULIA, (the daughter of DRUSUS) procured by the perfidious ſnares of MESSALINA, ſhe wore for the ſpace of forty years, no habit but that of mourning, entertained no ſentiments but thoſe of grief, a temper which during the reign of CLAUDIUS eſcaped with impunity, and redounded thereafter to her glory.

THE ſame year produced many arraignments, and amongſt them one againſt PUBLIUS CELER, proſecuted by the province of Aſia, with ſuch inconteſtable evidence, that the Emperor, finding no pretence to diſcharge him, lengthened out the proceſs till he died of old age. For, CELER having, as is above remembered, diſpatched by poiſon the Proconſul SILANUS, ſkreened under that mighty iniquity all his other enormities. COSSUTIANUS CAPITO was impleaded by the Cilicians, " as a man utterly " abominable and infamous, one who claimed " authority to commit in his province the ſame " bold exorbitancies which in Rome he had

" committed." And he found himſelf ſo ſorely beſet with the vigour of the accuſation, that at laſt he wholly abandoned his defence, and was condemned by the law againſt extortion. But, for EPRIUS MARCELLUS, who was charged by thoſe of Lycia with the violation of that very law, a faction ſo powerful was formed, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſhed with exile, " as if they had conſpired the ruin of an in-" nocent man."

WITH NERO, now in his third Conſulſhip, VALERIUS MESSALA commenced collegue, he whoſe great grandfather CORVINUS the Orator, was by ſome old men (very few) remembered to have been collegue in the ſame Magiſtracy with the deified AUGUSTUS, who, by one degree more remote, was anceſtor to NERO. But, as an additional honour to that illuſtrious famil'y, a yearly penſion was preſented to MESSALA, of about twelve thouſand crowns, that by it he might relieve his honeſt poverty, and ſtill ſupport his integrity. To AURELIUS COTTA alſo, and HATERIUS ANTONINUS, annual appointments were aſſigned by the Prince, though they had waſted in voluptuouſneſs their paternal wealth. In the beginning of this year the war between the Parthians and Romans, for the maſtery of Armenia, though it had commenced with faint efforts, and hitherto lingered, was proſecuted with vigour; for, VOLOGESES would neither ſuffer his brother TIRIDATES to be bereft of the monarchy by himſelf conferred upon him, nor to hold the ſame as a gift from any

any other power; and CORBULO, esteemed it becoming the grandeur of the Roman people, to re-establish the conquests formerly made by LUCULLUS and POMPEY. Moreover the Armenians, a people of double and faithless minds, invited the arms and protection of both, though, from the situation of their country and similitude of manners, they stood in nearer conformity to the Parthians, being besides commonly linked with them in conjugal alliances; and, being destitute of all experience or sense of liberty, they were thence rather addicted to Parthian slavery.

BUT, to CORBULO it proved greater labour to struggle with the degenerate sloth of his soldiers, than against the perfidious dealings of his enemies. For, the Legions brought out of Syria, and enervated by long peace, bore with much impatience the laborious occupations of war. It fully appeared that in that army there were those who had served to the age of Veterans, and yet had never kept guard, never stood sentry, men who beheld entrenchments and pallisades as sights new and wonderful, and who, in spruce apparel and pursuit of gain, without ever wearing helmet or body-armour, had amongst the delicacies of cities fulfilled the term of their service. Having therefore discharged such as were enfeebled by sickness or age, he sent to demand recruits. Hence levies were made through Cappadocia and Galatia, and to these was added a Legion from Germany, with some wings of horse and

a detachment of infantry from the Cohorts. The whole army too was incamped; though ſuch was the rigour of the winter, and ſo ſtubbornly had the froſt bound the earth, that without digging they could not pierce it in order to pitch their tents. Many had their limbs utterly ſcorched up by the raging cold, and ſome, as they ſtood ſentry, were frozen to death. More remarkable ſtill was the fate of one particular ſoldier, whoſe hands, as he carried in them a bundle of wood, ſtiffened and mortified ſo ſuddenly, that ſtill claſping their burden they dropped from his arms. The General himſelf, in a thin habit and his head bare, whether they marched or worked, was hourly amongſt them, commending the magnanimous, heartening the weak, and exhibiting an example to all. Next, as many refuſed to bear the aſperity of the weather and ſervice, and began to depart, he had recourſe to ſeverity for a cure; for, he proceeded not as in the other armies, where the firſt or ſecond offence was forgiven, but whoever deſerted his colours, was inſtantly put to death; a courſe which was by experience proved to be wholeſome, and preferable to that of clemency, ſince from his camp there were fewer deſertions, than from thoſe in which acts of mercy were wont to prevail.

CORBULO, the while, holding his Legions encamped, waited the advancement of the ſpring, and, having quartered the auxiliary Cohorts in convenient places, expreſly forewarned them

them that they ſhould not venture to engage firſt in a battle. The ſuperintendance of theſe garriſons he conferred upon PACTIUS ORPHITUS, one who had ſerved as Lieutenant Colonel of a Legion. This officer, although he acquainted the General by letter, that the Barbarians acted negligently, and thence an opportunity preſented of aſſailing them with ſucceſs, was ordered to abide within his entrenchments, and wait for greater forces; but, he broke through his orders, for, upon the arrival of ſome few troops of horſe, who, aſſembling from the neighbouring caſtles, raſhly demanded battle, he encountered the enemy, and was routed. Thoſe too, who ought to have reinforced him, being themſelves terrified with his diſaſter, betook themſelves to a cowardly and tumultuous flight, and returned to their ſeveral fortifications; an event which grievouſly affected CORBULO. Hence, after he had bitterly reproached PACTIUS himſelf and the captains and common ſoldiers, he expelled them all from the camp, doomed them to lie on the other ſide its encloſure, without tents or defence; and under this contumelious puniſhment they were held, till, at the univerſal ſupplications of the whole army, they were releaſed.

NOW TIRIDATES, who over and above the forces which he drew from his own vaſſals, was ſupported by the might of his brother VOLOGESES, proceeded no longer againſt Armenia by diſguiſed efforts, but attacked it with open war, and, upon all ſuch as he ſuſpected of attach-

attachment to us, committed depredations, but, where troops were drawn out againſt him, eluded the encounter, ſcouring to and fro, and affecting greater matters by the fame and terror of his incurſions, than by any exploits in fight. CORBULO therefore, having long laboured to come to an engagement, and being ſtill fruſtrated, found himſelf obliged to follow the method of the enemy, and make a circulatory war. Hence he diſtributed his forces ſo that his ſeveral Lieutenants might at once attack diverſe quarters; he at the ſame directed King ANTIOCHUS to fall into the Armenian diſtricts which lay contiguous to his own. For, as to PHARASMANES King of Hiberia, having for the imputation of treaſon ſlain his ſon RHADAMISTUS, he was already, in order to diſplay his fidelity towards us, renewing with the more acrimony againſt the Armenians the exerciſe of his inveterate hate. The Inſechians too, a people ſince ſingularly attached to the Roman intereſt, were then firſt engaged in our alliance, and over-run the wilds of Armenia. Thus all the meaſures of TIRIDATES proved abortive and contradictory, ſo that he diſpatched Embaſſadors to expoſtulate, in his own name and that of the Parthians; " upon what ſcore it " was that, after he had ſo lately delivered " hoſtages to the Romans, and with them re- " newed his former amity, which might reaſon- " ably have proved to him a ſource of new " friendſhip, he muſt yet be chaſed out of " Armenia, a Kingdom ſo long in the poſſeſ-

" ſion

" ſion of his anceſtors? Hence it was, that " VOLOGESES had not hitherto taken arms in " perſon, becauſe they both deſired to com- " mit the juſtice of their cauſe to the way of " accommodation rather than to that of vio- " lence. But, if war were ſtill to be obſti- " nately purſued, the Arſacides would not find " themſelves forſaken of that victorious bra- " very ſo often tried by the Romans, in many " bloody overthrows." CORBULO was well informed, that what engaged VOLOGESES was the revolt of Hyrcania. He therefore, in anſwer to TIRIDATES, perſuaded him to apply to the Emperor with ſupplications; " hence " he might enjoy his Kingdom in ſecurity, " and an eſtabliſhment without the expence " of blood, if rejecting his remote and tedious " hopes, he would cloſe with ſounder meaſures " already concerted."

BUT, as the buſineſs of peace was nothing advanced by an intercourſe of meſſengers, it was at laſt judged proper to aſcertain a time and place for an interview between the two chiefs. TIRIDATES declared, "that he would " come attended only by a guard of a thou- " ſand horſe, but would not reſtrain CORBULO " to any number of troops of any kind, pro- " vided they came without armour, as a proof " of their diſpoſition to peace." This perfi- dious wile of the Barbarian muſt have appeared manifeſt to every man breathing, eſpecially to an old and cautious Captain, ſince, by limit- ing the number of men on one ſide, and leaving liberty

liberty for a greater number on the other, nothing but a ſnare could be intended. For, againſt a body of Parthian horſemen conſtantly trained in the uſe of the bow, any numbers whatever, when naked of armour, would avail nothing. CORBULO, however, diſguiſed all his apprehenſions of guile, and returned anſwer, "that matters which concerned the "intereſt of both their ſtates, would be more "properly diſcuſſed in preſence of both ar-"mies." Hence he choſe a ſtation conſiſting partly of hills riſing with a gentle ſlope, fit for embattling his infantry, partly of a large plain, affording ſcope for ranging the ſquadrons of horſe. On the day appointed, CORBULO advanced firſt, on the wings he poſted the ſocial troops and the auxiliary forces ſent by the confederate Kings, in the center the ſixth Legion, which he had ſtrengthened with three thouſand men of the third, led by night from another camp, all mixed together under one Eagle, to preſerve ſtill the appearance of a ſingle Legion. TIRIDATES at laſt appeared, but late in the day, and afar off, from whence he could be eaſier ſeen than heard. So that the Roman General, having obtained no conference, ordered his men to retire to their ſeveral camps.

THE King too retreated in haſte, whether it were that he apprehended a deſign to ſurprize him, for that the Romans filed off in different routs, or, that he meant to intercept their proviſions which were coming from Trebizond and the Euxine ſea. But, as the proviſions paſſed over

over the mountains, which were ſecured by ſeveral bands of our men, he found no means to attack them; and CORBULO the while, that the war might not thus linger without action, and in order to force the Armenians to defend their own dwellings, ſet himſelf to raze their ſtrong holds. The attack of the ſtrongeſt of all thoſe in that quarter, the fort named Volandum, he reſerved to himſelf; and to CORNELIUS FLACCUS his Lieutenant, and INSTEIUS CAPITO Camp Marſhal, committed thoſe of ſmaller note. Having therefore viewed the fortifications and prepared all things requiſite for ſtorming the place, he exhorted his men, "to exterminate that baſe and vagabond foe, "never prepared for war, yet never diſpoſed "to peace, but ſtill by flight confeſſing faith-"leſsneſs and cowardice; do this, ſaid he, and "at once purſue a harveſt of ſpoil and glory." He then diſtributed his forces into four diviſions; one he formed cloſe under their ſhields into the military ſhell, in order to overthrow the palliſade and undermine the rampart; others were ordered, by ladders to mount the walls, and a party to manage the engines, and thence annoy the fortreſs with ſhowers of darts and artificial fire. To the archers too and ſlingers a quarter was aſſigned whence they might from afar diſcharge volleys of ſtones and bullets. So that every part of the fortreſs being aſſailed, and the conſternation every where equal, no one quarter of the beſieged might be at leiſure to relieve another. All

this was executed by the beſiegers with ſuch ſpirit and vigour, that in a few hours the defendants were entirely driven from the walls, the gates were forced, the bulwarks ſcaled, and all that were arrived to full age, put to the edge of the ſword, without the loſs of one of our men, and very few were wounded. The weak and mixt multitude were ſold by the public cryer, and to the conquerors remained all the reſt of the ſpoil. Equal ſucceſs attended the Lieutenant General and Camp Marſhal; in one day they took three caſtles by ſtorm, inſomuch that all the others, ſome from dread, others from the inclination of the inhabitants, ſurrendered. Such a ſeries of good fortune inſpired a reſolution, to attempt the ſiege of Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The Legions were not however conducted thither the ſhorteſt road; for that, in paſſing the bridge over the Araxes, which waſhes the walls of the city, they would have been expoſed to be galled by the enemy. Fetching therefore a long circuit, they forded over upon the large ſhallows.

As to TIRIDATES, he ſtruggled between ſhame and fear; if he gave way to the ſiege, it would appear that there was no reliance upon any relief or force from him; if he attempted to prevent it, he muſt be hemmed in with his cavalry in cloſe and intricate places. At laſt, he determined to ſhew himſelf in order of battle, and at break of day begin the onſet, or by a feigned flight try to draw the Romans into a ſnare.

With great ſuddenneſs therefore he beſet them, but without any ſurprize to our General, who had formed his army as well for a fight as a march. On the right marched the third Legion, on the left the ſixth, and in the center a choſen detachment from the tenth; the baggage was ſecured between the ranks, and a thouſand horſe guarded the rear. Theſe laſt were ordered "to repulſe the foe, if they "made any cloſe attack, but, not to purſue "them when they fled." The foot archers and remainder of the horſe were placed on the wings, but the left was the moſt extended, and reached to the roots of the hills, that, if the enemy attempted an onſet there, he might be encountered at once by our front, and by the heart of the army. TIRIDATES, on his ſide, pickeered about, yet never approached within the throw of a dart, but, now braving us with the countenance of an aſſailant, then aſſuming an air of diſmay, provoked us to looſen our ranks, that he might fall upon us when we were disjoyned. When he ſaw no unwary relaxation in our order, and that only one captain of horſe, who had adventured too raſhly, was by a volley of arrows ſlain, and by his fate had confirmed all the reſt in ſubmiſſion to diſcipline, he marched off at the cloſe of the evening.

CORBULO encamped upon the place, and, ſuppoſing that TIRIDATES had retired to Artaxata, was unreſolved whether he ſhould march thither the ſame night with his Legions unincumbered

cumbered by baggage, and immediately inveſt it; but, upon tidings brought him by his ſpies, that the King had undertaken a long rout; though it was uncertain whether towards the regions of Media or Albania, he waited for the morning, and diſpatched his troops lightly armed to beſet the city, and begin the ſtorm of the place by a diſtant attack. But the citizens voluntarily opening their gates, made an unreſerved ſurrender to the Romans; by this their perſons were ſecured. The city was fired, and laid level with the ground, for ſuch was the wide circuit of its walls, that, without a powerful garriſon, they could not be defended, nor were our forces ſufficiently large to fill the garriſon, and yet to proſecute the war; or, had it been left untouched and deſtitute of a guard, there had been no profit nor glory in having taken it. To this relation of the fall of the city is added a Phænomenon, which was deemed miraculous, as a ſignal ſent immediately from heaven, for that, while all the region round the walls and cloſe to them, was glorioufly irradiated by the ſun, the whole ſpace incompaſſed by them, was ſo ſuddenly darkened by a thick cloud, ſpangled with lightening and roaring with thunder, that it was believed the angry Gods, to ſatiate their vengeance, had conſigned that city to utter deſtruction.

FOR theſe proſperous exploits NERO was proclaimed *Imperator*, and, by decree of Senate, days of public devotion were appointed, with

with ſtatues of victory to the Prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the Conſulſhip. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city was won, the day when the news arrived at Rome, and the day that produced this decree, ſhould all be enrolled amongſt the annual feſtivals, with ſeveral other particulars of the ſame ſtamp, ſo much beyond all meaſure, that CAIUS CASSIUS, though he had agreed to the former, yet argued here, "That were "every inſtance of public proſperity to be "attended with public thankſgiving, the whole "year would not afford days enough for days "of devotion; a juſt diſtribution ought there-"fore to be made between days of devotion "and days of buſineſs, in ſuch ſort that the "worſhip of the Gods might be ſolemnized, "without interfering with the ſecular buſineſs "of men."

THEREAFTER was impleaded a man, who had paſſed through various revolutions of life, and juſtly incurred much hatred, and many enmities; yet obnoxious as he was, his condemnation drew an imputation and blemiſh upon SENECA. It was PUBLIUS SUILIUS, he who, during the reign of CLAUDIUS, had borne ſuch terrible ſway, and exerciſed ſuch a venal ſpirit, and though now by the change of times, conſiderably ſunk, yet not ſo low as his enemies wiſhed. Beſides, he was one, who choſe rather to bear the character of a criminal, than deſcend to that of a ſupplicant. Hence the decree of Senate made at this time

for the revival of the Cincian law, which ſubjected to penalties all thoſe who had pleaded for pay, was thought to have paſſed on purpoſe to ruine him. Nor did SUILIUS, on his part, ſpare to retort complaints and recriminations, but, vehement as he ever was in his temper, now too, extremely old, and thence indulging avowed freedom, upbraided SENECA, "as an inveterate foe to all the friends of "CLAUDIUS, during whoſe reign he had been "juſtly doomed to exile; as one who, being "himſelf converſant in ſtupid and inſignificant "ſtudies, and in teaching ſcholars, was actu-"ated by envy towards all ſuch, who in de-"fending the rights of their fellow citizens, "exerciſed vigorous eloquence, free from pe-"dantry and corruption. For himſelf; he had "been Quæſtor to GERMANICUS, but SENECA "the adulterer of GERMANICUS's daughter. "Now, was it to be judged a more heinous "offence, to purſue the advantages of a wor-"thy vocation, by accepting a reward from a "ſuitor, who freely gives it, than to conta-"minate the beds of Princeſſes? By what "precepts of wiſdom, by what principles of "philoſophy, had he, during four years of "imperial favour, amaſſed a treaſure of more "than ſeven millions? Through Rome he "hunted after teſtaments and inheritances, the "rich and childiſh were catched, as it were, "in his net, and all Italy and the Provinces "were, by his mighty and exceſſive uſury, "exhauſted. But ſmall is my own wealth,

" and with induſtry acquired; and upon the " whole, I am determined rather to undergo " the heavieſt proſecution, the ſevereſt ſen- " tence and doom, and every degree of hard- " ſhip and ſuffering, than debaſe a diſtinguiſhed " reputation, the acquiſition of a long life, and " bend to this ſudden ſon of felicity."

THERE were ſome too, who failed not to relate to SENECA all theſe reproaches, in the ſame angry ſtrain, or in one ſtill more embittered. Accuſers, moreover, were found, who arraigned him, " for his exceſſes in Aſia, when " he ruled as Quæſtor there, for plundering the " inhabitants, and robbing from the public " revenue." But, as a whole year was granted them for preparing their evidence, it was deemed a quicker expedient to proceed upon his enormities at Rome, of all which there were in ſtore ready witneſſes. By theſe it was urged, " That by a virulent accuſation, he had " driven QUINTUS POMPONIUS upon the ne- " ceſſity of raiſing a civil war; by him was " procured the violent death of POPPÆA SA- " BINA, and of JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS; " of his framing was the doom of VALERIUS " ASIATICUS, of LUSIUS SATURNINUS, and " of CORNELIUS LUPUS. Add to theſe, whole " bands of Roman Knights, at his inſtigation " condemned; with all the long train of cru- " elties during the reign of CLAUDIUS." For upon SUILIUS they charged the whole. In his defence he began to alledge, " That of all " theſe accumulated proſecutions, he had of

" his own inclination engaged in none, but " purely in obedience to the Prince." But NERO checked this plea, and teſtified that, from the Memoirs of CLAUDIUS, he had found, that no accuſation whatſoever had ever been undertaken by compulſion from him. The accuſed then pleaded the uncontroulable orders of MESSALINA; an impotent defence! " for " why had no other advocates but only SUI- " LIUS, been ſingled out, to have lent their " eloquence for accompliſhing the purpoſes of " that bloody proſtitute? In truth, the mini- " ſters and promoters of ſuch black deeds " muſt be puniſhed, they who, having received " the wages of their iniquities, would upon " others father the iniquities themſelves." A part of his eſtate was therefore confiſcated; for to his ſon and grand-daughter the other part was granted, beſides that from the ſentence were alſo exempted the fortunes left them by the will of their mother, and that of their grand-father. He himſelf was baniſhed to the iſles Baleares; but, neither during the heat and peril of the proſecution, nor after his condemnation, was his ſpirit in the leaſt ſunk or diſmayed. He was even ſaid to have paſſed his ſolitary exile in a life of voluptuouſneſs and pleaſure. In hatred to him, NERULINUS his ſon was alſo arraigned, upon the crimes of public rapine; but NERO interpoſed, and alledged, that by the doom of the father, public vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated.

ABOUT the ſame time OCTAVIUS SAGITTA, Tribune of the people, intoxicated with a paſſion for PONTIA, a married woman, gained her by vaſt preſents, firſt to conſent to the adultery, afterwards to quit her husband, engaging himſelf and her in a promiſe of marriage after the divorce. But the woman, when ſhe found herſelf ſingle, framed delays from time to time, pleaded the oppoſition of her father, and then, having diſcovered ſome hopes of a wealthier husband, quite renounced her engagement. OCTAVIUS failed not to combat this reſolution; one moment broke into complaints, the next into menaces; he adjured her by the reputation which for her he had ſhipwrecked, by the wealth which upon her he had totally conſumed; laſtly, he told her, that his life and perſon was the only fortune left him, and of that too the diſpoſal lay wholly in her breaſt. At length, perceiving her deaf to all his reaſonings, he requeſted the conſolation of one parting night; for that thus calmed and gratified, he would thenceforth be able to govern his paſſion. The night was granted and named, and PONTIA appointed a maid, her confident to ſecure the chamber. SAGITTA brought with him one freedman, and a dagger concealed under his robe. The interview began, as uſual in combinations of love and anger, with a medley of chiding and beſeeching, of reproaches and ſubmiſſions; and part too of the night was devoted to joy and embraces. At laſt, he became enraged with

expoſtulations and deſpair, and ſuddenly plunged his dagger into her heart, (free as ſhe was of all dread) beat down and wounded the maid, who was flying to her aſſiſtance, and burſt out of the chamber. Next day the murder was divulged; and, by what hand, was apparent, for it was proved they had lodged together; but the freedman adopted the guilt. He averred, that the aſſaſſination was of his own committing, to procure juſt vengeance to an injured maſter; and, by the exemplary greatneſs of ſuch behaviour, many were induced to believe him, till the maid, when ſhe was healed of her wound, fully diſcloſed the author, and all the particulars; ſo that the Tribune was arraigned before the Conſuls by the father of the deceaſed, and, at the expiration of his office, condemned by the Senate to the penalties of the Cornelian Law.

AN inſtance of lewdneſs no leſs notorious, proved this year the ſource of heavy calamities to the Roman ſtate. In the city lived a daughter of TITUS OLLIUS, but, as POPPÆUS SABINUS her mother's father, had ſhone in the Commonwealth, and from the Conſular dignity and glory of a triumph, acquired an illuſtrious name, from his ſhe took her own, that of SABINA POPPÆA; for, OLLIUS, ere yet he had overtaken any public dignity, was ſwallowed up by the fatal friendſhip of SEJANUS. This Lady poſſeſſed every ornament but that of a virtuous ſoul; for, from her mother, who in beauty had excelled all the women of her time,

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ſhe derived her lovelineſs, as well as the glory of deſcent; the luſtre of her birth was ſupported by proportionable wealth; her ſpeech was ſoft and engaging, her wit pertinent, modeſty the part ſhe perſonated, lewdneſs that ſhe practiſed. It was rare that ſhe appeared abroad, then too part of her face hid under her veil, the more to ſtimulate the curious beholders, or, perhaps, becauſe thus ſhe was ſtill more charming. By the awe of fame ſhe was never controuled; between husband and adulterer, ſhe made no diſtinction; by no man's paſſion was ſhe ever biaſſed, nor even by her own; wherever her intereſt appeared, thither ſhe tranſferred her lewd pleaſures. Hence, though ſhe was married to RUFIUS CRISPINUS, a Roman Knight, and by him had brought forth a ſon, ſhe was carried away by the gay youth and profuſeneſs of OTHO, eſpecially for that he was eſteemed to reign, beyond all others, in the affection of NERO, nor was it long ere this commerce of adultery was followed by their intermarriage.

IT became now the ordinary language of OTHO, to extol to the Prince the beauty and delicate charms of his wife, either, as he was prompted by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover, or deſigned to enflame NERO with the like paſſion, and from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, hoped to find an additional ſupport to his preſent authority. It was uſual to hear him boaſt, as he roſe from the Emperor's table, "That he now retired to

" the ſum of all nobleneſs and lovelineſs, her " who was the centre of every joy and felicity, " the deſire of all men, but happily his own " peculiar lot." After theſe and the like incitements, NERO deferred not long his own gratification; an interview was appointed, where POPPÆA, at firſt, employed all her ſoft arts and careſſes, and by them intirely ſubdued him; ſhe feigned herſelf ſmitten with his fine perſon, and wholly overcome by her paſſion for him. But, when ſhe had worked up the Prince's affection to a pitch of impatience, ſhe changed her former behaviour into haughtineſs and deſpite. If ſhe were detained above a night or two, " ſhe was a married woman, " ſhe cried, nor could ſhe relinquiſh her hus- " band, as to him ſhe was engaged by a way " of living, which no other man could equal. " OTHO was magnificent in his perſon, gene- " rous in his ſpirit; in him ſhe beheld every " thing worthy the moſt exalted fortune. " NERO was attached to ACTE, thence inured " to the embraces of a ſlave, and could from " a fellowſhip ſo wretched and ſervile, derive " nothing but ſordidneſs and ſervility." Upon this, OTHO became degraded from his uſual intimacy with the Emperor, then debarred of all intercourſe, and even acceſs; and, at laſt, to prevent all his rival practices in Rome, was preferred to the government of Luſitania, a government which he adminiſtered, till the beginning of the civil wars, with eminent uprightneſs and honour, and wide of all the courſes

courſes of his former diſſolute life; a proof of his various character, that of an unbridled voluptuary in a private ſtation, in authority obſerving gravity, and juſt reſtraints.

NERO as yet endeavoured to find diſguiſes for his vileneſſes and crimes. He, whom of all others he apprehended moſt, was CORNELIUS SYLLA, miſtaking the heavy ſpirit of the man for deep artifice and diſſimulation. Theſe apprehenſions were inflamed by GRAPTUS, a freedman of his, an ancient domeſtic of the court, ever ſince the reign of TIBERIUS, and being well practiſed in the dark devices of the Emperors, he, upon this occaſion, framed the following forgery. The Milvian Bridge was then the famous ſcene of nocturnal revellings, and thither NERO frequently reſorted, that there he might more licentiouſly riot without the city. GRAPTUS therefore feigned, "That "a plot had been laid for him, as he ſhould "return from thence by the Flaminian Way, "but, by the benignity of fate, he had eſcaped "it in coming home through the Gardens of "SALLUST, and of this treaſon SYLLA was "the author." The fact was, that as ſome of the Emperor's attendants were repairing back to the palace, certain young companions, indulging a ſort of licentiouſneſs then univerſally practiſed, had filled them with cauſeleſs fears. But, amongſt theſe companions not a ſlave of SYLLA's was obſerved, nor one of his dependents; and for himſelf, his courage was ſo utterly deſpicable, and ſo unequal to any enter-

enterprize, that his very nature was repugnant to every attempt of treaſon. Nevertheleſs, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, he was baniſhed his country, and confined within the walls of Marſeilles.

DURING the ſame Conſuls were heard the deputies from Puzzoli, ſome diſpatched by their Senate, others by the populace, the former inveighing againſt the violence of the multitude, the latter againſt the oppreſſion and avarice of the Magiſtrates and Nobles; and, as the ſedition was ſo violent, that the factious had already combated with ſtones, threatened the firing of houſes, and were betaking themſelves to arms and maſſacre; CAIUS CASSIUS was appointed to apply a remedy; but, they could not bear the ſeverity of his proceedings; ſo that, at his own requeſt, that charge was transferred to the two brothers SCRIBONII, aſſiſted by a Prætorian Cohort, by the terror of which and the execution of ſome few incendiaries, concord was reſtored amongſt the inhabitants.

THE decree of Senate now made, for permitting the Syracuſians, in their ſhews of Gladiators, to exceed the number formerly limited, is a matter ſo common, that I ſhould not inſert it here, had not PÆTUS THRASEA oppoſed it, and thence adminiſtered to his revilers matter of invective. " For, if he believed that the " condition of the Commonwealth called up- " on the Senators to exert liberty of ſpeech, " why were his cenſures and purſuits confined

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" to things of ſuch trivial moment? How " came it, that he ſtood not forth to adviſe or " controul meaſures of war and peace, the " adminiſtration of the revenue, that of the " laws, and whatever elſe concerned the ſup- " port and governance of the Roman ſtate? " To every Senator, as ſoon as inveſted with " the privilege of voting, full freedom was " allowed of propounding whatever he would, " and of claiming that what he propounded " might be put to the vote. Now, did no- " thing elſe in the ſtate want check or amend- " ment, but only, that the ſpectacles at Syra- " cuſe ſhould be exhibited with no enlarge- " ments? Was, in truth, all the reſt of the " adminiſtration throughout the Empire, ſo " excellent, as if by THRASEA himſelf, and " not by NERO, it were ſwayed? But, if all " theſe were paſſed over in profound diſſimu- " lation, how much more reaſonably to be " forborne were things utterly void of all uſe " and ſignificancy?" To his friends, who asked him the meaning of his conduct, THRASEA anſwered, " That he had, from no igno- " rance in the ſituation of the public, inter- " poſed againſt a decree of that ſort, but in " it conſulted the honour of the Senate, by " making it appear, that an inſpection into " the greateſt affairs was not like to be diſ- " avowed by thoſe, who thus applied their " thoughts to the moſt inſignificant."

IN the ſame year, ſo importunate were the cries of the people againſt the exactions of the

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Tax-gatherers, that NERO was deliberating about the intire ſuppreſſion of all taxes and duties, as the moſt illuſtrious bounty he could beſtow upon human kind. But the Senate, after many high praiſes upon his greatneſs of ſoul, reſtrained his raſh reſolution, by apprizing him, " That " the diſſolution of the Empire muſt enſue a " reduction of the revenues which ſuſtained it; " and were the public duties once annulled, it " would be a precedent for labouring the diſ- " charge of all the public tributes. The com- " panies for adminiſtering the taxes, were for " the moſt part eſtabliſhed by the Conſuls and " Tribunes, even then when popular liberty " was in its prime at Rome, and the regula- " tions which followed, were ſo concerted, " that the public impoſitions might juſt bal- " lance the public exigencies. But the rave- " nous extortions of the publicans did, in truth, " require to be ſtopped, that ſo the rates borne " by the people for ſo many years without " murmuring, might not be embittered by " new grievances."

THE Emperor therefore by an edict ordained, " That the laws of the revenue, which had " till then been kept ſecret, ſhould now be " committed to the public Tables; the pub- " licans ſhould exact no claims for above a " year backward; in all ſuits againſt them, the " Prætor at Rome, and in the Provinces, the " Proprætor or Proconſul for the time being, " ſhould proceed to diſcretionary judgment; " but to the ſoldiers ſhould be reſerved the

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" uſual exemption, in all inſtances ſave thoſe " of traffic;" with other the like injunctions, which, being intirely equitable, were for ſome ſhort time obeyed, but ſoon grew neglected and obſolete. The ſuppreſſion, however, of the Quadrageſima (fortieth penny) and of the Quinquageſima (fiftieth) continues ſtill in force, as alſo that of other impoſitions with the like titles, invented by the publicans to cover their lawleſs exactions. Moreover, a regulation was made about the importation of grain from the provinces beyond ſea, and it was ordained that the ſhips of traders ſhould not be rated with the commodities which they carried, nor any duty be paid for the ſame.

Two men accuſed of male-adminiſtration in Africa, where they had both ruled as Proconſuls, were acquitted by the Emperor, SULPICIUS CAMERINUS, and POMPONIUS SILVANUS. Againſt the former there appeared only a few private proſecutors, who charged him rather with particular acts of rage than thoſe of general rapine. But SILVANUS was beſet with a mighty train of impleaders, who required time to procure their witneſſes, as did he to be inſtantly admitted to his defence; and, by being wealthy, ancient, and childleſs, prevailed, yet out-lived and diſappointed thoſe who ſaved his life to merit his eſtate.

TILL this time Germany had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, ſecured by the temper of our commanders there, who, at a time when the honours of the triumph were ſo miſerably

miſerably proſtituted, judged that higher glory was to be reaped by preſerving peace. Theſe commanders were PAULLINUS POMPEIUS, and LUCIUS VETUS. To keep, however, the ſoldiers employed, the former now perfected the damm which had been begun by DRUSUS threeſcore and three years before, to reſtrain the overflowing of the Rhine, while VETUS was digging a canal of communication between the Arar and Moſelle, that the armies from Italy, having ſailed by ſea into the Rhone, and thence into the Arar, might fall through this canal into the Moſelle, thence through the Rhine into the Ocean. So that, all impediments of the paſſage being thus removed, a naval intercourſe might be opened from Weſt to North, between the two ſeas. But this great work was marred through the envy of ÆLIUS GRACILIS Lieutenant of Belgic Gaul, who warned VETUS againſt bringing his Legions into another man's province, and courting the affections of the Gauls, for that ſuch conduct would alarm the Emperor; an apprehenſion which frequently ſerves to fruſtrate many worthy enterprizes.

BUT, from the continued inaction of both armies, a report ſpread, that their Generals were enjoyned not to lead them againſt the enemy. In confidence of this, the Friſians poſſeſſed the foreſts and moraſſes with their youth, and carrying over the lakes all ſuch as were weak through ſex or age, placed them along the banks of the Rhine, then proceeded

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to ſettle themſelves upon thoſe tracts of land which being void of inhabitants, were appropriated to the uſes of our ſoldiers. In this enterprize they were counſelled and conducted by VERRITUS and MALORIGIS, who were ſovereigns over this nation, as far as the Germans are wont to ſubmit to ſovereignty. They had already founded their dwellings, ſown the fields, and were cultivating the lands, as if the ſame had been their native ſoil, when DUBIUS AVITUS, who ſucceeded PAULLINUS in the province, threatened them with the vengeance of the Roman ſword, unleſs they retired to their ancient territories, or obtained from the Emperor a new ſettlement. By theſe menaces he forced VERRITUS and MALORIGIS to the ways of ſupplication. On this negotiation therefore they proceeded to Rome, where, while they waited for acceſs to NERO, who was engaged in other affairs, amongſt the ſights which are uſually ſhewn to Barbarians, they were conducted into POMPEY's Theatre, that they might there ſurvey the multitude of the Roman people. Here, gazing round them, (no wiſe interrupted by the diverſions of the ſtage, which they underſtood not) while they were intent upon the arrangement of the audience, and informing themſelves about the diſtribution of ranks, " which were the Roman Knights, and " where ſat the fathers of the Senate?" they ſpied certain perſons in a foreign habit, ſitting upon the benches of the Senators, and asked who were theſe? When they had learnt that this

this was a diſtinction conferred upon the Ambaſſadors of ſuch nations as ſignalized themſelves by their merit and friendſhip towards the Romans; "There is not amongſt men, "they cried, that nation which, in good faith, "and feats of arms, ſurpaſſes the Germans;" and thus, leaving their ſeats, placed themſelves among the Senators; a proceeding courteouſly taken by the ſpectators, as a flight of ancient liberty, and the effect of an honeſt emulation. NERO beſtowed upon both the privileges of Roman citizens, but ordered that the Friſians ſhould abandon their new poſſeſſions; and, as they refuſed to obey, they were forced, by a ſudden irruption of the auxiliary horſe, who put in bonds, or to the ſword, all who obſtinately reſiſted.

THE Anſibarians too took poſſeſſion of the ſame lands, a more potent people, not in their own multitudes only, but alſo from the ſympathy of the neighbouring nations; for that they had been exterminated by the Chaucians, were deſtitute of all ſettlement, and, like exiles, beſought only a quiet ſhelter and retreat. They were likewiſe led by a man of ſignal renown amongſt theſe nations, and even of approved fidelity towards the Romans, his name BOIOCALUS, who, in behalf of himſelf and his people, upon this occaſion, alledged, "That, upon "the revolt of the Cheruſcans, he had been "thrown into bonds by order of ARMINIUS, "afterwards carried arms under TIBERIUS, "then under GERMANICUS, and, to the merit

"of

" of fifty years ſervice and adherence to the " Romans, he was ſtill ready to add that of " ſubmitting his people to their Empire. Was " not the territory in diſpute large and waſte? " or reſerved for any other uſe than that of " occaſional paſture for the ſoldiers cattle, and " how ſmall a portion ſufficed for this? yet " the Romans might ſtill, if they pleaſed, re- " tain wide excluſive tracts, only for their " beaſts to range in, although by feeding their " beaſts they even famiſhed men; provided " they did not wilfully devote all the reſt to " deſarts and ſolitude, rather than allow it for " an habitation to a people diſpoſed to their " friendſhip and alliance. The poſſeſſing of " this territory was no new thing; formerly it " was held by the Chamavians, next by the " Tubantes, afterwards by the Uſipians. As " the heavens were appropriated to the Gods, " ſo was the earth to the children of men, " and ſuch portions of it as none poſſeſſed, " were free and common to all." Here he lifted up his eyes to the ſun, and invoking, as if they had been preſent, that and the other cœleſtial luminaries, he asked them, " Could " they bear to ſurvey a deſolate ſoil? or, would " they not more juſtly let looſe the ſea to " ſwallow up uſurpers, who thus engroſſed the " earth?"

THIS language warmed AVITUS, who re- plied, " that to the orders of the moſt powerful, " ſubmiſſion muſt always be paid, even the " Gods to whom they now appealed, had ſo

" appointed, that to the Romans ſhould ap-
" pertain the ſovereign judgment, what to
" beſtow and what to take away, and other
" judges than themſelves they would ſuffer
" none." This was his public anſwer to the Anſibarians; but, to BOIOCALUS he privately promiſed, that in acknowledgment of his long attachment to the Romans, he ſhould have lands for himſelf aſſigned him, an offer which he conſidered as a price propoſed for betraying his people, and rejecting it with indignation, added, " A place to live in we may want, but
" a place to die in we cannot." Thus they parted with animoſity on both ſides. The Anſibarians, to prepare for the impending war, invited into a confederacy the Bructerians, Tencterians, and even other nations more remote. AVITUS too, after he had written to CURTILIUS MANCIA, who commanded the upper army, to paſs the Rhine, and to appear with his forces upon their rear, marched himſelf with his Legions into the territories of the Tencterians, and threatened them with deſolation and ſlaughter, unleſs they departed from the league. Hence they were forced to acquieſce; and, as the like terrors awed the Bructerians, the reſt too relinquiſhed a hopeleſs cauſe, whence ruine to themſelves was threatened from their attachment to others. So that the forlorn Anſibarians retreated back to the Uſipians and Tubantes, but by them alſo were exterminated. They then withdrew for reception firſt to the Cattians, afterwards to
the

the Cheruſcans, and, in theſe long and various wanderings from nation to nation, thus vagabond, indigent, and treated as enemies and intruders, all their youth fell by the ſword, and the promiſcuous multitude were utterly diſperſed according to the various lot of captivity.

BETWEEN the Hermundurians and the Cattians, during the ſame ſummer, a mighty battle was fought, about the propriety of a river, which divided their territories, and which yielding abundant ſtore of ſalt, each people was labouring by force to appropriate to themſelves. To this quarrel, beſides their paſſion for committing all diſputes to the deciſion of the ſword, they were further animated by an inherent ſuperſtition, "that theſe places were "doubtleſs in the neighbourhood of heaven, "and no where quicker than there did the "ſupplications of men reach the ears of the "Gods. Hence, through a ſpecial indulgence "of the Deities, in this river and in theſe "groves, ſalt was produced, not, as with "other nations, from the foam of the ſea "cruſted upon the ſhore, but by pouring the "water of this river upon flaming piles of "wood, and thus condenſed by a combina-"tion of oppoſite elements." The iſſue of the war was proſperous to the Hermundurians, and to the Cattians the more bloody and deſtructive, for that, preſuming upon victory, they had devoted the adverſe hoſt to Mars and Mercury, a vow, by which men and horſes, with whatever elſe appertains to the vanquiſhed, are

doomed to be burnt or ſlain. Thus upon their own heads returned their cruel menaces againſt their foes.

THE people Juhones, a ſtate in alliance with us, were at this time afflicted with a calamity altogether ſudden and alarming, by the eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which caught and conſumed, on every ſide, their towns, farms, and particular dwellings, and was advancing with fury to the late-built walls of Cologn. Neither could it be extinguiſhed even by the falling of rain, nor by the throwing of water, or by any other uſual expedient, till certain boors, deſpairing of remedy, and enraged at the devouriug conflagration, vented their wrath in attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones; as the flames came thus to abate, they proceeded to a cloſer approach, and, by dint of clubs and blows, as in an encounter with fierce beaſts, quite repulſed it. At length, utterly to ſmother it, they ſtripped themſelves of their cloaths, which the more ſoiled and worn they were, the more effectual they proved.

DURING the ſame year, the tree Ruminalis, ſtanding in the place aſſigned for the election of Magiſtrates, the ſame which after the birth of ROMULUS and REMUS, had yielded ſhelter to theſe expoſed babes, eight hundred and forty years ago, began to decay with withered branches and a deadened trunk; a change which paſſed for an omen of evil portent, till it revived again into freſh bloſſoms and verdure.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

The SUMMARY.

NERO *hates and dreads his mother, and cauſes her to be murdered. He gives a falſe account of that murder to the Senate. What ſtrange applauſe he finds there, and his encouragement from thence to every exceſs and enormity. He drives chariots, nay, mounts the ſtage. Quinquennial games inſtituted, with popular obſervations upon that inſtitution. The brave conduct of* CORBULO *in Armenia; he takes Tigranocerta, and eſtabliſhes* TIGRANES *King there. A great maſſacre of the Romans in Britain, during the abſence of* SUETONIUS PAULLINUS, *then employed in ſubduing the iſle of Angleſey. Thence the province almoſt loſt, but recovered again by the vigorous efforts of the Governor, and in one great combat. The Governor of Rome ſlain at home by one of his ſlaves; the reſt puniſhed. The law of Majeſty revived. The death of* BURRHUS. *Attempts to ruine* SENECA; *who is aware of them, and ſues to be diſmiſſed, but is refuſed.* TIGELLINUS *his miſchievous credit with the Emperor; cauſes* PLAUTUS *and* SYLLA *to be killed.* NERO *diſmiſſes his wife* OCTAVIA, *and marries* POPPÆA. *Hence a popular tumult, which haſtens the murder of* OCTAVIA.

DURING the Conſulſhip of CAIUS VIPSTANUS and CAIUS FONTEIUS, NERO determined to accompliſh, without more delay, the parricide, which he had been long deviſeing, as from the permanence of his power he was become reſolute and hardened, and his paſſion for POPPÆA waxed daily more flameing. She too, who could never hope to ſee OCTAVIA divorced, nor herſelf eſpouſed during the life of AGRIPPINA, teaſed him with inceſſant reproaches, nay, ſometimes jeered him by the ſarcaſtical name of "pupil, one blindly "ſubject to the controulment of another, ſo "far from being ſuffered to ſway the Empire, "that he was not allowed even private liberty. "For, upon what other motives could he de-"lay to marry her? Had he any objections to "her perſon and beauty, or to her blood and "anceſtors, men of renown, diſtinguiſhed with "triumphal honours? was he unſatisfied about "the fruitfulneſs of her body, or the ſincere "affections of her ſoul? No; the truth was, "it was dreaded, that when ſhe was become "his wife, ſhe would be laying open the grie-"vances of the Senate, the reſentment of the "people, againſt the pride and rapaciouſneſs "of his mother. But, after all, if AGRIPPINA "would bear for a daughter-in-law, no other "than one who would prove to her ſon a "vexatious and malevolent wife, ſhe deſired "to be reſtored again to the conjugal embraces "of OTHO; for, ſhe was ready and reſolved

"to

" to withdraw to any quarter of the earth, " there rather to hear of the Emperor's abaſe- " ment and reproach, than ſtay to behold it, " and expoſe herſelf to a partnerſhip of the " perils which ſurrounded him." Theſe and the like expoſtulations, enforced with ſighs and tears, and all the ſoft artifices of the adultereſs, pierced the ſoul of NERO; nor did any one check their operation, as all earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the authority of AGRIPPINA cruſhed, and as no mortal believed, that ever the ſon would wax ſo hardened in his hate as to ſpill the blood of his mother.

IT is recorded by CLUVIUS, that ſuch was the flaming paſſion of AGRIPPINA for retaining her wonted dominion, to ſuch extravagant lengths was ſhe tranſported, that often, in the face of the day, at a ſeaſon when NERO was heated with wine and banquetting, ſhe accoſted him, gayly attired, and, while he was thus drunk, ſtrove to prompt him to inceſt; that their obſcene kiſſes, geſtures, and other ſuch ſignals and incitements to that abomination, being well obſerved by thoſe who were preſent, SENECA, for an antidote againſt the enticements of one woman, had recourſe to another; hence ACTE was introduced, a franchiſed Damſel, one who being equally anxious for her own danger and the infamy of NERO, warned him, that already the inceſt was every where publiſhed, and his mother gloried in the publication, and that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a Prince contaminated with

ſuch unnatural pollution. FABIUS RUSTICUS aſcribes this ſtrange appetite not to AGRIPPINA, but to NERO, and recounts that, by the cunning of the ſame ACTE, he was weaned and reſcued. But, the detail given by CLUVIUS, is the ſame with that of the other writers, and on this ſide too is the teſtimony of popular fame; whether ſhe really nouriſhed in her heart an impurity ſo monſtrous, or whether the concerting of this unheard-of proſtitution appeared the more credible in her, who almoſt in her childhood had, from thirſt of dominion, conſented to be debauched by LEPIDUS, with the like ſpirit of power, abandoned herſelf to the luſt of PALLAS, and, during her inceſtuous marriage with her uncle CLAUDIUS, had been practiſed in a courſe of wickedneſs of every kind and degree.

THENCEFORTH NERO began to avoid all private encounters with his mother, and, upon every occaſion of her retiring to any of her gardens out of Rome, or to her ſeats at Tuſculum or Antium, uſed to applaud her for thus employing her leiſure. At length, conſidering her as his dread and torment, where-ever ſhe reſided, he aſſumed a reſolution to kill her, and was only in ſuſpence about the means, whether by poiſon or the ſword, or any other effectual violence. That of poiſon was preferred at firſt, but to adminiſter the ſame was difficult: if it were done at the Prince's table, its operation could never paſs for accidental death, ſince in the like manner BRITANNICUS had already

already periſhed; to apply to her own domeſtics, appeared a great riſque, as ſhe was a woman who from her own long intimacy with frauds and blood, was wary and vigilant againſt all ſnares and circumvention, and moreover always ſecured herſelf by counter-poiſons againſt the efforts of poiſon. How to diſpatch her with the ſword, and yet cover the appearances of the execution, no one pretended to deviſe; it was feared too, that the orders would be rejected, to whomſoever they were given, for the perpetration of ſuch hideous iniquity. Here ANICETUS proferred his ſervice and dexterity, a franchiſed ſlave, tutor to NERO in his infancy, but now Commander of the fleet which rode at Miſenum, one virulently hated by AGRIPPINA, and with equal virulence hating her. He therefore explained, "how a veſſel "might be ſo contrived, that by the ſudden burſt-"ing of one particular quarter in the open "ſea, ſhe might be overwhelmed, without the "leaſt warning or apprehenſion. Nothing, he "ſaid, was ſo fertile of diſaſters as the ſea, "and, if ſhe were thus diſpatched by ſhip-"wreck, who could be ſo injurious as to "aſcribe the malignity of wind and waves to "the malice and contrivance of men? more-"over, the Prince would of courſe beſtow on "his deceaſed mother, a temple and altars, "and all other honours proper to create an "oſtentation of filial grief and piety."

NERO was pleaſed with the device, which was alſo favoured by the juncture of time, the Feſtival

Feſtival of Minerva, called *Quinquatrus*, which he was then celebrating at Baiæ. Thither he inticed his mother; for, he was frequently declaring, "that the haſty humours of parents "were to be borne withal, and, towards her "it behoved him to ſuppreſs every irritation of "his own ſpirit;" as by ſuch declarations he meant to raiſe a general rumour of his own reconcilement to her, a rumour which he hoped would reach AGRIPPINA and find credit with her, from the credulous genius of women, prone to believe whatever feeds their wiſhes and promiſes matter of joy. When ſhe approached, he met her upon the ſhore, (for ſhe came by ſea from Antium) preſented her his hand, and embraced her, then conducted her to Bauli, ſo the villa is called, which, lying between the Cape of Miſenum and the gulf of Baiæ, is waſhed by the ſea which winds round the point. Here, amongſt ſeveral other veſſels, there lay one more gaudy and ornamental than the reſt, as if, in this particular too, he meditated freſh honour to his mother; for, ſhe had been always wont to be carried in a galley with three banks of oars, rowed by mariners from the fleet. Moreover, the banquet to which ſhe was invited, was ſo timed, that under the dark ſhades of night the horrid execution might be covered. It was, however, apparent, that ſome body had betrayed the deſign, and that AGRIPPINA, upon hearing the perfidious machination, though ſhe was doubtful whether ſhe ought to believe it, had yet choſen

choſen to be carried by land to Baiæ in a ſedan; but, upon her arrival there, the plauſible behaviour of NERO aſſwaged her fears; for, beſides placing her at table above him, treating her with all tenderneſs and careſſes, he amuſed her with great variety of converſation, now breaking out into ſallies of youthful frankneſs, then with an air compoſed and grave, diſcourſeing of weighty affairs, and having thus drawn out the banquet into a great length, he attended her to the ſhore, there more ardently than before he kiſſed her eyes, kiſſed her boſom, and left it uncertain whether, by ſuch paſſionate behaviour, he only meant to complete this ſcene of diſſimulation, or whether the laſt ſight of a mother juſt going to periſh, really checked his ſpirit however ſavage.

THE night proved clear, the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, the ſea was ſmooth and calm; as if all this had been concerted by the providence of the Gods, for the more inconteſtable detection of the murder. AGRIPPINA, of all her numerous domeſtics, was, when ſhe embarked, attended only by two, CREPEREIUS GALLUS, who ſtood by the ſteerage, and ACERRONIA, who, as her Lady repoſed, lay at her feet, and was recounting to her, with much joy, the remorſe of her ſon, and the favour which by it he had regained from his mother: nor had the veſſel yet made much way, when ſuddenly upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened, and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down, and

and inſtantly cruſhed CREPEREIUS to death. AGRIPPINA and ACERRONIA were defended by the poſts of the bed, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield to the deſcending weight; neither did the ſtructure of the veſſel burſt, for, the mariners were all embarraſſed, and thoſe of them who were not entruſted with the fraud, obſtructed the meaſures of ſuch as were. The next expedient concerted by the latter was, to bear her down on one ſide, and ſo ſink her. But, neither amongſt theſe accomplices was there an inſtant concurrence in executing a project thus haſtily propoſed, and there were others at the ſame time ſtruggling contrariwiſe to preſerve her; hence it proceeded that ſhe was not ſwallowed up at once in the deep, but deſcended more leiſurely. Now ACERRONIA, while ſhe declared herſelf to be AGRIPPINA, and called upon them paſſionately, to ſuccour and ſave the Prince's mother, was purſued with poles, and oars, and whatever other naval weapons came accidentally to hand, and ſo ſlain. AGRIPPINA kept ſilence, and, being therefore the leſs known, eſcaped, with one wound however upon her ſhoulder. What with ſwimming, what with the aſſiſtance of ſome fiſherboats, which rowed out to ſuccour her, ſhe reached the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conducted to her own villa.

HERE ſhe revolved upon her danger, that for this very end ſhe had been inveigled by the fraudulent letters of her ſon, for this treated by him with ſuch ſignal marks of honour, that the

the veſſel, even under the ſhelter of the ſhore, without the agitation of winds, without concuſſion from rocks, had yielded in its upper part, and tumbled down, like a frail ſtructure of earth. She conſidered the fate of ACERRONIA, miſtaken for herſelf and deſignedly ſlain, and ſhe beheld her own wound. From the whole however ſhe inferred that her only reſource againſt theſe black machinations was to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view, ſhe diſpatched AGERINUS her freedman, to notify to her ſon, "that through the benevo-"lence of the Gods, and the auſpicious in-"fluence of his fortune, ſhe had eſcaped a "grievous caſualty, but beſought him, that, "however terrified with the danger which had "threatened his mother, he ſhould yet poſt-"pone the trouble of viſiting her, for, what "ſhe only needed at preſent was reſt." In the mean while, counterfeiting perfect ſecurity and fearleſneſs, ſhe had medicines applied to her wound, and her body chafed and anointed; ſhe called too for the laſt will of ACERRONIA, and ordered all her effects to be regiſtered and ſealed up; in which proceeding only ſhe acted without counterfeiting.

As to NERO; while he was hourly expecting expreſſes, that the parricide was executed, tydings arrived, "that ſhe had eſcaped only "with a ſlight hurt, having ſo far felt the "danger as to remain in no uncertainty who "it was that ſought her life." At this he became mortally ſtruck with diſmay, and ſwore in

in paſſionate terms, " that, without peradven-
" ture, ſhe would preſently be at hand, bent
" upon taking haſty vengeance, whether by
" arming the ſlaves, or by ſtirring up againſt
" him the rage of the ſoldiery, or by flying to
" the Senate and people, with a tragical repre-
" ſentation of the veſſel wrecked, herſelf
" wounded, her friends murdered, and her ſon
" the author of all. And againſt this menace-
" ing event, what reſource, what protection
" had he, unleſs ſome ſuch could be propoſed
" by BURRHUS and SENECA?" For, the in-
ſtant he received the news of the diſappoint-
ment, he had called for them both to conſult
them; neither is it certain whether, before
this, they were unacquainted with the conſpi-
racy. Upon this emergency, they both kept
long ſilence, as they apprehended that it was
in vain to perſuade him to drop the deſign,
and perhaps believed it to be already puſhed
ſo far, that unleſs AGRIPPINA ſoon periſhed,
NERO certainly muſt. At length, SENECA
proved the more forward of the two; yet no
further than to look at BURRHUS, and ask,
" whether the orders for this execution were
" not to be truſted to the ſoldiery?" BURRHUS
anſwered, that " the Prætorian guards were ſo
" zealouſly attached to the whole family of the
" CÆASRS, ſo fond in particular of the name and
" memory of GERMANICUS, that, againſt any
" deſcendent of his they could never be ani-
" mated to aught that were cruel and bloody.
" It therefore behoved ANICETUS to acquit
" himſelf

" himſelf of his engagement." Neither did ANICETUS pauſe one moment, but even demanded the office of completing the murder. NERO became revived with theſe words, and declaring himſelf to be that day preſented with the Empire, owned his franchiſed ſlave for the author of the mighty preſent, and urged him to diſpatch, leading with him for his aſſiſtance ſuch as were moſt prompt to obey. The freedman however, having heard that AGERINUS was arrived from AGRIPPINA, with the news of her diſaſter and eſcape, contrived a plot to turn the treaſon upon her; and therefore, as the other was delivering his meſſage, dropped a dagger between his legs, then, as if he had caught him in the terrible fact, called for irons to be inſtantly caſt upon him. By this fable, he purpoſed to ſupport another, by feigning that the deſtruction of the Prince had been concerted by his mother, and that being ſtruck with confuſion upon the diſcovery of her treaſon, ſhe had deſperately put an end to her own life.

DURING theſe tranſactions, while the danger which threatened AGRIPPINA at ſea, flew abroad (for it was underſtood as the effect of chance) the people flocked impatiently to the ſhore, each as ſoon as he heard it. Some climbed up the mounds which ſhoot out into the ſea, ſome crowded into barks and skiffs, others entered the floods and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, there were thoſe who ſtretched out their arms, as it were

to

to catch and receive her; ſo that, with lamentations for her misfortune, with vows for her deliverance, and with the indiſtinct clamour of a multitude, many asking different queſtions, or returning uncertain anſwers, the whole coaſt reſounded. There ran, moreover, to the reſt a great crowd with lights in their hands, and, as ſoon as it was confirmed that AGRIPPINA was out of danger, they were ſpeeding, with all zeal, to offer her their congratulations, till by the ſight and menaces of an armed band, they were terrified and diſperſed. ANICETUS beſet the villa with a guard, and, burſting open the gates, ſeized and ſecured all ſuch of her ſlaves as appeared to ſtop him. He then advanced towards her chamber, where he found the door guarded by very few; all the reſt were ſcared away by the terror and violence of his entrance. In her chamber was a ſmall light, and only one of her Damſels. AGRIPPINA too herſelf was more and more toſſed with anxious thoughts, that no ſoul had yet arrived from her ſon, nor had even AGERINUS returned; ſhe perceived from without ſtrange viciſſitudes and an unuſual ſcene, the deſertion of her own people, and the ſudden violence and tumult of ſtrangers, with all the warnings of her laſt fate. Inſomuch that, ſeeing her maid too about to depart, ſhe ſaid, "Thou "likewiſe art going to abandon me;" and, that moment, ſpied ANICETUS, accompanied with HERCULEUS Captain of a galley, and OLOARITUS a Centurion of the navy. She told

told him, "If he came from the Emperor to "be informed of her health, he ſhould ac- "quaint him ſhe was well recovered; if upon "any bloody deſign, ſhe would no wiſe be- "lieve him commiſſioned by her ſon; her ſon "could never give unnatural orders for parri- "cide." The aſſaſſins having placed themſelves round her bed, the Captain was the firſt that wounded her, ſtriking her upon the head with a club; for, to the Centurion, as he was drawing his ſword to diſpatch her, ſhe preſented her belly, and with a loud voice, "Strike "thy ſword into my womb," ſhe cried, and was inſtantly aſſaſſinated with a multitude of wounds.

In theſe particulars authors are unanimous; but, that NERO afterwards ſurveyed the body of his murdered mother, and magnified its ſymmetry and lovelineſs, there are thoſe who have related, and thoſe who deny. That very night her corps was burned with ſordid obſequies, upon no other bed than ſuch as ſhe uſed to recline upon at meals. Neither, during the reign of NERO, were her relics repoſited, or covered with common earth, till afterwards from the benevolence of her domeſtics, ſhe received a ſlight and vulgar grave, upon the road to cape Miſenum, adjoyning to a villa of CÆSAR's the Dictator, which from its elevated ſituation overlooks the coaſt and bays below. MNESTER, a freedman of hers, as ſoon as her funeral fire was lighted, run himſelf through with a ſword, whether from affection for his

Lady, or from dread of his own doom, is altogether uncertain. This violent end of AGRIPPINA was foretold her many years before, and believed, and yet ſet at nought by her; for, as the Chaldæans, whom ſhe conſulted concerning the fortune of NERO, anſwered, that "he "would certainly reign, and certainly kill his "mother;" "Let him kill me, ſaid ſhe, ſo "he do but reign."

THE ſcene of this horrible iniquity being over, the Emperor became terribly ſtruck with its crying enormity, and for the reſt of the night was now dumb, motionleſs, with his eyes fixed, then ſtarted up, amazed, and trembling, and thus waited, in diſtractions of mind, the approach of day, a day from which he expected ſome direful doom. What firſt raiſed his aſſurance, was the flattery of the Tribunes and Centurions, who, at the inſtigation of BURRHUS, graſped his hand, with congratulations, "That "he had thus eſcaped ſuch unforeſeen peril, "and the mortal ſnares of his mother." Next, his friends and intimates betook themſelves, with thankſgiving, to the ſeveral Temples; and the example being thus begun was followed by the adjacent towns and communities of Campania, who gave public teſtimonies of their joy, by ſacrifices to the Gods, and embaſſies to the Prince. For himſelf; his diſſimulation took a different turn from theirs. Sad and dejected was his mien, he ſeemed to hate a life thus ſaved, and bewailed with many tears, the death of his mother. However, as

places

places cannot change their aſpect, like the ſupple countenances of men, and as the tragical proſpect of that deadly ſea and coaſt was inceſſantly reproaching him, (beſides there were thoſe who believed, that from the high cliffs round about they heard the ſhrill ſound of trumpets, and ſhrieks and wailings from AGRIPPINA's grave) he withdrew to Naples, and there ſent letters to the Senate, of which theſe are the heads:

"THAT AGERINUS, a freedman of AGRIPPINA's, in intimate truſt with her, had "been ſeized, ready armed to aſſaſſinate "him; whence ſhe had undergone the pains "of parricide, from the ſame guilty con- "ſcience that prompted her to contrive "it." To this he added a catalogue of her crimes, traced a long way backwards; how "ſhe had aimed at a co-ordinate power in the "Empire, with an oath from the Prætorian "bands, an oath of allegiance to a woman, "nay, to the abaſement of the Senate and "people, had expected the like mark of ſub- "jection from them; and finding her ambi- "tion diſappointed, ſhe became enraged againſt "the ſoldiery, againſt the fathers, and the po- "pulace, oppoſed a donative to the guards, "and a largeſs to the people, and deviſed "deſtruction againſt the illuſtrious chiefs of "Rome. Nay, it was with great difficulty "that he defeated her deſign of uſurping a "ſeat in the Senate, and of returning anſwers "to the Ambaſſadors of foreign nations." He even obliquely laſhed the tranſactions under

CLAUDIUS, and caſt upon his mother all the acts of tyranny in that reign, aſcribing her fall to the good fortune of the State; for he recounted the particulars of the ſhipwreck. But where lived there a ſoul ſo ſtupid to believe it to be the blind work of chance? or that a forlorn woman, juſt ſaved from a wreck, ſhould employ a ſingle aſſaſſin, to break through an armed fleet and the imperial guards, and ſlay the Emperor? Hence it was not now upon NERO that the popular cenſure fell (for NERO's brutal barbarity ſurpaſſed all cenſure) but upon SENECA, for that, by ſuch a repreſentation to the Senate, he had in writing avowed the deed.

WONDERFUL, however, was the competition of the Grandees in decreeing the following ſolemnities; "That at all the altars public "devotions ſhould be performed; the feaſt of "Minerva, during which the conſpiracy was "detected, ſhould be celebrated with anniver-"ſary plays for ever; in the Senate-houſe "ſhould be placed the ſtatue of that Goddeſs "in gold, and cloſe by her, that of the Em-"peror; and, in the liſt of unhallowed days, "AGRIPPINA's anniverſary ſhould be inſerted." THRASEA PETUS, who was wont either to paſs over the like ſallies of ſervility in utter ſilence or with a ſhort word of aſſent, walked now out of the Senate, and thence awakened future vengeance againſt himſelf, and yet to the reſt opened no ſource of liberty. There happened, moreover, at the ſame time frequent prodigies,

from

from which aroſe many prognoſtics, but no conſequences. One woman brought forth a ſerpent, another, in the embraces of her husband was ſtruck dead with a thunder-bolt. The ſun became ſuddenly darkened, and the fourteen quarters of the city felt the effects of lightning. All which events came to paſs ſo apparently without any providential deſign in the Deities, that for many years after this, NERO continued ſafe in his ſovereignty and enormities. Now, in order to heighten the popular hate towards his mother, and withal to magnify his own clemency, as if the ſame were enlarged now ſhe was removed, he reſtored to their native country and inheritance, JUNIA and CALPURNIA, Ladies of illuſtrious quality, with VALERIUS CAPITO and LICINIUS GABOLUS, men of Prætorian dignity, all formerly doomed to exile by AGRIPPINA. He likewiſe permitted the remains of LOLLIA PAULLINA to be brought home, and a ſepulchre for them to be built. ITURIUS too and CALVISIUS, whom he had lately baniſhed, he now pardoned and releaſed; for SILANA had already yielded to the lot of mortality at Tarentum, whither, from her remote baniſhment, ſhe had returned, either becauſe the authority of AGRIPPINA, by whoſe enmity ſhe fell, was then declining, or her wrath by that time aſſwaged.

WHILE NERO lingered in the towns of Campania, full of anxiety how to conduct himſelf upon his return to Rome, whether he

ſhould find the Senate obſequious, or zeal in the people, his doubts were combated by all the profligates of the court (and no court upon earth abounded with more.) They argued, "That the very name of AGRIPPINA was "deteſted, inſomuch that by her death, the "affections of the people were more power-"fully kindled towards him. He ſhould there-"fore proceed confidently, and in perſon re-"ceive proofs of popular adoration." As they demanded too, that, for trial, they might arrive ſomewhat before him, they found, in all reſpects, a more forward and officious zeal than they themſelves had promiſed, the ſeveral tribes, in diſtinct bodies, coming forth to meet him, as alſo the Senate in their robes of ſtate, with mighty droves of women and children, ranged in claſſes, according to their ſex and age; and all along, where he was to paſs, a ſucceſſive variety of plays and ſhews, and ſcenes of public rejoycing, were prepared, with all the parade attending a triumph. Elated with ſuch reception, and as if crowned with victory from this general ſervitude, he repaired to the Capitol, paid his vows and oblations, and thenceforth abandoned himſelf to the full bent of all his furious paſſions; for, though he had hitherto but poorly controuled them, yet his reverence to his mother, however weak it were, had till then checked their violence.

IT was a uſual diverſion of his, and long allowed him, to drive a chariot drawn by four horſes; nor leſs ſcandalous was his paſſion for

ſinging

ſinging to the harp, as he was wont when he ſupped, in a theatrical geſture and habit: "An "employment, which he alledged to have been "commonly practiſed by Kings and Heroes of "old; that the ſame was celebrated in the "ſongs of the poets, and even performed to the "honour of the Gods; for, thus were muſic "and ſinging ſacred to Apollo, and thus repre-"ſented, with the ſame dreſs and inſtrument, "not only in the cities of Greece, but even "in the Roman Temples, ſtood that ſublime "and oracular Deity." Neither could this his bent be reſtrained. So that SENECA and BURRHUS, leſt he ſhould have perſiſted in both, judged it adviſable to indulge him in one. Thus, a piece of ground, in the Vatican, was encloſed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in racing and the diſcipline of ſteeds, without being expoſed as in a public ſhew, to the promiſcuous crowd. But, in a ſhort time, he even ſought to be publicly ſeen, and invited to the ſight the Roman populace, who failed not to magnify him with abundant encomiums; for the vulgar is ever longing after public diverſions, and ever delighted with the ſame inclination in the Prince. Moreover, ſuch open proſtitution and forfeiture of all ſhame did not, as his miniſters expected, produce in him any ſatiety, but contrariwiſe freſh eagerneſs. As he imagined too that, by bringing many under ſuch debaſement, he ſhould remove his own, he introduced, as actors, into the Theatre, ſeveral who were

deſcended from illuſtrious families, but through indigence become venal, men whoſe names (as they are now now more) I repeat not with their ſtory; a conſideration which I judge due to the dignity of their anceſtors; ſeeing too, that upon his head the iniquities recoil, who, rather than they ſhould not tranſgreſs, gave them money for tranſgreſſing. He likewiſe engaged ſeveral Roman Knights (men well known) to undertake parts in theatrical repreſentations, by exceſſive rewards; unleſs it be thought that pay from one who has authority to command, carries with it the power of compulſion.

NEVERTHELESS, that he might not as yet debaſe himſelf in the common Theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays called *Juvenales*; and, for celebrating theſe, names were given in from all quarters. Here no man's quality and blood, nor his age, nor the public figure and offices which any of them had borne, excuſed them from perſonating the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimics, even in the obſcene geſticulation of their bodies and the effeminate cadences of their voice. Even Ladies of illuſtrious quality came alſo to deviſe unſeemly revellings. So that, in the grove planted by AUGUSTUS round the lake where the naval combat was exhibited, tabernacles were erected and booths were built, where wine and dainties were expoſed to ſale, with whatever incites to ſenſuality and wantonneſs. To promote the debauch, money was given to the

the innocent as well as the voluptuous, to be waſted alike in riot, by the former from awe of NERO, by the latter from oſtentation of vice. From this ſource aroſe a monſtrous increaſe of all pollution and enormities; and though our manners had been long ſince corrupted, yet never were they more debauched and pervaded by any inundation of vice and depravity, than by this ſhocking ſink of lewdneſs. Modeſty is a thing hard to be ſecured even by the moſt virtuous management and reſtraints; much leſs is modeſty, or chaſtity, or any honeſt endowment, to be preſerved amidſt ſcenes of impurity, where vices are engaged in a contention to outvie each other.

AT length, NERO could forbear no longer, but mounted the Stage and took the harp, trying the ſtrings with awful attention, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions; a Cohort too of the guards were arrived, with many Tribunes and Centurions; as alſo BURRHUS the Præfect, praiſing NERO and grieving for him. At this time likewiſe was firſt enrolled the body of Roman Knights entituled *Auguſtani*, young men diſtinguiſhed by the bloom of their years, and ſtrength of body, all profeſſed profligates, ſome from the bent of nature, the reſt in hopes of preferment. Theſe attended nights and days, wholly employed in clapping the Emperor, and ſounding his applauſes. They extolled his perſon and voice by epithets peculiar to the Gods; as if

only

only from their zeal for virtue they ſought ſplendour and honour.

THE Emperor, however, that he might not be only renowned for the accompliſhments of a player, ſtudied to excel alſo in Poetry, having drawn about him ſeveral who had a genius for poeſy, though not yet noted for their poems. Theſe were wont to ſit down in concert with the Prince, and connect together ſuch lines as they had ſeverally brought, or ſuch as they found already compoſed, piecing out with ſupplements of their own all his effuſions, however lame and crude. This is apparent from the very compoſition of theſe poems, which flow with no uniformity of ſtile or genius, like the productions of one man. He uſed, beſides, to beſtow ſome time after meals upon hearing the reaſonings of Philoſophers; and while each maintained his own ſect, and contradicted the reſt, they all expoſed their endleſs broils. Nay, ſome of them were fond of being ſeen, with their ſtern aſpect and accent, amidſt the Royal exceſſes and recreations of NERO.

ABOUT the ſame time, from a conteſt altogether trivial, there aroſe a horrid ſlaughter between two of our Italian Colonies, Nuceria and Pompeium, at the celebration of a combat of Gladiators exhibited by LIVINEIUS REGULUS, whoſe expulſion from the Senate I have before recounted. Now, as they teaſed and rallied each other with the

uſual

uſual gibes and petulance of citizens, they proceeded to bitterneſs and invectives, then to rage and vollies of ſtones, at length to a general encounter at arms. But to the Pompeian populace, who were the more powerful, the victory remained, as in their territory too the revel was exhibited. Hence, numbers of thoſe of Nuceria were borne to Rome, with mangled and mutilated bodies; and many arrived there with complaints and wailings, ſome for the death of their ſons, ſome for that of their fathers. The cognizance of this affair was by the Prince left to the Senate, by them to the Conſuls, but returned again before the fathers, who by a decree diſabled the Pompeians from meeting in any ſuch popular concourſe for ten years, and diſſolved for ever the fraternities which they had inſtituted againſt the Law. LIVINEIUS and the other incendiaries of the riot were doomed to exile.

PEDIUS BLÆSUS was alſo puniſhed with expulſion from the Senate, at the ſuit of the Cyrenians, who urged that he had robbed the treaſure of ÆSCULAPIUS, and in the enrolling of ſoldiers, had been governed by price and popularity. The ſame Cyrenians brought a charge againſt ACILIUS STRABO, one who had been inveſted with the Prætorian power, and ſent as an arbitrator from the Emperor CLAUDIUS to adjuſt and diſcriminate the territories formerly held by King APION, and by him bequeathed, together with his whole Kingdom, to the Roman people; for that the ſame had been

been uſurped on every ſide by the borderers, who having thus enjoyed them a long while, derived a claim of right from encroachment and iniquity. STRABO, therefore, having adjudged the lands to the Romans and expulſed the invaders, much matter of popular hate againſt the arbitrator was thence adminiſtered to the Cyrenians. In anſwer to the charge the Senate ſaid, "That to them the tenor of "his commiſſion from CLAUDIUS was un-"known, and they muſt conſult the Prince." NERO approved the arbitration of STRABO, but wrote back, "That he would nevertheleſs relieve our confederates the Cyrenians, "and yield them up the uſurped poſſeſſions."

THEREAFTER followed the deaths of theſe illuſtrious Romans, DOMITIUS AFER and MARCUS SERVILIUS, men, who, for the ſublime dignities of the ſtate, which they had ſwayed, and for their own abounding eloquence, had flouriſhed in ſignal credit. The firſt was renowned for a powerful Pleader, SERVILIUS too for his long ſucceſs at the bar, and afterwards for the Hiſtory by him compiled of the Roman affairs, as alſo for the elegance and probity of his life, which received freſh luſtre from the oppoſite behaviour of AFER, who in parts and genius was his equal, but far different in life and manners.

DURING the fourth Conſulſhip of NERO with CORNELIUS COSSUS for his collegue, Quinquennial Games were inſtituted at Rome, after the faſhion of the prize-matches amongſt the

the Greeks, and, like almoſt all new inſtitutions, were variouſly repreſented. Some alledged, " That POMPEY too was cenſured by " our anceſtors, for having founded a perma- " nent Theatre: till then, the public ſports " were wont to be exhibited from ſcenes oc- " caſionally erected for the ſolemnity, to laſt " no longer, and to be ſeen from ſeats ſud- " denly reared; or, if times more remote were " conſulted, the people would be found to " have then beheld ſuch repreſentations ſtand- " ing, leſt, had they been indulged with ſeats, " they might have conſumed whole days in " amuſements of the theatre. In truth, the " primitive rule in repreſenting popular ſhews " would be preſerved, were the ſame ſtill ex- " hibited by the Prætors, and no Roman citi- " zen whatever compelled to enter the public " liſts. But, now, the ancient uſages of our " country, which had been long decaying piece- " meal, were utterly obliterated by the pre- " valence of foreign ſports and gratifications. " Inſomuch that at Rome might be ſeen, from " all quarters, whatever was capable of being " corrupted or of propagating corruption; the " Roman youth deviated into foreign ſtudies, " frequented common wreſtling-ſchools, in- " dulged ſloth and purſued unnatural amours, " ſince they were influenced by the example " and ſupreme direction of Prince and Senate, " who not only granted licence to a torrent " of vice, but promoted it by authority and " coercion. Romans of the firſt rank, under

" colour

" colour of rehearſing their poems and ha-
" rangues, defiled themſelves with the practice
" of the ſtage. What remained further, un-
" leſs they ſtripped themſelves naked, and
" commencing fencers, wielded the whirle-
" bat, and, for military glory and arms, ſtudied
" theſe theatrical ſkirmiſhes for pay? Would
" the bands of Roman Knights, would thoſe
" entituled *Auguſtani*, more worthily fulfil
" their high office of judicature, by a nice
" ear in the modulations of muſic, and by
" applauding the ſoft ſhakes and thrills of
" NERO's throat? Nights as well as days were
" beſtowed upon the infamous revel, that no
" portion of time might remain, for ſkreen-
" ing modeſty and ſhame; but, in that huge
" aſſembly, blended at random, every liber-
" tine might dare to gratify by night what-
" ever his concupiſcence prompted him to by
" day."

MANY others were even well pleaſed with this diſſolute paſtime, but diſguiſed it however under venerable names. " Our anceſtors too,
" they alledged, had not abſtained from the
" divertiſement of public repreſentations,
" which were exhibited in a manner ſuitable
" to the fortune and revenue of that time.
" Thus from Tuſcany they procured players,
" from Thurium the diverſion of racing; and
" after the conqueſt of Greece and Aſia, the
" Roman ſports were ſolemnized with greater
" elegance and accuracy. Yet, in a courſe of
" two hundred years, ever ſince the triumph
" of

" of LUCIUS MUMMIUS, who firſt preſented " the Romans with theſe foreign ſhews, no " Roman of ingenuous birth had debaſed him- " ſelf to the buſineſs of the ſtage. Nay, pub- " lic frugality too had been conſulted, by rear- " ing a ſtanding Theatre, much more than by " erecting a great occaſional edifice, at an im- " menſe expence, every year. Neither had " the Magiſtrates occaſion, henceforth, to ex- " hauſt their private fortune, nor the people " to importune the Magiſtrates for the exhi- " bition of the prize-combats of Greece, ſince " by the Commonwealth all the expence was " defrayed. Moreover, the prizes then gained " by Poets and Orators, would prove incen- " tives to the cultivation of genius: nor to " any one of thoſe who ſat judges there, could " it prove irkſome to lend his ear to the " rehearſal of generous productions, and to " recreations altogether lawful. A few nights " ſpent upon this ſolemnity once in the courſe " of five years, were rather aſſigned to diver- " ſion, than to lewdneſs, during ſuch a copi- " ous blaze of lights, that no ſally of iniquity " could poſſibly be concealed." It is very true, that this revel eſcaped free from any ſignal act of diſhonour; moreover, the popular contention and zeal for the ſeveral actors, was ſo moderate that it produced no ſort of uproar. For, though the Pantomimes were again reſtored to the ſtage, they were reſtrained from the celebration of games which were held ſacred. The prize of eloquence was borne away

by

by none, but the victory was adjudged to NERO. The Grecian garb, worn at ſuch ſolemnities by many, and generally railed at, waxed now into diſuſe.

DURING theſe tranſactions, a Comet blazed, a phenomenon which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portends a change of Kings. Hence, as if NERO had been already depoſed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him, and, by the univerſal voice on this occaſion, the name of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS was reſounded, one who by his mother inherited the nobility of the Julian race. He himſelf obſerved the reverend manners of our anceſtors, ſevere in his dreſs, his houſe virtuous, regular, and devoted to retirement. But, the more retired his apprehenſions made him to be, the higher renown he acquired. The rumour was heightened by a flaſh of lightning, which was expounded with the like credulity and folly. For, as NERO ſat at meat in a villa called Sublaqueum, upon the banks of the Simbruine Lakes, lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcattered the diſhes, and overthrew the table; and as this caſualty happened in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, from whence PLAUTUS by his father's ſide originally ſprang, the people believed him the man deſtined to Empire by the Deities. He was likewiſe favoured by many ſuch whoſe ambition always hurrying, and for the moſt part deceiving them, engages them in novel purſuits fraught with ambiguity and danger.

All this alarmed NERO, who therefore ſignified to PLAUTUS by a letter, "That he would "do well to conſult the tranquillity of Rome, "and withdraw himſelf from the reach of "thoſe who malignantly defamed him. In "Aſia he had ancient poſſeſſions, where he "might enjoy the bloom of his life, free from "all peril and the embroilments of ſtate." Upon this warning, he retired thither, with ANTISTIA his wife and a few friends. In the courſe of theſe days, the inordinate propenſity of NERO to unbounded voluptuouſneſs involved him in much danger and infamy; for, as he would needs ſwim in the ſource of the aqueduct which ſupplies the city, and derives its name from (ANCUS) MARCIUS, the founder, it was conſtrued, that he had with an impure body polluted the ſacred ſtream, and profaned the ſanctity of the place; and a dangerous malady immediately enſuing, aſcertained the reſentment of the Deities.

NOW, CORBULO judged it proper, after the demolition of Artaxata, to improve the reigning terror, and to ſeize Tigranocerta; for that, having once taken it, whether he were to raze it or ſave it, he ſhould either infuſe freſh dread into the foe, or fill them with the fame of his clemency. Thus he marched towards it, but committed no hoſtilities, leſt he ſhould baniſh all hopes of pardon, nor yet receded from his uſual diſcipline, as he knew it to be a nation addicted to ſudden changes; and, as in encountering dangers, dull and ſpiritleſs; ſo, in feats

of perfidiouſneſs, dexterous and vigilant. The Barbarians took various courſes, according to their ſeveral humours. Some met him as ſupplicants; others abandoned their dwellings, and betook themſelves to the receſſes of the deſart; ſeveral crept into caves, accompanied with whatever was deareſt to them. The methods therefore taken by the Roman General were various as the occaſion; to the ſupplicants he extended mercy; after the fugitives he ordered quick purſuits. But towards thoſe who had hid themſelves in dens, he was rigorouſly ſevere; for, with faggots and bruſhes he filled the mouths and iſſues of the caverns, and ſet the ſame on fire. Then continuing his march along the confines of the Mardians, he was inſulted by the prædatory bands of that people, exerciſed in continual robberies, and protected by their wild mountains againſt reprizals and invaſions. But CORBULO, by pouring in the Hiberians upon them, expoſed them to devaſtation and ſword, and took vengeance of their inſolent hoſtilities, at the expence of the blood of foreigners.

BUT, though neither he, nor his army, was any wiſe impaired by fighting, they were both ſpent with continued travel and want, and reduced to combat hunger with the uſe of fleſh alone. Add to theſe diſtreſſes, a ſcorching ſummer, extreme ſcarcity of water, mighty marches; evils which were extenuated only by the exemplary patience of the General, who underwent more hardſhips than any common ſoldier.

Thence

Thence they arrived in places that were cultivated, where the ripened harveſt furniſhed grain for bread; and, as here ſtood two caſtles whither the Armenians had flocked for ſanctuary, one was taken at once by ſtorm; the other, having repulſed the firſt onſet, was by a ſiege compelled to ſurrender. CORBULO paſſed next to the country of the Taurantes, where he eſcaped a ſudden and threatening danger; for hard by his pavilion a Barbarian, armed with a dagger, was apprehended, one of no mean degree, who, upon the rack, unfolded the order of the conſpiracy, owned himſelf the contriver, and diſcovered his aſſociates, who, being all convicted, ſuffered the juſt doom of traitors, ſuch who under the ſacred name and profeſſion of peace and friendſhip, were meditating guile and blood. Not long after, the Ambaſſadors by him ſent forward to Tigranocerta, returned with tidings, that the inhabitants were bent upon ſubmitting to the Roman authority, and their gates ſtood open to receive the Roman army. At the ſame time they preſented him from the city with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception; an acknowledgment which he accepted with all marks of honour, and in no one inſtance infringed the property or privileges of the town, that thence they might perſevere in their allegiance, being left in full enjoyment of their eſtate.

BUT the Royal citadel, which was garriſoned by a band of young men of reſolute valour,

was not maſtered without blows. They even ventured upon a ſally, and joining battle without the walls, were beaten back into their fortification, whither, as our men forced an entrance after them, they were obliged at laſt to yield to the arms of the aſſailants. Theſe enterprizes were the more eaſily accompliſhed, for that the Parthians were engaged the while in a war with the Hyrcanians, a people who had already ſent an embaſſy to the Roman Emperor, to entreat his alliance, repreſenting it as a pledge of their friendſhip to Rome, that they had thus diverted the power of VOLOGESES. As theſe Ambaſſadors were returning, that they might not, by croſſing the Euphrates, be intercepted by the ſtationary guards of the enemy, CORBULO furniſhed them with a convoy of ſoldiers, who conducted them as far as the coaſt of the Perſian gulf, from whence, without touching the bounds of Parthia, they returned in ſafety to their native homes.

MOREOVER, as TIRIDATES had paſſed through Media, and thence invaded the extreme parts of Armenia, CORBULO, having ſent forward VERULANUS his Lieutenant General, with the auxiliary troops, advanced himſelf at the head of the Legions lightly equipped, and conſtraining the invader to retire quite away from that Kingdom, deprived him of all hopes from purſuing the war: having likewiſe laid waſte, with fire and ſlaughter, all thoſe quarters which he had learnt were zealous for that King, and therefore diſaffected to

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us, he had already assumed the complete possession and government of all Armenia, when TIGRANES arrived, a Prince preferred by NERO to that crown. He was a Cappadocian, nobly descended, and grandson to King ARCHELAUS; but from the former lot of his life, having passed many years at Rome in the quality of a hostage, his spirit was miserably debased, even to a degree of abjectness and servility: neither was he now received into the sovereignty with general unanimity, as amongst several there still remained a lasting affection for the family of the Arsacides. However, as there were many who abominated the pride of the Parthians, they preferred the accepting of a King from the hands of the Romans. Upon the new Monarch too was bestowed a body of guards, namely, a thousand legionary soldiers, three Cohorts detached from our confederates, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new realm. Several portions, besides, of Armenia, were subjected to the neighbouring Kings, to PHARASMANES, to POLEMON, ARISTOBULUS and ANTIOCHUS, according to the contiguity of the same to their respective dominions. CORBULO having compleated this settlement, withdrew into Syria, a province assigned to him, upon the death of VINIDIUS, the late Governor.

THE same year, Laodicea, one of the capital cities of Asia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, rose again, by her own ability and means, into her former lustre, unassisted by

any aid from us. But, in Italy, the ancient city of Puzzoli obtained from NERO the prerogative and title of a Colony. All the Veterans then diſmiſſed were ingrafted amongſt the inhabitants of Tarentum and Antium, yet cured not the defect and thinneſs of people there; for, many of theſe new-comers ſtraggled away to their old haunts in the provinces, where, during their term of ſervice, they had quartered: being, beſides, never accuſtomed to engage in wedlock, or to rear children, they lived without families, and died without poſterity. For, Colonies were not now eſtabliſhed as of old, when intire Legions were tranſplanted thither, with their Officers, Tribunes and Centurions, and all the ſoldiers in their diſtinct claſſes; ſo as they might from ancient acquaintance and unanimity, fall naturally into the form of a Commonweal; but, a medly of men, not known to each other, now thrown together, without any ruler to manage them, without mutual affection to unite them, and all detached from different companies, like ſo many individuals ſuddenly amaſſed from ſo many different races of men, were rather a crowd than a Colony.

THE election of Prætors followed, a tranſaction wont to be ſubject to the pleaſure of the Senate; but as this proceeded with unuſual vehemence and caballing, the Prince ſettled the contention, by preferring to the command of a Legion the three candidates who exceeded the ſtated number. He alſo exalted the dignity

nity of the Fathers, by ordaining, that, "whoever ſhould appeal from the ſtated judges to "the Senate, ſhould be expoſed to the hazard "of forfeiting the ſame ſum of money as did "thoſe who appealed to the Emperor." For, hitherto this was left at large and free from all penalty. At the cloſe of the year VIBIUS SECUNDUS, a Roman Knight, was, upon the accuſation of the Moors, condemned for public extortion, and expelled Italy; for he eſcaped a ſeverer doom by the prevailing credit and opulence of VIBIUS CRISPUS, his brother.

DURING the Conſulſhip of CÆSONIUS PÆTUS and PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, we ſuffered a cruel ſlaughter in Britain. In truth, as AVITUS the Governor had done no more there than (what I have already obſerved) juſt maintained our former conqueſts, ſo his ſucceſſor VERANIUS, having only in ſome light incurſions ravaged the territories of the Silures, was intercepted by death from any further proſecution of the war; a man indeed of high reputation during his life, for ſevere virtue and manners; but by the ſtile of his laſt will, his ſervile ambition and court to power, became notorious; for, after manifold flatteries beſtowed upon NERO, he added, "that he ſhould have "completely ſubjected That province to his "obedience, had his own life been prolonged "for two years." After him, SUETONIUS PAULLINUS obtained the government of Britain, a competitor with CORBULO, in the ſcience of war, and in the voice of the popu-

lace, who to every man of renown are ſure to create a rival. He hoped too, by ſubduing that fierce enemy, to reap equal glory to that which the other derived from the recovery of Armenia. He therefore prepared to fall upon the iſle of Angleſey, powerful in inhabitants, and a common refuge to the revolters and fugitives. He built, for that end, boats with broad flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows and uncertain landings; upon theſe the foot were embarked; the horſe followed partly by fording, partly by ſwimming.

ON the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the enemy's army, compact with men and arms: amongſt them were women running franticly to and fro, reſembling the wild tranſports of furies; diſmally clad in funeral apparel, their hair diſheveled, and torches in their hands. Round the hoſt alſo appeared their Prieſts the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering bitter and direful imprecations; and from the ſtrangeneſs of the ſpectacle, ſtruck the ſpirit of the Roman ſoldiers with great diſmay; inſomuch that, as if all their limbs had been benumbed, they ſtood motionleſs, with their bodies expoſed, like marks, to wounds and darts, till, by the repeated exhortations of the General, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at laſt rouſed to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpired by a band of raving women, and fanatic prieſts; and thus advancing their enſigns, they diſcomfited all that

that reſiſted, and involved them in their own fires. A garriſon was thereafter eſtabliſhed over the vanquiſhed, and the groves cut down by them dedicated to deteſtable ſuperſtitions; for there they ſacrificed captives, and, in order to diſcover the will of the Gods, conſulted the entrails of men; practices of cruelty by them accounted holy. While SUETONIUS was thus employed, tydings were brought him of the ſudden revolt of the Province.

PRASUTAGUS, the late King of the Icenians, a Prince long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by will left the Emperor joint heir with his own two daughters; as by ſuch a ſignal inſtance of loyalty, he judged he ſhould purchaſe a ſure protection to his Kingdom and family, againſt all injury and violence. A ſcheme which produced an effect ſo intirely contrary, that his realm was ravaged by the Centurions, and his houſe by ſlaves; as if both his houſe and realm had been the juſt ſpoils of war. Firſt of all BOUDICEA his wife underwent the ignominious violence of ſtripes, and his daughters that of conſtupration; and, as though the entire region had been bequeathed to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were ſpoiled of their ancient poſſeſſions, and the Royal relations of the late King, were kept and treated as ſlaves. Enraged by all this contumelious tyranny, and dreading oppreſſions ſtill more ſevere, ſince they were thus reduced into a province; they flew unanimouſly to arms, having animated the Trinobantes to join

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in the revolt, as well as all others who were not yet broken by the yoke of ſervitude, and had ſecretly conſpired to recover their original liberty. Their moſt implacable enmity was towards the Veterans, lately tranſlated to the Colony of Camalodunum; for, theſe new gueſts had thruſt them out of their houſes, exterminated them from their native lands, and treated them with the vile titles of captives and ſlaves. Theſe outrages too of the Veterans, were abetted by the common ſoldiers, from their ſimilitude of life and inclination, and in hopes of enjoying the ſame licentious ſituation. Moreover, the Temple built and dedicated to the deified CLAUDIUS, was by them regarded as the bulwark of a domination eſtabliſhed over them without end. Beſides that the Prieſts, culled out for miniſtring in the Temple, under the cloak of Religion, devoured their whole ſubſtance. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to extirpate a Colony no wiſe ſecured by fortifications; a proviſion little minded by our Commanders, who had conſulted accommodation and pleaſure antecedently to advantage and ſecurity.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Statue of Victory at Camalodunum, without any viſible violence, tumbled down with her face turned round; as if by it ſhe betokened her yielding to the enemy. There were women too who, tranſported with oracular fury, chanted deſtruction to be at hand. In the place where they aſſembled for the buſineſs of the public,

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the accent and tumultuous murmurs of ſtrangers were heard; their Theatre ecchoed with diſmal howlings, and, in the lakes formed by the tides reſiſting the Thames, a repreſentation was ſeen of a Colony overthrown. The ſea too appeared all dyed with blood, and at the departure of the tide, phantoms of human bodies appeared left behind upon the ſtrand. From which omens, as the Britons derived matter of hope and joy, ſo did the Veterans matter of heavineſs and fear. But, becauſe SUETONIUS was at a great diſtance, they ſought ſuccours from CATUS DECIANUS, Procurator of the province, who yet ſent them no more than two hundred men, nor theſe completely armed; and, in the Colony itſelf, was but a ſmall handful of ſoldiers. The Veterans not only relied upon the ſhelter and ſtrength of the Temple, but were fruſtrated in their meaſures by ſuch as were ſecret accomplices in the revolt; hence they had neither ſecured themſelves by a ditch or palliſade, nor removed their women and old men, reſerving only thoſe of youth and vigour for their defence. So that, utterly unprepared, and as void of circumſpection as if full peace had reigned, they were beſet and cut off by a vaſt hoſt of Barbarians. In truth, every thing in the Colony yielded to inſtant violence, and was razed or burnt; only the Temple, whither the ſoldiers were retired in a body, ſtood a two days ſiege, and was then taken by ſtorm. Moreover, PETILIUS CERIALIS, Commander of the ninth Legion,

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as he advanced to relieve his friends, was met and encountered by the victorious Britons, his Legion routed, and all his infantry slain. CERIALIS, with the horse, escaped to the Camp, and there defended himself in his entrenchments. CATUS the Procurator, terrified with this ruin and slaughter, and with the universal hate of the province, which by his rapacious avarice he had driven into hostility, fled over into Gaul.

BUT SUETONIUS, with marvellous bravery, marched through the heart of the enemy quite to London, a city in truth not distinguished with the title of a Colony, but highly famed for the vast conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty. Here he was deliberating about settling his head quarters in this place, and chusing it for the seat and centre of the war; but, reflecting upon the thin number of his soldiers, and well warned by the temerity of PETILIUS so signally chastized, he resolved to abandon it, and, with the loss of one town, to save the whole province. Nor could the tears and wailings of numbers imploring his protection, divert him from ordering the signal for departure to be sounded. Into part of his forces he assumed all those who would accompany him; whoever staid behind, whether detained by the weakness of their sex, by the unweildiness of old age, or by the charms of the place, fell, without exception, by the rage of the enemy. The like slaughter befell the municipal city of Verulamium. For, the Barbarians, who were charmed with plunder,

der, but cold and daſtardly in other exploits of war, omitted to attack forts and garriſons; but, where-ever there was abundant booty, eaſy to be ſeized by the ſpoiler, dangerous to be defended by the owner, thither they carried their animoſity and arms. In the ſeveral places which I have mentioned, it appeared that ſeventy thouſand ſouls had periſhed, all Romans, or the confederates of Rome. For, the enemy neither made, nor ſold, nor exchanged priſoners, nor obſerved any other law of war; but upon all exerciſed mortal fury, by preſent killing, gibbetting, burning and crucifying, with the deſperate eagerneſs and precipitation of men, who were ſure of undergoing a terrible doom, and reſolved, by anticipated vengeance, to ſpill the blood of others before their own were ſpilt.

SUETONIUS had already an army of nigh ten thouſand men; namely, the fourteenth Legion, with the Veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the quarters next adjoining; ſo that, relinquiſhing all further delay, he prepared for encountring the enemy in battle, and choſe a place which ſtretched out before into a hollow and narrow vale, with ſteep ſides, and was behind girt in with a wood. He was thoroughly apprized, that in the front only the whole forces of the enemy were to be expected, and that the ſpace between was a plain bottom, where no ſtratagems nor ambuſhes were to be dreaded. He therefore drew up the Legionary ſoldiers into cloſe ranks, ſuſtained them with

with the ſoldiery lightly armed, and on each wing placed the cavalry. The Britiſh army were every where exulting and bounding in great ſeparate bands, ſome of horſe, ſome of foot, and exhibited in all a multitude ſo vaſt as hitherto was not parallelled. They were even animated by a ſpirit ſo confident and fierce, that with them they had alſo brought their wives, to be ſpectators of their victory, and ſtowed them in their waggons, which they had placed round the extremity of the camp.

BOUDICEA was carried about in a chariot, where before her ſat her two daughters. Traverſing the field, from nation to nation, ſhe to all declared, "That it was, in truth, uſual to "the Britons to war under the conduct of "women; yet, upon this occaſion, ſhe aſſumed "not the authority of one deſcended from "ſuch mighty anceſtors; nor aimed to revenge "the loſs of her Kingdom, and that of her "Royal opulence baſely plundered; but, ſhe "then appeared upon the ſame foot with one "of the vulgar, and ſought vengeance for the "oppreſſion of public liberty, for the ſtripes "inflicted upon her perſon, for the defilement "of her virgin daughters. To ſuch height was "the wild fury and concupiſcence of the Romans advanced, that neither the perſons of "individuals, nor even old age, nor even tender maidens could eſcape their rage and "contamination. The incenſed Deities were "however ready to aid the juſt ſword of vengeance; by it a Legion, which dared to "tempt

" tempt an engagement, had already fallen;
" the reſt skulked behind the entrenchments
" of their camp, or were deviſing on every
" ſide which way to fly: nor would they be
" able to bear even the uproar and ſhouts of
" ſo many thouſand men, how much leſs their
" impetuous onſet and vengeful arms? If the
" Britons would ſurvey the number of men
" under arms; if they would well weigh the
" affecting cauſes of the war; they would find,
" that in that battle they muſt remain utterly
" victorious, or utterly periſh. Such was the
" firm purpoſe of her who was a woman. The
" men, if they pleaſed, might ſtill enjoy life
" and bondage."

NEITHER was SUETONIUS ſilent at a juncture ſo perillous, and though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet failed not to join to it the force of exhortations mixed with entreaties, " to deſpiſe the ſavage dinn and
" clamour of the Barbarians, with all their im-
" potent menaces. In that great hoſt were to
" be ſeen more weak women than vigorous
" men, an unwarlike hoſt, deſtitute of arms,
" and diſpoſed to inſtant flight, as ſoon as they
" came to experience again the ſame victo-
" rious bravery and ſteel which by ſo many
" defeats they had proved. Even, in an army
" compoſed of many Legions, the glory of
" diſcomfiting the foe remained always to a
" few; hence it would redound to their pe-
" culiar glory, that though but a ſmall band,
" they ſhould reap all the renown which could

" accrue

" accrue to a great and complete army. They " were only to keep condenſed in their ranks, " and having firſt diſcharged their darts, cloſe " in, and with the navels of their ſhields and " edge of their ſwords, purſue the defeat and " ſlaughter. Of the ſpoil they muſt have no " thought, ſince after victory, to their ſhare of " courſe would fall ſpoil, and honour, and all " things."

EVERY part of the General's ſpeech was followed by ſuch ſignal ardour in his men, with ſuch promptneſs had the old ſoldiers, men long inured to all the arts and events of battle, already aſſumed a proper poſture for weilding and darting their javelins, that SUETONIUS, as certain of the iſſue, gave the ſignal for onſet.

FIRST of all, the Legion kept their ground immoveable, and ſtill ſheltered themſelves, as with a bulwark, within the natural ſtreights of the place, till the enemy had advanced within arrow ſhot, and exhauſted all their darts. Upon this advantage, they ruſhed out upon them, as it were with the force and keenneſs of a wedge; equal was the impetuoſity of the auxiliaries: The horſe too, advancing with a battlement of pikes, utterly broke and overthrew whatever quarters of the foe exerted any reſiſtance and ſtrength; for, all the reſt turned their backs, but found it difficult to eſcape; the incloſure made by their own carriages had obſtructed their flight. Such too was the fury of the ſoldiers, that they ſpared not even the lives of women; nay, the very beaſts eſcaped not, but were

were pierced with darts, and ſerved to ſwell the mighty heaps of the dead. Signal was the glory that day gained, and equal to the victories of the ancient Romans; for there are authors who record, that of the Britons were ſlain almoſt eighty thouſand, of our men about four hundred, with not many more wounded. BOUDICEA ended her life by poiſon. POENIUS POSTUMUS too, Camp-Marſhal to the ſecond Legion, upon tidings of the exploits and ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth, as he had defrauded his own of equal honour, and, contrary to the laws of military duty, diſobeyed the orders of his General, ran himſelf through with his ſword.

THE whole army was thereafter drawn together, and kept the field under tents, in order to finiſh the remains of the war. Their forces were moreover augmented by NERO, who ſent them from Germany two thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, eight Cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. By their arrival the ninth Legion was ſupplied with a Legionary recruit; the auxiliary Cohorts and wings of the cavalry were poſted in new winter quarters; and thus, which ever of the ſeveral nations appeared hoſtile or ſuſpicious, were ſubjected to the devaſtations of fire and ſword. But famine, above all other calamities, afflicted the foe, who had neglected to cultivate the ground; and, as thoſe of every age were bent upon the war, they had deſigned to appropriate our ſtores to their own uſe. Beſides, that this people, by nature won-

derfully ſtubborn, were become more backward to peace, from the behaviour of JULIUS CLASSICIANUS, who was come as ſucceſſor to CATUS, and, being at variance with SUETONIUS, obſtructed the public good to gratify private pique. Thus he had every-where publiſhed, "That another Governor was to be expected, who, free from the wrath of an enemy, "free from the arrogance of a conqueror, "would by merciful meaſures enſure the ſubmiſſion of the province." At the ſame time, he tranſmitted advice to Rome, "That "unleſs a ſucceſſor were ſent to SUETONIUS, "there never would be an end of war;" and, while he charged all the diſaſters of that General upon baſeneſs of conduct, he aſcribed all his conqueſts and ſucceſs to the auſpicious fortune of the Republic.

HENCE POLYCLETUS, one of the Imperial freedmen, was diſpatched to inſpect the condition of Britain; a project from which NERO conceived mighty hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtic, private amity between the Governor and Procurator would not only be effected, but the hoſtile ſpirits of the revolted Barbarians reconciled to peace. Nor was POLYCLETUS backward to the employment, thus far at leaſt, that having travelled through Italy and Gaul, and oppreſſed both with his enormous train, thence croſſing the channel, he marched in ſuch awful ſtate, that even to our own ſoldiers he became a terror. But, to the enemy he proved an object of deriſion; for,

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as amongſt them popular liberty even then reigned, they were hitherto utter ſtrangers to the power of manumiſed bondmen. They were likewiſe amazed, that a General and army, who had finiſhed ſo formidable a war, ſhould themſelves be ſubſervient to ſlaves. The whole affair, however, was reported to the Emperor in a favourable light; ſo that SUETONIUS was continued in the government. But, after having ſtranded a few gallies, and loſt the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof that the war ſtill ſubſiſted, he was ordered to reſign his army to PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, who had juſt ended his Conſulſhip; a Commander who, as he neither offered to the foe any act of hoſtility, nor from them received any inſult, beſtowed upon ſuch ſtupid inaction the worthy appellation of Peace.

THIS ſame year were perpetrated at Rome two glaring iniquities, one by a Senator, the other by the deſperate hand of a ſlave. DOMITIUS BALBUS had ſuſtained the dignity of Prætor, and his wealth and childleſneſs, added to his exceeding age, expoſed him to the machinations of villainy. Hence a will was forged in his name by VALERIUS FABIANUS his kinſman, one nominated to public offices; who took into the combination VINCIUS RUFINUS, and TERENTIUS LENTINUS, both Roman Knights. With them were aſſociated in the ſame cauſe ANTONIUS PRIMUS, and ASINIUS MARCELLUS, ANTONIUS a man of a

prompt daring ſpirit; MARCELLUS ſignal in his deſcent, as on him devolved the luſtre of his great grand-father ASINIUS POLLIO; nor paſſed he himſelf for a deſpicable perſon in his own conduct, ſave that he believed poverty to be of all evils the heavieſt and moſt ſevere. FABIANUS therefore, in confederacy with thoſe whom I have mentioned, and others of leſs note, ſealed and witneſſed the teſtament. A fraud of which they were convicted before the Senate. Thus FABIANUS and ANTONIUS, with RUFINUS and TERENTIUS, were all doomed to the penalties of the Cornelian law. In behalf of MARCELLUS, the illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, with the entreaties of NERO, prevailed, and procured him an exemption rather from puniſhment than infamy. The ſame day involved POMPEIUS ÆLIANUS too in his doom, a young man once inveſted with the dignity of Quæſtor, but now charged with being privy to the vile practices of FABIANUS; thus he was interdicted Italy, as alſo the place of his nativity Spain. Upon VALERIUS PONTICUS was inflicted the like ignominious ſentence; for that he had arraigned the delinquents at the tribunal of the Prætor, on purpoſe to ſave them from being impleaded before the Governor of Rome, and would have eluded the puniſhment through the falſe gloſſes of law, nay at laſt had meditated their eſcape by manifeſt colluſion and double dealing. To the decree of penalties therefore the Senate added, "That whoever ſhould take a price for ſuch

"vile

" vile employment, or whoſoever ſhould pro-
" cure it at a price, ſhould be involved in the
" ſame penalty with one publicly condemned
" for calumny."

NOT long after PEDANIUS SECUNDUS, Governor of Rome, was murdered by a ſlave of his own, either upon refuſing him his liberty, for which he had bargained at a certain price, or that he was enraged by a jealous paſſion for a pathic, and could not bear his Lord for a rival. Now, ſince according to the ſtrict inſtitutions of antiquity, the whole family of ſlaves, who upon ſuch occaſion abode under the ſame roof, muſt inevitably be adjudged to the pains of death; ſuch was the uproar and conflux of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition. In the Senate itſelf there were different opinions, ſome were for the popular ſide, againſt ſuch exceſſive rigour; while many would admit no innovation or abatement. Of theſe laſt was CAIUS CASSIUS, who, leaving the queſtion then under debate, reaſoned in this manner:

" MANY times have I aſſiſted, Conſcript Fa-
" thers, in this auguſt aſſembly, when new
" decrees of Senate have been demanded, con-
" trary to the laws and eſtabliſhments of our
" fore-fathers, without ſetting myſelf to op-
" poſe ſuch demands; not from any doubt
" that, in tranſactions of every kind, the pro-
" viſions made of old were not more judi-
" cious and upright, and whenever they were

" changed, for the worſe they were changed.
" But I forbore, leſt I ſhould ſeem, from an
" immoderate fondneſs for primitive rules, to
" magnify my own zeal; beſides, whatever
" weight I may have, I judged ought not to
" be forfeited, by engaging in frequent oppo-
" ſitions, but to be reſerved in full vigour
" againſt any emergent conjuncture, when the
" Commonwealth ſhould ſtand in need of
" council; a conjuncture which this very day
" has produced. A Senator of Conſular rank
" is murdered in his own houſe by the treach-
" ery of one of his own ſlaves; a treachery
" which was by none of the reſt prevented,
" by none of them diſcloſed, although over
" their heads was hanging ſtill in full force
" the decree of Senate, which denounced to
" the whole domeſtic tribe the pains of death.
" In the name of the Gods, aſcertain by a de-
" cree the deſired impunity. But then, what
" ſecurity will any man derive from his dig-
" nity, when even the Government of Rome
" ſecured not him who poſſeſſed it? Who
" will be protected by the number of his ſlaves,
" when a band of four hundred afforded no
" protection to PEDANIUS SECUNDUS? To
" which of us will our domeſtics, upon any
" occaſion, adminiſter aid, when they regard
" not our lives, even where for their neglect
" capital terrors threaten theirs? or has, in
" truth, what ſome without bluſhing feign,
" the murderer only taken vengeance for in-
" juries received? Had this ſlave any diſpute

" about

" about his paternal patrimony? or had he
" inherited from his progenitors the bondman
" his pathic? Let us even declare that his
" Lord was rightfully killed. Though it be
" ſtrange we ſhould hunt after arguments in
" an affair determined by our wiſer anceſtors!
" yet ſuppoſe the queſtion were now firſt to
" be decided; ſtill do you believe that a vin-
" dictive ſlave could deſperately deſign to kill
" his Lord, yet not a menacing word fall
" from him? was nothing raſhly uttered by
" him? Be it ſo, that he effectually hid his
" bloody purpoſe; be it ſo, that he prepared
" the bloody inſtrument in the midſt of his
" fellows, all ignorant of his ends. But ſtill,
" could he paſs through the guard of ſlaves at
" the chamber door, open thoſe doors, bring
" in a light, perpetrate the aſſaſſination, un-
" known to them all? Many murderous de-
" ſigns are prevented by our ſlaves; and while
" they make ſuch diſcoveries, though we are
" but individuals, we can live ſafely amongſt
" many, and owe our ſecurity to their care;
" or if at laſt we muſt periſh by them, the
" blood of many traitors ſhall atone for ours.
" By our anceſtors the ſpirit of their ſlaves
" was always ſuſpected, even of ſuch as were
" born in their private territories, nay, in their
" houſes, and had with their milk ſucked in
" a tenderneſs for their Lords. And ſince we
" are come to entertain in our families nations
" of ſlaves, inured to their national rites wide-

" ly different from ours, and addicted to ſtrange " Religions, or obſerving none; it is impoſſi- " ble to curb ſuch a promiſcuous rabble, with- " out the intervention of exemplary terrors. " But with the guilty ſome innocents muſt " periſh. Yes; and ſo it is in an army, which, " after a ſhameful rout, are puniſhed with de- " cimation, where to be baſtinaded to death, " is often the lot of the faultleſs and brave. " Somewhat there is grievous and unjuſt in " every great exertion of juſtice, where pri- " vate ſufferings are compenſated by public " utility."

THIS judgment of CASSIUS, which no particular Senator durſt venture to combat, was yet oppoſed by the diſſenting murmurs of ſuch as thus uttered their compaſſion for thoſe involved in it, for their number, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt. It was however carried by the party who adjudged all to the pains of death. A judgment which yet it was impoſſible to execute; for the populace were flocked tumultuouſly together, and threatening to fall on with ſtones and firebrands. NERO therefore reprimanded the people by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecured all the way through which the condemned were led to execution. CINGONIUS VARRO had moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof, ſhould be for ever expelled Italy; but this was prohibited by the Prince, who urged, " That

" ſince

" ſince the rigorous uſage of antiquity had not " been mollified by mercy, it ought not to be " heightened by cruelty."

DURING the ſame Conſuls, TARQUITIUS PRISCUS was, at the ſuit of the Bithynians, condemned for public rapine, to the infinite gratification of the fathers, who well remembered, that by him had been accuſed STATILIUS TAURUS, his own Proconſul in Africa. Moreover, a general poll was taken, and a general rate impoſed, throughout both the Gauls; an employment executed by QUINTUS VOLUSIUS, SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, and TREBELLIUS MAXIMUS, and, in it, much contention aroſe between VOLUSIUS and AFRICANUS, two men who were competitors in nobility and rank; for TREBELLIUS, while, in this their ſtrife, he was neglected by both, they jointly contributed to render him ſuperior to either.

THE ſame year, MEMMIUS REGULUS finiſhed his days, a man for his eminent authority and firmneſs of mind, in ſignal eſtimation; and, as far as the luſtre of a citizen is not darkened by the ſhade and high ſtation of the Emperor, the diſtinction which he bore was ſplendid and ſublime; inſomuch that, when NERO was once under the preſſure of ſickneſs, and the flatterers about him were lamenting, " That, " if the illneſs proved fatal, there muſt be an " end of the Empire with that of his life;" he replied, " That to the Republic there would " ſtill remain a certain refuge." And, as they

then

then asked, "In whom chiefly," he added, "MEMMIUS REGULUS." Yet REGULUS preſerved his life after all this, under the protection of his own quiet ſpirit; beſides that he derived his quality from a recent ſtock, and was no wiſe obnoxious for his wealth. This year too NERO inſtituted an Athletic ſchool, and to the Knights and Senators, for their exerciſes there, preſented anointing oil, according to the wanton uſages of the revelling Greeks.

IN the Conſulſhip of PUBLIUS MARIUS and LUCIUS ASINIUS, the Prætor ANTISTIUS, whoſe arbitrary adminiſtration in the Tribuneſhip of the people I have remembered, framed a Poem full of invectives againſt the Prince, and expoſed it to a numerous aſſembly, then banqueting in the houſe of OSTORIUS SCAPULA. Hence he was arraigned upon the Law of violated Majeſty, by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO, who, at the requeſt of TIGELLINUS his father-in-law, had acquired the dignity of Senator. This Law, after long diſuſe, was upon this occaſion firſt revived, though it was believed, that thence the doom of ANTISTIUS was not ſo much intended, as matter of renown to the Emperor; for, that, when the Senate had capitally condemned him, CÆSAR meant, by interpoſing his Tribunitial power, to ſave him from the pains of death. Now, as the evidence delivered by OSTORIUS was, that he had heard nothing at all of the imputed crime, the contrary teſtimony of other witneſſes was credited,

dited, and JUNIUS MARULLUS Conſul elect, voted that "The accuſed ſhould be diveſted "of his Prætorſhip, and executed, according "to rigour of antiquity." The reſt too were concurring with the ſame vote, when PÆTUS THRASEA, after much honourable commendation of NERO, and many bitter reproaches upon ANTISTIUS, argued, "That whatever "ſeverity the guilt of the perſon accuſed might "merit, yet an adequate meaſure of puniſh-"ment was not what they were now to ad-"judge, under a Prince ſo excellent, and while "the Senate in its deciſions was under no con-"troul. Halters and executioners were ter-"rors long ſince aboliſhed; moreover, by the "laws penal ſentences were already preſcribed, "in conformity to which, puniſhments might "be pronounced without bringing the judges "under the imputation of cruelty, or the times "under that of infamy. What therefore re-"mained, but to ſentence his eſtate to confiſ-"cation, and him to exile in an iſland? whence "the longer he protracted his guilty life, the "greater private miſery he muſt endure, him-"ſelf, however, a ſingular example of public "clemency."

THE freedom of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others; ſo that after the Conſul had given leave to divide by diſceſſion [a], all but a few went readily into the motion of THRASEA. Of theſe

[a] Namely, to go over to him whoſe vote they approved.

few

few was VITELLIUS, moſt abandoned to ſtrains of flattery, one whoſe cuſtom it was to be carping at every upright man, and awed into ſilence by every reply; a conduct uſual to ſlaviſh ſpirits. The Conſuls however not dareing to give the laſt ſanction to the decree of Senate, wrote the Emperor an account of their unanimity; and the account affected him, inſomuch that he heſitated a while, between ſhame and reſentment; at laſt he returned an anſwer, "That ANTISTIUS, unprovoked by any injury, "had uttered many grievous aſperſions upon "the Prince; and, for theſe aſperſions proper "vengeance had been required from the Se-"nate. Neither would it have been more "than juſt judgment, to have ordained a pu-"niſhment ſuitable to the enormous meaſure "of the iniquity. For himſelf; as he would "have certainly oppoſed any rigorous doom, "if ſuch they had decreed, he would no wiſe "fruſtrate their mercy and moderation. De-"termine therefore they might, as to them "ſeemed beſt; nay, from him they had full "leave to pronounce a ſentence of acquittal." By the recital of theſe expreſſions, with others in the like ſtrain, his diſpleaſure appeared notorious; yet neither did the Conſuls vary the ſtate of the queſtion, nor THRASEA depart from his motion, nor any of the reſt deſert the meaſures which by their aſſent they had approved. Some would not, by a ſeverer ſentence, ſeem to expoſe the Prince to popular malignity; many placed their ſafety in their numbers:

THRASEA

THRASEA was governed by his wonted firmneſs of ſoul, and ſcorned to forfeit his illuſtrious renown.

FOR an offence much like the former, FABRICIUS VEIENTO was involved in a heavy proſecution; "for that he had compiled a long "train of invectives againſt Senators and Pon"tiffs, and inſerted the ſame in the rolls to "which he had given the title of *Codicils*, or "laſt will." To this charge it was added by TALIUS GEMINUS his accuſer, "That he had "made conſtant traffic of the Prince's bounty "and favours, and turned into purchaſe and "ſale the right of occupying the great offices "of the ſtate;" an argument this that determined NERO to adjudge his cauſe in perſon. VEIENTO being convicted, the Emperor baniſhed him from Italy, and doomed to the flames theſe his writings, which were univerſally ſought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; afterwards, from the freedom and impunity of poſſeſſing them, they ſunk into neglect and oblivion.

BUT while the public evils waxed every day more poignant, the ſupports of the public became leſſened, and BURRHUS yielded to his laſt fate; nor is it certainly known whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe. The latter was imagined from hence, that a ſwelling which began in his throat increaſed inwardly by degrees, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. Many aſſerted, that by the order of NERO,

NERO, under appearance of applying a remedy, his palate and glands were fomented with ſome venomous medicine, and that BURRHUS having perceived the deadly fraud, when the Prince came to viſit him, turned his face and eyes another way, and to all his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other anſwer but this, *I am well.* Great and permanent at Rome was the ſenſe of his loſs, as well through the memory of his own virtue, as from the characters of his ſucceſſors, one innocent and heavy, the other black with all the moſt flagrant iniquities and defilements For, NERO had created two captains of the Prætorian guards, FENIUS RUFUS, in compliment to the populace, who loved him for his diſintereſted adminiſtration in the ſuper-intendency of the public ſtores, as alſo SOFONIUS TIGELLINUS, purely from partiality to the inveterate lewdneſs and infamy of the man; for pollution and infamy were the characteriſtic of TIGELLINUS. Hence his ſuperior ſway over the ſpirit of NERO, as one aſſumed into power from an intimacy in all the ſecret ſallies of his luſt. RUFUS was diſtinguiſhed in the city and ſoldiery with popular eſtimation; a character which brought him under diſtaſte with NERO.

THE death of BURRHUS quite overthrew the authority of SENECA, as righteous meaſures had no longer the ſame ſuccours now the other champion of virtue was removed; and the heart of NERO was attached to men altogether wicked and depraved. Theſe combined to aſſail

aſſail SENECA with criminal imputations manifold; as, "That he had already accumulated "wealth incredible, far ſurpaſſing the mea- "ſure of a citizen, and was ſtill accumulating "more: that from the Emperor he was labour- "ing to withdraw the veneration of the Ro- "man people: nay, ſuch were the charms of "his gardens, ſuch the magnificence of his "ſeats, as if in them he aimed even to excel "the Emperor. To himſelf alone he arro- "gated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence; "and, ever ſince NERO became inſpired with "a paſſion for verſifying, SENECA had em- "ployed himſelf, with unuſual aſſiduity, in "the ſame ſtudy: for, to the bodily recrea- "tions of the Prince, he had declared an open "enmity, and hence diſparaged his vigour and "skill in the managing horſes, hence turned "his voice into mockery, whenever he ſung; "all with this view, that in the whole Re- "public there ſhould nothing occur ſignal or "ſublime, which was not by him introduced "and deviſed. Surely NERO was paſſed the "weakneſs of childhood, and arrived at his "prime of youth: he ought now to depoſe "his pedagogue, and truſt only to the docu- "ments conveyed to him by tutors ſufficiently "famous, his own mighty anceſtors."

SENECA was not unapprized of the efforts of his calumniators, the ſame being diſcloſed to him by ſuch as ſtill retained ſome concern for truth and honour; but, as the Emperor manifeſted daily more ſhyneſs, and leſs affabi-

lity;

lity; he beſought an hour of audience, and having obtained it, began thus: "This is the "fourteenth year ſince I was firſt aſſigned to "cultivate thy promiſing and princely ſpirit, "CÆSAR, and the eighth ſince thy advance- "ment to the Empire. During this whole "ſeries of time, ſo mighty and ſo many are "the honours and riches which thou haſt "ſhowered down upon me, that, to my abun- "dant felicity, nought is wanting but ſome "bounds and moderation. To corroborate "this addreſs, I ſhall quote great examples, and "illuſtrious names, ſuch as are adapted, not "to my ſtation and fortune, but to thine. "AUGUSTUS, from whom thou art the fourth "in deſcent, granted to MARCUS AGRIPPA "leave to retreat to Mitylene, and to CAIUS "MÆCENAS he allowed, even in Rome, a "receſs as complete as in any remote country "he could have enjoyed; the former his com- "panion in the war, the other long hataſſed "at Rome with occupations manifold, both "by him diſtinguiſhed with ſuch remunera- "tions as were glorious, in truth, yet ſignally "due to their tranſcendent worth and ſervices. "For myſelf, by what merit could I pretend "to incite that boundleſs munificence of thine, "other than mine own ſolitary ſtudies, formed, "if I may ſo ſpeak, and nouriſhed in obſcu- "rity? and even from them this glory is de- "volved upon me, that in the ſeaſonings of "literature I am thought to have initiated thy "youth; a ſublime reward alone for ſuch

"ſlender

" ſlender ſervice! but thou haſt encompaſſed
" me about with an accumulation of Imperial
" benignity and grace, beyond all expreſſion
" or limits, and with wealth without meaſure or
" end. Inſomuch that I often reaſon thus with
" myſelf, Am I, (one by rank no higher than
" a Knight, by birth no other than a foreigner)
" am I numbered with the Grandees of the
" Imperial city? Hath my new name thus
" blazed forth amongſt the illuſtrious Lords of
" Rome, men who juſtly boaſt a long train of
" hereditary honours? Where then is that
" Philoſophic ſpirit, which profeſſes to be
" ſatisfied with humble neceſſaries? Is SENECA
" that man? He who thus incloſes and adorns
" ſuch ſpacious gardens; he who thus travels
" in pomp from ſeat to ſeat in the neighbour-
" hood of Rome? Is it he who wallows in
" wealth, in ample poſſeſſions, in copious and
" extenſive uſury? One plea only there is that
" occurs to my thoughts, that againſt thy do-
" nations it became not me to ſtrive; but both
" of us have now diſcharged to the utmoſt
" meaſure this commerce of liberality and duty;
" whatever the bounty of a Prince could con-
" fer upon his friend, whatever a friend could
" accept from the bounty of his Prince, thou
" haſt already conferred, I have already ac-
" cepted. Any further addition can only prove
" freſh fuel to the bitterneſs of envy, an enemy
" which, like all other earthly things, lies, in
" truth, ſubdued under the weight of thy
" mighty grandeur, but faſtens upon me with

" all its rage, and I ſtand in eminent need of
" ſuccour. Thus, in the ſame manner, as
" were I weary and faint through the toil of
" journeying or of warfare, I ſhould ſupplicate
" for refreſhment and reſt; ſo in this long
" journey of life, old as I am, and no longer
" equal to the eaſieſt truſt, and lighteſt cares,
" and utterly unable to ſuſtain the load and
" envy of my own over-grown riches; I ſeek
" aſſiſtance and ſupport. Order the auditors
" of thy revenue to undertake the direction
" of my fortune, and to annex it to thy own.
" Nor ſhall I by this plunge myſelf into indi-
" gence and poverty, but having only ſur-
" rendered that immenſe opulence, which ex-
" poſes me to ſo much invidious ſplendor, I
" ſhall redeem all the time which is at preſent
" ſequeſtered to the care of ſo many ſeats and
" gardens, and apply it to the repoſe and cul-
" tivation of my mind. To thee remains
" abundant ſtrength and ſupport, and thy rule
" is, by a long courſe of reigning, throughly
" eſtabliſhed; thou mayſt now ſpare thy an-
" cient friends and counſellors, and vouchſafe
" them a retreat to quiet and eaſe. To thy
" glory this alſo will redound, that to the
" higheſt eſtate thou hadſt advanced ſuch men
" as knew how to bear the loweſt."

To this ſpeech NERO replied in this manner: " That I am able thus inſtantly to com-
" bat theſe ſtudied reaſonings of thine, is a
" faculty which from thy benignity and care
" I firſt derived; for thou haſt taught me, not
" only

" only the art of acquitting myſelf promptly,
" where matters are prepared, but even in
" emergencies intirely unforeſeen. It is true,
" my anceſtor AUGUSTUS granted liberty to
" AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS to retreat, after a
" life of many labours, to a life of eaſe; but
" at ſuch a time of his age and eſtabliſhment
" he granted it, that his authority was ſufficient
" to ſuſtain any conceſſion which he could have
" made them, of what kind or importance ſo-
" ever: And he diveſted neither of them of the
" bounties and recompences which he had con-
" ferred upon them. In the perils of war and
" of civil diſtraction, they had meritoriouſly
" ſerved him; for in ſuch were the younger
" years of AUGUSTUS employed. Neither
" wouldſt thou, SENECA, have failed to have
" aſſiſted me with thy perſon and arms, if I
" had been engaged in war. What my diffe-
" rent circumſtances required, thou haſt done.
" With wiſe rules, wholſome counſel, and uſe-
" ful precepts, thou haſt cheriſhed my infancy,
" and, ſince, my youth. In truth, the gifts and
" acquirements which I hold from thee, while
" my life remains, will never forſake me:
" whereas the acknowledgments which thou
" reapeſt from me, thy gardens, ſeats and rents,
" are all expoſed to uncertainty and diſaſters;
" and however copious they may appear, there
" are many inſtances of favourites, in worthy
" accompliſhments no wiſe equal to thee,
" yet diſtinguiſhed with larger poſſeſſions. I
" bluſh to quote freedmen that are beheld

"more wealthy than thou. Hence too I am "aſhamed that thou, who in dearneſs to me "art beyond all others, doſt not yet in for- "tune ſurpaſs all. Thy age, moreover, ſtill "retains ſoundneſs and vigour, is ſtill capable "of managing thy revenues, and of enjoying "them with pleaſure. For myſelf, I am but yet "in the dawn of Empire; unleſs, perhaps, "thou doſt account that my munificence to "thee has already exceeded that of CLAUDIUS "to VITELLIUS, a man diſtinguiſhed with "three Conſulſhips; when, in truth, all my "bounty towards thee, cannot equal the opu- "lence which VOLUSIUS, by a long courſe of "parſimony only, has acquired. I add, that, "if, in any particular I deviate, through the "frailty of my years, it is thou who doſt check "and recover me: and, as thou haſt with "good education embelliſhed my youth, thou "doſt ſtill manage and controul it. It is not "with thy moderation, if thou returneſt thy "wealth, nor with thy receſs, if thou for- "ſakeſt thy Prince, that the tongues of men "will be employed; no, the treaſure returned "will by the univerſal cry be aſcribed to my "rapaciouſneſs, and thy retirement, to the "dread of my cruelty. But ſuppoſe this diſ- "intereſtedneſs of thine meet with the higheſt "ſtrains of popular praiſe; yet ſurely upon a "wiſe man it will reflect no honour, that to "himſelf he meditates glory from a proceed- "ing which upon his friend muſt bring in- "famy." To all this he added kiſſes and em-

bracing,

bracing, framed as he was by nature, and by habit nurtured, to ſmother his hate under hollow courteſy and blandiſhments. SENECA preſented his thanks, which is the certain iſſue of every argument with one who poſſeſſes ſovereignty. He changed, however, the methods and ſymptoms of his former power, ſtopped the uſual conflux of ſuch as attended to pay their court, avoided a train of attendants, and his appearance abroad was exceeding rare, as if by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy, he were confined at home.

AFTER the diſgrace of SENECA, to depreſs the authority of FENIUS RUFUS, became a ſhort task, when the crime charged upon him by his enemies, was that of his adherence to AGRIPPINA. TIGELLINUS too waxed daily more mighty, and as he was perſuaded that his miſchievous devices, in which alone his whole ſufficiency lay, would prove ſtill more agreeable and meritorious, if he could engage the Prince under the tyes of a confederacy in acts of blood, he dived curiouſly into his ſecret fears; and having diſcovered that PLAUTUS and SYLLA were the men principally dreaded, and thence both lately removed from Italy; the former into Aſia, the other into Narbon Gaul, he urged upon NERO, "the ſignal qua-
"lity of the men, the nearneſs of their abode
"to great armies, PLAUTUS in the neigh-
"bourhood of that in the Eaſt, SYLLA of that
"in Germany. For himſelf, he harboured
"not, like BURRHUS, different hopes and

" views, but conſulted purely the ſecurity of " the Prince. But though his ſafety at Rome " might be enſured, and all conſpiracies there " obviated by prompt and temporary mea- " ſures; yet, by what meaſures could remote " inſurrections be ſuppreſſed, and revolts in the " confines of the Empire? The nations of " Gaul, animated by the dictatorial name of " SYLLA, were already upon the wing for " rebellion; nor were the ſeveral people of " Aſia leſs ſuſpected of an attachment to the " other, for the illuſtrious memory and re- " nown of his grandfather DRUSUS. SYLLA " was likewiſe indigent, an eſpecial incite- " ment to reſoluteneſs and enterprize; and he " feigned ſloth only till he ſpied an opportu- " nity for ſome deſperate attempt. PLAUTUS " was maſter of mighty wealth, nor ſo much " as pretended a fondneſs for quiet, but even " profeſſed to admire the lives and examples " of the ancient Romans; nay, he had adopted " the ſect of the Stoics, with all their ſuper- " ciliouſneſs and pride, a ſect which prompts " men to be turbulent, and to chuſe a life " full of action." Without further deliberation or delay, the murder of both was doomed. SYLLA was, by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arrived expreſs at Marſeilles, diſpatched as he ſat down to meat, without previous apprehenſion or tidings. When his head was preſented to NERO, the ſight moved him to deriſion, " as " if it were unſeaſonably hoary, and thence " uncomely."

THE

THE bloody ſentence awarded againſt PLAUTUS was not ſo ſucceſsfully concealed, for his life was of ſenſible concernment to many; moreover, from the length of the way, and the paſſing of the ſea, ſo much time intervened, that public fame became alarmed; and amongſt the people an imagination prevailed, that he had fled for ſanctuary to CORBULO, who then commanded mighty armies, a man who, if men ſignal in name and innocence were to be marked out for ſlaughter, ſtood in the firſt degree of fear and jeopardy. Nay, it was divulged with the ſame credulity, "That all Aſia "had taken arms to eſpouſe the defence of "the young nobleman; and that, as the ſol-"diers diſpatched to perpetrate the murder, "were neither powerful in their number, nor "prompt in their inclinations, when they "could not execute their orders, they alſo "had of themſelves joined in the revolt, and "eſpouſed the new cauſe." Theſe rumours, publiſhed by the wild breath of common fame, were readily credited by all the diſaffected, and, through hate and diſaffection, inlarged. Moreover, to PLAUTUS were brought the counſel and admonitions of LUCIUS ANTISTIUS, his father-in-law, by a freedman of his own, who, ſpeeded by a brisk wind, had out-ſailed the fatal Centurion. The advice imported, "That "he ſhould be ſure to ſhun a daſtardly death; "he had yet leiſure to eſcape, and could not "fail of finding from the worthy and generous, "compaſſion for a name ſo noble and diſtin-

" guiſhed. With himſelf he muſt aſſociate the " reſolute and brave, nor ought he the while " to ſlight any means of aid. If he had once " repulſed the ſixty ſoldiers (for ſo many were " coming to the execution) he might then, " while the tydings were tranſmitting to NERO, " while another band of men were advancing " ſo vaſt a way, proſecute a world of ſchemes, " ſufficient to lay the terrible foundations of a " war. At worſt he would either, by ſuch " meaſures, purchaſe honourable ſecurity; at " leaſt, after a brave reſiſtance, he had nought " more dreadful to ſuffer, than he muſt ſuffer " under a ſtupid acquieſcence."

BUT theſe conſiderations moved not PLAUTUS; whether it were that being an exile, and deſtitute of arms, he foreſaw no certain reſource, or whether he were weary of perplexity, and wavering hopes, or perhaps chiefly influenced by tenderneſs for his wife and children, to whom he imagined the Prince would prove the more reconcilable, when he found himſelf no wiſe incenſed by any inſurrection or alarms. There are thoſe who relate, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a different ſtrain, importing as if nothing ſanguinary or capital threatened him. They add, " That two Philoſophers, CERANUS a Greek, " and MUSONIUS a Tuſcan, had exhorted him " to wait his death with unſhaken intrepidity, " as by it he would be disburdened of a life " fraught with uncertainty and fears." Certain it is, the aſſaſſins found him in the middle

of

of the day, naked and applying himſelf to the uſual exerciſes of his body. In this ſituation the Centurion butchered him, in the ſight of PELAGO the Eunuch, who was by NERO ſet over the Centurion and his band, like the Royal miniſter of ſome tyrant, truſted with the command of his body-guards, and inſtruments of blood. The head of the ſlain was carried to Rome, and ſhewed to the Emperor. What he ſaid when he ſaw it, I ſhall repeat in his very words. "What is it, cried he, that "withſtands NERO, that he may not now diſ-"card all fear, and inſtantly ſet about ſolem-"nizing his nuptials with POPPÆA, a ſolem-"nity hitherto deferred becauſe of the terrors "ariſing from ſuch men as this? May he not "inſtantly divorce OCTAVIA his wife? one "eaſy, in truth, and modeſt in her conduct, "but ſtill, from the name of her Imperial fa-"ther, and from the ardent zeal of the people "towards her, a burden and eye-ſore." To the Senate he ſent letters, but in them owned nothing of the aſſaſſination of SYLLA and PLAUTUS, yet alledged, that both were turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits, and what vehement ſollicitude it coſt him to preſerve the peace and ſtability of the Commonwealth. Hence public proceſſions and devotions were decreed to the Deities, and SYLLA and PLAUTUS degraded from the dignity of Senators. Strange mockery and inſult, more provoking to the public, than its more ſubſtantial calamities!

NERO

NERO therefore having received the decree of Senate, and perceiving that all his wickedneſs and bloody cruelties paſſed for ſo many feats of renown, thruſt OCTAVIA forthwith from his bed, alledging, "that ſhe was barren," and then eſpouſed POPPÆA. This woman, who had been long the concubine of NERO, and both as her adulterer and her husband, ever ruled him implicitly, ſuborned a domeſtic of OCTAVIA's, to accuſe her of criminal amours with a ſlave. For this end one EUCERUS, a native of ALEXANDRIA, who excelled upon the flute, was impleaded as her gallant. Hence her maids were examined upon the rack; and, though ſome of them, overcome by the fury of the torture, favoured the perfidious forgery, the major part perſevered to vindicate the unſpotted ſanctimony of their Lady. Amongſt theſe was one, who, while TIGELLINUS was vehemently urging a confeſſion, returned him for anſwer, "That the parts "of OCTAVIA which denoted her a woman, "were purer than his mouth." The reſult however was her removal from the palace and her husband, under the mock-judgment of a legal divorcement, and for her appenage, ſhe was preſented with the houſe of BURRHUS, and with the poſſeſſions of PLAUTUS, black and ill-boding donations. She was thereafter baniſhed into Campania, and over her a guard of ſoldiers placed. From this cruel treatment there aroſe amongſt the populace many mournful complaints, by them no wiſe ſmothered or

diſguiſed;

diſguiſed; ſince they are governed by a lower meaſure of circumſpection, and, from the mediocrity of their lot, expoſed to fewer perils. Whether, by theſe daring reſentments of the people, NERO was alarmed, or moved by remorſe for ſuch black iniquity, he recalled OCTAVIA his wife.

HENCE the people in tranſports of joy aſcended the Capitol, and now at laſt found occaſion to accoſt the Deities with adoration and thankſgiving; overthrew the ſtatues of POPPÆA, but bore upon their ſhoulders the images of OCTAVIA, bedecked them with freſh flowers, placed them in the great Forum, and in the ſeveral Temples. They alſo burſt into ſtrains of praiſes to the Prince, and ſought to offer him in perſon their veneration and vows. Already they were filling the palace with their multitude and acclamations, when ſuddenly ſome bands of the guards iſſued out upon them, and aſſailing them with blows, nay, threatening them with ſlaughter, repulſed and utterly diſperſed them. The diſorders too committed during the tumult, were repaired, to POPPÆA her honour publicly reſtored, and her ſtatues replaced. But ſhe, ever implacable in her hate, was now become more implacable through fear, leſt either the fury of the populace ſhould break into outrages ſtill more terrible, or NERO be brought to change with the bent and inclination of the people. She therefore fell proſtrate at his knees, and ſaid, "Her affairs were "no longer in a ſituation to encourage her "com-

" competition for the glory of his marriage,
" though dearer to her than life was that glory;
" her life itſelf was in extremity of danger
" from the followers and ſlaves of OCTAVIA,
" a rabble who, having aſſumed the name of
" the people, in the midſt of peace, committed
" ſuch violences as were ſcarce produced by
" war. Againſt the Prince theſe arms were
" wielded, nor was aught wanting but a
" leader, a want which, when commotions
" were once raiſed, was ever eaſy to be ſup-
" plied. OCTAVIA had no more to do, but
" to relinquiſh Campania, and advance to Rome
" itſelf, ſhe at whoſe nod even in her abſence
" inſurrections could be excited. For her own
" particular, with what tranſgreſſion was ſhe
" chargeable? in what inſtance had ſhe offended
" any individual? was ſhe from hence ob-
" noxious, that to the houſe of the CÆSARS
" ſhe would yield a genuine iſſue; when the
" Roman people rather affected to ſee the off-
" ſpring of an Ægyptian minſtrel heir to the
" Imperial dignity? in a word, if this expe-
" dient beſt ſuited with the exigency of things,
" he ought to call home his Lady rather
" through choice than compulſion, or elſe to
" conſult the ſecurity of himſelf and the ſtate
" by juſt vengeance. It was true, the firſt tumult
" was diſſipated by ſmall force; but, if the
" people came utterly to deſpair of ſeeing OC-
" TAVIA any longer the wife of NERO, they
" themſelves would not fail to give a proper
" husband to OCTAVIA."

THIS

THIS diſcourſe, artfully mixed and framed to produce both terror and wrath, had its effect upon NERO, and while he liſtened to it, at once frightened and enraged him. But little had availed the fiction of OCTAVIA's intrigue with her ſlaves, a fiction which was quite defeated by the teſtimony of her maids upon the rack. It was therefore agreed to procure ſome one who ſhould own himſelf guilty with her, one againſt whom might be alſo feigned a plauſible charge of meditating a revolution in the ſtate; and ſuch a proper inſtrument was judged ANICETUS, who had accompliſhed the murder of his mother, and, as I have related, commanded the fleet at Miſenum, a man held by the Emperor, juſt after that bloody ſervice, in ſome ſlight favour, and thence-forth in heavier deteſtation; for Princes behold the miniſters of their cruelties, as men whoſe looks reproach their guilty ſouls. Him therefore NERO ſummoned, and reminding him of his former exploit, "Thou alone, ſaid he, didſt "relieve me from the conſpiracies of a mo- "ther; ſervice of no leſs merit at preſent in- "vites thee, if thou canſt but diſcharge me "effectually of an irkſome and diſaffected wife; "nor in this task needeſt thou either ſtrength "or weapon; thou art only to acknowledge "that thou haſt been engaged with OCTAVIA "in adultery." NERO promiſed him "re- "wards of mighty value, though at firſt it was "neceſſary they ſhould continue private and "unknown, as alſo, upon his mock condem-

"nation,

" nation, delectable retirements; but, in caſe " of refuſal, threatened him with preſent " death." ANICETUS, prompted by his own frantic ſpirit, and by the protection and impunity which had followed all his enormities paſt, carried his fictions even beyond his orders, and communicated, as ſecrets, all his fictions to his friends: a ſet of men whom the Prince had placed about him, as it were to aid him by their counſels in his deſigns. Then, as convicted by his own confeſſion, he was baniſhed into Sardinia, where he underwent a ſort of exile far from neceſſitous or miſerable, and died at laſt by the lot of nature.

NOW NERO iſſued an edict, " That OCTA- " VIA in hopes of engaging the fleet in her " conſpiracy, had thence corrupted ANICETUS " the admiral;" and, forgetting that he had but juſt before accuſed her of barrenneſs, he added, " that, conſcious of her ſecret luſts, ſhe had " always forced abortion; and that all theſe " her crimes were by him fully detected." Thus he commanded her to be ſhut up in an iſland, that of Pandateria.

NEVER exile filled the hearts of the beholders with more affecting compaſſion. Some ſtill remembered to have ſeen AGRIPPINA doomed to the like fate; the more recent ſufferings of JULIA were likewiſe recalled to mind, the firſt baniſhed by TIBERIUS, the other by CLAUDIUS. But theſe Ladies had arrived at maturity of years, had enjoyed ſome ſeaſons of felicity, taſted ſome ſhare of delight,

and,

and, by reviewing their once happier fortune, their pangs, from inſtant cruelty, were abated. To OCTAVIA the firſt day of her nuptials ſerved for a funeral day; ſhe was brought under a roof where all muſt appear diſmal and ſad, where her unhappy father was ſnatched away by poiſon, and inſtantly afterwards her brother by the ſame cruel means. Next, though a wife, ſhe was ſubjected to the aſcendancy of a ſlave. Then her husband eſpouſed POPPÆA, a marriage threatening nothing leſs than deſtruction to his legitimate wife. Laſtly, ſhe ſuffered the imputation of a crime more piercing than the moſt cruel death whatſoever. Add to all this, a tender girl, in the twentieth year of her age, encompaſſed with an hoſt of ſoldiers and Centurions, already bereft of life, through the ſad preſages of impending evils, yet not ſurrendered to the quiet reſt of death.

AFTER the interval of a few days, ſhe was formally doomed to die, though to prevent it, ſhe deſcended to alledge, "That ſhe owned "herſelf in a ſtate of widowhood, and claimed "no other prerogative than of being only the "Emperor's ſiſter. She pleaded their common "anceſtors, who bore the dear and favourite "name of *Germanicus:*" at length ſhe even invoked the name of AGRIPPINA; ſhe ſaid, "That had AGRIPPINA lived, ſhe ſhould, in "truth, have endured a lot of wedlock ſuffi-"ciently unhappy, but ſtill ſuch a one as would "never have ended in a bloody doom." Forthwith

with ſhe was tied down with bonds, and the veins over all her limbs were opened; but, as her blood was chilled through fear, and iſſued ſlowly, the execution was completed by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. This cruelty was followed by another yet more crying and brutal; her head being cut off and carried to Rome, POPPÆA choſe to entertain herſelf with the tragical ſpectacle. For this execution the Senate decreed gifts and oblations to the Temples; a circumſtance which I inſert with deſign that whoever ſhall, from me or any other Writer, learn the events of thoſe calamitous times, may hold it for granted, that as often as ever ſentences of murder and baniſhment were pronounced by the Prince, ſo often were thankſgivings by the fathers paid to the Deities; and the very ſame ordinances which of old were monuments of public proſperity, ſerved now for teſtimonies of public havock and ruin. And yet, I ſhall not fail to recount every decree of Senate, which either proved a new flight of flattery, or only the dregs of exceſſive tameneſs and ſervitude.

THIS year was fatal to DORYPHORUS and PALLAS, two Imperial freedmen of moſt conſpicuous note, both believed to have periſhed by poiſon, the former, for thwarting the marriage with POPPÆA, and PALLAS, for that by his great age he detained from the Emperor his ineſtimable wealth. Againſt SENECA, ROMANUS had ſecretly laboured a charge of being

being an aſſociate with CAIUS PISO, but was himſelf encountered by SENECA with more vigour for the ſame crime. Hence a ſource of much dread to PISO; and againſt NERO there aroſe a conſpiracy, mighty, indeed, and menacing, but abortive and unproſperous.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

The SUMMARY.

VOLOGESES *King of Parthia invades Armenia, but is oppoſed by* CORBULO *with great prudence and ſpirit.* CÆSENNIUS PÆTUS *ſent by* NERO *to command in Armenia. His raſhneſs, vanity, and diſgraceful conceſſions to the enemy.* CORBULO *relieves him.* POPPÆA *bears a daughter to* NERO. *Deputies from Parthia to ſue for holding the ſovereignty of Armenia, return without ſucceſs, and the conduct of that war committed to* CORBULO, *who again enters Armenia, terrifies the Parthians into a treaty, obliges them to lay down their arms, and* TIRIDATES *to lay his crown at the feet of* NERO's *ſtatue, never to reſume it more without the Emperor's conſent.* NERO *ſings in the public Theatre at Naples. His exceſſes in all pollution and cruelty. Rome conſumed by fire;* NERO *ſuſpected as the author of it. He falſly charges it upon the Chriſtians, and deſtroys them by many wanton and mercileſs torments. A conſpiracy formed againſt him; its progreſs, detection, and the many illuſtrious lives ſacrificed for it, with the boundleſs public flattery then ariſing from private ſufferings and ſorrow.*

DURING

DURING theſe tranſactions, VOLOGESES King of the Parthians, having learnt the exploits of CORBULO, that TIGRANES, an alien born, was by him eſtabliſhed King of Armenia, from whence his brother TIRIDATES had been ignominiouſly expulſed, was in himſelf bent to revenge the deſpite done to the Monarchy of the Arſacides; but revolving again upon the mighty power of the Romans, and awed with reverence for the conſtant league between the two Empires, was perplexed and divided between interfering paſſions. For he was a Prince by nature addicted to lingering, and then particularly, retarded by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, (a very potent nation) and by the long ſeries of wars that followed it. In this ſuſpence he was rouſed by the tydings of a freſh inſult, for that TIGRANES having paſſed the limits of Armenia, had waſted the territories of the Adiabenians, a bordering people, with more laſting and extenſive ſpoil than by robbers was wont to be committed: An outrage which the chiefs of theſe nations underwent with painful regret, "that they "were ſunk into ſuch abject ſcorn, as to be "over-run, not in truth by the proweſs of "any Roman leader, but by the inſolent arms "of an hoſtage to Rome, one there kept for "ſo many years amongſt his fellow-ſlaves." The anguiſh of VOLOGESES was inflamed by MONOBAZUS, in whoſe hands lay the government of the Adiabenians, and who preſſed to

know "what military ſuccours were there to "ſecure them, and from what quarter to be "ſought? The fate of Armenia was already "determined, the adjacent regions were about "to be ſwallowed up; and unleſs they were "defended by the Parthians, they themſelves "would ſoon conſider, that bondage from the "Romans proved always much lighter to ſuch "as ſubmitted to mercy, than to thoſe who "ſtaid to be ſubdued." TIRIDATES too, who was a fugitive from his Kingdom, affected VOLOGESES yet more grievouſly, whether he beheld the ſilent diſtreſs of his brother, or heard his reſpectful complainings. For the deprived Prince was wont to alledge, "that mighty "Empires were not to be ſuſtained by ſloth "and inaction; the vigour of men and arms "was to be exerted. In ſovereign fortune, "thoſe meaſures were ever moſt righteous, "which proved moſt ſucceſsful. To thoſe in "a private ſtation belonged the narrow dome-"ſtic ambition of preſerving their own; to "ſtruggle for the poſſeſſions of others, was "renown truly monarchical."

VOLOGESES, therefore, ſtimulated by all theſe conſiderations, aſſembled a council, and placing TIRIDATES next to himſelf, began thus; "This Prince, begotten by the ſame fa-"ther with myſelf, I inveſted with the poſſeſ-"ſion of Armenia, ſince to me, in regard of "primogeniture, it was his lot to yield the "ſovereignty of Parthia; and thus he became "what we account the third ſovereign of our "blood.

" blood. For PACORUS already occupied the " realm of Media. By this means, I ſeemed " to have happily ſettled our family, and pro- " vided againſt the ancient hate and competi- " tion of brothers. This the Romans oppoſe, " and though they never infringed the peace " with any felicity to themſelves, they now " again openly break it, doubtleſs to their own " bane and confuſion. I am far from denying " that rather by arguments than arms, would " I chuſe to preſerve the acquiſition of my " anceſtors. If I have been blameable in my " delays, I will redouble my vigour. Your " glory is unſullied, your force undiminiſhed; " to this praiſe you have alſo added that of " moderation, a virtue never to be ſlighted " by the moſt elevated amongſt men, and is " held by the Gods themſelves in high eſtima- " tion." As ſoon as he had thus ſpoke, upon the head of TIRIDATES he ſet the royal diadem, to MONESES a noble Parthian he delivered a complete band of ſtout horſe, which, according to the cuſtom of Monarchy, always attended the perſon of the King; to theſe he added a body of auxiliary Adiabenians, and commanded that General, " to force TIGRANES from Armenia." He purpoſed himſelf the while to drop his conteſt with the Hyrcanians, to amaſs all his forces in the heart of PARTHIA, and reſerving to his own conduct the main ſtreſs of the war, to advance, and threaten a deſcent into the Roman provinces.

CORBULO, as ſoon as by certain intelligence he had learnt all theſe proceedings, ſent two Legions to ſuccour TIGRANES, under the command of VERULANUS SEVERUS and VETTIUS BOLANUS, with ſecret injunctions, "rather to "ſtudy delays than to act with diſpatch." The truth was, CORBULO aimed more at keeping a war on foot, than puſhing it to a concluſion; beſides, he had written to NERO, "That, in "order to defend Armenia, another General "was neceſſary; for that Syria, now threatened "with a terrible tempeſt from VOLOGESES, "was thence expoſed to more vehement dan-"ger." In the mean while he diſpoſed the remaining Legions along the banks of the Euphrates, ſuddenly raiſed a body of militia out of the natives of the province; at all the paſſes he poſted guards, to obſtruct the inroads of the enemy; and, becauſe that region is ſcanty of water, over the ſeveral fountains forts were erected, and ſome ſprings he buried under hills of ſand.

WHILE CORBULO was thus buſied in meaſures for ſecuring Syria, MONESES advanced towards Armenia, with rapid marches, as by them he meant to out-run the report of his coming: but, he found TIGRANES neither void of intelligence, nor in a negligent ſituation; for that Prince had poſſeſſed himſelf of Tigranocerta, a city of great ſtrength in the multitude of its defenders, and the mightineſs of its walls. Add, that the Nicephorus, a river of no ſmall breadth, environed great part of

of the wall, and round the reſt, where the defence of the river was not truſted, a vaſt trench was drawn. Within it too was a garriſon of ſoldiers, and ſtores of proviſion before laid up. In bringing in theſe proviſions ſome few ſoldiers, having out of greedineſs ſtraggled too far, fell into the hands of the ſwift and unexpected foe; but by this miſhap of theirs, the minds of the reſt became filled with reſentment, rather than with diſmay. Neither have the Parthians any bravery to venture a cloſe attack upon a place beſieged: it was but a few ſcattering arrows that they ſhot, nor thence at all diſmayed the beſieged, but only baffled themſelves. The Adiabenians when, with ladders and engines of battery, they began to approach the walls, were eaſily driven back, and by an immediate ſally of our men, put to the ſlaughter.

CORBULO however, though all his proceedings proſpered, judging it wiſdom to moderate the career of his good fortune, diſpatched embaſſadors to VOLOGESES to expoſtulate with him upon his hoſtile conduct, "That he had "with violence and war fallen upon a Roman "Province; that his forces beſieged a King "who was a friend and confederate of Rome; "nay, beſieged the Roman Cohorts themſelves;" and to warn him, "that either he "muſt abandon the ſiege, or CORBULO too "would inſtantly march and encamp upon the "territories of the enemy." CASPERIUS the Centurion, who was delegated to execute this

embaſſy, reached the King at the city of Niſibis, thirty-ſeven miles diſtant from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his meſſage with great ſternneſs. It was, in truth, long ſince the politic drift of VOLOGESES, and thoroughly riveted in his heart, to avoid engaging with the arms of Rome; neither did his preſent enterprizes advance with any meaſure of ſucceſs; fruitleſs and vain had been the ſiege of Tigranocerta; TIGRANES ſat ſecure and ſtrong in men and proviſions; they who had undertaken to ſtorm the walls, were utterly routed; two Legions were ſent to the relief of Armenia; the remaining Legions covered Syria, nay, ſtood ready for an offenſive war, and to invade the dominions of Parthia; his whole cavalry, through ſcarcity of forage, were miſerably enfeebled; for ſuch an infinite flight of locuſts had fallen, as utterly devoured the whole crop of the earth and every green thing. Smothering, however, his dread, and aſſuming a guiſe of moderation, he returned for anſwer, "That "he would ſend Embaſſadors to Rome, to ſue "to CÆSAR for a conceſſion of the Kingdom "of Armenia, and to corroborate the peace "between them." And inſtantly commanding MONESES to relinquiſh the ſiege of Tigranocerta, he departed himſelf homewards again.

THESE quick changes were by many extolled, as "events altogether honourable, purely "atchieved by the menaces of CORBULO, and "the diſmay of the King." Others explained the whole "into a ſecret compact between "them,

" them, that the war being dropped on both " ſides, and VOLOGESES withdrawing from " Armenia, TIGRANES too ſhould depart that " Kingdom. Upon what motives elſe was the " Roman army led out of Tigranocerta? Why, " in a time of inaction, were thoſe places aban- " doned, which during war were ſtrenuouſly " defended? Had the troops found, in the re- " moteſt parts of Cappadocia, more commo- " dious winter quarters, under huts ſuddenly " raiſed, than in the capital of a Kingdom juſt " before carefully kept and protected? With- " out all doubt, the war was therefore ſuſ- " pended, that upon ſome other Commander " than CORBULO the lot might might fall of " meeting VOLOGESES in the field; nor would " CORBULO expoſe to new riſques that renown " and glory which for ſo many years he had " been acquiring." For, as I have already ob- ſerved, he had demanded that a General ſhould be ſent for the particular defence of Armenia, and heard that CÆSENNIUS PÆTUS was ap- proaching with that character. CÆSENNIUS was, in truth, already arrived, and the forces ſo divided, that under the command of PÆTUS were to remain the fourth Legion and the twelfth, to which was added the fifth, lately called thither from Mœſia, as alſo the auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia; with CORBULO were to continue the third, ſixth, and tenth Legions, and what forces formerly belonged to Syria. All other particulars they were to poſſeſs in common, or to ſhare, juſt as the

the public ſervice required. But, as CORBULO could not bear a competitor; ſo PÆTUS, to whom it was doubtleſs abundant glory, if in merit he were reckoned the ſecond, diſparaged all the atchievements of CORBULO; he affirmed, "That, in all his exploits, nothing of "hoſtile blood was ſpilled, nothing of ſpoil "was taken; and all the boaſted praiſe of "maſtering and aſſaulting cities, was merely "nominal and aſſumed. For himſelf, he would "impoſe upon the vanquiſhed tribute and laws; "and, inſtead of the preſent ſhadow of a King, "ſubject them at once to the juriſdiction of "Rome."

AT this very juncture, the Embaſſadors of VOLOGESES, the ſame, whom I have mentioned to have been ſent to the Prince, returned unſucceſsful. Hence the Parthians proceeded to open war, nor did PÆTUS decline it; but, with two Legions, the fourth and twelfth, the former then commanded by FAMISULANUS VECTONIANUS, the other by CALVISIUS SABINUS, he entered Armenia, and a ſad preſage accompanied his entrance; for, in paſſing over the Euphrates, which he croſſed upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the Conſular ornaments, became frightened without any apparent cauſe, and ſtarting back again, got clear away: Moreover, as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, a victim which ſtood by the works, before the ſame were above half finiſhed, broke violently through, leaped over the pale, and fled. The javelins too of our men

men blazed with ſpontaneous fire, a prodigy which appeared the more ſignal, for that with javelins and ſuch weapons miſſive their enemies the Parthians always fight.

But all theſe omens were contemned by Pætus, who, before his winter encampment was yet ſufficiently fortified, without preparing any the leaſt magazine of grain, hurried the army over the mountain Taurus, "to recover, "as he ſaid, the city of Tigranocerta, and lay "waſte the ſeveral regions which Corbulo "had ſpared." And it is true that he took certain caſtles, ſomewhat of glory too he won, and ſomewhat of plunder, if he had either poſſeſſed his glory with moderation, or his plunder with care. But while with long marches, he over-ran countries which could not poſſibly be maintained, what proviſions he had pillaged, became corrupted and ſpoiled, and the winter was juſt overtaking him, ſo that he led back the army to their quarters. There he compoſed letters to Nero, in a pompous ſtile, as if the war had been already concluded; but as to any available performances, his letters were empty and vain.

Corbulo, the while, ſat down upon the banks of the Euphrates, a ſtation which he had never neglected; he now particularly multiplied the guards which defended it. And, that the enemy's troops, who with great oſtentation and numbers were prancing over the oppoſite plains, might create no obſtruction to his laying a bridge over the river, he faſtened together with

with great beams, certain veſſels of vaſt bulk. Upon them he reared large towers, and ſteering this armed float to and fro upon the ſtream, did thence with engines of battery annoy and diſſipate the Barbarians, upon whom by this means were poured volleys of ſtones and darts, at a greater diſtance than could be equalled by the flight of arrows by them returned. Thereafter, the bridge was extended quite over; the oppoſite hills were immediately poſſeſſed by the confederate Cohorts, and upon them the Legions next pitched their camp. All which was executed with ſuch celerity, and ſuch a formidable diſplay of forces, that the Parthians intirely abandoned their diſpoſitions for invading Syria, and turned all their hopes and efforts towards Armenia.

THERE abode PÆTUS in ſuch utter ignorance of the impending tempeſt, that he ſtill kept the fifth Legion at ſo great a diſtance as Pontus, and had weakened the reſt, by allowing the ſoldiers, without reſtriction, leave to be abſent. In this ſituation he received the news, that VOLOGESES advanced with a mighty hoſt, breathing terror and vengeance. Forthwith he called to him the twelfth Legion; but this very thing, from whence he hoped the reputation of having augmented his army, betrayed their thinneſs: Yet they ſtill might have maintained their camp, and by protracting the war, have baffled all the efforts of the Parthians, if in the ſpirit of PÆTUS there had been any firmneſs, either in adhering to his own counſel, or

to

to the counſels of others. But whenever by officers of experience he ſeemed fixed in his meaſures againſt ſuch preſſing dangers, preſently after, that he might not ſeem to want the judgment of any man, he lapſed into courſes which were different, and always worſe. At this very juncture he wilfully departed out of the entrenchments which incloſed their winter quarters, and uttering brave words, "That, in order to repulſe the foe, to him was committed "neither ditch nor pale, but the bodies and "arms of men;" he led forth the Legions, like one who would needs encounter the Parthians in battle. But having loſt a Centurion and a few private men, whom he had ſent forward to view the enemy's forces, he returned to his camp in great haſte and affright: Yet ſeeing VOLOGESES had purſued his advantage with no remarkable ardour, PÆTUS became once more infatuated with vain confidence, and upon the next ſummit of mount Taurus placed three thouſand ſelect infantry, to repulſe the King from paſſing it. He likewiſe committed a particular part of the plain to the troops of Pannonia, which were the ſtrength of his cavalry. His wife and ſon he ſhut up in a caſtle named Arſamoſata, and for garriſoning the caſtle, gave them a band of five hundred men. Thus he diſperſed his army, who, had they been in a body, might with more vigour have ſuſtained the ſhock of a roving and inconſtant enemy: Nay, it is ſaid, that he was with great difficulty induced to tranſmit to CORBULO any account

account of the enemy's diſtreſſing him. Neither did CORBULO make much diſpatch, that the more the danger increaſed, the greater praiſe he might reap from bringing relief. He gave orders however to make ready a body of ſuccours conſiſting of three thouſand Legionary ſoldiers (one from each of the three Legions) of eight hundred horſe, and an equal number of foot detached from the Cohorts.

VOLOGESES, though he was adviſed, that PÆTUS beſet the roads on every hand, here with his infantry, there with his horſe, yet no-wiſe varied his deſign or his march, but, with a violent onſet, and oſtentation of terrors, quite diſmayed and drove away the Pannonian troops; the Legionary foot poſted upon Taurus he utterly overthrew, and found reſiſtance from one Centurion only, namely, TARQUITIUS CRESCENS, who had the bravery to defend a tower, in which he kept garriſon? He even made frequent ſallies, and ſuch of the Barbarians who ventured to approach, he ſlew, till at laſt he was aſſaulted and overwhelmed by volleys of flaming matter. Such of the infantry as eſcaped unhurt, betook themſelves to wild and remote deſerts, and the wounded recovered the camp: There they publiſhed "the ſignal bravery of "the Parthian King, the multitudes and bar-"barity of the ſeveral nations his followers," and, through the impulſe of their own fears, magnified exceſſively whatever inſpired them: all which was ſwallowed with ready credulity by the reſt, who were themſelves poſſeſſed with

with the ſame terrors. Nor in truth did the General make any efforts to repel this torrent of adverſity: he had already deſerted all the duties of war, and again diſpatched more entreaties to CORBULO, "to come with ſpeed, "and ſave the Roman Enſigns and Eagles; to "ſave the name and remains of an unhappy "army, who with himſelf would, while their "lives remained, honour their deliverer with "perfect faith and gratitude."

CORBULO was no wiſe daunted, and, leaving part of his forces in Syria to maintain the poſts which he had fortified upon the Euphrates; began the ſhorteſt route, where no hazard was incurred of lacking proviſions; firſt through Comagena, then through Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia. There accompanied his army, beſides other implements uſual in war, a huge train of camels loaded with grain, thence to repel famine as well as the foe. The firſt that he met of thoſe who were routed, was PACTIUS a Centurion of principal rank: After him came ſeveral common ſoldiers, who, while they ſtrove to cover the ſhame of their flight, each by a different excuſe, were by CORBULO admoniſhed "to return to their colours, and "try the mercy of PÆTUS: for his particular. "he owned himſelf implacable to all who in "battle came not off victorious." At the ſame time he addreſſed himſelf to his own Legions, from rank to rank, perſuading and exhorting, reminded them of their exploits and victories paſt, and to their preſent view exhibited a

ſcene

ſcene of freſh glory; "Not now the villages "and cities of the Armenians were to be poſ- "ſeſſed as the recompence of their ſervices "and hardſhips, but the Roman Camp to be "ſaved; and in it two Roman Legions. If "every private ſoldier were, for ſaving the life "of a citizen, diſtinguiſhed with the luſtre of "a Civic Crown publicly preſented by the "hand of his General; how much more ſignal "and extenſive muſt be the renown, when the "lives preſerved, and they who preſerve them, "were thus equally numerous?" By theſe and the like ſtimulations, they became fired with alacrity for the common cauſe; beſides, ſome were prompted by perſonal incitements, even the diſtreſſes and dangers in which their brothers, or their companions and kinſmen, were involved. So that they ſped their march night and day, without intermiſſion.

HENCE the more vehemently did VOLOGESES preſs the beſieged, now aſſaulting the entrenchment of the Legions, then the caſtle in which were guarded thoſe who from the tenderneſs of their ſex and years were unfit for the roughneſs and toils of war; and he puſhed theſe his aſſaults much more cloſely than was uſual to the Parthians, in hopes by ſuch deſigned temerity to tempt out the enemy to a battle. But they, with all theſe inſults, could ſcarce be dragged out of their tents, at moſt only endeavoured to maintain their works, part of them ſubmitting to the orders and reſtrictions of their General, others reſigned to their

their own cowardice, as men who ſtupidly waited for deliverance from CORBULO; or if the power of the aſſailants in the mean while prevailed, they had already provided themſelves with examples to follow, namely, the behaviour of two old Roman armies overthrown, one at Caudium in Italy, the other at Numantia in Spain: "for that, neither "were the Samnites (a ſingle Italian ſtate) nor "were the Spaniards, either of them maſters "of forces comparable to thoſe of the Par-"thians, a mighty Empire, rival with that of "Rome! nay, thoſe ſame ancients, ſo very "brave and ſtubborn, and ſo much extolled, "as often as fortune forſook them, were ever "ſupple enough to conſult ſelf-preſervation." By the temper of the army, thus abandoned to deſpair, the General was conſtrained to write to VOLOGESES; yet, the firſt letter which he ſent contained nothing of ſupplicancy or abaſement, but was conceived in a ſtrain of expoſtulation and complaint, "That for the King-"dom of Armenia he ſhould thus exerciſe the "violences of enmity and war; a country ever "ſubject to the Roman juriſdiction, or to a "King appointed by the Emperor of Rome. "Peace was, in truth, alike advantageous to "the Parthians and to the Romans; neither "ought he to view only the preſent ſituation "of things; but remember that againſt two "Legions he was come at the head of the "whole power of his Kingdom, while to the

" mans remained, for the ſupport of the war, " all the reſt of the globe."

VOLOGESES, without entering at all into the merit of the war, in anſwer to the repreſentation, wrote back, " That he muſt wait the " coming of his brothers, PACORUS and TIRI- " DATES; as to them was reſerved the appoint- " ment of a place and time for adjuſting ſuch " meaſures concerning Armenia, as became " their own high character, and the grandeur " of the Arſacides; at the ſame time too, they " would determine how to deal with the Ro- " man Legions." PÆTUS again diſpatched a meſſage, and deſired a conference with the King, who, in his own ſtead, deputed VASACES, his General of horſe. At this interview PÆTUS urged examples, and repreſented " ſuch " Roman Captains as LUCULLUS and POMPEY, " and ſince ſome of the Cæſars, acquiring and " beſtowing the Realm of Armenia." VASACES alledged, " That indeed the name and " ſhadow of holding and conferring it, reſted " in us Romans, but in the Parthians the eſſen- " tial power." After much mutual conteſtation, MONOBAZUS the Adiabenian was the next day joined with them, as a witneſs to their ſtipulations, and between them it was agreed, " That the Legions ſhould be releaſed " from the leaguer, all the Roman troops ut- " terly depart the territories of Armenia, all " their fortreſſes and ſtores be delivered up to " the Parthians. Then, after complete per- " formance

" formance of theſe conceſſions, VOLOGESES " ſhould have free privilege to ſend Embaſſa- " dors to NERO."

IN the mean time, PÆTUS laid a bridge over the river Arſanias, which flowed along his camp, under pretext of his preparing to march off that way; but it was, in reality, a work enjoined him by the Parthians, as a monument and confeſſion of their victory, ſince to them only it was of uſe; for our men took a different rout. All this diſgrace was heightened by public rumour, which added, that " the Legions had paſſed like captives " under a gallows," with many other diſaſtrous circumſtances, ſuch as are wont to accompany diſtreſs. And it is true, that of ſuch ignominious treatment ſome ſemblance was adminiſtered by the inſulting behaviour of the Armenians, who, before the Roman army was yet diſcamped, entered their works, beſet all the avenues and thoroughfares, ſingled out their own captive ſlaves, diſtinguiſhed their loſt beaſts, and reſcued both: They even ſtripped the Romans of their cloaths, and ſeized their arms, while the poor ſoldiers only trembled and delivered, thus to cut off all provocation and excuſe of involving them in a battle. VOLOGESES raiſed a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the ſlain, by it to manifeſt our overthrow, but forbore beholding the ſcandalous flight of the Legions, from whence he aimed at acquiring the applauſe of moderation, when he had juſt before ſatiated his pride. He paſſed

the river Arſanias mounted upon an elephant, as did all that were near the King in blood or favour, by the vigour of their horſes. For, a report had ſpread that the bridge, by the fraud of the builders, would certainly ſink under any conſiderable preſſure: Though they who ventured over it, experienced it to be a ſtrong and ſecure fabric.

FOR the reſt; it was notorious that the beleagured army were to the laſt provided with ſuch abundant ſupplies of grain, that they even ſet fire to their ſtore-houſes. And it was by CORBULO recounted, "That the Parthians, on "the contrary, were deſtitute of proviſions, "and their forage entirely conſumed, ſo that "they were about to have forſaken the leaguer; "neither was he himſelf above three days "march diſtant with his forces." He even added, "That PÆTUS covenanted, under the "tye of an oath ſolemnly taken under the "ſacred Eagles, in the preſence of thoſe whom "the King had ſent to witneſs it, That no "Roman ſhould enter Armenia, till by the "arrival of letters from NERO, it were known "whether he conſented to the peace." But though ſuch imputations were to paſs only for infamy aggravated, yet the ſubſequent conduct of PÆTUS and his army is liable to no ambiguity, that in one day they travelled the ſpace of forty miles, that the wounded were every where dropped and forſaken, and that no leſs infamous was the flight and diſmay of thoſe fugitives, than if they had turned their backs

and

and run in the day of battle. Upon the banks of the Euphrates CORBULO with his forces met them, but without ſuch a diſplay of flying colours and glittering arms as might ſeem to upbraid their different and melancholy plight. Sorrowful were his ſeveral bands, and in commiſeration for the heavy lot of their fellow-ſoldiers, could not refrain from a flood of tears; ſcarce were they able to exchange their ſalutations for weeping: All competition about ſuperior bravery was vaniſhed, as well as all ambition for glory; for theſe are the paſſions of happy and proſperous men! here compaſſion only prevailed, and the lower the men, the ſtronger their compaſſion.

BETWEEN the two leaders there followed a brief conference, CORBULO lamenting, "That "ſo much travel had been fruitleſly beſtowed, "when the war might have been finiſhed with "the utter flight of the Parthians." The other replied, "That the affairs of Armenia re-"mained perfectly as they were. Let us, ſaid "he, turn about our Eagles, and invade it in "concert, enfeebled as it is by the departure "of VOLOGESES." CORBULO alledged, "That from the Emperor he had no ſuch "orders: he had already paſſed out of his "Province, from no other inducement than "to deliver the diſtreſſed Legions; and as it "was altogether uncertain where the next "efforts of the Parthians would fall, he would "retire back into Syria: Even thus they had "cauſe to invoke the Deity of happy fortune,

" that the foot, which were ſo miſerably ſpent " with great marches, might be able to come " up with the Parthian horſe, which were " altogether freſh and untired, and in travel- " ling eaſily over thoſe ſmooth plains, were " ſure to out-march them." PÆTUS therefore withdrew to Cappadocia, and there wintered. But to CORBULO a meſſage arrived from VOLOGESES, " To withdraw his ſeveral garriſons " from beyond the Euphrates, and let the river " remain, as formerly, the common boun- " dary." CORBULO too inſiſted, " That all " the Parthian garriſons ſhould evacuate Ar- " menia." And at laſt the King complied. Moreover, all the fortifications raiſed by CORBULO on the other ſide Euphrates, were demoliſhed, and by both the King and CORBULO the Armenians were left to their own diſpoſal and controulment.

BUT, at Rome the while, they were erecting trophies of victory over the Parthians, and raiſing triumphal arches upon the mount of the Capitol; ſolemnities decreed by the Senate while the war was yet in its height, nor even now diſcontinued, as popular ſhew was only ſtudied, in defiance of conviction and fact. Nay, NERO, in order to diſguiſe all ſollicitude from affairs abroad, ordered the ſtores of grain, which from time to time was diſtributed amongſt the populace, but now corrupted with ſtaleneſs, to be thrown into the Tiber, in oſtentation of the public ſecurity and plenty of proviſions. It is certain, their price became nothing

thing raiſed, notwithſtanding that almoſt two hundred veſſels thus loaded, were by a violent ſtorm ſunk in the very harbour, and a hundred more already arrived in the Tiber, were conſumed by an accidental fire. Thereafter he committed the direction of the public revenue to three Senators of Conſular dignity, LUCIUS PISO, DUCENNIUS GEMINUS, and POMPEIUS PAULLINUS, inveighing againſt the Princes his anceſtors, "for that, through the profuſeneſs "of their expence and diſburſements, they "had exceeded their annual receipts; whereas "by himſelf the Commonwealth was yearly "preſented with more than a million of "crowns."

THERE prevailed in thoſe days a peſtilent abuſe, practiſed by men aſpiring and childleſs, who, whenever the election of Magiſtrates, or the allotment of Provinces, was at hand, provided themſelves with ſons by fraudulent adoptions; then when in common with real fathers they had obtained Prætorſhips and provincial Governments, they inſtantly diſmiſſed ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. Hence thoſe who were genuine fathers, betook themſelves with mighty indignation to the Senate: There they repreſented their own "inherent "right from nature, their many toils and pa-"ternal cares beſtowed in education and rear-"ing, in oppoſition to the fraud, ſelfiſh de-"vices, and facility of theſe adoptions haſtily "made, and ſuddenly diſſolved. To ſuch as "were childleſs, it was abundant compenſa-

" tion, that with much ſecurity, and exempt " from all anxiety and charge, they could ar- " rive at public diſtinction, and honours, and " find every advantage in the ſtate eaſy and " open to their wiſhes. For themſelves, the " preference enſured to them by the law, and " by them tediouſly expected, vaniſhed in " mockery, while every man had it in his " option to become a parent without parental " tenderneſs and ſollicitude, and fatherleſs " again without the lamentation and anguiſh " of a parent, and by the colluſive ceremony " of a moment, arrived at equal emoluments " with natural fathers, by them ſo long " purſued." This produced a decree of Senate, " That in the purſuit of any public em- " ployment whatſoever, no feigned adoptions " ſhould have influence, nor yet avail in claim- " ing eſtates by will."

WHAT followed was the accuſation and trial of CLAUDIUS TIMARCHUS of Crete, who, beſides other exceſſes common to the Grandees of all provinces, elated with over-grown wealth, and thence wantonly prompted to domineer over their inferiors, had uttered an expreſſion, which imported great ſcandal and contumely upon the Senate; as he had often declared, that " it lay in his power, whether " the Proconſuls who had obtained the go- " vernment of Crete, ſhould receive for their " adminiſtration the public thanks;" an occaſion which PÆTUS THRASEA ſought to improve to the benefit of the public; ſo that, after he

he had delivered his vote, namely, " That the " accuſed ſhould be baniſhed from Crete," he added the following ſpeech. " It is a truth " confirmed by experience, Conſcript Fathers, " that renowned laws and wholſome prece- " dents are by upright patriots derived from " the tranſgreſſions and delinquency of others: " Thus was the Cincian law produced by the " licentious behaviour of the Orators, the Ju- " lian ordinances by the caballings and efforts " of the candidates for public preferments, " and the inſtitutions of CALPURNIUS the " Tribune, by the rapaciouſneſs of the Magi- " ſtrates. For guilt is ever antecedent to pu- " niſhment, and later than the offence comes " the correction. To quell therefore this " freſh inſolence of the Provincials, let us take " meaſures worthy of the good faith, worthy " of the magnanimity of the Romans, ſuch as " may no wiſe infringe the protection due to " our confederates, nor yet leave room for any " Roman to depend for his eſtimation upon " other judgment than that of his fellow-citi- " zens. Of old, indeed, not Prætors and " Conſuls only, and men in office, were ſent " into the Provinces; but private perſons in- " veſted with no magiſtracy, were alſo ſent, " to inſpect the ſtate of thoſe Provinces in ge- " neral, and to report what they judged meet " concerning the civil obſervance of every " particular; and by the judgment of ſingle " inſpectors nations were awed. But now we " court foreigners, and flatter them; and as at " the

" the beck of ſome one of them thanks are
" decreed to our Magiſtrates, from the ſame
" motive too, but with more facility, is their
" accuſation decreed: Nay, let ſuch accuſa-
" tions be ſtill decreed; to the Provincials let
" there always continue a privilege of making,
" in ſuch inſtances, an oſtentation of their
" power; but let their falſe and groundleſs
" applauſe, their commendations extorted by
" importunity and prayers, be reſtrained with
" the ſame rigour as the efforts of malice, as
" the ravages of cruelty. Into heavier de-
" faults we often fall, while we labour to
" oblige, than when we are not afraid to of-
" fend. There are even certain virtues ſub-
" ject to popular hate, ſuch as a ſeverity never
" to be ſhaken, and a ſoul impregnable againſt
" all inſinuation and courtſhip. Hence the
" adminiſtration of our Magiſtrates abroad, is
" generally beſt at the beginning, but relaxes
" in the cloſe, while in the ſubmiſſive man-
" ner of candidates for honours at home, we
" ſollicit favourable ſuffrages from the Pro-
" vincials. Now if this depraved cuſtom be
" effectually ſuppreſſed, the Provinces will be
" ruled with more impartiality, with greater
" firmneſs and reſolution: For, as by the ter-
" ror of the law againſt extortion and rapine,
" the force of avarice in the governors is
" broken, ſo by aboliſhing the uſage of giving
" them public thanks, the court by them paid
" to the Provinces is to be reſtrained.

GREAT

GREAT was the applauſe and univerſal the aſſent, that accompanied this propoſition from THRASEA, which yet could not be reduced into a decree, ſince the Conſuls inſiſted that the ſame was foreign from the queſtion firſt moved. But afterwards, at the motion of the Prince, it was ordained, "That to the general "council of the Provinces no man ſhould have "leave to propoſe a deputation to the Senate "for public thanks to any Prætorian or Pro-"conſular Governor whatſoever; and that no "man ſhould be allowed to execute ſuch a "deputation." During the ſame Conſuls, the Athletic Academy was by a blaſt of lightning burnt to ruins, and in it the brazen ſtatue of NERO melted to a ſhapeleſs maſs. In Campania too, the noble city which from POMPEY takes its name, was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake; and this year died LÆLIA the Veſtal virgin, into whoſe place was aſſumed CORNELIA, of the Coſſian family.

IN the Conſulſhip of MEMMIUS REGULUS and VERGINIUS RUFUS, a daughter was by POPPÆA born to NERO, and filled him with more than mortal joy, inſomuch, that he named her *Auguſta*, and upon POPPÆA conferred the ſame title. The place of her birth was the Colony of Antium, where he himſelf was born. The Senate had before ſolemnly recommended to the Gods the pregnant womb of POPPÆA, and, for her delivery, undertaken public vows: Now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled. Days of devo-

tion,

tion and proceſſions were alſo ſubjoined; a Temple was decreed to "Fecundity, with "Athletic ſports in imitation of thoſe which "were peculiar to Antium; moreover, that "in the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus ſhould "be placed golden images of the Fortunes; "and that at Antium, in honour to the Clau-"dian and Domitian families, Circenſian "games ſhould be celebrated, as at the ſuburbs "Bovillæ they were in diſtinction to the Ju-"lian race." But all theſe proved fleeting memorials; for within four months the infant expired: From whence aroſe freſh ſallies of flattery; ſince deification was voted to her, with "divine worſhip, a tabernacle, chapel, "and prieſt." For the Emperor, as he had rejoiced, ſo he ſorrowed, beyond all meaſure. It was a particular univerſally obſerved, that when juſt upon the delivery of POPPÆA, the Senate in a body flocked with congratulations to Antium, THRASEA was by NERO reſtrained from accompanying them; a contumely which, though it foreboded his impending deſtruction, he yet received with a ſpirit perfectly undiſmayed. It was reported that NERO afterwards vaunted to SENECA his own clemency and reconciliation to THRASEA, and that to NERO in return SENECA expreſſed his gladneſs and thanks. Hence freſh glory accrued to theſe illuſtrious patriots, and by it higher obnoxiouſneſs and danger.

DURING theſe tranſactions, there arrived in the beginning of ſpring, Embaſſadors from the Parthians,

Parthians; charged with overtures from VOLOGESES their King, and with letters in the ſame ſtrain, that he now voluntarily relinquiſhed " all his former meaſures ſo often conteſted, " about the enjoyment of Armenia, ſince the " Gods, though they were the ſovereign arbi- " trator between potent ſtates, and had yielded " the poſſeſſion of it to the Parthians, yet ſo " yielded it, that thence ignominy devolved " upon the Romans. He had lately held TI- " GRANES blocked up in a ſiege, then PÆTUS " and the Legions; and when it was in his " power to have deſtroyed them, it was his " choice to diſmiſs them unhurt. He had " ſufficiently diſplayed his forces and might, " and exhibited too a glaring proof of his " moderation. Neither would his brother " TIRIDATES refuſe coming to Rome, there " to receive the Armenian diadem; but that " as he was a Magian, the character of his " Prieſthood with-held him: He was ready, " however, to addreſs himſelf to the Roman " Enſigns, and to the Images of CÆSAR, and " there, in preſence of the Legions, receive " the ſolemn inveſtiture of the Kingdom."

WHEN theſe letters of VOLOGESES were read, ſo oppoſite to the account tranſmitted by PÆTUS, as if things remained entirely in the ſame ſituation; the Centurion, who had arrived with the Embaſſadors, was asked, " In " what condition ſtood the Kingdom of Ar- " menia?" he anſwered, that " all the Ro- " mans were to a man withdrawn from " thence;"

" thence;" and as hence was underſtood the ſcorn offered by the Barbarians, thus ſuing for a country which they had already ſeized, NERO held a conſultation with the principal Grandees, whether to engage in a perilous war, or prefer an infamous peace; nor was there any heſitation in reſolving upon war; and to CORBULO, who by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the ſoldiery and the enemy, the ſupreme command was committed, leſt through the temerity and unskilfulneſs of any other, more faults and diſgrace might be incurred; for, of PÆTUS and his conduct they were ſorely aſhamed. The Embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed unſucceſsful, but diſtinguiſhed with preſents, thence to raiſe hopes that, were TIRIDATES to bring his own ſupplications, he would not ſupplicate in vain. To SESTIUS was given the adminiſtration of Syria, and to CORBULO were granted all the military forces there, which were alſo increaſed by the addition of the fifteenth Legion, led by MARIUS CELSUS, from Pannonia. Directions were likewiſe written to the Kings and Tetrarchs in the Eaſt, to the Deputies and Superintendents, and to the ſeveral Proprætors who ruled the neighbouring Provinces, " to pay " entire obedience to the orders of CORBULO," who was thus truſted with much the ſame extenſive authority, which the Roman people had conferred upon POMPEY in his expedition againſt the Pirates. Upon the return of PÆTUS to Rome, while he was dreading a more rigorous

ous treatment, NERO deemed it ſufficient to laſh him with railleries in this manner; "I "pardon you, ſaid he, inſtantly, leſt, with that "ſtrange propenſity to fear, you might pine "away, were your anxiety ever ſo little pro-"tracted."

NOW when CORBULO had removed into Syria the fourth and twelfth Legions, which, from the loſs of all their braveſt men, and the conſternation of the reſt, were judged little qualified for feats of war; he drew from that Province the ſixth Legion and the third, a body of men freſh and undiminiſhed, hardened by variety of military toils, and accuſtomed to proſperous exploits, and led them to Armenia. To them he added the fifth, which being quartered in Pontus had eſcaped the late defeat. Moreover, the ſoldiers of the fifteenth Legion lately arrived, and ſome choſen bands from Illyrium and Ægypt, with all the auxiliary troops of horſe and companies of foot, as alſo the ſuccours from the confederate Kings, were drawn together at Melitene, as from thence he had concerted their paſſing the Euphrates. He then purified the army by the uſual ſolemnity of Luſtration, and in a ſtated aſſembly animated them with a ſpeech: In it he made a glorious diſplay "of the auſpicious ſway and invinci-"ble fortune of CÆSAR; of the ſignal ex-"ploits by himſelf atchieved;" and upon the ſimple conduct of PÆTUS he caſt "whatever "contumelies or diſaſters had been ſuſtained." Theſe things he delivered with great ſpirit and authority,

authority, which, in a military man like him, carried all the force of eloquence.

He took next the ſame rout which of old was paſſed by LUCULLUS, having removed whatever impediments, in ſo long a courſe of years, had cloſed up the way: Neither did he diſcountenance the Embaſſadors, who where approaching from TIRIDATES and VOLOGESES, with overtures of peace; but, to confer with them, appointed certain Centurions, whom he furniſhed with inſtructions no wiſe harſh; namely, "That as yet the conteſt was not riſen "to ſuch height as that nothing could deter- "mine it, but the deciſion of the ſword. "The Roman arms had in many inſtances been "proſperous, in ſome the Parthian; whence "a leſſon might be drawn againſt arrogance "and preſumption in either. It moreover "concerned the intereſt of TIRIDATES to poſ- "ſeſs a Kingdom untouched by the ravages of "war, by accepting it as the gift of the Ro- "mans: more ſubſtantially too would VOLO- "GESES ſtudy the advantage of the people of "Parthia by an alliance with the Romans, than "by involving both in mutual damages and "miſchief. It was well known what terrible "revolts were then rending the bowels of his "Monarchy, as alſo what fierce and unruly "nations he governed. To the Roman Em- "peror, on the contrary, there continued in "all his dominions a ſteady peace, and only "the weight of that ſingle war." To enforce his reaſoning, he immediately ſubjoined the terrors

terrors of the ſword, drove from their ſeats the Grandees of Armenia, who were the firſt revolters from us, razed their caſtles, and filled with equal diſmay the inhabitants of the mountains and thoſe of the vales, the warriors, and the unwarlike.

THE name of CORBULO was held in no diſtaſte, much leſs in hoſtile hate, even amongſt the Barbarians; hence they believed his counſel worthy to be truſted. VOLOGESES, therefore, who was never violent for a general war with the Romans, now ſought a truce for certain of his Governments. TIRIDATES demanded a day and place for a conference; and a time near at hand was appointed: For the place, as the Barbarians choſe that where they had lately beſieged PÆTUS and the Legions, from a fond remembrance of their more propitious atchievements there, the ſame was not declined by CORBULO, that from the different face of his own fortune, his glory might be augmented. Yet neither ſuffered he the diſgrace of PÆTUS there to be blackened with any freſh reproach; a tenderneſs chiefly manifeſt from hence, that he ordered the ſon of PÆTUS, one of his own Tribunes, to march at the head of ſome companies and commit to ſepulchres the ghoſtly remains of that unfortunate field. Upon the day ſtipulated, TIBERIUS ALEXANDER an illuſtrious Roman Knight, one ſent with CORBULO as an aſſiſtant and inſpector, in the meaſures of the war, and with him, VIVIANUS ANNIUS, ſon-in-law to

CORBULO, one under the age of a Senator, but ſet over the fifth Legion in the room of its own Commander, entered together into the camp of TIRIDATES, as a compliment of honour, and that, poſſeſſed of ſuch hoſtages, he might fear no guile. Then the King and the General took each twenty horſe and proceeded to the interview. At the ſight of CORBULO, the King leaped firſt from his horſe, nor was CORBULO ſlow to return the courteſy, and both, on foot, interchanged their right hands.

THENCE the Roman Captain proceeded to applaud the young Prince, "that, renouncing "all deſperate meaſures, he had adopted ſuch "as were wholſome and ſecure." TIRIDATES, after a long diſplay "of the ſplendor "of his race," purſued the reſt of his diſcourſe with ſufficient modeſty and condeſcenſion; "That he would travel to Rome and preſent "a new ſubject of glory to CÆSAR, a Prince "of the Arſacides his ſupplicant, at a ſeaſon "when no public diſtreſs impaired the affairs "of Parthia." It was then agreed that before the image of CÆSAR he ſhould reſign the Royal Diadem, never to reſume it more except from the hand of NERO; thus ended the conference with a mutual kiſs. Then after an interval of a few days, the two armies met with mighty pomp and oſtentation on both ſides. There ſtood the Parthian horſe, ranged into troops, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations; here were poſted the battalions

battalions of the Legions, their Eagles glittering, their Enſigns diſplayed, with the figures of the deified Emperors exhibited like Deities in a Temple. In the center was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate, as did the chair a ſtatue of NERO: To this TIRIDATES approached, and having, according to form, ſlain certain victims, pulled the Diadem from his head and laid it at the feet of the Statue. Great upon this occaſion were the emotions in the minds of all men; and the greater as they had ſtill before their eyes the late overthrow, at leaſt the late ſiege of the Roman armies: "But now, intirely inverted "were the operations of fortune; TIRIDA-"TES was departing for Rome, expoſed as a "ſpectacle to the nations, under a character "how little below that of a captive?"

CORBULO, to all his glory, added actions of complaiſance and a ſumptuous banquet; during which the King, as often as any uſage of ours, new to him, occurred, was aſſiduous to know what the ſame might mean; why a Centurion advertiſed the General, when the watch was firſt ſet? why, when meals were ended the trumpet ſounded? why the fuel upon the altar reared before the Augural port, was kindled with a torch? all which CORBULO explained, and heightening all beyond juſt bounds, ſtruck him with admiration of the ancient inſtitutions of the Romans. The next day, TIRIDATES beſought "ſo much time, before he "undertook ſo long a journey, as might ſuffice

" to viſit his brothers and his mother;" and, for an hoſtage, delivered up his daughter, and writ a ſupplicant letter to NERO.

THUS he departed, and found PACORUS in Media, and at Ecbatana VOLOGESES, who, in truth, was far from neglecting the concerns of this his brother: For, by a ſpecial embaſſy he had deſired of CORBULO, " That TIRI-" DATES might bear no viſible ſemblance of " ſlavery; nor be obliged to ſurrender his " ſword, nor be debarred from the diſtinction " of embracing the Governors of Provinces; " nor ſtand waiting at their gates for admit-" tance; and, that in Rome, the ſame honour " ſhould be paid him as to the Conſuls was " paid." In truth, that Prince, inured to the pride which prevails among foreigners, was a ſtranger to the maxims of us Romans, who ſtudy the energy of Empire, and overlook the ſhadows and empty forms.

THE ſame year, CÆSAR conferred upon thoſe nations of the Alps who inhabit the ſea coaſt, the rights and immunities of Latium: To the Roman Knights he aſſigned places in the Circus before the ſeats of the populace; for, till that time they ſat there without diſcrimination, as the ſanctions of the Roſcian law were only confined to the fourteen rows in the Theatre. On this year too was exhibited a combat of Gladiators equally magnificent with the former; but many Ladies of illuſtrious quality, and many Senators, by entering the liſts, infamouſly ſtained themſelves.

IN

In the Conſulſhip of Caius Lecanius and Marcus Licinius, Nero became every day more tranſported with a paſſion for mounting the public ſtage, and entertaining the promiſcuous multitude: For hitherto he had only ſung in the aſſemblies entituled *Juvenalia*, which were reſtrained to particular houſes and gardens; places which he deſpiſed, as not ſufficiently celebrated, and too confined for a voice ſo ſignal as his. At Rome, however, he dared not to begin, but choſe Naples, the ſame being a Greek city, "where having made his "firſt eſſay, he would paſs thence over to "Greece, and there having, by victory in ſong, "gained the prize-crowns, ever ſo highly re-"nowned and held ſacred of old, he could "not fail of attracting, with heightened ap-"plauſe, the hearts of the Roman citizens." To this entertainment crowded all the rabble of Neapolitans, with numbers from the neighbouring cities and colonies, excited by the rumour and curioſity of the ſpectacle; beſides ſuch as followed the Emperor, either in compliment to him, or about private affairs of their own: Nay, with theſe entered ſeveral bands of ſoldiers, and all together thronged the Theatre; where an accident befel, which, in the opinion of many, was ſad and preſaging; but with Nero it paſſed for a providential event, and betokened the tutelage of his guardian Deities: The Theatre, when the audience who filled it were retired, tumbled to the ground, but as not a ſoul was in it, none

were hurt by its ruins. For this deliverance NERO celebrated the benignity of the Gods in ſongs of thankſgiving purpoſely compoſed, as alſo the ſtory and deſcription of the recent contingency. Then in his rout to paſs the Adriatic, he reſted a while at Beneventum, where by VATINIUS was preſented a ſplendid ſhew of Gladiators. This VATINIUS was one of the many baleful monſters that haunted the court, and one of the foremoſt, originally bred in a ſhoemaker's ſtall, in his perſon hideous and diſtorted, addicted to ſneering and drollery, and at firſt admitted merely as a buffoon; thence, by lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, he had arrived to ſuch high conſideration, that in favour, in opulence, and in power to injure and deſtroy, he even ſurpaſſed the other implements of miſchief.

NERO, during the courſe of this ſolemnity, though he attended it aſſiduouſly, forbore not however, even in the midſt of his diverſion and pleaſures, to purſue feats of blood; ſince, in thoſe very days of feſtivity, TORQUATUS SILANUS was forced to die, for that, beſides the ancient ſplendor of the Junian family, he was great grandſon to the deified AUGUSTUS. Againſt him the accuſers had orders to object, "his great prodigality and bounties; and that "other reſource and views he had none re- "maining, ſave only in a public revolution. "Nay, already he kept about him men with "the ſtile of principal Secretaries, of Chan- "cellors, of Treaſurers, names and offices of "Imperial

" Imperial grandeur, which he thus aſpired to, " and even perſonated." Immediately, all his freedmen, in any degree of intimacy with their maſter, were caſt into bonds, and hurried to the dungeon. TORQUATUS, ſeeing his impending condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms, and expired; an event which was followed, according to cuſtom, with a ſpeech from NERO; " That however guilty " the criminal had been, how juſtly ſoever he " had deſpaired of acquitting himſelf by any " defence, his life had ſtill been ſpared, had " he ſtaid for the clemency of his Judge."

NERO, having deferred his voyage to Greece, for reaſons which were not known, ſoon after re-viſited Rome, his head buſied with many imaginations, all ſmothered at firſt, about ſhewing himſelf to the Provinces in the Eaſt, eſpecially to Ægypt: At laſt this project became the ſubject of a public edict. In it he declared, that " his abſence would not be of long con- " tinuance, and the Commonwealth, in all " its parts, would continue the while in the " ſame perfect quiet and proſperity;" then for the ſucceſs of that journey, he betook himſelf in devotion to the Capitol. While he was there, paying his oblations to the ſeveral Deities, as he entered amongſt others, into the Temple of Veſta, he became ſeized with a ſudden and prevailing horror, which ſhook him in every joint; whether the awe of the Goddeſs ſtruck him with diſmay; or whether, from the remembrance of his foulneſs and

crimes, he was ever haunted by terrors, it is certain that he dropped his project, making many aſſeverations, "That lighter with him "were all his purſuits than his paſſion for his "Country: He had ſeen the ſorrowful looks "of the Roman citizens, he ſtill heard their "ſecret complainings, that he would venture "upon ſuch mighty travels, when, in truth, "they could never bear even his ſhorteſt ex-"curſions from Rome; as they were accuſ-"tomed to be revived under all diſaſters, by "the joyful ſight of the Prince. Hence it was "that, as in private conſanguinities and friend-"ſhip, deareſt in affection were the neareſt in "blood, ſo over himſelf above all conſidera-"tions availed that of the Roman people; and "when they would thus retain him, it be-"hoved him to obey." Theſe and the like declarations of his were well pleaſing to the populace, from their propenſity to the revels and diverſions, and from another motive ever the moſt prevalent of all, the ſcarcity of proviſions apprehended in his abſence. The Senate and Grandees were in ſuſpence whether he were to be eſteemed a more raging tyrant at Rome, or remote from Rome; and thence, according to the genius of all great and affecting fears, they believed what happened, to be the worſt that could happen.

NERO himſelf, in order to gain a reputation of delighting, above all places, in Rome, banquetted frequently in the public places and great ſquares, and uſed the whole city as his own

own houſe. But, as particularly ſignal for luxury and popular obſervation, was the feaſt prepared by TIGELLINUS; I ſhall here, for an example, recount its order and ſtate, that henceforth I may not be obliged to a frequent recital of the like enormous prodigalities. For this purpoſe, he built, in the lake of AGRIPPA, a large veſſel which contained the banquet, and was itſelf drawn by other veſſels with oars: The veſſels were embelliſhed with diverſified ornaments of gold and ivory, and rowed by bands of Pathics, ranged according to their ſeniority, and pre-eminence in the ſcience of unnatural proſtitutions. From divers regions he had procured variety of wild-fowl, and wild beaſts for veniſon, with ſea-fiſh as far as the Ocean. Upon the borders and angles of the lake ſtood brothels filled with Ladies of illuſtrious rank: Over-againſt them profeſſed harlots were expoſed, completely naked. Now every-where, were beheld obſcene poſtures and agitations; and as ſoon as darkneſs ſpread, all the neighbouring groves and circumjacent dwellings, reſounded to each other with the joyful ſymphony of muſic and ſongs, and appeared all illuminated with a blaze of lights. For NERO's part, he wallowed in all ſorts of defilements, natural and unnatural. He, in truth, had then left no kind of abomination untried, which could ſerve to finiſh his vileneſs, had he not, in a few days after, perſonated a woman, and been given in marriage, with all the forms and ſolemnity of genuine nuptials,

nuptials, to one of this contaminated herd, a Pathic named PYTHAGORAS: Over the Roman Emperor, as over a bride, was caſt the ſacred nuptial veil; the Augurs were ſeen in form ſolemnizing the eſpouſals, the portion of the bride was openly paid, the bridal bed diſplayed, the nuptial torches kindled, and, in fine, to view was expoſed whatever, even in natural commerce with women, is buried under the ſhades of night.

THERE followed a dreadful calamity, but whether merely fortuitous, or by the execrable contrivance of the Prince, is not determined; for both are by authors aſſerted: But of all the evils which ever befel this city by the rage of fire, this was the moſt deſtructive and tragical. It aroſe in that part of the Circus, which is contiguous to mount Palatine and mount Cœlius, where beginning amongſt ſhops, in which were kept ſuch goods as are proper to feed the fury of fire, it grew inſtantly outragious; and being alſo aided by freſh force from the wind, it devoured the whole extent of the Circus. For, neither were particular houſes ſecured by any encloſures, nor the Temples by their walls, and it had nothing to encounter capable of obſtructing its violence; but the flame ſpreading every way, with terrible impetuoſity, invaded firſt the flat regions of the city, then mounted to the higher, and again ravaging the lower, ſuch was its amazing velocity as to fruſtrate all relief, and its havock was felt before any meaſures to oppoſe it could be tried,

tried. Beſides, the city was obnoxious to conflagrations from the diſpoſition of its building, with long narrow allies, winding like labyrinths to and fro, and ſtreets void of all regularity, as was the faſhion of old Rome. Add to all this, the ſhrieks and wailings of women under woe and diſmay, the helpleſs condition of the young and tender, that of the aged and infirm, with the confuſion of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, interfering with thoſe who laboured to aſſiſt others, theſe dragging the weak and unweildy, thoſe waiting for the like help; ſome running, others lingering. From all which various efforts there aroſe only mutual interruption, and univerſal embarraſſment; and while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſued them behind, they often found themſelves ſuddenly beſet before, and on every ſide; or if they had firſt eſcaped into the quarters adjoyning, theſe too were already ſeized by the devouring flames; even the parts which they believed quite remote and exempt, were diſcovered to be under the ſame affecting calamity. At laſt, utterly perplexed what they had beſt ſhun, or where to ſeek ſanctuary, they filled with their multitude the ſtreets and ways, and lay along in the open fields. Some there were who, in deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, and even bereft of daily ſuſtenance, others who through tenderneſs for their relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames, ſuffered themſelves to periſh in them, though they had full ſcope and opportunity

portunity to eſcape. Neither durſt any man offer to marr the progreſs of the fire: Such were the repeated menaces of many who openly forbid all attempts to extinguiſh it; and, as there were others who, in the face of the public, heightened it by volleys of lighted firebrands, with loud declarations, "that they "had one to authorize them;" whether it were a device for the more licentious exerciſe of plunder, or whether in reality they had ſuch orders.

NERO was at that juncture ſojourning at Antium, but never offered to return to the city, till he heard that the fire was advancing to that quarter of his houſe which filled the ſpace between the Palace and the Gardens of MÆCENAS: Nor, even upon his arrival, could its rage be ſtaid, but, in ſpight of oppoſition, it devoured houſes and palace, and every thing round about. For the relief, however, of the forlorn people, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, he laid open the field of Mars and all the great edifices erected by AGRIPPA, and called his monuments; he even preſented them the uſe of his own Gardens. He likewiſe reared haſty tabernacles, for the reception of the deſtitute multitude: from Oſtia too and the neighbouring cities, by his orders, were brought all ſorts of houſhold implements and neceſſaries; and the price of grain reduced to three ſeſterces the meaſure. All which bounties of his, however popular, were beſtowed in vain, without any gratitude returned; becauſe

cauſe a rumour had flown abroad, "That, "during the very time when Rome was under "the fury of conſuming flames, he entered his "domeſtic Theatre, and chanted the deſtruc- "tion of Troy, likening the preſent deſola- "tion to the tragical calamities of antiquity."

At length, on the ſixth day, the conflagration was ſtayed, at the foot of mount Eſquiline, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, and making a mighty void; ſo that the raging devaſtation hitherto uninterrupted, might find nothing to encounter but open fields and empty air. Scarce had the late conſternation ceaſed, when a new and no trivial alarm recurred; for the fire broke out with freſh outrage, but in places more wide and ſpacious; hence fewer lives were deſtroyed: But, more Temples were here overthrown, and more ſumptuous Porticos, ſuch as were appropriated to public diverſion and feſtivity. This conflagration too was ſubject to the greater meaſure of infamy, for that it roſe in the poſſeſſions of TIGELLINUS, in the Amylian fields; whence it was conjectured, that NERO was thus aiming at the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name. For, of the fourteen quarters into which Rome is divided, four were ſtill ſtanding entire, three lay in utter ruins; and, in the ſeven others, there remained only here and there a few ſhadows of houſes, miſerably ſhattered and half conſumed.

EASY

EASY it were not to recount the number of the houſes, ſquares, palaces, and temples which were loſt: But foremoſt in antiquity and primitive rites, were the following edifices, that dedicated by SERVIUS TULLIUS to the Moon; the Temple and great Altar conſecrated by EVANDER the Arcadian to Hercules then a living Deity, and preſent in perſon; the Chapel vowed by ROMULUS to Jupiter the Stayer; the Court of NUMA, with the Temple of Veſta, and in it the tutelar Gods peculiar to the Romans; all now conſumed to ruins. In the ſame fate were involved the treaſures acquired and accumulated by ſo many victories; the beautiful productions of Greek artiſts, ancient writings of celebrated Authors, and till then preſerved perfectly intire, which, though many of them were ſtill remembered by aged men, yet even upon the reſtoration of the city with ſuch mighty luſtre and embelliſhments, could never be retrieved nor ſupplied. There were thoſe who obſerved, that on the eighteenth of July the fire began, the ſame day on which the Gauls, called Senones, having taken and ſpoiled the city, burnt it to the ground: Others were ſo curious in their calculation, as to reckon the juſt number of years, months and days between the two conflagrations.*

* I doubt the text here is faulty. Perhaps it ought to be read, as it is in one of the Manuſcripts, "Between the "foundation of the city, and both conflagrations. *Inter "conditam urbem & utraque incendia.*"

FOR

FOR the reſt; NERO appropriated to himſelf the ruins of his native country, and upon them founded a palace, one where profuſion of gold and precious ſtones, raiſed not the chief admiration; ſince theſe were ſtale and uſual ornaments, ſuch as from diffuſive luxury were become long common: But the principal ſurprize aroſe from the ſpacious glades, and large artificial lakes. In imitation of vaſt wilderneſſes, here ſtood thick woods and ſhades; there lay ample lawns, avenues, and open views. The projectors and comptrollers of this plan, were SEVERUS and CELER, two men of ſuch temerity and enterprizing talents, as to attempt to remove by art the everlaſting obſtacles of nature, and to baffle, in vain experiments, all the Emperor's power. For they had undertaken to ſink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, over a dry and deſert ſhore, or through ſteep intervening mountains. Yet in all that way, they could not have encountered any ſource of moiſture for ſupplying water, ſave only the marſh Pomptina: The reſt was every where a ſucceſſion of rocks, or a ſoil perched and untractable: Or, had it even been poſſible to have broke through all obſtruction, intolerable had been the toil, and the end incompetent. NERO however, zealous for atchieving feats which were deemed incredible, exerted all his might to perforate the mountains adjoining to Avernus; and to this day remain the traces of his romantic and abortive ambition.

THE

THE remainder of the old foundations, which his own court covered not, was aſſigned for houſes; nor were theſe placed, as after it was burnt by the Gauls, at random and ſtraggling; but the ſtreets were delineated regularly, ſpacious and ſtreight; the height of the buildings was reſtrained to a certain ſtandard; the courts were widened; and, to all the great houſes which ſtood by themſelves, for ſecuring their fronts, large Porticos were added. Theſe Porticos NERO engaged to rear at his own expence, and then to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them, diſcharged of all rubbiſh. He moreover aſſigned donatives proportioned to every man's rank and ſubſtance; and ſet a day for payment, on condition that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes or palaces were finiſhed. He appointed the marſhes of Oſtia for a receptacle of the ruins, and that with theſe the veſſels, which had conveyed grain up the Tiber, ſhould return laden back; that the new buildings ſhould be raiſed to a certain height from the foundation, without rafters or boards; that they ſhould be arched and partitioned with ſtone from the quarries of Gabii or Alba, the ſame being proof againſt the violence of fire: That over the common ſprings, which were licentiouſly diverted and waſted by private hands, overſeers ſhould be placed, to provide for their flowing in greater abundance into the public ciſterns, and for ſupplying a greater number of places: That every houſekeeper ſhould furniſh his yard with ſome machine

chine proper to extinguiſh fire; neither ſhould there be any more a common intermediate wall between houſe and houſe, but within its own independent walls every houſe ſhould be enclosed. Theſe regulations, which importing the general benefit of the citizens, were popularly received, derived alſo much beauty and decoration upon the new city. Yet, ſome there were who believed the ancient form and ſtructure more conducing to health; as from the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the height of the building, the rays of the ſun were hardly felt or admitted; whereas now, ſo ſpacious was the breadth of the ſtreets, and ſo utterly deſtitute of all ſhade, that the heat ſcorched with unabated rage.

THUS far the proviſions made, were the reſult of counſels purely human. The Gods are next accoſted with expiations, and recourſe had to the Sibyll's Books. By admonition from them, to Vulcan, Ceres and Proſerpina, ſupplicatory ſacrifices were made, and Juno atoned by the devotion of Matrons, firſt ſolemnized in the Capitol, then upon the next ſhore, where by water drawn from the ſea the Temple and Image of the Goddeſs were beſprinkled, and her feaſt and wake were celebrated by Ladies who had husbands. But not all the relief that could come from man, not all the bounties that the Prince could beſtow, nor all the atonements which could be preſented to the Gods, availed to acquit NERO from the hideous charge, which was ſtill univerſally believed,

that by him the conflagration was authorized. Hence to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, he transferred the guilt upon fictitious criminals, and ſubjected to moſt exquiſite tortures, and doomed to executions ſingularly cruel thoſe people who, for their deteſtable crimes were already in truth univerſally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Chriſtians*. The founder of this name was CHRIST, one who in the reign of TIBERIUS ſuffered death as a criminal, under PONTIUS PILATE Imperial Procurator of Judæa, and, for a while, the peſtilent ſuperſtition was quelled, but revived again and ſpread, not only over Judæa, where this evil was firſt broached, but even through Rome, the great gulph into which, from every quarter of the earth, there are torrents for ever flowing of all that is hideous and abominable amongſt men: Nay, in it the filthy glut of iniquity never fails to find popular reverence and diſtinction. Firſt therefore were ſeized ſuch as freely owned their ſect, then, a vaſt multitude by them diſcovered; and all were convicted, not ſo much for the imputed crime of burning Rome, as for their hate and enmity to human kind. To their death and torture were added the aggravations of cruel deriſion and ſport; for, either they were diſguiſed in the skins of ſavage beaſts, and expoſed to expire by the teeth of devouring dogs; or they were hoiſted up alive, and nailed to croſſes; or wrapt in combuſtible veſtments, and ſet up as torches, that, when the day ſet, they might be

be kindled to illuminate the night. For preſenting this tragical ſpectacle, NERO had lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the ſame time the public diverſion of the Circus, ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and, at intervals, ſtanding as a ſpectator amongſt the vulgar, in the habit of a charioteer. Hence it proceeded, that towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and juſtly deſerving the moſt exemplary death, popular commiſeration aroſe, as for people who, with no view to the utility of the State, but only to gratify the bloody ſpirit of one man, were doomed to periſh.

IN the mean time, in order to ſupply his prodigality with money, all Italy was pillaged, the Provinces were ſqueezed and deſolated; ſo were the ſeveral nations our confederates, and all thoſe cities which have the title of free. In this general ſpoil, even the Gods were involved, their Temples in the City plundered, and from thence all the treaſures of gold conveyed, which the Roman people, in every age of their ſtate, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or of vows fulfilled, had ſolemnly conſecrated, both in their times of proſperity, and in ſeaſons of public peril. Through Greece and Aſia, in truth, the Deities were not only deſpoiled of their gifts and oblations, but even of their Statues and Images; for, into theſe Provinces, and with this commiſſion, had been ſent ACRATUS his freedman, and SECUNDUS CARINAS, the former a prompt inſtrument to execute any iniquity, however black and fla-

grant; the other a man practiſed in the Greek learning, which however ſunk no deeper than his lips, and with virtuous acquirements he had never formed his ſoul. Of SENECA it was reported, "That to avert from himſelf the "odium and imputation of this ſacrilege, he "had beſought NERO for leave to retire to a "ſeat of his own, remote from Rome, but "was refuſed, and thence feigning an indiſpo-"ſition in his nerves, confined himſelf to his "chamber." It is by ſome authors recorded, "That a freedman of his, named CLEONICUS, "had, by the command of NERO, prepared "poiſon for his maſter, who eſcaped it, either "from the diſcovery made by the freedman, "or from the caution inſpired by his own in-"ceſſant apprehenſions; while with a diet ex-"ceeding ſimple he ſupported an abſtemious "life, ſatisfying the call of hunger by wild "fruit from the woods, and of thirſt by a "draught from the brook."

ABOUT the ſame time a body of Gladiators, who were kept at the city of Prænesſte, laboured an eſcape and revolt; and though by the diligence of the ſoldiers who guarded them they were maſtered and ſuppreſſed, the people were already in buſy murmurs reviving the terror of SPARTACUS and the public miſeries of old; fond as they ever are of agitations and novelty, yet ever frightened by them. Nor was it long after this that a fatal diſaſter befel the fleet, from no encounter in war; for ſcarce ever was known a time of ſuch profouud peace:

But

But NERO had ordered the gallies to return to the coaſt of Campania at a limited day, without any allowance made for the changes and caſualties of the deep. So that the Pilots, even while the ſea raged, ſteered from the port of Formia, and, by a violent tempeſt from the South, while they ſtruggled to double the Cape of Miſenum, were driven upon the ſhore of Cuma, where many gallies of three banks of oars, and a number of ſmaller veſſels, were wrecked.

IN the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the people were filled with a long rote of prodigies, as ſo many heralds of impending calamities. At no time had thunder roared, or lightning ſhot with ſuch fierceneſs and frequency, beſides the appearance of a Comet, an omen ever expiated by NERO with the effuſion of illuſtrious blood. In the ſtreets and roads were found expoſed ſeveral monſtrous births with double heads, ſome of the human ſpecies, ſome of brutes; as alſo from the bellies of victims ſome ſuch were taken, when for the ſacrifice cuſtom required beaſts that are pregnant: And in the territory of Placentia, by the ſide of the public way, was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg, a prodigy which, according to the interpretation returned by the Soothſayers, boded, "That for human kind another head "was preparing, but one which would never "arrive at ſtrength, or remain concealed; for "that this which preſaged it, had lain repreſſed

" in the womb, and then iſſued into the world " cloſe by the public road."

SILIUS NERVA and ATTICUS VESTINUS commenced Conſuls, during the progreſs of a conſpiracy ſo vigorous that to the ſame moment it owed its beginning and advancement. In it Senators, Knights, ſoldiers, and even women, had engaged with a ſpirit of eagerneſs and competition; ſuch was their deteſtation of NERO, and equally ſtrong their zeal for CAIUS PISO. This Patrician, a deſcendent of the Calpurnian houſe, and by the nobleneſs of his paternal blood, allied to many illuſtrious families, was, for his own virtue, or for qualities that reſembled virtues, held amongſt the populace in ſignal applauſe: for, as he was a maſter of eloquence, he employed it in the patronage and defence of his fellow citizens; he was generous to his friends and acquaintance; and even toward ſuch as were unknown to him, complaiſant in his language and addreſs. He poſſeſſed, with theſe advantages, others that were fortuitous, tallneſs of perſon and a graceful countenance: But ſtrictneſs of life and manners he never practiſed, nor obſerved reſtraints in his pleaſures; the ways of delicacy he ever indulged, as alſo thoſe of magnificence, ſometimes the exceſſes of luxury. Many too there were who approved this his conduct, ſuch who, in a general prevalence of debauchery, would not have the ſupreme head confined in his morals, nor ſtrictly ſevere.

It was from no ambition or purſuit of his that the birth of the conſpiracy ſprung; and yet I could not eaſily recount who he was that firſt concerted it, nor who animated a deſign which was by ſuch a number eſpouſed. That SUBRIUS FLAVIUS Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, and SULPICIUS ASPER the Centurion, were the keeneſt champions in it, the ſpirit and conſtancy with which they encountered death, do abundantly evince. LUCAN the Poet, and PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Conſul elect, concurred from ardent animoſity and hate, the former ſtimulated by perſonal provocations, for that NERO had obſtructed the fame of his Poems, and, from a ridiculous emulation, forbid their publication. LATERANUS was piqued by no injury done to himſelf, but, from ſincere affection to the Republic, became an accomplice. But there were two men, FLAVIUS SCEVINUS and AFRANIUS QUINCTIANUS, both Senators, who, by engaging in an enterprize ſo great and daring, and even claiming to be foremoſt in the execution, departed from the conſtant character of their lives; for, SCEVINUS had a ſoul drowned in ſenſuality, and thence led a ſtupid life devoted to ſleep and ſloth: QUINCTIANUS was infamous for unnatural proſtitution; and, having been by NERO expoſed in a virulent Satire, to revenge the indignity he conſpired.

Now as all theſe, as well in conferences with one another, as amongſt their friends, were ever diſplaying "the inhuman cruelties

" of the Prince, the condition of the Empire, " threatened with inſtant diſſolution, and the " neceſſity of ſubſtituting in his place ſome " one capable of relieving the afflicted ſtate;" they drew into the combination TULLIUS SENECIO, CERVARIUS PROCULUS, VULCATUS ARARICUS, JULIUS TUGURINUS, MUNATIUS GRATUS, ANTONIUS NATALIS, and MARTIUS FESTUS, all Roman Knights. Of theſe SENECIO, who had lived in ſingular intimacy with NERO, and preſerved even then the face of favour, was thence the more encompaſſed with dread and danger. To NATALIS all the ſecret purpoſes in the heart of PISO were open without reſerve: ſecret views governed the reſt, and they ſought their own intereſt in a change. Of the men of the ſword, beſides SUBRIUS and SULPICIUS, the officers already mentioned, there were aſſumed as accomplices, GRANIUS SILVANUS and STATIUS PROXIMUS, Tribunes of the Prætorian bands, with the Centurions MAXIMUS SCAURUS, and VENETUS PAULLUS. But, as their main ſtrength and dependence, they conſidered FENIUS RUFUS, Captain of the Imperial Guards, a man for life and eſtimation, in ſignal credit and popularity, one who expoſed himſelf to daily perils from the hate and perſecution of TIGELLINUS, his colleague, who, by the recommendations of a cruel ſpirit, and manners altogether impure, had gained a ſuperior aſcendancy in the heart of the Prince, and, labouring to deſtroy him by forged crimes, had often well nigh effected

his

his deſtruction, by alarming NERO with the views and diſcontents of RUFUS, "as one who "had been engaged in a criminal commerce "with AGRIPPINA, and, in anguiſh and re- "ſentment for her untimely end, was bent "upon vengeance." As ſoon therefore as the conſpirators had, from the frequent diſcourſe of the Captain, received full conviction that he too had embraced their party, they proceeded more reſolutely to debate about the time and place of the aſſaſſination. It was reported, "That SUBRIUS FLAVIUS had undertaken to "make the firſt onſet, and aſſail NERO, either "while he was chanting in the Theatre, or "ſcouring from place to place, in his drunken "revels by night, unattended by his guards." In the latter project an incitement from ſolitude; in the former, even the great conflux of people, all witneſſes of an exploit ſo glorious, had rouſed his ſoul, to a purpoſe ſo full of nobleneſs and merit, had not a ſollicitude to execute it with impunity, reſtrained him; a conſideration which, in all grand enterprizes, is ever unſeaſonable and fatal.

IN the mean time, while they were heſitating and protracting the iſſue of their hopes and fears, a certain woman, named EPICHARIS, applied herſelf to rouſe the conſpirators; though it was a perfect myſtery by what means ſhe came at all apprized of the conſpiracy (for till then ſhe had never ſhewn any regard to aught that was worthy or honourable) at laſt, ſhe became impatient of their ſlowneſs, and retiring

ing to Campania, employed all her induſtry and skill to alienate the hearts of the chief officers in the fleet riding at Miſenum; and, to engage them in the deſign, ſhe began in the following manner. In that fleet VOLUSIUS PROCULUS had the command of a thouſand marines, one of the miniſters of blood employed to diſpatch the mother of NERO, and, in his own opinion, not diſtinguiſhed with promotion equal to the mighty and meritorious murder. As this officer, whether from old acquaintance with EPICHARIS, or a friendſhip newly contracted, recounted to her "his "ſignal ſervices to NERO, and how fruitleſs "they had been beſtowed," and as he ſubjoined "bitter complaints, with a ſettled re-"ſolution of taking vengeance whenever op-"portunity aroſe," ſhe conceived hopes that he might be engaged himſelf in the deſign, and to it conciliate many others. Nor of ſmall moment was the aid and concurrence of the fleet, and frequent were the opportunities of exerting it, as NERO took ſingular delight in ſailing often about the coaſts of Miſenum and Puzzoli. EPICHARIS therefore, in anſwer to PROCULUS, urged many reaſonings, with a detail of all the crying cruelties committed by the Prince. She added, "That to the Senate "nothing remained to be done towards ac-"compliſhing his fall; only it was already "determined to what pains the tyrant muſt "be doomed for deſtroying the Roman ſtate. "What therefore was to be expected from

"PRO-

" PROCULUS, but that he ſhould aſſume the " task with zeal, aſſociate in the cauſe all the " braveſt ſoldiers; and then depend upon a " recompence worthy of ſuch ſublime ſervice." From him, however, ſhe concealed the names of the conſpirators: hence it was that even when he had betrayed to NERO her whole diſcourſe, his diſcovery availed nothing. For, when EPICHARIS was ſummoned, and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe found it eaſy to refute and baffle him. After all, ſhe was detained in priſon, becauſe NERO vehemently ſuſpected, that theſe matters were not the more falſe for not being proved to be true.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſilence of EPICHARIS, the conſpirators, who were thoroughly alarmed with the dread of a diſcovery, came to a reſult to haſten the aſſaſſination, and to do it at Baiæ in a villa belonging to PISO, whither the Emperor often reſorted, charmed with the lovelineſs of the place, and there wont to bath and banquet, remote from his guards and the other incumbrances of Imperial ſtate. But in this, PISO would by no means concur: he alledged " the general abhorrence which " muſt enſue, were the inviolable rites of the " table, were the Gods of hoſpitality, defiled " by the blood of a Prince, however vile he " were: hence it were more adviſeable to diſ- " patch him at Rome, in that ſame deteſted " houſe which with the ſpoils of the unhappy " citizens

" citizens he had reared; or, rather they ought, " in the face of the public, to execute a deed, " which for the benefit of the public they had " undertaken." Thus he reaſoned openly amongſt the conſpirators, but, his heart, was influenced by ſecret jealouſy, as he dreaded LUCIUS SILANUS a man of tranſcendent quality, and, by the tuition of CAIUS CASSIUS, by whom he was bred, ennobled with accompliſhments proper for every the moſt reſplendent dignity; leſt SILANUS might ſeize the vacant ſovereignty for himſelf, as he would be ſure of inſtant aſſiſtance from all ſuch as were clear of the conſpiracy, and from all thoſe who ſhould prove affected with compaſſion for NERO, as for one traiterouſly ſlain. There were many who believed, that " PISO like- " wiſe diſtruſted the lively and turbulent ſpirit " of the Conſul VESTINUS, whether he might " not be prompted to reſtore liberty and the " ancient government, or elſe, procuring ſome " other than PISO to be choſen Emperor, " turn the Republic into a gift of his own be- " ſtowing." For in the conſpiracy he had no ſhare, though NERO afterwards, under the imputation of this very crime, doomed him an innocent ſacrifice to ſatiate his own inveterate rancour.

AT length they agreed to perpetrate their deſigns upon the anniverſary ſacred to Ceres, and always ſolemnized with the Circenſian games; for that, the Emperor who otherwiſe came ſeldom abroad, but remained ſhut up in

his

his apartments or gardens, was yet wont to frequent the diverſions of the Circus, where, during the gayety and pleaſures of the ſports, acceſs to him was more readily obtained. The ſcheme of their plot they contrived on this wiſe: "LATERANUS, in the poſture of a ſup- "plicant, and feigning to implore relief in "his domeſtic affairs, was to fall at the Prince's "feet, and, while he apprehended no ſuch "attempt, throw him down, and, as LATE- "RANUS was of a daring ſpirit and huge in "ſtature, hold him fixt to the place. While "he lay thus preſſed and entangled, the Tri- "bunes, Centurions, and all the reſt, accord- "ing as they felt themſelves prompted by pre- "ſent impulſe and magnanimity, were in- "ſtantly to ruſh in and ſlay him. That SCE- "VINUS ſhould be the foremoſt to ſtrike," was a task by himſelf earneſtly claimed; for, from the Temple of Health in Etruria, or, as others have recorded, from that of Fortune in the city of Ferentum, he had brought away a dag- ger, and carried it conſtantly about him, as a weapon conſecrated to the perpetration of a deed of mighty moment. It was moreover concluded, "That PISO ſhould wait the event "in the Temple of Ceres, and be thence "brought forth by FENIUS, Captain of the "Guards, and the other conſpirators, and con- "ducted to the camp; moreover, in order to "attract the affections of the populace, AN- "TONIA, daughter of the late emperor CLAU- "DIUS, was to accompany him." A particular re-

recorded by CAIUS PLINIUS; for myſelf, I was determined to ſuppreſs no circumſtance in what way ſoever delivered; however marvellous and inconſiſtent it may ſeem, that either ANTONIA ſhould contribute her name, and riſque her life, to promote a ſcheme, to herſelf altogether fruitleſs and vain; or, that PISO, a man univerſally known to have been paſſionately fond of his wife, ſhould engage to marry another; were it not that, of all the paſſions which actuate the heart of man, the luſt of reigning is the moſt vehement and flaming.

BUT, wonderful it was, in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly framed, amongſt thoſe of every condition, different in rank, in quality, ſex, and age, many wealthy, many poor, all things ſhould be buried in ſuch faithful ſecrecy, till from the family of SCEVINUS the traiterous diſcovery firſt aroſe. The day before that of the deſigned aſſaſſination, he had been engaged in a long conference with ANTONIUS NATALIS, and immediately, upon returning home, ſealed his will; then unſheathing the dagger mentioned above, he complained that it had lain ſo long neglected till it was become blunt, ordered it to be grinded into an edge, and the point to be accurately ſharpened. The charge of this he committed to MILICHUS, one of his freedmen, and next betook himſelf to a repaſt more gaudy and profuſe than ordinary. His favourite ſlaves he preſented with their liberty, others with ſums

ſums of money; upon his countenance too there hung clouds and melancholy; and it was apparent, that his mind laboured with ſome grand deſign, though he counterfeited cheerfulneſs by many ſtarts of diſcourſe upon as many ſubjects. At laſt, he directed the ſame MILICHUS to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for ſtopping blood; whether the freedman were in truth already privy to the conſpiracy, and had hitherto perſevered in fidelity, or whether he were utterly in the dark, and then firſt, as ſeveral authors have written, gathered from conſequences his ſudden ſuſpicion. For, when the freedman, ſtill acted by the baſe ſpirit of a ſlave, revolved with himſelf the recompence to be expected from proveing a traitor to his maſter, and at the ſame time beheld, as already his own, immenſe wealth and potent ſway; he renounced at once every tie of faith, all tenderneſs for his Lord, and all remembrance of liberty by him generouſly beſtowed. In truth, beſides his own mercenary motives, he had taken counſel of his wife, a woman's counſel and the worſt; for ſhe was ever urging him with the dreadful peril of hiding treaſon, "That many freed-"men, many ſlaves, had beheld, as well as "he, the ſame things, and of no availment "would prove the ſilence of one; and yet "only by one, whoever he were who firſt "diſcovered, would all the rewards be reaped."

MILICHUS, therefore, at the firſt dawn of day, went ſtraight to the Gardens of SERVILIUS,

LIUS, where NERO then abode, and, being refuſed admittance, declared that he brought "mighty and horrible diſcoveries," with ſuch earneſtneſs, that he was conducted by the porters to EPAPHRODITUS, a freedman of NERO's, and by him forthwith to NERO himſelf. To him he repreſented, "what formidable conſpiracies were concerted, what mortal danger "was juſt impending," with all the circumſtances which he had heard, with whatever from his own obſervation he conjectured, and even ſhewing the dagger deſtined to deſtroy him, deſired the criminal to be inſtantly produced. SCEVINUS was by the ſoldiers haled haſtily thither, and proceeding to his defence, anſwered, "That for the dagger with which "he was charged, it was a relique left him by "his forefathers, ever held ſacred in their family, by himſelf always kept in his chamber, "and from thence traiterouſly conveyed away "by his freedman. New wills he had often "made, and ſealed them, without obſerving "any diſtinction of days. Frequently before "this, he had beſtowed upon his ſlaves liberty "and largeſſes, lately with the greater liberality, for that, his fortune being reduced, "and his creditors importunate, he diſtruſted "his power of gratifying his domeſtics by legacies. A generous table he had ever kept, "and ever indulged himſelf in a life of eaſe "and pleaſure, ſuch as by the rigid cenſurers "of manners, was but little approved. Dreſſes "for wounds, he had ordered none; but, as

"all

" all the other imputations objected by his " freedman, were manifeſtly impotent and " vain, he had invented and added a charge of " treaſon, ſuch as might enable him to be at " once witneſs and accuſer." His words he enforced with an undaunted ſpirit; he even charged the accuſer, as " a fellow altogether " peſtilent and traiterous, and his teſtimony " incompetent," with a voice and countenance ſo intrepid, that the informer muſt have been baffled, but for his wife. She advertiſed him, that " with SCEVINUS, ANTONIUS NATALIS " had held a long converſation and exceeding " ſecret, and that both were cloſe confidents " of CAIUS PISO."

NATALIS therefore was called, and both were examined, but apart, concerning " the " particulars, and the ſubject of that converſa- " tion." As their anſwers varied, cauſe of ſuſpicion aroſe, and they were thrown into irons; but the ſight of the rack, and the menaces of torture, neither could bear. NATALIS however was foremoſt to confeſs, as better acquainted with the whole order and progreſs of the conſpiracy, and withal more expert in impeaching. Firſt, he diſcovered how far PISO was concerned, afterwards to him he added SENECA; whether he had indeed acted as an inter-agent between him and PISO, or whether he only did it to purchaſe the favour of NERO, who, in ardent hate to SENECA, was daily hunting after all ſorts of devices to deſtroy him. Now SCEVINUS, having learnt that by

NATALIS a confeſſion was made, yielded to the ſame imbecility of ſpirit; or, perhaps, he believed that already the confederacy was, in every particular, diſcloſed, and from his own ſilence no emolument to be expected. Hence he declared all the other accomplices. Of theſe LUCAN and QUINCTIANUS, and SENECIO, perſiſted long in denying the charge; but at length, by a promiſe of their exemption from puniſhment, they ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted; then, to atone for their late ſlowneſs, they named their deareſt friends. LUCAN informed againſt ATTILLA, his own mother, QUINCTIANUS againſt GLICIUS GALLUS, and SENECIO againſt ANNIUS POLLIO.

NERO, the while recollected that, upon the evidence of VOLUSIUS PROCULUS, EPICHARIS was holden in cuſtody, and, ſuppoſing that the tender body of a woman could never endure the rage of the rack, ordered her to be cruſhed and mangled with variety of torments. But neither the fury of ſtripes, nor of fire, nor of the torturers, who tore her with the more vehemence, leſt, with all their dexterity and efforts in cruelty, they ſhould be at laſt ſcorned and baffled by a woman, could at all vanquiſh her. She ſtill utterly denied every particular objected; this was the iſſue of the torture the firſt day, and by her its violence was deſpiſed. The day following, as ſhe was returning to ſuffer a repetition of the ſame outrageous torments, and reconducted in a chair (for, all her members being rent and disjointed, ſhe could

could not ſupport herſelf) with the girdle that bound her breaſts, ſhe framed a nooſe for her neck, and tying it to the canopy of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and thence diſlodged the ſlender remains of life. Behind her ſhe left an example the more ſignal and heroic, for that a woman who was once a ſlave, ſhould, upon an occaſion ſo trying and important, undergo torture and death, to protect ſuch to whom ſhe had no tye of kindred or friendſhip, nay, ſuch as ſhe ſcarce knew; when men, men born free, when Roman Knights, and Senators of Rome, without once feeling the torture, betrayed, without exception, every one the deareſt pledges which he had in friendſhip and blood. For, LUCAN too and SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, never ceaſed making diſcoveries, and were ſtill naming more accomplices; a detail which was inceſſantly adding to the affright and diſmay of NERO; though he had, with guards redoubled, fenced himſelf in. Nay, as if he meant to have impriſoned Rome itſelf; upon the walls, all round, bands of ſoldiers were poſted: even the ſea and the Tiber were garriſoned. Moreover, parties of foot and horſe were perpetually ranging every-where, in the public ſquares, in private houſes, even through the circumjacent territory, and neighbouring municipal towns. But, with both horſe and foot, there were Germans intermixt; for, in them, as they were foreigners, the Prince chiefly confided. Thenceforth, the accuſed were haled in whole droves,

numbers after numbers, without intermiſſion, towards his tribunal, and lay in miſerable expectation, at the gates of his Garden. When they had entered, in order to be ſucceſſively heard, if it appeared, " that they had ever been " ſeen gay or ſmiling with any of the conſpi- " rators, or happened to ſpeak to them, though " fortuitouſly, or to meet them, however un- " expectedly, or to have been common gueſts " at the ſame table, or ſat together at ſome " public ſhew;" all this, or any part of it, was imputed as guilt and treaſon. Beſides the cruel ſcrutiny made by NERO and TIGELLINUS, violent were the queſtions and imputations urged by FENIUS RUFUS, who had as yet eſcaped all information, and, to beget a perſuaſion, that he had been an utter ſtranger to the plot, manifeſted himſelf now ſtern and outrageous againſt his own aſſociates. Nay, it was he that fruſtrated the bold purpoſe of SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, who, while he attended, and demanded by ſigns, whether he ſhould draw his ſabre, and, even in the heat of the inqueſt, perpetrate the aſſaſſination, was by contrary ſigns from RUFUS forbid, and his ardour checked, when already his hand graſped the hilt.

THERE were thoſe who, when the conſpiracy was firſt betrayed, while MILICHUS was yet under examination, while SCEVINUS wavered, exhorted PISO, " to proceed directly to " the Camp, or mount the Roſtrum, and try " the affections of the people and ſoldiery; for,

" for, if once his accomplices were openly
" aſſembled to maintain his efforts, thoſe too
" who were not engaged, would certainly
" follow; and, when the commotion was once
" begun, mighty would be the public noiſe
" and alarm; an incident which, in all new
" attempts, is of infinite availment. Neither
" was NERO provided to reſiſt the ſhock.
" With terrors that come ſudden and unfore-
" ſeen, even brave men were daunted; how
" little then was it to be apprehended that,
" that Comedian, guarded forſooth by TIGEL-
" LINUS with his hoſt of harlots, would dare
" to riſque a conflict of arms? Many deſigns
" there were, which, though to daſtardly ſpirits
" they appeared arduous and impoſſible, were
" yet accompliſhed by trying to accompliſh
" them. In ſuch a mixt multitude, engaged
" in the plot, or privy to it, it was vain to ex-
" pect conſtant faith and ſecrecy; or, that the
" minds of all would be proof againſt tempta-
" tion, and their bodies againſt pain. To the
" force of recompences and tortures nothing
" was impenetrable; nay, there would ſoon
" arrive men, who would commit to bonds
" PISO himſelf, and at length ſubject him to a
" contumelious death. But with how much
" more glory and renown, would he fall,
" while he eſpouſed the Commonwealth,
" bravely invoking aid, and rouſing champions
" for public Liberty; while, even though the
" ſoldiers failed him, though the people for-
" ſook him, he ſtill perſiſted, and, by loſing

" his life, approved his death worthy of his " anceſtors, glorious to his poſterity?" But, upon PISO theſe reaſonings had no influence. After he had appeared for a ſmall ſpace abroad, he retired to privacy at home, and was preparing his mind to encounter a deliberate death, when at his houſe arrived a band of ſoldiers, all young men, either in years or ſervice, purpoſely culled by NERO, who dreaded the old ſoldiers, as tinctured with partiality for the conſpirators. Then it was, that cauſing the veins in both his arms to be broached, he expired. He left a will full of noiſome flattery to NERO, thus framed in tenderneſs to his wife, a woman of vitious conduct, void of every recommendation ſave the beauty of her perſon, one whom he had raviſhed from her husband, a friend of his own, his name DOMITIUS SILIUS, and hers ARRIA GALLA; and both concurred, he by his paſſiveneſs, ſhe by her wantonneſs, to blaze the diſhonour of PISO.

THE next death added by NERO to this, was that of PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Conſul elect, and inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he would not allow him to pay the laſt embraces to his children, nor that ſhort interval wont to be indulged to the condemned, for chuſing their own death. Inſtantly he was dragged to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there, by the hand of STATIUS the Tribune, ſlaughtered. He died full of exemplary firmneſs and invincible ſilence, nor once upbraiding the Tribune with an equal participation

tion in the conſpiracy. The bloody doom of SENECA followed, to the infinite joy of the Prince, from no proof that he had of his engagement in the plot, but to ſatiate his own cruelty, that the raging ſword might perpetrate what had been by poiſon unſucceſsfully attempted. For, NATALIS only had named him; but concerning him could diſcover no more than thus much, "That he had been by "PISO ſent to viſit SENECA, then indiſpoſed, "to complain in his name, that he himſelf "was refuſed admittance; and withal to re- "preſent, that it would be better if they main- "tained their friendſhip in free and familiar "intercourſe; that to this SENECA replied, "That the maintaining of frequent converſa- "tions and interviews by themſelves, was con- "ducing to the ſervice of neither, but upon "the ſafety of PISO his own ſecurity reſted." GRANIUS SILVANUS, Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, was ordered to repreſent all this to SENECA, and to demand of him, whether he owned the words of NATALIS, and his own anſwers. SENECA had that very day, either from chance or foreſight, returned from Campania, and reſted at a villa of his, four miles from Rome. Thither arrived the Tribune in the evening, beſet the villa with his men, and to him, as he ſat at table with PAULLINA his wife, and two friends, delivered his orders from the Emperor.

SENECA replied, "That NATALIS had, in "truth, been ſent to him, and in the name of

" PISO complained, that the latter was de-
" barred from viſiting him; a complaint which
" he had anſwered by excuſes taken from his
" bodily diſorder and deſire of quiet; but ſtill
" he never had any motive to declare, that to
" his own ſecurity he preferred the ſafety of
" a private man. A genius addicted to flatter,
" he never had, as no man better knew than
" NERO, who from SENECA had felt more
" frequent proofs of freedom than ſervility."
When this his anſwer was by the Tribune re-
ported to NERO, in preſence of POPPÆA and
TIGELLINUS, who were aſſiſtants to the rage-
ing tyrant, and compoſed his cabinet council,
he asked, whether SENECA were determined
upon a voluntary death? The Tribune averred,
" That he had manifeſted no one ſymptom of
" fear, and neither in his words nor looks was
" aught of anguiſh to be diſcovered." Hence,
he was commanded to return directly, and
carry him the denunciation of death. FABIUS
RUSTICUS writes, " That the Tribune took
" not now the ſame road which he came, but
" wheeling aſide to FENIUS, Captain of the
" guards, and diſcloſing the Emperor's orders,
" demanded whether he ſhould obey him, and
" was by him admoniſhed to purſue them."
Such was the fatal ſpiritleſſneſs and timidity
of all the conſpirators! SILVANUS too was one,
and yet contributing to multiply the ſame
bloody iniquities which he had conſpired to
avenge. He avoided, however, ſeeing SENECA,
and delivering in perſon the ſad meſſage, but
ſent

ſent in a Centurion to apprize him of "his "final doom."

THE denunciation no wiſe diſmayed SENECA, who called calmly for his will, and, as this was prohibited by the Centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, "That ſince "he was diſabled from a grateful requital of "their benefits, he bequeathed them that "which alone was now left him, yet ſome-"thing more glorious and amiable than all the "reſt, the pattern of his life; if they retained "the impreſſions and reſemblance of this, they "would thence reap the applauſe of virtuous "manners, as well as that of perſevering in "their friendſhip." He withal repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes in the ſtile of authority and correction, and ſtrove to recover them to reſolution and conſtancy. "Where, he often asked, where "were now all the documents of philoſophy? "Where, that philoſophical principle, for ſo "many years premeditated, againſt the ſudden "encounter of calamities? For, to whom was "unknown the bloody nature of NERO? Nor, "after the butchering of his mother, and the "murdering of his brother, did aught remain, "to conſummate his cruelty, but to add to "theirs the ſlaughter of his nurſing-father and "inſtructor."

HAVING uttered theſe and the like reaſonings, directed to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object, which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſoftened him

him into anxiety for her future lot; he preſſed and beſought her, to moderate her ſorrow, to "beware of perpetuating ſuch a diſmal paſſion; "but to bear the death of her husband by con- "templating his life ſpent in a ſteady courſe "of virtue, and to ſupport his loſs by all "worthy conſolations." PAULLINA, on the contrary, urged her purpoſe to die with him, and called for the aid of a miniſter of death. Upon this declaration, SENECA would not bereave her of ſo much glory; ſuch beſides was his fondneſs for her, that he was loth to leave one by himſelf beloved above all things, expoſed to inſults and injuries: "I had laid be- "fore thee, ſaid he, the delights and ſolace- "ments of living; thou preferreſt the renown "of dying; I ſhall not envy thee the honour "of the example. Between us let us equally "ſhare the fortitude of an end ſo brave, but "greater will be the ſplendour of thy parti- "cular fall." Preſently after this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened, at the ſame inſtant. SENECA was aged, his body cold, and extenuated by feeble diet, ſo that the iſſues of his blood were exceeding ſlow; hence he cauſed to be cut the veins alſo of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees. As he was ſuccumbing under many grievous agonies, he perſuaded her to retire into another chamber, leſt his own ſufferings might vanquiſh the reſolution of his wife, or he himſelf, by beholding her pangs, lapſe into weakneſs and impatience; and, his eloquence flowing

flowing even to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and to them dictated many things, which being already publiſhed in his own words, and common, I forbear to rehearſe in any words of mine.

TOWARDS PAULLINA, NERO bore no perſonal hate, and, to avoid feeding the public abhorrence of his cruelty, ordered her death to be prevented. Hence, at the perſuaſion of the ſoldiers, her domeſtic ſlaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and ſtaid the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For, as the populace in their cenſure are rather prone to malignancy, there were ſome who believed, "that while ſhe feared "the wrath of NERO as implacable, ſhe aimed "at the applauſe of dying with her husband; "but, as ſoon as gentler hopes occurred, ſhe "became vanquiſhed with the ſweetneſs and "allurements of life:" to which it is certain, ſhe added but a ſmall portion of years, ever retaining for the memory of her husband a reverence worthy of all praiſe; her face too, and all her limbs, were ſtill covered with ſuch deadly paleneſs, that it was notorious the principles of life had been in a great meaſure exhauſted. SENECA, the while, afflicted with the tedious protraction of life, and the ſlow advances of death, beſought STATIUS ANNÆUS, one long proved by him for faith in friendſhip and skill in medicine, to bring him a draught of the poiſon, which a great while ago he had laid up in ſtore, the ſame ſort which is uſed at Athens,

Athens, to diſpatch ſuch as are by the public judgment condemned. This he ſwallowed, but in vain; for already all his limbs were chilled, all his juices ſtagnated and impenetrable to the rapidity of poiſon. He therefore had recourſe to a hot bath, from whence he beſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood neareſt, adding, that "of this liquor he made a liba-" tion to Jupiter the deliverer." From thence he was conveyed into a ſtove, and ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity; for thus in his will he had enjoined, even then when, in the plenitude of his opulence and authority, he had provided for his deceaſe and obſequies.

A RUMOUR there was, that SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, in a ſecret conſultation with the Centurions, and even with the privacy of SENECA, had determined, that, as ſoon as by the aid of PISO, NERO was ſlain, PISO too ſhould be diſpatched, and the Empire transferred to SENECA, as one exempt from all reproach, and only "for the fame and reſplendency of his "virtues, preferred to the ſupreme dignity." Nay, even the words ſaid to have been by FLAVIUS then uttered, became current, "That "it would nothing avail towards aboliſhing "the public contumely, to depoſe a Minſtrel, "if to the vacant purple a Tragedian ſuc-"ceeded." For, as NERO was wont to ſing to the harp, ſo was PISO to chant in the accent and dreſs of tragedy.

Now

Now neither could the ſhare of the ſoldiers in the conſpiracy be kept longer a myſtery; ſuch was the temptation and eagerneſs of the diſcoverers to betray FENIUS RUFUS, whom they could not bear both for an accomplice and inquiſitor. Hence it was, that in the examination of SCEVINUS, while RUFUS urged him to a full confeſſion, with much vehemence and many menaces; the other ſmiled, and told him, "That in all the particulars of "the plot, no man was more knowing than "himſelf;" he even exhorted him, "to make "ſuitable returns of gratitude to ſo good a "Prince." To refute the charge, FENIUS had not a ſyllable to utter, nor yet would acquieſce in ſilence, but faultring and perplexed in his ſpeech, expoſed notoriouſly his inward diſmay. At the ſame time the reſt, chiefly CERVARIUS PROCULUS, a Roman Knight, combining with all their might to convict him, one CASSIUS a ſoldier, who, for his ſignal ſtrength of body, was appointed to attend the trials, laid hold upon him, by the Emperor's order, and caſt him into bonds.

IN the detection made by the ſame men, SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, the Tribune, was next fatally involved. At firſt he aimed at a defence, and pleaded "the diverſity of his profeſſion "and manners from thoſe of the conſpirators: "for that, never for the execution of an attempt ſo great and daring, would he, who "was a man of arms, have leagued with ſuch "as were reſigned to effeminacy, and never

"bore

" bore any." But, at laſt, finding himſelf puſhed with queſtions and circumſtances, he aſpired to the glory of confeſſion; and, in anſwer to NERO, who asked him from what provocations he had ſlighted the obligation of his oath; " I abhorred thee, ſaid he, though, " amongſt all thy ſoldiery, none was more " faithful and affectionate than I, as long as " thou didſt merit affection. With thy own " deteſtable crimes my abhorrence of thee be- " gan, after thou hadſt become the murderer " of thy mother, the murderer of thy wife, a " Charioteer, a Comedian, and the Incendiary " that ſet fire to Rome." I have repeated his very words; for they were not divulged abroad, like thoſe of SENECA: nor leſs worthy to be known were the ſentiments of a man of the ſword, which, however artleſs and unpolite, are vigorous and brave. It was apparent, that this whole conſpiracy had afforded nothing, which proved more bitter and pungent than this to the ears of NERO, who was abandoned to every black iniquity, but unaccuſtomed and too imperious to be upbraided afterwards with his flagitious doings. The execution of FLAVIUS was committed to the Tribune VEIANUS NIGER, and in the next field, by his direction, was digged a funeral trench, which FLAVIUS derided, " as too ſtreight and ſhallow;" and, applying to the guard of ſoldiers, " This, ſays " he, is not ſo much as according to the laws " of diſcipline." Being admoniſhed by the Tribune, to extend his neck valiantly, " I " wiſh,

" wiſh, replied he, thou mayſt ſtrike with " equal valour." In truth, NIGER was totally overcome by a violent trembling, and hardly at two blows beheaded him; hence, to magnify his own cruelty, he boaſted to NERO, that in putting him to death, he deſignedly employed more ſtrokes than one.

THE next example of conſtancy and fortitude was adminiſtered by SULPICIUS ASPER, the Centurion, who, in anſwer to the queſtion urged by NERO, why he had conſpired to kill him, ſaid in few words, " Other relief there " was none againſt thy numberleſs and raging " enormities;" and immediately underwent his preſcribed doom. Nor did the other Centurions deviate in bravery and ſpirit, but gallantly faced death, and ſuffered its pains. In FENIUS RUFUS equal magnanimity was not found; nay, ſuch and ſo permanent were his unmanly lamentations and anguiſh, that even in his laſt will, he bewailed himſelf. Great was the expectation which NERO was foſtering, that VESTINUS the Conſul, would prove likewiſe involved in the treaſon, as he eſteemed him a man of a violent ſpirit, and prompted by virulent hate and diſaffection. But, to VESTINUS the conſpirators had imparted none of their counſels, ſome influenced by ſtale perſonal diſtaſtes, many becauſe they believed him a man altogether precipitate and untractable. But, that which begot in NERO his enmity to VESTINUS, was an intimate fellowſhip between them. From thence the latter throughly knew

knew and ſcorned the vile cowardly heart of the Prince, and the Prince dreaded the haughty and vehement temper of his friend, by whom he had been frequently inſulted with poignant and diſdainful ſarcaſms, which, whenever they are ſeaſoned with much truth, never fail to leave behind them a bitter and vengeful remembrance. A recent provocation had likewiſe occurred, VESTINUS had taken to wife STATILIA MESSALINA, though he was aware that amongſt her other gallants, CÆSAR too was one.

WHEN therefore there appeared no accuſer to charge him, no crime to be charged, NERO, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour, under the title and guiſe of a Judge, flew to the violence of a Tyrant. Againſt him he diſpatched GERELANUS the Tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders, "To obviate the "attempts and machinations of the Conſul, "to take poſſeſſion of his houſe ſo much "reſembling a citadel, and to ſubdue his do-"meſtic band of choſen youths:" for, the dwelling of VESTINUS overlooked the great Forum, and he always kept a number of beautiful ſlaves, all of an age. He had that day diſcharged all the functions of Conſul; he was afterwards celebrating a banquet at home, void of all fear, or, perhaps, by the gayety of feaſting, ſeeking to hide his fears, when the ſoldiers entered. They told him, the Tribune had ſent them to bring him; nor delayed he a jot, but roſe from table, and in one and the ſame

ſame moment the haſty tragedy was begun and finiſhed: he was ſhut up in a chamber, the phyſician attended, his veins were cut, and, while yet full of life, and his ſtrength unabated, he was conveyed into a baghio and ſmothered with hot water; nor, under all this deadly denunciation and proceſs, did a ſyllable eſcape him, importing the leaſt regret or ſelf-commiſeration. In the mean time, the whole company who ſupped with him, were encloſed with a Guard, nor releaſed till the night was far ſpent. NERO, after he had repreſented to himſelf the conſternation of men, who from the joy of a feaſt, were waiting for their mortal doom, and had even made himſelf ſport with their fears, declared at laſt, "That they "had undergone penalty ſufficient for their "Conſular ſupper."

THE next bloody ſentence he pronounced, was againſt LUCAN the Poet. He, while his blood iſſued in ſtreams, perceiving his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiffen, and life to retire by little and little from the extremities, while his heart was ſtill beating with vital warmth, and his faculties no wiſe impaired, recollected ſome lines of his own, which deſcribed a wounded ſoldier expiring in a manner that reſembled this. The lines themſelves he rehearſed, and they were the laſt words he ever uttered. Thereafter SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, and SCEVINUS, ſuffered the violence of their fate, but with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy and voluptuouſneſs of

their lives. Anon too were executed the reſidue of the conſpirators, without aught memorable done or expreſſed by them.

Now, when Rome was filled with deaths, and coarſes, and funerals, ſo was the Capitol with victims. One man had loſt a ſon, one a brother, this a friend, that a kinſman; all fallen by the fury of the ſword; and every man paid his public thankſgiving to the Gods, adorned his houſe with laurel, fell proſtrate at the Emperor's feet, embraced his knees, and worried his right hand with kiſſes. He, who believed all this to be a ſincere manifeſtation of joy, rewarded ANTONIUS NATALIS and CERVARIUS PROCULUS with pardon, for their early confeſſion and diſcovery. Upon MILICHUS was accumulated abundant wealth and recompence, and he aſſumed a Greek name, ſignifying *Protector*. GRANIUS SILVANUS, one of the conſpiring Tribunes, though he was acquitted, fell by his own hand. STATIUS PROXIMUS, another, fruſtrated the Prince's pardon, by vainly engaging afterwards in another offence, and dying for it. Of their commands next were bereft the following Tribunes, POMPEIUS, CORNELIUS MARTIALIS, FLAVIUS NEPOS, and STATIUS DOMITIUS, for no charge as if towards the Emperor they bore any malevolence, but only that they were dreaded by him. To NONIUS PRISCUS, to GLITIUS GALLUS, and ANNIUS POLLIO, all obnoxious from their friendſhip to SENECA, and rather calumniated than convicted, baniſh-

ment

ment was adjudged. ANTONIA FLACILLA accompanied PRISCUS her exiled husband; and GALLUS too was attended by his wife EGNATIA MAXIMILLA, a couple at first possessed of wealth mighty and unimpaired, afterwards dispossessed of all, and, from both these different fortunes, their glory was augmented. Into banishment too was driven RUFIUS CRISPINUS, a punishment for which the conspiracy furnished a pretence; but the real cause was the antipathy of NERO, and his crime, to have been once the husband of POPPÆA. Upon VIRGINIUS and MUSONIUS RUFUS, their own signal renown drew the severity of expulsion. They had both engaged the affections of the Roman youth, VIRGINIUS by lectures of Eloquence, MUSONIUS by reasonings upon the precepts of Philosophy. CLUVIDIENUS QUIETUS, JULIUS AGRIPPA, BLITIUS CATULINUS, PETRONIUS PRISCUS, and JULIUS ALTINUS, as if a host had been formed of criminals convict, and their doom and numbers displayed, were all at once condemned to be transported into the Islands of the Ægean sea. CÆSONIUS MAXIMUS, and CADICIA the wife of SCEVINUS, were exterminated Italy, and, only by suffering the punishment of crimes, learnt that ever they had been charged as criminals. The information against ATILLA, the mother of LUCAN, was dissembled, and, without being cleared, she escaped unpunished.

NERO having accomplished all these matters, assembled the soldiery, entertained them with

a ſpeech, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of fifty crowns a man; and whereas hitherto they had been ſupplied with grain at the eſtabliſhed rate, he allowed it them thenceforth without payment. Then, as if he had been about to recount to the Senate the feats and events of a war, he ordered the fathers to aſſemble. Upon PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, the Conſular, upon COCCEIUS NERVA, Prætor elect, and upon TIGELLINUS, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, he conferred the ornaments and diſtinction of triumph. Nay, to ſuch notable eminence did he raiſe TIGELLINUS and NERVA, that, beſides their triumphal Statues erected in the Forum, he would needs have their images placed likewiſe in the palace. To NYMPHIDIUS he granted the Conſular decorations, a man concerning whom, ſince his name now firſt occurs, I ſhall here recite a few particulars. For, he too will have his ſhare in the bloody calamities and viciſſitudes of Rome. He was born of a manumiſed ſlave, who having a comely perſon, had proſtituted the ſame to the domeſtics of the Emperors, bond and free without diſtinction; hence he boaſted himſelf the ſon of CALIGULA, ſeeing, like him, he happened to be tall of ſtature, and of a countenance ſtern and terrible. Or, perhaps, it is likely that CALIGULA, who was addicted to the embraces of harlots, had alſo deſcended to gallantries with the mother of NYMPHIDIUS.

NERO

NERO having thus aſſembled the fathers, and delivered a diſcourſe concerning the late tranſactions, addreſſed an edict to the people upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſhed from records the ſeveral evidences againſt the condemned conſpirators, as alſo their own confeſſions. He was, indeed, ſorely reproached by a rumour current amongſt the populace, "That merely to ſatiate his malice, or out of "baſe fear, he had ſacrificed guiltleſs and il-"luſtrious men." Yet, that there was a real conſpiracy, concerted and grown to maturity, and at laſt detected and cruſhed, was no matter of doubt to ſuch as were then curious to be truly informed, and even acknowledged by thoſe of the conſpirators, who, after the fall of NERO, returned from baniſhment to Rome. Now in the Senate, where every particular, the more ſenſibly he was pierced with anguiſh, the more fawnings and congratulations he expreſſed, SALIENUS CLEMENS fell upon JUNIUS GALLIO, already terrified with the death of SENECA his brother, and then a ſupplicant for his own life, charging GALLIO with the character of "a parricide and a pub-"lic enemy," till the fathers unanimouſly awed and reſtrained him. They adviſed him, "That he would not ſeem to take an advant-"age of the public calamities, to gratify his "own perſonal animoſity; and ſince, through "the clemency of the Prince, all matters "were compoſed, or all faults cancelled, he

" would not revive ſtaid proceedings, nor open " a new ſource of cruelty."

AND now it was decreed that " public " thankſgivings and oblations ſhould be paid " to all the Deities, and peculiar honours to " the Sun, the God, who poſſeſſing an anci- " ent Chappel in the Circus, the place in- " tended for the perpetration of the parricide, " had expoſed to light the dark contrivances " of the conſpirators; that the Circenſian " Games, exhibited to Ceres, ſhould be ſo- " lemnized with an extraordinary acceſſion of " horſes and chariots; that the month of " April, ſhould thenceforth bear the name of " NERO, and to the Goddeſs *Salus* a Temple " be erected in the place whence SCEVINUS " had brought the dagger." The dagger it ſelf was by NERO dedicated in the Capitol, and inſcribed, *To Jove the avenger* (*Jupiter Vindex*) words which at that time were not minded. But, upon the revolt of JULIUS VINDEX, which afterwards happened, from them was then drawn a happy augury and preſage of approaching vengeance. In the Journals of the Senate, I find that CERIALIS ANICIUS, Conſul elect, when it came to his vote, propoſed, " That a Temple ſhould, with " all ſpeed, be raiſed, at the charge of the " ſtate, and conſecrated to the deified NERO;" a motion which he really meant in compli- ment, as to one who ſoared above the higheſt lot of mortality, and was entitled to celeſtial worſhip

worſhip from men; but from whence too was inferred an omen of his haſtening fate, ſince to Princes, divine honours are never paid till they have finally forſaken all commerce with men.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

The SUMMARY.

FAlſe hopes of mighty Treaſures in Africa, and thence the vanity, and wild prodigality of NERO. *He contends for the public prize at the Quinquennial Games. The death of* POPPÆA, *and her royal funeral.* C. CASSIUS *and* L. SILANUS *baniſhed; the latter murdered, with ſeveral others. An uncommon tempeſt in Campania.* ANTEIUS *and* OSTORIUS *doomed to die; as alſo* MELLA, CRISPINUS *and* PETRONIUS. THRASEA PÆTUS *obnoxious to* NERO *for his diſtinguiſhed virtue; thence accuſed and marked for deſtruction; as alſo* BAREAS SORANUS, *and his daughter* SERVILIA. *Her ſignal defence and tenderneſs towards her father. The remarkable behaviour and end of* THRASEA.

FORTUNE thereafter expoſed NERO to public-deriſion, through the intoxication of his own vanity, and the wild promiſes made him by CESELLIUS BASSUS a Carthaginian, one

one of a reſtleſs and chimerical ſpirit, who from the impulſe of a nocturnal dream gathered certain high-hopes, and, ſure of ſucceſs, ſailed to Rome, where, having by money procured acceſs to the Prince, he ſet forth, "That in his lands was diſcovered a cave of "enormous profundity, where lay immenſe "ſtore of gold, never reduced into form or "coin, but in rude and ponderous lumps, ſuch "as were uſed by the ancients; that indeed "the antiquity of the place was apparent in "the ſtructure and ruins, as here appeared "heaps of huge maſſy bricks, there pillars ſtill "erect; and all this wealth had for ſo many "ages lain buried and reſerved to multiply the "riches and felicities of the preſent reign. "For the reſt, what could be learnt from con-"jecture was, that DIDO the Phœnician, ſhe "who fled from Tyre, having founded Car-"thage, had buried this treaſure, leſt her new "people might be debauched by exceſſive "opulence, and become vitious and ungo-"vernable; or leſt the Princes of Numidia, "who upon other accounts bore her malevo-"lence, might from the ardent thirſt of gold "be inſtigated to make war upon her."

THIS ſtruck NERO, who little weighing the credibility of the account, or the faith and veracity of him that brought it, nor ſo much as diſpatching inſpectors to examine whether the particulars repreſented were true, heightened yet more the rumour of the diſcovery; and, as if it had been ſo much certain ſpoil already

already acquired, he ſent over ſome to tranſport it to Rome, nay, to accelerate its arrival, furniſhed them with light galleys manned by ſetts of choſen and expert rowers. Nor did any other ſubject employ the converſation of the public at that time, while with the credulous multitude it paſſed for true, but from men of diſcernment met a different cenſure. And, as the Quinquennial Games happened then for the ſecond time to be in a courſe of celebration, the Poets and Orators, in their panegyrics upon the Prince, borrowed from thence their chief themes; "for that the earth "was no longer ſatisfied with yielding only "her wonted bounties of fruits and grain, or "gold incorporated with other ore, but "teemed, in his reign, with productions al-"together new; and to him the Gods pre-"ſented treaſures already ſtored;" with many other fictions abounding in pompous eloquence, nor leſs remarkable for ſervile debaſement and flattery, ſecure as they were of his prompt faith to believe whatever they could feign.

IN the mean time, he rioted in prodigality without all meaſure, from theſe fantaſtical hopes, and utterly conſumed his ancient treaſures, as if others in their ſtead now ſpontaneouſly accrued, ſufficient to ſupply him in a courſe of profuſion for many years. Nay, out of this imaginary fund he was already diſtributing largeſſes; and the vain expectation of great riches became one of the cauſes of public poverty. When BASSUS had perforated and hollowed

hollowed all his grounds, with many adjacent fields, for a great compaſs round, hunting from place to place after the promiſed cave, which now he averred to be here, then to be there, attended not only with a number of ſoldiers, but by a multitude of boors employed as labourers in that work; he at laſt renounced his phrenzy, and, wondering that his dreams had never proved falſe before, and that this was the firſt time he felt their deluſion, diſcharged himſelf by a voluntary death from the agonies of ſhame and dread. Some authors ſay, that he was thrown into priſon, and anon releaſed, but his fortune ſeized in the room of this treaſure Royal.

DURING the proſecution of this affair, as the time was at hand for diſputing the prizes in the Quinquennial Games, the Senate, in order to avert in ſome degree, the diſgrace which NERO muſt incur by appearing a competitor there, offered to aſſert to him by decree "the victory in Song;" nay, even to adjudge him "the crown of Eloquence;" meaning by ſuch diſtinction from the fathers, to throw a veil over his Theatrical debaſement. But NERO declared, "That he needed not the "interpoſition and partiality of the Senate, "nor any authority of theirs, ſince he him-"ſelf was a match for all his competitors, and "would only by the equitable determination "of the Judges, purchaſe the juſt praiſe and "recompence of his skill." He then preſented himſelf publicly, but firſt upon the Stage pe-

culiar

culiar to the feſtival, and there rehearſed a Poem of his own compoſing; but anon, upon the clamour and importunity of the vulgar herd, " that he would diſplay to the public " the whole fruits of his ſtudies " (for this was the phraſe which they uſed) he entered the Great Theatre and practiſed a ſedulous obedience to all the laws of the Harp, ſuch as not to ſit down however fatigued, not to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with the veſtment he wore, thence to keep dry his mouth and noſe. In concluſion, bowing the knee and with his hands lifted up, paying veneration to the multitude, he awaited with fictitious awe the determination of his Judges. In truth, the commonalty of Rome, ever wont to humour and encourage the acting and geſticulations of common players, ecchoed their applauſes of NERO with meaſured notes and ſymphony, and clapped in tune according to the rules of concert. You would have thought that they had really rejoyced, and it is probable their rejoicings were ſincere, from an utter inſenſibility of public honour, or of the crying reproach which debaſed the Roman ſtate.

BUT far different was the behaviour of ſuch as dwelt in the municipal cities of Italy (for the countries of Italy as yet retained their primitive ſeverity, and the ſober manners of the ancients) as alſo of ſuch as came from the remote Provinces, where they were unacquainted with the like wantonneſs and revellings, and attended then at Rome upon embaſſies, or

their

their own private affairs; neither of theſe could bear this diſhonourable ſpectacle, or were capable of diſcharging a task ſo unmanly; ſo that while, with irregular and aukward efforts in clapping, they marred the feats of the diſciplined clappers, they were frequently baſtonaded by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters amongſt the crowd, to watch that not a moment ſhould paſs either in unequal and ill-concerted acclamations, or in cold and lifeleſs ſilence. Certain it is, that many Roman Knights while they ſtrove to retire, were through the ſtreightneſs of the crammed paſſages, and the weight of the multitude, preſſed to death; and that others, by never-ſtirring night and day from their ſeats, were there ſeized with mortal maladies: for they dreaded even more than maladies the deadly conſequence of their abſence from this Imperial revel; ſince, beſides the ſeveral concealed ſpies, there were a number of obſervers, who publicly noted names and faces, and all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or melancholy in every particular of the aſſembly. Hence it was that, upon the vulgar and ignoble, inſtant pains were inflicted; towards thoſe of illuſtrious quality his hate was for the preſent ſmothered, but ſoon after diſcharged in deadly vengeance. It was reported, "That VESPASIAN was by PHOEBUS, NERO's freedman, bitterly reproached "and even charged as a criminal, for having "nodded, and hardly found protection even "by the prayers and mediation of worthy and "honourable

" honourable friends; that perdition ſtill hung " over him, and he only eſcaped it by the " grandeur of his enſuing deſtiny."

THE diverſions of the Theatre were followed by the death of POPPÆA, occaſioned by a caſual fit of paſſion in her husband, who killed her with a blow of his foot upon her pregnant womb; for, to poiſon I cannot aſcribe it, as ſome writers have done, rather through antipathy to NERO, than love of truth; ſeeing he vehemently coveted children, and was governed by a paſſionate fondneſs for his wife. Her corps was not conſumed to aſhes, according to the rites of the Romans, but after the manner of foreign Monarchs, embowelled, and replete with ſpices, repoſited in the ſepulchre of the Julian family. Her obſequies, however, were publicly celebrated, and from the public Roſtrum her panegyric was delivered by the Emperor, who magnified " her beauty and " happy lot, to have been the mother of an " infant now enrolled amongſt the Deities," with many other blind endowments of fortune, which he enumerated as ſo many virtues. The death of POPPÆA begat in Rome every appearance of ſadneſs and mourning, but ſecretly inſtilled much joy into the hearts of all who remembered her lewdneſs and cruelty; and, beſides the reproach of this murder, NERO earned freſh deteſtation by forbidding CAIUS CASSIUS from aſſiſting at her funeral, the firſt ſignal of his impending doom, nor was his doom long poſtponed. In the ſame fate SILA-

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NUS too was involved, and each of them conſigned to deſtruction, without guilt or offence in either, only that both were men of high and ſignal diſtinction, CASSIUS for his hereditary opulence and the exemplary gravity of his manners, SILANUS for the ancient ſplendor of his race, and the popularity and eminent modeſty of his youth. NERO therefore ſent to the Senate a ſpeech in writing, and in it argued for "the neceſſity of removing both from any "ſhare in the adminiſtration of the ſtate." To CASSIUS particularly he objected, "That "amongſt the Images of his anceſtors, he pre- "ſerved in high reverence that of CAIUS CAS- "SIUS, thus inſcribed, *The leader of the* "*party*, for that, he too was meditating the "ſcheme of a civil war, and a revolt from the "family of the CÆSARS; but ſince in his de- "ſign of exciting inſurrections, he would not "employ only the influence of a name ſo ob- "noxious, he had engaged LUCIUS SILANUS, "a youth ſplendid in deſcent, of a tempeſtu- "ous ſpirit, and one whom he ſet as a ſtale "to produce and animate a public revolu- "tion."

HE fell afterwards directly upon SILANUS himſelf, with great bitterneſs, urging againſt him the very ſame imputations which he had formerly objected to his uncle TORQUATUS, "That already he aſſumed the port of a Prince, "in his houſe had eſtabliſhed officers of Impe- "rial ſtate, and raiſed his freedmen to ſeveral "dignities, ſome to be Auditors of the Re-

"venues,

" venues, ſome to be Maſters of Requeſts; " others to be principal Secretaries;" ridiculous imputations, and as falſe as ridiculous! For, dread of the prevailing tyranny kept SILANUS under more awe and precaution, and, from the late bloody doom of his uncle, he had learnt a terrible leſſon of circumſpection. NERO next prompted certain perſons to aſſume the name of voluntary informers and forge an accuſation againſt LEPIDA the wife of CASSIUS, aunt to SILANUS, " That with " her nephew ſhe had been guilty of inceſt, " and in ſacrifice had practiſed magical rites " of direful tendency." As accomplices were ſeized and arraigned VULCATIUS TULLINUS and MARCELLUS CORNELIUS, two Senators, with CALPURNIUS FABATUS a Roman Knight, men who, by appealing to CÆSAR, did thence divert their inſtant condemnation; and as NERO was thenceforth intent upon more exalted atchievements in cruelty, they whom he conſidered as ſmaller delinquents, entirely eſcaped his rage.

THE Senate then proceeded to pronounce againſt CASSIUS and SILANUS ſentence of perpetual baniſhment, but, to the judgment of CÆSAR referred the puniſhment of LEPIDA. CASSIUS was tranſported into Sardinia, and, in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpared. SILANUS, under colour of ſending him away to the iſle of Naxos, was removed to Oſtia, and afterwards confined in Barium, a city of Apulia; while there, with the

the ſpirit of a wiſe man, he ſupported a lot moſt unworthy of his virtue and innocence, a Centurion commiſſioned for the aſſaſſination, laid hold on him, and adviſed him to cut his veins: he anſwered, "That to die was the "firm purpoſe of his ſoul, but upon an execu- "tioner he would not confer the glory of ful- "filling that purpoſe." Yet the Centurion perceiving him a man of great ſtrength, and though deſtitute of arms, reſolute and daring, and more diſpoſed to acts of wrath than thoſe of diſmay, ordered his ſoldiers to ſecure him: nor did SILANUS fail to make vigorous reſiſtance, and to diſtribute blows with as much energy as by naked hands could be exerted, till at laſt he fell by the ſword of the Centurion, but under a multitude of wounds all received before, like thoſe of a brave man who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle.

NOR with leſs diſpatch and intrepidity did LUCIUS VETUS and his mother-in-law SEXTIA, with POLLUTIA his daughter, undergo their bloody doom. Towards them the Prince had long borne much vindictive rancour and hate, as thoſe whoſe lives were ſo many ſtanding reproaches upon him, for the murder of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS, ſon-in-law to LUCIUS VETUS. But the firſt handle for manifeſting this his hatred and cruelty, was adminiſtered by a freedman of VETUS, his name FORTUNATUS, who having abuſed his truſt and defrauded his Lord, added malice to robbery, and became his accuſer. Into a partnerſhip in this traiter-

ous plot he aſſumed CLAUDIUS DEMIANUS, one who for his villainies in Aſia was by VETUS, then Proconſul there, ſent in bonds to Rome, but now by NERO, in recompence of this his accuſation, releaſed. The accuſed, when he was apprized of this combination, and that againſt the credit of his freedman his life was ſtaked, retired to a ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of Formiæ, whither a Guard of ſoldiers followed, and there ſecretly beſet him; with him too was his daughter. She, beſides the agonies which ſhe felt from the preſent awakening peril, had a ſoul before ſorely embittered by a long courſe of ſorrow, ever ſince ſhe had firſt beheld the aſſaſſins ſent to butcher PLAUTUS her husband; and, as ſhe had paſſionately hugged his bleeding neck, ſhe ſtill preſerved the garments ſtained by his blood, ſtill perſevered a widow, devoted to unrelenting grief and wailings, and a ſtranger to all nouriſhment, except what juſt ſaved her from the grave. Upon this occaſion, at the requeſt of her father, ſhe travelled to Naples, and, ſince ſhe was denied acceſs to NERO, ſhe beſieged his gates, and watched his coming forth, imploring him "to hear the defence of an in-"nocent man, nor to a traiterous freedman "ſacrifice one who had been once his collegue "in the Conſulſhip." And this her petition ſhe continued to urge importunately, ſometimes with the lamentable moanings of a woman, ſometimes with a ſpirit ſurpaſſing her ſex, and an accent vehement and imperious; till

till the implacable Emperor by his behaviour convinced her, that he was no more to be ſoftened by diſtreſs and ſupplications, than moved by the apprehenſions of public odium.

HENCE ſhe reported to her father, "That "he muſt baniſh all hope, and meet a fate "which he could not fly." Tydings at the ſame time arrived, "That the Senate was haſten-"ing his trial and proceeding to a ſentence "terrible and mercileſs." Nor were there wanting ſome who perſuaded him to bequeath to NERO the bulk of his fortune, as the beſt expedient "to ſecure the remainder to his "grand-children," a propoſal by him rejected, nor would he ſtain the whole courſe of his life, ſpent almoſt in the fulneſs of liberty, by cloſing it with an act of ſervitude, but amongſt his domeſtics diſtributed whatever ſums of money were then in his poſſeſſion, with orders, "to appropriate to themſelves and remove "away whatever they found portable, leaving "only three couches for the uſe of their "coarſes." Then all three opened their veins, in one and the ſame chamber, with one and the ſame ſteel, and, each covered for decency with a ſingle rayment, were with diſpatch conveyed into warm baths; the father's eyes intent upon his daughter, thoſe of the old Lady upon her grand-daughter, and hers upon both; all praying with emulation for a ſpeedy iſſue of fleeting life, each wiſhing to expire firſt, wiſhing to leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, though haſtening to die. Fortune

obſerved the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt firſt expired, and the youngeſt laſt. After they were buried, they were accuſed, and voted to "capital puniſhment according to the "precedent of antiquity;" but againſt this NERO interpoſed, and would needs indulge them to die without preſcription of form. Such were the inſtances of deriſion added to ſlaughters already perpetrated! PUBLIUS GALLUS a Roman Knight, who had been intimate with FENIUS RUFUS, and not unacceptable to VETUS, was for ſuch offence prohibited fire and water. To the freedman and accuſer, in recompence of the meritorious pains and ſervice, a place in the Theatre was aſſigned amongſt the officers belonging to the Tribunes. And as the name of *April* was changed into that of NERO, ſo was *May* into that of CLAUDIUS, and *June* into that of GERMANICUS. CORNELIUS ORFITUS, from whoſe motion theſe alterations proceeded, declared, "That he had "therefore propoſed aboliſhing the name of "*June*, for that two of the JUNII TORQUATI "already executed for treaſon, had thence ren-"dered that name abominable."

THIS year, one ſtained with ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny and blood, was by the Gods too branded with devouring tempeſts and mortality. By the violence of whirl-winds, the country of Campania was ravaged, villages were overturned, the plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcattered, and the extenſive devaſtation carried as far as the neighbourhood

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of Rome; where, at the ſame time a fierce peſtilence was, without any diſcernable malignity in the air, ſweeping away all conditions of men. Full of coarſes were the houſes, full of funerals the ſtreets; nor ſex nor age was ſpared by the impartial malady; to the ſame ſwift deſtruction yielded the bondmen and free, amidſt the tears and wailings of their wives and children, who, whilſt they were yet attending and lamenting their expiring parents and husbands, were themſelves ſnatched away, and frequently burnt in the ſame funeral pile with thoſe they lamented. As faſt as the reſt, periſhed illuſtrious Roman Knights and Senators, but leſs bewailed, ſince by a deadly contagion common to all, they eſcaped falling by the cruelty of the Prince. The ſame year recruits were raiſed in Narbon Gaul, and through Africa and Aſia, for ſupplying the Legions in Illyrium, from whence had been diſcharged all ſuch as were enfeebled by infirmity or age. To the inhabitants of Lyons, as a relief for their late calamity by fire, the Emperor preſented a hundred thouſand crowns, to repair the damages of their city, a ſum once preſented voluntarily by the Community of Lyons to Rome, during a time when ſhe was under public diſtractions and embarraſment.

In the Conſulſhip of Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus; Antistius Sosianus, one doomed, as I have above related, to perpetual exile, for certain virulent verſes by him compoſed againſt Nero, becoming after-

wards apprized of the honour and diſtinction paid to informers, and of the Emperor's propenſity to acts of rage and blood; being withal a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit, and no wiſe ſlack to embrace occaſions of advantage, courted the friendſhip of PAMMENES, and through the ſimilitude of their lot obtained it. For PAMMENES too was an exile of the ſame place, one celebrated for his ſcience in the myſteries of Aſtrology, and thence engaged in numerous friendſhips. He judged, that, without ſome important purpoſe, ſo many meſſengers and ſo many quæriſts to conſult him, could not be thus daily arriving, and learnt withal that, from PUBLIUS ANTEIUS a yearly ſtipend was allowed him; nor was it any ſecret to SOSIANUS that ANTEIUS, for his zeal and attachment to AGRIPPINA, was expoſed to the malice and jealouſy of NERO; that his opulence was ſufficiently ſignal to ſtimulate that rapacious Prince, and that from this ſource only, multitudes had ſuffered their deadly bane. With this view he intercepted letters from ANTEIUS, and even ſtole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and the future events of his life, which were ſecretly kept in the cuſtody of PAMMENES. He beſides found the ſcheme by him drawn concerning the birth and fortune of OSTORIUS SCAPULA, and then wrote forthwith to the Emperor, "That might "he obtain a ſhort reſpite from baniſhment, "he had mighty diſcoveries to communicate, "ſuch as were highly conducing to the per-

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" ſonal ſafety of the Prince; for that ANTEIUS " and OSTORIUS were meditating ſome ſudden " attempt upon the ſtate, and diving ſollici- " touſly into their own deſtiny and that of " CÆSAR." Immediately light pinnaces were diſpatched away, and SOSIANUS tranſported with expedition to Rome, where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery, ANTEIUS and OSTORIUS were by all men conſidered rather already under the ſentence of death, than ſuch as were to be tried for their lives; inſomuch that none dared appear to witneſs the execution of ANTEIUS his will, till TIGELLINUS authorized it, having firſt given him warning, " to loſe no time, but forthwith execute his " laſt teſtament." He then ſwallowed a draught of poiſon, but growing tired and impatient of its ſlow operation, accelerated his death by opening his veins.

OSTORIUS was then abiding at an eſtate of his in a remote quarter of Italy, upon the borders of Liguria, and thither a Centurion was ſent with orders to ſlay him with all diſpatch. The motive for ſuch precipitation ſprung from this ſource; OSTORIUS was a man of a high military renown, diſtinguiſhed in Britain with a Civic Crown, of prodigious bodily ſtrength, and, from his experience in war, eminently qualified for feats of arms: Hence NERO, who ever lived under continual dread, and, ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, in the utmoſt diſmay and affright, was ſcared, leſt that brave officer ſhould

take up arms and fall upon him. The Centurion, when he had beſet with Guards every iſſue from the villa, to prevent all eſcape, acquainted OSTORIUS with his orders from the Emperor: OSTORIUS, without delay, upon his own perſon turned the edge of that bravery which he had ſo often exerted with applauſe againſt the foe; and, ſeeing that from his veins, though largely opened, there flowed but little blood, he diſpatched himſelf by a poynard, uſing ſo far the help of one of his ſlaves, as to make him hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthning the ſlave's hand with his own, he run his throat upon the fatal ſteel.

WERE I even recounting the rage of foreign wars, and a ſeries of deaths undergone for the Commonweal, in a detail of events and diſaſters, all like the above, reſembling one another, I ſhould doubtleſs ſuccumb under the weary task, and propoſe no other than to ſurfeit my readers, juſtly loathing a recital of the fall of citizens, however honourable yet tragical and without end: Yet more irkſome is the preſent work, in which ſuch a deluge of blood tyrannically ſpilt at home, and the general and ſlaviſh paſſiveneſs under the Tyrant, are conſiderations that gnaw the ſoul and oppreſs it under anguiſh and ſorrow. By ſuch therefore as ſhall peruſe this Hiſtory, I deſire it may be remembered (and it is the only apology I claim) that from no hatred of mine, but the duty of an Hiſtorian, I mention thoſe who

who thus tamely ſubmitted to periſh: They periſhed, in truth, to ſatiate the vengeance of the Gods againſt the Roman State, which vengeance falling upon particulars, in a continued courſe of ſlaughters, its operations cannot juſtly be diſplayed in one general deſcription, like the ſlaughter of armies, or the ſtorming and ſubduing of cities. To the poſterity of illuſtrious Men let this occaſional compliment be paid, that as they are not buried, like the common herd, but their obſequies diſtinguiſhed from the promiſcuous ſepulture of the vulgar; ſo, by recounting the circumſtances of their dying, they may receive and ever retain peculiar marks of remembrance.

For, within the compaſs of a few days, Annæus Mella, Cerialis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Caius Petronius, ſuffered, as it were all in a band, the violence of their fate. Mella and Crispinus were Roman Knights, in figure and eſtimation conſiderable as Senators; the latter particularly had been once Captain of the Prætorian Guards, and diſtinguiſhed with the ornaments of the Conſulſhip, but lately baniſhed, as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, into Sardinia, where, upon notice received that he was doomed to die, he ſlew himſelf. Mella, who was brother to Gallio and Seneca, forbore ſuing for the great Offices of State, from a wayward ambition, that a Roman Knight might be ſeen to vie in authority with Senators of Conſular dignity: He likewiſe judged that acting as

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Comptroller to the Prince, in the miniſtration of his private revenues, was a quicker road to wealth. Add, that he was the father of LUCAN, a circumſtance from whence accrued a vaſt acceſſion to his fame and ſplendour: But after the untimely fate of his ſon, while with ſpecial ſharpneſs and ardour he was recovering his effects, againſt himſelf he excited an accuſer, FABIUS ROMANUS, one of LUCAN's intimate friends. He feigned, "That in the conſpiracy, the father and ſon were equally confederate;" and having counterfeited Letters to this purpoſe, in the hand of LUCAN, preſented them to NERO, who after peruſal, ordered them to be carried to the accuſed, after whoſe riches he ravenouſly hunted. MELLA anticipated his ſentence by a paſſage to death, in thoſe days, as the quickeſt, moſt frequently choſen, and broached his veins, when by Will he had bequeathed to TIGELLINUS and his ſon-in-law COSSUTIANUS CAPITO, an immenſe legacy in money, in order to ſecure the remainder. It is added that, in his will he inſerted complaints concerning the rigour and iniquity of his doom, "That he died guiltleſs "of every crime deſerving death, whilſt RUFIUS CRISPINUS and ANICIUS CERIALIS, "men virulently diſſaffected to the Prince, were "ſuffered to live." But all this was believed to have been a fiction, purpoſely framed to juſtify the execution of theſe two; for CRISPINUS was already ſlain, and over CERIALIS the ſame bloody fate was impending: Nor indeed

deed was it long ere he became his own executioner; but fell with leſs commiſeration than the reſt, for that by him, it was remembered, had been diſclos'd to CALIGULA a plot concerted to deſtroy that Tyrant.

CONCERNING CAIUS PETRONIUS ſome few particulars are to be recapitulated. He was one who in ſleep waſted the day, and to the civil offices and gay delights of life devoted the night: As others by a courſe of pains and vigilance had acquired a name and character; PETRONIUS was by ſignal idleneſs and indolence raiſed to notice and renown. Nor yet was he eſteemed either a prodigal of his fortune or a ſlave to his groſſer appetites, like many who thus brutally laviſh and devour their eſtates. PETRONIUS was curious and refined in his luxury; and ſince his actions and ſayings were frank and unreſtrained, all accompanied with an air of negligence, the more ſo they were, the more pleaſing they were, as bearing thence the impreſſion of pure ſimplicity and artleſs nature. However, while he exerciſed the Proconſular Government of Bithynia, and preſently after the Conſulſhip it ſelf, he manifeſted himſelf a man of ſpirit and vigour, and equal to great affairs. Then relapſing into a habit of ſenſuality and vice, or affecting to appear vitious and ſenſual, he was by NERO aſſociated with the ſelect few, who compoſed his fraternity of intimates, and eſtabliſhed maſter of elegance. Inſomuch that to the Emperor, in the midſt of all his affluent enjoyments, nothing

thing appeared delicious and raviſhing, if it came not recommended by the taſte and approbation of PETRONIUS. Hence the hate and envy of TIGELLINUS towards one, in credit, his rival, in the ſcience of pleaſures, his ſuperiour. He had therefore recourſe to the cruelty of the Prince, a paſſion to which all his other depraved appetites ever gave place. Againſt PETRONIUS he objected an intimacy with the conſpirator SCEVINUS, corrupted one of his ſlaves to accuſe his maſter, precluded him from all defence, and to ſudden bonds committed moſt of his domeſtics.

NERO happened at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and PETRONIUS having accompanied him as far as Cuma, was there by order put under durance; nor would he longer bear to protract his fate, by humouring the impulſe of hopes or fears; nor yet did he haſtily throw away life, but ordering his veins to be cut, directed them again to be cloſed and bound, then to be opened by intervals, juſt as his fancy moved him, diſcourſing the while to his friends, but upon no ſubject ſerious or profound, nor in ſtrains and ſentences whence he could aim at the renown of magnanimity in braving of death. To them too he attended while they recited, no ſolemn ſolemn ſayings concerning the Immortality of the Soul, nor the Syſtems of Philoſophers, but gay Sonnets, with Verſes muſical and flowing. With bounties he rewarded ſome of his ſlaves, with chaſtiſements others: He even diverted himſelf

himſelf with walking out, nay, refreſhed himſelf with ſleep, on deſign, that his death, though in reality doomed, might appear like one altogether caſual. Neither followed he in his laſt Will the example and ſtile of moſt, who periſhed like himſelf under the tyranny. PETRONIUS flattered neither NERO, nor TIGELLINUS, nor any of the partizans of power, but under the names of lewd women and pathics, deſcribed all the ſecret abominations of the Emperor, with every practice of impurity by him uſed and admired as ſingular and new. To NERO he tranſmitted this picture of himſelf, carefully ſealed, then broke his ſignet, that after his death it might not be perfidiouſly uſed and become a ſnare to the innocent.

WHILE NERO was doubting and recollecting, by what means could be divulged all the various devices of lubricity in which he conſumed the night, his ſuſpicion fixed upon SILIA, one the better known for having married a Senator; one too by the Prince aſſociated into all the eſſays and diverſity of his pollutions, and thoroughly intimate with PETRONIUS. On pretence therefore that ſhe had not concealed what ſhe had there ſeen and undergone, ſhe was doomed to baniſhment; a ſacrifice in effect to his own perſonal hate. To that of TIGELLINUS he made another, and to his vengeance ſurrendered NUMICIUS THERMUS, once Prætor, for that a freedman belonging to THERMES had uttered certain criminal imputations upon TIGELLINUS, an offence which

which the ſpeaker expiated under exquiſite torments, and his innocent Lord by a bloody doom.

AFTER the ſlaughter of ſo many men ſignal in name and quality, NERO, at length, became poſſeſſed with a paſſion to hew down virtue itſelf, by devoting to butchery THRASEA PÆTUS and BAREAS SORANUS, both, long ſince, the objects of his hate. But againſt THRASEA he was incenſed from ſeparate cauſes, for that he had withdrawn from the Senate, when the affair of AGRIPPINA and the merits of her death came under debate there, as above I have remembered: In the ſolemnizing too of the preludes intitled *Juvenales*, he had manifeſted a behaviour far from courtly or acceptable; an indignity which pierced the Prince the deeper, for that THRASEA himſelf had, at Padua, the place of his nativity, chanted in the habit of a Tragedian, during the celebration of the Ceſtic Games, inſtituted there by the founder, ANTENOR from Troy. Moreover when ANTISTIUS the Prætor, was about to have been by the Senate condemned to execution, for a virulent Satire by him compoſed againſt NERO, THRASEA propoſed a mitigation of the ſentence, and carried it. Add that when celeſtial honours were decreed to POPPÆA, he was purpoſely abſent, nor afterwards attended her funeral: Offences which by CAPITO COSSUTIANUS were carefully ſaved from falling under oblivion: Beſides the native bent of his ſpirit, abandoned to all feats of villainy,

villainy, he bore ſpecial rancour towards THRASEA, ſince it was he who had ſupported the deputies from Cilicia in their charge upon CAPITO for extortion there, and by his credit obtained judgment againſt him.

TO all theſe crimes of THRASEA's he added many more: "He had avoided the ſolemnity "of renewing at the beginning of the year, "the annual oath then taken to the Emperor; "he had forborn to aſſiſt at the ſuſception of "yearly vows for the preſervation and pro- "ſperity of the Prince, though he were at the "ſame time inveſted with the Quindecemviral "Prieſthood: He had never made oblations "for the ſafety of the Prince, nor for his voice "divine. He, who had been formerly ſo aſ- "ſiduous in attending, ſo indefatigable in "affairs; he who was wont to intereſt him- "ſelf in every decree, as a promoter or op- "ponent of the moſt trivial and common, "had not now in three years once entered "the Senate. In an inſtance ſo recent as that "of SILANUS and VETUS, when the fathers "aſſembled with ſuch warmth and rapidity, "to obviate and puniſh two men ſo dangerous, "he only attended to the perſonal affairs of "his clients. What elſe was all this but an "open revolt, a party declared againſt the "adminiſtration? and, if in many particulars "the ſame daring inſolence were once found, "what but a public war could enſue? As of "old (purſued CAPITO) this city, one ever "addicted to diviſions and ſtrife, was wont to "dif-

" courſe of CÆSAR and CATO, as her two
" great chiefs and competitors then; ſo now
" with the ſame factious ſpirit it is diſcourſed
" of thee, NERO, and of THRASEA. Nay, he
" has his profeſſed followers and partizans, or
" rather a body of champions at arms; men
" who in truth are not yet arrived to his bold-
" neſs and contumacy in counſel and ſpeeches,
" but ſtudy an exact conformity to his mien
" and manners, to a behaviour rigid and me-
" lancholy, on purpoſe to upbraid thee for a
" life of gayety and voluptuouſneſs. To this
" man only is thy imperial life of no concern-
" ment; with him alone all thy accompliſh-
" ments paſs unregarded: The events of thy
" reign the moſt proſperous, are by him treated
" with ſcorn; and is it not equally true, that
" with thy misfortunes and ſorrows he is not
" ſatiated? Such is the contumacy of his ſpi-
" rit, that he would not believe POPPÆA to
" be a Deity; and from the ſame ſpirit it pro-
" ceeds that he would not ſwear to the vali-
" dity and obſervance of all the public Acts
" of JULIUS CÆSAR and of AUGUSTUS,
" Princes promoted to deification. It is thus
" he contemns the Worſhip of the Deities,
" thus cancels the Laws of the State. Through
" the Provinces and amongſt the ſeveral Ar-
" mies, the Journals of the Roman people are
" peruſed with the greater curioſity and care,
" that thence may be learnt what tranſactions
" there are which bear not the name and
" ſanction of THRASEA. In ſhort, let us either
" embrace

" embrace theſe inſtitutions and politics, if " they excel our own; or from a turbulent " faction thirſting after innovations, let their " Oracle and Leader be ſnatched away. Pu- " pils and champions formed by the ſame ſect " were the TUBERONES and FAVONII for- " merly, names grating and grievous even to " the ancient Commonwealth. It is only to " ſubvert the Empire, that they uſe the fair " ſound and pretence of Liberty; if their evil " purpoſes ſucceed, Liberty itſelf will be the " next object of their violence. In vain haſt " thou baniſhed CASSIUS from the State, if " afterwards thou doſt ſuffer a party, which " emulate the BRUTUS's to gather ſtrength and " numbers in it. For the reſt, to the Senate " and our management leave the judgment and " fate of THRASEA, nor to that aſſembly do " thou write aught about him." Naturally fu- rious was the ſoul of COSSUTIANUS, and now further ſtimulated by NERO, who to him joined as his aſſiſtant in the accuſation MARCELLUS EPRIUS, an Orator of great acri- mony and vehemence.

THE task of accuſing BAREAS SORANUS was already beſpoke and undertaken by OSTORIUS SABINUS a Roman Knight, who arraigned his conduct in the adminiſtration of Aſia, where he had governed as Proconſul with ſuch ſignal vigilance and juſtice, as thence to incur freſh jealouſy and rancour from the Emperor. As another offence too, he had beſtowed much pains about a popular work, that of opening

the Port of Epheſus, and had beſides left unpuniſhed the Citizens of Pergamos for having reſolutely oppoſed ACRATUS, one of NERO's freedmen, when he would have robbed their City of her pictures and ſtatues. Theſe were his real crimes; thoſe openly imputed were, "his friendſhip with PLAUTUS, and his intrigues to ingratiate himſelf with the Aſiatics, in order to engage them in novel deſigns." A particular juncture was choſen for awarding them their doom, that of the arrival of TIRIDATES to receive the Crown of Armenia; perhaps with deſign that, while the public attention and rumour were engaged in concernments from abroad, domeſtic iniquity and bloodſhed might paſs in quietneſs and obſcurity: Or perhaps NERO meant on this occaſion to diſplay the might and terrors of Imperial power, and the ſlaughter of illuſtrious men, as a feat of Majeſty Royal.

Now while the whole City thronged out to receive the Emperor, and to behold a foreign King, THRASEA had orders to forbear attending the entry, yet was no wiſe caſt down, but compoſed a Memorial to NERO: In it he beſought to know "the allegations againſt "him, and averred that he would vindicate "himſelf, were he but apprized of the crimes, "and had opportunity of clearing his inno"cence." NERO received the Memorial greedily, as he hoped that THRASEA, under the influence of terror, might have written ſomewhat tending to magnify the grandeur and glory of the

the Prince, and to ſtain his own renown; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading withal the countenance, the ſpirit, and free ſpeech of that great man, he ordered the Senate to be ſummoned. THRASEA then conſulted with his friends and kindred, whether he ſhould attempt a defence, or be ſilent. Their advices varied: They who counſelled his repairing to the Senate, ſaid "That they "were aſſured of his magnanimity there, and "nothing would eſcape him, but what would "procure him freſh glory. To the timorous "only and the ſluggard it belonged to hide "the meanneſs of their end in ſhade and ob-"ſcurity. It was fit the people ſhould behold "ſuch a man going forth boldly to encounter "death; it was fit the Senate ſhould hear his "words more than human, pronounced as it "were by the mouth of ſome Deity, a mi-"racle which might poſſibly ſoften even the "heart of NERO. But though he ſhould per-"ſevere in barbarity; yet ſurely in different "eſteem with poſterity, would be the me-"mory of a demiſe ſo worthy and diſtin-"guiſhed, from that of ſuch as choſe ſtupidly "to periſh in paſſive ſilence."

THOSE who gave different counſel, and were for his waiting the iſſue at home, acknowledged the ſame things of the behaviour and merit of THRASEA; "but, if he went, over "him was impending much cruel mockery, "and many bitter contumelies: It behoved "him to avoid having his ears aſſailed with in-

" vectives and the laſhes of reproach. It was " not COSSUTIANUS only, nor EPRIUS that " were prompt to outrages: There were others " beſides, who, perhaps, would aſſault him " with violent hands and blows, to humour " the ſavage brutality of the Emperor, and the " precedent begun by the violent and bad, " might, through dread, be followed even by " the merciful and upright. He ought there- " fore to with-hold from that venerable body, " which he had ſo long adorned, an occaſion " of ſo tranſcendent a wickedneſs and re- " proach, and to leave it to uncertainty and " conjecture, what would have been the ſpirit " and decree of the Senate, upon the ſeeing " of THRASEA defend himſelf before them as " a criminal arraigned. To hope that ever " NERO would be moved to a ſenſe of ſhame " for his crying enormities, was raſh and vain: " Much more to be dreaded was his flying in- " to freſh rage, and his diſcharging the ſame " upon the wife, and houſhold of THRASEA, " and upon every other object of his tender- " neſs and care. Upon the whole; he ought " to meaſure the glory of his latter end by that " of the worthies, by whoſe ſteps and ſtudies " he had ſquared his life, and die in the ſtrength " of his integrity, in the fulneſs of fame." In the conſultation there aſſiſted RUSTICUS ARULENUS, a young man of great ſpirit and fervour. From this temper and a paſſion for fame, he offered to thwart the Decree of Senate, by interpoſing againſt it; for he was Tribune

bune of the people. THRASEA reſtrained his temerity, and cautioned him againſt attempting "methods in themſelves wild, to the per-"ſon accuſed unavailing, and to the perſon "attempting them certainly fatal: For him-"ſelf; he had finiſhed his courſe, and from "the rule of life which for ſo many years he "had without varying obſerved, he muſt not "now depart. Into public offices ARULENUS "had but juſt entered, and upon his own "choice it reſted, how far to engage in tranſ-"actions future: But it much imported him "to weigh well beforehand what path he "ought to purſue, when during ſuch times he "engaged in offices of State." For the reſt; to the reſult of his own meditation he left it, whether it were proper for him to appear in the Senate.

ON the day following, two Cohorts of the Prætorian Guards under arms, environed the Temple of Venus the Prolific; a number of men dreſſed in the city robe, but armed with ſwords no wiſe concealed, had beſet the entrance of the Senate; and in the great Squares, and ſeveral Temples, were every where poſted bands of ſoldiers in array. Through the midſt of this ſcene of terror, and under the awe of objects ſo formidable and even menacing, the Senators paſſed to their aſſembly. There he, who was the Emperor's Quæſtor, recited a ſpeech by him ſent, in which, without deſcending to name particulars, he upbraided the fathers, "That they deſerted the functions of

" the State, and from their example the Ro-
" man Knights too were lapſed into ſloth and
" inaction. Hence what marvel, that Sena-
" tors from the remote Provinces failed to at-
" tend, when many who had arrived at the
" Conſulſhip, and been diſtinguiſhed with Sa-
" cerdotal dignities, choſe to withdraw from
" the public, and rather to devote themſelves
" to ſolitude and pleaſant amuſements in their
" Gardens?"

THIS ſpeech was, as it were, a weapon preſented to the accuſers, and greedily they ſnatched it. COSSUTIANUS having begun the charge, it was by MARCELLUS purſued with greater acrimony and vehemence: " The Common-
" wealth, the Commonwealth, he fiercely
" cried, was here concerned in her tendereſt
" and moſt eſſential part: Such were the fro-
" wardneſs and contumacy of inferiours, that
" thence the gentleneſs and clemency of him,
" who bore rule, were checked and dimi-
" niſhed: Over-mild and acquieſcing had, to
" that day, been the temper of the Fathers,
" who could thus ſuffer ſo many capital cri-
" minals to evade chaſtiſement, could ſuffer
" THRASEA ſo long revolted from public obe-
" dience, ſuffer his ſon-in-law HELVIDIUS
" PRISCUS immerſed in the ſame rebellious
" meaſures, PACONIUS AGRIPPINUS too, one
" who poſſeſſed from his father an hereditary
" rancour towards the Emperors, with CUR-
" TIUS MONTANUS, employed in compoſing
" abominable Poems replete with treaſon.

" For

" For himſelf; he wanted to behold THRA-
" SEA, him who had been Conſul, now filling
" his place in the Senate, him who was a
" Pontiff, aſſiſting at the ſolemnity where pub-
" lic vows were made, him who was a fellow-
" citizen, renewing with the reſt the oath of
" fidelity; unleſs he had already renounced
" every inſtitution of our anceſtors, civil and
" ſacred, openly acted the traitor, and now
" declared himſelf a public enemy. In a
" word; as he was wont to perform the part
" of an active Senator, wont to defend and
" protect ſuch as had lampooned and defamed
" the Prince, let him reſume his place, let him
" offer his ſentiments, what he wiſhed to have
" corrected, and what to have changed: Much
" more eaſily would they bear him carping
" at every particular tranſaction, than con-
" demning by his ſullen ſilence the whole ad-
" miniſtration at once. What was it that
" grieved him? Was it the profound peace
" eſtabliſhed over the whole earth, or the pub-
" lic victories gained by our armies without
" the loſs of men? Far be it from the Senate
" to ſuffer ſuch a man to gratify an ambition
" ſo malignant and depraved, a man who ſor-
" rowed for the felicities of the State, one to
" whom the public Places, the Theatres and
" the Temples, appeared ſo many deſarts, wild
" and ſtrange, and one who was continually
" threatening to relinquiſh his country and
" roam an exile. With him our Decrees here
" paſſed for none, our Magiſtrates for none;

" with him this Metropolis was no longer " Rome. He ought therefore to ceaſe to live " in that City, ſince he had long ſince diveſted " himſelf of all tenderneſs for her, and now " could not bear her ſight."

As in theſe and the like flights of fury, MARCELLUS, even in his perſon horrid and grim, was raging againſt THRASEA, with eyes, voice and viſage all on fire, the Senate no longer manifeſted that uſual air of ſadneſs, which from the frequency of returning dread and peril, was become cuſtomary there: A terror altogether new, more deep and alarming poſſeſſed them, while to their ſight were preſented ſuch a number of ſoldiers, their arms, and ſeparate bands. Their imaginations were alſo filled with the tragical lot of the perſon accuſed, the venerable perſon of THRASEA: And there were who commiſerated that of HELVIDIUS, " who muſt " be doomed to puniſhment, merely for an " alliance with a man void of blame. Againſt " AGRIPPINUS too what elſe was charged but " the tragical fate of his father, a man who, " in truth, had fallen himſelf an innocent " victim to the cruelty of TIBERIUS. Nay, " baniſhment muſt be the doom of MONTA- " NUS, a young man and virtuous, for no Li- " bel by him written, but purely becauſe by " his Writings he had ſignalized his genius " and parts."

IN the mean while entered OSTORIUS SABINUS, the accuſer of SORANUS, and againſt him urged " the friendſhip between him and RU-

" BELLIUS

" BELLIUS PLAUTUS; and that in his Procon-
" ſular adminiſtration of Aſia, he had rather
" conſulted his own popularity and luſtre than
" the public good and utility, by nouriſhing
" animoſity and tumults in the provincial Ci-
" ties:" Stale imputations, and long ſince prepared by the accuſer. But now he offered a recent charge, and in the crimes and peril of the father involved the daughter, " That ſhe
" had with large ſums feed the Magicians:"
A tranſaction reſulting purely from the paſſionate tenderneſs of SERVILIA (for this was the young Lady's name) towards her father, as well as from the unwarineſs of her youth: Yet the whole of her conſultation was " only
" about the conſervation of her houſe, whe-
" ther the wrath of NERO might not come to
" be appeaſed, and whether no tragical judg-
" ment would follow the cognizance of the
" Senate." For this ſhe was brought into the Senate; and before the Tribunal of the two Conſuls, but at oppoſite ſides, ſtood the father and daughter, he full of years, ſhe under twenty, and, ſince the late baniſhment of ANNIUS POLLIO her husband, in a ſtate of widowhood, ſolitary and ſad. Her father's face upon this occaſion ſhe could not bear to behold, ſince ſhe, as it ſeemed, had wofully heightened his danger and ſufferings.

THE accuſer now queſtioned her, " Whe-
" ther ſhe had not turned into money her
" bridal Ornaments, and even ſtript from her
" neck her collar of jewels, in order to de-
" fray

" fray the expence of magic Rites and Sacri-
" fices?" At firſt ſhe caſt herſelf down, and lay along upon the floor, then after a flood of tears, after long ſobbing and ſilence, ſhe roſe, and embracing the Altars, particularly that of Venus; " No miſchievous Divinities, ſaid ſhe, " have I invoked; no incantations have I tried, " nor was aught elſe the burden of my raſh " and diſaſtrous ſupplications, than that thou " CÆSAR, and you Fathers of the Senate, " would to this my dear and indulgent parent, " beſet with terrors and affliction, graciouſly " afford protection and ſafety. With this view " I preſented my jewels, my precious rayment, " and other decorations peculiar to my qua- " lity; as I would have preſented my blood " and life, had my blood and life been re- " quired. To theſe Foretellers, men till now " utterly unknown to me, it belongs to de- " clare whoſe miniſters they are, and what " myſteries they uſe: By myſelf the Prince's " name was not once pronounced otherwiſe " than with thoſe of the Deities. Yet to all " this proceeding of mine, whatever it were, " my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger; " and if it is a crime, I alone am the delin- " quent." Theſe words alarmed SORANUS, and while ſhe was yet uttering them, he interrupted her; he cried out with earneſtneſs, " That his daughter went not with him to " the Province, ſuch too was her tender age, " that ſhe could have no poſſible acquaintance " with PLAUTUS: In the crimes of her hus-
" band

" band ſhe was no wife engaged; her only " blame was that of filial piety over-ſtrained: " Let her cauſe be therefore disjoined from " his; his own fate, whatever it ſhould prove, " he was ready to undergo." This ſaid, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him, but the Conſular Lictors ſtepped between and prevented them.

To the witneſſes next an immediate hearing was given, and however high the barbarous ſpirit of the accuſer had already raiſed common compaſſion for the accuſed, equally high was the indignation excited by the appearing of PUBLIUS EGNATIUS as an evidence; a client and follower of SORANUS, now bought with a price to overwhelm his patron and his friend. As he profeſſed the rigid Sect of the Stoics, his teſtimony was from this circumſtance to derive weight and conſideration; for into ſuch ſolemnity he had framed his countenance and whole exteriour, as to diſplay the ſemblance of a man worthily diſpoſed and virtuouſly employed, but poſſeſſed a ſoul traiterous and enſnaring, replete with avarice and every depraved appetite, all artfully concealed. But now the force of money, more prevalent than art, having laid open ſo much hypocriſy and impoſture, furniſhed an inſtructive example, that as we guard againſt ſuch as are branded for notorious frauds and contaminated with open villainies; ſo with no leſs care ought we to guard againſt men, who, under the fair guiſe of righteous life and acquirements, hide hollow hearts,

hearts, alike prompt to profeſs and to betray friendſhips: On that ſame day, however, was exhibited a different and honourable example by CASSIUS ASCLEPIODOTUS, a man, for his ſignal opulence, of the foremoſt rank in Bithynia; yet without regarding what risk he incurred, the ſame devotion and reverence, with which he had courted SORANUS during the ſunſhine of his fortune, he ceaſed not to pay him, though now ſinking under malignant fate. Hence he was deſpoiled of his whole fortune, and doomed to exile. Such was the lukewarmneſs and indifference of the Deities, alike unmoved by patterns of righteouſneſs and thoſe of iniquity! To THRASEA, to SORANUS and SERVILIA, was granted the choice of their own deaths: HELVIDIUS and PACONIUS were to be baniſhed from Italy: MONTANUS, for the ſake of his father, had his pardon, with an exception annexed, "That he ſhould never "be admitted to any Office in the State." To EPRIUS, one of the accuſers, was decreed a reward of more than thirty thouſand pounds, to COSSUTIANUS another, the like ſum; and to OSTORIUS the third, as many thouſand crowns, beſides another recompence, that of the ornaments of the Quæſtorſhip.

THE Quæſtor attending the Conſul was, now in the cloſe of the day, diſpatched to THRASEA, then in his gardens. He was at that inſtant frequented by a numerous aſſembly of men and women, illuſtrious for their quality, but was chiefly attentive to DEMETRIUS, a pro-

a profeſſor of the Cynic School. With this Philoſopher, as far as could be conjectured by the intenſeneſs of his looks, and by certain words, which, when they happened to raiſe their voices, were over-heard, he was reaſoning and inquiring about the nature of the Soul, and concerning its departure from the body, till he was interrupted by the arrival of DOMITIUS CÆCILIANUS. This was one of his moſt intimate friends, and related to him what the Senate had decreed. As upon theſe ſad tydings the company melted into plaints and tears, THRASEA preſſed them, "forthwith to "retire, nor to tempt danger by involving "themſelves in the fate of a perſon con-"demned:" And as ARRIA his wife was earneſt to emulate the example of her mother, and to ſhare with her husband in his laſt lot, he beſought her, "to preſerve her life, nor "deprive their common daughter of her only "remaining refuge."

HE then went forth into a gallery, and there the Quæſtor from the Senate found him, filled rather with chearfulneſs than with any oppoſite paſſion, ſince he had learnt that againſt HELVIDIUS his ſon-in-law, nothing worſe was decreed than his baniſhment from Italy. Having now had delivered to him in form the ſentence of the Senate, he took HELVIDIUS and DEMETRIUS into his chamber, and extending both his arms, the veins of both were cut: As the blood ſprang, he called the Quæſtor nigher, and with it beſprinkling the floor; "Let

" Let us, ſaid he to him, make this libation " to Jove the Deliverer. Look here, young " man, and conſider; may Heaven too grant " there be no Omen in my words: But into " ſuch times thy birth and age have thrown " thee, as may juſtly require thee to fortify " thy ſpirit by examples of magnanimity." After this, as from the ſlow approaches of death, grievous torments were enſuing, he turned towards DEMETRIUS****

The reſt of this Annal is loſt.

END of VOL. II.