

THE HISTORY OF ETRURIA



VOLUME 2

BERSERKER

BOOKS



THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

Third Edition,
TOUR TO THE SEPULCHRES OF ETRURIA
IN 1839.

By MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.

Contents:—Introduction—Veii—Mont Nerone—Tarquinia—Vulci
Tuscania—Cære or Agylla—Castel d'Asso—Clusium—Conclusion.

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THE HISTORY OF ETRURIA

PART I.—TARCHUN AND HIS TIMES.

From the Foundation of Tarquinia to the Foundation of Rome.

By MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.

THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART II.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF ROME TO THE GENERAL
PEACE OF ANNO TARQUINIÆ, 839. B. C. 348.

BY
MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.

PREFACE.

IN this Volume we have so often referred to Niebuhr's "*Römische Geschichte*," that we wished to make that work as accessible as possible to an English reader. We found this difficulty,—that whereas our quotations were made from the original, the German copies and English translation nowhere can be made to agree for reference, excepting in the notes, which in both are numbered alike. We have therefore adopted the somewhat clumsy expedient of quoting the notes only, in order to refer our readers to that part of the work, whether note or text, from which our knowledge was gleaned.

For the quotations from Dionysius and Diodorus we would refer to their index, as in the first volume.

A very eminent scholar has desired that the authors referred to in p. 41, vol. i., of this work, as having related that Northern Africa was settled by the Phœnicians, may be named. They are chiefly collected from the *Universal Ant. His.*, vols. xvii. p. 220, &c., and vol. xviii, p. 141, &c., and they are Aristotle de *Mirabilia*, Strabo iii., Nonnius in *Dionys.* xiii., Sallust in *Jugurtha*, Vell. Patere, l. c. 2, Florus iii., Præcop de *Bell. Vand.*, Eusebius *Chron.*, August in *Epist. ad Rom.*, besides the modern authorities of Huet, Bachart, and Heeren. The author who asserts that the tribes of "Ait Amor" and "Ait Het." are Phœnicians, is Gray Jackson, once British Consul amongst them, in his *History of the Morocco and Barbary States*; and he could judge as to their language not being Arabic, and as to the prefixes of O and Mac not being mispronunciations of that tongue, because he was himself a distinguished Arabic scholar.

Von Hammer's opinion is quoted from a private letter written by him to Mr. Spencer Smith, of which the writer of this work was permitted to make use, as well as of Mr. Jackson's letters to the same gentleman, and to his talented son, the Reverend Herbert Smith. The information respect-

ing the Ogham alphabet is taken from “ the Round Towers of Ireland,” by O'Brien ; and the “ Darius” referred to, as the last king under whom the arrow-headed characters were used, should have been written “ Darius Codomanus.”

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ERRATA.

- Page 15, line 20, *for* ports *read* port.
15, line 25, *for* ruling *read* ruled.
39, line 24, *for* Vo- *read* Vol-
41, line 1, *for* in *read* of.
61, line 7, *for* offenders *read* defenders.
62, line 5, *for* to *read* and.
64, line 8 from bottom, *for* 226, *read* 262.
78, line 21, *for* them *read* the Janiculse.
120, line 12, *for* Eretun *read* Eretum.
137, line 3 from bottom, *for* ut *read* et.
138, line 3, *for* inertus *read* incertus.
166, line 13, "throne" should be transposed to line 11.
170, line 3 from bottom, *for* households *read* household.
189, line 2 from bottom, *for* in the *read* their.
219, line 9, *for* Julian *read* Junian.
227, bottom line, *for* Regium *read* Regum.
272, line 3 from bottom, *for* seven *read* nine.
318, line 5 from bottom, *for* dare *read* dared.
320, line 16, *for* Lucumonai *read* Lucumonies.
337, in dates at head of the chapter, *for* 399 *read* 393.
353 line 1, *for* been *read* done.

dignant—Romans winter before Veii—Troops complain of cold—Appius Claudius insists on their remaining—Tuscans raise the siege—Assisted by Faliscia and Capena—Defeat Romans—Siege renewed—Severe winter—Capenians repulsed—
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HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD OF ROMULUS.

Turrhenia founds Alba Longa—Colonies and Townships of Alba Longa—Alba Longa founds Rome—Reign and Institutions of Romulus.

UNTIL the third year of the sixth Olympiad, according to Varro, that is, seven hundred and fifty-three years before the christian æra, and four hundred and thirty-four years after the dedication of the great temple at Tarquinia, Etruria was the only great, civilised, and commercial power in Europe. But upon her borders, was another strong and rising state, warlike as herself, though not commercial, and treading fast in the footsteps of her civilization. This was Latium, consisting of several divisions, the chief of which was Alba, having under it thirty

townships, and being acknowledged as the mightiest and perhaps the most sacred of the thirty states which then, and indeed at all times, formed the great Latin confederation.

The Latins were at peace with the Tuscans, and yet formed an armed neutrality against them.

During this Olympiad, Niebuhr* informs us that "there were three separate co-existing dynasties; the Priscan, or original, the Alban, and the Tyrrhene: each dynasty consisting nominally of thirty towns or governments;" because thirty, the three and ten of the Rasena, was the sacred and fundamental number of the Latins. Each of these governing towns was like those of Canaan,† mentioned in the scriptures, "a royal city," being governed by kings, and ruling supreme over dependent towns. These confederations, though now co-existent, had sprung up separately. Three ages prior to this time, there existed at first only one dynasty or league, that of the Priscan, or ancient Latins, which was formed against the Tuscans, who were then rapidly advancing in their career of conquest. It consisted of Tibur, Preneste, Fucine-Alba, and of all the greatest and oldest of the Latine cities. It may be, that Tibur, Gabii, and Preneste, which are called the colonies of Alba, were the colonies of Fucine-Alba. Or it may be that although great cities

* Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 570, &c. &c.

† In Joshua ix. 17, and x. 2, Gibeon, though a republic, is said to have been like a royal city, and we are told that Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kirjath-Jearim were subject to it.

before the foundation of Alba Longa, they yet came to be called her colonies, because the Turseni or Rasena, when dominant over Latium, settled colonies in them; for we have already shown that they all received the Tuscan religion, and that the buildings and ground plans of these cities were modelled after the Tuscan fashion.

Fucine, or Priscan Alba, was situated on the lake Fucinus, and was the capital of the Marsi. But they and their country, when conquered by the Turrheni, were forced to accept of such terms of peace and alliance, as they thought proper to impose. None of the cities were destroyed; nor, as far as we can discern, were they even rendered tributary; but their alliance with the Rasena was not voluntary, and a temple erected by both nations, and common to the sacrifices of both, was made the inviolable bond of union between them. The Turseni, as Niebuhr believes, had brought their own Penates to Alba Longa, where history tells us that the men of Veii had a settlement, and here they insisted upon the thirty original, or Priscan Latine cities joining with them to build another temple to the great common god of Italy. This god, the great god of the Latins, we are told, was Dianus, with his queen Diana, which is the Latin form of Etruscan Tiana or Tina, and Talna, Jupiter and Juno. This originated the second Latine league, when the ancient Latins and their Tuscan allies worshipped in common, each receiving their portion of the sacrifice, which, however, the Alban Dictator

offered up. And this league continued until the destruction of Alba, if not longer.

The Latins who were forcibly settled in Alba by the Turseni, were called Tursene Latins, in the same manner as the Hindoos of Tanjore and Allahabad may be called British Hindoos, because subject to the British power. And this new element in Latium produced the third, or Alban league, consisting of the Albans, (who increased and flourished so as to have thirty counties dependent upon them, called the thirty townships of Alba ;) and also of the thirty original towns of the Latins. These allied themselves with the Albans, and agreed to meet regularly at Lavinium, the old cradle of Alba, and there to offer up yearly sacrifices in acknowledgment of one common faith and country. The Dictator of each great city, probably took, in turn, the office of high-priest, in behalf of the common league.

This union of sixty towns in sacrifice, at Lavinium, is considered by Niebuhr as quite established ; and in proof of it, he mentions an ancient coin which represents the Genius or founder of Lavinium on one side, and a wheel with six spokes on the other, each spoke representing ten towns. The Sylvii who were the chief family in Alba Longa, and who were in general, elevated to the throne there, were possibly under Tyrsene protection, in the same manner as the Hindoo Rajahs are now under British protection in India. And however light the yoke, they no doubt felt it to the full as

galling, and longed, when they had an opportunity, to throw it off. The unbroken union with the Umbri shows us that the Tyrseni, like the British, benefited, and did not injure those with whom they connected themselves by treaty. At the same time, the troubles and commotions of Alba teach us that no benefit will ever reconcile an unbroken and high-spirited nation to any other rule than that of its own blood.

About nineteen years previous to the sixth Olympiad, *i. e.*, about seven hundred and seventy-two years before Christ, or somewhat earlier, there was civil war in Alba Longa, and Tarchetius or Amulius dispossessed the Sylvian Numitor of the sovereign power. We have everything short of demonstration to assure us that the government of Alba was precisely on the plan of the Etruscan cities, with a Senate and patrician *Populus*, and with a non-governing *Plebs*, who were the free and fighting portion of the community, and all of them landholders. Niebuhr calls the thirty townships of Alba her *Plebs*. All this constitution was set at nought by Tarchetius, who, Plutarch* tells us, slew the sons of Numitor, and became the father of twins by his daughter, probably his captive in war. She either then was a Vestal virgin, under thirty, or else she saved her life by becoming one; for the legend says that Vesta protected her. We know that the greater part of this story, and of the whole

* In Rom.

life and times of Romulus, is merely a national romance, a sort of fairy tale. But however impossible and fictitious, we have nothing more truthful to offer in its stead; and it is vain now for human ingenuity to torture itself in order to select and restore to their proper places, the great historical truth contained in the allegory of Romulus and Remus. Its construction reminds us of Sir Walter Scott's most ingenious tale, in *Ivanhoe*, of the Pope authorising the Benjamites to seize their wives from the other tribes of Israel. A still more striking impersonification of tradition, is the story of the Virgin Mary, now current amongst the peasantry of Ireland; viz., that she was a young girl *going to mass*, when the angel Gabriel met her, and told her that she should be the mother of the beautiful child Jesus.

Who, if the scriptures had perished, like the ancient annals of Italy, could now distinguish and arrange the confused truths contained in such a legend as this, and could separate them from the strangely conglomerated falsehoods with which they are interwoven? Even such is tradition; and upon such materials, chiefly, we have now to work. Tradition preserves the colossal features and forms of history, but it puts on them a mask, which conceals their right proportions, and often clothes them in a garb which is not their own.

The history of Etruria, and of the Rasenan dominion in Italy, as we have already observed, we now only know through the history of Rome; with

a very few exceptions, chiefly incidental remarks in Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle. Therefore we shall divide this period by the Roman reigns, as the most convenient for its elucidation, and the easiest for the memory of our readers. The next two hundred and forty-four years, we shall distinguish as "Etruria in the time of Romulus, of Numa, of Tullus Hostilius, of Ancus Marcius, of Tarquinius Priscus, of Servius or Mastarna, and of Tarquinius Ultimus or Superbus."

PERIOD OF ROMULUS.* †

B. C. 771. ANNO TARQUINIÆ, 416.‡

According to the old legend, Numitor, the disinherited sovereign, whose children had been slain and outraged, continued, nevertheless, to live peacefully and quietly in Alba, giving no jealousy to the Tyrrhene tyrant, but keeping his riches and dignity unmolested, and exercising such influence as a weak character may still possess, when suffering under great misfortune, and not stained by vice or arrogance. Plutarch tells us, that Numitor brought up the two boys, children of his daughter, and gave them a royal education, having them instructed in all the knowledge fit for princely Lucumoes, at the

* Rome was founded after the founding of Tarquinia 434 years; before Christ, 753 years.

† Authorities for this history,—Livy, i. ; Dion. Halic. ii. and v. ; Plut. in Rom. ; Ancient History, xvi. ; Müller Etrüsker.

‡ These are the dates of the birth of Romulus.

college of Gabii, under the Presidentship of Tancius, the Tuscan. It is even said, that the Usurper sent to the oracle of Carmenta in Tuscany, perhaps in Cære, in order to inquire the destiny of the young princes, and on being told that they would rise to empire, he resolved on their destruction. It seems that Mars, or Mavors, whose temple was outside the walls, was the patron divinity of their house; for they are called his children, and are said to have been nourished by his wolf, provided for by his bird, and trained from the cradle, to attend the feasts of the *Laurentalia*, in which his priests sacrificed. At the age of eighteen, they assisted Numitor to regain his rightful power, replaced the *Sylvii* in their original position amongst the *Latine* Princes, destroyed the abused authority of *Tyrrhenia*, by slaying *Tarchetius*, and then, as the heads of a fresh colony, left *Alba* for ever.

As they were born amidst the horrors of war, and quitted their native town with an Augur, and the following of a thousand families,* well provided and armed, and as they went forth, at the age of eighteen, with all the honours of peace, to seek a fresh settlement; instead of remaining to uphold and consolidate the power which they are said to have re-established; we suspect that their birth took place in one of the Sacred Springs of *Latium*, and that they were then vowed to be the founders of a holy city.

* *Plut. in Rom.*

They journeyed about twenty miles to the north-west, when they came to a spot upon the Tiber, then the Rumon river, where seven small hills stood near each other. They were named the Palatine, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, Tarpeian or Saturnian, (afterwards the Capitol) Aventine, and Lucerum, afterwards the Cœlian. Of these, the Lucerum or Cœlian belonged to the Tuscans,* or Luceres of Ardea. They were under a Lucumo, and belonged to one of the Etruscan Lucumonies. Niebuhr, in his first edition of the Roman history, thought they belonged to Cære. Probably they were under the same rule as the Janiculum and the Vatican, two small hills on the opposite side of the Rumon river, and both of them Tuscan,† subject either to Cære or to Veii. The Palatine and Esquiline were Alban, the Tarpeian and the Quirinal, Sabine. The Aventine seems to have been common to the three nations, whose dominions here met, and it was a sort of asylum and site of their common shrines. There Tatius, the Sabine king, was buried; and there, in later times, Tiana of the Latins, and Juno or Kupra of the Tuscans, stood side by side. The Viminal belonged to the Sabines, and was the one least inhabited, and of the least consequence.

We cannot help observing, that in reality, each of the three nations had three hills in this locality. The Tuscans possessed Janiculum, the Vatican, and Lucerum; the Sabines possessed the Tarpeian, the Qui-

* Festus, 5; Dion. Halic.

† Müller.

rinal, and the Viminal; and the Albans, or Latin nation, the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Aventine. However, only seven of these lay within the Rumon river; and only three of them, i. e. the Palatine, the Esquiline and the Lucerum, seem to have united in sacrificing, as brothers, at each other's shrines. None of the hills were uninhabited; all contained shrines or temples, and some resident noble families; and Quirium, Tarpeia, and Lucerum were regularly garri-soned and fortified.*

When the young Alban colony reached these hills, each was anxious for the blessing of giving a home to the sacred band; and those families who had kindred among the wanderers, would naturally think they had some claim to a preference, whilst the honour was undecided.

Livy (i. 7) tells us, that the Pinarii,† who were Sabines of the Gens Valerius, and the Potitii, who were Sabines of the Gens Volesus,‡ were established as priests of the Tuscan Hercules upon the Palatine, and when they opened their arms to Romulus, he thanked them by sacrificing at their shrine. Romulus and Remus were accompanied by families from Bovilla, Medulia, Pallantium of Alba, Saturnia of Alba, and Remuria, a small town about four miles § from the Aventine. Romulus seems to have headed one division, and Remus another; and when the cordial welcome of the seven hills enabled

* Niebuhr i. n. 1338.

‡ Dionysius Halicar. ii.

† Plutarch in Pop.

§ Dion. Hal. i.

them to choose a home, Romulus wished to fix his colony upon the Palatine, the shrine of Hercules, and Remus upon the Aventine. Each brother had an Augur with him, and they decided to refer their dispute to augury, in order that the new colony* might be founded according to the divine will, so as to ensure its future prosperity. Remus's Augur first saw six vultures on the Aventine, promising, as the Tuscans interpreted the sign, six centuries of glory to that hill.† But before the matter was quite concluded, Romulus's Augur saw twelve vultures on the Palatine, promising to that city twelve centuries of rule and dominion. The first augury was, of course, nullified by the second and stronger augury; and the Roman city was decreed to rise with Tuscan pomp and circumstance upon the Palatine. This hill was given up in perpetuity to Romulus; and it cannot but surprise us, that in marking out his boundaries, and raising his first walls, he should have chosen for his instruments, not the Alban Augurs, nor any of the Latine priests, but the far-famed land measurers and Augurs of the Tuscans. The nobles of Lucerum came and drove his furrow, and consecrated his Pomærium, and marked him out an agger, which gave two acres of arable land, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, to each head of his thousand families. They followed the rules of their own people, and joined the new tribe and its agger to their own agger, and to the nominal thou-

* Plut.

† Varro.

sand families of which their border colony consisted.

All this Plutarch tells us they did, according to the *written* rules of their own people, and the laws of Tages, which, henceforth, in great part, became the sacred laws of the sacred Tyrrhene city of Rome. The day chosen for the important ceremony, (and no Augur then foresaw how important,) was the day of Pales, the Etruscan Genius of husbandmen. The shepherds of the Palatine and Esquiline kindled their fires at night, and danced in his honour; and the Italian artists kindle their fires, and dance in memory of this day still. Rome was founded upon the 21st of April, 753 B. C., and her founder's feasts took the name of the Tuscan shepherd's, patron saint, and were called Palilia. Varro* tells us that many cities in Latium were founded with these rites, and those so founded were probably called cities of the Tyrrhene Latins.

The Alban Latins and Tursene Luceres were now in religion and government one people; and so far from fearing this young, colonizing band, the Tuscans believed that they could do nothing more acceptable to heaven, than adopt them as their brethren, and crown their prince, as one early chosen and blessed, to govern themselves and the sacred colony.

The legend says, that whilst the Pomœrium wall was building, Remus, in uncontrollable anger, leapt

* Lib. iv.

over it, saying, contemptuously, "Thus will the enemy leap over this wall of Rome." The Tuscans were helping on the work, and Celer their commander knocked him down, and killed him, saying, "Thus will the citizens repulse the enemy." From him, Romulus named all the Knights Celeres. Niebuhr, however, thinks that Celeres was the Tuscan name for Patricians in general. Remus was buried in the Aventine, which, from him, was afterwards often called Remuria.

Before the arrival of Romulus, a sacred league or brotherhood had existed between the inhabitants of the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Lucerum, (afterwards the Cælian,) who had divided themselves into guilds or fraternities, very possibly in memory of the seven first families who had settled there, and of their first union by intermarriage. These seven clans called themselves the *Septem Montani*,* and down to the time of the Roman Emperors, for eight hundred years, continued to hold their yearly feasts and sacrifices in their seven temples, where none but *Montani* might assist. These clans adopted Romulus and made him and his followers *Montani* also. Hence seven became the sacred number of the Romans, and never could be changed, however multiplied, in the lapse of ages, the hills and regions and fraternities of Rome might become.

Romulus was now sole prince, and head of the new colony; and Etruria did not know, and in her

* Varro, iv. 5; Niebr. i. n. 930.

might and affluence, probably did not care, whether she had gained a town to her already extensive empire, or yielded a border fort to piety.* We have already seen, that at this period, she spread herself from the Alps to Cape Garganus, in one direction, and from sea to sea in the other, in wide and flourishing dominion, with rich and mighty towns, all strongly fortified, abundantly peopled, and increasing in commercial importance and domestic skill. She had an influence which was felt in Italy from one extremity to the other. With abundant colonies, numerous outports, and, as far as appears, a united, though not strongly cemented policy. Even then, Etruria was three Etrurias, and not one Etruria; besides the Turrhene settlements, which were so loose in their dependance, as almost to constitute a fourth Etruria.

The profound Niebuhr says, that the Turrheni, or Turseni, and the Etruscans were a different people, and are only confounded together by mistake, being in reality no more one and the same, than the present English and the ancient Britons. We bow to his decision, and acknowledge it to be to a certain extent, true. The Etruscans Proper were no more the whole inhabitants of Turrhenia, than the Britons Proper are, or ever were, the whole inhabitants of England; but as no man mistakes what we mean, when we speak of "The British dominions" in Asia, Africa, or

* A site for the colony of the Sacred Spring, having been yielded by the Tuscan Luceres, the original inhabitants.

America, so need no man stagger at the Etruscan or Turrhene dominion, in Italy or elsewhere. We perplex no understanding, when we say that the Duke of Wellington gained the battle of Waterloo, though in truth the Duke may have never drawn his sword. It is in the self-same terms, that we speak of the conquests of Tarchun, and that we understand, under his name, all who were subject to his sway. The might and power of Turrhenia were beyond all question Tuscan; and when we name the Tyrrhenians, we mean all the inhabitants, of whatever blood, who dwelt as natives within Tyrrhenia, or who, as the children of Tages, colonized from her borders.

The "Turrhene Latins" were the Latins under the power of the Tyrrheni; and at this period, when Alba had revolted from them, and secured her independence by treaty, their empire still extended* in an uninterrupted line from Ardea (colonized by Mezentius) to Terracina, and to the ports of Antium. Livy (i. 2) says, that Etruria possessed such consequence before the dominion of Rome, that she filled with her fame, the length and breadth of Italy, reckoning from the Alps to the straits of Sicily, and ruling not only by land, but by sea." Indeed, at this period, her commerce was very flourishing with Carthage, to which, for some centuries, she was alternate friend and foe:† and she visited, for purposes of trade, Naxos, Megara, and also several ports

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. n. 28.

† Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 403.

in Sicily, without allowing the vessels of these cities, in return,* to navigate the Tyrrhene sea.

Müller believes that Tarquinia and Cære traded with Corinth a few years before the foundation of Rome, and that they sent ships to Cuma, with which they had formed a strict alliance; besides other treaties which they made with the few Greek towns then established in Opica, or the southern part of Italy.

Whilst Alba was a Rasenan city, being, according to tradition, subject to Veii, and ruled by Deheberis, and others of her kings, several of her colonies bore the strongest marks of union with Etruria, not only in their institutions, their temples, and their collèges, but even in their names. Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 773, &c. tells us, that *Castrum Inui*, *Fidene*, *Collatia*, *Cora*, *Nomentum*, *Gabii*, and *Pometia*, were colonies of Alba. Now *Castrum Inui* was dedicated to the Etruscan god of that name, the same as *Pan*, in whose honour the Roman feasts of the *Lupercalia* were celebrated. *Fidene* remained true to Veii after the fall of *Tarchetius*, or *Amulius*. *Collatia*, in the reign of *Tarquin*, opened her arms to receive an Etruscan garrison; and *Cora* derived her origin from *Cortona*. *Nomentum*, *Gabii*, and *Pometia*, boasting the same Alban origin, were also half *Tursene*, according to the old legend; and each of these towns would rejoice in the new half *Tursene* and sacred colony of *Romulus* from Alba, established upon the *Rumon*, and would give it the right hand

* Müller's *Etrüsker*.

of fellowship and protection, together with their cordial support.

Romulus, according to his own notions, and those of his time, could not govern legally without a Senate, and one which must be chosen entirely from the sacred colonizers. Accordingly, a hundred persons were elected out of his nominal thousand families, and stood as his constitutional advisers, without whose approbation nothing could pass into law. They were elected by the whole body of Patricians, Tuscan and Roman; and this body first decided in all cases, upon the matter and expediency of the laws proposed, and then they were laid for final decision before the Senators. In later times, no man could be a Senator under the age of forty-five; but now the Tuscan Augurs must have given a dispensation and blessing to the first body of Senators, and permitted them to sit at the age of twenty-five; otherwise, no Alban cotemporary of Romulus in the colony of the Sacred Spring, could have been eligible to senatorial office, until within ten years of the death of their prince; as, having been eighteen years old when he led his colony, and having reigned thirty-seven, he must have died when he attained the age of fifty-five.

The seven Montani, Romulus now divided into thirty *Curiae*, or parish divisions; either from the Tuscan sacred numbers of three and ten, or else because thirty was the fundamental number of all the Latins. Rome had now three gates, the *Porta Rumonalia*, towards the Rumon river, or Tiber, the *Porta Carmentalia*, facing the Janiculum, in

honour of the Tuscan goddess, Carmenta, who had been consulted on the birth of Romulus,* and the Porta Mucionis. She had also many shrines, amongst which those of Jupiter, (the Tianus of Latium, and Tina of Tuscany,) were prominent. And the division of her people was perfected into tens, by electing a hundred for the Senate, and a thousand to represent each tribe, that of the R.M.N.S., and that of the Luceres, who constituted the patricians, and governing powers of the Curiae; and again by appointing Decuriones, priestly officers, and judges, after the manner of the Rasena, who were constituted, with their own temples and sacrifices, to watch over and superintend every ten households.

Rome is expressly said to have taken these divisions from the Tuscans, and she may either have incorporated with herself, the existing divisions of the Luceres, or she may have followed the previous forms of Alba, which were established there by the Rasena.

Romulus, the young and brave prince of the united Luceres and Roman Albans, had the right of intermarriage and commerce, and was on a footing of friendly equality with all the Alban and Turrhene Latin cities. His treaty with Alba and her dependencies is referred to by the Feciales in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, and is proved by his sacrificing in the temples of Lavinia.

But opposite to him, rose the Sabine town of Quirium, now the Quirinal, and the Sabine fort of

* Müller on Templum.

Tarpeia; and neither they nor their kindred in Sabina would enter into any such bond of brotherhood or treaty of equality with him. All that he could obtain from the Prince of Quirium was, that the asylum on the rock Tarpeia should be open to his people and the Luceres, as well as to the other allies of the Sabines; and that the slaves and debtors who took shelter there, should not only be considered safe, but should be eligible to become soldiers and citizens of the new settlement.

The new colony and the old nation were so close together, that the prohibitions which separated them became a constant source of irritation and annoyance. And as all men wish for the thing which is denied them, and wish for it with irresistible vehemence, when the obstacle is without reason, it is very likely that the prince of the Senate, or some other distinguished Roman, fell violently in love with the Sabine lady, Hersilia, and insisted upon being allowed to marry her. Romulus had no way of satisfying his discontented follower, except by inviting her and as many other Sabine matrons and virgins as would attend her, to a grand feast, with games, which he proposed to celebrate in honour of the Tuscan god Neptune, from whose altar he removed the earth which covered it, and to which he gave the name of Consus. Possibly the meaning of the name is, that this divinity was a "God Cousens," a race of deities peculiar to Etruria.*

* Dion. Halicar. says that this took place in the fourth year

The Sabines came to the games, and Hersilia, with many of her virgin companions, was carried off by the Romans. Some authors give the number at thirty only, and others at more than five hundred; but they were all patrician women, and were made the wives of none but patrician men. When the Sabines, in great indignation, demanded the restitution of their women, and satisfaction for the outrage committed, and were refused it, war* was, of course, the consequence. If before this time, the Luceres had been prohibited from intermarrying with the Sabines, we can understand how it was, that they so warmly espoused the cause of Romulus, and how the Lucumo of the Cælian, and the King of Ardea, and the forces of the Janiculum, the Vatican, and Veii, perhaps also those of Cære and Fidene, should so heartily have made the cause their own. Tatius was created Dictator of the Sabines, and immediately Quirium, Tarpeia, Crustumerium, Cenina, and Antemnæ, all small towns, either close to Rome, or within twelve miles of her, whose women had been seized, girded themselves to take vengeance upon the perfidious colony and her allies. The legend says, that Romulus met his enemies with 25,000 foot besides horse, which supposes a very great accession of allied power. A war of importance is of Rome. And Livy says that it took place in fourteen months after Rome was finished.

* Plutarch says that Romulus made war on the Sabines in order to gain their alliance.

likewise intimated, when so many of the Sabine towns were engaged; and they were forced to act under a Dictator, who ruled the kings of the petty states. Aeron, king of Cenina, was killed by Romulus, and his spoils were hung up at the shrine of Jupiter, being the first *Spolia Opima* of Rome, and being followed by the first triumph.

Notwithstanding the powerful aid of her allies, the injured Sabines were victorious over Rome, and it is said that the women who had been honourably received into all the thirty *Curiae*, mediated between the contending parties, and caused them to conclude a peace. The advantages and concessions of this peace were so mutual, that we cannot doubt its having been the work of a third party, probably the allied Tyrseni, and not either of the people so immediately aggrieved. The Sabines yielded the points in dispute, and granted the right of commerce and intermarriage, which they had so obstinately and unreasonably opposed. But it was upon condition that the sacred colony should not only in return, unite with the Sabines, as it had done with the Luceres, and make them an integral and essential part of its government: but also that the kings should rule together, each having his separate Senate, and that upon the death of either, the Senates should unite under the survivor, who was to be king of both, and his successors on the throne, should be chosen alternately by the one nation out the other. This was faithfully carried out in the

successive elections of Numa the Sabine, Tullus the Latin, and Ancus Marcius the Sabine again, who followed each other regularly, at least according to the legend. There may have been other kings besides them, during the years assigned; but this tradition is sufficient to assure us that the treaty of Tatius was kept.

The two people were henceforward, to be called "Romani et Quirites," to show that the Quirites were equal with the Romans; a confession extorted at the point of the spear; and it implied that these Quirites would not merge into any colony of another people, however sacred it might be. The laws concerning land and property were to be Quiritary, and not Tuscan. In short, the Quirites had to change their habits in nothing, whilst the Romans were to adopt the Sabine gods, their laws, and their customs, wherever they did not harmonize with the previous forms of the Albans or the Luceres. The three elements were to be mixed as intimately as possible. The religion, dress, calendar, and general forms of life were Etruscan. The Etruscan Nones were the market-days, and measure of weeks; and the Ides and Calends divided their months. The Etruscan name of the sacred colony prevailed to stand first in public documents, but the dominant civil power was intended to be Quiritary or Sabine.

At the same time, the three tribes were now united, and named; 1st, the Ramnes—or as we pro-

nounce it, Romans. 2nd, the Tities, or Sabines: and 3rd, the Luceres,* or outpost of a Lucumony either Cære or Ardea. All these names, Varro (iv.) tells us are Tuscan; and so are almost all the names of early Rome; and the higher we ascend in antiquity, the more prevalent we shall find the Tuscan form of names at any particular period, in the history of Italy. Even "Latinus" itself is a Tuscan name, and derived from the family of the Latini, whose sepulchres are at Arrezzo.†

When the Tities were received into all the thirty Curiae, which are said to have been named from their women, the Titian Agger was added to that of the Romans and Luceres, and all the portions were marked out according to the Tuscan rules. The land of the united patrician body extended as far as the Fossa Cluilia, six miles beyond the Roman gates, and no farther. Festus (v.) expressly says, that during the period of Romulus, Rome extended in no direction, excepting towards the sea, embracing a tract of land to the east of the Tiber, and opposite to the Rasena, which was very difficult to manage or defend, and, probably on that account, secured, alike by Albans, Latins and Tyrrhene Latins, to this new sacred colony. It formed a triangle between Ostia, (then belonging to Veii) and Alsium, Rome being the apex.

* Festus says that Lucer was the Tuscan king of Ardea. Dionysius Hal. and Varro, say that the Luceres were so named, because their ruler was a Lucumo.

† See Müller's Etrüsker Hypogeum.

The Sabine women, though they had been united by force to the Romans and Luceres, without any of the auguries and ceremonies indispensable to patrician marriages, were to have all the honours shown them, which were paid to the highest of the Etruscans; and, like the children of the Lucumoes, all the boys of these marriages were to wear the Bulla and the Prætexta, in token of their acknowledged rank. The towns of Crustumerium, Cenina, and Antemnæ, became Isopolite with Rome,* and had, equally with Quirium, the rights of commerce and intermarriage; but they were allowed no share in the government, and were not elected into any of the Curiae. Crustumerium,† in the year of Rome 200, was reckoned amongst the Tuscan towns, like Fidene, the Turrhene element having become predominant in her. The kalendar of Rome was, of course, that of the Rasena, *i. e.*, a sacred year of ten months, six of which years made a Lustrum. But as she is said to have adopted the Sabine kalendar, which, in its divisions, was the same with the Rasenan, but not in the names which distinguished each division, we presume that Romulus altered some of the Etruscan names, in order to please the Sabines. The divisions of the Roman month into Kalends, Nones, and Ides, which continued down to a late period of the christian æra, was altogether Etruscan.

Livy tell us that Romulus acknowledged the Sabine gods. They may have been previously wor-

* Livy.

† Müller.

shipped by the Tuscans, on the Lucerum ; or the Luceres may, and probably did, bend at all their shrines on the Tarpeian. But they had not yet been adopted by the sacred band of Alba. Romulus bound himself and his people to worship yearly from that time, at the holy temples of Saturnia and Tarpeia. Tatius built there twelve altars, apparently out of compliment to the three tribes. The names of the gods who were there worshipped, were Vidijs, Jupiter, Saturn, Vulcan or Sethlans, Summanus, Larunda or Vesta, Terminus, and Vertumnus ; which were all Etruscan. Quirinus or Mars of the Sabine nation ; Ops, Flora, Sol, Luna, Diana, and Lucina of the Latins and Sabines together. As these names are fifteen, while the altars were only twelve,* Müller concludes that some were dedicated to two or three deities. The road from the Palatine to these temples along the valley, which separates the hills, was called the "Via Sacra," because the kings met upon it, and there marched to sacrifice together. The kings also appointed two Vestals, as priestesses of the Roman and Sabine women, whose names were Gegania and Verania.† Romulus also instituted feasts of the Matronalia, in honour of the Sabine women, because he had appointed the Carmentalia for the women of the Ramnes and Luceres. He founded on the Palatine, a college of the Salii, or Tuscan dancing priests of Mars, and he dedicated the Campus Martius without the walls to Mars,‡

* Müller's *Etrusker*, iii. 8. † Plutarch in Numa.

‡ Dionys. Hal. iv.

the god, who as Quirinus, Mavors or Marte, was common to all the three tribes.

The kings also built two temples in common. One to Vulcan, or the Etruscan Sethlans, the god of protection from fire and other evils; and the other to the double-headed Janus, the demi-god of the Rasena, who now represented their union. Of this temple, which stood on the limits between the Palatine and the Saturnian, and which was revered alike by all the three tribes, it is said that its gates were always open in time of war, that the one people might pass through it to help the other; but that they were shut * in time of peace, in order that they might not pass through to quarrel with each other—a new form of the old allegory, that “Idleness is the mother of mischief.” It is further said,† that after the reign of Numa, to whom many attribute this law, it was only shut twice during eight centuries—one time, at the end of the first Punic war, under the consulship of Titus Manlius; and the second time, after the battle of Actium, under Cæsar Augustus. During these centuries, the Romans had many long periods of profound tranquillity, not to mention twenty years of peace, under Servius Tullius. It required, therefore, some other reason besides peace, to authorize the shutting of this temple: and this reason may have ceased to operate, and may have become obsolete, by Livy’s day, who tells the tale.

* Servius ap *Æniad.* i. 295.

† Livy i. 19.

This strange double-headed government of Rome continued for five years,* without attracting any attention, unless, perhaps, that of ridicule, from Etruria. Tatius was dominant, but he neither interrupted the commerce of the Etruscans, nor attempted, in any way, to molest them, on the western side of the Tiber. They therefore left him alone, and probably thought that the young Alban prince was properly punished by such a restraint upon his pride, for the violence and sacrilege which he had used in the games of Neptune.

All went on quietly, till an embassy was sent from Laurentum, the oldest of the Latin cities, to Rome, complaining of an inroad of the Sabines, and praying that they might be restrained. Whether the ambassadors showed more affection to Romulus than to Tatius, or what was the cause of offence, we are not told; but Tatius was angry, and on their return home, allowed them to be assaulted and robbed. The Laurentines complained, but Tatius expressed no regret, and gave them no satisfaction; we wonder, therefore, not to hear of war between Laurentum and Quirium. However, the time of the great Lavinian sacrifice drew nigh, for the thirty Alban townships, and the thirty Latine towns; when the sacred colony, and all connected with her, were bound to assist at the ceremony. Tatius and Romulus, with the Celeres, attended, and the Laurentines raised a tumult, in which Tatius was killed.† Ro-

* Dionys.

† Nieb. ii. n. 64, says, that this sacrifice was offered up by the Latin and Alban Dictators, alternately.

mulus treated this murder as justifiable homicide, and from this time, he became sole king of Rome and Quirium. But the pious Latins looked upon the deed as odious before the gods, and a violation of the holy meeting, holding the principle, that bad deeds in one man will not justify bad deeds in another. And they believed that a pestilence, which afterwards affected Laurentum, was sent as a judgment. Tatius was honourably buried on the Aventine, without the walls, probably near the spot where Remus was laid.

Romulus now united the two Senates, and their meetings were held in the Comitum, on the Saturnian hill. Niebuhr thinks that the Ramnes were considered as the *Majores Gentes* and the Sabines as the *Minores*, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But there are many historical proofs, some of which we shall adduce, that all posts of authority and honour were divided equally between them; and it is not unlikely that there may have been, at first, *Gentes Majores*, and *Gentes Minores*, in each of the tribes. Each had probably ten representatives, or *Decuriones*, who took place of the others, as a Scottish Duke still comes in rank before an English Marquis.

Tacitus tells us, that Celes Vibenna, or Cale Fipi, the great Tuscan warrior, came to his people on the Lucerum, and confirmed their alliance with Romulus; that he assisted him, whilst he lived, on terms of perfect independence and equality, and that he was buried, when he died, beneath this hill,

which had its name changed in memory of him. Others, with more probability, refer this event to the time of Tarquin the First, 100 years later. The mistake has, perhaps, arisen out of the fact, that the prince of the Luceres, the Tribune of the Tuscan Celeres, was always buried on this hill; and Tacitus may have given to this prince, the earliest name he found on record, that is, Vibenna. The Tuscan Lucumo is said to have taught Romulus how to form his camp, which may, perhaps, mean that the Roman forces had some discipline introduced amongst them, which did not prevail amongst the Albans and the Latins. Romulus's army was formed altogether on the Tuscan model, and he adopted all their armour. He provided for the payment of his men by a tax upon widows and virgins, and all beyond was raised by the Tribes themselves; each paying and arming its own contingent at a very low rate per head. The cavalry was all noble and chosen* by augury, three hundred out of each tribe; and the third part of these again was more noble than the rest, and formed a guard to the sovereign, being distinguished by the Tuscan name of Celer or Celeres. The age he appointed for men to serve in the field, was from twenty-five to forty-five; after which they were senior, and became guards to the city, and were only led against an enemy, in great extremities.

Livy tells us, that at this time, Fidene became a

* Livy i. 37.

Roman colony, and that Veii and her allies purchased a peace of a hundred years, by yielding the Septem Pagi and the Salines at the mouth of the Tiber; but Niebuhr disbelieves all these wars, and thinks them mere inventions of the old annalists. It is certain, from subsequent history, that Fidene did not receive a Roman garrison, and that neither Cære nor Veii, nor Tarquinia, yielded up any part of their territory to Rome. The Septem Pagi and the Salines were not in reality ceded until later. It is, however, probable, that these states gladly acknowledged Rome as an ally, and made with her treaties of peace.

The greater part of Etruria enjoyed profound repose during the thirty-seven years which are assigned to the reign of Romulus; and it was not disturbed, nor in any way affected by his sudden and violent death during an eclipse, on the 7th of July, 716 B. C. The Tuscan artists * made an image of him, which was set up in a brazen chariot, in the temple of Vulcan, and probably their Augurs advised his being associated with the Sabine demi god, Quirinus, and considered as the same person.

Plutarch does not ascribe one single invention to Romulus. But he speaks of kings, palaces, colleges, asylums, temples, shrines, men of rank, followers, clients, slaves, regiments, brazen instruments, armour, letters, writing, oracles, and in short, of the marks of social progress in general, as all drawn immediately from Alba, or as existing and taught amongst the Tuscans. This sufficiently proves that the early

* Plut.

and fundamental civilization of Rome, which was very considerable, was all derived either mediately or immediately from Etruria. It may not be unworthy of remark, in order to illustrate the comparatively recent origin of the Greek states and cities in Sicily and southern Italy, that it was only during this reign, that the town of Syracuse was founded by the Corinthians.

It would be almost wearisome to go through the different institutions of Romulus, divine and social, and to show that they were all Etruscan, and by various authors are referred to Etruria; though, excepting through Turrhene Alba, whence he sprung, Tancius of Gabii, who educated him, and the Luceres, who received him, or the men of Veii, or Fidene, or Cære, with whom he was in unceasing communication, it is hard for us to trace the connexion. Livy (i. 8) says that the kingly pomp of Romulus, his purple robe, his golden crown, his Lictors, his Fasces, and his throne, were from Etruria. Solinus says that they were derived from Vetulonia, then the queen of the northern cities. His Fecials and the worship of Janus were introduced from Falisci, or Ardea of the Luceres. Dion. Halicarnassus says that he brought into Rome the relations of Patricians and Plebs, patron and client. His town was founded by Etruscan rites; his time was measured by the Etruscan kalendar; his gods were the divinities of Etruria, with a mixture of Sabine and Latine. His auguries were interpreted according to the Etruscan fashion; and Livy says,* that until the reign of Tar-

* Livy ii.

quinius Superbus, none but the Tuscans ever interpreted a Roman augury. His young men were either sent into Etruria to be educated, or were brought up under Etruscan discipline, if we are to believe Cicero, who says, that this was the custom from the beginning. His artisans, who made his images and armour, and who built his forts and temples, were all Etruscan, if we are to credit the testimony of Fabius Pictor, that for 300 years Rome had no artists of her own. Romulus is said to have appropriated a street to these men, opposite to the Janiculum, called the Vicus Tuscus; but others refer this to the days of Celes Vibenna, or even Porsenna. He became an Augur after he was five-and-twenty, and divined with the Tuscan Lituus, and in the Tuscan manner. Dionysius tells us that Romulus allotted a portion of the state lands to the gods, and a portion to the crown. The pasture which, until otherwise assigned, was common to the whole patrician body, paid a tax of one-tenth to the government. All these institutions were undoubtedly Tuscan.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF NUMA.*

B.C. 716. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 471.

State of Etruria in the time of Numa—Reign of Numa—Political parties in Etruria—Institutions, Sacred and Civil, of Numa—Profound peace all over Italy.

OUR next division of the Etruscan history is that period of forty-four years, comprised in the reign of Numa at Rome, reckoning from the death of Romulus, and making altogether eighty-one years for the length of the first Roman Sæculum, according to the calculation of the Etruscan augurs, who made the first Sæculum of Rome to terminate with the death of Numa;† a very short division of time, considering the usual length of that term in Etruria Proper, viz., one hundred and ten years, and by no means prefiguring the duration which has since developed itself, as one of

* Authorities for this period are Plutarch in Numa, Livy i. from 18 to 22, Ancient History xi. xvi., Niebuhr's Rome, vol. i.

† Nieb. i. p. 257, &c. &c.

the characteristics of the Eternal City. Etruria considered Rome in the light of a thriving border fort, which should be protected as common to herself, the Latins, and the Sabines; and she little dreamed that it resembled the grain of mustard-seed, and would, ere long, overshadow with its branches, the whole of Italy, and cause the sun of every other state to withdraw its shining.

Numa came into the world the year that Rome was founded, and was the longest liver of all the male patrician children born in that year. Such being the law of the Tuscan Sæculum, that its first duration in any state should be always determined by the longest liver amongst the Patricians who were born at the precise time of its establishment. The Latin and Sabine Senators chose Numa Pompilius to be king, and the united *Curia* of Romans, *Querites*, and *Luceres*, confirmed the election. His name of *Pumpili* or *Pumpu* is Etruscan, and was Latinized afterwards into *Pompilius* and *Pomponius*.* According to the Tuscan and Sabine customs of annexing the mother's name, we believe *Pumpu* to have been the name of Numa's mother. He was a prince of extraordinary piety, and Etruria was at peace throughout the whole period of his reign; and she is supposed now to have reached the highest pinnacle of her greatness and strength.

Sardinia† was at this time added to her empire, and colonized, but from which particular state, whether

* Müller. *Etrüscher Hypogeum*.

† Paus, x. 17.

Volterra, Vulci, or Tarquinia, we are ignorant. The Greeks founded Gela, in Sicily, and being allowed, for the first time, to enter the Tyrrene sea, and to have commerce with Cuma and its vicinity, they made their settlement at Phistu, which in time, they called Posidonia, now Pæstum.* The Phocians obtained permission to trade on this side of the Mediterranean, and Müller believes † that they came in their own ships, so that the Tyrrene sea was no longer navigated solely by the Carthaginians, but also by the Greeks of Sicily, Lucania, Peloponnesus, and Asia Minor. This must, however, have been within very strict bounds, and only by the Ispolitan ports, and with a very small number of vessels, for Scylla and Charybdis did not cease for two centuries, to terrify the Greeian mariners: and the constant fear which they entertained of the Tyrrene corsairs makes us doubtful whether their trade and privileges were not limited to certain states only of the League, such as Cere, Tarquinia, Cosa, and Pisa; and whether Volterra, Populonia, and Vetulonia may not have refused to admit their vessels, and allow their intercourse.

Corcyra, now Corfu, was settled about this time, by a colony from Corinth, and therefore, must have become a station of Etruscan commerce. The Greeks had some great impetus given, during this period, to their enterprises by sea; and they came over in considerable and very increased numbers to

* Vide vol. i. 402—412.

† Müller, Colonien.

the coast of Italy, no longer fearing the one-eyed Anthropophagi of that land, as they had done in the days of Homer. Their peace and alliance with the Tuscans rendered their path easy, and gave them the security they required. Accordingly, Crotona* was colonized from Achaia, and became famous for its walls and fortifications, more like those of Volterra, or the fortresses of Egypt and Canaan, than anything which in these days, existed in Greece; and a seaport and small territory, somewhat exceeding twelve miles in circumference was assigned to it in the bay of Tarentum. Here Pythagoras afterwards established his schools; and in the vicinity at Siris, the later Greeks said that the Palladium, brought by Æneas from Troy, was kept. This Palladium was a statue of Pallas, four and a half feet high, the eyes and head of which moved. She held in her right hand a pike, and in her left, a distaff and spindle, by way of showing that firmness, energy and active courage, so far from being inconsistent with female labours and employments, should be joined to them in every perfect female character. The safety of Troy was allegorized to depend upon the patient, industrious, homely labour of the women, united to the quiet bravery of the men; and the safety of every city and every state may be allegorized in the same manner. They go together in the female character, more frequently than is supposed, and affectation and false principles separate them much oftener than nature.

* Dion.

Silius Italicus* tells us that Vetulonia was, at this time, the chief of the Etruscan states, the richest, the finest, and the most illustrious of her cities. And how beautiful and civilized she must have been, we may judge from her ruins now; from the mosaic pavements, the baths, the broken statues, and the enormous amphitheatre, all destroyed in less than a hundred years subsequent to Numa's reign, and the remnants of which have endured through three and twenty centuries. Vetulonia could not have been remembered in Silius's days, had she not once been a leading city of the League, and probably the theme of many a poetical lament and moral reflection on her sudden and irrecoverable fall. Like Tyre, her doom was decreed, at the time when the sceptre was strongest in her hand, and when she believed herself to sit as a queen among the nations, and to be the lady of kingdoms in Italy.

It was at this period, and during the days of universal peace in the reign of Numa, that the temple of Eluthya, at Pyrgi, accumulated her immense treasures, the offerings of rich patricians and opulent merchants, who grew wealthy upon her trade, and whose prosperity they believed to arise from the protection of the Bona Dea.

Seasons of profound tranquillity like the forty years now under our consideration, furnish much food for national gratitude, but few materials for national history, because human immortality is

* Punicor. viii.

rather the record of great calamities and of great crimes, or of virtues produced and called forth by calamity and crime, than of private happiness and widely extended well-being. Who notes down the beams of sunshine that gladden the monarchs of the forest? or the calm seas that let the trading vessels glide smoothly along the shores? Who does not hear of the uprooted trees, the ruined landlords, and the shipwrecked mariners? Who does not join the shudder of sympathy, and the cry of woe to the howlings of the hurricane, and the ragings of the tempest? "History," says Müller, "takes much account of the wars of nations, but notes nothing of their seasons of peace." Public splendour and national victories are constantly counterbalanced by private misery and individual ruin; and on the other hand, public tranquillity and national repose—we might almost say national unimportance—are usually compensated for by individual comfort and general safety.

We are not to suppose, however, because Etruria was formidable by land, and, as Livy, i. 23, says, *VERY POWERFUL* by sea, that therefore all was so quiet within the League, as outward appearances indicated. The flame of human passions never bursts forth until it has been for some time, and often for a long time, smouldering and working under the compressive agent. As a few years after the reign of Numa, civil war swept through Turrhenia, and so shook, as nearly to dismember her, we must believe that the cause was working now.

As her population consisted of patricians and plebeians, equally landholders and citizens, but with very unequal rights, and sometimes very unreasonable distinctions; and as it was evidently a struggle for equality on the one hand, and for a continued caste predominance on the other, we must believe that the pride and arrogance of the men of rank and wealth, and the envy, misrepresentation, and discontent of the men of middle station, were at this very time, felt in all the trading cities, and that they threatened a violent collision upon every fresh election to the offices of power.

We do not believe that there existed in Etruria, any developement of the democratic principle, so decided as that which distracted the Greek republics, or the Italian towns of the middle ages, and which forms the bane of modern Europe. The government of all the Etruscan Lucumonies was a strict aristocracy. The offices of power and of trust were in the hands of the noble families, of the heads of them the Senate was composed, and from the midst of them the sovereign of each state was elected, and on seasons of emergency, the Embratur or Emperor of the League was chosen at the fane of Votumna. Nevertheless, there were some states in which the principles of a more exclusive aristocracy predominated than in others; while in the less exclusive governments, it must not, on the other hand, be imagined that equality of ranks was vindicated, or even admission of the Plebeians to high command and important office was sought for; so much as addi-

tional facilities for Plebeians to be gradually raised to the rank and dignity of Patricians. All the governments were strictly patrician; but in some, the Patrician caste was less jealously guarded than in others, from the approaches of Plebeian merit or good fortune. Hence, a spirit of rivalry and hostility sprang up between the states; and it is too probable that the more liberal states, though at home aristocratic, may have fomented popular discontents in the more exclusive ones, and lent themselves not only to facilitate the extension of the patrician caste, but even to encourage the assaults of plebeians against the established order of the patrician government.

It was this shortsighted and weak policy which begun about the present time, to sow the seeds of those disorders which, as we shall hereafter see, burst forth in the flames of civil war, and weakened, and at length ruined, the great Etruscan commonwealth. We will not anticipate the facts of this history; but we may remark, that Tarquinia was, from the earliest times to the death of Porsenna, when her authority over Rome was destroyed, the predominating aristocratic power, while Volsinia and Clusium advocated, what we should call, the liberal side. This we shall find, hereafter, illustrated in the lives and acts of the Roman sovereigns of the two Tarquinian dynasties; in the Volsinian military chief, Cale Fipi, and his Lieutenant Mastarna, whose long and powerful reign in Rome gave a blow to the aristocratic interest throughout Etruria; and finally, in Lars Porsenna himself, who, although

Emperor in the League, was nevertheless a chief on the liberal side, and as little friendly to the exclusive despotism of the Tarquinian sovereigns, as he was hostile to any unreasonable demands on the part of the Italian Plebs.

Meanwhile Etruria looked with undiminished satisfaction on the new border fort of the Rumon river, the home and asylum alike of Luceres, Ramnes, and Titius, the increasing, well-governed and sacred city of Rome. Etruria, foremost of the Italian nations, was inclined to support and confirm her power, because, through the Augurs, it seemed entirely under her own jurisdiction: and Livy tells us, that in Numa's days, Rome was called "The Holy City." Like all the Lucumoes, Numa was himself a priest, and from his devotion to all the Etruscan rites and ceremonies, we are inclined to believe that he was strictly educated by the Tuscans. After his election by the three tribes, he desired to be set apart for his office by an Augur, (Livy 1,) and until that was done, he refused to clothe himself in the kingly robes of Romulus, or to use the ensigns of the Tuscan sovereigns. Livy (1. 18) minutely describes the ceremony. He says, that Numa consulted the gods, in like manner as Romulus had done on the founding of the city, that is, in the Tuscan manner. That he went with the Augur, Spurius Vettius,* to the citadel

* The Spurina was an Etruscan family of Vulci; and many articles have been lately found in the Vulcian sepulchres, marked with their name. Spurina is the Latin Spurius.

of Saturnia, and sat down upon a stone, with his face to the south. The Augur, holding the Lituus or divining rod, placed himself upon his left, with his head covered, and in this position, looked over the city, and marked out the regions of the sky north, south, east, and west, fixing, as a boundary, the furthest limit that his eye could reach. He then moved the Lituus with his left hand, and laid the right upon Numa's head. He next offered up this prayer—"Father Jupiter, or Tina, if it be thy will, that this Numa Pompilius, upon whose head I have laid my hand, be king of Rome, show us, we beseech thee, clear tokens thereof, within the limits which I have marked out." Afterwards he named his sign, and it was granted, whereupon Numa put on his royal garments, and was received by an applauding multitude, as their consecrated king.

One of Numa's chief cares was to confirm, in a manner more solemn and binding than Romulus had done, his union with the Tuscans, by making a special, holy and Isopolitan league with the Janiculum, the hill and fort peculiarly dedicated to Tuscan Janus. We have already stated the probability, if not certainty, that the Janiculate joined every year with the Sabines in the feasts of the Saturnalia; and now Numa bound the men of Saturnia every year to celebrate, in return, the feasts of Janus. He induced the Tuscans to allow a wooden bridge,* called the Pons Sublicius,† to be thrown

* Plin. xxxvi. 15.

† Dion. Hal. ii.

across the Tiber, so as to connect the Janiculum with the Saturnian and the Palatine, and he appointed a set of priests to take charge of it, called Pontifices, of whom he was the first and chief. Marcius, the noblest of the Sabines, is named as one of the body, and to him he gave a written and sealed copy of all his institutions.* These Pontifices, Roman and Tuscan, were bound every year to keep a feast of union on this bridge. It is likely that Numa appointed the feast to be observed on the anniversary of Janus, and with his priests, because Janus presided over gates and roads, both of which this bridge would represent; and because he is said to have built a temple to Janus, besides the one built by Romulus and Tatius, meaning, doubtless, a shrine, which might easily be confused in later times and after its disappearance, with the permanent and enduring building of the kings. This bridge is one of the most famous works of Numa, and we must suppose that no character less venerable than his, could have persuaded the Janiculan Tuscans so far to have committed themselves in an intimate union with the Sabines and the Albans. But with him they not only felt safe in the transaction, but believed that with the Tuscan faith, they were securely extending the Tuscan power. They were like the Roman Catholics of our day, when they zealously plant their religion and its rites, in some new region. Though they elect no

* The Marcii descendants of Ancus Marcius, and the Valerii descendants of Numa, bore the cognomen of Rex among the Romans.

king, and appoint no general, they know that they are producing a much more important and lasting effect. They are carrying forward what they consider to be the world embracing domination of Rome. The Holy City of Numa rules as the Holy City still, and her continued existence and her lasting pre-eminence have been much more owing to her Lituus and her Mitre, than to her bloody laurels and her two-edged sword.

Such was the marked honour which Numa paid to Janus, that he consecrated to this demi-god * the first month of the year, naming it Januarius. Before this time, the Roman, † like the Alban year, had begun in March. Numa dedicated February also to the Tuscans, and made it sacred to their evil genius, Typhon, and to the gods of the shades, in order that they might be propitiated in favour of the infant city, and be induced to bless the triple union which he sought to establish. Varro says of this month, “*Ab Deis Inferis, Februarius appellatus quod tunc his parentetur.*” These two months were intercalary with the Latins, without any especial dedication.

It was after this great work of a solemn league with the Janiculum, that Numa erected his famous temple to Fides, or public faith, with a number of minute allegorical observances. Fides was the same as Jupiter Atistius, or Sancus, in whose temple public treaties were afterwards hung. The treaty between Tarquin the Second and Gabii remained

* Plutarch in Numa.

† Macrob. Satur. i. 12.

there until the times of the empire. This god was Fides to the Romans, Sancus to the Sabines, and Atiste to the Tuscans; and Polybius testifies of the triune people, and of the three nations which they represented, that they were educated to respect their word once given, as much as any written engagement; and that it bound them, without bail or witness, more than twenty promises or twenty witnesses could bind the Greeks. The Roman expression was, "*Medius Fidius*," "upon my honour."

Plutarch informs us, that Numa also erected an altar on Saturnia to Jupiter Elicius, that is, to Tuscan Jupiter, who hurls the thunderbolt, and from whom the Tuscan priests drew lightning for their auguries. Numa seems to have filled this hill with altars to the gods of the Luceres and the Janiculse.

Numa made several ordinances, binding upon the Ramnes and the Tities, which Romulus had left to their discretion. For instance, he introduced several colleges or brotherhoods from the Tuscans. He appointed Flamens, or hereditary priests of particular gods, such as the Flamen of Quirinus and Romulus, the Flamen of Jupiter, and the Flamen of Mars. Their wives were priestesses.*

Another of these ordinances of Numa was a college of Feciales, twelve † in number, over whom, as Festus informs us, he set a Pater Patratus, that is, a commander who had both a father and a son alive

* Ancient Hist. xi. 297.

† The colleges of twelve in Etruria represented the twelve states.

during the period he remained in office. A third was a college of Arvales, a Tuscan word from *arvare*, to curve or surround. These were also twelve in number, and it was their duty every year, to go round the borders of the patrician Agger, which was limited by the Fossa Cluilia, six miles on the road to Alba Longa. Romulus would never fix the patrician boundaries. Numa had them limited, so that they never afterwards could be infringed; and from the Fossa Cluilia to the Tiber was the augury ground of the Roman nation, ceded to them, and guaranteed, by all the Italian people.

Numa doubled the numbers of the vestal virgins, making two for each body of senators. The names of the two fresh ones were Canuleia and Tarpeia, the latter was a Sabine, and the former a Tuscan; and he created all of them priestesses of Vesta,* and built to her the first round temple, of which we read in Italian history; commanding that the sacred fire should stand in the midst of it, and be kept ever burning. This fire was kept in some other temple before his time, for had it been sacred to Vesta alone, neither Romulus nor the Luceres could have avoided building her fane amongst the very first which were erected.† He insisted upon the feast of Terminus being observed

* The holy fire in Egypt was kept by the Pharaoh's daughters in the temple of Ammon; at Tyre, in that of Hercules; at Athens, in the temple of Minerva; and at Delphi, in that of Apollo; and in both these last cities the keepers were old widows.

† Plutarch calls her Vesta, or Larunda; and Larunda is the Tuscan name for this goddess.

by all his subjects, at the end of the Tuscan month of February; and the man who should move a boundary stone, placed and numbered after the Tuscan fashion, was guilty of sacrilege, and was to be punished by death.

During the time of Numa, Plutarch says in the eighth year of his reign, there was a pestilence in Italy, from which the Holy City suffered severely, and was in danger of a great diminution of the number of her inhabitants. Numa, to turn the thoughts of the people from these ills, and to cure them by infusing new courage and hope into their dispirited minds, displayed in Rome a beautiful bronze shield, of the kind called *Ancylia* ;* and said that it had fallen to him from heaven, and that he was commanded to make eleven more like it, and to institute a college of twelve priests, the handsomest patrician youths he could find, to take care of the twelve shields, which were to hang in the temple of Mars. The use of the eleven was to prevent the possibility of any one knowing and stealing the sacred one sent by the gods. Though the legend tells us that there were many artisans in Rome, in the *Vicus Tuscus* and other parts, and though *Latium* was open to him for the acquirement of any luxuries or weapons he might have desired, it is said that no one could imitate the shield, excepting *Veturius Mamurius*, a Tuscan, settled in *Velitri*, from whom he may pos-

* The *Ancylia* was a shield of an oval form, fitting to the elbow, so called from the cubit, (*Αγκων*), the part of the arm between the wrist and the elbow.

sibly have bought the original. This man, with his workers, he established in Rome, and caused to make the eleven Ancyliæ. It is not unlikely that Velitri may have been written by mistake for Veii, a city, in every way, more probable, and famous at all times, for its bronze manufactories.

We learn from Plutarch, that some authors affirmed the name of Veturius Mamurius to mean only, "Vetus Memoria." But it comes to the same thing for history, whether by this name, we indicate some particular Tuscan, of whom we know no other fact, than that he settled in Rome by the king's desire, to accomplish some labour of delicate skill; or whether we preserve the ancient tradition, that in the year 700 B. C., there were no artists in Rome or Latium, who could work in the finest bronze; and that all these productions were obtained from the Tuscans, either out of Etruria Proper, or from their colonies and guilds settled in other places. Velitri, whether Latin or Volscian, at this period, is intimated as being under the power of the Turrheni, and as containing a flourishing school of Turrhenian art. The account, moreover, intimates a general spirit of monopoly and exclusiveness amongst the Tuscans. Otherwise, what was to prevent the Latins and Volscians from learning of them, and becoming as eminent in that department as themselves? The extraordinary proficiency* and early celebrity of Etruria in the manufactory and workmanship of metals, is proved by the price set upon them by the Greeks,

* Müller on Etruscan art.

and the tradition that the most valuable ornaments in the houses of the great, at Corinth, were some gold cups of Turrhenian fabric.

Numa, though despotic, knew mankind well enough, carefully to conceal his despotism; and in every new ordinance, he professed to command no more than he had been bidden to do by a superior power, and one to which he bowed as reverently as any of his subjects. He retired to the shrine of an oracle within the sacred Agger, and said, that the nymph Egeria * met him there, and communicated to him the will of the gods.

Among the many beautiful legends by which the early history of the nations of antiquity is illustrated, there is none more elegant than the story of Egeria; and even we, the children of another race, and the believers in a different religion, respond to the sentiments of veneration, which the ancient lawgiver excited among his own people, by the sanction of a higher intelligence, which he thus claimed for his pure and holy institutions. Egeria was the safeguard of Numa and his people; because nothing corrupt, cruel, or tyrannical, could spring from an authority so gentle and loving, and, at the same time, so elevated. And thus his laws and institutions reflected immortal honour upon himself, while they secured the happiness of his subjects.

The only other time that the name of this nymph occurs in Italian history, it is under a more real, if less elegant and lovely shape. It is introduced

* Dion. Hal. ii. 91.

under the form of Egerius, as belonging to a Tuscan of Tarquinia, the brother's son of Lucius Tarquinius, who removed with him from his Etrurian home, and settled in Rome. Hence, we are justified in believing, that Egere, whether in the feminine form Egeria, or the masculine Egerius, is an Etruscan name; and that this nymph was a Tuscan Larthia, perhaps a Bona Dea to Numa and to Quirium, or perhaps a Genius or Penate of his maternal clan.* The mythology of Etruria is rich in such demi-goddesses or patron saints; and Egeria calls to our minds Carmenta, Elythya, and Bygoö, the nurse of Tages. The Tuscan Mastarna, in after times, called the goddess Nortia, his Egeria, who communicated to him the mind of the gods, and led him to wisdom and success.

All the slaves of the three Tribes and the rich *Ærarii* in Rome were permitted by Numa to join in the Saturnalian games, and to have days of liberty and hilarity, whilst the feast lasted. Plutarch tells us how diligently Numa laboured, during his whole reign, to do away with every feeling of rivalry and inequality, and of jarring interests and preferences between these three tribes, and between the different classes of settlers who formed the population of his Holy City. He wished to make them all Romans, and to annihilate their old distinctions, by creating new ones. Accordingly, he ordered all the *Ærarii* artisans to form themselves into nine guilds

* Pumpu, the Etruscan form of Pompilius.

or companies, which will give us some idea of the state of the arts in Rome at this era; and of the predominance of the Tuscans, or at least of their civilization.

Numa's nine guilds were,—1, musicians; 2, goldsmiths; 3, masons; 4, dyers; 5, carriers; 6, tanners; 7, braziers, or coppersmiths; 8, potters; the ninth guild comprehended every other trade. We see from this that the beautiful Tuscan manufactures of the flowered, palmated and purple dresses were not introduced into the city; and that the flax and woollen were spun and woven, as now, by women in their own houses. From the Tuscan drawings upon the vases, we have reason to believe that the men, during peace, wore straw hats, which were doubtless also the labour of women.

Plutarch says that Numa permitted no images of any Deity in Rome, which seems to imply the existence of such images in her immediate vicinity; perhaps in all the other settlements of the Turrheni. He is also said to have permitted no bloody sacrifices. But this is evidently a mistake; and we should either read that he permitted no *new* bloody sacrifices, or none besides the three always observed by the Tuscans, of a bull, a sheep, and a pig. The latter was the sacrifice of the Feciales, and of the feasts of Terminus.* Numa sacrificed a sheep upon the Aventine, and appointed the slaughter of a cow with calf, when an elderly widow married again.

* Varro.

The laws of Numa were written down like those of Tages, and the priests of the Holy City were required to get them by heart; and Numa had so many proverbs and wise sayings, that they never perished from the memories of a grateful people, and were considered by later sages, as the sayings of Pythagoras, and as his teaching; whereas, in fact, they should have been stated as the sayings of ancient Italian wisdom, which were equally learned, by Pythagoras and Numa. One was, "Never to give to the gods wine from a vine unpruned;" i. e., never to give them the worst of our substance; or, in scripture language, "Never to offer to heaven that which costs us nothing." "Not to sacrifice without meal:" i. e., never to come empty-handed. "To turn round whilst we worship, but, having worshipped, to sit down:" i. e., to exert ourselves to the utmost, whilst we pray for anything which we earnestly desire, but, having done all, then to submit quietly to the Divine will. All this was the Etruscan method of teaching in parables, derived from the East. Again, Numa commanded the heralds, when they announced the new moons, and ceremonies, and holidays to the people at the market-times, always to make them clear, so that the most unlearned might understand.

Plutarch mentions a tradition of an enemy at his gates, of which when he was informed, he smiled and answered, "I am sacrificing;" as much as to say, "The gods will protect me." We have no hint as

to whence this enemy came, and we presume that it was some trifling city broil, before his authority was quite established. In his days, Italy was at peace, and her various nations were friendly and hospitable, occupied with games and festivals, sacrifices and entertainments. Plutarch tells us this; and he might have added, for Etruria at least, that she was occupied also with commerce and legal reforms.

When Numa died, he desired to be buried after the manner of the Tuscans, in a stone coffin, and not burnt. Copies of his twenty-four books upon religion, law, and government, were also buried with him. They were written upon Egyptian papyrus, which the commerce of the Etruscans would naturally bring into the Tiber.*

Plutarch informs us that the kings of the neighbouring people—Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans—attended this great benefactor to Italy, and peacemaker among the nations, to his grave. Most singularly, he desired his sepulchre to be under the Janiculum; and neither with his own people on the Quirium, nor among his many shrines on the Saturnian, nor with Tatius on the Aventine, nor in any portion of the Ramnes,—but with the people whom he had joined to Rome, and whose priest and patron he seems principally to have considered himself. The body of Senators carried him to the grave, and the priests walked in procession, whilst a train of women and children closed the pageant, and lamented him as a common father and a heaven-sent prince.

* Plin. xiii. 13; xvi. 37.

Plutarch says that he drew down lightning on the Aventine, a science known only to the Etruscan sages, and that he divided the Roman territories into Pagi, each having its own priest and government; an idea which he took from the Lucumony of Veii, whose seven Pagi lay in the immediate vicinity of Rome.

In this reign, or in that of Romulus, the four latest of the Eugubian tables were written, containing a liturgy to be used in the feasts of Jupiter, by the Tuscans, the Latins, and the Umbrians. And we may be sure that the pious monarch regularly attended these feasts, as the representative of the sacred Roman colony, and the friend of all devotion.*

* Sir William Betham believes that these tables record the invention of the compass by the Turrhenes, and the discovery and colonization of Ireland. But this is not the view which has been taken by Italian antiquarians; although such events and discoveries were certainly most worthy of being celebrated and kept in remembrance in all the Etruscan temples.

CHAPTER III.

PERIOD OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS IN ROME.

Reign of Tullus Hostilius in Rome—Comparative authenticity of the first three Roman reigns—War with Alba Longa—Various accounts of this war, and explanations of its origin—Destruction of Alba Longa—Revolution in Corinth—Arrival and settlement of Demaratus at Tarquinia—Greek artists established in Etruria—State of the arts in Greece and in Etruria—Death of Tullus Hostilius.

B. C. 672. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 515.*

WE now commence the second Sæculum of Rome, and review the transactions of the Etruscans during the first thirty-three years, which are comprised in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the Latin king of the Eternal City. Veii and Fidene do not appear to have been at peace with Rome for any length of time throughout this reign. The aspect of things on the eastern side of Etruria was quite changed, and Etruscan troops either helped to destroy Alba Longa, or did not prevent her destruction. Towards the north-west, as far as we know, the internal ad-

* Authorities: Livy, i. 22, 23. Dion. Halicar. iii. Ancient Hist. xi.

ministration of Etruria was quiet, and her commerce prospered, being carried on actively with the Græco-Italian ports and colonies. The political position of Veii and Fidene, and their relations with Rome and Alba, are involved by Livy and Dionysius in inextricable confusion and absurd contradictions. But this arises from the law which all the Roman historians thought themselves obliged to follow, of always making their mother city right in her actions, and triumphant in her wars. We shall attempt to disperse the mist as far as lies in our power, and give those strong outlines of the proceedings of the people of ancient Italy which may still be discerned through the gloom of distant ages.

After the death of the priestly king Numa Pompilius, the disciple of Janus, and the friend and follower of the Tuscans, Tullus Hostilius, a prince of the Ramnes, ascended the Roman throne, according to the treaty with Tatius, that a Latin and a Sabine should always succeed each other alternately. His grandfather was a patrician of Medulia, who emigrated thence with Romulus, as one of the sacred colonizers. Niebuhr, who esteems all the preceding period of Roman history to be mythic, in so far, at least, as regards names, dates, and order of events, looks upon Tullus as a real personage, and believes in the main facts which are related of his day.

We cannot however, avoid thinking that this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. Why should

Tullus be regarded as a man, while Numa and Romulus are to be considered merely as mythic personages? There seems no solid reason for this. Whereas, if we allow history and legend to run on together in a parallel line, we shall probably arrive at something nearer to the truth. Let not Romulus and Numa be looked upon as wholly mythic, neither let us pin our faith to the exact historical order of names, dates, and events, during the reign of Tullus. A considerable latitude must be allowed to fable during the whole of the earliest period of Italian history; and we can give only a measured belief to the annals of times even considerably later than the reign of which we are now treating.

It will be seen, as we advance, that we do not strictly follow the usual course of Roman historians concerning the later reigns. For instance, we do not consider it necessary to regard either the first or the second domination of the Tarquinian dynasty over the sacred city, as merely comprised in the lives of two men. And we are disposed to ascribe many of the popular measures of Ancus Marcius to the liberal Etruscan monarch, Mastarna. But while we allow a considerable latitude to our faith, we must, in like manner, set bounds to our incredulity. And we will not follow even the most profound authorities, where they would perplex their readers with unfounded distinctions.

There can be no doubt that a colony was led from Alba Longa to the seven hills where Rome now stands; and that it was joined to two other commu-

nities belonging to different nations, Sabine and Tuscan, already settled there. And we have no reason to question the probability that the name of the leader of this colony may have been Romulus. We are certain also, that many religious rites were given to the rising commonwealth, borrowed indeed, for the most part, from the neighbouring nations, and principally from Etruria, and thus in themselves, being a portion of ancient and firmly-established forms of worship, although new in their juxtaposition, as now forming the sacred code of one and the same state. It is plain that all these sacred laws must have been collected and enacted by some powerful chief, who revered the Deity, and who was anxious to promote the moral well-being of his people. And there seems no sufficient reason to question the probability that the name of this pious prince was Numa. The same reasons which would make nonentities of Romulus and Numa would also expunge from the list of those that have been, their successor, Tullus; with this difference, however, that he could be more easily spared than either of them. If we are to annihilate, let us rather reduce to nothing the hot-headed disturber of the world's tranquillity, than the wise and vigorous founder of states, and the pure and holy minister of the gods and benefactor of men.

Alba had now recovered her strength during the first Sæculum of Rome, and especially during the profound peace which Italy enjoyed in the time of Numa. But, like other rich states, in the enjoy-

ment of uninterrupted prosperity, she had become arrogant and domineering, until, by some one outrageous act, claim, or demand, she inflamed against her all the Latins. Niebuhr conceives that she especially irritated the Turrhene Latins, in front of whom stood Rome.* We dare not invent, where history is wholly silent, and we may not fill up such gaps by imagination; but it plainly appears that the Latins and their allies, before this time, always met every year to sacrifice at Alba Longa under the Alban prince; and after this time, for many years, these sacrifices ceased, and in their stead, new meetings were appointed at Feronia and at Rome, and the old ones continued as before, at Lavinium only. The cause of the war, therefore, we think must have been some dissension that took place at the Alban solemn assemblies; some insult offered to the Turrheni, or some irritating assumption of superiority which the other Latins would not brook. Very likely, a demand was made by them to offer up the sacrifices at Rome alternately with Alba, as they did at Lavinium, and it was haughtily and contemptuously rejected. The only parties which Livy names in this quarrel are Tuscan Veii, and Fidene, Turrhene Rome, and the Latins in their immediate vicinity.

The war began by mutual inroads between the Latin and Alban peasants, which the Feciales of the two people failed to prevent or atone for; and when they took the field against each other, Veii and Fidene armed, in order to profit by whichever

* Nieb. ii.

should prove the weaker in the contest. We may well ask what particular interest Veii and Fidene had in this matter, and why they could not leave two Latin states to settle their own disputes, or why they were brought in as umpires rather than any of the Sabine cities equally near? The reason we presume to be, because Tullus excited their jealousy; for he strove to destroy the Tuscan influence by its very root. He was not a religious prince, according to their estimation, and he did away with all the institutions of Numa as far as he could. Tullus was reckoned by the Tuscans as impious, though he showed the strongest general regard to the gods. We may therefore be sure that he was opposed to their peculiar religion; and in proof of it, he is said to have been killed by drawing down lightning from heaven which he did not know how to manage. Therefore either they refused to teach him, or he refused to learn, they being his instructors."

Tullus was bound to the Janiculum by treaty, and to peaceful, commercial Cære in some league of such mutual advantage, that he had no inducement to break it. But every Tuscan tie which did not bear daily profit upon its front, seemed to him a thrall. He wished the sacred colony to be Latin and not Turrhene, Alban altogether, rather than Tuscan. This it was which roused Veii and Fidene to curb his ambition, and to weaken his power. Niebuhr* believes that Tullus at first joined the Turrhene Latins in a general war against Alba, as

* Nieb. i. 362.

one only of the allies ; and that his forces advanced no further than the Fossa Cluilia his own boundary. There Mettius Fuffetius,* or Suffetius, the Alban Dictator, entreated of him to withdraw from the Turrheni,† who were so powerful that they would overwhelm him and his dominions, after having crushed Alba and her offenders. Tullus yielded to the argument, and was willing to withdraw, agreeing that the difference between Rome and Alba should be decided by single combat, between champions for each Tribe of the two cities. Upon this, a solemn covenant was entered into, and the three champions were called Horatii and Curiatii ; but the Roman historians did not know which was which.

Livy (i. 24) gives us a most interesting account of the manner in which the treaty was concluded between the Albans and the Romans, and it is so thoroughly Etruscan in all its parts, that as our chief aim, in the absence of native Turrhenian details, is to show the Etruscan influence over the manners of Rome, and Italy, we cannot resist extracting it entire. The patrician Feclal or herald said to the king, "Dost thou, oh king, command me to form a treaty with the Pater Patratus of the Alban nation?" On the king replying in the affirmative, he continued, "Then, oh king, I demand Vervain from thee." The king answered, "Take it pure."

* This name sounds singularly like Suffetes, the supreme rulers in Carthage, and make us suspect that it is derived from an Etruscan or Phœnician word, meaning Prætor or Prince.

† Livy i.

(We have already remarked that this Vervain was sacred to the Phœnician god of citadels.) The herald then brought clean stalks of that herb from the citadel, and asked, "Dost thou, oh king, constitute me the royal delegate of the Romans to the Quirites, including in my privileges, my attendants and equipage?" The king answered, "I do so constitute thee, but without prejudice to myself, the Romans, and the Quirites." The Fecial then proceeded to make Spurius Furius (who, from his name, was probably a Tuscan) Pater Patratus, or head of the Fecials, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. This Pater Patratus then took into his hand the tablets upon which the conditions of the treaty were written, and read them all out loud. He then said, "Hear, oh Jupiter; hear, thou Pater Patratus of the Alban nation; hear, ye people of Alba. All these conditions, from beginning to end, have been publicly read, without fraud or deceit, as they are written in these waxen tablets, and according to the sense in which we clearly understand them. From these conditions the Romans will not first depart; and should they do so, do thou, oh Jupiter, in that day, strike them as I now strike this swine; and do thou smite them with so much more severity, in proportion as thy strength and power are greater."

The three Curiatii strike us as representing the thirty Roman Curia; but Livy elects the Horatii for that office, because many Patricians of that

name appear in Roman history. The earliest Roman historians related, that in the nicely balanced contest of these champions, victory at length declared in favour of their own country, and that Alba being defeated, her prince agreed to make Tullus Dictator in his room, and to serve under him against the Tuscans.

In the tale of the Horatii and Curiatii, we cannot help remarking that the victorious Horatii had to pass under the yoke, a punishment probably introduced into Italy from Syria, by the Tuscans, and that the Augurs erected expiatory altars to the Tuscan deities Juno and Janus.

Mettius strove to save Alba and himself by uniting with the Tuscans, and with Veii and Fidene, in order to destroy the Romans. His design was defeated by the Roman and Latin bravery; and Tullus vowed to establish a third college of the Salii, if he should prove victorious. Thus making three colleges, one for each tribe.

Mettius was taken, and, as a traitor, was condemned by the royal Dictator to be torn in pieces, being attached to two chariots driven different ways. This is an eastern punishment for a double-minded man. The Latins then sent an overwhelming force of cavalry to Alba, took captive its inhabitants, and rased its walls and military defences to the sound of the trumpet,* desecrating it so that it never could be built again.

* Serv. *Æn.* ii. 313.

The Dictator, in deference to his allies, ordered the temples to be spared, and these are enumerated by Strabo as being dedicated to Janus, Minerva, Mars, Vesta, and Carna, besides the great temple of the triune Jupiter,* the sacrifices of which were for many years suppressed. The population of the city, judging of her by the cities of Canaan† at this hour, may have been 40,000 souls.

The power of Alba was destroyed four hundred years after her foundation, and her territories were divided amongst the conquerors. Many of the towns which had belonged to her, became, in time, sovereign Latin cities, whilst others rose into some consequence, though we do not know to what governments they owed allegiance. Pliny (ii.) tells us the names of the thirty Alban townships, and Dionysius (v.) enumerates the free and sovereign Latin towns that in A.R. 226, or B.C. 487, concluded a treaty of alliance, with Sp. Cassius. In this manner, we find that Bubenta, Corioli, Peda, Querquetulanus, and Toleria, which in 653 B.C. had been dependencies of Alba, were now become leading cities; and that Apiola, Bovilla, Pollusenum, Velia, and Vitella, had a separate existence, under some of the Latin states, but not under Rome. We do

* This may perhaps with greater propriety be termed the Great Triune Temple of Jupiter. It was not properly the Temple of Jupiter or Tina only, but it was dedicated to the Triad, (in which he stands first,) of Tina, Talna, and Menerfa.

† Robinson's Palestine, ii. 525.

not know that either Rome or any of the Turrhene colonies gained an accession of territory in this war.

Tullus is said to have taken a number of Albans with him to Rome, and to have settled them on the Cœlian Mount.* But Niebuhr has very ably proved that what he did, was to form an Isopolitan league between the Cœlian and some of the Alban townships, giving to them a home there, and securing to the Luceres and the two other Tribes their share of the Alban territory or spoil; thus endeavouring to force a more intimate union of the Luceres with the Latins, from whom they had, probably, kept too distinct until this time, regarding them as a race less pure and less civilized than themselves.

Amongst the townships of Alba, we find one called Fidene, and without doubt, some transactions of Alban Fidene have been transferred to Tuscan Fidene; and thus, and in similar ways, many of the perplexities and inconsistencies of early history have been occasioned. Tullus was so resolved to destroy the exclusiveness of the Luceres, that he lived himself, upon the Cœlian, and there protected the five or six Alban families whom he had introduced into the Curiae, and made equal in privileges and condition with the original proprietors and dwellers upon that hill.

The destruction of Alba by the Latins is so certain a fact, and the account of it in Livy is so incre-

* Livy names six families, the Tullii, Servilii, Geganii, Clœlii, Quintii, and Curiatii. These two last Müller gives as Etruscan names.

dible, seeing that the Romans do not appear to have gained any advantage by their victories, that the *Ancient History* (xvi. 77) endeavours to explain it by imagining Veii and Fidene to have been, in Romulus's days, subdued by Rome, and to have struggled, after the death of Numa, to set themselves free. That, for this purpose they fomented the quarrel with Alba, which Livy represents to be of Tullus's own seeking; and that they hoped during the strife, to regain their independence, and perhaps subdue both the disputants.

Tullus, Livy says, after a year, commanded Fidene* to answer before the Roman Senate for treachery, and on its refusing to do so, declared war, and Fuffetius, jealous of him as Dictator, promised to desert the Romans in fight, and to join the Tuscans. The armies met near the confluence of the Anio and Tiber: Fuffetius being opposed to Fidene, and Tullus to Veii. At the beginning of the fight, the Albans retired, and the day would have been lost and Rome conquered, had not Tullus with ready wit, spread through the host an assurance that the movement of the Albans was a manœuvre of his own, to draw the enemy into a snare. The Tuscans heard and believed the invention, suspected treachery in the Alban general, were seized with a panic and fled. Tullus then gained the day, and as the crown of his victory, judged and condemned Fuffetius.

* If there is any truth in this tale, it must have been Alban Fidene.

All this is nonsense,* Veii was never at any period dependant upon Rome, but often threatened Rome with dependance upon her. She could not even have been in danger of such a situation, without rousing the rest of the Etruscan league to her relief; and Niebuhr does not allow that Fidene had any quarrel with Rome until after the fall of Alba, when it is very likely that she may have disputed a share of the spoil, or some other points, with the violent and excited Roman leader.

Let us pause here one moment, to think upon the lovely spot which so many of our countrymen now visit, and where Alba Longa once stood. Can anything be more awful than to gaze upon the ruins of a desolated city, and to view the green grass and the upturned stone, where, for ages, the busy streets, and the crowded Forum, the holy temples, and the lordly palaces, teemed with their eager multitudes? It is awful even in imagination, to picture the smoking roofs and the wasted property, the wild cries of unpitied woe, the groans, the wounds, the unheeded poor, the helpless orphans, the wretched widows, whose hearts were breaking amid the songs of tri-

* When Livy calls Fidene a rebellious Roman colony, Niebuhr has shown that he can only mean that the Fidenates drove out the Roman garrison. And we may well ask, why Rome waited a year before she called them to account for such an act, supposing she had the power to call them to account at all? The war of Rome with Fidene and Veii was one caused entirely by the dislike of Tullus to the discipline and influence of the Etruscans.

umph and the shouts of victory ! To think of the ties that were severed, and the struggles that were made in vain ; the domestic hearths, where never more a family will assemble, nor a meal be taken ; the altars where never more a sacrifice will be offered, nor a prayer be said. Beautiful Alba ! the holy and the powerful ! In the morning she swarmed with inhabitants, whose faces were pale with fear, but whose bosoms yet beat with hope. She had within her, the delicate virgin and the gallant youth, the feeble old man and the sucking child. In the morning she was full of life ; in the evening she was gone, and all that remained of her was black and smoking desolation. She had been a queen among the nations, therefore she continued to be renowned and remembered, when fifty other cities, as Pliny tells us, when all her dependencies, and when more than all that ever owned her sway, were annihilated and forgotten.

She must have terribly excited the fury of the Latins, to have undergone such a doom. Did the Turrheni lay their hands upon her ?—or was she overthrown by a Latin confederation only ? Did Veii and Fidene blow their trumpets beneath her walls, and charge with all their cavalry, aiding the Latins by the superior skill and discipline of Etruria ?—or did they, when they had drawn out their armies against her, accept the submission of Fuffetius, and intend to join him, and overpower the very inferior forces of the Romans ? Why did they not attack Rome whilst Tullus was in the field, and the city unprovided for

defence? And why did they appear so incomprehensibly and without purpose, upon the ground, connected with the fall of Alba, but not knowing which side to choose? We believe that they came, and were welcomed at the call of the Latins, and that Latium and Turrhenia were united, in order to effect that singular destruction, which, whilst it spared the temples of the Tuscan faith, blotted out proud Alba from the map of Italy for ever.

After this dreadful deed, the Tuscans quarrelled with the Latins, and their forces retired to Fidene, where Tullus and his allies besieged and blockaded them.* But they found some effectual means of delivering themselves from this situation, for they made an honourable peace. Tullus was very anxious, after the fall of the sacred Alba Longa, that the "Sacred Rome" should take its place, and he strove to persuade his allies that the Latia or Feria, the peculiar feast of the thirty Latine nations, would be most conveniently kept there. But notwithstanding his nationality and his great wish to unite Rome more closely to the Latins, and to dis sever her as far as possible from the Turrhenians, the other Latins would not agree to this proposition. They formed a new league of thirty towns, into which they adopted the Sabine Crustumaria and Pometia,† and they consecrated the grove of Aricia or Feronia, near San Marino, to be their new place of council, and of sacrifice. It is not to be over-

* Dionys. Hal. iii. ; Livy i. 27.

† Cato Origines, Nieb. ii., note 31.

looked that Feronia is the Tuscan goddess of free-men, and when Alba was overthrown, the assemblies of the Latins were held at her shrine.* At one of these meetings a quarrel arose between the Romans and Sabines, and the latter having the advantage, seized and led captive some of the Roman people. The Romans in revenge, seized and imprisoned some Sabines, who had sought refuge in the asylum of Saturnia.

War was the consequence, and the Roman annals represent it as one of general importance. Veii joined the Sabines against Tullus, who was assisted by a great body of the Latins from Cora, Lavinium, Tusculum, and Anagnia. Medulia, the native town of Tullus's grandfather, suffered much in this war, but was not destroyed; for it is represented afterwards as standing a four years' siege under Ancus, the next king.

After the fall of Alba, Tullus had made a league with the Latins and Hernicians, and their troops, with those of the other allies, advanced to help Rome under the Dictator Ancus Publicius,† of Cora, and his Magister Equitum† Spurius Vecilius, Prince of Lavinium. The troops of Tusculum and Anagnia, under Livius Cespium, the Marsian, encamped upon the Esquiline, where Santa Maria Maggiore now stands—a hill not then within the Roman walls, though a fort of the united Roman people; and they lay there to support and perhaps to defend Rome against Veii. This war was concluded by a peace, in which both

* Livy i. 50.

† Dion. iii.

parties seem to have remained as they were at the beginning, neither having gained any decided advantage. Tullus defeated the Sabines at Eretum, upon which they agreed to a long truce. The Sabines binding themselves to deliver up the Roman deserters, to give back the prisoners of Feronia without ransom, and to pay for the ravages they had committed during the war. We believe this battle, and the conditions of peace which ensued, to have been real, because they were inscribed upon the pillars of a temple in Rome, probably the temple of Jupiter Fides.*

About the twelfth year of this reign a great revolution took place in Corinth, a city which its own legends represent as being Isopolitan with Tarquinia. Müller says that the tradition which we are about to relate is Corinthian, and not Tuscan; nevertheless, it is interwoven too closely with Etruscan history, not to form an important part of the annals of this period. About 667 B. C., and in the year of Tarquinia 520, Cypselus overturned the ascendancy of the Bacchiadæ, at Corinth, and drove them from the state.†

* The wooden bridge over the Anio, mentioned by Livy i. 37, was built to celebrate this peace.

† Niebuhr says that the name of Demaratus is added by later writers, and that all the Grecian element of the story arises from a wish on the part of the Greeks to provide some suitable home for the Bacchiadæ; and from the old tradition, that the *Eucheir* and *Eugrammus* of the Tuscans proceeded from Greece. Little did the Greeks dream that a race of scholars would in time arise, who would declare that the *Eucheir* and *Eugrammus*

Demaratus, one of the chiefs of the Bacchiadæ, gathered his followers around him, and having secured what property he could, set sail in a Tuscan vessel for Tarquinia. He took with him the artists Eucheir and Eugrammus, and received the welcome to which he was entitled, when he, a rich and honourable citizen, abandoned his own country, and took up the franchise of Tarquinia. He had every privilege which a native of rank could claim, but he had not the rights either of a Patrician or of a Tribesman. He was an equal match for a Lucumo's daughter, and he accordingly married one of the Tuscan ladies, a woman of high rank and ambition.

Though a Greek, the legend does not connect him with Cuma, Parthenope, nor with any of the Græco-Italian cities. He preferred the manners, the education, and the government of the Tuscans; and he brought up his sons, whom the Tuscan historians name after their fashion, Lucumo and Aruns, in the schools of Tarquinia. The artists that he brought in his train, "Eucheir and Eugrammus," "clever hand," and "cunning pencil," are adjectives, expressing the qualities of men, and not substantives, denoting their persons. It strikes us that the Greeks, 300 years later than this, when praising the *Philotechnoi*, or lovers of art, as they called the

of the Greeks themselves came from Hindustan, and that Greece had no alphabet whatever, and no literal characters, until two generations after this period, when Tarquin the First reigned at Rome. This is now the creed of a learned school of orientlists.

Tuscans, may yet have given vent to their national vanity, by maintaining, that the finest subjects of their clay and bronzes, the finishing strokes and life-like touches, "the *Euchair* and *Eugrammus*," amongst them, came from Greece. And although in the first part of this work we have stated, and in the last we trust we shall prove, that the Tuscans did not derive their letters and arts from the Greeks, we willingly admit that they owed to them, "the *Euchair* and *Eugrammus*," even as we admit concerning our own literature and art, that our finest models of poetry, whether expressed in verse or in marble, are derived from the same stock.

As Pliny tells us that there were paintings in Ardea and Cere older than Rome, and as we have no evidence of painting existing in Greece at all, so early, we must feel satisfied, that whatever improvement in taste and subject, in grouping or in form, Greece might introduce into Etruria, she did not teach the Etruscans an art which they practised before it existed with herself. The famous Dodwell vase, which came from Corinth, and which has upon the lower part of it, the figures of mystic animals in the early fashion of Etruria, and upon the upper part, the rude yet spirited figures of the *Iliad* heroes, may, without any great marvel, have an antiquity as high as the date of Cypselus. For what lapse of time is noted in the sepulchre? The buried urn knows as little of the progress of ages, as the buried body beside which it lies. But we have no evidence that it can boast of so long a duration; and the only

probability in its favour is the intimate commerce which the story of the artists of Demaratus implies, between manufacturing Etruria and colonizing Greece. A vase of this period from Egypt; that is, a vase of the 25th dynasty, would be almost too modern to have any great value. How few reflect on the wonderful and instructive truth, that Egypt, "the first of nations," was in her dotage, and that her arts were decaying by reason of age, before Greece was out of leading strings, or had made a single step forward in advance of the rest of Europe.

Whilst Etruria, like most other known and celebrated nations, had one long day of unequal light, Greece shone forth with one grand burst of meridian splendour, not only surpassing in lustre every other nation, but reflecting a warmth and glory upon all within reach of that bright and gilding beam. But the sun of Greece rose grey from Egypt, waxed brighter as it was reflected from Etruria, and when its burning power had ceased to glow and kindle, it paled before the mists of the west, and finally set in Saracenic darkness.

Himera was the only town in Sicily that the Greeks founded at this period, by a colony from Zancle. All the Græco-Italian towns were then at peace with the Etruscans.

Towards the end of Tullus's reign, some volcanic disturbances occasioned a shower of stones at Alba, which terrified the Roman king, and induced him to consult his Augurs, as to what it might portend.

They commanded a nine days' feast to be observed, giving a day to each of the nine Etruscan gods, who had power over thunder; and they decided that the former worship on the Alban Mount must be revived. Tullus, believing himself to have acted impiously in abolishing or disregarding the rites and ceremonies which he had found adopted in Rome, when he came to the throne, now began to study the books of Numa, in order to restore whatever he thought might be observed, with safety to his own design, of making the Latin, and not the Turrhene element, paramount in the Holy City. But his mind could not bend to the point which was necessary. He was no priest of Janus, though he confirmed the treaty of Numa with the Janiculum.* He had not studied the Etruscan mysteries, and yet he would himself act as an Augur, and draw down lightning from heaven. The spark came, indeed, at his command, but he knew not how to direct it. His palace was burned, and he perished in the flames which his ignorance had kindled.

Tullus, at his death, left the territories of the Romans much as he had found them on his accession to the crown, in point of extent. Their *Agger* went as far as the *Fossa Cluilia*, and their strip of land reached the sea. But, politically and socially, he left Rome very different from what he had found her. She was now no longer the peaceful city, the holy place of refuge to the three military nations,

* This we know, because the new king, the successor of Tullus, is said to have broken this treaty.

which were represented by her patrician tribes. She was in the front of those who had destroyed Alba, notwithstanding the favour which she showed to the Albans; and she had become an object of irritation and jealousy to Veii and Fidene, which continued with little interruption until it became necessary that one of the contending parties should utterly fall. Rome herself dreamed not, when she was destroying Alba Longa, that she should one day inflict a similar ruin upon the lordly Veii, the southern bulwark and stronghold of Etruria.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF ANCUS MARTIUS IN ROME.

Reign of Ancus Martius—Arrival of Lucius and Tanaquil at Rome from Tarquinia—Political parties in Etruria—Popular tendency of the northern states, and aristocratic tendency of the southern—Cale Fipi, the leader of the liberal party—Zeal of Lucius for the aristocratic cause—Disappointed in Tarquinia, this zeal leads him to Rome—Power of Lucius in Rome—Ceremonies of the *Feciales*—Rome becomes the scene of the struggles of political parties in Etruria.

B. C. 639. YEAR OF TARQUINIA, 548.*

OUR next period of the Etruscan history extends over twenty-four years, during which Ancus Martius,† a Sabine, ruled in Rome. His mother was of the clan Pumpu, or Pompilius, and her influence may be traced in the religious bent of this prince.

* Authorities : Ancient History, xi. xvi. Livy i. 32 to 35. Dionys. Halicar, iii.

† His descendants in Rome were called the *Rex Marcii*.

He immediately restored all the institutions of the venerated Numa. He had his laws written out, and hung up in the Forum,* in order that all might read and know them, and that the knowledge of them might not be confined to the patrician priests alone. He restored the ceremonies of the Pons Sublicius, and perhaps added some ornaments to this bridge; for he is said to have finished it, which, as Numa year after year, continued to sacrifice upon it, cannot be understood in a literal sense.

Perhaps he accomplished the intentions of Numa, which were to make the Janiculum, like the Cælian, a part of Rome, by including it within the Augury ground, and placing its patrician families in the thirty Curiae. He is said to have included the Janiculum within the walls or sacred bounds of the city, because the Tuscans,† unless in union with him, were dangerous neighbours, and rendered the navigation of the Tiber unsafe. Dionysius says that he seized upon the Janiculum, contrary to former treaties. But it is evident that his seizure of them might as well be called their seizure of him, for they became Roman citizens, with a right to all the privileges enjoyed by the Luceres.

In the eighth year of this reign, (631, B. C.) a grandee of Tarquinia, appeared at the gates of Janiculum. He was seated in a chariot, with his wife by his side, a long train of attendants following him, and an eagle, the sign of empire, fluttering over his head. He, a Tuscan, left his native city, and came

* Dionys. iii.

† Ib. iii.

to his own people living by the Tiber, in order to take up his franchise along with them. He might have fixed his dwelling with the Ramnes, or Priscan Romans,* but Livy says he joined the Tuscans become Romans, and cast in his lot with theirs. This man was the renowned Lucumo, afterwards known as Tarquinius Priscus," or "Lucius Tarquinius the ancient," his title of Lucumo gradually losing itself in the Latin form of Lucius. Livy makes him the son of Demaratus, the Corinthian chief, whom Cypselus overthrew and banished, and of the Tarquinian noble lady whom he married. Niebuhr thinks, from his cognomen of "Priscus," that he was one of the Priscan Latins; but we might as well say that King Edward the elder belonged to the family of the Elders, and King Henry Beauclerc to that of the Beauclercs. Niebuhr's idea is quite contrary to express and united historical testimony, and to the monumental evidence of Tuscan rule which remains in Rome to the present hour; and it must rank among those strange, paradoxical opinions sometimes put forth by great men, and which they alone dare to advance, or know how to maintain. We should have been constrained to attribute to Niebuhr an inspiration more than mortal, had he not sometimes advanced opinions such as these.

Livy (i. 34) tells us that this Lucumo was a man of great wealth and soaring ambition, and that he emigrated to Rome because he failed to obtain at Tarquinia those high honours to which he aspired.

* Nieb. 1, n. 829.

His wife, Tanaquil,* was a woman of elevated rank, of distinguished talent, energy, and courage, and was tormented by an ambition as insatiable as his own. She accordingly fomented all the desires of her husband, and would not let him rest.

It is likely that he could not gain admission into the Senate, and therefore was shut out for himself and his descendants, from all hopes of the Tarquinian throne: and feeling himself equal in all other points, in rank, in wealth, and in talents, to the highest of those nobles, amongst whom he was educated, his pride could not brook the exclusion. Tanchufil's feelings were similar to those of the Roman matron in after ages, when she saw her sister's husband Consul, and her own plebeian spouse ineligible. Tarquin's feelings, on the other hand, were those of the "*Gentes minores*," when they turned against the leading houses from jealousy of their precedency, and of the chief offices which were confined to their class. To judge from his title and following, he must have been admitted into the Patriciate at Tarquinia, and yet may have been excluded from the Senate. We think it very likely that so decided, though large and high-minded, an aristocrat, with great military talent, a courage not to be daunted, and an energy not to be repressed, may have felt himself better qualified than any one else, to be the general of the Tarquinian armies against Celes Vibenna and the demo-

* In Etruscan, Tanchufil.

cratic party, who were now threatening their opponents with a great revolution.

We gather, though with pain and out of darkness, that about this period there was a general strife throughout Etruria, in which Clusium, Volterra, Arezzo, Vetulonia, and Volsinia espoused the liberal side, and were inclined to favour popular privileges;* while the haughty and exclusively aristocratic states of the south obstinately refused all concession to the democratic party. We have already stated, in a former chapter, that the northern and more liberal governments were not in themselves democratic, and that, on the contrary, they ruled by means of a strict aristocracy. But they were inclined to open the door of admission into this body, to the struggles of plebeian merit or ambition, which in Tarquinia, Veii, and many of the southern states, were jealously repressed.

Thus two violently opposed political factions arose within the league, and party strife was kindled with a vehemence which sowed the seeds of dissolution, and which, in the end, though not indeed for a long period, proved fatal to the Etruscan commonwealth. The matter in debate was not the overthrow of the patrician party in any of the states, but the extension of important privileges to the plebeians and the minor houses; so that each class should be placed more upon a level with that which was immediately above it, and the general tone of government should be altered in a degree that would en-

* Müller's Etrusker.

able men of eminence to find their own level. This is a right which the strict institutions of caste forbade, but which yet, by the irrevocable law of nature, must ever remain the privilege of merit, the inheritance of the princes of the people, whatever be their birth.

No human institutions ought to oppose this law; and in proportion as they do so, in that proportion are they radically vicious and near to decay. The towering, boasting demagogue may be buoyed up by vanity, and may soar, like the balloon inflated with gas, without any real weight. But the mighty spirit is created to command, and, for good or evil, *will* make his influence to be felt. Such a one will either be the fertilizing river or the desolating flood, and blessed are they who know in time, how to make channels for its waters. It is the preservation of eastern governments, that the slave, though a slave, may and will, if a man of talent, take his place upon the steps of the throne.

Notwithstanding these remarks, it is the common order of Providence in this world, and one of those crooked things which no man can make straight, that the superior spirit, low in station, should submit to the inferior, born to rank and riches. And when masses of men can see that this is the will of the unerring Father of all spirits, and not the effect of caprice or arrogance in their fellow-men, they will not only submit, but feel a sacred pleasure in submitting from a sense of duty. "A lofty mind," to borrow the words of a beautiful writer, "will be kept in its subordinate position when it bows itself

to still loftier convictions ;" and this it is which gives moral splendour to loyalty, to filial obedience, and to all the reflective virtues.

Cale Fipi, or Celes Vibenna, one of the nobles of Volsinia, gradually became the chief of this struggling liberal party, headed its troops, carried through its battles, and remained true to the cause, when all the rest of Etruria had either become lukewarm, or had acquiesced in the permanence of the old order of things. Nevertheless we cannot but believe that different states at this very time, underwent and submitted to different changes and compacts with their own people. Clusium was always more liberal than Tarquinia ; and Lars Porsenna placed himself at the head of the party which was now led by Cale Fipi, when, some generations later, he conquered Rome. Allied with Clusium, we constantly find Perugia, Volterra, and Arezzo ; and the spirit developed in this civil war never died at Volsinia, which, two centuries later, underwent a dreadful revolution in consequence, when the slaves, (by whom Niebuhr understands the Plebs,) were said to have assumed the government, and to have murdered or enthralled their masters. Veii* was continually changing her government, owing to popular or patrician discontents ; and Vetulonia, the richest city of the league at this period, was soon made as desolate, and laid as low, as Alba Longa.

Lucius Tarquinius, however, this lofty Lucumo, and

* Livy.

his great-minded, but ambitious wife, in their sense of the injustice of their exclusion from office and political power, and in their perfect consciousness of ability to fill high office and wield extensive power, with honour to themselves and advantage to the state, were restrained by no bonds of self-denial. Their high and confident convictions of merit and ability only urged them the more irresistibly forward, to snatch what their evil fortune had denied them.

Of what use were high birth, extensive possessions, and numerous retainers, to one whom these advantages could not raise to those political privileges which were possessed by numbers whom his pride regarded as his intellectual inferiors? Of what use was pre-eminent talent, or zeal which would lead him to employ that talent in the service of the state, (that is, of the aristocratic party,) if the door of admission was closed against him, into that privileged circle, where alone his zeal and his talents could find a fitting exercise? We may believe that the son of Demaratus inherited from that aristocratic exile, a hatred of the popular party, more deeply rooted because more just, than that which existed in any, even of the proudest chiefs of Tarquinia, of the ancient Etruscan blood. The ruin of his house in its original native home had been effected by popular violence, and by that which generally succeeds it, a despotic usurpation. And he probably transferred with interest, to Cale Fipi, and the heads of the liberal faction in Etruria, the just aversion which he had inherited from his father towards Cypselus and Periander.

To such a man, hating a party, whom he felt he had ability, not only to injure, but to curb, and being forbidden to do it by the very aristocratic laws which he himself fondly cherished ; loving and venerating those institutions, which he had vowed to defend, but which very institutions excluded him from the power to do so ; to such a spirit, the home of his father's adoption and of his own birth, must naturally have become intolerable. He felt, that by law, he was placed in a state of political insignificance which he could not endure ; and he felt, moreover, that the only chance he could ever have of being raised to eminence, was the triumph of those very principles, to which his father owed his ruin, and which, from his cradle he had been taught to abominate. For these strong reasons, he resolved to quit Tarquinia for ever, and to seek a new field, whereon, with honour and profit to himself, he might maintain the cause of aristocratic ascendancy, to which he was heart and soul attached !

We certainly cannot deny to this illustrious Tarquinian the praise due to the most thorough-going political consistency. How often do we not see among our ambitious, restless, and pushing countrymen, the strangest apostacies from a political creed, which has been professed by themselves, and inherited from their fathers, on account of some disappointed ambition, or even some more frivolous ebullition of wounded vanity !

Such was not the line of conduct adopted by

Lucius. He was true to his principles amid good report and evil report. When refused the place to which he aspired in Tarquinia, he did not turn against his excluders, but went elsewhere to fight his battle and theirs with dauntless fortitude.

Lucius Tarquinius came to Rome, and when in the precincts of the Janiculum, an eagle fluttered over his head, stooped gently, took off his cap, hovered over him, and then replaced it on his head. His wife, Tanaquil, who was well skilled in the science of Etruscan augury, and who, most likely, was a priestess, immediately embraced him, and told him that the bird had been sent by the gods, to predict to him a crown by divine right, and an eagle-headed sceptre, which he should wield in that very place. Tarquin was joyfully welcomed by Ancus, and the Romans, who were then at war with the Tuscans. Lands were given to him and his Clan,* he was elected into the Senate, and placed above the Luceres and Albans of the Cœlian, and his great riches increased the wealth of the patrician treasury. His nephew Egerius,† and all his kindred, were received with honour also, and he became

* These lands were situated near Crustumeria, on the other side of the Anio, and on the banishment of the Tarquinian Clan, were given to the Sabine Claudii.—Livy, ii.

† Egerius was the orphan son of Aruns, the brother of Lucius Tarquinius, whom he adopted as his own, Aruns having died at Tarquinia. These two names of Lucumo and Aruns constantly go together in Etruscan houses, to express superior and inferior rank among the nobles. Niebuhr even suspects that they sometimes indicate the Patricians and the Plebs.

the chief adviser of King Ancus, in peace, and his most distinguished leader in the front of battle. Livy says that he was courteous, hospitable, and generous, and that he conciliated the favour of both high and low.

Lucius joined heartily in the war against Veii and Fidene; first serving on foot, and then becoming master of the horse and head of the cavalry. To him and his men, we must attribute the device by means of which Fidene was taken,* and became subject to Rome. It was blockaded, but being well victualled, it was likely to hold out long, and the Tuscan prince conceived the idea of taking it by undermining. The soldiers, accordingly, dug a mine from the camp, under the walls, into the city. This was a work with which every Tuscan was familiar. It succeeded, and Fidene fell. Ancus placed in it a garrison, and called it a Roman town, giving to it the franchise of his own subjects. In this war, Veii was implicated, but we know not wherefore, and the warfare continued, until, owing to the bravery and discipline of Tarquin, she was at length obliged to purchase peace, five years after the taking of Fidene, by the cession of the seven Pagi near the Janiculum, which henceforward became Roman territory; and by giving up the Mæsan forest, and the Salt Marshes near the mouth of the Tiber. Ancus built Ostia on this spot. It was the oldest colony and first port of the Roman people. He also established the salt works of the Lacus Ostiæ,

* Dion. iii.

most probably on the ground where they now exist. The port of a city like Rome soon became opulent, and Ostia flourished greatly. In the time of Aurelian, it had already declined, and its site, which is a little elevated above the surrounding sand and marshes, is now only distinguished by heaps of ruined buildings, which cover a considerable space. Ostia received the Cerite franchise; that is to say, its citizens were considered Romans, but were without a vote in the government. Tarquin immediately built ships in this port; and thus may be said to have originated the commerce of Rome.

Lucius Tarquinius being so very powerful and prominent a person, seems to have introduced more of Tuscan architecture into Rome than had hitherto developed itself there. Under his influence, Ancus made a deep ditch, called the Fossa Quiritum,* to complete the defences of the city; he built also the Marcian or Mamertine prisons, in the Forum under the hill Saturnia, near the Plebeian Comitium, in order to preserve internal discipline. Lucius ruled under the name of Ancus for sixteen years, when the violent death of this king opened his way to the vacant throne, and Rome passed from the Latins and Sabines entirely to the Tuscans. Thus, according to tradition, each of the three Tribes bore rule in turn, within the Holy City.

* Niebuhr (i. n. 937,) believes this fossa to have been the Mar-
rana, an imitation of the Fossa Cluilia, which drained the valley
of Murcia, and extended as part of its course from the Aventine
to the Porta Capena.

The Greek and Etruscan commerce * in Campania was, during this period, very lively, and Tarquinia and Cuma stood in so intimate a relation with each other, that when Lucius retired into banishment, we wonder why he did not rather emigrate to Cuma than to Rome. At first sight, this wonder is increased, if we receive the story of Livy, that he was the son of Demaratus, the exiled Corinthian chief. Why did he not rather join himself to his father's countrymen, in one of the most flourishing of their colonies in the south of Italy, in a city, which, as we shall afterwards see, became the ultimate place of refuge of his ill-fated descendant? The fact of his having selected Rome as his residence, and the conspicuous part which he acted there, serve to bear us out in the view which we have taken of him, as the devoted Etruscan, and uncompromising champion of aristocratic principle and rule. Though sprung from Greece, and from one of its most eminent houses, he had become entirely Etruscan and Tarquinian. And here we may remark the well-known peculiarity in Etruscan institutions, which attached singular importance to maternal descent, in affixing a name and station to individuals. The family name of the mother was always added to the patronymic,—and this we may take as a fair specimen of the maternal influence which was exercised over the mind of an Etruscan.

* At this time the Phocians began to cross the Mediterranean, and traded with Tartessus, now Cadex. But Müller says, that they had little, if any, influence in Etruria.

Demaratus wedded a noble Tarquinian lady, and his children, brought up amid all the memorials of the grandeur of their maternal ancestry, may well be imagined to have imbibed the tastes, feelings, and prejudices which distinguished the only relatives whom they had an opportunity of knowing. They were not Greeks, but Tarquinians. Hence Lucius, with his brilliant talents, daring courage, and prosperous fortune, stimulated by consciousness of high birth, and retaining only enough of Greece in his constitution to remind him of the unpardonable injuries which his family had sustained from the popular party, stood forth the willing and zealous defender of the rights of his caste, in the country of his birth and affection. And when he found that this very caste, to which he was conscious that he belonged, and of which he was resolved to defend the prerogatives, was, nevertheless, constrained, by its exclusive rules, to reject his further advancement, he did not, on that account, abandon its interests and turn his powerful talents against it, to effect its overthrow. He did not even renounce his country, abandoning, in disgust, Etruria, her politics, and her social distinctions, and seek to regain that footing among Greeks, either in Greece or in Southern Italy, which his father had renounced. He continued a loyal Etruscan, and an uncompromising aristocrat. If debarred from serving Tarquinia at home, and advancing the interests of her ruling caste, by holding high offices in the state, he sought out a theatre of active and honourable exer-

tion elsewhere, and joined himself to the already powerful Etruscan element, in the new city of Rome, where, by the addition of his influence, he made that element to preponderate.

There can be no doubt that the Tarquinian rulers saw the immense advantage to be derived from the presence of this active and devoted partisan in the border fortress and sacred city of Romulus and Numa. They probably counselled him to show his zeal in their cause, in that new field, which was, in fact, under existing circumstances, a more important one than their native city. They pointed out to him the advantage to be derived to the good cause, by turning the Etruscan interest in the sacred city into a Tarquinian and exclusively aristocratic channel. They flattered him with the hope of obtaining higher honours there, than even his ambition could have looked for at home, had he been admitted to all their privileges. They assigned to him the difficult and honourable task of counteracting the spreading and dangerous influence of the popular party, in a most important stronghold, and converting that stronghold into the bulwark of the Tarquinian Patriciate. That Lucius received such encouragement, and was actuated by such views, when he emigrated from Tarquinia, is borne out by his subsequent conduct, as well as by the circumstances of the case. His whole life was a struggle against the liberal and democratic influence, until, as we shall see, at its close, he, or the king who repre-

sented him, was finally compelled to succumb under it. Is it not evident that his departure from his native city, and his arrival at Rome, was one of honour and peace? There was no hurried flight, no disorder, no confusion, there were no martial preparations. He came in his chariot, in a sort of peaceful triumph, with his noble lady by his side, and attended by crowds of clients and servants; and were we not unwilling to throw a shade of ridicule upon the acts of so truly great a person, we should almost be inclined to find marks of collusion, and of a way made ready for him, in the story of the eagle. It seems not improbable that Lucius was beforehand destined by Tarquinian Lucumoes and priests, to wield the Roman sceptre. And it is not impossible that the bird of victory and of royalty had been previously trained to accomplish adroitly the augury!

If we suppose the states assembled at Voltumna, about this time, to have reviewed their position with regard to the sacred colony upon their borders, during the last quarter of a century, they had every reason to be satisfied with it. Their religion was re-established there in all its integrity and power, and Ancus had not endeavoured to press upon the Luceres such a mixture with the Latins, as was attempted, and indeed forced upon them by Tullus. He granted to many Latin cities the privilege of belonging to the Plebs of Rome. They submitted to her dominion, and became partakers in her government; and to these cities, which are named

by Livy, he gave assignments, not on the Cœlian, but on the Aventine, which henceforward was regarded as sacred, in a peculiar manner, to the Plebeians and to the Latin Romans.

Livy says that Ancus took Ficana, Tellene, Politorium, and Medullia, the latter after a four years' siege, and Politorium twice by storm, which is not possible. Tellene could not have joined the Plebs of Rome, for we find it as one of the free Latin cities, making a league with Sp. Cassius, after the expulsion of the kings. Medullia is again free and again taken by Tarquin, when king.* But it does not hinder Ancus from being the father of the Roman Plebs, that Livy's names are incorrect. Before attacking the Latins, Ancus sent to them the Feciales, and Livy again gives us a very interesting account of the ceremonies of Etruria, used by these Etruscan officers. He says, Ancus copied them from the Equi; meaning, we presume, that it was to the Equi they were first sent, for why should Ancus take this institution from the Equi rather than from the Sabines, the Albans, or their originators, the Turrhenians? And how could he *first* establish those ceremonies, which had been used before with Alba, in the most solemn form, and which were the law and custom of all Central Italy?

According to Livy, (i. 32,) the herald or Fecial, when he came to the frontiers of the state from whence satisfaction was demanded, covered his head

* Livy, i. 38.

with a fillet of wool, such as we see on many of the Etruscan statues, and cried out, "Hear me, oh Jupiter; hear me, ye frontiers: let Justice hear. I am the authorised herald of the Populus, (i. e. Patricians only). I come with the forms of justice and piety. Let faith be given to my words." He then stated his demands, and called Jove to witness; saying, "If I, the herald of the Populus, require unjustly or impiously, that those men, or that property should be given up to me, then let me not again enjoy my native country." These words he repeated when he passed the boundaries, then to the first man he met beyond the frontiers, then as he entered the gates of the city, and again as he entered the Forum, changing a few words when necessary. If what he demanded was not complied with, he gave a delay of three-and-thirty days, and then declared war, in this form:—"Hear, oh Jupiter, and thou Juno, and thou Quirinus, (i. e. Mars of the Romans,) and all ye gods of heaven, and earth, and under the earth, hear; I call you to witness that this Populus is unjust, and will not do right. Therefore, concerning these things, we will take counsel in our own country of the major houses, by what means we may obtain satisfaction." The Feial immediately returned home to consult his nation, and the king took counsel with the fathers of the Senate, thus addressing them—"Concerning the strife and debate between our Pater Patratus and the Pater Patratus and men of our opponents, what they should have given, or done, or atoned

for; say, what thinkest thou?" This he addressed to the first whose opinion he asked, (and if Tarquin was then Tribune of the Celeres,—i. e., Master of the Cavalry, he would be the man). The other Senators were singly asked in order, and each answered, "I think that justice should be sought by needful war, and therefore I consent and vote for it." The Fecial then took an iron spear, burnt at the point, and dipped in blood, to the frontiers, and said, in the presence of three grown-up persons, "Because this Populus and nation have behaved ill to us and our nation, therefore we conceive war to be just against them; and our Senate and Populus have accordingly voted that war should be made against them. For this reason, and by this token therefore, I and my Populus declare war against the Plebs and the Populus which refuse us justice." Saying this, he threw the spear into their territories and retired.

Ancus, the fourth traditional king of Rome, is commonly regarded as the father of the Plebeians. And Rome now represented four different nations—1, Alba; 2, Sabina; 3, Etruria, that is, some portion of a Lucumomy and Turrhene colony; and 4, Latium. The three first dwelt within the walls, and were patrician and ruling, comprising the Senate and Populus, without whom no king could act; and the last was an inferior and supplementary adjunct, settled without the walls, possessing certain privileges, and forming an integral part of the nation, but being of weight only when the patrician tribes disagreed.

Niebuhr fully explains the conditions of the new Latins, when they became Roman Plebs. They were not conveyed to the Aventine, for they were too numerous, and the removal of so large a population would have left the remote lands waste. But those who chose to remove had the privilege of doing so, and were permitted to live upon the Aventine under their own laws. Most of them remained at home, but they were no longer independent, and their lands were divided into three parts. One part was returned to themselves as Roman subjects and plebeian tribesmen. Another was common to all the Patricians of the Roman state, and the third belonged to the crown, and was in the power of the king, to use for his government, or to portion away.

Veii is represented as having yielded part of her territory to Ancus and Tarquin: and Fidene was taken by mining. But they only submitted to Rome when she was governed by Etruscan art, and led on by Etruscan valour: and that only at a time when the states of the Central League were all distracted by civil war, and when, as we have already hinted, it is a matter of great probability, that Tarquinia sent forth her Lucumo to become that, which he certainly succeeded in becoming, viz., Ruling Resident in Rome. Such a resident as a Briton frequently now is in the native courts of India.

Livy says that Ancus always followed Tarquin's advice, and placed his children under his protection. He

may have been Prince of the Janiculum, and may have joined the Ramnes in their struggles with Veii and the Latins, upon condition of succeeding in his own person, or in that of his house, to the next vacancy of the Roman throne.

Our knowledge of Etruscan history is mainly derived from the light which is reflected upon it from the annals of early Rome, confirmed or corrected by deductions and collateral evidence: and it is possible that from our lack of historical materials elsewhere, we attach an unmeasured importance to the part which Rome acted in the great events of this period. Yet there seems to be no reasonable doubt that at this time, the City of the Seven Hills was a sort of common ground, whereon the different political parties in Etruria struggled for the mastery; an arena in which the great battle between aristocracy and democracy was fought. And according to the success of either party there, was its influence throughout the states of the Etruscan League materially determined.

The party at that time dominant in Etruria, of which Tarquinia may be accounted the head, was obliged, in the first place, to have a Resident, and in the next, a Governor, beyond the Tiber; because Rome was becoming a dangerous support and refuge for the discontented and struggling Etruscan Plebs. It is probable that in this sense, as head of the plebeian party, and fomenter of their divisions, Ancus Martius obtained the title of King of the Commons, which, on every real and valid ground, he seems to

have merited so much less than his successor, Servius Mastarna.

Tacitus (*Annals*, iii. 26,) tells us that the four first Roman kings were all authors of a portion of the Roman laws; though the great legislator was Servius, who even caused the king himself to submit to a power more sacred than his own. The laws of Romulus were Tuscan and Quiritary; those of Numa were religious; and those of Tullus related to the introduction of international rights.

We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that in Rome, there were Plebs from the beginning: and therefore the assertion which has been made, that Ancus Martius was founder or father of the Plebs, must have some other signification; and one probably in reference to his making common cause with the party favourable to the Plebs in Etruria. The belief that about this time, Rome had become, in a considerable measure, the theatre whereon was displayed the great struggle of political parties for pre-eminence in Etruria is confirmed by the observations of Livy, (ii. 1). He says that Rome was forced to submit to monarchical rule, during a lengthened period; and could not have existed without it, because she was an inviolable asylum for the fugitives and discontented of Italy, and a place wherein all strangers might find a home. Of this we have just had one notable instance, in the aristocratic emigration of Lucius and his retainers from Tarquinia; and we shall have another in the following

chapter, treating of the settlement of Mastarna, with the remains of the partisans of the Volsinian Cael Fipi, the great leader of the democratical, or rather of the liberal, party.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.

PERIOD OF THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS; FROM 615 TO 578
BEFORE CHRIST. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 572.

Accession of Lucius to the Roman Throne—Changes in the Senate—Circus Maximus—Arbitrary Changes of Lucius opposed by Attius Nævius—Royal Pomp of Lucius—Cloaca Maxima—Explanation of the expression “Tarquinian Dynasty”—More than one reign comprehended under that of Lucius—Inconsistency in the commonly received Account of the Succession to the Throne after the Death of Lucius—Latins and Sabines, aided by the Etruscan Liberal army, conspire against Lucius and are defeated—Triumph of Lucius—Account of Mastarna—Great power and extensive dominions of Lucius—Followers of Cai Fipi settled on the Cælian Mount.

WE have two versions of this period,* by no means similar, and we shall give them both. First, the account of Livy; and secondly, the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and then we shall deduce

* Authorities—Livy i.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, iii. Ancient History, xi. 317, xvi. 82; Arnold and Niebuhr, in locis; Müller's Etrüsker.

from them such inferences as appear to us the most consistent with preceding and subsequent facts, and with existing monumental testimony.

According to the Roman legend, as transmitted to us by Livy, Tarquin the First was, in all his dispositions and in all his acts, Tuscan and Tuscan only. In his love of pomp, of art, and of amusement; in his strict and active government; in his moderation in war; and in his ideas of absolute power within the definite limits of established custom, senatorial approbation, and popular concurrence. Livy makes him at peace with Etruria all his days, drawing out of her his best workmen, his men of science, his models for all the great public works, and his entertainers and actors in the public games. According to this author, Lucius Tarquinius waged wars with only two Italian nations, the Latins and the Sabines, and conquered them both. One struggle was with the kinsmen of the Ramnes, and the other with that of the Tities; but he had no strife with that country which was the original cradle of the Luceres and of himself.

Livy again informs us that after the death of Ancus, Lucius set aside the opinion of the Senate, and the compact by which that body was bound to award the throne to one of its own members, Latin or Sabine, alternately; and that, in order to succeed, he availed himself of his great personal influence with the Curia, in which the Luceres were a numerical third; and, in consequence of the recent addition, both of the Tarquinian house, and of the

Janiculæse, they may have had a real preponderance. The *Curiæ* found it to be their clear interest to elect him; they therefore overawed the Senate to confirm the election, and Tarquinius rewarded them by raising immediately, and in virtue of his own will, a hundred of the *Luceres* to become part of the Senate, and to take their place ever after, in that body, by the side of the *Ramnes* and *Tities*. They now stood upon the footing of conquerors, and knew no other inferiority, excepting that of being called upon to vote last in order. But we think, even in this respect, that there may have been more equality than is usually believed, and that the second ten of the *Ramnes* may have voted after the first ten of the *Luceres*. We know that of the two great officers, the *Custos Urbis*, or Governor of the City,* and the Tribune of the *Celeres*, the first was always Prince of the Senate, and the second would necessarily and officially always be one of the *Decemprimi*. Now, in the reign of Tullus, Numa Marcius† a Sabine was *Custos Urbis*. Therefore, at that time, a *Tities*, and not a *Ramnes* was Prince of the Senate, and under Ancus, Tarquin himself appears to have been Tribune of the *Celeres*, and consequently a Tuscan must then have voted with the *Decemprimi*, and as one of their privileged number.

The Senate now, for the first time, consisted of

* On these officers, see Niebuhr.

† Numa Marcius is said to have been father of King Ancus Marcius.—Tacit. Ann. vi. 11.

three hundred members; each tribe furnishing an equal proportion: and Tarquin felt that the stability of his power depended mainly upon the support of the Luceres. Livy makes him engage twice in war with the Latins, and twice with the Sabines, without giving any reason for either. In his Latin war, Apiola, one of the freed townships of Alba, was taken and destroyed, and its spoils were dedicated to aid in building the most stupendous fabrics which have ever been raised in Europe. His first work was the common sewers, and his second the Circus Maximus, down in the Murcian valley, for horse races and wrestling, and for worship, like the other circusses, all over Etruria.

According to Niebuhr, the ground for the Circus had to be drained by the Cloaca Maxima, before its foundations could be laid; and the pleasure which his Circensian games afforded to the people, made them forgive the tremendous labour by which they were attained. The actors in these games, were, like our actors for public entertainment, and (contrary to the the spirit of the Greeks, all hirelings,) when not slaves. The Turrheni, like the Easterns of the present day, had no respect for those who spend their lives in mere amusement, and had a freeman throughout Etruria, or any of her colonies, joined in these games, he would directly have forfeited his honour and franchise. The charioteer, the public performer, and the gladiator, were held in no esteem, and the races were usually competed for by slaves. The only

exhibitions permitted to citizens without disgrace, were the war dances, which were often composed of noble boys, and the Attellanæ, moral plays, which were probably of a later date. The great games in this Circus of Lucius, Pliny tells us, were held only in honour of the great gods, especially the Triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and these were celebrated every year in September, at the beginning of the sacred year. These games were also held in honour of Vertumnus, Neptune, and the Dii Penates of Rome; each one of these deities being originally Etruscan. Votive games to the other deities had no fixed season, and might be observed here as in the other Circuses of the Rasena, at any time. The Circus Maximus was three English furlongs in length, and one and a-half in width, and was made to contain one hundred and fifty thousand spectators.

Tarquin's dynasty not only began but finished this enormous edifice, and to celebrate his great games, he brought his horses, his riders, and his wrestlers from Etruria. He appropriated particular seats for the Senators and Vestal Virgins; and behind them he placed the knights, that is the Celeres and Decuriones, giving them seats supported by timber, and raised twelve feet from the ground. He had ranges of shops in arcades built round the Forum, and it is not unlikely that he portioned them out to the different guilds, after the fashion of the regular Etruscan cities. He had a vast quantity of stone squared and prepared, to build a wall round the Septimontium, and all the

inhabited hill and valley besides, that then constituted the sacred and united city of Rome. The Aventine was appropriated to the Latin Plebs, and was never walled in; neither was the Capitol, which was sacred to the Patricians; neither, according to Niebuhr, was the Janiculum, which continued an independent fort.

Lucius was interrupted in his works by the Sabine war, and as he was resolved to increase the power of his own tribe and nation, he made that a pretext for creating nine hundred knights, all to be taken from the Luceres, and each Century of whom would have a separate vote among the *Populus*, so as, in fact, to overpower all the other votes, and throw the elections to office completely into the power of this one tribe. The *Ramnes* offered no resistance; they seem to have been crushed and nullified. But the *Sabines*, whose influence had not been set aside, (for Tarquin protected the *Marcii*, the house of the late king,) stoutly resisted the innovation. One of the Roman Augurs must always have been a Sabine, that is a *Titius*; and *Attius Nævius*, the *Titius*, who now filled the office, was a man of a bold, determined character, and resolved to maintain the privileges of the *Quirites*. He firmly told the king that he was going beyond his power, and was infringing on the sacred laws of the sacred city, in that thing which he was then attempting. In fine, he proclaimed that Lucius was acting not only arbitrarily but impiously, inasmuch as the Tribes, the Knights, and the *Celeres*, had all been established

by augury, and therefore no man could change them. Their fundamental number was the Etruscan Three, and it could neither be increased nor diminished by any after fancies, whether of royalty or priesthood.

Tarquin, not accustomed to contradiction, and having carried so much with a high hand already, mocked at the Sabine augur's plea, and told him that, with all his pretensions to interpret the divine will, he could not even guess the thoughts of a man like himself, nor say, whether the thing which he, Lucius, was at that moment meditating, was possible or not? The augur said, unhesitatingly, that it was possible; and on Tarquin answering with a laugh of triumph, that he was thinking if he could cut the whetstone beside him through with a razor; the augur immediately took a razor, or sharp broad knife, and in an instant cut it through. Whatever may be the truth of this tale, he, at all events, amazed and frightened Tarquin, who saw that he must push matters no further, and who, with the tact of wisdom, bowed reverently to the minister of the gods, and said that he would not increase the centuries, nor oppose himself to the divine law.

But neither did he abandon that plan on which he had set his heart, and on the success of which he probably rested the final stability of his rule. He distributed his nine hundred new knights amongst the old ones, making three double centuries, so that one half of all the votes were not only

those of his own countrymen, but of his own creatures; and out of the six half centuries, four were Luceres. Each of those double centuries now consisted of six hundred men. Arnold* conceives that he wished to create three new tribes, to be named after himself and his supporters, and that these three tribes would have furnished three new equestrian centuries. When he added to the original tribes, those houses which he was resolved to exalt, he made them the second class, or the class "Minorum Gentium" in the old centuries and Curia, the numbers of which were never altered. Niebuhr conceives† that such was the irritation produced by this violent act, that the third tribe in the Senate, until their members had filled some Curule office, were only Senatores Pedarii,‡ and were not suffered to speak, but only to reject in silence, or to walk over to the side which they supported. They afterwards gave Consuls to the Republic as well as the other two tribes. Cicero tells us§ that Tarquin the First assigned to the poor knights, horses and pensions from the state.

According to Livy the noble stand of Attius Nævius increased greatly the respect of the Romans for auguries; so that henceforth nothing was done without them, no officer was elected, no public assembly was held, and no peace or war was declared, unless the gods had been first consulted. We doubt not that the outward reverence of the prince, and the inward

* In loco.

† ii. n. 243.

‡ Nieb. i. n. 1014-15.

§ Dion. vii. 4.

reverence of the nation were both increased ; but as to the causes for which augury was consulted, and the times at which it was used, they remained exactly the same as before. No Italian of these ages would have acknowledged the authority of any council, or have followed to war any leader without its sanction.

Tarquin defeated the Sabines, and enjoyed an Etruscan triumph, going up to the chief temple of Saturnia in a chariot, with a crown of gold upon his head, composed of oak leaves and carbuncles, a purple mantle worked with a border of golden palm leaves over his shoulders, an ivory sceptre in his hand, and his prisoners of rank and spoils of war following. In the second Sabine war, Tarquin vowed, that if victorious, he would dedicate part of his spoils to the Etruscan Sethlans, (the Roman Vulcan,) or god of fire, whom we might almost imagine, from the marked manner in which he comes forward in early Roman history, even from the day that Romulus and Tatius built his temple, near the Comitium, down to this period, to have been the chief of the Roman and Sabine deities ; while we might suppose that Jupiter had been more entirely Turrhene. Probably Vulcan was only one of the forms of Jupiter, which is implied by his being his son, an emanation from him, an attribute of him, and not his power in full. The rest of the spoil, including the revenues of the conquered territory, Tarquin dedicated to build a temple to the great threefold Jupiter of the Tuscans ; to the three deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva under one roof, typifying the three sacred at-

tributes and powers of wealth, strength, and wisdom.

Tarquin was successful by means of his well-appointed and devoted cavalry, and he signalized the war by burning down the wooden bridge over the Anio, which, during the peace of the two nations, had been built in the time of Tullus. Collatia, a beautiful and powerful town of Sabina, he took by storm; and Livy gives us the form of *Deditio*, which is interesting, because it is the form which Rome herself was afterwards obliged to subscribe to *Por-senna*; and we therefore find that it was common to the Tuscans with the rest of the Italians, and we have no doubt that it was introduced by them into Italy. The king asked the heralds, "Are you ambassadors on the part of the people of Collatia, to surrender yourselves and your city?" They answered, "We are." "Are the people of Collatia at their own disposal?" "They are." "Do you then surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia; your city, lands, waters, boundaries, temples, utensils, all property, both sacred and common; and do you yield them to my dominion, and that of my nation?" The heralds answered, "We do surrender them." The king replied solemnly and publicly, "I do accept them;" and then, all, of whatever nature that had once been possessed by the vanquished, henceforth belonged to the conqueror. Lucius appointed his nephew Egerius, the Tarquinian, to be the governor of Collatia, and this town was incorporated in Lucius's dominions, and admitted to communion and connexion with Rome, as is proved by the de-

scendant of Egerius, under Tarquinius Superbus, marrying Lucretia, a Roman princess. Egerius henceforth took the name of Collatinus. After this, Lucius warred with the Priscan Latins, and took seven of their principal towns, extending the dominions of Rome considerably towards the north; and indeed every one of the cities enumerated by Livy, excepting the Phoenix-like Medulia, are usually located in Sabina, but Cameria and Crustumium had joined the new Latin confederation after the fall of Alba.*

The spoils and captives of these conquests were all dedicated by Tarquin, like the others, to further public works. He commenced the great wall, portions of which still surround Rome; and he continued the stupendous common sewers, which have been the wonder and admiration of every succeeding age, and which will continue to command the homage of mankind for their magnitude, utility, and skill, so long as the eternal city shall lift herself above the Tiber. The purpose of these vast canals, which ran in right lines under the streets, was to drain the many marshes which lay, with their stagnant waters, between the seven hills. We may say of Lucius, the Tarquinian, that no king in Rome before him could do such works, neither did any after him equal him in grandeur.

The great Cloaca which carried off the waters of the Velabrum, was built at a depth of forty feet,

* Livy names Ameriola, Corniculum, Cameria, Crustumium, Ficulnea, Medulia, and Nomentum.

in three vaults, thus, the innermost forming



a circle of eighteen Roman palmi in width and height. The mouth into the Tiber is the same. All the Cloacæ are formed of hewn blocks of stone, tunnelled out of the seven hills, seven and a quarter palmi long, and four and one-sixth high. The stones are fixed without cement, and the greater part of them have never required repair. Pliny* examined this gigantic work seven hundred years after the time of its construction, and he gives us an account of it which exceeds all that we could have imagined of its vastness and substantiality. The Cloacæ were in many different branches, which emptied themselves by one main trunk, into the Tiber west of the Palatine. The arches of those which drained the Palatine, and the Saturnian, the Quirinal and the Cœlian, where the waters in winter used to run like rivers, were so high, that a cart of hay could pass through them; so wide that a navigable stream could run freely under them; and so strong, as to support above them the weight of many storied houses. They were cut through the hills and masses of rock, and when they had to be repaired, the Censors gave one thousand talents to the person who undertook to cleanse them. In A.D. 1742, one of these sewers was found passing under the Comitium and Forum, and up to the Saturnian, and it was one of the few which had undergone considerable repair, as Niebuhr thinks, about the end of

* xxxiii.

the first Punic war. The largest of all the sewers was the work of the second Tarquinian dynasty, and Superbus was execrated for the cruelty and disregard of life with which he carried it on. Though these sewers, begun by the first Lucumo, were not completed as a whole, for seventy or eighty years * afterwards, we yet know that those of the Velabrum, the Murcian Valley, and the Valley of the Forum, were devised and finished by the first projector, because the Circus Maximus and the Forum could not have been built, far less† used, until after their construction. The great Roman Forum was beautified by Lucius, at the foot of the Saturnian, after the drain beneath it was completed. The Forum of Romulus and Tatius must have been upon the hill, and not below it.

Nothing could be more natural than such an idea and such a performance, for a scientific, large-minded and rich Etruscan Lucumo, because draining, mining and tunnelling were the very spirit of his nation, and characterized its works from the valley of the Po and the Ticino, throughout the lakes, marshes and valleys of Italy, wherever the Tuscans had settled. If Livy had been in his heart, as he was by birth, a Tuscan; and if he had composed a *Romance* of a Tarquinian dynasty once ruling in Rome, the common sewers is certainly the first work that he would have attributed to the first Lucumo. As it is, the coincidence did not even strike him, and he relates it from the legend with all the cool-

* Livy i. 56.

† Niebuhr i. n. 936.

ness of one to whom the early Etruscan greatness was alike a thing of course, and a matter of the most profound indifference.

We suppose branches of these colossal sewers, and the Circus Maximus, to have been the only two great works commenced and finished under the first Tarquinian dynasty, because Lucius certainly only chose the ground, and collected the materials for the great temple, which was built by Tarquinius Superbus, and because the dynasty which succeeded his, carried on and completed the wall. It may be, that the people continued to labour in the sewers as well as at the wall, under the Volsinian chiefs. But Livy and Pliny speak of them as the works of the Tarquinii only. They say that because of the disagreeable nature of the employment, its comparative novelty to the Latins, the rigour with which it was enforced, and because the free men were compelled to labour along with Latin slaves under Etruscan taskmasters, they groaned with their toil and travail, and loathed it, and remembered it with horror.*

Tarquinius was, notwithstanding, a very popular and glorious sovereign, and the Romans remembered with just pride, how he had enlarged their dominions, beautified their city, and made Rome a great power in Italy, though he had set at nought their Senate, extinguished the influence of the Ramnes and the Tities, and forced all his own subjects, as well as strangers, to contribute to his public works. We

* Plin. xxxvi.

need not stop to prove that Etruscan men of science superintended all these vast constructions, vast even in mere idea, when it is from Rome's own early historians that we learn how, during the first ages, all her noble youth were sent for education into Etruria and how she had no native artists until after the building of the temple of Ceres.*

We should, perhaps, explain what we mean, when we say that the "Tarquinian dynasty" executed so many of these gigantic works, and that the "Volsinian dynasty" executed others, instead of the usual phraseology, that Lucius was the author of the former, and Servius Mastarna of the latter.

Niebuhr has unquestionably proved that the early Roman history was kept in memory, not so much by yearly annals as by popular songs and legendary tales. Hence we know only of seven kings of Rome during a space of two hundred and forty-four years, each one of these being an elective sovereign, and come to man's estate before he mounted the throne, and all but two of them quitting the world by a violent death. It is certain that during this period, there were many more sovereigns, not only in every state of Italy, but in every kingdom of the world. It is probable that Rome had at least twenty monarchs during this period; but, as in the monuments of Egypt—the stone of Abydos, for instance—we frequently find only the head of a dynasty put for the whole; so, in Rome, the less prominent and famous kings died

* Cicero.

without any enduring record ; and those only were remembered who were the authors of great changes, the others, as it were, merging into their shadows.

Thus we have Romulus, the sacred founder of the new sacred colony ; Numa, the lawgiver ; Tullus, the father of the conquered Albans ; Ancus, the patron of the Italian plebeian party, to which Rome was a refuge and support ; Tarquin, the establisher of Tuscan rule ; and so forth. Each of these names including within it, the less noted followers of the paths which these princes marked out. Lucius denotes the Tarquinian rule ; and probably not less than four Lucumoes in succession, governed in that interest, during the thirty-seven years given to their actual sovereignty, and the sixteen years attributed to the Resident Lucumo before that actual sovereignty commenced.*

Livy makes the last acts of sovereignty in Lucius

* It may throw a gleam of light upon this subject to observe the inconsistency in the ages of the so-called father and son, Lucius Tarquinius the ancient, and Tarquinius Superbus, the eldest son of the murdered monarch ; who, when Mastarna succeeded, was only nine years old. Tarquinius Priscus, according to the legend, was upwards of five-and-twenty when he took up his franchise on the Janiculum, or he could not have contended for a place in his own Senate ; and he must have been in Rome forty-three years before this child was born. It is certain that the ages of the princes usually styled first and second Tarquin do not harmonize in such a way as to admit of their having been father and son. They doubtless belonged to the same family, and the one was probably a more remote descendant of the other.

to have been marking out the ground for the great Triune Temple of Saturnia, and yielding up his power by treaty to the Volsinian prince, Mastarna, the captain of the Etruscan malcontents, and best known to us as Servius Tullius. According to the legend, the great Tanaquil herself superintended the education of this youth, who, like all the Italian princes in the early ages, was carefully brought up to fill stations of the highest power and trust. And when Tarquin and Tanaquil found (which they could only do by trial) that he was worthy of a crown, they set aside, in his favour, their own children, Lucius and Aruns, and helped him to ascend the throne in their place.

Human romance, affectation, and folly, could go no further. Let us note the inconsistencies of the story. The young Tarquinius, though fierce and unscrupulous, arbitrary and haughty, meekly submit to Tanaquil's superior judgment. On the other hand, the house of the Marcii, the race of Numa and Ancus, weary of the Tuscan rule, are made to conspire against the Lucumo and slay him, deriving therefrom no benefit to themselves or to the Latin and Sabine element in the state, but quietly retiring, after having done the deed, not even leaving the way of succession to the ambitious family of their victim, but to a stranger and foreigner, a man of a different political party, whom that family put forward, and to whom they yielded all their claims. Such was the turn of the Roman song, and it was pleasing and familiar to the ears of the people.

From Livy's account we may gather that in the early lay, Servius Mastarna was represented as a fiery-headed youth, who came upon the Tarquinian royal family as by miracle; that Tarquin hesitated as to what part he should act in opposing him, and how far he could do so with effect; and that Tanaquil,* or the queen who filled her place, insisted upon propitiating him, and bound him to them by marriage, by allowing his followers equal rights and privileges with the Romans, and by securing to him, on their decease, his own accession to supreme dominion. His mother was Ocrisia, a captive lady, wife to the chief of Corniculum, or more probably, according to the Etruscan tale, wife of the chief of Cortinessa, close to Tarquinia, who, in the civil wars which then raged throughout Etruria, was taken prisoner by Celes Vibenna of Volsinia; and thus the child was brought up by him, and became his disciple and companion.

Müller believes that during the first Tarquinian dynasty, Rome was the great border fort of Etruria, maintaining *her* supremacy over the Sabines and Latins, and that Celes Vibenna and Mastarna conquered the state, and thus introduced a hostile and independent dynasty, in which they endeavoured to work out their own beau ideal of a perfect Italian constitution.

* There is another queen, Gaia Cecilia, named by Roman historians instead of Tanaquil; and she must have been the second wife of Lucius, or, much more probably, the wife of one of the successors of Lucius, as head of the first Tarquinian dynasty.

Almost all this account which we have hitherto related, is from Livy. Dionysius* varies from him considerably, and adds much to our knowledge of what more the legends relate of the first Tarquinian rule. He says that after the Latin forces had been defeated at Fidene, an assembly of that nation was held at Feronia, in which they decreed to ally themselves with the Sabines and Tuscans against the arrogant and dangerous Tarquin. These Tuscans, with whom the Latins and Sabines allied themselves against the Tarquinian power in Rome, must have been the discontented or liberal faction headed by Cale Fipi. It is a question more easily asked than answered, whether Mastarna was actually engaged in this contest, or whether it took place before the Etruscans of his party had gained their settlement on the Cœlian Mount. It must suffice us to know that the army of the liberal faction, after an unsuccessful struggle in many states of the league, invaded the territory of Rome—then the stronghold of aristocracy—under their warlike leader, Cale Fipi, and his lieutenant, Mastarna. After several defeats, their ambitious attempts were, ultimately crowned with success; they first gained a footing on the Cœlian, and in time, obtained a predominating influence in the Holy City.

The united Latin, Sabine and Tuscan army was twice defeated in pitched battles, and then sued for peace, which Tarquin granted, as regarded the Latins, on condition of tribute, and that he should

* L. iii.

be admitted to share the command of their armies along with the chief princes of Latium. This we learn, because it is a claim advanced by Tarquinius Superbus, and not denied by the Latins. Lucius also at this time, doubled his six equestrian centuries; that is, he added to them an equal number of Latin cavalry,* and they served together in Maniples; for as the army was Lucius's army, he gave to it his own discipline. The Romans were at this time, in command of the Latin armies; for Tarquinian Rome, under the dynasty of the Lucumoes, was queen of the Priscan Latins. If Priscus has any other meaning than "ancient," or "elder," or first,—if it is a substantive, and not an adjective, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus must now have taken this cognomen, and must have won it as a title of honour, after his triumphant treaty with the Priscan Latins. Livy gives the name of "Prisci Latini," not to any particular tribe, but to all the Alban Latins, as well as to those whom Niebuhr wishes to distinguish from them; and we do not believe that this word in general is capable of any other translation than that of "ancient,"—a mere adjective, constantly repeated before certain substantives, in the old ballad form, like the "wicked Tarquin," the "false Sextus," or the "brave Herdonius."

Dionysius does not detail the terms of this treaty with the Latins, but says that their Tuscan allies sent themselves to the king to demand the release of their men who were prisoners; upon which Tarquin detain-

* Nieb. l. n. 892; ii. n. 35.

ed the ambassadors, and the twelve states were so angry at this breach of national law that they declared a general war against him, and decreed that any *Lucumony* which stood neuter should be cut off from the alliance. The Tuscans then ravaged the Roman lands, and mastered *Fidene* by treachery; but, upon *Lucius* coming against them with *Collatinus* and his new Latin and Sabine allies, they were defeated, first near *Veii*, and then near *Cere*. *Fidene* was re-taken, the traitors in it being whipped to death, and their lands forfeited. The Tuscans were a second time defeated, near *Eretun*, by the united army of Romans, Latins, and Sabines, and the war lasted, altogether, nine years. The Tuscan *Lucumoes* then concluded a peace with the *Tarquinius Lucumo* of Rome, and admitted him into their own alliance, giving him all the honours of a Tuscan king. They sent him a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, a tunic embroidered with gold and adorned with figures of palm branches, and a purple robe embroidered in flowers of various colours; and these he wore at his triumph, and never afterwards laid aside.

When *Lucius* was admitted into the Etruscan league,—when he also could appear at the meeting of *Voltumna*, and put in his claim to lead the armies of *Turrhenia*, and to be saluted as *Embratur*, or Emperor, by her troops, he seems to have attained the summit of his ambition; and he used henceforth to appear in public in a gilt chariot, drawn

by four horses, and clothed, like the monarchs of the East, in purple and gold, with the crown upon his head, the sceptre in his hand, and attended by the twelve Lictors with the axes and fasces.

The great Tarquinian Lucumo, who, from a Resident, became a Sovereign in Rome, in order to check the rising spirit of the Plebeians, was lord paramount, not only of the Priscan Latins, but of Tyrrhenian Latium also. He governed Ardea, Antium, Circeii and Terracina; lands of the Rutuli and the Volsci, but which belonged to Tarquinian Rome when the second Tarquin was deposed, and which, not having been conquered either by him or by Mastarna, their acquisition must necessarily fall within this period. Their subjection is monumental as well as historical; for their names were engraved upon the brazen tables seen by Polybius, which contained the Roman treaty with Carthage, made in the first year after Superbus's deposition. The whole western coast of Italy from Luna to Phistum, with the exception of Cuma and Parthenope, was at this time in the possession of the Tyrrhenians; and Lucius Tarquinius, under whose auspices Ostia was built, first introduced Rome into the Tyrrhenian maritime and commercial world. It was under his protection* that L'Aricia† and Laurentum sent forth their ships to sail in company with the justice-loving Cerites and the enterprising Populonians. Niebuhr (vol. i.),‡ in his critique upon the

* Nieb. i. n. 1131-1183.

† Dion. vii.

‡ vol. i. n. 929.

Tarquins and Servius, says that the union of Rome at one time with Etruria, is one of the few facts of the historic age,—that she received from that country her lasting institutions, and was the great and splendid capital of an Etruscan state, probably of an Etruscan king, who executed the gigantic works which still attest his power and magnificence, and who was identified with Tarquinius. Strabo (v. 220) speaks of Tarquin as a benefactor to Etruria; but it is not impossible that he may have confounded him with Tarchun, the original hero and leader of the Rasena.

What parts of the inconsistent story of Tarquinius Priscus and Mastarna are garbled and metamorphosed, and what are the true features of the case, it is difficult for us now to discover. But this is certain,—that when the Tarquinian dynasty in Rome opposed or yielded to Celes and Mastarna, it acted singly, and without compromising any state of the Etruscan league, unless, perhaps, Cere. Celes and Mastarna, both celebrated warriors of Volsinia, and patrons of the plebeian cause, were driven out of Etruria, at the time when they appeared before Tarquinian Rome, and by force or treaty, established themselves upon the Lucerum. This part of the city in consequence, changed its name, being given up to Celes Vibenna. It was his burial place, and thenceforth called the Cœlian Mount. The Tuscan troops who joined the Latins and Sabines, and helped them against Lucius, were the soldiers of these liberal chiefs; and the twelve states

of Etruria seem to have conferred great honour upon the Tarquinian and Roman prince who effected, though but temporarily, their discomfiture.

Müller draws from this story, that the twelve states of Etruria Proper at this period, owned Tarquinia as their head, and that Rome belonged to the league, whilst part of Latium, weakened by the destruction of Alba, was taken into the Tuscan Isopolity and alliance. The Tarquinian nobles were all Isopolite in Rome, and it became the great boundary city of Etruria beyond the Tiber, and was for this cause, strengthened beyond every city of Latium or Sabina. We have again and again, the Latin testimony that the glory of Rome at this period, was not the work of native artists, and also that under the kings, Rome was a far more regularly built and beautiful city than it was after its restoration, which followed the burning by the Gauls.* It was then meanly and irregularly reconstructed according to each man's fancy, for want of public funds and a compelling public authority.

* Livy v. 52.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.

PERIOD THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS.

B. C. 615 TO 578. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 572.

Celes Vibenna and the army of the liberal faction gain an establishment in Rome—Tarquin prepares to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—Opposition and fate of Attius Nævius—Flight of the Marcii from Rome—Tarquin and Mastarna reign together—Death of Tarquin—Gaia Cecilia—Memory of Tarquin revered—Office of Quæstor—Idols introduced into Rome by Tarquin—Troubles in Etruria—Fragment of Etruscan history by Claudius, preserved in an inscription—Birth and early history of Mastarna—Northern states of Etruria politically opposed to the southern—Ruin of Vetulonia—The admission of Mastarna and the party of Celes Vibenna into the Roman state gives tranquillity to Etruria—The Etruscan league on the banks of the Po—Invasions of the Gauls—Settlement of the Gauls at Milan—Intercourse of the Etruscans with foreign states.

WE have now arrived at a most important period of Etruscan history, when the struggles of political faction reached their height, and by their violence shook the League to its very centre. Discord, which

had for some generations existed between the different states, had now broken out in open war. The party who were discontented with the existing state of things formed themselves into hostile array, and sent forth bands, to compel the extension of those privileges which were denied to their demands. The army of the insurgents found an able leader in Cale Fipi, or Celes Vibenna, a noble of Volsinia; but we are unable to follow its progress, or to trace its martial achievements in any detail. We only know that war was carried on throughout the length and breadth of Etruria, and that the efforts of the insurgents were, on the whole, unsuccessful. The system of government in the different states does not appear to have undergone any material change; and the power of the aristocracy, though shaken, still continued generally to predominate.

Having traversed Etruria, Celes Vibenna and his army appeared before Rome, where, as we have seen, the aristocratic principle had established itself, as in a sure fastness, under the auspices of the Tarquinian Resident, now King, by the name of Lucius. Here, although with varied fortune, the liberal cause had ultimately better success than elsewhere. The Etruscan army, with their Latin and Sabine allies, had indeed sustained defeat from the able and powerful Tarquinian prince; but, notwithstanding temporary discomfiture, Celes Vibenna and his host obtained, either by force of arms or by treaty, a settlement in Rome, on the Cœlian Mount, and a

recognized status and position in the commonwealth.

When masters of the Cœlian, Cale Fipi, Mastarna, and their followers, were at first mere Plebeians, as concerned the Roman government, having Roman lands and rights, but not belonging to the *Populus*. The *Curiae*, however, presently found that it concerned their own safety to elect them members, and to pronounce them eligible for the Senate, and possessors of all the rights and privileges which had formerly been conquered by the Sabines from the original Albans, and which never were yielded but to conquest alone. Mastarna, the fiery-headed, seems to have exacted the same terms from Lucius which Tatius did from Romulus,—he governed with him whilst living, and succeeded him when dead.

It is very unlikely that the aristocratic part of the twelve states of Etruria were ever at war with the *Lucumo* of Rome, and it is quite certain that they never did him homage. He never besieged one single city in that wide and flourishing domain, and the Roman troops never crossed the *Mons Ciminus* in Faleria, until three centuries after his reign. Nor did the Roman prince ever attempt to command the Tuscans as a Lord over them, or to make any progress, except in peace, through their country. He may have joined in the feasts of *Ikuvine* and *Voltumna*, but he never visited Arezzo, or any of the states of the north, which are said to

have been at strife with him, and which tried their strength against the states of the south during the war of liberalism carried on by Calp Fipi of Volturnia.

We doubt not that the great civil contests of Etruria lasted for nine years, as the legend says, and that Rome, during that time, supported Tarquinia, and fought until obliged to yield both rights and territory to Vibenna and the Plebeian party. In the second war with the Sabines, Dionysius makes the king divide his army into three parts: one under himself, the second under his younger son, Aruns, (instead of Egerius Collatinus,) and the third under Mastarna, now his colleague in everything, and filling to him the same place, of first in council and bravest in the field, which had formerly been occupied by himself to King Ancus Marcius. Thus his whole force was under the command of Etruscan chiefs. The Sabines, being vanquished, delivered up their strongholds to the king on honourable conditions—i. e., they became, in their turn, Roman Plebs—and the king gave back the prisoners without ransom, and entered the city in the glorious triumph of the Etruscans.

Lucius now desired to fulfil his vow concerning the great temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and he consulted the celebrated augur, Attius Nævius, as to its most propitious site. The Sabine fixed upon his own hill, Saturnia, near the spot where Tatius and Romulus first sacrificed together. And doubtless there could not possibly be a more

imposing representation of the indissoluble union of the three tribes and nations, than that on this very spot the Tuscans should enthrone and worship their great god of gods. Lucius had the top of the Tarpeian levelled, and the ground plan of his temple marked out. But then arose a great difficulty. This part of the hill was full of shrines,—and by the laws of Tages, no nation was to put away its gods. Lucius may have hoped, by this unlooked-for obstacle, to remove his temple to some of the original Tuscan stations, to the Janiculum, the Vatican, or even the Caelian. But the immoveable augur again consulted his signs, and gave for answer, that all the gods were willing to move and make way for Jupiter, excepting only two,—Juventus, or Youth, and Terminus, the Etruscan god of boundaries, adopted and fixed there by Numa. These two would not move; for Rome was always to be young, and her boundaries were not to be invaded by her enemies. Lucius again bowed to the Sabine seer, and enclosed the two altars within his temple. But his purpose had been balked. Attius was too influential and troublesome, and he disappeared. The house of the Marcii said that the King had caused his death; but he proved himself innocent, and the Populus (the principal part of whom were his creatures) were so angry with the Marcii that they were obliged to banish themselves in order to save their lives. They retired to Suessa Pometia of the Volsci. Servius Mastarna summoned them in the king's name to answer for their malice, and on their

non-appearance, he declared their persons infamous, and their lands confiscated. He thus, by the happiest fortune for himself, got rid of those who might hereafter have been troublesome competitors for the supreme power. Lucius then erected a bronze statue to Attius, and the commotion was appeased.

Lucius appointed two Vestal Virgins to represent the women of the third tribe, which he had placed in the Senate, and he caused one virgin Pinaria, who had broken her vows, to be burned alive. From this we gather that he filled the office of Pontifex Maximus, and this punishment was introduced from Etruria. He erected schools for youth, and courts of justice in the Forum, and seems to have laboured zealously for the improvement and civilization of the state which he ruled.

It is somewhat difficult to conceive the position of the Roman government, and the degree of this king's power, during the latter years of his reign. Notwithstanding the uncompromising aristocratic spirit which had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength, and by which he was actuated alike in the Tarquinian Patriciate, and on the Roman throne, he at length found himself compelled to yield, in a measure, to an opposite element. He received into his state a large accession of the liberal faction, and even was obliged to admit the chief of this faction to a share in his government. How the unbending aristocrat of Tarquinia and the Lieutenant and successor of Cale Pipi, the Volsinian patron of the Ple-

beians could act in concert, nay, even reign together, is one of those strange inconsistencies which seem impossible in theory, but which sometimes practically occur, which are matters of historical fact, but which, on account of improbability, would be discarded from well-regulated fiction.

Perhaps some solution of the difficulty may be found in the fact that Lucius and Mastarna were both Etruscans, and that the scene of their rule was a state, properly speaking, not Etruscan, though in it Etruscan influence predominated. It is possible that the great political differences which existed between them, may have been, in a measure, merged in the consideration of their ruling together over a foreign city. And the fact of the deadly animosity of the Sabine party, and of the retainers of the royal Marcian house, makes this still more probable. The threatening attitude of a common enemy often brings to unity those who otherwise disagree. Another solution of the difficulty, and one which, we confess, seems the most probable, is the theory which has already been adverted to, of the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus in Rome, being the reign of a dynasty rather than of an individual. Under Lucius, several successive kings are probably comprehended. The Tarquin who admitted Mastarna to a share of his supreme prerogative was not the original founder of the dynasty, but one of his successors.

But to return to our story. The Marcii, from their banishment, plotted the death of Lucius, and

hired two peasants, one of whom killed him with a hatchet, whilst he was listening to the complaints of the other. Tanaquil is now again brought upon the scene, as a personification of courage, wisdom and strength of mind, an ideal of the educated and high-minded Etruscan woman. She ordered the palace to be cleared, and no one to be admitted, and she shut herself up with Servius Mastarna, his mother, and his wife, and desired him to assume the kingly authority, to administer justice in the king's name, and to mount the vacant throne. She then appeared at a window, and told the people that their monarch was merely stunned, and that his chief minister Servius would act for him until he was recovered. Servius, whom from this account, we must believe to have been the *Custos Urbis*, accordingly put on the royal robes, sat in the king's chair, was attended by the Lictors, heard cases from the throne, and promised to report them to the king. This conduct he continued until he felt his power to be secure, and then he proclaimed the sovereign's death as an event which had just happened, and gave him a magnificent public funeral.

He now appeared in public as king, clad in the royal robes, and under the protection of a strong guard. Livy says he had the consent of the *Populus* (or *Curia*), which this guard may possibly imply; and Dionysius says that he had that of the Senate, but both agree that in his first acts he set at naught all the legal authorities, and that he owed his success partly to fraud, and

mainly to the favour of an energetic woman.* This woman could not have been the Tanaquil who came with the Tarquinian Lucumo to Rome. But it was the lofty spirit of that Tanaquil in the bosom of another, and perhaps of Gaia Cecilia,† wife to one of the dynasty, whose spindle was hung up and preserved in the temple of Hercules, at Rome.‡ Hercules was the Etruscan husband of Minerva, and this spindle in his temple forcibly reminds us of the armed Palladium with the distaff, at Siris, near Crotona.

Niebuhr says § that the name of Lucius Tarquinius is memorable because with him begins the real grandeur and splendour of the city; and he proves, as we have already remarked, that the common sewers must have been undertaken amongst the very earliest of his works, because it was on the ground thus drained, that he built the Circus Maximus and the arcades of the Forum. He likewise redeemed the land down to the lower Suburra, and embanked the Tiber. He believes that all these were executed by severe task-work, but yet that Tarquin strove to lighten and cheer the labour of the people, by giving them games and amusements, and interesting them with religious processions and war-dances. || Certain it is that his memory was honoured and cherished by the children of those

* Dion. Hal. iv.

† Gaia and Caelia are both Tuscan names.—Müller Etrüsker. Hypogeum.

‡ Plin. iii. 7.

§ i. about n. 892.

|| Dion. vii.

who had endured these labours, and the Romans remembered him with so much fondness, that in time they imputed all their miseries only to the proud, though not less glorious Tarquinius Superbus. Livy (ii.) says, that had monarchy been abolished before the tyranny of the second Tarquin, it would have been the destruction of Rome, as the kings all reigned for the good of the commonwealth, and were necessary, in order to bring about its development.

One other reason why the Romans forgave Lucius the despotism by which he made them great, was, that all classes alike, his own Centuries, his favoured Luceres, his own clan, and his new subjects, were obliged to contribute their share without any partiality. The Patricians were forced to pay the tenth of their olive, vine, and pasture lands, and were not allowed to have any portion of their estates uninhabited and uncultivated. They were, indeed, not free during this dynasty, but they were equally and wisely governed; and though the sovereign insisted upon having his one-tenth of what the land ought to yield, the other nine-tenths were secured in full to the rightful owners, so that his despotism was that of a father, and turned most to the benefit of those who submitted to it most implicitly. Each head of a house was obliged to give land to every free husbandman amongst his followers.*

The common sewers and the Circus Maximus

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. n. 347.

were chiefly built from the spoils of the Latins and Sabines, and they furnished the provision which the *Lucom* made for the great temple of Jupiter, and which Plutarch (in *Poplicola*) estimates at thirty thousand weight of silver, that is to say, the cost of the materials was equal to this value. Livy, after Fabius Pictor, says, with more probability, that their worth was only forty talents, i. e. £7750.

In order that the spoils might be fairly appreciated, and that the king and soldier might each receive his due portion, Lucius appointed two Patrician officers constantly to attend the camp, in whose presence every article was to be valued before any could be appropriated, and who were accountable for the whole amount to the public treasury, which belonged to the three tribes, in equal shares. They were called *Quæstors*, and after the expulsion of the kings from Rome, their term of office was limited to a year. It was their duty in the city to receive and attend ambassadors, and to provide them with lodgings and other necessities at the public expense. Tacitus says* that the sovereign or representative of the sovereign had alone the power of electing them until the time of the *Decemviri*. In Etruria, they would probably be appointed by the chiefs of each state. Some writers attribute the introduction of these officers to Tullus Hostilius, after the fall of Alba, and some would make them as late as Mastarna. But it is evident that Lucius, the funds for whose magnificent works were, in the

* Ann. xi. 22.

first instance, supplied by his spoils, and who is never accused of having withheld their lawful portion from his soldiers, must have had officers whose duty it was to see them fairly valued. That any ancient author should have postponed them to the dynasty of Mastarna is a clear proof that their existence cannot be established before Rome came under the dominion of the Etruscans.

Lucius Tarquinius, according to the legend, at his death, left two sons,* Lucius or Lucumo, and Aruns, and two daughters, one married to Mastarna, and another to Junius,† a Patrician of the Alban race, from Bovilla, whose ancestor came to Rome with the first colonizers. Besides many large private estates, the Tarquinii possessed a beautiful palace within the city near the temple of Jupiter Stator, with a fine portico, for which Tarquinius Superbus claimed compensation when he was banished for the crimes of his son. Lucius introduced idols in human form, as they were worshipped by the Tuscans. Before this time, the Romans adored stones, and birds, and beasts and voices, but not the figures of men and women. Lucius is said also to have introduced human sacrifices, but no instances are mentioned, and therefore we think it is a mistake. He did not sacrifice his prisoners, and the Tuscan offerings of a bull, a sheep, and a pig, were coeval with the founding of Rome, and were used under the sway of all her Latin and Sabine kings.

* Livy i. 39.

† Junius Brutus was the descendant of this marriage.

During the whole time that Tarquinia exercised her authority for good or for evil over this frontier city, Etruria Proper was distracted with civil commotions, and with the fear of an invading enemy. Her period of tranquillity and greatest prosperity was over, her youth was gone, and from this time, even though she extended herself furthest in Italy, and though she became the acknowledged and triumphant head of the Sabines and the Priscan Latins, she gradually began to decline. Livy no more speaks of her, as he did in the days of Hostilius, as a nation mighty by land and much more so by sea. This is no longer her state of actual existence, but when next he dilates* upon her greatness, it is as upon a thing which has passed away.

"If," says Niebuhr, "we had the Tuscan annals of this period, we should correct the Roman history by them, and accept of them as truth." Let us then review what fragments can yet be collected from the general wreck. The Emperor Claudius wrote the history of this nation, and one very curious passage, uncontradicted by any other testimony, has been preserved in a public inscription, dug up at Lyons, in A.D. 1528.

One of the most severe losses which historical literature has sustained is that of the twenty books upon Etruscan History, written by this emperor. And a single sentence of one of his orations which has been strangely recovered in modern times, opens up most important views of the politics of ancient

* Livy v. 33.

Etruria. It is recorded in the eleventh book of the Annals of Tacitus, that in the year of the christian era 48, the chief men of Gallia Comata presented a petition that they and their countrymen might be received into the number of Roman citizens. Claudius himself did them the honour to advocate their cause before the Senate; and as a motive to grant their request, he gave the instances of strangers who had founded the most illustrious Roman races, and who had ruled with honour the Roman commonwealth.

The account which Tacitus gives of this oration is imperfect, as he has omitted some of the most illustrious of the instances which the Emperor cited. But in the year 1528, some workmen digging near the church of Saint Sebastian, at Lyons, found a brazen tablet on which was engraved the imperial oration, which had thus been preserved by the gratitude of the Lyonese Gauls, for the instruction of remote posterity. That part of the inscription which bears more especially upon Etruscan history, is as follows:—

“Quondam Reges hanc tenuere urbem nec tamen domesticis successoribus eam tradere contigit. Supervenere alieni et quidam externi ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis veniens, vicinus quidem sed tunc externus; et Anco Martio, Priscus Tarquinius propter temeratum sanguinem, quod patre Demarato Corinthio natus erat ut Tarquiniensi matre generosa sed inopi ut quæ tali marito necesse habuerit succumbere. Cum domi repellere-

tur a gerendis honoribus, postquam Romam migravit, regnum adeptus est. Huic quoque et filio nepotivæ ejus, inertus Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captiva natus Ocrisia, si Tuscos, Cœli quondam Vibennæ sodalis fidelissimus omnisque ejus casus comes. Postquam varia fortuna exactus, cum omnibus reliquiis Cœliani exercitus Etruria excessit. Montem Cœlium occupavit, et e Duce suo Cœlio ita appellatur. Mutataque nomine (nam Tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat) appellatus est ut dixi, et regnum cum reipublicæ summa utilitate obtinuit."

Thus we are informed by the most authentic sources of Roman history, that Mastarna was a Tuscan chief, whom the Romans named Servius Tullius, that he came from Volsinia, and that he was the constant companion and friend in arms of Cale Fipi, of Volsinia, that is, of Celes Vibenna, with whom he came to Rome. Mastarna was thirty years old when he ascended the throne, therefore he was born in the seventh year of Lucius's reign, and Niebuhr (i. n. 897) gives us three different accounts of his birth. 1. He was said to be the son of Ocrisia, and the Latin Prince* Tullius, of Corniculum, born and brought up in Lucius's palace. His father fell by the hand of Tarquin, and himself and his mother were Tanaquil's slaves. 2. He was said to be the child of Ocrisia and a Tuscan Lar; or of Sethlans, the god of fire. 3. His mother was said to be a Tarquinian, and his father a client of

* Dion. Hal. ii.

Lucius, and hence he was a servant of the Tarquini, adopted and raised by them above their own children and all the proud houses of Rome. No king in Italy, however despotic, would have ventured on such a step, and no senate would have confirmed it. The Tuscans make him of Volsinia, brought up by the prince of that state, and both his father and mother may, very possibly, have been noble captives from Tarquinia, or Cortenassa; and Livy says he cannot believe the legend that he was ever a slave.

We must allow twenty years to pass before Mastarna could distinguish himself, fighting at his master's side, or make a brave stand for the slaves, the debtors, and above all, the Plebeian ranks of citizens in Etruria, whose cause he so enthusiastically espoused. He and Celes Vibenna were figuratively said to be married to Nortia, or Etruscan Fortune,* the patron goddess of Volsinia. Mastarna afterwards built altars to her in every part of Rome, erected in her honour a shrine upon the bounds of the Agger, where Coriolanus† afterwards halted his conquering Volsci, called her his Egeria, and placed his image in her temple at the foot of the Esquiline.

Mastarna and Vibenna probably carried her image about with them, and wore her scarabæus under some Egyptian form, and fought under her standard, at the time when, Dionysius (iii.) tells us, that the five northern states, Rusella, Perugia,

* Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 281.

† Nieb.

Volterra, Aretium (now Arezzo), and Vetulonia, supported the Latins, or were supported by them, against the Tarquinian side. To these liberal states we must, of course add Volsinia and Clusium, because they were always anti-Tarquinian; and on the fall of that great Lucumony succeeded to the pre-eminence. Thus we should have seven of the Etruscan League arrayed for a time, against the other five, viz. Tarquinia, Vulci, Veii, Faleria, and Cere. Of the northern combatants, Dionysius tells us, that Rusella was powerful; Appian that Perugia was important, and Silius Italicus that Vetulonia was the most illustrious of them all. How true this is, and what she once was, how great, how beautiful, and how civilized, her ruins, with colossal walls, mosaics, amphitheatre, and even fragments of statues, still remain to show.

Those who are inclined to smile at the idea of giving those fragments so high an antiquity, may think of the ruins in Egypt one thousand years older, and still perfect, or may turn to the existing evidences of Etruscan durability before their eyes in Rome.

In the great contest which now took place between the aristocratic and democratic principles, or rather between the exclusive and the equitable, (for aristocratic and democratic, in our sense, scarcely existed in the ancient world)—in this contest, Vetulonia fell to rise no more. Her territories seem to have been portioned out amongst the League, some other great city, probably Rome, took her place;

and Vetulonia, the rich and illustrious, during the first hundred and fifty years of Roman history, is never mentioned again in the annals of Etruria.

It appears that Mastarna's parents were either Tarquinian captives, or else exiles after the fashion of Lucius himself, and hence, that wrongs felt in his own person or that of his family, made him so strenuous to extend and equalize the rights of Plebeians and freedmen, and to alleviate the miseries of the less prosperous classes. Cale Fipi, with his large army, which, like that of Napoleon, under despotic military government, fancied itself an army of liberty, was gradually beat out of Etruria, after the fall of Vetulonia,* and probably after separate treaties of peace made with the southern party by different members of the allied states. They passed through Sabina,† which occasioned Lucius's first war with that country, and, as we have noticed, they helped the Latins‡ and Sabines against Rome, and were mutually helped by them. Lucius's great battle under three Tuscan leaders represents the great engagement at the end of the nine years' war, which re-established for a short period, the Tarquinian supremacy. In this battle the troops, amongst whom were the Roman legions and the Etrusco-Roman Prince, are said to have been commanded by Lucumo, and Aruns, and Egerius. The two first were peculiar

* It would, from this, appear most probable that the destruction of Vetulonia was the deed of the aristocratic party, which increases the probability that the Roman Lucumony under Tarquin was admitted to supply its place.

† A. H. xi. and xvi. p. 270.

‡ A. H. xvi. p. 30.

Tuscan names for ranks, applicable to commanders from any state, and the last *Etshre* or *Egere*, for aught we know, may have been a third. *Tarquinius* was victorious. All the twelve states did her homage as they had ever done before, and Rome and her king were formally associated with the League, probably in the place of ruined *Vetulonia*. The *Priscan* Latins and the *Sabines* were admitted as subject allies, and perhaps were bound as well as permitted to attend the meetings of *Voltumna* and *Ikuvine*. This is Müller's view of the glimpses which we have into those regions beyond Rome, which came into contact with her early state, and it is quite in the spirit of other confusions of that perplexed legendary history.

The ancient bards sang the eulogies of Rome, as they did those of their deceased Patrons, and brought her in as principal, wherever her name could be traced. Where she fought as one of the allies, as in the case of *Tullus Hostilius* at *Alba*, they introduce her as the head. Where she was defeated, and on the brink of ruin, they retrieve her honour by fictitious victories and triumphs; and where *Tarquinius* is mentioned, they would, in the same spirit, transfer the glories of that state to their own *Tarquinian Lucumo*.

There is another view of this case, somewhat differing from Müller's. There are antiquarians who conceive that *Tarquin* at first was opposed to *Tarquinius* and *Veii*, and that he fought against them. He then made peace, and joined them against *Cale*

Fipi and the northern states. After this he was formally admitted amongst the Etruscan kings, and became at last, head of the southern division of the league. He was, however, after a long struggle, conquered by Cale Fipi and Mastarna, and he and his party were obliged to yield a portion of his territory and power to them, and to promise them the next succession to the throne of frontier Rome.

We have great difficulty in tracing out the history of Cale Fipi, and his powerful and well-disciplined army, and of reconciling it with the truths to which monumental history still bears testimony: more so, indeed, than we have in ascertaining through the mist, some grand and certain facts in the history of Lucius; such as his early triumphs, his conquests and glory, and then his strange and absolute submission to an adverse rule. It is certain, that after a desperate struggle, Cale Fipi and Mastarna were settled on the Lucerum, and had that quarter given up to them in perpetuity. Cale or Celes died there in peace, and Mastarna changed the name of the mount in his honour. Moreover, it was agreed to incorporate the noble families of the party of Mastarna along with the Luceran tribe in Rome; and to settle the succession to the supreme power after the death of Lucius, upon him as their leader, and as the representative of Celes Vibenna. It seems, therefore, that these were the concessions finally made to him and his party by all the governments of Etruria, who were probably glad to find an outlet with him and under his dominion, for all their discontented, restless, and innovating spirits.

In Rome, beyond the Tiber, the factious could breathe with freedom, and the Plebs could enjoy privileges which they might not obtain from the other states. A considerable portion of some province in Etruria was likewise yielded to them, as we learn from the Tuscan Plebeian tribes being equal to the Latin and Sabine. This view is confirmed by the long peace which endured in Mastarna's time. Hence, we believe that by means of his rule, the differences between the northern and southern states were composed. It was the great general Cale Fipi who took Fidene, and ravaged her lands, in punishment of Veii, and who appeared at the gates of Rome with a threatening force, when Lucius was unable to make head against him. And it was his Feciales whom Tarquin detained, treating them with contempt, as unauthorized ambassadors.

After the union of Mastarna and Lucius, or, in other words, the peace between Volsinia and Tarquinia, Mastarna is said to have joined Tarquin in all his wars, and to have gained one battle for him by tossing the standard into the midst of the enemy. He also governed along with him,* tempering his severity, and lightening his yoke. This he could effectually do by establishing an asylum on the Cælian, during the rule of the Tarquinian Lucumo, and stipulating that those who took refuge there should be under his protection, considered as his subjects, and safe from persecution. Mastarna now became the courteous but despotic

* Nieb. i. n. 901.

Resident, and Lucius Tarquinius felt himself a conquered man.

We have no record of any communication having been held, or of treaties having been formed, between the two great leagues of the northern and the central Etrurias, from the days of their first colonization until now, though we have no doubt that such existed, and that the commerce between them was unceasing: but the northern states in the region of the Po were less maritime and mining, than those of Etruria Proper, and were, moreover, far more unwarlike. During the reigns of the Tarquinian Lucumoes in Rome, the French Gauls or Celts, pressed by famine and over-population, passed the Alps, and settled themselves in the heart of northern Turrhenia, the Rhoetian or Rasenan Padus land. Livy (v. 34) tells us that the Celts formed the third part of this mighty race of men, and that their common ruler, according to the tradition, (perhaps according to the Tuscan records of those times,) was Ambigatus, a Celt, a man of large capacity, and who was mighty and prosperous. This king, finding his subjects too numerous for the land of Gaul, sent forth an extensive emigration from six of his principal tribes, dividing them into two bands, under his nephews Bellovesus and Sigovesus, and making them choose their routes by augury. We suspect that this augury is the Tuscan manner of relating the tale, and that, in reality, the Gauls drew lots as to the way they should go.

It fell to Sigovesus, that he should turn north-

east into Germany, towards the Hercynian forest; and to Bellovesus, that he and his people should go to the south-east, which naturally conducted them into Italy. The barrier of the Alps stopped the warriors for some time, but finally want, caprice, report, or superstition, impelled them to proceed. They entered at last by the Taurine Alps and Taurinian Forest into that goodly and sunny land, and having once seen it, they were not likely to return. The Tuscans fought them on the banks of the Ticino several times, and with various fortunes. Plutarch says, that when the Gauls first invaded North Etruria, the Tuscans dwelt from the Alps to the Apennines, and possessed the land from sea to sea; and that within this space they had noble woods, wide rivers, fat pastures, and eighteen large and flourishing cities, rich in trade and manufactures. The records which have come down to us have not preserved the details of any one battle, and only state that there were many. Niebuhr* has proved, in his critique upon the Gauls, that at this time they did not conquer much land, nor materially affect the position of the Tuscans. Livy mentions three subsequent inroads from Gallia, which may not have happened for two centuries later; and he says nothing of a vast horde, or overwhelming host of them, at this time conquering any tract of land, or destroying a single city.

The Tuscans of the Po were, however, vanquished so far, that they could not expel the in-

* Lib. ii. n. 1129 to 1170.

vaders, and they allowed them finally to effect a settlement in the midst of their fruitful plains. They ceded to them a small tract of country where Milan now stands, which the Gauls named *Insurbria*, after the province whence they had come, and where they built a city, which they called *Mediolanum*. When this people, two hundred years later, disturbed all Italy by their appearance at *Clusium*, they expressly denied any wish to destroy or injure the *Tuscans*, but only demanded once more a settlement amongst them "to share their lands;" and we, therefore, presume that this object, and not destruction, was the spirit of the first invaders, who gradually settled down into a peaceful and quiet tribe; keeping the faith of treaties, following their own laws and customs, and allowing themselves to have their wants supplied by their more civilized and industrious neighbours.

The next band of Gauls who invaded Italy, *Livy* tells us, came after an interval of many years, (and perhaps not until the second *Tarquinian* dynasty.) They were under a chief named *Elitovius*, and they settled like the *Mediolanese*, partly by treaty and partly by force, in the country about *Brixen* and *Verona*. They did not, however, destroy or occupy those cities, for *Pliny* (iii. 19) tells us that these were both *Rhoetian*, and *Livy* says, that beyond dispute, the *Rhoetian* nations were originally *Tuscan*. The *Umbri* and *Etrusei* possessed the land as far north as the sources of the *Inn* and the *Drave*, and ruled from the *Tyrrhene* to the *Adriatic Sea*, until the

great irruption, when Rome was burnt by the Gauls; and then they swept, like a whirlwind, through the land of Ausonia, knowing no difference between Pelasgi, Siculi, Latins, Sabines, Greeks, Volsci, or Opici, but involving them alike in one common overthrow, and experiencing a determined and manly opposition from the Rasena alone.

The commercial Etruscans must have heard, in this their sixth century, of the fame of Cyrus, and of his conquests in Asia Minor; for Harpagus, the general of that great king, whose deeds are represented in the old Tuscan style, upon the Lycian marbles in the British Museum, drove out a large number of Phocians,* who, in seeking a new settlement, ventured into the Tyrrhene seas. They did not attempt to try the coast of Italy, nor trust to the generosity of their own race, either in Sicily or Opica, but they sought in what they fancied was the extreme north, a refuge for the destitute, beyond the habitations of fortunate men, and they landed on a shore claimed by a tribe of Gauls,—at the spot, where now stands Marseilles. They say themselves, that whilst one tribe of this people opposed, another helped them, and enabled them to make good their settlement; in gratitude for which, their leader gave his Greek daughter to the chief of their protectors, and Massilia arose, a Grecian settlement between Etruria and Gaul, probably tributary to the latter, but protected and traded with by the former, and occasionally perhaps by both.

* Herodotus lib. i.

The Carthaginians from Corsica and Sardinia, and the Tuscans from Pisa, Lucca, Populonia, and all the northern ports, would soon form treaties of commerce with, and carry their wares to, this infant colony. But though the Tuscans did not attempt to destroy Massilia, they would not suffer Greek colonizers in general to traverse their seas; and they had, at this epoch, the fearful reputation of being cruel corsairs towards strangers. Some Turheni attacked the Dorians in Lipari, hoping for spoil and conquest, and when they were defeated, the happy victors dedicated a thank-offering to Delphi for their great escape, which offering Pausanias saw in the temple there.

Cuma maintained her close alliance with the Tarquinian division of Etruria Proper, but does not seem to have mingled in the distractions between the central north and south, in the great quarrel of the Plebeians and Patricians. How happy would many antiquarians be to deduce from these Massilians or Cumæans, or from the Asiatic Greeks, the magnificent and colossal works in which Etruria now abounded,—her tunnels and arched gates, her towers and amphitheatres, her stamped copper coinage, introduced by Mastarna into Rome, her sculpture, and manufactures in bronze, and clay, her beautiful armour, and her admirable skill in the workmanship of gold and silver,—but, above all, her gigantic masonry in the perfect vaults of the Roman Cloacæ, and in the architecture of the Circus Maximus! All these were abounding amongst the stran-

gers whom Greece distinguished and characterized as Philotechnoi, before we have any evidence of their existence in her own territory, or amongst her numerous and wide-spread colonies. Yet why should the Greeks alone, of all the people of the ancient world, have monopolized civilization and refinement? Surely it is enough for each people to rejoice in its own praise, and the sun may shine bright and warm on the rest of the earth, though he is vertical only in the tropics; nay more, he rises earlier, in moral as well as in physical nature, and sets later, amongst the people of other lands.

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA IN ROME.

Exaltation of the Plebs—Dedication of the Temple of Tiana on the Aventine—Despotic military power of the liberal chief—Arbitrary measures against the Patricians—Plebeian tribes—Plebeian army—Census of the people—Despotic taxation—Arbitrary measures in favour of the people, and against the aristocracy—Irritation of the Patricians—Conspiracy of the Tarquinian party—Head of the Tarquinian party and his wife Tullia—Death of Mastarna—Commonly-received accounts of it, and its attending circumstances—Various inconsistencies—Intention of Mastarna to abdicate, or change the kingly power—Magnificent works of Mastarna—The wall of Rome—He continued those of Lucius—His memory venerated by the people and hated by the nobles—Funeral of Mastarna—Comparison of his career with that of Lucius Tarquinius.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA, OR SERVIUS TULLIUS, FORTY-FOUR YEARS. B. C. 578. YEAR OF TARQUINIA, 609.*

WE now come to the period of the exaltation and independence of the Roman Plebs, and probably, for the time, of the Etruscan, Latin, and Sabine Plebs

* Authorities : Livy i. 40 ; Dionysius Halicar. iii. 1, iv. 2 ; Niebuhr's Rome in loco ; Müller's Etrüsker ; Ancient History xi. 330 ; xvi. 34.

also, established by the despotic prince, Mastarna. After he had confirmed his authority, by means of possession, through the influence of the great queen whose name never died from the memory of the Romans, and of a strong military force composed of his own dependents, his first act* was to resist an attack from Veii. The death of King Lucius Tarquinius put an end to the peace between Rome and that great Lucumony. Dionysius and the *Fasti Capitolini* preserve traditions of three battles fought with the Veientes at intervals of four, and of thirteen years. Being aristocratic in their principles, they were opposed to Plebeian innovation, and therefore they continued to assist the discontented Roman Patricians. But they were defeated and triumphed over, and forced to conclude a peace, which lasted during the remainder of this reign, or dynasty.

When Mastarna died, he had enjoyed twenty years of uninterrupted tranquillity, without, however, shutting the temple of Janus; and there was no dispute again between Rome and any Etruscan state, until Veii espoused the cause of Tarquinius Superbus. It does not appear that territory was lost or gained on either side; but the renewed peace with Veii and with the rest of Etruria greatly strengthened Mastarna's power. In order to prevent any other wars which might have impeded his internal reforms, he renewed Tarquin's league with the Latins and Sabines in the most imposing manner he

* He had desired to renew the league with all the aristocratic states, but Veii treated his ambassadors with scorn.

could devise. He had a meeting of the allies to offer up a solemn sacrifice together, and he caused the names of all the thirty Latin towns, and of the allied Sabines, to be written on a pillar of brass,† which was extant in Augustus's days.

Mastarna persuaded the Latins to build a common temple to their great goddess Tiana, on the Aventine—that hill which seems always to have been mutual property to them and the Romans—and here they were every year to keep a common feast; each chief was to offer alternately the great sacrifice, and a Tuscan oracle was consulted as to the future destiny of this temple. The oracle answered that the nation which first offered the sacrifice should rule. So far we believe, but according to the legend, one of the noble Sabines, an augur, dictator, or high priest, (and probably all three,) brought for his people a beautiful heifer of uncommon size, and hoped, in virtue of the gift, to offer it first to the Latin deity. The Roman priest would not contest his right, but exclaimed against the indignity of his offering it with unwashed hands.* The Sabine went to the Tiber to wash them, and in the meanwhile, the Romans offered up the heifer. Had this really happened, it would have been an unpardonable insult offered to the Sabines, and would have originated a fierce war between the two nations. But as all passed over without even a remonstrance, we see that this is one of those fictions of the poets which flattered the Roman ears with omens and pre-

* Nieb. i. n. 901.

dictions, ascribed to the past days of their early insignificance, that they were, at some future period, to be masters of the world.

The Sabines joined at this feast, not as principals, but as allies; and though it is very likely that they may have presented the finest of their herd, on the opening of a temple which was meant to be to them a symbol of perpetual peace, it is certain that the Roman or Tuscan priest must have been the person to offer up in Rome sacrifices to the great Latin goddess. We have, moreover, a curious light given us here. The Tuscans and Albans joined the other Latins, not in sacrifices to the Latin goddess, Diana, of whom we very seldom hear, but both at Alba and at Laurentum, in sacrifices to the great Tuscan god, the Triune Jupiter. The Latins as principals, and the Sabines as allies, are said now to join the Romans and Tuscans in sacrifices to the great Latin goddess, Tiana or Diana. Is this so? or has the ancient Tuscan Talna been transformed into Diana,* when the language changed, and the temples of Rome were burnt by the Gauls? We doubt exceedingly whether, in the early Tarchonic times, Juno or Talna was not synonymous with Diana or Tiana, and did not represent the lesser light of heaven, even as Isis, the Diana of Egypt, is often transformed into Greek Hera and Roman Juno.

Dionysius says that Servius, wishing to be, the

* Livy represents the Feciales of the Latins as calling upon Jupiter, Juno, and Quirinus, but nowhere on Tianus and Tiana, unless the names are synonymous.

acknowledged head of the Latins and Sabines, as Lucius Tarquinius had been before him, called a meeting of all the chiefs, and proposed to them to erect a common temple to Diana on the Aventine, and to hold feasts and councils (after the manner of Voltumna, Alba, and Feronia.) The Roman dictator was to offer the sacrifice, and then should follow a political assembly, to settle all disputes and to concert measures for the common interest. A fair was to be kept at the same time, where each one might supply himself with articles of necessity or luxury; for through the long tract of coast subject to Lucius, and through the port of Ostia, built under his auspices, Rome was now become a place of commerce. The princes agreed to Servius's proposal, and added, that this Fane should be an asylum for all their nations, and each city should contribute to build it, the king being allowed to choose the situation. He fixed upon the Aventine, the hill of the Latin Plebs, and the burial place of the Sabines, Numa and Marcus; and the laws of the meeting were engraved upon tables of brass, such as we see at Gubbio, in the Latin language, and in Greek, i. e., in Tuscan characters. They were extant in the days of Augustus, though to little purpose, as they could not be read.

From this time, Mastarna being at peace with all his neighbours, his authority was firmly established, and he began to show his deep hatred of the Patricians, and his resolution to free Italy from the dominion of caste, by raising up a power

equal to them, which should keep them in constant check. From this moment, all the ancient influence of the Quirites seems to have ceased. They were levelled with the Ramnes, and put to silence. No Marci struggled, and no Attius Nævius proudly raised himself for the rights of his people. No man ever ruled with more despotic power, or set the fundamental laws and institutions of a country, and the rights of its ruling classes more completely at defiance, than Servius Tullius. He hated the Patricians with a deadly hatred, which at last brought upon him his own destruction. He had no resource but to govern by the force of arms, and through the might of an army which he himself had created. He seized the throne by means of his strong guard in the first instance, and he kept it by his large Plebeian army in the last.

He had himself been twice a Plebeian. He was so, in the first instance, when a captive at Volsinia, where, though freed and made a citizen, and receiving a grant of land, he was not admitted into the Curia, and could not be, until adopted by the Patrician Cale Fipi. He was, it is true, born of a princely house; he became immensely rich; he had received a learned education; he was a man of first-rate ability and undaunted courage. But all this did not enable him to rule. He was a Tuscan also, probably of Tarquinia, yet a Plebeian, first at Volsinia, and then, for the second time, at Rome. It is true, he became a Patrician by adoption in both instances. In the one case, he owed it to the good feeling of Cale Fipi, and perhaps to the early friendship of

that chief for his parents; and in the other to his sword. But he had suffered deeply in his proud and sensitive mind, and he had brooded profoundly over the injustice of institutions which excluded from office, on account of birth, many of those who could be most useful to their mother country.

Every officer of his own brave army, every relative of Cale Fipi's family, was excluded from office at Rome, until formally adopted into the *Curiae*. The descendant of any family not a member of the three first tribes, though he might be prince of his house, rich in lands, and lord of thousands of clients, could aspire to no place in the government; and, except as a captain in time of war, could never distinguish himself, or hope to rise to eminence, unless adopted into the *Curiae*.

Mastarna, though called Servius, as one of the Roman Consuls was, two centuries after him, because he pitied, protected, and relieved all the oppressed, yet made an aristocratic and not a popular axiom the basis of his reforms, viz. that property, taxable property, should be the standard of political influence. No one was farther than Mastarna from any idea of the equality of men, or the levelling of ranks, the liberty and equality of our day. On the contrary, one of his first acts was to create, first six, and then twelve new bodies of knights, with hereditary rank, who headed all the Plebeian assemblies, and who took the first place in virtue of their birth alone.*

* Niebuhr i. (on army) is persuaded of this, because Polybius (vi. 20) says, speaking of his own time, "The knights are *now*

We may easily believe that his own companions in arms formed no inconsiderable part of these newly-created bands. Each company was called a Century, but the number of which it consisted was undefined and ever varying. To each of these, he gave a horse, a slave, and a slave's horse, or an equivalent allowance to purchase them. And this was to be furnished, as far as possible, by the widows, orphans, heiresses, and unmarried women belonging to the eighteen centuries; the rest being made up by the state. Mastarna allowed these men to dwell upon the Cœlian, but he ordered every Patrician* to quit that hill; and to such as felt the order a hardship and burden, he allotted residences in the *Vicus Patricius*† in the valley. He also forbade all the Patricians in the city to fortify their houses, as they had been in the habit of doing. His great object was to raise up a political and military power which should be anti-Patrician, at the same time that he dared not oppose what the auguries had established, and what common custom had made men regard as the irrevocable order of creation. He did not attempt to wrench the offices of state from the Patricians; he did not essay to tax them, to impose upon them new duties, or to infringe upon their *Agger*. However, little belonging to them in exclusiveness of spirit, he was now the head of their class; and whatever

selected according to fortune." And Zonaras says that the Censors could reward distinguished Plebeians of the first class by placing them in the *equestrian* order.

* Varro. de L. L. iv.

† Festus.

infringed upon them, would eventually fall upon his own family and house, for Mastarna had no idea of hereditary kingship, and therefore could only, as a ruler for life, separate himself from the nobles. He left to the Patricians all their clients, and the power which they had of relieving any Plebeian from distress, by receiving him into their clans. But he ordained that henceforth, all the Roman infantry employed and paid by the state, should be Plebeian, and Plebeian alone.*

He divided the whole population of the considerable country which he ruled, into thirty Plebeian Tribes, answering to the thirty Patrician Curiae. He divided them by the sacred Tuscan numbers, three and ten, allotting ten to the Ramnes, ten to the Sabines, and ten to the Tuscans, as we learn from the ten Tuscan tribes being obliterated, when the temporary Tuscan rule under Porsenna ceased; and again, from four being added, when a portion of the Tuscan country was regained, soon after the burning of Rome.

A division of the people into tribes had before been made by Lucius Tarquinius, for the Plebeians voted and were taxed according to their tribes, and the army was selected in the order of the tribes, before Mastarna's accession; an order which he overthrew by his centuries and classes. What was new in the act of Mastarna, therefore, with regard to these Plebeian tribes, was *equalizing* the three nations of Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans, in political power, allotting ten to each nation, and appointing

* Dion. Hal. iv. 10, 13. Nieb. ii. n. 349.

in each tribe three civil judges. After the war with Porseenna, the Roman tribes were reduced to twenty, and so their Plebeian judges, their Centumviri, were reduced to sixty.*

Mastarna commanded a census to be taken of all the people according to their taxable property. Dionysius (iv.) says that he required all the citizens to give, in writing, their names and ages, together with the names and ages of their wives and children; and all the chiefs were to render an estimate of their personal property with the names of their abodes in town and country. The "Common's King, the good King James," as Arnold is pleased to call him, ordered the Plebeians to submit to this inquisition under pain of confiscation, slavery, and death.

He next divided the Plebeians, i. e. the non-Patrician landholders, into six classes; the first of whom were possessors of 100,000 Asses and upwards, and from this there was a gradual diminution to the fifth class, which was rated at 12,500 Asses, which was the minimum wealth, entitling a man to vote. The sixth class including all those who were beneath this value, were of no estimation in the eyes of the state, and were not suffered to offer themselves as soldiers.

In order to facilitate this census, which according to Fabius Pictor, gave 84,700 fighting men, the liberal Mastarna threatened all who should fail to attend and enrol their names, with imprisonment and death.

* Niebuhr, i. n. 994-5.

Not satisfied with the knowledge which these measures gave him of the number and wealth of his subjects, he likewise commanded that every Roman citizen should pay a tribute upon the birth of his child, in the temple of Lucina; upon the death of a relative, in the temple of Juno Libitina, or Inferna; and on reaching manhood, in the temple of the Sabine Juventus, or youth. Again, each individual, man, woman, and child, was required to pay upon attending the Paganalia. And although the sums at which they were taxed were very small, they must, in the aggregate, have poured enormous wealth into the coffers of the king. The Lucina of Rome was probably the same with the Eluthya of Pyrgi.

The small money used by the common people of Rome, at this time, was, according to Pliny, leather, shells, and bronze.

Servius introduced into Rome, the As grave, that is, the stamped As of the Etruscans, according to the series which, as we find from the tombs, was current in Veii, Cære, and Tarquinia, viz. coins with the heads of Janus, Talna, Minerva, Ercele, Mercury, or Turms, and Minerva again, all bearing a prow upon the reverse. This was the Turrhenian emblem of commerce, and supposed by the Latins to be a Turrhenian invention. The As unstamped, was current long before this, all over Italy; and after the rule of the kings was closed, when the value of cattle was fixed by law, at one hundred Asses for an ox, and ten for a sheep, a cattle stamp of an ox was per

mitted, and the characteristic Latin name for money, as the representative of fixed value, became *Pecunia*. From Niebuhr* we gather that the *Pecus* stamp was not used until the *As*, which, in Mastarna's days, weighed twelve ounces, was reduced to eight, and that it was originally introduced to commemorate the fixing of the cattle fine.

Every Plebeian soldier was required to equip himself, and those of the first class were bound to be fully and richly armed in bronze Etruscan armour. This class was always headed by the eighteen centuries of Plebeian hereditary knights, chosen on account of noble birth, and the six *Suffragia* of the *Tarquini*. But as these six *Suffragia*, though minor houses, were all *Patricians*, we cannot believe that Mastarna would or could have suffered them to head the Plebeian assemblies. Instead of mixing the orders, he took pleasure in widening the distance between them, and in raising a complete counterpoise to the *Patrician* rule.

The second class had carpenters, armourers, and smiths attached to them; and the fourth had a band of wind instruments, consisting of horns and trumpets, of which the Etruscans are said to have been the inventors. The five classes altogether were divided into one hundred and seventy taxable centuries, of which the first class alone comprised eighty centuries, and the three first, one hundred and twenty. If they agreed, therefore, the votes of the others were of no consequence, and their decision could not be

* i. n. 1048, &c. &c.

reversed, because all the classes were called up to vote in order. In like manner, if the whole first class, including the eighteen centuries of knights, agreed, their decision was final, as their votes outnumbered all the others put together. Livy says, scarcely one instance ever occurred of the lower classes being called in to vote. Thus the influence of Mastarna's classes was in the inverse proportion of men and money. The largest property carried the most votes, and the greatest number of men by far the fewest.

These centuries, not including the hereditary knights, Mastarna again divided into equal numbers of major and minor, all the men above forty-five enrolling themselves in the one, and from eighteen to forty-five, in the other. The soldiers chosen out of the major centuries were a reserve militia, who staid at home to guard the towns and country; whilst those chosen from the minor bodies were at the command of the state, to march wherever they were required. These classes made up the great and formidable body of the Roman Plebeians; the Plebs being, as we have before said, an order of men adopted from Etruria.* Whether the Plebs in any other Etruscan state enjoyed so much power and distinction as was conferred upon those who occupied the frontier province, we very much doubt, since in Rome itself, they could not have maintained their ground for a period of more than forty years. But that they approached to this favourable condition, more or

* Varro.

less, in many of the other states, we must believe; and though Mastarna perfected his long-cherished scheme in Rome only, *Cale Fipi* did not fight and bleed in vain, from north to south, in his native land. Thucydides says, that Mastarna overthrew the whole constitution of Tarquin and changed all his maxims of policy, and instead of relying for victory upon his cavalry, he created the military power of Rome, by raising up this powerful body of infantry.

The arrangement and armour of Servius's order of battle does not differ, as far as we can discern, from any of the other Etruscan states. The difference consisted in the Plebeian principle, upon which all its advantages were based. The Velites, or light armed troops, were an order adopted from the neighbouring state of Falisci, and the armour of each class, the Galea or helmet, the Clypeus or Aspis shield, the scaled coat of mail, (seen in the Egyptian paintings,) the greaves which are sometimes found in the Tuscan tombs, the Scutum or buckler, and the Hasta or spear, were all, as we have before observed,* introduced into Italy by the Rasena.

Mastarna strove to bind the Plebeians together in one great brotherhood, by giving them common privileges, with which the Patricians should not interfere. He assigned to them their own courts and judges, and he ordered every tribe to be divided into Pagi, after the example of Veii, from whom seven of these divisions had been originally taken by Ancus Marcius, when Tarquin was at the head

* Vol. i. pp. 239 and 243.

of the Roman forces. Each Pagus was to have its own temple feast, called Paganalia,* its own asylum, and its own peculiar Lar or god, and priest, and magistrate. These institutions were introduced before by the holy Numa, but they assuredly were not in the genius of the Latins, and were abolished by Tullus Hostilius.

The four tribes of the city were divided into Compitalia, the temple being situated where four ways met; and of these Compitalia, the slaves, i. e. their own captive countrymen taken in war, or their debtors, or the descendants of these men, were the priests. They kept their sacred festival every year, on two different days, and at this time their masters could give them no work. Mastarna is said to have offered human victims to these Lares; but this is probably some allegorical allusion either to the slaves themselves, or to the taxing which took place at the time of these feasts. Servius, always mindful of his own youthful sufferings, raised the Liberti, that is, the freed captives of his own and of the Tarquinian wars, to be Plebeian citizens,† and enrolled them in the four city tribes, so that they were rated with the classes, and formed part of the army. The Senate highly resented this act, and Mastarna appeased them by placing under their cognizance, all criminal cases, reserving for the king's judgment only state crimes.

He forbade the Patricians to seize the persons of

* Dion. iv.

† Varro says that the Liberti and the Plebs are both Tuscan orders of men. Etruria introduced them both into Rome.

their debtors, and thereby gave a great blow to their power; and in the beginning of his reign, he paid the debts of vast multitudes of these men out of his own royal property. The Plebeians were to take charge of their own affairs; and for this purpose, were to meet in centuries in the Campus Martius, outside the city; and no law passed by the Senate and approved by the Curiae, was to be binding without their consent.

In order to give the first impulse to this, he required them to confirm his so called election to the which he had wrung from an over-awed Senate, and throne, upon their compliance, he declared himself a duly elected king, and governed by their means, and through their support. When this new constitution was completely established, Servius ordered that it should be commemorated at every Lustrum, when the people were to be assembled in the Campus Martius, a wide plain lying between the city and the Tiber, and not within the augury ground of the Patricians. Here the centuries were drawn up in order of battle, and the solemn Tuscan sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, that is, of a bull, a sheep, and a pig, was offered for them. Tacitus says that Servius also offered sacrifices to Lua, the goddess of Lustrums, and built her an altar. Now as the Lustrum is an Etruscan measure of time, the goddess of Lustrums, unless newly invented by Servius, must have been an Etruscan goddess; but we find no such name in their mythology, and therefore presume Lua to have been a title of Mastarna's patron divinity,

Nortia, in whose temple, in several parts of Etruria, and especially at Volsinia, the nails of the Lustrum were always driven. At this ceremony, each man paid his quota of the tax, which was laid upon his century, and the more numerous the century in the lower classes, the lighter, of course, would fall the tax. One of Servius's best measures was a commutation of the poll-tax, formerly paid by the Romans, into this tax upon the century, of which each member only paid his share.

He prohibited the Patricians from living upon the Esquiline, whilst he induced the Plebeians to inhabit it, and he built a palace there, where he himself dwelt amongst them, as Livy tells us, with a view to do them honour. In all respects, Mastarna deserves much more than Ancus Martius, to be considered as King of the Italian Plebs. How is it, then, that he has not thrown his predecessor into the shade? How is it that Ancus is still so much considered as the patron of the Plebeians? We would hazard the conjecture that this may arise from the grand object of Mastarna's ambition being to raise the condition of the *Etruscan* middle class, while the patronage of Ancus, being extended rather to the *Latins* and *Sabines*, the more native elements of Roman nationality, the memory of the latter was on that account more popularly revered.

But Mastarna's most obnoxious act, was his dividing amongst the Plebeians all the unallotted common land, which was the fruit of the wars and victories of Tarquin, and which, during the reign of

his dynasty, had been enjoyed exclusively by the Patricians. It was one of the most valuable of the Patrician privileges throughout Italy, to possess all the common land, until it was allotted; and it formed one great element of Patrician wealth and of their ability to provide for their younger children. When Mastarna took it away from the Roman Patricians, he put the crowning point to their ill-will against him and his government. They then plotted together to rid themselves of a military chief, who lived only to degrade them, and they thought that any one of themselves, however haughty, was better than a man whose sagacity was so far beyond the wisdom of his time, and who seemed as if he never could forgive them the misfortunes of his early youth. They had no sympathy with such measures of justice, and ideas of right and wrong, which, to selfish and exclusive classes of men, are generally incomprehensible.

The Patrician who headed their meetings, was the Lucumo of the Tarquinian house, now ingrafted into the tribe of the Luceres. He was fifty-three years of age, therefore no longer young, nor likely to have been carried away with a wild ambition. But he was lofty, haughty, brave, and of a despotic turn, and probably irritated by more than one of the wrongs which fretted his brethren of the Curia. He was forbidden to fortify his own castle; and if it was built upon the Cœlian, he was obliged to descend from it to the plain below, and he saw those fields and meadows, vineyards and corn-fields, which

he considered the peculiar conquests of his house, taken from him, and assigned to a Plebs, whom he cordially despised. Livy, however, doubts whether his own nature would have carried him to extremities; and says, it is certain that the confusion (by which he means either war or rebellion) was begun and continued by a woman.

Tullia, the wife of Tarquinius, was more restless and ambitious than himself; she felt the spirit of Tanaquil working in her. But whereas Tanaquil was wise and prudent in her deeds of boldness, Tullia was arrogant, reckless, and depraved. Tanaquil gained the kingdom for her husband, and conferred it on her adopted son. Tullia was resolved to gain it for her husband, and did not mind how much blood she waded through to obtain the prize. The Tuscan women were not cyphers. The Tarquinian dynasty was nobly founded, and the Mastarnian infamously destroyed, both by Tuscan women. Tullia besought her husband by the palace and possessions of the Tarquinii, and by the gods and images of his fathers, that he would rouse, and head the Patricians to overthrow Mastarna, and to secure to himself his crown. Tarquinius, unable to resist the ever-increasing provocations of her temper and Mastarna's conduct, accordingly gained the Patricians by presents, and represented to the third tribe and minor houses, how greatly favoured they had been by the Tarquinii, and how entirely they owed to them all the power which they possessed in this frontier state.

When sure of their support, he appeared with a body of his own troops in the Forum, and inveighed before the Senators upon the iniquity of any longer tolerating a government, which so peculiarly laid itself out, in order to oppress them. He said that Mastarna Servius was himself a Plebeian, and the sovereign and patron of Plebeians, and that he was not a fit ruler for them, the Senators and Curiae. That he reigned neither by vote of the one, nor by the approval of the other, but through the influence and favour of a foreign woman. He then seated himself in the king's place, and on Servius's entrance into the Senate, a combat ensued, which ended in the old man being thrown down the steps of the Senate-house into the Forum, and so much injured, that he died shortly after. His servants carried off the body, and on their way towards his Esquiline palace, laid it down in the *Vicus Cyprius*, or Good Street. Tullia had driven in her chariot to the Forum, where she saluted her husband as king, and she was on her return to her own house, when she came to this street, where the charioteer, on seeing the body, stopped, in pity, horror, and veneration. Tullia asked him why he stopped, and on perceiving the cause, desired him to drive on, and forced the chariot over the body of the murdered sovereign, whose blood was sprinkled upon her garments. In this state she went in to her domestic altar, in order to return thanks to her household gods, having, in perfection, that sort of devotion which is so common in an unrighteous and superstitious world, and which

may be called worldly religion, being utterly devoid of morality. It is a species of homage which the worshipper flatters himself will propitiate the King of kings, as it does the kings of men. But the Divinities before whom Tullia bowed, revenged their insulted righteousness in the misfortunes of her husband and her children. The name of the street where she would not stop, was henceforth changed from "Cyprius," which is the Sabine* for "good," to Sceleratus, which is the Latin for "wicked."

Tullia afterwards visited one of the temples of Fortune,† built by the late king, in which stood a votive image of himself, made of wood gilt, and when she saw it, something of her woman's nature returned, and she covered her face, and went away; for the excitement, which had formerly made her deaf to the voice of mercy, was now over. Mastarna was probably no more *her* father, than he was that of the state in general, and we may judge of the variation of the legends in this story, when we are told by one bard, that Tanaquil, who, ninety-seven years before, had come to Rome a full grown woman, was alive at this time, and witnessed this act of paltry and unnatural revenge: and by another, that Lucius Tarquinius sent away his heroic wife when he became the sovereign of Rome. According to Fabius, the oldest Roman historian, Tanaquil lives to see the unnatural act of Tullia, and the murder of her own son, Aruns, and

* Varro.

† Ovid. Fasti. vi. 613.

does not die until the 40th year of Servius's reign. In Plutarch,* Ocrisia or Tanaquil, exacts an oath from him, that he will not resign the crown. That is, she foresaw Tullia's crime. He marries Tarquinia shortly before Lucius's death, and has immediately two full-grown daughters, whom he marries to his wife's two brothers! This entire story is so inconsistent, that we can do no more than advert to its various versions, without attempting to reconcile or explain them. Tanaquil or Tanchfil is said to have fostered the Plebeian Mastarna, and to have made him a Patrician. She then raised him to be prime minister to her husband, and finally gave him the crown. The presumptuousness, without the sagacity of her spirit, revived in Tullia, and she lived to see in her, the fatal fruits of ill-regulated ambition. Her favourite and protégée who had set aside, and who, in the judgment of all the Patricians, had wronged her husband's house, was destroyed, and along with him all his cherished and useful institutions.

Mastarna had given the Plebs their own tribunes, judges, asylums, priests, feasts, laws, and property; and his last outrage upon the authority and privileges of the ruling tribes, was his intention to secure to the Plebs still further, a joint or alternate possession of the crown. He knew that the same despotic power which had obliterated the constitutions of the first Tarquinian dynasty, could, with equal ease, obliterate his own; and therefore he wished

* De Fort. Rom.; also Nieb. i. n. 905.

that the absolute kingly government should no more rest in a single person ; but that the double throne of Romulus and Tatius, should be filled by a Patrician and Plebeian ruling together, or alternately, the Patrician remaining chief. Indeed something of this kind was tried at Veii ; and whether, in the present instance, this really was or was not the intention of Mastarna, it continued to be believed as such, by all classes, and it was a reason why the one party thought of him with coldness and aversion, and the other with veneration and love.

Thus ends the second Etruscan dynasty in the heart of Italy, and beyond the Tiber. At this time, one third of the Roman power was conventionally and politically Tuscan, besides the overwhelming weight of its despotic head. One Patrician tribe, the Luceres, and ten Plebeian, the names of which we do not know, were of that nation, and many of the Roman words and proper nouns still retain the Tuscan roots. This mixed nation bore the name of the first sacred colonizers, the Ramnes, but their religion, with all its ceremonies, and their science, with all its technicalities, was Tuscan ; and their civil polity was Quiritary, or Sabine.

Mastarna executed one truly magnificent work after the same models, and by the same means as the Cloacæ of the great Tarquin : and this was the wall of Rome, which Arnold (i. 50,) says, measured seven miles round, and which was never enlarged till the days of Aurelian. It followed the edge of the Capitol, Quirinal, Aventine, and Cælian, down to

the Tiber, and then passed to the Esquiline. The Capitoline and the Aventine never were enclosed;* neither (according to Niebuhr) was the Janiculum.† The remainder of the circuit was completed by a rampart called the Agger, which connected the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal.

This Agger of Servius was seven furlongs in length, and rose out of a moat one hundred feet broad, and thirty deep. Above this, he raised a mound fifty feet broad and sixty high, which he faced towards the moat, with a skirting of flag-stones, and which he flanked with towers. A similar wall connected the Colline with the western ascent of the Quirinal, where was the boundary of the ancient Sabine settlement. Niebuhr says that the great wall of Servius comprehended all that part of the seven hills which was not unhealthy, and that the inhabitants of the Lateran and other parts not included, talk of "going to Rome" to this day. Cicero de Rep. ii. 6, describes the Sacred City in his time, as modern tourists do now, "Locum in regione pestilenti Salubrem." The walls stretched from the Tarpeian along the Aventine, between the Circus and the river, and may still be traced in the Velabrum. Livy (i. 4) speaking of this work, says, "Servius surrounded the city with an Agger, ditch, and wall; and thus extended the Pomærium," and then immediately he adds, "the Pomærium was an Etruscan term and manner of laying out a city," as if in this instance, the whole work naturally carried his

* Dion. ix. † Vide Niebuhr, Completion of the city of Rome.

thoughts back to the original builders and tunnelers of Italy.

The Agger of Servius was so substantially built, that it is still to be seen in the gardens of the Villa Negroni, and portions of the wall exist in the gardens of Sallust, and in the Velabrum. The works of the Etruscans were very different from any that the Roman Republicans ever executed, after their rule had ceased. They were cast in the gigantic mould of an Eastern race, and were formed to last, like those of their ancestors and instructors, the men of the Euphrates and the Nile. Niebuhr* considers the erection of this wall to be quite as stupendous a work as the Circus or Cloaca; and that, like them, it could only have been effected by compulsory labour. Yet it is certain, that the memory of Mastarna bears upon it no such stain; and that the name of Servius was given to him in contempt by the Patricians, and preserved to him in affection by the Plebs, because he was the patron of the debtor and the slave. Moreover, no such welcome reproach as that of an oppressor was ever cast upon his fame in the reign that followed, when it required every possible precaution to prevent the labouring poor from openly and bitterly lamenting him. Besides the wall and the Agger, some of the minor branches of the Cloaca must also have been his work: for it is in the highest degree improbable that a public undertaking of such immense and visible importance and utility, begun by the first

* Vide Niebuhr, *Completion of the city of Rome*.

Tarquin, and ended by the second, should have remained exactly in the state in which Lucius had left it, for four and forty years. Niebuhr ridicules such an idea; and Tacitus* says that Servius carried on the architectural labours of the first Tarquin.

Mastarna was buried upon the Nones, or market-day; and as Tarquin would not suffer the anniversary of his death to be observed, the common people kept in his honour, the Nones of every month until the Senate broke the custom, by forbidding the Roman† markets to be held according to that Tuscan reckoning of time, lest their regret and veneration should break out into insurrection, and cause his laws to be restored.

Mastarna loved magnificence, if we are to believe the tradition, that when he triumphed over the Veientes, it was with all the pomp that the splendid Lucius had used before him. He appears in history, and he certainly was in reality, the vindicator of the liberties and privileges of the people, yet he never seems to have separated from that great object, the maintenance of his own supremacy, and the gratification of his own irritated feelings. Born, as we have reason to believe, in an elevated rank, although thrown by early misfortune, into a subordinate or even servile condition, he imbibed all the prejudices natural to the oppressed against the oppressors, while he retained the innate consciousness of an hereditary right, himself to rank among the princes of the people. Hence, in him, existed the not uncommon union of

* Hist. iii. 72.

† Macrob. Satur. i. 18.

‡ Vide Niebuhr, Completion of the city of Rome.

the personal aristocrat, and the partisan of democracy. He maintained the cause of the people, because he owed an early personal grudge to the privileged classes; and he moreover saw that popular favour was the surest means of gratifying the irresistible bias of his mind, which, like the aristocratic predilections of Lucius, had grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength.

The career of these two chiefs exhibits a remarkable contrast. Placed as they both originally were, in a false position, the bent of their dispositions, which were cast in very different moulds, took the natural developement of the circumstances which surrounded their early years. Both of illustrious origin, and both endowed with lofty and noble feelings, they devoted their energies from the dawn of their existence, to the advancement of two great opposite principles, with which they identified their ideas of right and wrong, as well as their individual hopes of usefulness and worldly glory.

Lucius, the prosperous favourite of fortune, devoted to the maintenance of his order, when he found that his career at home was impeded by some minor distinctions, sought a field for the exercise of his talents more wide and free elsewhere, and enjoyed the well-earned fame of uncompromising political consistency. The same character no less duly belongs to Mastarna, whose lofty soul, spurning the trammels which galled its youthful aspirations, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed, as his own cause; and carried the humiliation

of the privileged classes about with him through life, as his watchword, engraven on the tablets of his heart. When mounted on the throne of Rome, he could not forget the early servitude of Volsinia: and the dearest privilege among the many favours showered upon him by his patron deity Nortia, was probably the opportunity which he enjoyed of humbling and vexing the order, to whose injustice he owed his youthful obscurity and hardships. With the strong hand of a despot, he repressed what he considered as the overweening power of the few. And forgetting that rational liberty demands an equal justice to be done to all, he transgressed the bounds of moderation, which might have preserved him in power and in honour to the end of his days, and brought upon himself that destruction, which, under similar circumstances, is the unvarying result of rashness and exaggeration.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA IN ROME.

Contests between the Etruscans and Carthaginians—Sardinia—The Phocians—Etruscan Offerings at Delphi — Divinities common under different names and in different countries—Travels of Pythagoras—His intercourse with the Etruscans—Letters—Progress of alphabets—General state of the civilized world—Decay of some nations before Etruria had reached her most flourishing period—Necessary intercourse between the Etruscans and the chief countries of the ancient world.

DURING the period of Mastarna, whilst the Tarquinian and Patrician despotism was overturned, and continued in abeyance in the Turrhenian Roman kingdom, the western states of the Etruscan league were actively engaged in war with the Carthaginians, for the supremacy in Sardinia. Luna Populonia, Cosa of the Vulci, and Tarquinia, were the four states most interested in the possession of that island, and whose soldiers were the most likely to have been there engaged. The Carthaginian General, Malcus, fought with them a bloody battle, and the fact of his having lost half his army,

notwithstanding the excellent armour and tried discipline of his country, affords no slight proof of the valour and good military tactics of Etruria at this date. No doubt the victory over Malcus tended considerably to confirm the Tuscan power in Sardinia, though we find from the treaty of Carthage, about twenty years later, that a great part of the commerce of that island was still Carthaginian.

The Tuscans, as well as the Carthagians, are accused of having behaved to the rude natives of the island in, a very different manner from what they did to the Umbri, on their first establishment in Italy. They drew from them their skilful bowmen, and many bands of hired soldiers. They erected ports in their harbours, where they observed a strict monopoly, and drew from them all their raw materials, to be manufactured in the Italian Peninsula. But they made no attempt to civilize them, and gave them no schools for education. They did not even introduce their religion amongst them; and they rather prided themselves upon keeping up the isolation of the Sardinians, by means of their reputation for rudeness and barbarity, in order to frighten away other nations, and ward off rival settlers.

The defeat of Malcus seems to have been followed by a treaty of peace and alliance: for between the years of Rome, 208 and 214, i. e. from the years of Tarquinia 642 to 648, we find the Etruscan and Carthaginian fleets in common, and as friends, encountering the Phocians, who had so lately built

themselves a fort at Alalia, in order to dispute with them the possession of Cynus or Corsica, and to drive them away from that island.

In this battle, strange to say, they were defeated; but they carried off a number of prisoners; and the upright Cerites, the constant allies of Turrhene Rome, who had joined in this action, carried theirs to Agylla, and stoned them to death.* A famine and pestilence soon after visited the place, which they attributed to the anger of heaven for this deed of cruelty, and as the men they had stoned were Greeks, they sent an expedition to consult the oracle of Delphi, as to what expiation they should make, and they accompanied it by gifts to the treasury of the deity. The Oracle commanded them, every year, to observe games and races, in honour of the slain, which were attended by Herodotus, 130 years afterwards. Were it not that these gifts at Delphi were seen by Pausanias, we should have believed all the games to have been ordered by their own Tuscan Oracles; and had not the victims of their rage been Greeks, we could not have credited any expedition into Greece on their account. It was probably in consequence of this, and another defeat which they sustained at sea, in the bay of Cuma,† in common with the Umbri and Daunii, that they permitted the Phocians to found a colony, or to establish a footing at Velea, close to their own Phistū.

From this time, the Etruscan maritime pre-emi-

* Herod. i. 167.

† Dionys. vii.

nence seems rapidly to have declined, and they experienced one defeat after another from the Opican, Sicilian and Ionian Greeks, until at length, the two people came to be on a perfect equality; so that each wished rather to avoid than to try the strength of the other. We may gather from the treaty of Carthage, that the help of Cuma was sought by Tarquinia and the Tarquinii, against the Volsinian party in the Etruscan league; and that it was Etruscans, in the Plebeian interest, with whom the men of Cuma strove. Notwithstanding the boldness of the Phoceans, and the increasing skill and valour of the Cumæans, the Greeks of this day commonly believed that there was no safety or peace for their vessels beyond the straits of Messina.* Cuma was an ally of Tarquin the Second, and Sardinia and Corsica were from this period, gradually abandoned by the Carthaginians to the Tuscans.

We have, unfortunately, no means of ascertaining whether Arimnos, a king in Etruria, who, according to Pausanius, (v. 12) was the first Barbarian† who offered gifts to Zeus, (i. e. Jupiter,) in Olympus, lived at this time or before it. If we believe him to have been the first who sent gifts to any of the temples in *Grecia Proper*, we must place him long prior to Mastarna, and assign to him a locality in some of those states which carried on the most uninterrupted commerce with Greece. But if the expression only means that he was the first who offered gifts to Iove, as contradistinguished from the sun

* Herodot. vi.

† Vol. i. 107:

god of Delphi, then his æra is more likely to fall about this time, or during the periods of the first and second Tarquins, when the worship of the corresponding divinity was extended by the Tuscans in Italy. If, as is generally allowed by ancient mythologists, the sun was first worshipped as the symbol of the Supreme being, and idols were afterwards made as a sort of earthly personification of the divine Sun, then Talna, Tianus, Jupiter, Zeus, Apollo, and many more chief divinities, were all, in their origin, emblems of one and the same thing, named according to the tongues of the different nations, and, in their early records, were often put one for the other. The Epul and Aplu of Etruria, the Apollo of the Greeks, is frequently translated by Dis-pater.*

Mastarna had the funeral of an Etruscan prince, though the Patricians would gladly have omitted it, and Livy says that the surname of "Superbus," was given to the Tarquinius who succeeded him, because, when consulted about it, he scornfully answered that Servius might dispense with a funeral, as Romulus had done before him. A tumult was threatened, when the people saw his image carried behind his bier,† but they were quieted by the face being covered over. Another legend says, that Tarquinius did not dare to bury him, for fear of a revolt, and that his wife took charge of his funeral, and laid him in his own sepulchre. His wife was a Tarquinian princess, and could command many

* Müller.

† Ovid. *Fasti*, vi.

sepulchres. Mastarna himself could have had none to call his own, in Rome, unless he followed the Egyptian plan of preparing it in his lifetime, which the legend of Porsenna's tomb makes likely to have been the custom.

His wife died very soon after, and was laid in the same grave, and the Plebeians kept an annual festival in remembrance of him, in the great temple of Diana Aventina.

During the forty-four years which we have been considering, the extraordinary philosopher Pythagoras taught in the south of Italy. Some Italian authors say that he was an Etruscan,* brought up at Samos; others, that he taught in Etruria; and others, that his parents were Etruscan, and settled in Samos. At any rate, his doctrines and manner of thinking have a striking coincidence with the Etruscan, but he added to them much Eastern wisdom, and elucidated consequences from the truths which he learnt, in a way far beyond his age, and still more beyond the intellect of his successors, to retain. How much of this was due to his own masterly genius, and how much to the learning of the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Hindu Magi, amongst whom he travelled, and from whom he sought instruction, we have no Eastern historian now to detail. But it is certain that he explored the wonders of science, deeper than even the Hebrews, or any other learned Easterns, with whose opinions we are acquainted, seem ever to have done before him.

* See Tiraboschi Maffei, and Guarnacci in loco.

He carried letters of recommendation from his own sovereign Polycrates, to Amosis, the Pharaoh of Egypt, who graciously received and protected him: so that he associated with the court, and with the learned in that country, and was taught to read and write the hieroglyphics, in which he afterwards instructed his disciples, and in reference to which, they boasted that they could correspond in cyphers with men in all quarters of the globe. He visited India and the Gymnosophists, and his name is still remembered amongst the Bramins. He taught the plurality of worlds, and that the earth revolves around the sun; the unity of the divine being, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. His religion was a compound of the Etruscan and Egyptian, for he believed in the Dii Majores, the deified heroes, and the Inferus of the one; and the transmigration of souls and Metempsychosis of the other. He finally settled at Crotona, where he reclaimed the inhabitants from habits of luxury and indolence, and where he established schools, which produced, in time, the greatest philosophers this world has ever seen; Plato and Aristotle having both been Pythagoreans.

But our chief reason for naming him here, is not only to show the knowledge with which the Tuscans must have been in continual contact, for all authors agree that Pythagoras either taught in Etruria, or learnt from her schools: but because a theory has lately been started by very learned oriental scholars, that he was the first man who brought the

alphabetical letters into Greece. The Greek native tradition is unvarying, that their letters came from the East, and that their first alphabet was Phœnician: nor do we think it difficult to prove, that—Aleph א, Beth ב, Gimel ג; Alpha Α, Beta Β, Gamma Γ, have one common root. But though it should be a truth, (and this we do not dispute,) that the Greek and the ancient Hindu Pali letters are the same, it does not therefore follow that the Pythagoras of Samos and Crotona, who lived in the days of Mastarna, was the first man who introduced them. It would throw too deep a shade over the whole of western history. Niebuhr believes that there were many Pythagorases, as there were many Budhs; and some Pythagoras six hundred years earlier may have brought these letters to the west, through Phœnicia.

Moreover, if the Ionian Greeks and the Palis of Hindustan were, as orientalists affirm, the same people, is it not much more likely that the alphabet should have migrated with them, than that an intelligent and civilized people, warred upon, as the Scriptures and the monuments of Egypt certify to us that they were, by Cyrus, and the monarchs of Chaldea, and the magnificent Pharaohs, should have continued illiterate amongst the scientific and deeply learned nations by which they were surrounded? Pliny (vii. 56) gives us the original Greek alphabet, and says that four additional letters, with compound sounds, were added to it at the time of the Trojan war, and that

the whole was completed by Simonides, a Greek traveller and philosopher, about this very period.

The Etruscan alphabet was not identical with the Greek, having no D or G. But it was derived from the same source, and it was probably the older of the two. Even were it not so, and we think the question cannot admit of a doubt, the Etruscan literature, such as it was, might lay claim to a far more ancient date than the time of Servius; for Niebuhr pronounces that their monumental alphabet in Italy, is the successor of a much older hieroglyphic, still preserved in their numbers.—i. ii. iii. iiiii. These are signs of the Ogham alphabet, they belong also to the arrangement of the arrow-headed, and they show a resemblance to part of the system of the Mexicans. The Eugubian tables of the Umbri and Tusci ought, indeed, to set the Pythagorean question at rest, as far as Italy is concerned. The laws of Servius were engraved, in the old Etruscan letters, like the Greek, upon brazen tables, in order that they might be read and kept in remembrance, and that they might thus assume the aspect of fixed and sacred things.

Niebuhr remarks, with amazement, upon the quantity of writing which these laws imply, and concerning the genuineness of which he intimates no doubt. Fifty bronze tables upon which they were engraved, were destroyed by Tarquinius Superbus, in a fit of passion. Besides these, a volume of commentaries was preserved, in conformity with which, Livy says, the first Consuls were chosen; and Festus quotes so

much from them, as to show that they contained a detailed account of the Servian constitutions. The treaty with Carthage, made twenty-five years later, was engraved upon brazen tables, at the Capitol, in the same so-called Greek letters; and in consequence of the language, the spelling, and the foreign characters, not a Roman cotemporary of Polybius could read them. It is to him that we are indebted, for our knowledge of their existence.* They were unintelligible to Cicero, and are mentioned by Valerius Flaccus.

We have already expressed our opinion that the oldest governing race in Hindustan, and the first Rasena, sprung from the same stock and emigrated from the same regions; and these literal characters form one of the grounds upon which this opinion is based.

If we now pause a moment to cast our eyes upon the state of mankind in Asia, during the rule of Etruria over Rome, we shall see what great events had taken place in that quarter of the world; and how old the human race had there become. Twenty-six dynasties, some of them of dazzling glory, had passed away in Egypt, and she was almost in her dotage before Greece was well out of her cradle, before the dramatic poets had written, before the great artists had arisen, and when the laws of Solon were scarcely accepted, and were looked upon with suspicion, and reserved for trial. Without other testimony, we might learn the esti-

* Polyb. iii. 23.

mation in which Egypt, Chaldea, and India, were held at this period, and prior to it; because all the Greek sages, without exception, travelled to some or all of these regions, in order to import instruction thence. Before the death of Mastarna, the Hebrew story was near its close, and the whole canon of the Old Testament, with the exception of Nehemiah, and four of the minor prophets, was completed. What a body of divinity, what a mass of historical testimony, did not the Hebrew people then possess? They had the five books of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Wisdom of Solomon, the sublime poetry of Isaiah, (before which even Homer must bow with reverence) unequalled by all else that has ever breathed from human lips. The mournful sweetness of Jeremiah, the fiery strains of Ezekiel, the angel-eyed prophecies of Daniel, piercing to the very end of time; all these and much more had long ere this, been the heritage of the children of Abraham, and they themselves were now captives in the hands of their enemies, and oppressed exiles amongst the provinces of Assyria.

We leave it to more competent judges and able scholars to decide, whether this people, so remarkable beyond all the other children of Adam, for the tenacity with which they have ever observed their own customs, and so superstitious by nature as well as by habit, were likely to change their own sacred letters, in which the finger of Jehovah himself had written the great commandments of in the law, in order to adopt the characters of their heathen

victors; and whether the Hebrew letters of Ezra were, indeed, the characters of those victors, seeing that the oldest Chaldean and Babylonish inscriptions are of a form widely different?

The story of Ezra having changed the Hebrew alphabet, rests on the authority of one Jew, of the second century of the christian æra. It is very difficult to believe that the holy Tetragrammaton was ever otherwise written than it is now, and still more so, that its ancient form should nowhere have been preserved. It is beyond parallel, that we should have no relic remaining of such a vast body of writing as the ancient Hebrew scriptures; not even the old letters preserved in their numerals, as is the case with every other nation. Our English letters and language are much changed since the time of Alfred; but the Saxon bible of Alfred is still to be seen, and this after a lapse of a thousand years, whilst the Jews were only seventy years in bondage, and those who so elaborately transcribed all their scriptures, must have been very well able to read and understand them. Every civilized nation in the world has always had a learned priesthood, for the sake of preserving its peculiar mysteries, and its ancient records; nor is our credulity capable of admitting that this should have been abolished in Judea alone. If the Israelites really changed their literal characters, it is a phenomenon which still requires explanation, and the more so, as not very many years before the captivity, Josiah the king, found one of those ancient copies written by Moses himself, and

at that time the whole nation was able to decypher it without any difficulty.

It is certain that the world had many different alphabets, much history, much poetry, and many codes of laws, long before the time of which we write. Ere Mastarna expired under the ear of the furious Tullia, Nineveh the great had fallen, and mighty Babylon was near her doom. Resen lay in ruins, Tyre, the lady of kingdoms, and the princely Sidon, were both in the dust; and Jerusalem, the holy and the beautiful, was trodden down of the Gentiles, until her time should be fulfilled. "Her palaces were desolate, her children wept in chains." The kingdom of Israel had passed away for ever, and her ten tribes were already in a captivity, from whence they have never returned. Cyrus, the most romantic of characters, had run his career of discipline, self-denial, and conquest; and Cræsus, his cotemporary, the richest of all kings next to Solomon, and one of the most prosperous in that elevated station, after subduing Asia Minor suddenly disappeared before his rising star.

The fate of these empires, and the fortunes of these illustrious masters of nations, were certainly well known to the Egyptians and the far trading Phœnicians and Carthaginians. Nay, they were themselves actors and sufferers, in most of the transactions by which the destiny of the ancient world was decided. Their constant national intercourse, and the very travels of the learned Greeks, the inquiries and researches, for instance, of such men as

Pythagoras, tended to keep up a mutual knowledge of all such great transactions throughout the most civilized people of Asia and Europe. We know that Etruria traded with Egypt from the days of Tarchun onwards, and with Carthage from the time that it first became a commercial power; until they too, in their turn, sank before a younger and more vigorous nation.

Hence we may be assured, that the Etruscans had learnt many traditions of these great events, and that they possessed considerable advantages beyond what fell to the share of other European nations, of advancing in sciences of all kinds, and of keeping up the knowledge of great fundamental spiritual truths, which, in their turn, they communicated to the rest of Europe. It is an old proverb, that knowledge (even Grecian knowledge) came from the east, and had its fountain there. Tarchun was taught in the east. Italy owed its civilization to Tarchun, and Europe to Italy. And then again, Italy kept up her civilization, and did not quench its light in the surrounding barbarism; because her communication with the east was unceasingly maintained from generation to generation, by the ships and the writing of central Etruria.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.*

Reign of Tarquinius Superbus—His character—He puts to death and banishes the chiefs of the party of Mastarna—He degrades the Junian house—His personal kindness to its chief—Opposition of Herdonius to Tarquin—His fate—Tarquinius becomes supreme in Latium—Sextus Tarquinius at Gabii—Etruscan colonies in the north—Victory of the Cumæans over the united northern, Etruscan, and Umbrian host—Aristodemus—Great works of Tarquinius—*Libri Fatales*—Severity of Tarquinius' rule—Embassy to Delphi—Intrigues of Junius Brutus—Story of Lucretia—Revolution in Rome—Exile of Tarquinius, his family, and adherents—Brutus at the head of the government—Laws of Servius Mastarna followed—Oath taken against the Tarquinii—Origin of the office of *Rex Sacrorum*.

PERIOD OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

B. C. 534 YEAR OF TARQUINIA 653.

DURING the twenty-five years following the triumph of the Plebeian interest under Mastarna throughout the thirty tribes of Turrhenia, Latium,

* Authorities: Livy i. 49–60, ii.; Dionysius Halicar. iv. v. Ancient History xi. 352, &c. xvi. 85; Arnold's History of Rome; Niebuhr Rom. Gesch. i.; Plutarch in Pop.

and Sabina, which were assigned to the Roman government, we have no accounts of any part of Etruria separate from the history of that border state. Modern antiquarians believe that the supremacy of Tarquinia, over the Etruscan League was re-established, when Tarquinius Superbus mounted the frontier throne; and that the opposite party, secretly fostered by Volsinia and Clusium, existed and struggled, but were kept down, until the Romans freed themselves altogether from the yoke of Tarquinia, and Clusium gave a blow to that proud state which she never recovered. The Roman annals are so grossly falsified, that it is impossible, by their means, to trace out the real events of Italian cotemporary history; and it is only when probability agrees with testimony that we can at all believe their record.

Tarquinius of Tuscan blood, either a conquering chief from Tarquinia, or else a descendant or kinsman of the Tarquinian Lucius and Tanaquil, along with his wife, the proud, revengeful, and hated Tullia, mounted by violence the Roman throne. The irritated Patricians had supported him against their enemy, Mastarna, but Tarquin, though he secured the friendship of many of them throughout his reign, and was followed by a number of their powerful families * when obliged to retire into exile, never consulted the senate, nor paid any respect to the peculiar Roman laws. He was a great prince, and a great general; he improved his city, defeated

* Dion. vi.

her enemies, confirmed her alliances, and, according to their own confession after his deposition, he was kind to the mass of her poor. But with all this he was a tyrant. He obeyed no laws but his own caprice, and when he acted rightly it was because it happened to be his own pleasure, and not because he owned submission to any higher principles. From the moment that this was discovered by all classes of men, Tarquin became an object of general fear and distrust; and amongst a people so ruled by law and religion as the Italians, he might have foretold his own fall. His first act was to clear the senate, as far as possible, of the supporters of Mastarna; some by death, some by confiscation, and some by such studied insolence as to drive them into voluntary exile. As was to be expected, he abolished all the laws of Servius Mastarna, preserving only his military array, and the disposition of the Plebeians into classes. He anxiously desired that all these laws should be repealed.* He broke fifty of the brazen tables on which they were written in a fit of passion, besides forbidding all assemblies of the Plebeians at feast or festival, and all the loved holidays of the Paganalia and Compitalia.

The exiled Patricians retired chiefly to Gabii, where there was a Tuscan college, and a magnificent temple of Tuscan architecture, dedicated to the *Rasenan Kupra*, or *Talna*—the Latin *Juno*. One of the nobles whom Tarquin put to death was *Junius*, born of a Latin stock, but Tarquin's own

* *Dion. iv.*

uncle, according to the legend: and with that uncle he also executed his eldest son. The Junian house must not only have opposed his elevation, but must have caballed against him afterwards; for he did not destroy it till the fourth year of his reign, and then he razed its name from the Curia, and degraded the surviving son, his younger nephew, (as the legend calls him, but more properly his cousin,) Junius, to the rank of a Plebeian, giving him the name of Brutus, and depriving him of the privileges of his blood, although he permitted him to retain the wealth of his family. Brutus, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, said he had feigned stupidity for twenty years. When he made this declaration he had two grown-up sons,* whose mother was Vitellia, a Patrician lady belonging to a rich family, and this family had lived, and still continued to live, in terms of intimacy with the Tarquinii. Brutus must therefore have been a married man at the time he was degraded, and his relationship to the Vitellii was an additional reason for the kindness personally and uniformly shown him by the Tarquinii. As a Plebeian, Brutus could not have married into any Patrician family.

The apparently harsh treatment which Junius suffered in the degradation of his house was undoubtedly the law of nations for treason in those days, even as it is now. And it had precisely the same effect on Junius, as an incapacitation which he felt to be unjust had previously had upon Mas-

* Livy ii.

tarna, and as, in a faint measure, it has upon our own Irish, somewhat similarly circumstanced, dispossessed by Cromwell and other English usurpers. It converted Junius into a furious patriot, and made him resolved upon acquiring supreme power, in order to overturn his oppressor, and to raise the Plebeians, now his own class, into that oppressor's place. Brutus, the agnomen of Junius, means, in Oscan, "a slave," and is merely another term for "Servius," "the slave," "the Plebeian," "the degraded one." Both Servius and Brutus made their degraders turn pale at the echo of the names which were thus bestowed upon them in scorn, and kept these names as titles of honour. The Tarquinian prince was, notwithstanding his severity to the father, extremely kind to his nephew, Junius. He brought him up with his own sons, entertained him in his own palace, and finally exalted him to a place which it was not lawful for any Plebeian to occupy. He made him *Tribunus Celerum*, master of the royal guard, head of the *Curia*, third in rank under the king; and though the Patricians felt this as an act of arbitrary power, and complained that it was done in contempt of their privileges, they suffered the appointment, because Junius had a right to it by birth, though none by law; and they may have even in some degree, exulted in it, as a noble act of liberality and forgiveness. Brutus himself felt no gratitude, for his mind was one of dark, severe ambition; and his habitual gloom and taciturnity deceived alike the

king, who thought that he could not be dangerous, and his own countrymen, who deemed that one so phlegmatic could have no pretensions to energy, talent, or capacity.

The Tarquinian prince renewed his league with Etruria, the Latins, and the Hernicans, and with all these states he had peace. As Gabii had received his discontented subjects, and as the Volsci threatened his dominions and southern Turrhenia with war, he entreated that a full meeting of the Latins and their allies might be held at Feronia, in order to consult upon what measures were proper to be pursued for the common safety. His object was to raise an army without delay, and to be named its general. There was one man, Turnus Herdonius, the prince of Aricia—which was then the first of the Latin towns, and one possessed of a small commercial fleet—who not only opposed Tarquin, but who could not brook that the Latins should suffer a foreigner to command them. They had allowed or ceded the privilege to Tullus Hostilius of Rome, to Lucius of Tarquinia, and to Mastarna the Plebeian of Volsinia; but Herdonius fancied that the time was now come when the changed government of Rome gave them a fair plea for breaking their often-repeated treaties,—and indeed these treaties were not binding until renewed by the recently appointed sovereign.

On the day fixed for discussing this subject, the Latin princes assembled early, but Tarquin did not appear until late, alleging, in excuse, some legal

business which had detained him. Herdonius* sneered at his excuse, said it was an affront to the Latin princes, and openly reproached him with being a foreigner. As the time for business was already passed, the council agreed to reassemble on the following day. Tarquin of course had been much offended, and he resolved to overthrow Herdonius, his rival and opponent, which he accomplished by means of a disaffected party in Aricia itself, and by reason of the proximity of that town to the place of meeting. The domestic enemies of Herdonius, at Tarquin's instigation, brought swords and arms, which they concealed in the quarter where he lodged; and next day Tarquin rebuked his intemperance and pride, and said that he knew he had come prepared to destroy all the chiefs at that meeting, in order to secure the sovereignty, and that his followers were armed for that purpose. He attributed his aversion to himself, to his having refused him his daughter in marriage, and to his having bestowed her instead, on Mamilius, the prince of Tusculum, a sort of half kindred blood; for Tusculum was in its remote origin a colony of the Tuscans, and was always, from henceforward, a leading member in the Latin Diet, and one of the few towns that preserved, through long ages, a state of independence. Herdonius haughtily answered, that if arms were found concealed in his tents, he was content to be guilty. Search was made, and the swords produced, upon which the exasperated

* Livy i.

Latins fell upon Herdonius, bound him, threw him into the spring of Feronia, (the goddess of freemen,) and placed a hurdle over him, until he was drowned. Tarquin was received with acclamations, and became, as the great Lucius and Mastarna had been before him, general of the Latin forces.

Forty-seven chiefs of Latium and her allies,* the Hernici and Volsci, had met here to settle the weighty matter of the dictatorship; but Gabii was not amongst them, and she presently declared war, and carried it on for seven years in spite of all the force that Tarquin could command against her, doubtless being supported by many of the Tuscan Plebs, as well as by the Roman exiles and her own dependencies.

Tarquin persuaded the Latin princes to contribute together, in order to build a magnificent Tuscan temple to Jupiter, or Tianus, upon the Mount of Alba, which should be a solemn and festive place of meeting for them and their allies, and they agreed to build it as they had done the temple of Tiana on the Aventine, each state bearing its own proportion of the expense, and contributing its own share of the sacrifice.† The form and workmanship of this temple were Tuscan, which, close to the ruins of Turrhene Alba, need not surprise us, and, owing at once to its architect and its author, it was always called the work of Tarquin. He and his house, in virtue of it, became Isopolite with all the contributing cities. The confederates who joined to

* Dion. iv. ; Nieb. ii. n. 63.

† Dion. iv. vi.

build it agreed to meet here once every year, on a day which was fixed by proclamation, but usually corresponding with our 27th of April.* Here they were to join in sacrifice, and the Roman chief was to offer up the bull. They were to discuss politics, and to hold one of the great Italian fairs; and these festive meetings, which lasted six days†—three for Latium and three for Alba—and during which no work was lawful, were called the *Latia*, or *Feriae* of Latins, and were henceforth held at the temple of Jupiter *Latialis*. Forty-seven princes attended from the Latins in their several divisions, and from their allies. The members of this diet were the *Turrheni*, *Sabines*, *Hernicans*, *Marsi*, *Equi*, and sometimes *Volsci*. Each deputy received a portion of the sacrifice, to take home to his own state, and each brought his own share of offerings, consisting of lambs, milk, cheese, and cakes. The ascent to the Alban Temple was a *Via Sacra* for triumphs under their Dictators,‡ and was used by the Roman generals when they commanded the Latin legions. The troops then saluted the general as *Embratur*. Tarquin was the first *Embratur* who triumphed in this new temple, and the last united Roman and Tyrrhenian king.

One of Tarquin's present objects was to command in the war between Latium and the non-confederate or malcontent of the *Volsci*, who were endeavouring to extend their territory further to the north, and

* Nieb.

† Dion. iv.

‡ Nieb. ii. n. 64.

who, for the three following centuries, slowly but continually gained upon the Latins, and upon such of the Tyrrheni as lay between the Tiber and Opica. Tarquin offered them peace, through the Feciales; but his terms were refused. He therefore not only called out his troops, according to the classification of Mastarna, but doubled all his regiments with the Latins, and brought a strong force against the chief, that is, the richest and strongest city of the Volsci, and finally took it by storm. It was treated as a rebellious town, which had revolted from him, its lawful sovereign; for he whipped to death or beheaded all the senate, consisting of three hundred of the principal inhabitants. He delivered the spoil of it to the army, and he reserved a tenth to contribute to his great temple of Turrhene Jupiter in Rome.* This rich captive Volscian city is called by Livy, Suessa Pometia; but Niebuhr (ii. n. 186) does not believe that Pometia ever had any greatness to boast of, and says that it was more probably Suessa Auruncia, the Auruncians being Volscians. He defeated his adversaries at all points, and, in order to keep them in check, sent colonies to Circii and Signia, (now Segni,) of which he made his sons, Titus and Aruns, (both being Etruscan names,) governors. Dionysius says that these young men were sent to head two distinct bodies of his suffering and complaining subjects, after a pestilence; but whatever was the cause of the colonies, these two places now became Turrhene Roman,

* Livy v. 51.

and this colonization, under the young and brave Tarquinian princes, is the origin of all the claims which the Romans ever laid to these possessions.

Tarquin had some dispute with the Sabines, whom he made tributary, and then he turned his attention to the war with Gabii. This well-fortified and romantic city, the stronghold of his own rebels, would not yield, and his third son, Sextus, or, as Müller gives it amongst the Tuscan names, "Sethre," undertook to do that by fraud, which force failed to accomplish. He feigned to take the part of the Plebs against his father; upon which the old king ordered him to be whipped, and he retreated, with shame, from the city, and pled the old grounds of Isopolity with Rome in order to gain admission into Gabii. He was welcomed by the Gabini and the Roman malcontents, because he was known to be a man of great military talent and capacity, and he led them against Superbus with constant success, until at length they elected him their general and dictator, and put unlimited power into his hands. The legend says that he sent to his father to know how he should act further, and that the elder Tarquin, instead of answering, took the messenger out with him into his garden, where, walking on in silence, he cut off, as he passed them, the heads of all the tallest poppies. He then told the man that he could give no advice, but to be sure to tell his son what he had done in the garden. Sextus understood that he, in silence, was to rid himself of all the chief exiles in Gabii, and accord-

ingly, under one pretence or other, he got the Sabine senate to ruin or kill them.

This story Niebuhr imagines to be a mere copy of the tale of Zopyrus, from Herodotus. (iii. 154.) But, as men in the same circumstances, in all parts of the world, are apt to conduct themselves in the same manner, there is nothing unlikely in Superbus having allegorically advised, and Sextus followed, this method, even should the poppies have been suggested by the story of Herodotus, and have been invented to exemplify it. We only refrain from tracing many passages of the Roman history to transpositions from the Israelitish, because we have every reason to believe that the early Roman annalists were quite ignorant of that history, and therefore that remarkable likenesses are coincidences, and not copies.

Who, for instance, is not reminded of the rape of the Sabines when he reads of the rape of the virgins by the outlawed Benjamites; of the Horatii and Curatii, in the tale of the champions of Abner and Joab; and of the rape of Lucretia when he reads the story of Tamar? Can we sometimes forbear suspecting that the *spolia opima* of Acon was taken from the *spolia opima* of Saul; or that the arms of Servius's first class, the helmets and greaves of brass, the coat of mail, the target, the sword and spear of iron, are not a copy of the arms of Goliath and the Philistines? When we read of bows and arrows, slings, and javelins, war-chariots, and shields of gold, can we forbear thinking of the Syrians?

Does not Saul, ruthlessly condemning Jonathan to death, remind us of Brutus? Does not the public funeral of Abner make us think of the funereal rites of the distinguished warriors amongst the Italians? And does not the young prophet, who was buried in a cave, and an inscription written over the entrance of it, bring to our memories the sepulchres of Castel d'Asso?

At the end of seven years of war and strife, Sextus made a highly honourable peace for the Gabini with Superbus, securing to them their own laws, privileges, and independent jurisdiction, on the payment of a moderate tribute, and giving to them the Roman franchise, which was probably possessed by all the twelve states of Etruria also. This treaty,* written on a bull's hide, and stretched on a wooden shield, was hung up and preserved until the times of the empire, in the temple of Sancus, or Jupiter Fides, erected by Numa.

Tarquin's three sons were now governors of Signia, Antium, and Gabii; and the whole of Sabina, Latium, Volscia, and Turrhenia, were at peace with Rome. Yet, as we observed under Mastarna, so we observe now,—the temple of Janus was not shut; and indeed, though the peace was outward, it was not inward, and the contending and opposing parties of Patricians and Plebeians were hating and struggling against each other as much as ever.

Müller says that at this period the colonies of the Tuscans in Opica were very numerous, and their

* Dion.; Livy i. 53.

League to the south was in its strength. At the same time they spread themselves northward as Rhaeti, up to Etsch, Verona, Trent, Val Venosa, Engadden, the Rhinethal, and the Tyrol. In these mountain districts, however, they became quite a different people from the stock whence they sprung, —the civilized inhabitants of the rich cities of the Po. They were manly, upright, and brave, but their high cultivation gradually disappeared; or rather, it is most probable that no highly cultivated bodies of the nation ever migrated so far. They became in time assimilated with the Gauls, and with the mountain races of those regions, and even their language lost its purity. Elitovius, the Gaulish leader, is believed to have invaded Etruria Nova in or before this reign, and to have occasioned some hard fighting in the neighbourhood of Trent and Brixen, where he finally succeeded in settling himself and his followers. Still these Gauls made little difference in the condition of the Padus-land Tuscans, unless, indeed, they were the means of driving so many bands of them out of communication with their countrypeople. The Rhaeti were forced into the mountains, and mountain vallies of Italy and the Tyrol by the Gauls, as the Gauls themselves, when inhabitants of Britain, were driven by the Saxons into the mountains of Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland.

But besides this, some tribes of the Gaulish nation penetrated along the course of the Po to the shores of the Adriatic, making themselves masters of Felsina and Adria. By means of

rapid and uninterrupted victory, they spread a panic amongst the Tuscans, and drove a multitude of them to embark for the more friendly and peaceful regions of the south. If we credit Dionysius, (vii.) some went by land, asking a passage through the country they traversed, and some by sea. The whole coast was their own, in virtue of their alliance with the Umbri, until they came to Cape Garganus; and here it is likely both divisions of the fugitives had appointed a reunion. We are told that an enormous horde of five hundred thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse, poured from this quarter into Opica, and passing by the settlements of their own blood in Capena, Falerium, and Vulturnum, appeared before Cuma, and threatened it with a siege. They were attracted by the fertility and prosperity of the land, and its supposed incapability of resistance. Whether the Tuscans of Vulturnum suggested this course, or whether, in the conference at Garganus, it had been resolved upon, that the army and the vessels of the Tusci should again assemble here, and, by possessing themselves of Cumæ, give the whole of that part of Italy to their kindred, of whose League they were then to become a part, we cannot determine. We have, alas! only such occasional gleams of light upon the history of the northern and southern Leagues as to give us a faint idea of how important many of those events may have been, of which we are left in total ignorance. But we know that the Cumæans dreaded an attack by sea, both because it

is expressly mentioned that the Tuscans wished to possess themselves of the port of Misenum, and because the Greeks left the third portion of their troops to guard the vessels in their own harbour, when they could very ill be spared from the field of battle.

The terrified and surprised Cumæans, who had believed themselves at peace with all their neighbours, suddenly found their fields, within a few miles of the city, covered by an army they could not number. It consisted of the northern Etruscans and their inseparable allies, the Umbri, with whom the Daunii, a less known and much less civilized race, had now joined. Report said that upwards of five hundred thousand barbarians had come to overwhelm the Greeks, and fear and vanity gave full credit to the report. But, besides that the estimate seems incredible, it would include within its number the women, children, and slaves of all who had now quitted their northern homes. If we suppose the fighting men to have formed one-twentieth part of this number, it is probably too much, and they would cover quite sufficient ground for the Greeks to believe in any exaggeration, however monstrous. The senate of Cumæ, in all haste, summoned their men to arms, and divided them into three bands,—one to oppose the enemy, another to guard the city, and form a reserve, and the third to protect the fleet. The commander of their cavalry, Hippomedon, was a man of tried experience and valour, and, as second to him, they placed the young Aristodemus, surnamed Malakos, or Soft, the promising heir of

one of their most distinguished houses, notwithstanding that effeminate habits are believed to have conferred upon him this not very honourable title. As his whole life afterwards was one of hardy warfare and military talent, he probably retained it with the same feelings of bravado and insulted pride, as Servius and Brutus had retained theirs.

When the Tuscans had pitched their camp near the devoted city, many prodigies alarmed both them and the Greeks. The rivers Vulturnus and Clanis turned back from the sea to their sources, and the storms of thunder and lightning were so terrific that they felt assured there was warfare even in the heavens upon their account. Their seers, on being consulted, wisely said that they predicted confusion to the invaders, who should be turned back to the sources whence they came; and in this manner the phenomena common to earthquakes were made to inspire the Cumæans with courage, and to assure them of victory. When the leaders, however, counted their host, their hearts sank at the smallness of the force which they could muster. Only four thousand foot and five hundred horse could be raised to oppose the countless multitude of their invaders. But we are told that before any engagement, they managed to draw them into narrow vallies, enclosed by mountains, and full of swamps, so that numbers were of no avail, and only a small force could act with any effect in such a situation. Moreover, the Cumæans knew the ground, of which their enemies were totally igno-

rant; and they attacked them by night, and threw them into a disorder for which there was no remedy. The four thousand would probably have been a match even for the host which they imagined, and much more for those who were really on the field. The Tuscans and their allies, as soon as they had recovered themselves, came on with a shout; but they were soon struggling in the swamps, a mark for the Cumæan arrows, or, in their endeavours to escape, they trod down each other; and what with the darkness and confusion, more fell by their own swords than by those of their enemies.

The horse appear to have engaged by daylight, when Aristodemus distinguished himself beyond all his countrymen, and killed the enemy's general with his own hand. To his high courage and military talent the victory was owing, assisted by the swamps and by the gods, who graciously sent so violent a thunder-storm in the faces of the Tuscan cavalry, that, not being able to resist at once the forces of heaven and earth, they turned and fled. They obeyed the decree which their augurs assured them fate had issued. They returned to their source, or at least to their kindred, amongst whom they dispersed and settled. They abandoned Cuma, but their land and sea forces united in an attack upon the Phlegraean fields, which had once belonged to the Tuscans. These they conquered, and there they established themselves; and this territory never belonged to Cuma afterwards.

When the deliverance of Cuma was complete, the

Greek captains were called up in order that they might receive the thanks of their countrymen and the rewards of victory. But now arose a dispute whether the first prize was due to Aristodemus or to Hipomedon. All the soldiers agreed that it had been gained by the merits of the former, but the senate, who feared and disliked him, adjudged it to the latter; whereupon it was divided. Aristodemus, however, was not satisfied. He considered this act, as one of prejudice and ingratitude never to be forgiven, and he henceforth looked upon himself as an injured man. Upon all occasions, in future, he headed the cause of the people against the senate, thus keeping up and daily widening the breach between him and them.

Twenty years after this time, the irritated senate thought that they had compassed his destruction, as will be related in a subsequent chapter. But the snare which they laid for him was the means of accomplishing their own ruin, and of raising him to the throne of Cuma. The battle of Cuma was fought in the seventh year of Tarquinius Superbus, whilst that prince was warring with the Volsci. Dionysius dates it in the sixty-fourth Olympiad, whilst Miltiades ruled in Athens. The victory of Aricia, which eventually gave to Aristodemus the sovereignty of his native state, four Olympiads later, also enabled him to give an asylum to Tarquin and his family; so that this aged prince passed the last days of his restless and eventful life with a devoted ally and sympathizing friend. He is said to have

testified his sense of this hospitality by appointing Aristodemus heir to his remaining wealth, a heritage which he did not long live to enjoy.

Tarquin in frontier Rome, after the manner of all the Tuscan kings, employed his time of rest and his spoils of war, in beautifying and improving his capital city, in which his own palace was one of the finest buildings. He completed the gigantic common sewers, and he raised the magnificent temple for which Tarquin the Ancient, had collected the materials. The first stone* was laid amid flowers, and music, and sacrifice, an assembled priesthood, an approving nobility, and a shouting concourse of glad multitudes. But ere they laid it, a bleeding human head, yet warm, was drawn from the soil;† and the king, who must have ordered it to be placed there, demanded of the augur, Olenus Calenus, the Tuscan, what such a spectacle denoted; he looking at his prince, thinking of his nation, and of the national gods, in honour of whom this temple was to be raised, said, it portended that the people who ruled there should be the head of Italy. This interpretation is given by the eagle-eyed Niebuhr, who asserts that the augur did not mean the Roman nation, but his own, the Tuscan. This magnificent temple was equal to those of Pæstum, according to the same paramount authority, and was begun and completed by Tarquin the Proud. In consequence of the finding of this head, the name of the mount on which the temple was

* See vol. i. p. 152.

† Dion. iv.; Plin. xxviii. 2.

built, was changed from Saturnia and Tarpeia, to "Capitol, or, Caput-Toli, the head of Tulus; and the temple was called that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Arnobius says, that the head was that of Tulus Vulcentanus. Does this mean some unfortunate Ærarian or Isopolite of Vulci? He was, doubtless, some well-known character of that day, obnoxious to the king, who, being a tyrant at any rate, is accused of offering human sacrifices,* and of many other useless cruelties of an eastern stamp. Eusebius says, he brought into Rome instruments of torture.

Tarquin did not dedicate this temple, but he finished it entirely, excepting a chariot and four horses in clay, which he intended for the top of the pediment, and which he ordered to be made by the renowned artists of Veii. It covered eight acres of ground, facing south towards the Palatine and the Forum. It was two hundred feet broad, and two hundred and fifteen long, and it stood on the site of the present Palazzo Cafferelli, stretching backwards to the Tarpeian Rock. It was ascended by one hundred steps, divided by spacious landing places, and it consisted of a nave dedicated to Jupiter, and two aisles, in which were placed the shrine and images of Juno and Minerva. The statue of Jupiter was made in clay, by an artist of Fregella of the Volsci, named Turrianus, that is the Tuscan. There is every appearance that at this time, the Volsci were under the dominion of Etruria. Some authors, however, think Fregella has been

* Macrob. vii.

written by mistake for the Tuscan town of Fregene. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had large brazen folding doors in the centre, with a magnificent arch, like those of Volterra and Perugia, and it was adorned with Tuscan pillars in three rows, forming a portico in front, and with a single row of pillars which extended on each side. Some idea of it may be formed from the representations on the coins of Vespasian and Domitian, by whom it was restored.

To the lover of antiquity, it is peculiarly precious and interesting as a well-authenticated Tuscan fabric, without any admixture from the Greek, built and adorned by Tuscan artists, and shaped and divided according to the rules of the Tuscan sacred books. Livy says, Superbus built the temple of Jupiter Latialis at Alba, and again, that he built the temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian, and he speaks of neither the one nor the other as any wonder in their day. Indeed the ruins of multitudes of other temples, of which we never heard in their glory, such as those of Juno at Gabii, Minerva at Sorrentum, and Elythya at Pyrgi, show us that it was only constructed after the common fashion of the time. The reason why we know so much of it in detail, is, not that it exceeded any other in splendour, but that the Roman triumphs were ever afterwards celebrated in it, and that the Greek Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived for twenty years in sight of it, wrote a minute account of its form and proportions, for the information of his

countrymen. Tarquin's artists, who were employed to cast and mould, to paint and adorn, to cut the stone, and to make the ornaments of gold, or brass, or wood, were all Etruscan.

Whilst the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was building, a woman of patrician rank and priestly dignity, appeared in Rome. She brought with her nine books, written in verse upon palm leaves, and full of oracles, which she offered to the king as the *Libri Fatales* of his kingdom and temple. She asked a very high price, which Tarquin refused, and ordered her to be driven away. After a year, she returned, having burnt three of her books, and offered to him the remaining six for the same price. He again refused, thinking his living Augurs quite sufficient for all he wished to know concerning the destinies of his kingdom. But upon her returning a third time, (a number sacred to the Tuscans,) and asking exactly the same price for only three of these books, the king gave them to the Augurs, and ordered them to be examined. That the Augurs should have been able to examine them, and should have advised the king to buy them, as of the utmost importance to the prosperity of his kingdom, seems to us positive proof that they were Tuscan. But along with the Tuscan "*Libri Fatales*" were mingled some Greek maxims of wisdom, which the Augurs believed to be from Cuma, and which, moreover, they pronounced to be written in hieroglyphical characters. The king bought the books, and ordered them always to be kept in a cell of his new temple,

and appointed two priests, called *Duumviri*, to take care of them, and of all the others that should in any future time, be added to them. Every city of Etruria had its own *Libri Fatales*, the prophecies of *Augurs* or *Sybil*s ; and in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, we are told, at different times, of the books of the *Sabine Marci*, of the *Latin Sybil Albunea* of *Tibur*, and of the *Etruscan priestess Bygöe*.

One direction contained in these books, was, that the Romans, in times of imminent peril, should sacrifice two Greeks and two Gauls, a man and woman of each nation, to the infernal gods. This was certainly not a Greek oracle. Besides these books, the Romans, especially in later times, collected all the Greek prophecies of which they could possess themselves, and had those of *Cuma* and *Erythræa*, and probably many more, amongst their sacred books. The *Duumviri* were made priests of *Apollo*, in order to assimilate them to *Delphi*, but their being so proves nothing as to the books they kept, for we know that the Etruscans considered *Eplu* and *Dispater* to be the same, why not, therefore, *Eplu* and *Zeus*? *Tarquin* caused one *Duumvir* to suffer the punishment of a parricide, for revealing some of the sentences of these books. *Valerius* Publicola*, in his fourth consulship, consulted the leaves of the *Sybil*, and was desired to sacrifice to *Manto*, and to renew the *Circensian games*. This, surely, was not a Greek direction.

* *Plutarch*.

In the execution of his great public works, Tarquin the Proud was far less considerate of the feelings of his subjects than Tarquin the Ancient had been. He patronised no game for their amusement, though the great solemnities of the circus never ceased to be observed. But they were turned into a grand aristocratic military pomp, and were neither intended nor allowed to soften the labours of the people. He once more burdened the Plebeians with all the arbitrary taxes, and severe and unjust laws concerning debt, of the early Latin dynasties. He again made clients, freedmen, and slaves, feel the subjection of their stations; and he used hired troops to keep under his own city. Though he had forbidden the meetings of the Paganalia and Compitalia, he remitted none of the taxes levied at those meetings, but only changed the light and merciful manner in which they had been levied by Servius. In short, there was nothing popular, or affable, or joyous in his temperament, and his reign was one of terror. Livy * and Dionysius † say, that he imposed on the poor people heavy tasks, and gave them, as an equivalent, only their food and very small wages. Pliny ‡ says, they were so oppressed that their lives were bitter to them, and that they considered crucifixion as no worse a punishment than these hated labours.

Tarquin was feared as a man of great power, admired as one of magnificent designs, and respected as one of great capacity, but he was not beloved. He

* i. 32. † Dion. iv. ‡ xxxvi. 15; Serv. Æn. xii.

was a tyrant to all, dreaded and suspicious, and his dark and deep-minded nephew, Brutus, bore him a hatred which nothing kindly or social ever attempted to mollify. Tarquin was in the fulness of his dominion, and all around seemed peace. He was seventy-six years of age. He had four sons, three of them governors of strong foreign cities, and one, Lucius or Lucumo, a helper to himself in Rome ; he governed the senate, as absolutely and irrespectively as the meanest of the people, and he had made the proud Curiae submit to a Plebeian Tribune, because it was his will to give them one, and yet with all this, Tarquin was not secure or happy.

One day, as he was sacrificing, a snake crept out from his domestic altar, and terrified all his household.* We suspect that this snake was Brutus ! The king was exceedingly troubled. He had, after that, a dream, that a pair of eagles, (the royal bird of his house,) built in a palm-tree in his garden. They flew away for food, and when they returned, they found their eaglets tossed out of the nest by vultures,† which were occupying their place, and which drove off the old birds also. The king was troubled yet more. He had yet another dream, and lo ! two rams, sprung from one sire, were brought for him, to select before the altar. He made choice of the finest, and immediately the other flew at him, pushed him with his horns, and drove him away.

* Ovid Fasti, ii. 711 ; Livy i. 56.

† Nieb. i. n. 1101.

At* the same time the sun changed its course and returned from west to east. The old king could not get these strange omens out of his head. He consulted the Tuscan augurs, and they told him to beware of the man who was of his own blood, and silly as a sheep in his actions. Tarquin may have thought of Brutus, but he could not imagine danger from him. No Patrician would ever conspire to place a Plebeian on the throne, and until the Julian house again took its own place amongst the Ramnes, he fancied himself perfectly secure on that side. At length, not satisfied with those wise men, who, alone, Livy† tells us, had explained every previous omen of the Etruscans, to whom, and to whom only, in cases of prodigy, recourse had hitherto been had; the king resolved to send to Delphi, that oracle in Greece sacred to a god acknowledged by the Tuscan nation, and whence the Agyllans had so lately received consolatory counsel respecting their murdered prisoners.

A solemn embassy was accordingly fitted out, and the Agyllans were guides on the way. The governors of Antium and Signia, Titus and Aruns, were required to head the expedition, and to ask counsel in the king's name, and Brutus was sent with them to bear them company, and as the highest officer who could be spared from Rome.

The young men performed their commission, but no author tells us what advice the Pythia sent to the king. Before leaving the shrine, Brutus presented

* Cicero de Divin. i. 22.

† ii.

his offering, which was a thick staff of elder or cornel-wood, an emblem of his baton, as *Tribunus Celerum*. The priestess took it, and found that it contained an ingot of gold. He stood with the two princes, and they inquired which of them should afterwards reign in Rome. The Pythia answered, "He who should first kiss his mother." Junius Brutus pretended to stumble, and kissed the earth, secure in his long-cherished designs, now that the oracle had confirmed them. Zonarus* says, that she declared Tarquin should fall when a dog, meaning the fawning submissive Brutus, should speak with a human voice.

The party returned safely to Italy, and here Brutus, by his position, had every opportunity of fostering the discontents of all classes of people. To the dissatisfied Patricians, when they fretted over laws made without their consent, he would preach submission, lest they should be degraded as he had been. To the Senators, he might apologise, that he, a Plebeian, should be introduced into their august body, as commander of the *Decuriones*, and lament that the ancient *Ramnes*, the first sacred colonizers, should have lost their precedency, and that both *Ramnes* and *Quirites* should have been forced to bow before a man of foreign blood. To the Plebeians he would mourn over the laws of *Servius*; and to the labourers and slaves he would regret that their work was so severe and unceasing; that it was continued beyond their strength; that their pleasures were decreased, and that their pay was so small.

* ii. 4.

Whilst all classes were in the mood, which such sympathy as this would create, Tarquin headed his troops against some town which had revolted, in the neighbourhood of Rome, and which required his presence and a large force for its reduction. Livy says, he wished to win from his adversaries more spoils in order to carry on more public works. The Lucumo Tarquinius Collatinus, governor of Collatia, and Tarquin's own son, Sextus, the governor of Gabii, joined his standard, and were one evening during the siege, disputing over the excellence of their respective wives. As their arguments and descriptions, were not likely to settle the superiority of these ladies, the two princes agreed to ride to their own homes, and decide the matter according to the occupations of their wives, thus taken by surprise. Sextus's lady was amusing herself with the company of women of her own rank, and as far as we know, she had no call of duty to do otherwise. Collatinus's wife, Lucretia, the daughter of the governor of Rome, the prince of the senate, and first of the Romans, was found spinning with her maids, and was therefore, because of her self-denied economy, pronounced to be the more worthy.

The princes returned to the camp, but Sextus was inflamed with the beauty of Lucretia, whom the poets make young and lovely; and he was as tyrannical and unscrupulous in the gratification of his passions as his revengeful mother and haughty father had been before him. After a few days, his passion rather gathering than losing strength, he

returned alone to Collatia, and asked hospitality at the governor's house. Lucretia took him in, and at the dead of night he came to her chamber with a drawn sword. Unable to terrify her by death, he tried dishonour, and swore that if she persisted in her refusal, he would first kill her and then lay a slave by her side, whom he would tell the world he had slain to avenge the honour of her husband. Lucretia yielded, and the next day, when the brutal Sextus returned to the camp, she sent messengers for her father and husband, telling them to come to her instantly, for that a dreadful affair had happened in her house. Lucretius, the governor of Rome, Collatinus, the Prince of Collatia, Volesus, or Valerius, the head of the Titien tribe, and Brutus the Plebeian, yet *Tribunus Celerum*, assembled in consternation at her call, to learn what had happened, hoping or fearing a revolt in Collatia, according to their different dispositions. Lucretia related to them the horrid deed that had been perpetrated, and having made them swear to avenge her, she stabbed herself in their presence, saying that she could not survive her dishonour, nor would they let such another deed be possible, if they were free, and had the hearts of men.

The witnesses of this tragedy were deeply moved ; for so deadly an insult to Patrician blood had never yet been offered in Italy. The Italian, and above all the Etruscan, woman, was a highly honoured being, and was never considered as a tool for the pleasures of men. We quote the Etruscan woman

here, because all the Patricians were educated, to a certain degree, in the prejudices and feelings of the Tuscans; and Tanaquil, whose influence had effected such great things, still lived in the memories of each of them. Brutus seized the moment as favourable to give vent to his long-suppressed, his deep and burning passions. He drew the dagger from Lucretia's body, and passing it round to his companions, made them renew their oath to avenge her death, to secure the Patrician woman from the lust of tyrants, and to free themselves from the hated yoke which bound them down. They swore, under great excitement, to avenge themselves of Sextus and all his tyrant house; and in this spirit they had the body of Lucretia exposed in the Comitium of Collatia, and invited the young military leaders of that city to rouse their followers, and march with them to Rome. The Romans at first shut their gates, not knowing what to make of the warlike procession; but when they understood the case, when they saw their own leaders at the head of the company, and when the body of Lucretia was exposed, and the tale was told by Brutus in the Roman forum, with all the glow of hatred, and all the fierceness of a crushed oppression which at last had burst its bonds, the Patricians at once saw their time and their interest, and they sounded with one cry to arms—for liberty, and death to the tyrants. Brutus declared to them that Tarquin had filled the Cloacæ with the bodies of the nobles, and had re-

duced the Roman people to be labourers and stonecutters for the Tuscans.

The wretched Tullia, old and feeble, but unforgiving, haughty, and gloomy, who seems to have mitigated no evil in her husband's administration, and to have gained for him no friends, was forced to fly, amid the execrations of those who made her answerable both for the death of Servius and the iniquity of her treacherous son. Tarquin returned to Rome, but found the gates shut against him; his horror-struck army, roused by the Tribune of the Celeres, the leader of the cavalry, refused to obey him, his people scowled at him with yells of defiance, and his enemies, whom he was on the point of subduing, were now delivered, and allowed to recover from the blockade they had been suffering. Tarquin condemned himself by defending his vile son, and now retired to Cære with his family, and there waited until the Romans should somewhat return to their senses, and he should be able to decide on the proper path to follow. Sextus left him in order to fight for his own cause in Gabii, and there fell a sacrifice to some of the Patricians whom he had offended. It is most natural to believe that Collatinus led troops against him, and procured his overthrow; but nothing in the whole of Livy's narrative is more wonderful than the supineness and feebleness of this injured man, who had within his veins the hot and fierce blood of the proud and brave Tarquinius. With Sextus, ended the

connexion between Rome and Gabii, and for the present, between Gabii and Tarquinia. Of the former state we have already mentioned* that its people wore the Tuscan dress, that they used the Tuscan coins and letters, that a Tuscan at times presided over its college, that its great temple and religious discipline were Tuscan, and that it taught that discipline to the Sabines and Marsi.

Tarquin seems for a short time to have been paralysed by this unexpected blow. He had many friends within the city, and he thought that when Lucretia's funeral was over, and the fury of the populace was spent, all things would return to their usual channel. He therefore waited at Cære, and sent ambassadors, who were honourably received, to represent that he had no concern in the iniquity of his son, and to demand that his property should be valued, and the value given to him and his family. The ambassadors found the city in very unexpected order, and already under a regular government, of which Brutus, with all the ensigns of kingly pomp, was at the head. Such portions of the laws of Servius as had escaped destruction were consulted, and, according to their supposed meaning, the supreme authority henceforth was to be divided between Patricians and Plebeians, and the four men who had de-throned Tarquin were to be the first governors.

Lucretius, the *Custos Urbis*, was *Interrex*, and called the Senate and *Curie* to decide upon their

* Vol. i. p. 377.

rulers, and the Plebeians in centuries were to give their consent. The despotic authority of the kings remained entire with their successors, named Reges at first, and then Prætors;* and such sacred offices as none but the king could execute, had a Patrician officer set apart for them solely,† called Rex Sacrorum, his person being inviolable, and his appointment for life. Dionysius says that the Senate preserved the name of Rex because their kings had been to them the source of so much good, and therefore they directed the Augurs and Pontifices to choose a person who should never meddle with civil affairs, and who should devote himself to the care of public worship. His wife was Regina, a chief priestess, and none but a Patrician could enjoy this dignity. The Rex Sacrorum, if not always a Tuscan, was always educated in Etruria, and, that he might never be supreme, and never attempt to rule in civil matters, he was made subordinate in authority to the Roman Prætor and Pontifex Maximus. To the Prætors were adjudged the ivory sceptre, the golden crown, the royal purple robe, the Lictors and the Fasces; and Livy tells us that the Triumpher also wore the golden crown and purple habit, and bore in his hand the ivory sceptre, as the kings had done before him.

Brutus obliged all the Roman people, Senate, Curia, and Plebs, to deprive Tarquin of royalty, and not only made them solemnly swear to banish him for ever, but devoted to the Tuscan infernal gods every

* Tully iii. 2.

† Livy i. 53.

soul who should, by word or deed, propose his restoration. Niebuhr says that this devotion of men to the infernal gods was the commencement of doing away with human sacrifices, but it had been a custom of the Tuscans from the beginning.

Brutus the Plebeian might now have been re-elected into the Senate, and his house might have been restored to all its forfeited honours; for he was himself the chief ruler, and filled up the numbers of the Senate, which Tarquin had shamefully diminished. But it better suited the tone of his dark vindictive mind, to keep up the remembrance of his injuries, by ruling as a king, and yet remaining a Plebeian. The first Tarquinian dynasty was overturned by the Plebeian Mastarna; the second Tarquinian dynasty was overturned by the Plebeian Brutus. The first of these Plebeians, being a Tuscan, introduced still more of Tuscan arts and customs into Rome; the second, being a Latin, broke off at once all communication with the Tuscans; and Rome, from this time forward, was a Latine state, and Tuscan in nothing except her religion. The Brutii and Junii continued to be leaders of the Plebs, from the passing of the Licinian law, even to the end of the republic.*

During the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the various written laws of the kings were collected into one code by a lawyer named Papirius, and they were ever after held in reverence, and referred to as the *Leges Regium*, or *Jus Papirii*.

* Nieb. i. n. 1153.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.*

Tarquin retires to Cære—Sends ambassadors to Rome—Implacability of Brutus—Valerius—Collatinus retires to Lavinium—Embassy of the Carthaginians to Rome—Conspiracy to restore Tarquin detected—Death of the sons of Brutus—Confiscation of the property of Tarquin—Tarquin, aided by Tarquinia and Veii, makes war on Rome—Battle in which Aruns and Brutus are slain—Lucretius and Valerius at the head of the republic—Dedication of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—Tarquin applies for aid to Lars Porsenna—Obscurity of Etruscan history—Rivalry between the parties of Tarquin and Porsenna in the Rasenan League—Porsenna, notwithstanding, aids Tarquin, in order to re-establish Etruscan influence in Rome.

B. C. 511. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 676.

WHEN Tarquin retreated from the gates of Rome, though his army is said to have revolted against him, there can be no doubt that many bands of infantry and cavalry remained attached to his stand-

* Authorities: Livy ii. 1, 2; Dion. v. in loco, vii.; Anc. Hist. xi. 357; Nieb. i. ii.; Müller's Etrüsker; Plut. in Pop.

ard. The Romans, through whom alone we know the history of these transactions, never mention their allies, unless when compelled by absolute necessity. In every battle, and every siege, they speak of Rome, and of Rome alone; and, yet, from the very beginning, they rarely either fought the one, or prosecuted the other, without the aid of Latins, Tuscans, Sabines, or some of the many tribes surrounding them.

At the siege in which Tarquin was engaged when Sextus left the camp in order to perpetrate his villainy, his force must have consisted of Romans, Latins, and Tuscans; for he was the King of Rome, the chosen Dictator of Latium, and a member of the great Tuscan League. All his Roman and most of his Latin cohorts forsook him; but the Tuscans, it seems, remained firm in their allegiance, and with them he retreated to Cære, where he quietly remained until he should see the turn which this extraordinary drama would take. Tarquin the Dictator would not have preferred Tuscany to Latium without having some strong reasons for doing so; and these reasons were, his intimate alliance with Tarquinia and Cære, and the tried fidelity of his Tuscan troops. His sons, Titus and Aruns, joined him; but Circeii, the city ruled over by the one, though Turrhene; and Signia, the government of the other, either joined the Romans or remained perfectly neutral.

The first acts of Tarquin show that he could not yet persuade himself of the real character of Brutus,

nor give credit to his own dethronement. Not being himself malignant, though imperious and domineering, he could not believe in the vindictive ferocity of one to whom he had always been so kind. Accordingly, instead of assembling all the forces he could bring together, and making war on the city, he peaceably sent ambassadors to enforce his restoration. Brutus laughed at this demand, but few of the Patricians joined him in his scorn and hatred of the old king. He had indeed attained his own object: he had driven away that king and his sons, and had placed himself in their stead, but he had to endure a severe struggle in order to maintain himself in his new position, and induce his countrymen to submit whilst they were yet blind to his despotic authority. No despotism is so fearful as that which does all in the name of liberty.

In accordance with the laws of Servius, Brutus had pledged himself to have always a colleague, and, in accordance with the law of his own spirit, he was resolved that this colleague should never differ in opinion from himself. He was moreover resolved to restore the Ramnes to their former precedence, and to make the Titians second in power, ridding himself altogether from Tuscan influence and the abhorred Tarquinian rule. With this view he intended to make Valerius his co-Prætor, both because he was the most influential of all the Patricians, and because,* without his co-operation, he

* Plut. in Pop.

could not have expelled the Tarquinius. It seems inexplicably strange, that he never was able to gain this great man over to his side until after the death of Lucretia, when he induced him, in the excitement of the moment, to sign the contract over her bleeding remains. This seems to prove that Valerius had always been treated by Tarquin with the regard due to his eminent rank and station.

Both Brutus and Valerius were accordingly, excessively vexed and mortified when the newly-emancipated Curia appointed Collatinus to be the co-Prætor of the former. Valerius himself was so full of indignation that Brutus was afraid lest he and many other distinguished senators should join Tarquin. So much for their heroic patriotism! Niebuhr* thinks that Valerius was king of the Titians, and says that his house always enjoyed extraordinary honours. The Valerii alone, of all the Romans, were allowed a Curule throne in the Circus, and they possessed the peculiar privilege of burying their dead within the walls.

The Lucumo Collatinus, deeply and irreparably injured as he had been, was not a man of a sufficiently fierce and revengeful spirit for Junius Brutus. He was of Tarquinian blood and lineage, and it was evident that the attachments of clanship were the strongest feelings of his heart. It is palpable that he did not think the aged king deserved to lose his crown, for a crime in which he had no share, and that in his estimation the exile of Tarquin's sons ought to be rendered as light as possible.

* i. n. 1194.

These three young men, who had followed their father, were guiltless of any crime or tyranny, as far as we know, and they were much, we might almost say devotedly, beloved by such of the Patricians as had been their companions. All these, indeed, were of the same way of thinking with Collatinus; and Dionysius* tells us that a number of the principal families emigrated and followed Tarquin. Livy bears the same testimony in describing the battle of Regillus.

Brutus regarded Collatinus as a complete clog upon all his plans, and he was resolved, at all hazards, to get rid of him. He accordingly put himself into a violent rage when Collatinus expressed his opinion that the old king's effects should be given up to him as a matter of justice. He opposed it resolutely, and said he perceived that Rome could never be free as long as any of the Tarquinii remained in it, their sense of crime was so weak, and their love of tyranny so strong; and that, therefore, the only method of breaking the chains of long subjection, which hung, and would continue to hang, upon the minds of his countrymen, as long as they had any influence among them, was for the whole clan to retire beyond their territories,—a movement which he offered many talents to facilitate. It is more than likely that he represented to Collatinus the certainty of an immediate rupture with Tarquinia, and the painful necessity he would then be under to spill the blood of his own kindred.

* vi. ; Livy ii.

Certain it is, he used some arguments of persuasion with his colleague beyond the haughtiness and irascibility of his own temper, which induced that chief to take up his franchise and seek an abode in Lavinium,* whither he retired, settling himself and his clients honourably and peaceably beyond the jurisdiction of Rome.

He could not return into Etruria, because he would not willingly confirm the taunts and suspicions of Brutus; and unless he had taken up arms against those who professed themselves, and who felt in heart and soul that they were the avengers of his wife's death and his own honour, he *could* not return to Tarquinia, the cradle of his house; because that state, with Cære and Veii, had already espoused the cause of his deadly foe. Probably all the leading Patricians of his name soon joined him, and finally the whole clan left the Roman states, fixing themselves in Tusculum Lavinium† and Laurentum. Their place was supplied by the Claudii, with their chief, Appius Claudius, from Regillum, in Sabina; and their lands were near Crustumerium, along the river Anio. Whether they changed homes now, or at the time, as is more probable, when Tarquin himself sought the assistance of the Latins some years later, no history acquaints us; but, as there was a strong Tarquinian party in Rome for upwards of ten years, we are inclined to believe the latter.

After the exile of Collatinus, Marcus Horatius

* Livy.

† Niebuhr.

was associated with Brutus, and ambassadors came from Carthage to conclude with the new government a treaty of peace and commerce, which was engraved upon stone in the Forum, and upon tables of brass, which were kept at the capitol. This treaty shows us that Rome, when she banished the Tarquinius, was by no means an inconsiderable naval power; but, on the contrary, that she sent forth her ships from Ostia in company with Agylla and the other states of Tyrrhenia, and that she had, as her subjects or allies, all the Tyrrhene ports almost as far as Cuma.* In this Carthaginian treaty, Rome is permitted to trade with Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Carthage, and the whole of Africa, from the Bay of Carthage, westward, as far as the pillars of Hercules. Rome is bound not to interfere with the trade of Egypt; and Carthage, on these conditions, promises to respect the trade of Ardea, Antium, Cerceii, Terracina, and Aricia, promising to make no conquests, and build no forts, in these small states, and to keep faith with them, *even should they cease to be dependencies of Rome*. This is a most remarkable passage. It is a tacit acknowledgment of the influence of Tarquin with the Latin and Turrhene Latin states, and of the uncertainty of Rome as to which party these states would favour, whilst she hoped that this generous consideration of their interests might bind them to herself. It seems, indeed, as if she had so far succeeded that they felt themselves, in the present emergency, bound rather to assist the Romans than the dethroned monarch;

* Nieb. i. about n. 1183.

and that at first, they embraced the cause of the sacred city, though a few years afterwards they changed their sentiments. After Porsenna had reduced Rome, they all, as with one accord, shook off her yoke, or alliance, and Aricia, the most powerful state in Latium, went over to the other side, and espoused the quarrel of Tarquin.

The embassy of the Carthaginians, must have been a very great blow to the aged monarch, as acknowledging the authority of the new government, and as giving security to it by sea. When his ambassadors found that his restoration was out of the question, they either still lingered in Rome, pleading his cause, or they returned to it in order to take up the argument of Collatinus, and demand his property. The Senate were so convinced of the justice of this claim, that they ordered the goods of Tarquin to be valued and granted to him ; but Brutus was determined that his riches should not leave Rome, as he was sure that they would be employed against her. The ambassadors very quickly gave him the cause of displeasure that he wished for and sought, by plotting for Tarquin's return and reinstatement, with those of the Patricians, and even with those members of the Senate, who regretted his misfortunes, or who preferred him to the first Prætor, which Niebuhr believes was the case with all the Luceres. His return would indeed have been death to Brutus, Lucretius, Valerius, and all who had aided them ; yet Brutus's own nearest relations were amongst the number of

the keenest conspirators. The Aquillii, a powerful noble house, and the Vitelli, his wife's family, and, what was worse than all this, even his own two grown up sons, Titus and Tiberius, friends and companions of the young Tarquinius, were foremost amongst those who were resolved to overturn his authority; and they took an oath over the body of a human victim, in presence of Tarquin's heralds, to bring the old king back. A slave heard them, and wisely made the monstrous secret the price of his own liberty. He confided it to Valerius, head of the Titii, who, next to Brutus, was the most powerful and influential man in the city; and Valerius had all the conspirators arrested and brought to trial. The young Junii would, not unnaturally, have a feeling of kindness towards a family which, in their eyes, had loaded their father with honours, and whose benefits he had always returned with an unreasonable and implacable hate. But the stern and haughty father burned with irrepressible indignation when he found that his own children had dared to have an opinion differing from his own, and that they had taken part with a family which had degraded him and them. Yet we have no proof that this degradation was not perfectly just. Russia, even now, could show her Brutuses towards her present emperor; and with respect to the harshness and bigotry of parents towards their own children, whom they would far rather see in their graves than of a different opinion to themselves, England could show no small number also. Po-

litics and religion in every age have had such votaries.

Brutus is only singular, in that he has been admired for his deed, because poetry has attributed to him motives for it which he never knew. Brutus had no ideas of liberty that were inconsistent with his own supreme command. This he had craved for himself, and purchased, as it were, at an immense cost, from the oracle at Delphi. He succeeded Tarquin. He remained first Prætor, with the title of Rex, till his death, and the debtors and the lower people, were more ground under the freedom which he established, than they had ever been under the kings, excepting only in the matter of the great public works, which appear to have been of a calibre altogether anti-Roman, and which were never attempted under the republic.

When the conspirators were brought out for judgment, Brutus, instead of delegating the matter to his colleague, enthroned himself on the judgment seat, and coolly ordered the lictors to execute, as traitors, his own children, whilst he looked on. Then descending in his pride and gloom, he told Valerius to spare the others if he could. Livy,* who loves to paint, says, "*Quum inter omne tempus pater, Vultusque, et os ejus spectaculo esset; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ penæ ministerium.*" Men may indeed have looked at him, but both Dionysius† and Plutarch say that he showed not the slightest emotion. His own sons had rebelled against him, and stood up for the

* ii. 5.

† v. 210.

family he detested, and whom he had sworn to extirpate and ruin ; therefore, in his eyes, they deserved to die. These were his feelings, and dark and fanatical minds, in the days of the Inquisition and of the Covenanters, have often nourished the same with full as much intensity, and have mistaken, as the Romans did, the passions of a demon for the spirituality of a saint.

Cicero says that Brutus left one son, Lucius, or Lucumo Junius Brutus, who was, according to a tradition, which has the authority of Plutarch, the ancestor of that Patrician who murdered Julius Cæsar. The Romans had several examples afterwards of fathers who condemned their sons to death. The Consul Horatius, if he did not actually do so, still acted, with regard to his son, in the spirit of Brutus, at the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; Cassius, the father of the great Spurious Cassius, is accused of a similar act of patriotism ; the Consul Aulus Posthumus, in the second war with Veii, executed his son and several others ; not to mention the national laws which placed it in the option of every father, when a child was born, whether it was to live or not, and those which authorized a father to sell his sons, if he chose, over and over again, into slavery.

With regard to this act of Brutus, it may not be uninteresting to record the opinions of two of the most illustrious writers of ancient and modern times. Virgil gives him credit for patriotism, but, at the same time, ascribes to his conduct the baser motive of

love of popular applause. "*Vincit amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido;*" while Machiavelli, looking on the transaction with the eye of a politician, considers him as not having had the liberty of choice, but as having been absolutely compelled to this act of cruel severity by the principle of self-preservation.

All the conspirators against Brutus and his government were put to death, and their families degraded, as the Junii had been before, and as is, in every country, the right punishment of treason. The Aquillii and Vitellii were not only Patricians, but men of senatorial dignity. The ambassadors were spared, only their mission failed, and the goods of Tarquin, so far from being restored, were put up to auction and their proceeds given to the poor. His own private lands were divided in large portions of seven acres each,* amongst the Plebeians, in order to make any future restoration impossible, and a field of his near the Campus Martius was dedicated to the god Mars, and the corn which grew upon it thrown into the river, where, by heaping itself upon a shallow, it laid the foundation of the sacred isle in the midst of the Tiber.†

When Tarquin found the aim of Brutus was to drive things to extremities, and utterly to expel all his clan and kindred, as well as himself, from the Roman territories, he applied in earnest for succour to Veii and Tarquinia,‡ and both of these states an-

* The Plebeian's legal portion was two acres.

† Livy v.

‡ Livy, ii. 6.

swered to his call, and raised forces to try the event of war.

The king and his son Aruns, headed the Tuscan armies, and led on the battle against Brutus and Valerius; and the old legend says, that eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-nine of the one, and eleven thousand three hundred of the other, were left dead upon the field of battle, an oracle being required to tell the numbers and to decide the victory between them. Aruns saw Brutus wearing his father's crown upon his helmet, and having the kingly purple over his shoulders. Unable to endure the sight, he rode furiously towards him, calling him a usurper, and after a desperate struggle, in which Aruns unhorsed and killed his foe, he sank to the ground himself, exhausted and mortally wounded. The struggle for victory continued obstinate. Two of the sons of Tarquin who commanded the left wing of the Tyrrhenians, defeated the right wing of the Romans, and were on the point of forcing their entrenchments; but on the following night, Valerius surprised the Tuscan army, slaughtered a great number of them, and attacked their camp.

The victory, however, remained undetermined, and each party drew off their dead, Brutus being honoured with a public funeral, and a year's public mourning. After his decease, Lucretius for the Ramnes, and Valerius for the Tities, were the two most powerful Roman families, and one or other of these names is always found amongst the earliest Prætors. But owing to the distractions which followed for

many years, the Fasti were most irregularly kept; and, indeed, for several years, there probably were no Prætors. Both Lucretius and Valerius were at the head of the government when Porsenna attacked Rome.

After the battle in which Brutus fell, the Romans seem to have contented themselves with keeping within their own territory, and exposing themselves to as little loss as possible. They concluded a truce with Veii for a few months, and during this time they hoped to propitiate the gods by completing and dedicating, the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They looked upon it as a happy omen, that the king had not left it perfectly finished. The chariot and horses of terra cotta, which he had ordered for the pediment from Veii, were manufactured and ready, but had not been delivered; for whilst they were moulding them, the clay, instead of shrinking in the fire, swelled to a very unusual size, and the workmen being astonished, considered it as a portent concerning which the augurs ought to be consulted;* the more so as the chariot could not be withdrawn without breaking up the furnace. The Augurs answered that this chariot betokened power and success to those with whom it should remain, and the Veientes upon this, resolved to keep it to themselves. When the Romans sent to apply for it, they were accordingly answered, that Tarquin, the king, had commissioned it, and that they would deliver it up to Tarquin, but not to

* Plut. in Pop.

those who had driven him from his kingdom. With this reply the Romans were obliged to be contented, but it so happened, that the great Circensian games of Veii were celebrated a few days after, when a man named Ratumena received the prize for the chariot race, and was leading his horses gently out of the ring. They took fright, without any visible cause, rushed with him down the hill, and through the gates of Veii, along the road, and across the frontiers, and never stopped until they reached one of the Roman gates,* when they threw him out and killed him. The Romans named the gate after him, "Ratumena." Hereupon they again applied for their chariot, and the people of Veii, fearing the anger of the gods for broken faith, surrendered it. This chariot was accordingly placed in triumph upon the top of the temple.

The sacred edifice was now considered finished, and the two Prætors drew lots as to who should dedicate it. The lot fell to Marcus Horatius, whose name was accordingly inscribed upon its front; but Valerius was so angry at its not falling to him, that he would not attend the ceremony. In high displeasure, he renewed the war with Veii, and his friends strove to prevent Horatius from winning the honour which had fallen to his share, by sending him a message that his son was dead. With all the sternness of Brutus, and with a religious enthusiasm as powerful as Brutus's indignant pride, he answered, "It concerneth not me, cast away the

* Plin. viii. 42.

body." He then struck in the nail of the lustrum,* from which the Romans ever after counted the date of their republic, and in the set form of words, terminated the dedication. There is no doubt that this ceremony inspired the Romans with strong hope as an omen for good. The foundation of this celebrated building was laid in an augury of its becoming the head of Italy, with Terminus and Juventus enclosed within its walls; and it was completed in an augury, which predicted to its possessors a career of rapid victory and success.

The Roman people now, indeed, required every excitement to hope, and every omen which might portend good fortune; for a dark hour was drawing nigh, and one over the shame and confusion of which, their annals have carefully extended the thickest veil.

Tarquin, not finding the aid of Cære, Veii, and Tarquinia, sufficient for him against his former subjects, with their Latin and Tyrrhenian allies,† went in person as a suppliant, to his great northern rival, Lars Porsenna, King of Clusium, the bravest and most magnanimous sovereign and warrior of his age, and asked his mighty assistance against the Romans, in order to reinstate him on his throne.

There are certain points in history, where events big with the most momentous consequences, and replete with the most interesting illustrations of national greatness, seem peculiarly to demand attention to

* Livy vii. 3.

† The people of Antium, Circeii, &c. &c.

minute detail, in order to trace out the one, and to elucidate the other. Such an epoch in Etruscan history is the period which we are at present considering. Such an epoch, in the first instance, was the reign of Lucius Tarquinius the Ancient, in Rome, when the political struggles of contending parties seemed to have reached their culminating point. At that time, we had the great states of the northern and southern divisions of the Rasenan league, opposed to each other. Then the popular party, in various Lucumonies, were dissatisfied with the exclusiveness of aristocratic sway, and sent forth a mighty army, which, under Cale Fipi and Mastarna, traversed Etruria, seeking dominion, and baffled in the search. Next we had presented to our view their strife for the sacred border city, on the banks of the Tiber, which, after a struggle, carried on with varied success, was ultimately compelled to admit this powerful body within her walls, and to receive it as an ingredient, in her own government. Following this, an arrangement seems to have been made between the two contending elements of disunion in the Etruscan Commonwealth, by which Rome became, as it were, a peace-offering to the contentions of both parties, and an outlet for the discontented spirits which had fermented in the states of the League.

But in endeavouring to trace out these events, the historian has to grope amid mists and uncertainties, and to draw conclusions, often it may be, hasty and insufficient, from the most defective mate-

rials. Inferences must be deduced from hints, and an immense and glowing landscape appears to be seen obscurely and rapidly through a narrow chink. The vastness and the beauty of the historical field is dimly visible and appreciated, "Men are seen as trees walking," but all is confused, and the darkness is scarcely illuminated by a gleam of light. In attempting to follow out the connexions of this history, we are frequently tempted to throw away the pen in despair, from a sense of the scanty materials which now remain, and of our inability to do them justice; and we often cannot help sighing for the lost books of Claudius, which at least would have afforded us more light than the works of authors who only make incidental mention of Etruscan history, in treating of the affairs of other countries. It may seem to many of our readers that some apology is due for dwelling so much on the events of Roman history, which, they will say, are already sufficiently known to them, from other and better sources. But unjust as Rome has been to Etruria, and anxious as were her citizens to extinguish the renown of that great people, to whom they originally owed their religion, their civil institutions, and their glory; it is, nevertheless, to the page of her history that we must apply, as the only lamp we have to guide us in our path, however fitful may often be its glimmerings upon our painful and unsatisfactory research.

The historian is now, alas! only enabled to behold as through a crevice, the vast and misty field of Etruscan greatness, and he finds that crevice in the

walls of ruined Rome, which, when they were first erected, enclosed little more than a border-fort of mighty and dominant Tyrrhenia. Thus much it seemed needful to say, in order to disarm the critic, who might otherwise complain, that in taking up a volume professing to treat of Etruria, he found it but an enlarged repetition of the oft-told tale of Roman story.

CHAPTER XI.

LARS PORSENNA.—END OF TARQUIN.*

A. TARQ. 678 TO 692; A. C. 509 TO 497.

The importance of the epoch considered—Tarquin seeks aid from Lars Porsenna, of Clusium—His motives for assisting him—Porsenna elected Embratur of the League—Gathering of the Etruscans from “the lays of ancient Rome”—Feat of Horatius Cocles—Blockade of the city and its sufferings from famine—Attempt on the life of Porsenna by Caius or Mucius—Destruction of Roman navy—Ignominious submission of the city—Story of Clelia—Coolness between Porsenna and Tarquin—Tarquin takes refuge with Mamilius—Siege of Aricia by Aruns Porsenna—Aricia applies for aid to the Cumans—Victory by Aristodemus—Death of Aruns Porsenna—Tyranny of Aristodemus at Cuma—Porsenna’s victory in Volsinia—His magnificent tomb at Clusium—State of parties and popular feeling at Rome, in favour of Tarquin—War with the Latins, headed by Tarquin and Mamilius—Battle of Regillus, and defeat of Tarquin—Death of Tarquin at Cuma.

“Lars Porsenna of Clusium,
By the nine gods he swore,
That the great house of Tarquin
Should suffer wrong no more.

* Authorities: Livy ii. ; Dionys. Halic. v. and vii. ; Plut. in Pop. ; Ant. Hist. xi. and xvi. ; Niebuhr’s Rome.

By the nine gods he swore it,
And named a trysting day,
And bade his messengers ride forth,
East and west, and south and north,
To summon his array.

Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome.

AN epoch in Etruscan history, even more replete with interest than any of which we have formerly treated, is the period at which we have now arrived, when the power of Tarquinia received a shock, from which it never recovered, Rome being entirely withdrawn from the protection of that proud Lucumony : and the supreme command of the Rasenan League, being vested in the great rival state of Clusium. The actors in the stirring events of this period, Tarquinius Superbus, Brutus, Valerius, and above all Lars Porsenna, are names familiar to us, from our earliest recollections of history. And though we possess but a meagre outline of knowledge concerning the events of their lives, and the relations in which they stood to each other, they excite in us a livelier interest than Celes Vibenna, or Mastarna, of whom, the very existence, as well as the fortunes, belong to the province of the antiquarian, rather than to that of the ordinary historian.

The obscurity of Etruscan history grieves us, especially in the days of Tarquinius Superbus, and Lars Porsenna ; because, if we possessed a more detailed knowledge of its events, we should be introduced at once, to an acquaintance with the mutual political relations of the different states, and their

individual arrangements. This was a time when the springs of government were developed by action, and when the different members of the League were actively engaged in crossing each other's path, in the business of war and diplomacy. It was one of those moments of great national excitement, wherein the political progress of a people advances more in a few years, than during a century of ordinary tranquillity. And could we but obtain an insight into it, much would be gained for the understanding of the past, and the development of the future, over which a mist now hangs, which we can but imperfectly penetrate.

Tarquinius Superbus was driven from his throne, and was now pleading his own cause at Clusium: but even had he been permitted to end his days in power and prosperity, it is still probable that at the close of his reign, we should have had a confused account of hostilities, in which all the Lucumonies of the Rasenan League were implicated, similar to the state of matters during the last years of the reign of Lucius Tarquinius the Ancient. Niebuhr believes, that even had Sextus not been a villain, nor Brutus an ambitious avenger of his family wrongs, and had the old king remained free from violence at home, he would still, in any case, have ended his days in strife and warfare. He would, probably, have had to defend himself as an enemy, against that great prince, at the foot of whose throne he was now glad to seek shelter as a suppliant, Lars Porsenna of Clusium. We know that at

the very time of his expulsion from Rome, Tarquin was busily engaged in warlike preparations, and even in actual war. And it is most probable that he burned with hostile feelings towards his great northern rival, who, as ruling that state which was the political competitor of Tarquinia, was naturally the opponent of the exclusive aristocratic party, which looked up to Tarquin as its head. If things were so, he must have made a truce with his great enemy, immediately upon the commencement of his troubles, or the forces of the southern states could not have been so quickly turned, as we find them to have been, against the revolted city.

Should it be asked, why did Porsenna assist the Tarquinian party in Rome, if he belonged to a different political side, and if he was so decidedly opposed to their interests in the League? it may be replied, that within the League, he was, indeed, opposed to them, and sought their subjugation. But the object of Brutus and the republican faction, was altogether to emancipate Rome from Etruscan influence. And although Porsenna was ready to maintain the cause of Clusium against the preponderance of Tarquinia, yet he was not prepared to suffer the Rasenan influence to be quite destroyed, in the great border city on the banks of the Tiber; and Rome to become not only free from kingly sway, but from Etruscan domination. Though Lars Porsenna might be a foe to the Tarquinians, he was a Rasenan, one of "the mighty Turrheni, worthy to have lived in the days of the demi-gods," and as such he was ever ready

to turn his powerful arm against every foreign enemy of his country.

When he saw the brave old Tarquin supplicating his aid, that prince, so venerable for age, so renowned for his magnificent works, and so dreaded for his warlike deeds, his heart relented, and he resolved to give him succour. Porsenna considered that Tarquin had been hardly and unjustly used, and he did not understand a rebel Latin Plebeian, lording it over all the Patricians, and electing himself to the supreme authority. Moreover, if Tarquin was to suffer for the crimes of his son, Junius Brutus, whose life and property he had spared, ought, long ago, to have suffered for the treason of his father. Porsenna, thought that he was the very last man, who should have raised his hand against the old king, and as he could at first only know Tarquin's version of the tale, he was roused to the strongest indignation, and was spurred on to the most determined vengeance. At the General Diet of Volturna, he caused himself to be elected captain of the League, (*Embratur*;) with all the accustomed insignia of royal authority, and he assumed the supreme command.

One of Macaulay's lays of ancient Rome gives a most lively and spirited description of the assembling of the forces by Lars Porsenna, and of his march to Rome. It is as eminently beautiful as it is probable, and it is composed so entirely in the spirit of the ancient bards, that we are sure our readers will thank us for transcribing it. Part of it must be true in the

nature of things, and we are indebted to it, for a correct and poetical enumeration of the names of the twelve states, and their chief cities. It gives a far more graphic, as well as musical account of their proceedings, than any we could have written after the most laborious study, and with the most anxious wish to represent for once, an animating and interesting picture of the finest scene in all Etruscan history. Next to Tarchon, we know of no Tyrrhenian who could compare with Lars Porsenna. He is supposed to have been the descendant of one of the heroes, who came over with the great Rasenan leader and lawgiver, because his name, that of Purs-n-e, is found in the ancient tombs of Egypt.* His was, therefore, one of the oldest families in Etruria, and he had the prestige of birth, as well as the influence of talent and magnanimity, to make him honourable in the eyes of his nation.

“ East and west, and south and north, his messengers ride fast,
And tower, and town, and cottage now, have heard the trumpet’s
blast.

Shame on the false Etruscan, who lingers in his home,
When Porsena of Clusium is on the march to Rome.

“ The horsemen and the footmen, are pouring in amain,
From many a stately market-place, from many a fruitful plain—
From many a lonely hamlet, which hid by beech and pine,
Like an eagle’s nest, hangs on the crest, of purple Apennine.

“ From lordly Vولاتerræ, where scowls the far-famed hold,
Piled by the hands of giants, for the God-like kings of old,—
From sea-girt Populonia, whose sentinels descry
Sardinia’s snowy mountain-ridge, fringing the southern sky ;

* Rosellini.

“From the proud mart of Pisa, queen of the western waves,
Where ride Massilia’s triremes, heavy with fair-haired slaves ;
From where sweet Clanis wanders, through corn and wine and
flowers,
From where Cortona lifts to heaven, her diadem of towers.

“Tall are the oaks whose acorns, drop in dark Auser’s rill :
Fat are the stags, that champ the boughs, of the Ciminian hill,
Beyond all streams Clitumnus, is to the herdsman dear,
Best of all pools, the fowler loves, the great Volsinian mere.

“But now no stroke of woodman, is heard by Auser’s rill ;
No hunter tracks the stag’s green path, up the Ciminian hill ;
Unwatched along Clitumnus, grazes the milk-white steer ;
Unharm’d the water-fowl may dip, in the Volsinian mere.

“The harvests of Arretium, this year old men shall reap ;
This year, young boys in Umbro, shall plunge the struggling
sheep ;
And in the vats of Luna, this year, the must shall foam
Round the white feet of laughing girls, whose sires have marched
to Rome.

“There be thirty chosen prophets, the wisest of the land,
Who alway by Lars Porsena, both morn and evening stand,
Evening and morn the Thirty, have turned the verses o’er,
Traced from the right, on linen white, by the mighty seers of yore.

“And with one voice the Thirty, have their glad answer given ;
‘Go forth, go forth, Lars Porsena ; go forth, beloved of
heaven ;
Go and return in glory, to Clusium’s royal dome,
And hang round Nortia’s altars, the golden shields of Rome.’

“And now hath every city, sent up her tale of men ;
The foot are fourscore thousand, the horse are thousands ten.
Before the gates of Sutrium, is met the great array,
A proud man was Lars Porsena, upon that trysting day.

"To eastward, and to westward, have spread the Tuscan hands ;
 Nor house, nor fence, nor dovecote, in Crustumerium stands ;
 Verbenna, down to Ostia, hath wasted all the plain ;
 Astur hath stormed Janiculum, and the stout guards are slain.

" And nearer fast and nearer, doth the red whirlwind come ;
 And louder still, and still more loud, from underneath that roll-
 ing cloud,
 Is heard the trumpet's war-note proud,
 The trampling, and the hum.

" And plainly, and more plainly, now through the gloom appears,
 Far to left, and far to right, in broken gleams of dark blue light,
 The long array of helmets bright,
 The long array of spears.

" And plainly, and more plainly, above that glimmering line,
 Now might ye see the banners, of twelve fair cities shine ;
 But the banner of proud Clusium, was highest of them all,
 The terror of the Umbrian, the terror of the Gaul.

" Fast by the royal standard, o'er looking all the war,
 Lars Porsena of Clusium, sat in his ivory car,
 Whilst all his Tuscan army, right glorious to behold,
 Came flashing back the noon-day light, rank behind rank, like
 surges bright,
 Of a broad sea of gold."

History tells us that the Romans drew in all their outposts, and fortified themselves as they best could, in this struggle for life and death. They had allies, as the treaty of Carthage proves, but not many, for the Sabines, and the greater number of the Latins, considered their treaties to be binding with Tarquin himself, their old and victorious general, rather than with his revolted dominions, and during his life they

would not make any alliance with the republic. Porsenna* met with no opposition on his march, and his very name, like that of Alexander, or Napoleon, seems to have inspired a terror, that took away the capability of resistance. He ravaged the country, and drove out the garrisons, he possessed himself of the Janiculum, and lodged his own troops within its fortress. And now, in spite of oracles and prodigies, and deaf to the Plebeian prayers for liberty and grace, he bore down upon the sacred Pons Sublicius, and resolved to cross it into the holy city.

The Romans regarded themselves as lost, if that bridge was taken. Three men, therefore, one for each tribe, supporting Horatius Cocles, the Plebeian,† a knight noted for his valour, agreed to keep guard upon it at all hazards, until their flying troops should have passed over. All the men escaped, and last of all, the captains of the Patrician tribes followed them, leaving Cocles alone. Porsenna saw and admired him. Cocles leapt into the stream, commending himself to the river god, and gained the opposite bank in safety. Livy's prayer is too beautiful to be omitted. "Tiberine Pater. Te sancte precor. Hæc arma et hunc militem, propitio flumine, accipias."

"O holy father Tiber, to whom the Romans pray,

A soldier's life, a Roman's arms, take thou in charge this day."

He was crowned, carried to the temple of Sethlans, and publicly rewarded. Notwithstanding his valour, however, neither Cocles, nor any of his colleagues,

* Livy ii. 9.

† Niebuhr.

could repulse or dislodge Porsenna. He took possession of both banks of the Tiber, blockaded the city, and threatened the Romans with starvation. A dreadful famine began, within the beleaguered walls, to alleviate which, Cuma ventured to send them succour, but from the moment that the blockade was complete, this source of supply was cut off.

The senate remitted the taxes to the poor, and did all they could to unite, and gain, the favour of the common people; but the famine increased, and was stronger to disunite, than all their efforts to inspire hope and union were, to give them courage. In frantic despair this body then took the mean and barbarous resolution, of attempting Porsenna's life, and ridding themselves, by treachery, of an enemy whom they could not vanquish by open force. A knight, by name Caius,* who could speak Etruscan, put on the enemy's colours, and crossed the river. He knew that it was pay-day, after the troops had been reviewed, and therefore that he could enter the tent along with the many who would be assembled there. Moreover, such multitudes of the slaves from free Rome had deserted to the enemy's camp, that a stranger would not find admittance difficult. He did not know Porsenna personally, but he saw on a raised seat a very richly dressed officer, who was paying the troops, and he never doubted that he was the king. He approached him, drew his dagger suddenly, and plunged it into his body. It happened to be Porsenna's secretary, which probably

* Nieb. i. n. 1207. By some authors he is called Mucius.

implies some confidential officer in high command.* This unfortunate man expired, but the guards instantly seized the assassin, and brought him before the king. Porsenna was close to his domestic altar, upon which a fire burned, and he asked Caius† if he could bear the torments to which he had made himself amenable? Caius, without flinching, put his hand into the fire, and held it there, until Porsenna, in magnanimous admiration, desired him to withdraw it, and said, that such a spirit had nothing to fear from him.

We doubt not that in this, and in almost all the romantic stories of the Roman heroes, there is a vast deal of fanciful tradition. But we know, from the lips of the late Sir John Malcolm, that such an action, under violent excitement, is far from improbable. Upon his putting the same question to a young Indian widow, she raised with her hand a bar of red-hot iron, held it before his face and smiled. The credible parts of heroic stories are as often disbelieved, as the incredible, of inconsistent dates and distances, are passed over without a doubt.

When Caius found himself not only safe, but treated with an honour to which he had little claim, he told Porsenna that three hundred Romans, besides himself, were all bound by oath to take that prince's life; and he, therefore, out of gratitude, advised him to make peace with a people whose

* In Egypt and Assyria, the king's secretaries were princes of the blood.

† He afterwards received the augmentation to his name of Scævola.

highest aristocrats, and best instructed senators, preferred becoming assassins to yielding their present power, and who were as incapable of appreciating virtue in an enemy, as he was of mistaking and misrepresenting it, even amongst those whom he had most cause to hate.

Porsenna did not follow the advice of Cains; he destroyed the Roman navy, and brought the ships of Cere and Tarquinia into the Tiber, thus preventing any supplies by sea, and the wretched Romans, driven to the last extremities, were forced at length, to yield their city and all they had without reserve, and by "deditione"* into the hands of this great man. "All in heaven and earth—all their temples and sacred utensils, all their lands, and all their houses, themselves and all they called their own," were laid at the feet of Lars Porsenna. By the laws of Tages and of Italy, if he showed them mercy, one-third of their lands were forfeited to the conqueror, and the other two-thirds were received back on the payment of tribute and acknowledgment of sovereignty.

The Roman senate returned to him the crown and sceptre, the robe and sword,† which the first Tarquin had received from Etruria, and the ten Plebeian Tuscan tribes, and the seven Pagi of Veii, disappeared from the map of Rome. The colonies of Tarquin were also destroyed, and Signia was not re established until after the victory of Regillus. Porsenna made the Romans yield all their arms, and forbade them, as the Philistines once did the

* Tacit. iii. 72.

† Dion. v. 8.

Israelites, to have any iron within their gates, except for purposes of agriculture.* He then victualled the city, where his corn was sold by public auction, as "the goods of King Porsenna,"† and he demanded twenty hostages, ten from the "Decem Primi" of the Ramnes, who were the first of the Roman Senators, and ten from the Decuriones of the other tribes. He required, that not only men, but that hostages should be delivered to him of the women and children also, and Valerius's daughter, Valeria, or Clelia, was at the head of the Roman ladies.

During the siege of Rome, Porsenna had gradually cooled towards the Tarquins; and if he was, as Müller and many other historical antiquarians believe, the head of that party which desired to give greater privileges to the Plebeians, it was natural that he should not assimilate long, with a man whose only acknowledged law was his own will. When the city had surrendered, he refused to reinstate him on the throne, unless the Romans should themselves re-elect him; and Tarquin was so irritated, that he fell on the hostages as they were going to Porsenna's camp,‡ and wounded some of them. Clelia, or Valeria, having had a horse provided for her by Porsenna, rode to his camp for assistance, and Aruns, Porsenna's gallant son, came out to repulse the treacherous attack.

Clelia,§ soon after, used this very horse to break her parole with Porsenna, and swam across the

* Plin. xxxiv. 14. † Livy ii. ‡ Plin. xxxiv.

§ Dion. v.

Tiber into Rome, inducing some of the other hostage ladies, with no better regulated minds than her own, to bear her company. Valerius, exceedingly terrified at this rash and faithless step, sent them all back again, and Porsenna is made to declare, that the deed of Clelia exceeded that of Cocles and Caius. In senselessness alone, can we see how she surpassed the brave Cocles, or the wrong-headed Caius. Breaking the faith of treaties could excite no man's admiration, and therefore we do not believe this speech of the Clusian Lar, at least not as applicable to her crossing the Tiber, though we give full credit to his chivalrous and generous treatment of all the Roman ladies, and to his capability of honouring in women, as well as in men, all those qualities which bear the stamp of heroism. Certainly, the Romans themselves being both judges and relaters, earth never boasted of a more exalted character than Lars Porsenna of Clusium; all that he says, purposes, and does, bears the impress of a lofty soul. Whilst among their own chosen heroes and selected examples, one is ungrateful to his benefactor, and inexorable to his children; another stoops to be the assassin of his noble foe, and affirms that the whole Senate approve of his deed; and a third, the representative of their women, with a childish reckless insubordination, exults in a breach of faith which compromised her people; we see Porsenna, admiring the men who first checked the career of his conquering troops upon the Janiculum, forgiving the man who conspired his destruction, and pitying, with a fatherly tenderness, the giddy

woman whose senseless conduct might have proved the ruin of every soul and every house, within the already subject and devoted Rome.

The very majesty and gallantry of Porsenna's nature, and his consciousness of the magnanimity with which he had behaved to Tarquin, taking his side from a sense of right, to the exclusion of all his party feelings, and even at the risk (as he thought) of continuing the overgrown dominion of Tarquinia : the very disinterestedness and moral grandeur of his conduct, made him the more unable to brook, the insolent and unwarrantable violence of Tarquin, towards the hostages. He was indignant at his infringement of their inviolable character, and his interference with the line of conduct, which Porsenna thought proper to adopt towards Rome. The Lar resented all this so loudly, that Tarquin, highly offended and in disgust, renounced his assistance—believing himself also independent of it : for he was sure of many of the Latins, and he found that the Sabines likewise were willing to put themselves under his command. He therefore attacked the Tuscans, as general of the Sabines, and maintained a war with them for four years ; but as this people grew weary of their want of progress, and ceased to be hearty in the cause of Tarquin, who must have promised them advantages they saw no chance of gaining, he withdrew from them, leaving them to obtain the best terms they could for themselves, and went to his own son-in-law, Mamilius, the Prince of Tusculum. With the help of this chief, who seems to have

been greatly beloved, Tarquin regained his former influence over the Latins, and their thirty states took up his cause, resolving, not only to reinstate him, but to stop the conquering career of Lars Porsenna.

This illustrious prince was recalled home, to oppose a timely barrier to the Gauls; and he seems henceforward to have declined any farther interference with the central Italian wars, and to have wished to finish his days in peace. According to the invariable tone of Etruscan story, his son Lucumo must have remained as governor of Clusium when he marched to Rome, and Aruns, who accompanied him, was a younger member of the family. When the Latins had assembled their forces, Porsenna placed one half of his army under the command of this young prince, and bade him to go against them and win laurels for himself, promising him the government of the towns he conquered. He was at first successful, for he besieged Aricia,* then a powerful city, with both an army and navy at its command; he thoroughly dispirited his enemies, and he thought himself certain of soon reducing the town by famine, when he was checked, because in their extremity, the senate of Aricia remembered their old and useful ally at Cuma, and had recourse to his assistance.

Aristodemus, the distinguished warrior who had defeated the Tuscan host from Etruria Nova, twenty years before, was now lying idle within his city walls; and the Aricians thought that if they could obtain his aid, he might very possibly defeat the Tuscans again.

* Dion. vii.

At any rate, his troops would not feel, as theirs did, that they contended with an invincible foe. When the ambassadors of Aricia arrived at Cuma, they found the governors of that city very anxious to get rid of Aristodemus, and of a large band of turbulent and discontented spirits who were attached to him. They therefore willingly granted the required help, and sent him, with two thousand bold and needy soldiers, by sea, to seek for glory in the wars of Latium. They were, however, really more desirous of the destruction of Aristodemus and his followers, than of their success. They sent them in ten Triremes, which they knew not to be sea-worthy, and they never doubted that if he escaped the waves, he would fall beneath the sword of Aruns. They knew not, or they forgot, a proverb which had been long current in the East, that "He who diggeth a pit for another, shall fall into the midst of it himself." Aristodemus was perfectly aware of their design, and conducted himself with the courage and resources of a desperate man.

He arrived in safety at Aricia, and contrived not to enter the port until night, so that Aruns was not aware of his arrival. He landed under cover of darkness, and when he made his successful encampment known to the besieged, he urged them to take Aruns by surprise, and to make a sortie upon him at break of dawn. The Aricians did so, but their courage was not equal to the emergency. When the Tuscan trumpets sounded, and their spears were in arrest, the often-defeated Latins turned their

backs and fled, nor did they think themselves safe until hid within their walls, and the gates shut even against the friendly Greeks, who had come to their assistance.

Aristodemus had now the whole brunt of the battle to bear alone. But the Tuscans were in confusion, and before they could recover themselves, and at all ascertain the numbers, or the nation of this new enemy, which seemed to have dropped from the clouds, he singled out Aruns, challenged him to personal combat, and left him dead upon the field. This ended the battle, and relieved Aricia. Many Tuscans were taken prisoners, many fled, and the leaders made a truce, and afterwards a peace, with the Latins, which lasted, like that of Rome, for thirty years. Such of the Tuscan army as did not return home upon the peace, spent the winter in Rome, to recruit themselves, and many of them settled there permanently in the Vicus Tuscus, marrying and becoming a part of the Luceran tribe. Aruns was honourably buried at Aricia, and Por-senna erected a tomb to his memory, which may still be seen there. It stands without the gate, and consists of five pyramids upon one base, being in miniature the same sort of edifice which his father's was on a larger scale; and the magnitude of each tomb was in proportion to its brave tenant's fame.*

Aristodemus, according to the tale, left Aricia almost as soon as he could regain his vessels, carrying with him his captives and booty, for which

* Cicero xxi.

freight he probably borrowed some of the better-conditioned ships of his allies. Having made the port of Cuma, he revealed to his men the treachery of the Senate; he set his prisoners free; he distributed his treasures and plunder amongst these two parties, and then induced them all to swear, that they would avenge him of his domestic foes in any way that he should command. Aristodemus, after this, assembled the unworthy rulers who had sent him out upon the Arician expedition, in order, as he said, to give them an account of his mission, and to surrender up to them his spoil. But no sooner were they collected in the senate-house, than he gave the signal, and his men put them all to death. The people then elected him their sole commander, and the Turrheni, whom he had restored to liberty, gave him their votes along with the natives, and settled as citizens amongst his subjects at Cuma.

All that we know further of the acts of Lars Porsenna is the legend, that at a subsequent period during his reign, he was called into Volsinia, in order to deliver the people from a horrid monster, named Volta, which he did by bringing lightning down upon him.* We cannot but believe this lightning to have been the flashing of his own arms, and that the monster, was neither wild beast, nor civil war, nor pestilence, nor famine, but probably some rebellious and tyrannous chief, like our own Wolf of Badenoch,—some invader from Tarquinia, perhaps, whom he subdued.

* Pliny ii. 53.

On his final return to Clusium, Lars Porsenna built himself an enormous and most splendid monument, something like the labyrinthine tombs of the kings of Egypt. For a time it was one of the wonders of the world, and now, like the site of Troy, the walls of Tyre, the gardens of Babylon, and the Pharos in the Mediterranean—all of them works of similar calibre—it has vanished; and though four labyrinth tombs at Chiusi pretend to be Porsenna's, not one as yet has established its claim. Pliny gives us the account of this singular and colossal building from a lost work of Varro's; and many authors believe that Varro actually saw what he describes, and that the incredible part of his narrative arises, from his having written afterwards from memory, with much confusion and exaggeration. Each side, he tells us, was three hundred feet long, and fifty feet high, within which measurement, Porsenna constructed an inextricable labyrinth. Upon the base stood five pyramids: one in the centre, and four at the angles, each one hundred and fifty feet high, and tapering to the top, where they were covered by a cupola of bronze; above this cupola rose four other pyramids, each one hundred feet high, and above these, again, another story of five pyramids, also of extraordinary altitude. Perhaps *we*, who never saw the tower of Babel, are not very competent judges of what was possible to ancient builders. It is likely that we might have denied the Cloacæ of Rome, and the walls of Fiesole and Volterra, had they existed only in description.

But to continue. The Romans said that when Porsenna returned to Chiusi, he left his tents to shelter, and his provisions to feed, those who had been ruined by the siege. We are amazed that they did not claim a victory over him—a la Napoleon, in the Russian campaign—and that they did not boast of having driven Aruns to Aricia, and the great king back to his home in disgrace. His mercy to them was so great and so unexpected, that they have actually acknowledged him to be a hero, and they erected to him a bronze statue in the Comitium, along with their own seven kings. Servius* tells us that when Porsenna's peace was proclaimed, games were held to celebrate it, at which time the Tuscans came into the city, strove with the Romans, and carried off the crown. He forgets that no Patrician on either side could ever contend in the Italian games.

Rome remained in absolute subjection to Porsenna until his death, and then was free from the treaty she had made with him. Her annalists have not told us, what is most probable, that for many years she was forced to keep a Tuscan garrison in the capitol, and that when Porsenna was no more, the same Senate which had sanctioned his death would unscrupulously have sanctioned theirs, could it have done so with safety.

Porsenna emancipated Rome altogether from the Tarquinian rule, and restored her to be the small, free, sacred, and neutral state which she was at the

* Æn. xi. 134.

beginning; probably believing that in so doing he re-established the balance of power in Italy. Rome was again independent; and yet the only memorial we have from her own historians of this important event, is contained in the single allegorical phrase, that "Hercules enabled her to become so." After an intentional confusion of years, filled with nothing, we suddenly find her with her Prætors restored, so that their succession can be traced; her Patricians and Plebeians at constant and almost annual variance with each other; and all the coast towns again independent. Her history then proceeds in an unbroken, though often inverted, line; and we find with surprise, for almost one hundred and fifty years, that she is an inconsiderable, struggling, oligarchical state, confined within the ancient limits of Romulus and Numa.

During the time of Porsenna's dictatorship, Niebuhr conceives Etruria to have reached the summit of her greatness both by land and sea, notwithstanding the two defeats which we have mentioned, the one at Alalia, and the other at Cuma. Porsenna brought his fleet up the Tiber without any resistance, and Anaxilaus, of Rhegium, at the foot of Italy, stationed armed vessels to blockade the straits against the Tuscan corsairs. At this time Etruria sent forth large fleets upon distant naval expeditions, and Vulci was allowed to trade with Utica and Leptis in Africa, and Cades, in Spain, also with Sardinia and Corsica, which

* i. n. 394.

were subject to Carthage, but which were either conquered from her in the space of fifty years after, or ceded to the Tuscans; for in the year B. C. 453, and of Tarquinia 734, these islands belonged wholly to Etruria. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, (iii. 9,) notices the frequent treaties, for mutual protection, between Carthage and the Etruscan states. What a loss we have sustained in the destruction of those books in which he wrote upon their laws and constitution!

After the death of Porsenna, and the restoration of independence to Rome, the Tarquinian party still had friends in the city; and ten years after the exile of the old king,* both Prætors were strongly in his favour, and wished him or his clan to be recalled. The people, too, began to say that they loved the king better than the Patricians, and the slaves and debtors, a very numerous body, evinced their sentiments by being willing to join the exiled Romans in their attempts to seize upon the capitol. We should now perhaps cease to speak of Rome, as at all connected with the governments of Etruria, for when she rose, shorn of her greatness, from the feet of the mighty Porsenna, and after his death, she reclaimed her freedom, and Etruria allowed the claim, and maintained with her a strict peace; but we cannot resist a few more words on the fate of Tarquin, with whom ends the rule of all the Tuscan princes over the cities of the Priscan Latins.

The Dictator who was appointed against the Tarquinian party was Titus Lartius,† (the *Lar Titus*,) for six months, without any appeal or any responsibility,

* Nieb. i. n. 1240; Arnold i. p. 144.

† *Ib.*

and he did his work to the satisfaction of those who had appointed him. Tarquin never degraded, exiled, or ruined, more vigorously, or ruthlessly, or irresponsibly, than the Roman Dictator, and there is a dark history of nine Patricians* who were burnt to death for treason about this time. How dreadful must have been the government that originated so much crime, and the discontent that necessitated such fearful punishment! It told too ill, for the bards to make it the subject of a eulogy, and in most Roman histories it sleeps in silence. Publius and Marcus, two clients of the Tarquini, made common cause with the oppressed to seize the capitol, and fire the city; but the plot was discovered, and the ringleaders were crucified, Marcus and Publius escaping. The next year they and the debtors agreed to master the ramparts and gates, to massacre the Patricians, and to let in Tarquin. At this time Sulpitius, the consul, was actually treating with the Latins for the restoration of Tarquin, but when he discovered the plot he broke off the treaty, decoyed Publius and Marcus to a conference, and destroyed them.

Rome had sufficiently recovered herself for the Latins now, to request the assistance of the Tuscans against her;† but Etruria maintained the peace she had sworn, and left Tarquin to carry on his cause as he best could, in his adopted country. The Latins then made an alliance with the Volsci, and the Romans created a Dictator to force on their levies, and to lead their army into the field; for the Poor and the debtors refused to serve, and said they had ra-

* Nieb. ii. n. 265.

† Dion. v.

ther leave the city, and settle elsewhere. The great object of the Dictator was to attack the enemy before the two nations should have joined. This he effected, and the Romans, with their allies, met Tarquinius, with his brave body of exiles, and the Tusculans, under his son-in-law Mamilius, and the rest of the Latins, at Regillus, a lake in the territory of Tusculum, now dry, and called Labicnm, or Cornufelle. Here the battle raged from sun-rise to sun-set, the leaders on one side being the old king, who was soon wounded and drawn out of the fray, his son-in-law, Mamilius,—“prince of the Latin name,” but ruling what was in its origin, a colony of Tuscans—and Lucius Tarquinius, with the exiles; on the other side were the Dictator, Aulus Postumius, (his name Aulus belonging to the Luceres,) Valerius, first of the Tities, and Titus Herminius, one of the leaders who stood with Coeles on the bridge, whilst the garrison of the Janiculum escaped over it.

The whole account of this battle is taken from an epic poem, in which all the leaders fight hand to hand, and kill each other. Their discipline, arms, and order of battle, seem to have been equal, and Lucius Tarquinius was on the point of carrying the day, and perhaps a second time of subduing Rome, as Porsenna had done already, when the Dictator threatened to pierce through, every man who turned in battle, offered rich rewards to the bravest, vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux, and finally declared that two men on white horses were those Divinities

come to encourage them in the field; and he thus inspired his troops with a confidence and an enthusiasm which could not be resisted. Lucius was slain, the Romans gained the day, and the poor old king, seeing his cause entirely lost, left Tusculum, and took up his franchise with his friend Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cuma, in whose palace he soon after died, at the age of ninety, fourteen years after his exile from Rome.

As he left Aristodemus the heir to all his wealth, we presume that his sons were dead; but Niebuhr thinks that his followers and grandsons, joined afterwards with the Sabine Herdonius, in his attempt to seize the capitol, and it was very many years, probably some generations, before these men could submit to their destiny in quiet. They had been Patricians in Rome; they were Erarians without vote, or at the best Plebeians, in every other land; and the liberty which Brutus established had for its object, the Senate, the Patricians, and the Curiae alone. Tarquin was scarcely dead, when the Roman Plebs deemed it better to leave the beloved city, than to submit to the tyrannous *liberal* government established there; and had peace not been re-established, the Patricians were prepared to have taken in the Isopolite inhabitants of Fidene, Cere, and various other allied cities, to supply their place. From the triumph of Lars Porsenna, to the breaking out of the seven years' war with Veii, there was peace with Etruria for thirty years. But the Romans were now both an independent and a separate

nation, with strong exclusive national feelings, which kept them apart from all others; and the Tuscans, whether under the name of Rasena, Tuscans, Etrurians, or Tyrrhenians, or under the authority of a Lucumo, or an Aruns, never governed them, nor ever attempted to govern them again, excepting once in the twelve years' war with Veii.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NINE YEARS' WAR.*

A. TARQ. 695 TO 714. A. C. 492 TO 473.

War between Veii and Rome—Plebs refuse to enlist—Battle between Tuscans and M. Fabius—Q. Fabius and Consul Manlius killed—M. Fabius refused a triumph—History of the Fabii, taken from the funeral songs—Virginus defeated—Fabii colonize on the Cremera—Their battles with the Veientes—Fabii destroyed—Tuscans take the Janiculum, and defeat Servilius—Truce—Meetings at Voltumna—Menenius condemned to death—Tuscans and Sabines recommence the war—Peace for forty years—Sea-fight off Cuma—Decline of Tuscan naval power—Thank-offerings at Delphi—Dis—Tuscan Libri Fatales.

ETRURIA was at peace with the rest of Italy, after the taking of Rome by Porsenna, for thirty years. These thirty years were reckoned at ten months each, and therefore made only twenty-five of our years, at the expiration of which, war was again commenced. During the season of quiet, Rome, in

Authorities : Livy ii. 42—51 ; Dion. viii. ix. ; Niebuhr i. ii. ; Arnold's Rome i. ; Univ. Hist. xvi. 95, &c. &c. ; Diod. Sic. xi.

the year of Tarquinia 695, was afflicted with a dreadful famine, and could obtain effectual help from Etruria only, which supplied her with corn, and enabled her government to satisfy the famishing people, and to avert a revolution until times of plenty returned. Civil convulsions were often threatened by their discontent at the non-allotment of the conquered lands. The Cumæans were very willing to have sold them corn, but Aristodemus the tyrant, seized the supplies, and said that they belonged to him, and came from the magazines of Tarquin. Two years later than this, Rome had for Prætors Aquilius Tuscus and Sicinnius Sabinus,—a Tuscan and a Sabine.

At length, in the year of Rome 271, or of Tarquinia 705, war broke out between Rome and Veii. The territories of Veii, during this time of peace, had often been a place of refuge to the Roman malcontents and turbulent nobles, such as the sons of Cincinnatus and others, and it is very possible that the Roman Consuls and leaders, who began this contest, may have had many private piques to revenge. The Romans were the first aggressors, in order to employ and control their own Plebeians, and the war lasted, very unexpectedly to themselves, nine years, and oftener brought disaster to them than glory. The two Consuls, Cæso Fabius and Sp. Furius, led out the troops against the Veientes,* and were completely defeated, the men, as the Romans pretend, not choosing to fight. According

* Livy ii.

to one account, they threw away their arms, and abandoned their camp, which of course was taken by the Tuscans. They were obliged to retreat within the city, and their enemies followed them to the very gates, and took an immense deal of booty, which must have consisted of prisoners, horses, arms, and camp accoutrements, for the Romans having no land unravaged on the other side of the Tiber, there was no other sort of booty to take.

Winter of course, put a stop to hostilities on both sides; and the next year the war was so unpopular in Rome, and so evidently unnecessary, that the Plebs refused to enlist, and the Consul Furius could do nothing. Rome probably stood a blockade on the Etruscan side, and was obliged to content herself with acting on the defensive. The heights of the Janiculum, and the Vatican, were both hers, both well fortified, and would be sufficient to keep a small invading army in check. We gather, however, from the continuance of the war, and from the Romans not even pretending to any advantage, this year and the next, that the campaigns terminated honourably and successfully for Veii.

The Roman Plebs, of whom all the infantry then consisted, had been for many years most shamefully used by the Patricians. When they conquered any lands in battle, these lands ought by law, to have been divided in certain portions, to all the men who had distinguished themselves; and this, or a specified share in the booty gained, was the reward and

the profit which they expected, when the campaign, or rather when the conflict in which they were engaged, was terminated. But ever since the death of Tarquinius Superbus, the Patricians had gathered all the booty into their own treasury, and had refused to divide the lands; the Plebs were therefore, as it were, fighting for the advantage of the Patricians only, and this they refused to do any longer. We hear of no such unfairness in Etruria. There is no instance of her troops refusing to fight, no instance of their running away from their generals, and no accusation against them, that they did not use their arms bravely. The men of Veii alone, were able at this time, to defy, and defeat Rome, and to confine her within her own small territory, without aid from the other principalities.

Manlius Fabius, and Cincinnatus, next commanded the Roman forces, consisting of twenty thousand men, and the Veientes gave them a signal defeat. Manlius's tent was struck by lightning, which induced him to quit his camp, whereupon the Etruscans immediately seized it, and a second time possessed themselves of all the booty of the Romans. The next year, the Roman troops were able to advance as far as Veii, but perhaps this expression only means that they found an opportunity to march a very few miles from their own gates, as the Etruscan army, from the beginning of the campaign, seems always to have come down into the plain. The Roman cavalry contrived to break the Etruscan line, but the infantry were seized with a panic, and would

not follow. Veii now expected to subdue them, and Rome was in such imminent danger that the reserve troops and the city militia were called out, and all the men that could be spared, were sent in by the colonies, the subject towns, and the allies.*

In the fourth year of this war, the Fabii being no longer the ruling house amongst the Patricians, with the rank and power of Consul secured to them, resolved to be the ruling house in opposition, and to become the patrons and protectors of the Plebs. They may have boasted noble minds, who, in any case, would have insisted upon justice to the oppressed party, but certain it is, that they did not take that side, until they were otherwise reduced to an equality with their brother Patricians, and until ambition pointed it out to them, as the only path in which they were sure of distinction and power. This year, Marcus Fabius, whose change of sentiments was not known, and Cneius Manlius, led forth the legions, and Livy says, they could advance no further than the gates of Rome, where the Tuscans lay encamped to oppose them. The generals dared not trust their men to do anything more, than prevent the enemy from occupying the city, and they hoped that their disgraceful inactivity and the taunts of their foes, would, in time, provoke the troops beyond endurance, and irritate them to avenge personal insults, upon those whom they could not otherwise be induced to fight. The Tuscans, at first, prepared for battle, but seeing that the

* Dion. ix.

Romans kept resolutely, and as they very justly thought timidly, within their trenches, the cavalry came and defied them every day, and after a while, added every epithet they could think of, to rouse the angry feelings of the Romans, and to force them into action. The combined endeavours of their enemies and commanders, at length took effect. The Roman soldiers were stung almost to madness at being called "cowards, and less than women," and clamoured to be led into the field. But both Consuls affected to distrust them, a defeat at the gates of Rome would have been the ruin of the city, and they therefore persisted upon keeping on the defensive. The men then threatened to mutiny, and elect other leaders, who were not afraid to try them, and the Consuls then pretended to yield, only requiring every man to renew his military oath, and to swear that on this occasion, he would conquer or die. This was most willingly acceded to, every cohort took it, and then the troops, being thoroughly resolved and excited, were led forth to battle.

The Fabii distinguished themselves, beyond all the other Romans, by prodigies of valour, a tacit tribute to the military talents and manly courage of their adversaries. "They fought," says Livy, "hand to hand, and sword to sword," yet Quintus Fabius, the general's brother, was killed by the Tuscan to whom he was opposed, and who, of course, is represented as a giant. The Romans, according to their own account, were panic-struck at the death of this great hero, and were on every side giving way,

when Marcus Fabius leaped over the body, kept off the advancing Tuscans with his buckler, and succeeded in infusing fresh courage into his own men. Cæso Fabius and himself, reminding the soldiers of their oath, rushed desperately forward with their spears in rest, and the legions, ashamed to desert them, followed once more, and completely routed that part of the Tuscan army to which they were opposed.

M. Manlius, meanwhile, was engaged with the other wing of the Tuscan forces, but there also Rome was unsuccessful, his men were beaten, he was wounded and obliged to retire to his own camp; and Veii would have gained a brilliant day; had not M. Fabius at this most critical juncture sent to tell his colleague of his own success, and thus rallied his dispirited men, and enabled them to maintain their former ground. During the action, whilst the main bodies were engaged, and fortune still favoured the Tuscans, their general sent a detachment to attack the Roman camp, but as Manlius, with a body of troops was so unexpectedly obliged to return to it, succour arrived in time to prevent its being taken. Dionysius, however, says, that the camp was taken, and that the Triarii who guarded it, were driven back to the Pretorium, but that whilst the Tuscans were engaged in plundering, Manlius retook it, and saved the Roman honour. He repulsed his enemies, but in the heat of the contest, he himself was killed. M. Fabius succeeded in securing both his body and that of his own bro-

ther, and having drawn off his troops in order, of course claimed a victory, which, however, all the sequel belies.

Niebuhr judges that the account of this campaign, and, indeed, of all the Fabian part of the nine years' war, is taken from the funeral eulogies of the Fabian house, in which it was necessary that they should appear, when they appeared at all, as heroes and conquerors. Whatever was not consistent with these characters, was by custom and courtesy, buried in oblivion, and a few poetical licenses, such as deeds of supernatural courage, and the accounting for a lack of triumphs, by the imputation of supervirtuous motives, was considered in those days perfectly lawful. The valour of the Tuscans, we must observe, has no such colouring, for it is, in every instance, not the testimony of friends, but of foes. M. Fabius, though he says in the annals of his house, that he gained a complete victory, yet had no triumph; and the bard further tells us, that the reason of this was, his excessive sorrow for the death of his brother, killed by the great giant, whom he afterwards made to run away. The Senate offered him a triumph, but his sensibility was so delicate, that he declined it, both for himself and for his whole army, doubtless because the giant was still alive! Dionysius says, that he was refused a triumph, and that he entered Rome in mourning.

But though Marcus chose such a singular method of honouring his brother's memory, and celebrating the vengeance he had taken for his death, he did

not neglect his purpose of protecting the Plebeians and gaining their favour. He persuaded many of the rich and influential Patricians to join him, and he had all his wounded common men, distributed in different palaces, to be cared for and cured, an act which secured him the hearts of themselves, of their kindred, and of all who took an interest in them, especially every soldier, who might any day find himself, amongst the poor and suffering. If the Tuscan infantry was composed, (as Niebuhr believes,) not of the Plebeians, but of the clients of the different houses, they must have been taken care of in this very manner, and their steadiness and bravery may have had its weight in inspiring Manlius with this idea, or in confirming an idea already conceived.

Livy* says, that Veii was assisted in this nine years' war, by auxiliaries from all the states in Etruria, and that the leading men in each Lucumony debated the probability of subduing Rome by means of the dissensions of her own people. She was several times so very nearly subdued by intestine discord, that her preservation appears to us to have been solely owing to the opportune truces which she twice made with the armies of Veii. The year following Quintus Fabius's death, Cæso came forward as protector of the Plebs, and asserter of their military rights, in virtue of which, they elected him as one of the Consuls, and he was sent to command against the Equi, whom, with the assistance of the Latins, he repulsed. It is strange, if he conquered the

* ii. 44.

Veientines during the preceding campaign, that he should not have been sent against them again; but, doubtless, his grief for his brother's death, and that of the Consul Manlius, and his horror of the giant, made him prefer the other command. Virginius led forth the legions opposed to Veii, and was so rash in his proceedings against them, that the army would have been utterly destroyed, had not Cæso arrived in time to save it, and to cover its retreat within the city walls. He had encamped his troops upon the side of a hill, and allowed the Tuscans to possess themselves of the top, so that his retreat must have been very like a disgraceful flight. Virginius was no match for the giant and the Generals of Veii; and the Romans, not then being able either to win them to peace or to repress their incursions, were obliged to content themselves with calling them bandits, and acting wholly on the defensive. Indeed this was a very critical time for the Romans. The Equi and Volsci threatened them and their Latin allies, with a desperate and protracted war on the one side, whilst Fidene, only five miles from their gates, and Veii only twelve, were continually assailing them on the other.

They were in great straits, and both Patricians and Plebeians equally exulted in representing Cæso Fabius, as coming forward with all his clan, and offering themselves as willing martyrs for their salvation. Cæso thought that if he could succeed in establishing a strong fort, and settling a small colony within the territories of Veii, and not very far from

that city, it would keep the Etruscan forces in sufficient check to prevent their beleaguering Rome, and that it would prove a perpetual thorn in their sides, as well as an assistance to his own nation. Niebuhr conceives, that he who had condemned Sp. Cassius,* and had once been the haughtiest of the Patricians, now, that he had made himself head of the Plebs, had become so hateful to his own order, that Rome was no longer a home for him and his house.

Cæso being of a noble character, would neither turn against his country, by forwarding the views of her enemies; nor would he retire into a useless exile. He, therefore, risked the sacrifice of everything for the sake of the proud consciousness that he, the misunderstood one, was the Defender of Rome in the teeth of her foes. We may doubt his ever having been offered a triumph, for a victory, which at best was but an escape from defeat; but we cannot refuse our tribute of admiration to his gallantry and patriotism, in going forth with all he held most dear, in order to defend his country in her hour of peril, from the vaunting and dangerous forces of so powerful a state as Veii.

It appears from Livy, that all the Patricians of the Fabian house, having been prepared by Cæso, then Consul and their chief, they attended him to the

* Valerius Maximus says, that Sp. Cassius was put to death, Brutus like, by his own father. But the Romans had by this time ceased their violent admiration of this species of patriotism, though as it sprung from precisely the same spirit, it appears to us equally worthy of commendation and commemoration with the other.

Senate, and waited at the door, until they should know the result of his proposal, and the resolution of the Fathers thereupon. When the Senators began mournfully to enumerate the difficulties with which they had to contend, Cæso, to their amazement, stood forth, saying, that Veii required not so much, armies sent against her, as some place of strength acquired within her frontiers, and that this object he and his clan would undertake to gain, and to keep by their own strength, and at their own expense, leaving the (so-called) republic to send her legions elsewhere. It is needless to say, that this offer excited enthusiastic thanks, and was immediately accepted, for it relieved the city of a terror which had weighed upon it, and which it knew not how to meet. Cæso must, after this, have gone up to the Capitoline temple, and have offered prayers and sacrifices in his consular robes, and, probably, the heads of his tribe accompanied him. It was not until this ceremony had been gone through, that he could put on his general's paludamentum and head any expedition.

"The next day," says Livy, "the Fabii took arms and assembled in the place appointed. The Consul coming forth in his military dress, saw his whole clan assembled in the court-yard, drawn up there in order of march, and being received into the centre, he commanded them to set forward. Never did an army, smaller in number, nor more dignified by fame, and by the admiration of all men, march through the city. Three hundred and six warriors, all Patricians, all of one name, not one of whom at

any time, the Senate could have judged unfit for the highest commands, went forward, threatening destruction to the people of Veii, by the strength of one single family." Only one Fabius is known to have remained in Rome when the clan left, and he is supposed to have retired to Maleventum. He was Consul ten years after.

A crowd attended them, consisting partly of their own relations and acquaintances, who revolved great things in their minds, and knew no medium either in their hopes or in their anxieties, and partly of those excited by public zeal, and carried away by esteem and admiration. "Go in strength, go in happiness," they cried; "may your success be proportioned to your undertaking. Hope, henceforward, for consulships and triumphs, for every reward and every honour." As they passed the Capitol, the citadel, and the other temples, whatever gods occurred to the eyes or mind of the beholder, he prayed that they would make that band prosperous and happy, and soon restore them to their friends and country. But their prayers were made in vain. The unfortunate men went out by the right-hand gate of the Porta Carmentalis,* afterwards called the Porta Scelerata, and came to the river Cremera, where they found a convenient situation for a fort. This building they surrounded with a double ditch, and as they also erected towers at certain distances, it would appear to have had a wall.

Dionysius* tells us, that the Fabii left with five thousand followers, many of whom Niebuhr

* ix.

judges to have been Plebs, married into the clan, but how they came to pursue their way so peaceably, and how they were permitted by the Tuscans to build and settle, and fortify themselves so close to Veii, we cannot understand. The spot they are said to have occupied is only three miles from one of the gates of the city, and all their operations must have been seen from the ramparts. Cæso Fabius must surely, in some degree, have imitated the conduct of Sextus Tarquinius, when he fled to Gabii, though the Romans have not liked to retain the memory of such a resemblance. He must have represented himself as flying from Rome, having, in disgust with his order, and with its injustice and endless dissensions, quitted her for ever; and he must have asked, under cover of peace, leave to take refuge with her enemies. This, it appears, was granted, and no disturbance whatever given to him and his five thousand men, during the time requisite for them, to build and fortify dwellings for themselves, within the dominions of Veii. What makes this more certain, is, that the fort was situated between Veii and Fidene, therefore Cæso would have had foes on each side to contend against, had he been supposed hostile. Moreover, though Livy continually talks of Cæso defending or ravaging the frontiers, as if the Cremera had been the boundary of the Roman lands, Veii at this time possessed the whole country between the Janiculum and her own walls. Livy, in Claudius's speech, (v.) calls the Fabii Colonists.

Fabius and his band were presumed at the very

least, to be neutral, if not friends and allies. But the spirit of Cæso was that of the great Tarquin, when he quitted Tarquinia. He resolved to extend the might and influence of his country, though she was no more a home to him. The event, indeed, was different. Tarquin reigned for sixteen years in the border fortress of the Tiber, under the name of another, and then annexed that fortress to the Etruscan league. Fabius too soon showed his hostile views, and when called to account for it, and attacked by the troops of Veii, was obliged to solicit succour from Rome. The Etruscans besieged his fort on the Cremera, as soon as they perceived the mistake of which they had been guilty, and the Consul Lucius Emilius was obliged to come with all the legions under his command, and to fight without delay on his behalf. The Roman cavalry obliged the Tuscans to fall back upon their camp, at the Saxa Rubra, and Livy says, to sue for peace. This peace, the Romans, as usual, graciously granted, and then their feeble antagonists repented of it, and renounced it, before the Roman guard was withdrawn from the Cremera. The strangest accusation! as it would surely have been much safer for them, to have renounced the peace after the guard was withdrawn. The Tuscans had, probably, granted the Romans, the same sort of peace before, when Cæso relieved the camp of Manlius, and they were obliged to withdraw. Had they really sued for peace, would the Romans have retired so instantly, and without imposing severe conditions, or taking

any hostages? Whereas, they seem to have returned to Rome with the utmost speed, and to have left the Fabii to defend themselves as they could. Dionysius* adds to this account, that Emilius took the Tuscan camp, in which he found so much plunder as to enrich his troops for a long time, and that though he granted his enemies peace, it was upon condition that they should supply his army with two months' corn, and pay the expenses of the war for half a year. He believes also, that they fulfilled these conditions, and nowhere accuses them of breaking the six months' truce. We shall simply observe, that the Tuscan treasures, which they trusted out of their fortified city, could be of very little worth, and that no general dared ever to divide anything amongst his troops, until it had first been valued by the Quæstors, and allotted by the Patricians.

The Fabii, after the battle fought for them by Emilius, were left alone, and these brave men, (who yet were but men, excepting in the funeral songs,) are said not only to have skirmished with their enemies continually and successfully, but to have fought several pitched battles† with all the forces of Veii, and always to have been victorious. Shame on the legions before and after them, not to have annihilated the Veientes, when one single clan found victory over them such an easy and certain matter! The Veientes, it is to be presumed, ran away in these pitched battles, for

* ix.

† Livy.

neither they nor the Fabii appear to have lost a single man.

As Livy says immediately after, that when they retreated, it was with *PRETENDED*, oftener than with real fear, it gives us the impression, that the armies of Veii considered their battles with the five thousand and their three hundred and six officers, as a sort of military exercise or game at play. However, they tired at last of being always beaten in the plains of no very wide extent, which lie between the heights of Veii and the fert of the Cremera, placed by Italian antiquaries at La Valca; and they resolved to try if cunning might not be more successful against an enemy whom they in vain endeavoured to subdue or dislodge by force.

Cattle, it seems, was the grand prize contended for by hostile colonies and armies in those days, and, indeed, between the gates of Veii and those of Rome nothing but pasture could have remained in this war, as the Tuscans had effectually destroyed the labours of the Roman agriculturists, and the Romans those of the Tuscan. When Cæso sent out foraging parties, the Veientes began to drive the cattle in their way, the peasants ran off to save themselves, and the troops of Veii pursued their accustomed amusement of trying who could reach their quarters soonest. At length, the Fabii conceived their enemies to be panic-stricken and half-witted, and themselves invincible, and they followed and seized the cattle without any precautions to prevent themselves from being surprised. In this

manner, they were one day led to a distance, passing, without observing them, several parties of the enemy who were lying in ambush in a wood; and by the time they had seized their prey, they were thunderstruck to see that they were completely surrounded by armed men—by Tuscans! not one of whom ran away, or seemed in the least afraid of their never-failing success or superhuman prowess. We may well believe that they were staggered at such a prodigy. They seem even to have been alarmed at the superior numbers of the enemy; whence we must suppose that in the previous pitched battles, the parties had always been equal, and for the first time, the Fabii felt that they had to fight for liberty and life. They formed themselves into a wedge, and forced a passage through their enemies; they then gained an ascent, which was opposite to them, and hoped there to defend themselves until darkness should cover them. But the Tuscans, having suddenly recovered their intellectual, as well as their martial equality with the Romans, sent a body of troops to an eminence still higher, which commanded them, and they were again placed between two bodies of soldiers, by each of which they were outnumbered. We cannot doubt that they fought bravely, and now both they and the Tuscans strewed the field with dead. All the three hundred and six Patricians were killed, with the exception of one boy, who is said to have escaped to Rome.

Many authors, however, doubt this, and say, that the Messenger who announced in Rome the

annihilation of this brave clan, was simply a colonist from the Cremera; that he was one of the clients, and therefore called one of the Fabii. The only Patrician who remained of the family, did not throw up his Roman franchise, though it is supposed that he had left his castle on the Quirinal, and lived in displeasure at Maleventum. Aul. Gellius,* says, that the Fabius, who withdrew himself from his brethren, was a man of resolute character, and in the prime of life, that he was the father of the great Maximus, and that he was elected Consul ten years after the slaughter of the Cremera.

Dionysius gives a different version of the manner in which the Fabii were destroyed, and one which, though not nearly so consistent with our way of thinking, both Niebuhr and Arnold judge to be the most probable, when referred to ancient times; and the most consonant with the feelings of an Italian of former days. Dionysius says, that when the period arrived at which the Fabii were accustomed to sacrifice to their patron Lar, in their own temple on the Quirinal, the three hundred and six Patrician warriors left their fort for this purpose, believing that the reverential feelings of the Tuscans were a sufficient guard against their being attacked on so sacred an occasion. In order to reconcile this with the common sense of mankind, we must suppose a general superstition, that the anger of the gods visited every man who attacked another whilst engaged in this sacred mission. Otherwise the act of the Fabii, in going, without a guard as they are re-

* xvii. 21.

presented to have done, was one of foolhardiness and bravado. If, as Niebuhr and Arnold believe, they kept their annual feast so very sacred, they must have gone and returned in safety the preceding anniversary, for they had now been two years on the Cremera: but such a happy issue to their first expedition could be no security to any thinking mind for the success of the second, except on the supposition of a prevailing opinion as to their inviolability while thus engaged.

Dionysius makes them reason on the certainty that they could not be attacked, consistently with the laws of civilized nations. On the other hand, the Romans confute this, by bringing Menenius to trial for not assisting them, whereas, had the belief in peculiar divine protection on such occasions been general, Menenius could not have supposed them to be in danger; and though he was encamped only four miles from them, when they were enclosed by the Tuscans and fighting for their lives, it was impossible for them to send a messenger who could give him warning of their situation. We cannot believe that the Tuscan ambush ever came in sight of Menenius; and it is much more difficult to understand the supineness of the men left behind at the Cremera, who, if they had marched out to assist their masters, would have placed the troops of Veii between two bands of desperate and despairing enemies, and would have occasioned amongst them a frightful slaughter, even had they failed to achieve a victory. It is true that these men could not be tried, as they were all prisoners

in Veii, but the trial and sentence of Menenius, which we believe to have been perfectly just, seem to us to have been quite as inconsistent with the sacrifices on the Quirinal, as with the pitched battles and uninterrupted victories of the Fabian clan, recorded by Livy.

A descendant of the man who retired to Maleventum, Fabius Dorso by name, eighty years subsequent to this period, burst from the Capitol, when besieged by the Gauls, went through a portion of the enemy's camp, and ascended the Quirinal to the temple of his fathers, where he offered up the annual sacrifice to the Lar of his house. All the circumstances of this feat were, however, as contrary as possible to those attending the expedition we are now discussing. Fabius Dorso went out alone, unarmed, from the beleaguered citadel of his own people, and passed through foes who were occupying his own soil; he was dressed in his priestly garments, and the instruments of sacrifice were in his hands. It would have been equally unmanly and impious to have done him any harm; and Livy says that the Gauls, astonished at his appearance, were restrained from hurting or opposing him, by their reverence for the gods. What prejudice could one man, undistinguished but for this act of religious heroism, do them? How different in every particular were the three hundred and six noted, and dangerous Fabian warriors! For two years they had been a check upon their enemies, in whose land they had stationed themselves. They marched

to Rome through ground, not one foot of which had ever been their own; in military array, fully armed, and quite prepared to attack an adversary, though, it seems, not to be attacked by one. Had they gone, like Fabius Dorso, clothed in white, with the ensigns of the priesthood in their hands, we are morally certain that they would have pursued their journey uninjured,—no Tuscan would have lifted a spear against them. They would not, indeed, have been permitted to return and re-establish themselves on the Cremera, to work mischief at their will, to Veii. They would, in all common sense, have been shut up in Rome, and forced to remain in the city of their beloved temple; but so far from seeking their destruction, we are sure that none of their enemies would have dared to look upon them with other sentiments than those of reverence.

Several meetings at Voltumna are mentioned by Dionysius during these transactions, and two of them are curious. In the first, Veii entreats the League to help her in her endeavours to destroy the Cremera fort, which, she says, nullifies the importance of the state as a barrier against Roman encroachments. The Diet, upon this, will not order levies, but permits auxiliary troops to hire themselves to the Veientine government. In the second meeting alluded to, the states order Veii peremptorily to destroy the Fabian fort, or they will expel her from the Tuscan League; and it is upon this, that she exerts her cunning, and roots out the colony.*

* Anc. Hist. xvi. 96.

The fort of the Fabii was destroyed, and the five thousand who had occupied it for two years, were either made to perish with it, as deceivers and traitors, which is most probable, or taken into Veii, and reduced to slavery. A Roman could conceive no greater horror than to be sold as a slave to the Etruscans, and yet they treated their slaves with far more indulgence than the Romans, who judged of slavery from what they knew of it in their own homes. The fate of the Fabii was so lamented that no Roman would ever pass through the right-hand gate of the Porta Carmentalis afterwards, but came in by the side, at what is now the *Macel dei Corvi*. They changed the name of the portal to "*Scelerata*," and they marked the day of their exit, in the calendar as unlucky to Rome for ever.

As soon as the disastrous catastrophe was known in Rome, the Consul Menenius was despatched with all his disposable troops to revenge the slaughter of this gallant band, or rather, as Niebuhr believes, of this lately settled colony,* including women and children,† besides the soldiers and Patricians of the Fabii. How astonished the ever-victorious Romans must have been, when those very men whom Cæso had vanquished in every pitched battle, contrived to drive Menenius back into their city, and actually to take possession of the Janiculum, driving out the garrison which was their protection, beyond the Tiber. Rome was now threatened with famine as

* Vol. ii. n. 432.

† Aul. Gell. and Dion. ix.

well as siege, and had no other resource but to recall Horatius, the other Consul, from the Volscian war. Miracles were surely common in those days, which at one time could make three hundred and six men (as Livy would intimate) more than a match for all the troops of Veii, and, two years afterwards, could make those feeble troops the terror of all the forces of Rome and her Latin allies.

The Tuscans, once more in possession of the Janiculum, crossed the Tiber, and engaged their enemies close to the temple of Hope, without the walls; and a second time, they came still nearer, even to the Colline gate, when the Romans, making every effort that shame and despair could inspire, gained some small advantage. They weakened the forces of their foes by slaughter, and managed to keep them from entering the sacred city. This slight success restored to the men sufficient courage to prevent their shrinking, as they had previously done, from encountering the Tuscans, whom they had begun to believe under the special protection of Fortune. The Consuls were changed, yet still the Tuscan army could not be dislodged, and they ravaged the Roman lands on all sides. At length the very stratagem they had used to rid themselves of the Fabii was employed against themselves, and succeeded. In their turn, they were so accustomed to see the enemy fly before them, and retreat within the walls or the camp, the moment their bands appeared, that they became careless. The Romans drove some of their cattle to a distance, in the line

of the Tuscan foragers, and then placed themselves in ambush on the way. The Tuscans were surprised, and the greater part of them cut off. The Tuscan general, whose name no Latin historian has condescended to preserve, and which Sylla committed to the flames, crossed the Tiber without delay, and assaulted the camp of Servilius, but he was repulsed, and obliged to retire again within his own lines. Servilius, elated with this success, crossed the river in his turn, and encamped, in bravado, at the foot of the Janiculum. All Rome must have rejoiced at this feat, and have thought themselves at length delivered, for drowning men catch at straws; and they were in such distress for want of food, which it was impossible for them to obtain whilst the Tuscans commanded the Tiber, that Livy says they were obliged to hazard the most dangerous expedients in order to obtain relief. This he considers a legitimate apology for Servilius's rash attempt upon the Tuscan camp, from which he was repulsed with so great a loss as quite to nullify his former victory, and he and his army were only saved from destruction, by the timely arrival and assistance of his colleague, Virginius.

Livy adds a most extraordinary sentence,* viz., “that the Tuscans were now enclosed between two armies, one behind and the other before, and were thus all cut to pieces; so that a fortunate act of rashness brought the war to a conclusion.” Where could Virginius have been, to come in the rear of

* Livy ii. 51.

the Tuscans? The history implies either that he was encamped on the lands of Veii, or that he had gained the fort of the Janiculum, and took the Tuscan camp, whilst they were below, following up their victory over Menenius. This is one of the many passages in which the historian has thought fit to throw a veil over the transaction he records, or professes to record, by giving it in a very few words, and ending in the usual chorus of "Vivat Roma!"

It is plain that the shameful defeat of Servilius had led him in flight, to that side of Rome, beyond the Fossa Cluilia, on which Virginius was encamped; and on that supposition the Tuscans would be far from their own lines, and may have been enclosed between the cohorts of Virginius and the reinforcement of veterans which Rome could send forth to prevent their return.

Whatever the truce may have been with Veii, it lasted only a year, whilst the defeat of Servilius was regarded with so much soreness as to be made the subject of a prosecution by his own countrymen, from which he narrowly escaped with his life. Virginius claimed no triumph, and gained no honours, and the truce must have been a mere cessation of arms for a few months, as the Romans did not even pretend to any compensation or advantage. Menenius was judged during the leisure afforded by this truce, and put to death, for not having attempted to save the Fabii. We think his condemnation perfectly just, but if the Fabii had indeed triumphed over the Veientes in every previous

conflict, and in pitched battles, we do not see what cause Menenius could have had, to suppose them in any such extreme danger on the day of their extermination. The Romans made further use of this truce to victual their famishing city from Campania; the sea and the Tiber now being open to their vessels and those of their allies.

When the war recommenced, Veii had made an alliance with the Sabines, who were then at enmity with Rome. The Sabines brought their men into the dominions of their new allies, and encamped under their walls, where the Romans, united to the Latins and Hernicans, attacked them unexpectedly, and threw them into disorder. One of the gates of Veii was taken, and a desperate fight, with much confusion, took place within the ramparts, but the Romans were soon driven out, and in their turn, threatened with an overthrow. The general now ordered the cavalry to charge, which they did with such vigour that the Tuscans and their allies were repulsed, and the day recovered; so that the Romans, keeping their ground, boasted that in one day and in one fight, they had been victorious over their two most powerful neighbours. They make no mention of the Latins and Hernicans, who formed two thirds of their troops; and as the gallant Consul gained no advantage, and had no triumph for his glorious victory, it leads us to suspect that they were the troops by whose means chiefly, he obtained it.

Next year the Romans again appointed half their

armies to defend them against the dreaded Veii; but as both states were willing for a peace, one was concluded for forty years. It is said that Veii agreed to give a sum of money to the Roman army, and to supply them with corn. This last condition we do not doubt, in the sense of allowing the Romans now, to supply themselves from the uninjured agriculture of the western side of that fertile state. From the abundance of corn which such a condition presumes in Veii, and the continued want of it in Rome, we see that the Tuscans kept the command of the sea and of the Tiber, by means of which, whilst they distressed their enemy, they could always supply themselves. In this nine years' war Veii lost nothing, and at the end of it, both parties, as to territory and power, were in the same condition as at the beginning.

TUSCAN MARITIME AFFAIRS.

We must now take a slight review of the naval power of the Tuscans. We have already observed that for some years it had been on the decline; not that they themselves were sensible of this declension,—for the Turrhene and Adriatic seas were still theirs, and all the coast of Italy bowed to their flag, from the thirty-ninth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, from Phistiu to Luna and Marsilia, and from Port Garganus to Patavium and Aquileia—but other nations, and especially their near neighbours, the Italian Greeks and the Sicilians, were becoming equal to them, and equality is not superiority. The Etruscans were still great at sea, but

they were no longer unrivalled, much less looked upon as invincible. Nevertheless the long peace which all their ports seem to have enjoyed, and perhaps the late successful Veientine war, appear to have influenced them about this time (in the Olym. 76, 3)* to believe that they had regained their former strength; and upon some dispute with Cuma, they sent an army against that city, which was repulsed. They then fell upon the Greek fleet in the port, and engaged in a very desperate conflict. Fortunately for the Cumæans, they were assisted and commanded by Hiero, the brother and successor of Gelo, the Tyrant of Syracuse; and the Tuscans sustained so complete a defeat, that all historians look upon this conflict as the ruin of their power at sea henceforward. The talisman of Sylla and Charybdis was broken, and the magic of their name, which had once caused every Greek vessel to hide, or fly in trembling, was dissolved. The Greeks, from this period, when they write of the Turrheni, speak of them, with affected disdain, as pirates, and they exempt from this accusation Cære only,† where some or all of them were Isopolite; yet Niebuhr and Arnold both believe that their treaties and trade with Carthage and the states of Africa, continued the same as before. How proud the Greeks were of this victory, obtained over an enemy usually so dreaded, is proved by the thank-offerings which they sent to Olympia. Pindar says, that this battle freed them from threatened slavery,‡ in that it repulsed so very powerful a body of enemies both by land

* Diod. xi. 51. † Strabo v. 2, 3. ‡ Muller i. 196.

and sea. The Tuscan troops must have come from Vulturnum and the southern cities, and the fleet was brought up from the North to their support. The various historians who record the battle and the conquest, do not particularise the thank-offerings after it, but an English traveller being at Olympia, in A.D. 1817, found there a helmet, and on it the inscription, *HIAPON O ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΠΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ*.*

. "Hiero, son of Dinomenes, and the Syracusans, offer this to Jove, as a part of the Turrhenian spoil from Cuma."

If the Syracusans, who were merely allies, made this offering for their victory, the Cumæans must have sent oblations to the temple also: and along with arms, the ancients always offered gold likewise, either in the shape of talents, or of a crown, or bowl, &c., or some other object of so many talents weight. Niebuhr has declared that the Etruscans and Turrheni were not the same people, yet no writer has ever doubted as to who *these* Turrheni were, though they were fighting beyond most of the Tuscan settlements in the bay of Cuma.

There are many men whose minds seem to have received a peculiar tinge with regard to this people. If the matter of history respecting them be defeat, or if the work of art be rough and clumsy, they immediately discover that the Turrheni are Tuscans;

* The Greek inscription is here divided according to the words. Whereas, in the helmet itself, which is preserved in the British museum, the words are irregularly run into each other.

but if the matter be victory, or the work of art refined, they find out that they are the old Pelasgi, *Greeks* settled in Italy before the days of history. We ourselves have heard these sentiments from the lips of men whose deep knowledge of eastern excellence, especially of Egyptian and Phœnician proficiency, makes it astonishing that they should utter them. They will even gratuitously settle Greek colonies in Etruria, to account for undeniable eminence in refinement, attached to any particular district,* though they have not a single hint in the whole range of ancient authors upon which to ground their theory. Muller believes that the Turrhenian Pelasgi in South Etruria, were altogether distinct from the Greeks.†

Persuaded as we are, that the Italian Turrheni were all Tuscans, in the same sense that the Saxons, Normans, Danes, and Celts, now existing among ourselves, are all British, we should, perhaps, be expected to notice the various fates of Tusculum, Antium, Terracina, and their other noted settlements, beyond the bounds of Etruria Proper. We shall bestow upon them a few words of notice at the end of this history, but to go far into detail, would, we conceive, make this work too wearisome, and distract the attention of our readers too much, from the annals of the great body of the nation.

Between the Greeks and Etruscans there was no more war for fifty years.

The Tuscan Augurs would take this particular defeat much to heart, because it was part of the prophecies

* Vulci for example.

† Müller, Colonien.

of Tages, or at least of the Libri Fatales, that in this century their nation would begin to decline; and though their doctrine supplied them with the salvo, that courage and piety were able to delay, and sometimes even to avert and *change* the decrees of fate, yet such a prophecy, if generally known, could not fail to damp the spirits of their leaders, on every recurring misfortune. From the common people, we must suppose, that every such prediction was studiously concealed, and that all they knew of the high mysteries of their teachers, was, that one day of eleven ages had been granted by the gods to their nation, and that, therefore, until that period was ended, they had nothing to fear from others. Nor had they anything to expect for themselves, excepting occasional reverses when they sinned, and that peace and triumph should attend their steps, as long as they walked in the statutes, and observed the commandments, of their first great lawgivers, Tarchun and Tages.

CHAPTER XIII.

LARS TOLUMNIUS AND THE TWELVE YEARS' WAR.*

A. C. 453; AN. R. 300; AN. TARQ. 734.

Settled state of Etruria Proper—Sicilians attack Corsica and Elba—Romans consult the code of Faliscia—Fragments of Tuscan laws—Debt—Etruria free from famines of Rome—Revolt of Fidene—Lars Tolumnius—Murder of Feciales—War between Veii and Rome—Faliscia joins—Legend of Cossus—Fidene taken—Meeting at Voltumna—Truce—Fidene revolts—Death of Lars Tolumnius—Spolia opima—Romans defeated—Veii solicits aid from Voltumna—Garrisons Fidene—Panic in Rome—Fidenians fight with torches—Capitulate—Veii concludes peace for twenty years—Etruria Nova—Herodotus—South Etruria—Vulturnum taken by Capys—Tuscans in Athenian army—Form the commercial population of Capua.

MANY years elapsed after the termination of the Fabian war with Veii, during which we know nothing of any of the states of Etruria further than this, viz., that they kept up their prodigious walls and fortifications, and their roads, of which many

* Authorities: Livy iii., iv.; Dion. x., xi.; Ant. Hist. xi., xvi.; Nieb. vol. i., ii.; Arnold i., p. 384, &c.; Diod. xi., xii.; Plin. xxxiv.; Strabo xiv.

traces remain to this day in Tuscany and the Roman states; also, that they continued their annual fairs, meetings, and religious processions, and that they carefully attended to their internal navigation and the wholesome state of their wonderful drains and tunnels. They still commanded the Tyrrhene and Adriatic seas, and carried on a silent but flourishing commerce; and we presume them to have been at peace with each other, because we find them so on every incidental mention; because their political union was unbroken, until after the fall of Veii; and because their religious confederacy endured to the very end, shall we say, to the very extinction of the nation in the days of Christianity. Add to this, that there is no mention made during this period, of civil war in Etruria, in the histories of any of those countries known to us, with which they were in constant intercourse, such as Carthage, Gaul, Grecia Proper, or the Greco-Italian towns.

In, or about the year of Tarquinia 734, the Tuscans had been troublesome and dangerous to the Sicilian ports, and the Admiral Phayllos was sent out with a naval force to check them, but his enterprise was defeated, and his life paid the forfeit. His successor, Apelles, went with sixty Triremes to avenge his death;* and sailed as far north as Corsica, which he wasted with little opposition. He then attacked Aethalia, i. e., Elba, with equal success, and brought away many slaves and much booty, which he carried in triumph home. There was,

* Müller, *Etrusker*, p. 197; Diod. xi.

however, no war in consequence, between Sicily and any of the states. The Tuscans ceased to trouble the island, and were left unmolested. Diodorus says, that they bribed the Greeks to keep away.

The year following these events, the Romans sought to alter and amend their legal code, and to compile their celebrated ten tables, to which two more were afterwards added; and for this purpose they are said to have sent into Greece to examine the codes of Solon and other renowned lawgivers. They may, indeed, have sent such an embassy into Greece, as well as into Southern Italy and other places, but Niebuhr agrees with all other lawyers and historians in testifying, that there is no element of the Grecian spirit in any fragment of those laws which remain to us, and that the whole of them are conceived in a tone and temperament, which are altogether homesprung. From the researches of Müller and Micali, it appears, that many of them are Etruscan, and that there is a tradition of the Quirites having sent into Etruria, but especially into the Lucumony of Faliscia,* which enjoyed a peculiar reputation at that time for justice and equity. The Roman Patricians, who were educated in Etruria, would know perfectly well how to read Etruscan, but Greek was so foreign to them, that they were obliged to get Hermodorus, an exile from Ephesus, living in Rome, to translate the Grecian laws into Latin; and they considered his labour so arduous, that they decreed him by way of reward, a

* Ant. Hist. xvi. 39, and Serv. Ænd. vii.

statue in the Forum. As these Greek laws were never used, they seem to have been regarded in the light of a literary curiosity, and were, probably, consigned with the Sybiline oracles, to the underground treasuries of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Arnold* justly observes, that if any of the Greek cities knew that Hermodorus had a statue erected to him in the Forum at this period, they would immediately connect it with the writing of the twelve tables. Pliny† gives an opposite account of this story, for he says, that Hermodorus translated the *Roman* laws into Greek! Some of the most distinguished scholars amongst the Germans, believe that the twelve tables were taken from the Tuscans, because they were written in a sort of rhythm, and because the forms of words in them was sacred. Indeed some of the words themselves had such a sanctity attached to them, that they might neither be translated, nor ever used in any transaction with a foreigner.‡ They were like the language of the gods mentioned by Homer, and parts of them were never to be profaned by the language of men.

We will enumerate a few of the provisions of these laws which were Etruscan, and which we think will prove interesting.

“No man might bury within the walls of a city, but triumphers only.

“When the praises of a man's ancestors were sung to the flute, the great deeds of others were not to be disparaged.

* i. p. 254, et seq.

† Plin. xxxiv. 5.

‡ Arnold i. 283.

“The Saturnalian song and Fescinine verses, were adopted as national, and all poetry and history was considered laudable.

“Any one seized as a slave, was free till proved to be otherwise.

“Arson and false witness, witchcraft, treason, and injuring a neighbour's corn by night, were punished with death, and the perpetrators of the two last were to be burnt alive.

“The clients were henceforth enrolled amongst the Plebeian tribes,” which we doubt not had been for ages the custom in Etruria.

The laws concerning the political rights of citizenship were singular. The Patricians were masters, fathers, magistrates, priests, and citizens,* but they were not, in one sense, landowners.† When a man died without children, the clan inherited his property if a Patrician, and the tribe if a Plebeian. When land was sold, which all uninaugurated land could be, the sale was legal without writing, provided it took place in the presence of witnesses, and before a magistrate, because the tables said, “As the tongue hath spoken so shall be the law.” The highest interest of borrowed money was fixed at ten per cent ‡

One very dreadful law adopted by Rome, we fear we must attribute also to Etruria. The debtor who would not pay, might, as a last resort, be cut to

* Arnold i., p. 265, &c.

† That is to say, that neither the Patricians, nor yet the Plebeians, had the absolute disposal of their property.

‡ Tacit. Ann. vi. 16.

pieces by his creditors,* and such was the feeling of all the Italian nations, as to the iniquity of a man not paying his just debts, or borrowing when he knew he could not repay, that all the Plebeians consented to this law, though its harshness touched them only, and they (the sufferers) pronounced it to be just and good. They thought that faith between man and man could not be too strictly guarded. Would that the aristocracy amongst ourselves had more of this high honour, and just appreciation of the misery they occasion, when their debts are unpaid. Would that they considered, we might almost say *knew*, that the guilt of swindling and stealing, is as common among themselves as among the poor, and that it ought to be held in still greater abhorrence, because all crime in them is of a darker hue, for they cannot plead the same temptations in excuse. Would that they reflected that their negligence in this particular, is the occasion of misery, and bankruptcy, and ruin to thousands.

It is true that all the Patricians in ancient Italy were exempt from these laws of debt. They could not be imprisoned nor destrained, and far less could they be cut to pieces; but on the other hand, in the bitterest invectives against them, they were never accused of being in debt to the Plebeians, nor of causing the widow and the orphan to pine in want, or to fear starvation, because of their heartless and thoughtless delay of payment. Up to this date, the abundant treasures always at the command of their class, prevented their ever running into debt neces-

* Arnold i., p. 136, from Aul. Gell. xx. 1.

sitously, and the public opinion of that class prevented their ever doing so voluntarily. The whole Patriciate came forward to the assistance of its distressed members, for they could not conceive the anomaly of honourable swindlers or noble beggars.

According to Müller, the Greeks had no influence over any part of Central or Northern Etruria, until after the laws of the twelve tables had been collected, and these laws have nothing Greek in their contents. After this time, the intercourse between *Grecia Proper* and the Peninsula became more frequent, and Niebuhr mentions treasures at Delphi, sent from Pisa, Spina, and Adria. To these Müller adds Agylla and Alsium.

About the year of Tarquinia, 749,* Rome was afflicted by one of her frequent famines, and the people were rioting and crying for bread. This calamity was averted in all the Tuscan states, by their perfect irrigation, and had Rome continued under Tuscan rule, her lands would, doubtless, have been put and kept under a similar process. During the one hundred and five years of the Tuscan kingly dominion, there appears to have been no remarkable dearth; and if there was, the navigation of the Tiber and the fruitful plains of Veii and Faliscia were at their disposal. The Romans seem always to have applied to Etruria for succour when not at war with that country, and now, as usual, they looked to her to relieve their necessities.

Spurius Mælius, a rich and distinguished Plebeian knight, one of the hereditary first class in the Cen-

* B. C. 438.

tures, imported from the Tuscans corn sufficient to satisfy the wants of his poor and starving countrymen. For this good deed he was put to death; and though the cause of his condemnation was, that the Senate imputed his liberality to wrong political motives, it is yet by no means improbable, that some of the Tuscan states may have felt offended at his fate.

The very next year, Fidene (which for sixty years had been a Roman colony) revolted to Veii—we might almost add the familiar expression, "revolted as usual;" for Fidene, when captured or dissevered from Veii, always revolted on the very first opportunity. Tuscan Fidene, set free by Porsenna, came again into Roman chains, through her fidelity to the Tarquini. She was vanquished by the Dictator Lartius, and had remained subject ever since the death of Tarquinius Superbus; yet though the colonists, in whose hands the whole governing power was placed, and of whom the whole garrison consisted, had had plenty of time to consolidate their authority, the Fidenians seem neither now nor ever, to have become accustomed to their yoke. Fidene must have been a place of immense strength and of considerable importance, to maintain her independence at any time, as she did, within five, or at most six miles of her haughty neighbour, and with no natural barrier between them. Her revolt means that she drove out the Roman garrison, and, taking possession of her own former rights, placed herself once more under the protection of her mother city Veii.

The Lar Tolumnius was at this time King of Veii, and the Romans sent four Feciales to him, to complain of his favouring their rebels, and to demand satisfaction in the accustomed form. Tolumnius most inexcessably, commanded or advised some of the Fidenians who were with him, to seize the Feciales and put them to death. This was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and Tolumnius well knew that a bloody war must follow. Livy, indeed, thinks that he wished for war, and that his reason for this outrageous deed was, to cut off all hopes of reconciliation between Rome and Fidene, so that they must fight until one or the other should be destroyed. He had confidence enough in his own strength to imagine, that of the two, Rome would be the victim, and his conduct evinces him to have been a man of cruel and haughty temper, and utterly without principle. He had no fear of his own gods, for according to the Tuscan faith, such a deed would array them all against him. It is strange, that any historian, Latin or Tuscan, should have wished to palliate the treachery of such a man; yet Livy tells us that some said he did not command the murder of the Feciales, but that he was playing at Tesseræ, and that he used some expression upon a successful throw, (such as "Thus would I annihilate all my foes,) which the guards around him mistook, and fancied was a direction to them to destroy the ambassadors. This, Livy justly remarks is incredible, for his thoughts could never have been so intent upon the game, as to make him regardless

of the arrival of the Fidenians, and they certainly would not come, prepared in their minds for such gross iniquity.

A war to revenge the insulted Roman nation, and the death of four of her most honourable Patricians, was the immediate consequence. King Tolumnius himself led his troops into the field, and fought a hard-contested battle with the Consul Lucius Sergius Fidenas. The loss of the Romans was so great, that the Senate thought the Consul unequal to his charge, and became also afraid of the fainting spirits of the people. They created in haste Mamercus Emilius, Dictator; and L. Q. Cincinnatus, son to the celebrated commander of that name, was his master of the cavalry. Even the veterans were now called out, which was never done, excepting in cases of extreme danger. Tolumnius had reason to exult at the end of the first campaign, in the terror he had struck into his enemies.

The Dictator now led forth a powerful army of Romans and allies, and the King of Veii retreated to the heights between Fidene and the Anio. Here he took up a strong position, and remained in security until the troops of Faliscia, whose aid he had solicited, came to his assistance. He then encamped beneath the walls of Fidene,* and the Dictator fortified himself strongly between the two rivers, not far from him.

As the adverse armies now fronted each other, the Faliscians were very anxious to come to an im-

* Fidene is now Castel Gubileo.

mediate engagement, especially as the Tuscan forces outnumbered the Roman, but the Veientes and Fidenians considered it much more prudent to wear the Romans out by delay; probably suspecting a scantiness of provisions in their camp, and a disposition among the men to desert. Tolumnius wished also for delay, but was obliged to yield apparently to the Faliscian general, and therefore he said he should give the Romans battle on the morrow. When the morrow came, however, he always discovered some unlucky augury, or some pretext for delaying the fight. This, instead of having the effect Tolumnius expected, restored to his enemies and their general, the courage they so greatly needed, and at length they became so bold, that they offered to attack the Tuscans within their lines. Tolumnius then saw that it was time to act, and placed his battle in array in good earnest. He ranged his own troops upon the right wing, the Faliscians on the left, and the Fidenians, the cause of the war, in the centre. To these were opposed in the same order, the Dictator, Quintius Capitolinus, and the cavalry. There was a Roman fort in the rear of the Dictator's camp, in which the augurs were stationed, and he most prudently resolved not to engage, until he could assure his troops that the gods promised them the victory. He waited, therefore, until the signal was given from the fort, that all the omens were favourable, and then he ordered the cavalry to rush upon the centre of the enemy, charging them with a loud shout, and the infantry

to follow up the attack. As the Romans fought with the confidence of success, they broke the Etruscan legions, and occasioned a temporary disorder, but their cavalry soon rallied and withstood the enemy, whilst Tolumnius, who, though impious, was eminently brave, everywhere restored the fortune of the day.

We suspect, for more reasons than one, that the Romans were entirely defeated in this battle, but as it would not consist with the majesty and invincibility of Rome to acknowledge any defeat that was not more than compensated for, by a subsequent victory, the historians attach to this account, the legend of Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a Roman giant, a man in all points a match for that Tuscan, who in the former war killed the brother of the Consul Fabius. Livy* acknowledges that the deed of prowess which this tale records, took place six or nine years afterwards, and not under the Dictator Emilius. He says that it happened during the time when Cossus was Consul, and we may therefore fairly presume, that in this battle under the Dictator, Cossus performed no wonders, and that until his consulship, Tolumnius continued to be the successful adversary and terror of the Romans. We shall give the story in its place, and in that place we do not doubt its authenticity.

During the battle of Fidene, in which Cossus fought, the Tuscans had sent a body of men to attack the Roman camp, probably not suspecting that the veteran legion had been left for its protection.

* iv. 20.

Their commander manned the ramparts all round, and stood on the defensive, until seeing the enemy intent upon forcing his entrenchments, he made an unexpected sally out of the right gate, with a body of experienced and determined men, and beat them back to their own comrades. We do not know the real events of this campaign, because to save the fame of Rome, the triumph of Cossus, many years after, is attributed to the Dictator now, but it is certain that the next year, though the legions were sent into the lands of Veii and Faliscia, there was no fighting beyond mutual skirmishes for cattle and slaves, and not one town of the Etruscans was besieged, though some of them, and especially the obnoxious Fidene, lay close into Rome. This year and the next, pestilence raged amongst the Romans, and in the fourth campaign of the war, Tolumnius led the forces of Fidene and Veii, heedless of infection, up to the Colline gate. The Faliscians, for some cause, had withdrawn their aid, and from the complaints afterwards made of the Veientes at Volturna, we suppose that cause to have been, that they did not think they had received a fair share of the spoil.

When the Colline was once more besieged, the consternation in the city was extreme. The Consul Julius* dare not face the foe, but drew up his men on the ramparts and walls, and the Senate was assembled for consultation in the temple of Quirinus. They had no other resource but the extreme one of again appointing a Dictator, and this was accord-

* Livy iv. 21.

ingly adopted. The new Dictator ordered every man of the Plebeians, capable of bearing arms, to meet him without delay, prepared for war, at the Colline gate, and thither he went himself, carrying the ensigns taken out of the treasury. His force was so large that the Tuscans withdrew to the neighbourhood of Nomentum, and there stood a general engagement.

This time they seem really to have been defeated, for a part of them was driven into Fidene, and that city was besieged. In vain, however, did the Dictator try to take it by storm or famine. An abundant supply of corn was laid up in their magazines, and their military works, and walls, and towers, were hopelessly strong for the belligerent machines of that day. The Roman general, therefore, thought of the device which had once before succeeded at Fidene, under similar circumstances. Perhaps some bard sang to him at supper the adventures of Lucius Tarquinius, when he was *Tribunus Celerum* to Ancus Marcius. At any rate he adopted the same plan. He carried on the siege and made feigned attacks, at the very time that he was undermining it from the opposite side to his camp, having divided his mining companies into four bands, that they might relieve each other, and work night and day. At length, the task was completed without ever having been suspected by the besieged, and they were not roused from their security until the Roman troops were actually within the town, when they were overpowered and compelled to submit. The Romans,

instead of destroying this city, after their usual fashion, simply re-established their garrison, and were contented with leaving the walls and houses of Fidene as they had found them. This shows that the city surrendered upon terms, and implies also an obstinate and bold defence, by which the Romans suffered great loss, and were otherwise unfortunate, for the Dictator brought in no spoil, and had no triumph.

Fidene was, however, really taken, and for the present lost to Etruria; for the states of Veii and Faliscia were so dismayed, that they demanded a meeting at Voltumna, to consult upon what steps were now to be taken both for its recovery and their own safety. Livy says that they sent ambassadors to all the twelve Lucumonai, to summon a full meeting, and that the Roman Senate were so alarmed at the probable result of this assembly, that they again had recourse to the expedient of appointing a Dictator. They made more strenuous exertions for this campaign than even for the last, because they thought the danger more alarming, having before their eyes not only the overwhelming force which Etruria could send into the field, but the probability that the dreaded Lar Tolumnius would, on account of his superior talent, be the leader chosen to direct their military operations.

The meeting at Voltumna took place, and, as usual, a fair was held at the same time, and some of the merchants, after the fair, repaired to Rome. What was the amazement and joy of the Romans,

when they heard that the great council of Etruria had refused aid to the King of Veii, alleging as their reason, that he had begun the war on his own private account, without asking their consent, and that they had no idea of relieving him in distress, when he had kept aloof from them, in all his prosperous fortunes. Now, if we are to believe the account of the Roman historians, we would ask, what prosperous fortune Tolumnius ever had, in which he could have made the members of the League sharers? They evidently allude to conquests, and tribute, and booty; but all the histories of Rome which give an account of this war, year by year, tell us, either that he fled before their armies, or that he dared not fight them, or that he lay beleagured in his fortified towns. Are we not right, then, in attributing to him victory in several of his campaigns?

It would appear, that after the fall of Fidene, there was a truce concluded between Veii and Rome for one year, as the princes of Voltumna put off their final decision for that time, and the Romans were afflicted with one of their usual pestilences. As they feared that famine would soon be superadded to war, they gladly took advantage of this truce to send into Etruria for corn, and the supplies from that country did not fail them.

The next year was made remarkable by the Consul, Aulus Postumius, having his own son beheaded for disobedience to his orders; though with less pride of spirit than Brutus, the much-lauded, had shown before him.

As soon as the Etruscan truce was ended, Aulus Cornelius Cossus was made Consul in Rome, and was given the charge of the Veientine war. This was the ninth year since it had commenced, and the death of the four Feciales was still unrevenged, for Tolumnius continued to rule in Veii, and his name and prowess were the terror of the Romans. Not only so, but Fidene, though colonized so recently, had revolted, and resumed her old alliance. At first, many of the sons of the wealthy Tuscans, not able to bear the loss of their freedom, secretly withdrew and joined their countrymen; but upon the Roman Senate commanding that all who were convicted of defection should be sent to Ostia, they openly rebelled, flew to arms, and killed and drove away the new Roman settlement. They then immediately put themselves under the protection of Veii, and received her friendly troops with joy, into their citadel. The Romans, therefore, had now the disgrace and slaughter of their colonists to avenge, as well as the murder of their ambassadors, and they could not have chosen a more proper person for their general, than the illustrious Patrician whose valour and conduct they had several times before proved, both as military Tribune and in other high offices of trust.

Cossus boldly led forth his troops against Tolumnius, who commanded the united forces of the Tuscans, and made himself so remarkable by his encounter with the great though wicked king, that he came to be one of the most renowned of the Roman

heroes, and Livy* gives us a detailed account of his appearance. He was a man of distinguished birth, and resolved by his own achievements, to add to the lustre of his family. He was remarkable among his countrymen for the extraordinary beauty of his countenance and figure, and still more so for his high and noble spirit, and his superior bodily strength. This hero of nature's making determined to fight Tolumnius, hand to hand, and sought him out in battle the more determinedly, that wherever that great general appeared, victory always followed him, and the Romans fled. Even the cavalry could not withstand his charge. He was everywhere distinguished, and everywhere known by his undaunted bearing, royal apparel, and ceaseless activity.

At length Cossus exclaimed against him with a loud voice, unable any longer to restrain his indignation, and confident in his own strength and valour, probably also in his younger years.† He cried out, "Is this he who breaks the bonds of human society, and violates the laws of nations? He has made himself a victim, and I will slay him, and offer him to the Manes of our ambassadors; if it is the will of the gods that any ties should remain sacred upon earth." Saying this, he spurred forward his horse, and closed with him, spear in rest. He was the only soldier in the field worthy to engage in single combat with the Lucumo of Veii, and after some desperate fighting, he unhorsed and killed him.

Supposing the monarch's steed to have been exhausted and the Consul's fresh, or to have been already

* iv. 19.

† iv. 19.

wounded, or to have stumbled, or otherwise failed to his hand, no Roman bard or historian would have thought it needful to mention such a trifle. Tolumnius falls the moment Cossus attacks him, and being on the ground, Cossus strikes him with his shield, and then pins him to the earth and kills him. It is usual for troops, on both sides, to ride up to the assistance of their leaders, but though the battle is raging, these two chiefs are left quite alone, and for so long a time, that after Tolumnius's fall, Cossus had leisure to cut off the head, to strip the body, and to carry off the spoils without any interruption. None of his men fell a sacrifice in the endeavours of the Tuscans to revenge the fate of their great prince. Cossus, as this legend tells us, stuck the king's head on the point of his spear, and carried it with him as he galloped over the field of strife, and wherever he appeared with this trophy, the dismayed Etruscans gave way. The cavalry, which till now was invincible, became horror-struck, and fled, and Cossus pursued them even to the limits of their own camp, but there his victory was stayed.

For this battle between Cornelius Cossus, and Tolumnius, in the year of Rome 327, and not earlier, we have the incontrovertible authority of Niebuhr, in concurrence with Livy. Propertius says,* that Cossus, when he first led forth the Romans in their campaign, besieged Veii, and shook the walls with his battering rams; this could only be effected towards the Ponte del Sodo. Tolumnius appeared at the top

* iv.

of the gate, and proposed a conference, upon which Cossus challenged him to single combat, and having conquered him in the manner related by Livy, he fixed his bloody head upon his saddle-bow, and thus bore it as a trophy through the field. We do not believe that the Romans were ever able to besiege Veii until they were under the command of Camillus, but it is not unlikely that Cossus sent a defiance to Tolumnius, when the armies were drawn out, and that it was accepted.

Notwithstanding their defeat and irreparable loss, the camp of the Tuscans was not taken, and what much increases our surprise, the Fidenians did not assist to defend it, for Livy says, that they escaped to the mountains, and there were safe. We should have thought them more safe with the men of Veii, but, doubtless, they knew best. Cossus returned to Rome with much booty, and had a glorious triumph, in which the most remarkable and valued trophies, were the *spolia opima* he had won from the Tuscan King. These were the second ever taken by Rome, and could only be conquered by one general from another. Cossus dedicated them, as Romulus had done before him, in the temple of Jupiter Fere-trius. His was all the honour of the victory and the triumph, and his dedication, as "Anlus Cornelius Cossus, Consul," was written upon a linen breast-plate, and read by Augustus Cæsar, at the time he restored the temple.* The people at Cossus's triumph,

* Livy iv. 20.

dedicated to Jupiter, out of gratitude, a golden crown of ten thousand ascs weight.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, the Veientes are accused the very next year, of violating the truce, which it seems they had concluded. Livy* says, they renewed hostilities before the proper term had expired, and thus it seems plain, that their humiliation had not been so great as the Romans pretend, though, no doubt, they were partly tempted to this ungenerous line of conduct, by the belief, that their enemies were little able to resist them, from the dreadful pestilence which at this time, raged in the sacred city. The Romans, in order to gain time, sent the Feciales to demand an explanation, but Veii paid them no attention. However reluctantly, Rome was forced to declare war, and three military Tribunes were sent with the legions to do their worst against the Tuscans. The hero, Cossus, staid at home, being appointed to defend the city in case they should meet with ill success.

On this memorable occasion, in the eleventh year of the war, the Romans themselves confess they were defeated. The three generals quarrelled, each being of a different opinion, and when the Veientes attacked them, one gave the signal to retreat, while the other ordered the charge to be sounded. The troops, therefore, knew not what to do, and were thrown into inextricable confusion. They at last found safety in their camp, and managed to secure

* iv. 30.

themselves behind the entrenchments, the generals giving out that the disgrace was greater than the slaughter. If this were anything more than a Napoleon bulletin, it is difficult to understand the extreme terror of the people, who seem to have given up themselves for lost, execrating the Tribunes, and demanding a Dictator, as the only means of safety. This was the voice of men who had three times seen the enemy repulsed from the Colline gate, and yet their leaders found it impossible to calm their apprehensions. A Dictator was appointed accordingly, and under him the renowned Cossus was made master of the horse, in order to restore spirit to the much disheartened Romans. We cannot forbear remarking, that unless their enemies were extremely formidable, they must have been at the time, a most chicken-hearted people.

Veii, in the mean while, rejoiced in her victory, but she does not seem to have been puffed up by it, as she immediately sent to the other states of Etruria, entreating them to engage in her quarrel, and when they still declined, she endeavoured to attract to herself a large force, by liberal promises of booty. Fidene, once more free, joined heart and soul with Veii, and allowed the Veientine general to make her the seat of war. In spite of the Dictator, here were the armies of the Tuscans again, within five miles of Rome. We believe they advanced nearer, for the Roman troops were all recalled, and encamped before the Colline gate, in order to form a barrier between the city of the

Seven Hills, and her formidable antagonists; and the reserve legion was armed and posted on the walls. The courts of justice were closed—the shops were shut, and Rome was a camp rather than a city.

In this panic, the Dictator had the people called together, and made them a long speech, in which he enumerated all the former victories of Rome, real and pretended, and dwelt in glowing terms upon the bravery of her soldiers and the cowardice of all other troops. Having persuaded his men that under himself and Cossus, they could not fail to be victorious, he went up to the Capitol to offer his sacrifice, and then marched forth on the road to Fidene. He encamped upon a spot about fifteen hundred paces from the town, having his right covered by the mountains, and his left by the Tiber; and he ordered one of his officers, with a considerable force, to post himself upon any eminence he could find, in the rear of the enemy's citadel. The Etruscans came on full of confidence, in consequence of their late successes, and the Dictator led out his infantry to meet them, entreating Cossus, by his late triumphs, not to move with the cavalry, until he should receive a signal to do so from him.

After some hard fighting, the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the Romans, when suddenly the gates of Fidene flew open, and a body of men burst forth which seemed to the eyes of the astonished Romans an immense multitude, bearing in their hands burning firebrands, and, in fact, per-

sonating the evil genii of their own mythology. The Romans thought they were madmen; and, as a Lucumo had sent them forth, "as mad as a Lucumo" became a common phrase in Rome. They were at first very much dismayed, and thrown into disorder, but an unaccountable shouting on their own side, made them believe that spirits were also fighting for the fortunes of Rome; and Cossus at that critical juncture advancing with the cavalry, rallied and turned them. The officer who had been sent behind Fidene, saw from the height on which he was posted, that the left wing had been put to flight, and hastened with his reserve to overtake and drive them back again, in which he succeeded. He told his troops that the beings they so much feared, were only men like themselves, and that if they had courage and presence of mind sufficient, to wrest these dreaded and fearful looking weapons from the hands of their enemies, they would then be able to turn their own brands against themselves. The Romans, recovering from their alarm, grappled resolutely with the fire-bearing Tuscans, armed themselves with the torches of those they slew, and in the end gained a complete victory.

Niebuhr denies that Cornelius Cossus was master of the horse in this battle, or that he took any share in it, and he also disbelieves the story of the Fidenians rushing out with torches. It was, however, by no means an unlikely stratagem for the Tuscans, and the effect it had upon the Romans, who took them for the demons they represented, was perfectly

natural. We are only inclined to believe that it was a stratagem of the women—perhaps the priestesses—rather than of the men, and that they imagined this method of assisting their husbands and terrifying their enemies. It was surely not more extravagant, than the expedient of one of our own generals during the last war, to keep off the French, when they threatened an invasion of the Welsh coast, by lining the heights with women in red cloaks, whom our simple-minded enemies imagined to be soldiers. Robert Bruce made use of the same *ruse* at the battle of Bannockburn with equal success.

On the loss of this battle, the 'Tuscans were of course obliged to a precipitate flight towards Veii, and many a brave soldier was drowned in endeavouring to cross the Tiber. The Fidenians sought safety within their city, but the Romans were so close upon them, that they entered the town together, and both city and camp were taken and given up to plunder. The Dictator assigned by lot one captive to each Knight and Centurion, and two to such as had particularly distinguished themselves, and the rest he sold by auction into slavery.

As this was not followed by any farther hostilities, on the part of the Romans against the Tuscans, we learn that, notwithstanding their success, they feared to cross the Tiber, and that Veii was too formidable and too well defended, to be looked upon as their prey. Whether they offered a truce, or that proud state proposed one, we do not know, but

after the death of Tolumnius and the second capture of Fidene, the war was terminated by a peace with Veii for twenty years.* Some writers, in order to exalt still further the glory of Rome, speak of a naval engagement at Fidene; but we need not criticize this, as Livy dismisses it at once, and terms it "a legend equally incredible and impossible." As the final result of this contest, Fidene was ceded to Rome, and again settled as a colony, the Tuscans being all degraded or enslaved, and their lands distributed among the conquerors. It continued quiet for eight and thirty years, but nothing could extinguish in the breasts of this people the love of their own nation; and in A. R. 367, they struck one last expiring and vigorous blow for liberty, which, though it did not end in re-union with Etruria, yet greatly altered their lot, and caused them to be admitted amongst the Tribesmen, and free citizens of the Roman people.

During the period of fifty years, which we have been considering, or over which we have glanced, we have heard nothing of Etruria Nova, and therefore conclude that country to have remained in peace. At any rate, no violent convulsion can have disturbed her, though Livy, in his account of the many various incursions of the Gauls, leaves us to fix some of their periods, at what time we please. It is, however, most likely that this division of the Etruscan people, had enjoyed a long period of tranquillity, because the appearance of the Gauls, twenty-five years

* A. R. 330, A. TARQ. 76½, B. C. 423.

later, on the frontiers of Central Etruria, caused such extreme alarm, and their encampment before Chiusi, such unfeigned terror and surprise. Herodotus, who about this date, visited Cære, takes no notice of any wars in the north of Italy, and must have heard of them, had any been then raging. He would gain his information from the magnates and merchants in the state of Agylla, and these men would learn at Voltumna, all the news which concerned the various divisions of their nation. He places the Celts in the west of Europe beyond the pillars of Hercules, and speaks of a portion of the Umbri, as then dwelling at the foot of the mountains in which the Inn and the Drave take their rise. These Umbri had been forced northwards by the former Gallic invasions, and the Gauls of Mediolanum, Brixen and Verona, were at this time quiet and innoxious.

In the South, of which we have heard nothing since the fatal battle of Cuma, all was not so free from trouble. A very few years after the peace of Veii had given security to Etruria Proper, the metropolis of southern Etruria, the largest and wealthiest of her cities, was taken by the Samnites.* This was Vulturnum, afterwards Capua, which, as we have said before, was the Tarquinia of the south;† the chief city of the twelve states settled there, and one, whose overthrow, probably broke their union. The Romans, whose account of the catastrophe is the only one preserved to us, knew nothing of

* Diod. xii.; Livy iv. 37.

† Vol. i. p. 394.

Southern Etruria, and felt no interest in her history ; but from the few lines in which Livy describes the fate of Vulturnum, we learn that the Etruscans of Opica, had been for many years at war with the Samnites, and that they were obliged to make peace at last, by admitting this tribe to a share of their lands, and also to some kind of settlement within the walls of their city. The King of Vulturnum must have been a weak and foolish man, to have complied with these conditions, nor is it easy to conceive how any people could be induced to admit its enemies within its gates. It may be, that as Isopolites, they entered the city in vast numbers, or that a colony of them came as a band of the Sacred Spring, and on this plea were welcomed to a quarter of the city, which would be willingly yielded up to such visitors and suppliants.

By whatever means they made their first settlement, they were now under a leader called Capys, the Etruscan name for a hawk, which alone may give us an idea of his military talents, and his reputation for vigilance and activity. The Samnites had no share in the government of Vulturnum, but only enjoyed protection within her ramparts, under their own laws and discipline. Capys being equally ambitious and unprincipled, formed the design of possessing himself of the city, and reducing its lawful masters to subjection. This he could do the more easily, because the King of Vulturnum was a man, who neglected every wise precaution, and who was fonder of feasting than of fighting. The luxuri-

ousness and indolence of the South, had produced their effect on the habits of the Etruscan settlers there, and they had become by this time, an essentially different people from those of the centre, and the North. During a festival, all the warriors of Vulturnum had made themselves heavy with sleep and food, and Capys, whose men were not accustomed to such self-indulgence, and who despised the vices from which they were as yet free, fell upon the Tuscan Patricians and massacred them.— They then possessed themselves of the citadel and the town, and Vulturnum became a Samnite city, and changed its name to Capua. Such of the Tuscan military as escaped, we have strong presumption for believing joined their countrymen in the Athenian army, and fought in the Peloponnesian war. Thucydides* mentions the Etruscans in that army, and says, that when Athens had resolved upon her great expedition against Syracuse, she sent into Etruria to ask for help, whereupon several of the maritime cities, willingly took part in the quarrel. They manned three *Pentekonteremes*, and gave such timely aid as to ward off utter destruction from the Athenians, when their fortunes failed, towards the end of the siege. Thucydides says that hatred to Syracuse, induced the *Tyrsemi* of the coast to accept the offers, and join the forces of the Athenians;† and it was but natural, that the fugitives of Vulturnum, should seek employment and honour by the side of their own countrymen.

The greater part of the Tuscan population re-

* vi. 33, vii. 53, &c.

† Müller *Etrusk.* p. 198.

mained in Vulturnum, and kept themselves quiet under the Samnite rule. They seemed to have changed their once warlike character for the peaceful habits of traders, selling to their countrymen and to the Italian Greeks, vases, purple mantles, and other wares, and no longer seeking to lead, either as statesmen or as warriors. When Capua, the Samnite town, was, long after, taken by the Romans, she was as full of purple and gold as the cities of Tyre and Sidon; and the Etruscans formed the bulk of her Plebeian and Ærarian population, until she was destroyed. Vulturnum of the Rasena, is supposed to have been taken by Capys, about 420 B. C., in the year of Tarquinia 767, and its history, short as the fragment is, proves it to have been at war with the Samnites many years before that period.

Dionysius calls this city by the remarkable name of Larissa; that very name which Bochart* tells us, the Greeks gave to the ancient Resen after it was destroyed. When Capua, in the course of time, became a prey to the Romans, they themselves said it could only be compared to Corinth and Carthage, and this, as Müller observes, could not be owing to the Samnites, for there is no example amongst them of great cities, great refinement, or extensive trade and commerce. According to Müller, the population of Vulturnum, at the time it was seized by Capys, consisted of Tuscans, as the ruling class, and of Oscans, as the mass of the people. The Oscans,

* Biog. Sacra.

as we have before remarked, were the original inhabitants of the whole country, before it was conquered by the Tuscans, and these two races continued to live together, down to the latest trace we have of either. Accordingly, even in the days of the empire, a dialect of Oscan continued to be the language of the common people throughout the cities of ancient Opica. The Oscan writing is not Greek, but a national modified Tuscan, which Müller conceives to be an undeniable proof of the predominant Tuscan influence, and of the Tuscans having taught the ancient people all that they could boast of knowledge or civilization.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A. R. 340 TO 360; A. C. 413 TO 399; A. T. 774 TO 794.

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF VEII.*

Veii observes the truce—Overflow of Tiber—Veii changes her form of government—Threatens the Feciales—Renews the war—Eighth Seculum—Rome besieges Veii—Takes Artena—Diet of Vultumna—Prince of Veii affronts the Diet—Etruria indignant—Romans winter before Veii—Troops complain of cold—Appius Claudius insists on their remaining—Tuscans raise the siege—Assisted by Faliscia and Capena—Defeat Romans—Siege renewed—Severe winter—Capenians repulsed—Rise of Lake Alba—Tuscan Haruspex—National prophecies—Emissarium—Delphic oracle—Tarquinia aids Veii—Faliscia calls a meeting at Vultumna—Diet permits troops to hire themselves—Faliscia defeats the Romans—Rome in great alarm—Camillus Dictator—Battle of Nepete—Camillus undermines the city—Asks how to dispose of booty—Vows temple to Juno Vejentina—Veii assaulted—Capitulates—Sacked—Her greatness and opulence—Gods and treasures removed to Rome—Camillus seeks the desolation of Veii.

* Authorities: Livy iv. 48, &c. v. 1–23; Dion. xii.; Nieb. vols. i. ii.; Ant. Hist. xi. xvi.; Plut. in Camil.

THE last war with Veii had been concluded by a peace for twenty years ; but notwithstanding this, the Romans continued in perpetual fear, lest their contests with the nations on the other side of the Tiber should tempt the Tuscans to break it before the time. The year in which A. Cossus and A. Cincinnatus were associated in the supreme command of the sacred city, seems to have been a special trial to their forbearance, and Livy says, that they certainly would have attacked Rome in the twelfth year of this peace, had not an inundation of the Tiber, so injured their land, and especially their country seats, that they found it more convenient to remain quiet. Veii could have had but very few country-seats upon the line of the Tiber, and we do not understand how any injury done to these could have affected the operation of her troops. Neither can we imagine, if the Etruscans remained tranquilly at home, by what means the Romans could have known that but for this inundation, they would have attacked them. We should have thought it much more likely to have caused, than to have prevented an invasion from the Veientes, not only because their lands were at all times so much better secured against injury by water, than those of their rivals, but because any harm done to Etruria by the overflowing of the Tiber, must have fallen with ten-fold greater force upon Rome. If at this day, the streets, houses and temples, are sometimes in danger from the swellings of the Tiber, we wonder that in ancient times they were not half drowned.

However this may be, the extraordinary overflow to which we have alluded, so cooled the military ardour of the Etruscans, that they preserved the stipulated peace, not only through the year on which they had planned a hostile irruption, but for eight years afterwards, till the original time had fairly expired. Nay, more, when the Quirites were nearly perishing from one of their usual famines, in the A. T. 778, the Tuscans were the most prompt amongst their neighbours to relieve their necessities; they sent them supplies from all their ports on the Turrhene Sea; and Livy says, the largest quantity of foreign corn which they received was from the Tiber, on account of the very active zeal of the Turrheni.

At length Veii being tired of taking fright at the Tiber when it overflowed, and of sending food to keep up the strength of her hostile-minded rivals, remembered that the peace was at an end, and determined to recommence the former struggle. It would appear, that after the death of Lars Tolumnius, the Senate of Veii changed their form of government and tried Consuls, as Rome had done, after the banishment of her kings; and with no better issue, for the people continued discontented and disaffected. The year in which the war should have recommenced, Veii was in such a state of dissension, that her rulers would very gladly have deferred it until they were more united amongst themselves, and they sent ambassadors to Rome, to express their willingness, on certain terms, to prolong the

peace. Livy gives us to understand, that these terms were, until they should have settled their domestic quarrels, and be more able and ready to oppose their enemies with success.

The Romans, however, even in these early times, when Egypt and all the great monarchies of Asia were crumbling to pieces through luxury and old age, even in these ages of poetic heroism and childish simplicity, thought that these terms were rather unequal, somewhat bordering upon the extravagant; and therefore they sent four *Feciales* to the *Veientine* Senate, to declare that they did not as yet consider that they had received sufficient satisfaction for the last war, and that they must have other conditions proposed, if there was to be a continuation of friendship between them. What must have been their amazement when the senators of *Veii* replied to them—that unless they were contented with the terms already offered, and left the city instantly, they would treat them as *Lars Tolumnius* had treated their predecessors, the ambassadors, in his day. Upon this the *Feciales* returned without delay to Rome, and reported the contemptuous message to their own Senate, naturally giving and adding to it, the warm colouring of their own offended pride.

When we, who live at the distance of so many centuries, hear or read this message, we feel our own blood run quicker with indignation, and we consequently expect the whole nation to rise as one man, in order to revenge the insulted majesty of Rome. But this

was not the effect. The Senate treated the matter with the utmost coolness, or at least with the most leisurely anger, for they merely ordered the military Tribunes to *propose* to the people a war with Veii, as soon as they could find a fitting opportunity. The tribes being assembled, felt no moving wrath against Veii, and did not seem to consider their own honour at all implicated in punishing the gross affront which had just been offered to their ambassadors; on the contrary, they agreed that they saw no necessity for war upon that account; that they had already as much upon their hands as they could support; that they required all their strength, and more than all, to keep off the Volsci, and that they believed the Patricians to be much more dangerous enemies to them than the Etruscans. They also objected, very particularly, to begin a quarrel with such a state as Veii, which they called "a most powerful nation," and which they feared would soon rouse all Etruria to arms against them. In short, so strong was the determination of the Romans, not to draw upon themselves these dreaded enemies, that the Senate was obliged to defer the war, at least until the next year, when the people might be in better spirits.

Seven Sæcula of Etruscan time had now run their course, each Sæculum averaging one hundred and ten years. The eighth had commenced, and very early in its period, the first history of Etruria was written, being compiled from the dry but carefully preserved pontifical annals of the various states,

and from the names and dates which marked their principal temples. The Etruscans were, doubtless, moved to attempt this species of composition by the success and example of Herodotus, whose writings they could not fail to know; and it is a curious fact, that their literature received its first great impulse, when their political power, both at land and sea, was visibly on the decline.

In the mean while, the Romans had taken Terracina and Anxur, two rich cities of the Turrhene Volsci, and they were thereby enabled to send off colonies, and to give their soldiers a considerable portion of booty; but still they were unequal to organize a war with Veii, until the Senate had pledged itself to an unheard of concession towards the army, viz., that every Plebeian who served in it, should receive pay all the year round from the state. This measure caused such excessive joy, that it opened at once the eyes of the refractory tribes and centuries, and they now clearly discerned, what before they could not see, that they had been unpardonably affronted by Veii, and that they must exact from that state a full and ample satisfaction.*

Accordingly, six military tribunes raised their legions, and were able, by unusual good management, to cross the Tiber, to march over the twelve miles which lay between themselves and the capital of their enemies without being defeated, and to invest their strong and beautiful metropolis. This is full confirmation to us, that the domestic dissensions

* A. T. 784.

in Veii were of unusual violence, otherwise her troops would have opposed the Romans, as they had done upon former occasions. But the encampment of the Quiritary army beneath the walls of Veii, though a sufficiently unusual circumstance for the annals of the Pontiffs to dwell upon with triumph, was, in fact, an occurrence of no more consequence than the encampment of the Etruscans upon the Janiculum had been in former wars. Each party had invested their enemies only upon one side, and therefore, whilst the others were free, as was the case at Veii, and open to supplies and assistance, the attack could be but a temporary inconvenience, and more mortifying by showing a want of generalship, than alarming, by exposing them to any formidable danger. It is but human nature to allow that some of the Veientine Patricians were glad to see the enemy on their lands, and that though they did not assist, yet neither did they oppose them. They were not traitors, but their civil contentions made them pleased with the distress of the opposite party.

At the time when this war was first declared at Rome, and made popular among her subjects and allies, by the concession of pay, a full meeting was held by the Etruscans at the temple of Vultumna, to consult whether Veii was in danger or not, and whether the rest of Etruria was required to give her assistance. In the great National Diet, the Veientines themselves were evidently divided into two parties, and argued on different sides, for the princes of the other states preferred no charge against them,

and yet they left the grand question for which they had assembled, undecided. They felt that should a Lars Tolumnius rise again amongst the great men at Veii, she could be in no distress, and that the other Lucumonies might pursue their inland occupations and commerce, and carry on their trade and manufactures in perfect security.

During the first and second years of their contest with Rome, their enemies did not show themselves formidable, being able to do little more than keep up the lines they had made upon the eastern side of Veii, but they were fortunate enough to free themselves of the Volscian war, by taking the town of Artena, which gave rise to a most desirable peace with that people. Niebuhr believes Artena to have been originally Tuscan town, built and named whilst the Tuscans ruled over the Volscian territory, and it has sometimes been confounded with Artena, one of the four towns anciently within the limits of Agylla, which was destroyed by the Roman kings.

The Romans felt their deliverance from this war, as quite a providential circumstance, because they and their allies were now able to turn all their forces against Veii, at the time it had become strengthened by the thing they most dreaded, the election of a second Lars Tolumnius, a "Lucumo Superbus," or, in other words, an imperious and talented man, to be their king. It seems as if the Romans would gladly have concluded peace, but the Tuscans did not choose it, for Livy lays the rancour and animosity of the war to their charge; and says,

that it was evident from their conduct that one of the contending cities must be destroyed.

The Veientines were tired of their Consuls, and remembering their former victories under their Kings, resolved once more to return to the monarchical form. As this was the government under which all, or almost all their brethren of the League, were flourishing and prosperous, they could not have decided upon a better step, or one more acceptable to this aristocratic confederacy, but unfortunately the man they chose for their Lar was of so insolent a demeanour, and so overbearing a character, that he was generally disliked by his former equals; and though his riches and talents gave him the pre-eminence in his native city, his haughty temper had made him odious to the princes of Volturna. The ambition and arrogance of this proud man, made him conceive that he had a right to be elected High Priest of Etruria, when the grand council met to debate the affairs of this war; and upon another Lucamo being preferred, and chosen to fill the office, he resolved to exercise his vengeance in a manner which should be felt by the whole Etruscan nation. He offered his handsome and richly-dressed slaves in large numbers to perform in the solemn Circensian, and other sacred games, and then in the midst of them, when the prizes were yet undecided, and the interest of the audience excited to the utmost, he rose from the assembly, ordered his chariot to return home, and commanded all his followers to attend him.

This was an insult, not only to the majesty of the assembly, but to the goddess of Concord, and to all the other gods and goddesses in whose honour the games were celebrated. The Veientine Prince was execrated for his impiety, but his name, unlike that of most unpopular sovereigns, has passed into oblivion; and no magnate of the eleven states affronted by him in their persons or representatives, would henceforth hold communion with him. It is strange that the Veientes should have elected such a man to rule over them, but great tyrants are oftener than not, men of superior ability and courage, and his election was probably after the fashion of the three Etruscan dynasties, who, one after the other, had seized the supreme power in Rome, but who all professed to hold the crown by the will of the people.

When the elevation of this man to sovereignty was known throughout Etruria, the National Diet again assembled at Voltumna, and there in common council passed a decree, that no assistance should be given to Veii in any of her wars, as long as she continued under his government. We can have no doubt that the haughty Lucumo was perfectly aware of the decree, and set it at defiance, but he was presumed not to know it, because none of his own subjects dared to inform him, and they were thoroughly persuaded, that had any of them given him warning, he would have put the person who did so, to death as a seditious malcontent.

The Romans were soon informed of all these* pro-

* Liv. v. 1.

ceedings, and were acquainted with the character of the King, and the resolutions of the Council, but they could augur nothing from them in their own favour, and they feared both the military resources of the former, and the wonted patriotism of the latter. The League had no intention of abandoning a member, but only desired that member to change its head. Uncertain, therefore, of what the Tuscans might be able to effect, and warned by past experience of their strength and skill, the Romans increased their fortifications, and put themselves in a posture of defence, in order to carry on a war which now assumed the aspect of determined conquest or extermination.

Having once gained a footing in the lands of their enemies, the Roman generals remembered the scheme and attempt of the Fabii, and endeavoured to profit by their example. They had as yet, established no colony to guard their own frontiers, or to annoy and harass their foes, and yet they found that without something similar, their investment of the city was a mere child's play. Some authors have thought, from the expressions of Livy, that they had erected a double wall of circumvallation, and that it was carried all round the city, the inner wall purposing to blockade it, and the outer to prevent help from their allies; but Niebuhr says, that this was not possible, because amongst other reasons, the mere circuit of the city was between four and five miles. Livy means, therefore, that the Romans established two encampments upon the plain, as near to the town as they could approach, and that the commu-

nication between these two, was maintained by a line of forts which they kept garrisoned all the year round, and which prevented the Tuscans from being able to cultivate any of their lands within the range of their foraging parties. If they, as heretofore, had laid aside military operations during the winter, and had gone into quarters, there was every probability that the King of Veii would contrive to regain the territory which the Consuls or Tribunes of Veii, through their own dissensions, had lost.

The Roman generals, therefore, equally to the surprise of their enemies and of their own troops, desired that they should continue in the field, heedless of the season, and ordered the men to erect huts, where they were necessary for their protection. In this situation, the soldiers murmured almost to mutiny, and showed a love of comfort and want of military ardour, which to modern troops would appear equally effeminate and ridiculous. They complained, by their Tribunes, that their tents and huts were covered with frost and snow, which made them perish with cold, and that whilst they were forced in this condition to be for ever on the alert, in order to resist the attacks of the Tuscans, they had the vexation of seeing them, when the daily skirmish was over, retire securely to their strong city on the heights, where they warmed themselves by their cheerful fires, within solid stone walls, and where they were close to their wives and children, even if they did not enjoy their society.

The Romans thought it quite enough to keep the

Veientes from actually bravadoing them at their gates, and had no desire for settlements within their impracticable territory beyond the Tiber. There was actually an attempt made by the Plebeian leaders in Rome to have the army withdrawn, but Appius Claudius prevented it, by representing that if this measure were carried, they should never subdue Veii, but that they would again expose themselves to all the sieges, and battles, and disasters, they had suffered from the Tuscans in their previous wars. It is well to note the horror which Rome always expressed at the idea of having the states of Etruria roused against her. It is repeated, year after year, in all her quarrels with her neighbour, and it seems to have been the strong argument urged by Appius Claudius, which eventually quieted all minds, and led them to agree in the necessity of the troops submitting to every inconvenience in order to keep the ground already gained. "If you withdraw," he said, "Veii will so arrange her affairs, that she will bring against us the power of all Etruria." The Plebeians believed it, and yielded the cause of their fellow-citizens, who had told them that they were perishing in the frost and snow."

Claudius is celebrated for his popular eloquence, and in his speech* enumerated several circumstances quite new to us, greatly to the delight and edification of all his hearers. He dwelt upon the murder of the Fabii, whom he called (not warriors, but) colonists, and he enlarged upon the impious assassination of the Feciales by Tolumnius, and the

* Livy v. 4.

crime, which he reckoned equally heinous, of bringing against them the other states of Etruria. He touched upon the late affront offered by the Veientine Senate to their ambassadors at the commencement of this war, but so very temperately, that we cannot help believing it was attended by some mitigating circumstances; such, for instance, as irritating conduct on the part of the ambassadors themselves, or that the insulting answer attributed to the Veientine Senate was the passionate speech of one man, their "Custos Urbis," or "Tribunus Celerum," and was disapproved and disallowed by the others.

The new circumstances stated by Claudius, which he must have learned from the popular ballads, unless he invented them for the occasion, were, 1st, that Veii had compelled the Fidenians to revolt. We have always been informed that the revolt in every instance, was their own proper motion; nor can we conceive how Veii *could* compel them, except by first taking the city, and then expelling or murdering the Roman colonists. 2nd, That during peace she was never faithful to her engagements. Now, excepting her secret designs, which were prevented by the overflow of the Tiber, we know of no instance where she was otherwise. 3rd, That Veii had a thousand times ravaged the Roman territories. This was a curious admission from a Roman Patrician. And 4th, (the climax of all her offences, and by far the most extraordinary and incomprehensible of them all,) that she now rebelled against Rome for the seventh time; whilst we did not even know that it was the first. Alas! that

Rome should seven times subdue Veii, and find no historian to chronicle the event; seven times triumph as a conqueror, over this mighty state, and not have preserved to us one of the details. Alas! that eight times she should have to renew the war before she could teach this troublesome and stupid people that they were vanquished. The French have sometimes made the same complaint of the armies of Great Britain, and it is one peculiarly provoking to a general and a victor. We sympathize in the vexation.

Claudius further pressed upon his countrymen that their army, at a vast expense, had enclosed Veii with immense works, by which the enemy were confined within their walls, so that they could not till their lands, and all between that city and Rome had been wasted, and kept waste, during this war. If the Roman troops were now withdrawn, the Veientes would demolish these works, and be obliged, in self-defence, revenge, and preservation, to make reprisals on the Roman territories. We cannot help smiling at fertile Veii, which so often had provided famishing Rome with corn, coming into her ill-cultivated and often-ravaged domains to supply herself. Excepting as a riding exercise for her troops, she might have told Claudius that it was not worth the trouble.

The military works, however, if he describes them truly, it must have been equally desirable for the one party to destroy, and for the other to preserve. He names a rampart and trench, both constructed

with immense labour, numerous forts and defences both opposite the city and towards Etruria—by which we understand Capena, her daughter colony, and perhaps Agylla and Fidene—lest succours should arrive from thence. He further mentions towers, covered approaches, and all the machines used in attacking towns. He then dwells on the danger incurred by procrastination, lest the other Lucumonies should change their minds, and send their besieged member aid. “At present,” he says, “whilst they are irritated by her King, they will allow us to take her if we can; but the king may die, or be dethroned, or may even resign when he finds himself a positive detriment to his subjects, and then all the States will help Veii, and drive us away, and cause our time, labour, and vast expense, all to have been in vain.” He concluded that to withdraw the army was actually to assist their enemies, and to bring on their own ruin. The Tribunes of the people believed him, and his arguments prevailed.

The troops were accordingly kept hard at work before Veii, and wonderful it is that no remains of these trenches, and mounds, and deep ditches, are to be seen on any side of Veii now, for the marks of a Roman camp are seldom obliterated in any country. They had advanced so far, that the battering rams and other machines were ready to be applied to the walls, when one gate, which they had neglected to watch, was suddenly thrown open, and a vast multitude sallied forth, armed with torches,

as they had before been at Fidene, and terrifying the troops in the same manner, they set the machines on fire, and destroyed them all. They then attacked and overthrew the ramparts, and vast numbers of the Romans perished by fire and sword. All Rome was filled with sadness at this disaster, and began to think Veii impregnable, and that their own camp must be removed; when the rich Plebeians of the first class came forward, and in the spirit of the ancient Fabii, offered to join the army, and serve the state at their own expense, forming an additional body of cavalry, and providing their own horses. No instance of such disinterestedness had before been known, and it was certainly inspired by the presentiment that extraordinary danger threatened their country, should Veii now be set free, either through her own efforts, or by the assistance of the Etruscan League. The Senate gratefully thanked the brave Plebeians, accepted their offer, and ordered them Equestrian rank, and the pay which in that position, was their due. Their reinforcement infused a new spirit into the troops on service, and enabled them to maintain their uneasy ground.

Livy says that Veii was then the grand object which engrossed all the public solicitude. But, alas! the Roman commanders, Virginius and Sergius, hated each other worse than the enemy, and disagreed in all their operations. Besides this, Capena and Faliscia now separated themselves from the other Lucumonies, and came to help Veii, being

persuaded, probably, by the emissaries of the obnoxious King, that were his city vanquished, they should be the next victims, or, at any rate, that they should lose their barrier and protection against an exulting and not over-scrupulous foe. The Faliscian Senate further considered that they had not behaved quite fairly to Veii when she lost Fidene, by at that time withdrawing aid from her, and therefore they made terms with her now, by mutual embassies, and sent her a very timely assistance. The possibility of messengers, and even of processions, as it were, passing between Veii and Faliscia, shows us that she was not surrounded by her enemies, but only that they had made a firm and dangerous lodgment beyond the reach of her missiles, and very near her walls, upon the side of the Cremera.

The Faliscians came upon Sergius by surprise, and alarmed his men so much, that they imagined the whole of Etruria to be upon them, and were greatly inclined to save themselves by flight. The Veientines, meanwhile, attacked them in front, so that they were obliged to make two faces, and were in danger both of losing their camp, and of being surrounded. Sergius could neither defend his own ground against the Faliscians, nor drive back the besieged. His forts were attacked and taken, his ramparts scaled, and his foes poured in upon him on all sides, and yet he was too proud and obstinate to send to his colleague for succour; and he preferred seeing his men slaughtered, and escaping with the remnant he could save, to Rome, to the

humiliation of asking help from a rival commander. Some of the fugitives early took refuge with Virginius, and told him the condition of their companions; but he answered that if Sergius wanted help he knew where to send for it, and forbade his troops to stir out of their lines, unless such a message should arrive. Sergius accused him of all his misfortunes before the Senate, and said his envy was the cause of his works being burnt, his army cut to pieces, and his camp given up to the Faliscii; but, as both generals were equally in fault, they were superseded, and both fined.

The Roman Tribunes urged that they saw no end to this useless war, for which both their boys and their old men were forced to enlist, and that they believed the youth were destined to wear out their lives and to grow old before the citadel of the enemy. The people were, however, better contented when four armies were sent against the Etruscans, and the lost camp was not only retaken by a junction of two of them, but, in spite of the Faliscian auxiliaries, it was strengthened with new forts, and settled with a permanent garrison. The other two armies made good a devastating march into the plains of Capena and Faliscia; and though they dared not attack the towns, they prevented the troops of those states from giving assistance to Veii, and they did much damage to the country, destroying the crops of vines, olives, and corn, and carrying off the cattle.

The winter of A. T. 789 was so unusually severe

that the Tiber was frozen over, and the shivering troops, in their half-protected quarters, envied the warm dwellings of their enemies, and wished much more to imitate than to subdue them. As this cold was followed by a pestilence, the Sibylline books were consulted in Rome, both Greek and Tuscan; for we find a *Lectisternium* ordered, as an expiation, by the magistrates, to three Tuscan and three Greek gods,—*Erkle*, *Turms*, or, *Mercury*, and *Minerva*; *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*; the first time they had been associated in such a ceremony. The feast was to last eight days, and as the distress of the poor was so great that almost all the rich deemed it advisable to follow this example, and to keep open house during the time, Rome must have exhibited a singular contrast of plenty, feasting, and religious pomp, opposed to famine, starvation, and nakedness.

The gods, however, were not yet sufficiently appeased to grant the Romans much success at Veii. Again *Capena* and *Faliscia* attacked the military works, and again their enemies were on the point of being defeated, but the remembrance of *Sergius* and *Virginus* stirred up the generals to support each other vigorously, and they succeeded in repulsing the Tuscans, after a severe struggle. Some of the legions which were returning from *Capena* came most opportunely to their assistance, and cut off the retreat of the *Capenians*, whilst many of the *Veientine* troops were slaughtered, because their own people shut the city gates before they had time

to enter, fearing that the Romans might get in along with them. For a twelvemonth after this, the contending parties seem to have been equal. The Romans could make no advances at Veii, neither were they in turn dislodged, and Faliscia still presented impregnable fronts to all the forces which her enemies could raise against them. The famous Camillus was sent against the former, and Potitus, scarcely less esteemed, against the latter; and yet they could do nothing but waste and scour the plains, as they had done before.

The war had now lasted eight years; and after the extraordinary winter, and the pestilence—caused, as our best natural historians believe, by earthquakes in various parts of Asia and the Mediterranean coasts—many prodigies were said to have occurred, and in all probability, many unusual phenomena actually happened. Livy says that they were little regarded by men in general, excepting one, which affected so many, and came so near home, as to excite great consternation. The Lake of Alba, which was once two hundred feet higher than it is at present, swelled and rose without any visible cause, any melting snows, or violent rains, and the waters continued to rise and rise, though the weather was fair and dry. The Romans could get no Aruspex of celebrity to tell them the meaning of this strange event, for the Magi of the Tuscans had withdrawn from Rome during this war of implacability, and none of their own Augurs pos-

sessed the requisite degree of erudition, or had science enough to explain it.

The most renowned diviner of his day was an aged Patrician in Veii, to whose words all men gave heed. When he was told of the Lake of Alba, he said it was well, for the Romans could never be masters of Veii until the waters were discharged from that lake. It is the fashion, in our day, to disbelieve this and all similar stories, but we do not see why the Tuscan prophecies should not have been as true as those of Scotland, many of which are quite as inexplicable and quite as romantic. Some of them, of most improbable character, which we have known from our earliest youth, we have lived to see fulfilled; and it is not superstition, but observation, reflection, and experience, which induce us to give faith to a thousand things which we cannot understand, and about which, indeed, we conceive understanding to be altogether unnecessary. The traditions of all the Eastern and Northern nations concerning their visions, their proverbs, and their prophecies, incline us to regard the tale of Veii as a most natural occurrence; nor can we believe in any tribe, regardless of omens and portents, that would not have some sayings of a similar nature. This speech of the Aruspex was reported through Veii, and perhaps was as well known for fifty years previously to her people, as many of the Scotch sayings are to the Caledonians. For instance,

“The crown came with a lass,—with a lass it shall pass.”

“When Tweed and Pausayl join at Merlin's grave,
Scotland and England shall one monarch have.”*

“Whate'er befall, whate'er betide,
Haig shall be Haig of Bemerside.”

This last is attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, who died in 1299, and has been true from that time to this.

Livy relates that this Veientine Aruspex, or, at any rate, that an elderly Veientine, who was walking along the wall, and listening to the scoffs of the Roman soldiers, told them this prophecy, to show them how secure Veii was from all their might, and all that they could attempt. The Romans repeated what they had heard in camp, and at last one of them asked a citizen of Veii who the person was that had uttered that prophecy. The citizen told him it was an Aruspex, upon which the soldier said that he was very anxious to consult him concerning an omen in his own family, that he might know what expiation to make, and begged for an interview.

As the Roman could not be admitted into Veii, and promised to come unarmed, the Aruspex went out of the city to him, and walked with him beyond the walls for some little distance, listening to his tale.

*The grave of Merlin is pointed out at Drummellzean in Tweeddale, beneath an aged thorn-tree. On the east side of the churchyard the stream Pausayl falls into the Tweed, and this prophecy was current as to their union. On the day of the coronation of James the First, of Great Britain, the Tweed overflowed, and joined the Pausayl at the prophet's grave.

Suddenly the soldier turned, seized the old man, struggled with him, and overpowered him, after which he had him conveyed into the Roman camp. The general interrogated him concerning his prediction, but learned nothing more; therefore he sent him to Rome to be examined by the Senators. In their presence, being required to tell the meaning of the prophecy, probably under pain of death, which, however, little excuses him, he said that it was written in the *Libri Fatales* of the Tuscans, that the gods would never abandon Veii until the Lake of Alba should terrify men by its rise, and their enemies should discover how to discharge its waters, so that no large stream should reach the sea. We cannot justify any Tuscan for his weakness in telling so much, far less for his infamy in teaching the Romans how to fulfil the prophecy against his own country; and it makes us forget and forgive the treachery by which he himself was made a prisoner.

Müller calls him an *Aquilex*, or Director of the water-works, as well as an *Aruspex*; the Tuscan Diviner was now unworthy of a return to his people, and degraded in his own eyes, notwithstanding all the pretended honour with which he was treated by the Romans; he therefore settled amongst them, and became a citizen of the seven hills. He instructed them how to appease the Alban gods by renewing their ceremonious attendance on the *Feræ* at the temple of Jupiter Latialis, as well as how to reduce the lake by the usual Etruscan method of an *Emissarium*, built with such consummate skill that it still does the

work to which it was then destined, and has never required more than a very partial repair in the course of two-and-twenty ages. It consists of a tunnel cut through the hill of Castel Gandolfo, and when the water again reaches the open air, it is dispersed in many channels through the fields for irrigation. Only two men can work abreast in the channel together, but seven air-holes are pierced from the ground above down to it; and if workmen were let down by these, several pairs could carry on their operations at the same time. According to the view which engineers take of the manner in which it has been conducted, this work has been pronounced possible in three years and a-half, or not under nine. All stories, however, refer the direction of it to this traitorous Etruscan Aruspex, or to some soldier whom he had instructed.

Though Delphi knew nothing of Rome until several years after this, not even where situated, or by whom inhabited; and though she described her, when first certain of her identity, "as a city of the Hyperboreans taken by the Gauls," still Rome was very fond of fancying herself an object of interest to Delphi, and is said to have sent ambassadors to consult the oracle concerning the omen of the Alban Lake. Niebuhr thinks this embassy probable, because the Romans had no Aruspices of their own, and dared not trust the Tuscans at so critical a juncture. When the ambassadors returned, they brought for answer, "Oh Roman beware, lest the swollen waters be confined within the Alban Lake;

beware equally lest they reach the sea in a stream, but disperse their volume by conducting them in channels through the fields. Then press thou boldly against the hostile walls, for the secret I now disclose unto thee, will give thee victory over the city which thou hast besieged for so many years. The feud being ended, bring thou an ample gift unto my temple, and renew the sacred rites of thine own country (the *Feriæ*) which thou hast omitted."

If the Romans really sent to Delphi, they must have done so by means of the Cerites, for they had no ships of their own which could undertake so long a voyage, and the answer of the oracle would be, "that the lake must be drained and the gods propitiated." But all answers were first made known to the Senate, and deliberated upon with closed doors; and it is the opinion of Niebuhr, that they concocted the words above given, in order to agree with the Tuscan *Libri Fatales*, and to ensure the fall of Veii, by circulating a general belief that the gods had ordained it, and therefore it could not be prevented.

This year Tarquinia made a diversion,* in favour of Veii, by sending a body of troops to ravage the Roman lands and carry off considerable booty. Where these lands were situated, it is not easy to guess, but perhaps about Ostia and the Salines. The expedition appears to have been a mere foray, for the Romans marched through the neutral territory of Cære, and overtook the Tarquinians on

* A. R. 359; A. T. 793.

their return home. They surprised them, fought, and retook the spoil, and with this they were content, without pursuing the enemy farther. They allowed two days for the injured landholders and peasants to reclaim their goods, and what remained on the third was put up to auction, when to their joy they found that it all belonged to the enemy. Of its quantity and quality we are not informed, but ten prisoners with their arms would be quite sufficient for the Roman story. "The Tarquinius" must either have been a hired regiment, or the clan of some one friendly chief, as the whole state certainly was not engaged, and the warfare, unfortunately for Veii, did not continue.

The next year Faliscia and Capena called a meeting at Voltumna, to represent to the states the importance and urgency of assisting their besieged member. The Romans and Latins were tunnelling through a shoulder of Mount Alba, and making channels for irrigating all their fields, upon the side whence the waters would issue. The Tuscans well knew that their own countrymen, and one of their own Aruspices, had taught them how to turn those waters henceforward, into their most useful auxiliaries; and more than this, had infused into them a spirit of hope and triumph, which nothing but the most vigorous measures on their part could allay. They besought the states to forgive the King "Lucius Superbus," the proud Lucumo of Veii, the insult which he had once offered to their authority, in consideration of the high-hearted ability with which he

now managed the reins of government, under the dangerous and critical circumstances in which he was placed. We learn from Plutarch that he did not neglect his own divinities and offerings, and he must have been a very wonderful person to keep up the spirit of his nobles and people, when they knew that their own oracles had doomed them to be destroyed. Though the adverse prophecy was circulated as far as the Romans could spread it, and though it was most undoubtingly believed, as far as it was circulated, we do not meet with one single instance of faint-heartedness in either king or people of the fated state, if we except the traitor who worked its ruin.

The Etruscan Diet did not perceive the imminence of the peril, and in the ordinary course of human affairs, they were fully justified in their views and estimate. According to all appearances, Veii and her king were fully equal to the emergency, and perfectly able to cope with Rome, only they could not dislodge the camp which had made a settlement close to their walls; and one vigorous effort of Etruria united to effect this, would probably have delivered them from danger for ever. The states were mollified by the representations of Faliscia and Capena, and had Veii been in any immediate distress, they would probably have given her their full assistance, notwithstanding that the haughty Lucumo had his personal enemies amongst them, who rejoiced over all his perplexities and humiliations. Veii, however, stood firm upon her lofty rock, uninjured on

all sides, and only annoyed upon one, which she had for years successfully resisted, and which in the opinion of the states she might continue to resist, until she and Rome, being mutually tired of the conflict, should seek a lasting peace. Lucumo the Proud, had shown himself quite as great a general as any the Seven Hills contained within her precincts, and the city was in no danger of famine, for all Etruria, to the north and west of her, lay open to supply her with corn. Niebuhr says, that the Romans never surrounded her, nor were able to cut off her communication with her sister states. Voltumna, therefore, gave for answer, "That at this juncture the States could not spare their troops to undertake her defence; for that they must guard the northern frontiers, (i. e., Aretium, Perugia, Chiusi, Fiesole, Lucca, and Luna,) against the Gauls, a strange nation, whose habits they knew not, and with whom at this juncture they were neither at peace nor war. Yet to the blood and name and present difficulties of their kindred, they would grant this much, that if any of the youth desired to assist in that war of their own free will, they would not prevent them."

The Romans heard this answer, and understood that a numerous host immediately took advantage of the permission, and joined Veii; and this fear and belief together, either paralyzed the camp beneath the walls, or else they trusted that on the draining of Lake Alba, the city would fall of itself, without any exertion or further trouble on their parts. This

we gather, because they lay perfectly still within their lines and did nothing ; but their very inactivity and spiritless monotony made them long the more to return to Rome, and they were only kept from mutiny by the lately revealed prophecy, and the terrors of Appius Claudius and Camillus, two severe and dreaded Senators, who were resolute to continue the war, fully confident in its ultimate success.

The Roman Senate dispatched two military Tribunes with their armies against the Faliscii and Capenati, not to attack their towns, for that was too arduous, but simply to ravage their lands, carry off the cattle, and destroy the grain, vines, mulberries, and olives, so as not to leave a blade of corn nor a fruit-tree standing. It is very marvellous how quickly the trees sprung up again, in order to afford the Romans the annual amusement of destroying them. We, incredulous beings of modern mould, can only account for this, by supposing that the first year's ravages were confined to a few fields beyond the frontiers, and that the havoc of succeeding seasons was very gradual in its encroachments.

This year, however, the ardour of the military tribunes, carried them too far. They fell into an ambush, and after much hard fighting, one of them was killed in front of the battle. The other contrived to rally his troops, and retired to a height to form them again in order, but he could not prevail on them any more to face the enemy, and he was obliged to put up with the disgrace of a *confession* that the

Roman Legions did for once tremble before their Tuscan antagonists. The consternation in Rome and in the fortified camp at Veii was equally great. The Quirites had heard no such news for at least two years, and in despite both of oracles and prodigies, they as usual gave themselves up for lost. The soldiers could scarcely be restrained from a cowardly flight, for report informed them that two of their generals, with their armies, had been defeated and cut to pieces, and that the excited youth of Capena and Faliscia, full of hope and confidence, were marching onwards with rapid steps to inflict upon them the same fate. They further believed, that all the young men of all the rest of Etruria, were coming to unite with their successful countrymen, so as to enclose and destroy them, and at Rome itself report further alleged, that the camp at Veii had been attacked, and that the victorious enemy was in full march towards the city. Neibuhr thinks it probable that the Etruscans now broke the lines which connected the two camps at Veii, and thus, as it were, raised the siege, and that they were expected by the Romans on the Janiculum, whence they had so often overawed the city in former times.

Great, indeed, was the consternation within the banks of the Tiber, and a universal panic seems to have seized upon all ranks there. The Lake of Alba ceased to swell; the tunnelling which the Senate had commanded, proceeded without interruption; the aruspex still uttered his favourable predictions, but yet the military tribunes had been

killed, the army was disgraced, and the enemy in overwhelming numbers were preparing to encamp before the walls of Rome. On they appeared to come, to the excited fancy of the Romans ; the Falisci and Capenati, flushed with victory ; the exasperated troops of Veii, eager for revenge ; and all the strength and youth of Etruria, pouring in their train. The Roman men then ran to their walls, and the women to their temples. The one grasped their swords to defend their homes, or to sell their lives dear, the others spread out their hands, and fell upon their faces, beseeching the gods to turn the destruction which threatened them, from their own houses, walls and sanctuaries, and to hurl it back with ten-fold fury upon the hated, dreaded, and ever restless Veii. Livy tells us, that from this day forward, Veii expected to share amongst her people the spoils of Rome, and that many of her citizens had confidently portioned out for themselves habitations there.

A. R. 793, A. C. 394.

There were among the Magnates of Rome, however, men who did not despair, and who were resolved that the prophecy on which they built so much, should not fail of its accomplishment through any neglect of theirs. The expectations and hopes both of their citizens and allies, must have been kept up by the very prudent measures they adopted, and in proportion to the nervous instability of the governed, seems to have been the cool firmness of those who were then at the head of affairs. In their present extreme peril, all discord

was silenced. The Emissarium of Lake Alba was completed—the waters were let off and dispersed through the fields, reaching the sea by various inconsiderable channels, and the Latin *Feriæ* were most pompously solemnized, to celebrate the fulfilment of the work. The renowned Lucius Camillus was named Dictator, and Pub. Corn. Scipio, was his Master of the Horse.

Camillus's first act was to make an example of the troops who had just fled from Veii, and to inspire his soldiers with more fear of his inexorable severity, than of meeting the enemy. Camillus acted his part with the most consummate prudence, and knew how to take advantage of the holiest feelings and most powerful motives that actuate the bosoms of men. Before commencing operations, he went to reconnoitre Veii, and to ascertain if there was any way of investing it more closely. Perhaps he followed in the wake of a retiring enemy, for otherwise we do not know how the Etruscan troops, which had occasioned so vehement a terror, could have been removed from Rome. Camillus then levied a large force amongst the Latins and Hernicans, whom he thanked for their former services, and he made a public vow in presence of the army, that when he had taken Veii, (thus expressing that he was fated to take it,) he would celebrate the great games in honour of the high Italian gods, and, moreover, repair the temple of *Mater Matuta*, (the *Eluthya* and *Bona Dea* of Rome,) which had been dedicated by *Servius Mastarna*. We presume that

she was one of the forms of Nortia or Fortune, otherwise what connexion could she have had with a successful siege?

Camillus left these assurances of his to work their natural effect upon the minds of his own men, and the temper of the enemy, whom he would neither irritate nor excite. He left Veii unattacked, as though he could subdue it when he chose—as though its doom were certain, and he had only to await the day appointed by the Fates. Meanwhile, not to be idle, he marched through the territories of Capena, and far into those of Faliscia, coming up with the enemy at Nepete, where he retaliated upon them, in a bloody battle, the defeat of the Tribunes in the previous year, and took their camp. He then fell back upon Veii, and pitched his tent with the soldiers, who so long had been stationed there. He awed them into a discipline which was entirely new, suffered no skirmishes, and no relaxation, and ordered the erection of more forts upon their line of entrenchment. This looked as if he expected some hard fighting in the plain, and was preparing for a desperate conflict. The very stillness of his arms, and the clanking of his hammers, seemed ominous. It is said that the wicked worthless Aruspex, now become a great man in Rome, suggested to the Dictator the connection which existed between the draining of the Alban Lake and the ruin of Veii,* by a tunnel or mine, which should issue within the walls; and we hope if he did, that he died of vex-

* Vide Sir W. Gell, article Veii.

ation afterwards, in seeing all his fame given to another.

Camillus divided his men into six bands, so that five parts should always be in camp, or working at the entrenchments, whilst the sixth, without being missed, should labour day and night at the mine. It was the same breadth as the Alban Emissarium, and only two men could work in it abreast, whilst their companions were engaged in handing them stones, shovelling out the earth, &c. This mine was begun through an overhanging rock which protected the parties from observation, and it was situated at some distance from the fortifications, where Camillus appeared to be concentrating his strength for some great effort, and on which he contrived to fix the earnest attention of his opponents.

From this moment he always spoke of Veii as if already in his possession, and gradually persuaded his countrymen to look upon it in the same light, as a doomed city, which could not escape, being given to them by the gods. He sent to ask the Senate what he should do with the spoil, as he wished to be prepared before hand, and he knew the city to be immensely rich. His letter to the Senate is as follows : " By the favour of the immortal gods, upon my councils, and the patience of the troops, I have put Veii in the power of the Roman people. How do they wish the booty to be disposed of ?"

The Senators debated this point in all the assurance of his own spirit, and had nearly quarrelled upon the

subject, whilst Veii was still in all her life and grandeur, and whilst she felt certain that her great Lucumo, having expiated her sins, would be able to avert her fate. Livy's whole account of this exciting history gives us the impression that no dejection or despondency ever damped the spirits of her defenders. The Roman Senate at first proposed, that every man who chose, should be permitted to join Camillus, and should then be entitled to share in the spoil; but Appius Claudius said, in his opinion, the Senate ought to create out of it a military fund, from which they could pay the army, and remit to the Plebeians the soldiers' tax. In this way every man who had contributed to the victory would profit by it, and the treasures which they hoped to gain, would not be dissipated amongst the idle rabble. The Senate, after due deliberation, considered the first proposal as the most likely to conduce to their end, that is, to reinforce the fighting men, and to keep up their present enthusiasm. They, therefore, gave the desired leave for all to share the spoil who joined the camp, and multitudes set forth to place themselves under the command of the severe and redoubtable Camillus. What an altered tone since the beginning of the war, when men could scarcely be found to serve, and yet the outward aspect of things was no more in their favour now, than it had been before. The Veientes were as strong in hope and courage as ever, but in the Roman mind an indomitable religious enthusiasm had taken the place of a cool selfishness, a moody discontent, and a heartless indifference.

The Dictator, who had roused, also carefully cherished this spirit. On the arrival of his reinforcements he had the auspices taken, and with an imposing pomp, he vowed one-tenth of all the spoils to Apollo, and implored Juno Kupra, the patron divinity of Veii, to transfer her residence to Rome, and to come and reign there. "Led by thee," he cried in the presence of all his troops—led by thee, "O Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy spirit, I go to destroy the city of Veii; therefore, unto thee do I vow the tenth part of the prey. To thee, in like manner, O Juno Regina, who now protectest Veii, do I pray that thou permit us to bear thee to our city, and make it for the future thine. There a temple shall receive thee, worthy of thy greatness."

This ceremony over, and the mine being finished and ready to spring, the expectations of his people also being wound up to the highest pitch, Camillus gave the command for the final assault. His men were to charge with their battering rams, and endeavour to scale the walls in all directions, in order to distract the attention of the enemy and to require their presence at every point, excepting the one where alone it could have availed for their delivery. The Veientes had been so lulled into security by the apparent inactivity and infatuated presumption of Camillus, who talked as if he expected their walls to fall down at the blast of his trumpets, like those of Jericho, that they had laughed at, and defied him; but no one had observed the mine, or taken any precautions against it. We may well

believe that Camillus had consulted the Aruspex, as to the line of its direction, in order to avoid conducting it where the noise of his instruments would be heard. The Veientes, when they were startled by the loud triumphant shouts of the Romans, and saw them swarming towards the gates, or surrounding the walls, and attempting to climb the rocks, or to scale the fortifications, thought that they had suddenly gone mad, and the Tuscan soldiers mounted the ramparts resolutely and soberly to drive them back, and restore them to their senses. Their King was in the citadel preparing a sacrifice to Juno. Their augur proclaimed that he who offered up that sacrifice should be the victor; they had no fear for the event, when, alas! the mine was sprung, and suddenly they saw the enemy within their walls. Their gates were seized and opened; the Ponte Sodo amongst the first, and their houses were wrapt in flames before they could ascertain the extent of the danger, or whence it had arisen. For a while they could not discover how the Romans had effected an entrance, and for some minutes must have been stupified by astonishment and confusion.

Camillus marched into the temple, and killed the King with his own hand; the fight became desperate and general everywhere, and the women and their slaves mounting up to the roofs of the houses, poured down stones and firebrands upon the soldiers in the streets. At length, after a hideous slaughter from men excited and prepared, towards an enemy

surprised and half stunned, after the walls were surmounted and the citadel was taken, Camillus proclaimed a truce, called a parley, and promised if the town submitted, that none of the women and children, or the unarmed, should be injured, and that he would stop the effusion of blood. Then Veii surrendered, then she bowed before her foe, "Yielding herself," says Livy, "not to the might of her enemy, but to Fate. She was the most opulent city belonging to the Etruscan name, and showed the majesty of her greatness,* even in the hour of her destruction. For ten summers and winters in succession, she had resisted all the power of the Latins, inflicting upon them far greater loss than she ever suffered in return; and when she was overcome at last, it was by successful cunning—by art and stratagem, and not by military force." One hundred thousand souls were contained within her circuit: she was as large and fine a city as Athens, and far richer and more beautiful than Rome.

When her spoils came to be estimated, they far surpassed the utmost imagination that Camillus had formed of them, and Livy says, that her wealth exceeded all that had been taken in former wars put together. Camillus was so amazed at his conquest, that he thought the heavens themselves would envy him his fortune, and he prayed, lifting his hands upwards, that if either gods or men required some counterpoise to a success so brilliant, they would visit it on him alone, and not on the Roman people. Having said this,

* Lib. v. 22.

he turned round and fell, which was taken as an omen that evil would ere long visit him and also his city by the sword, and this was supposed to be fulfilled in the taking of Rome by the Gauls a very few years after.

Camillus had now the painfully proud task of a victor to fulfil, in putting up to auction the many thousands of once free citizens in Veii. The King had fallen in his own proper place, either sword in hand in the midst of the citadel, or at the foot of his patron divinity, while engaged in an act of worship. He survived not the humiliation of his country. Those of his nobles who were not fortunate enough to follow his example—those few who were taken prisoners while opposing the foe, and stemming the red tide of slaughter which flowed from the unarmed and overwhelmed Ætrarii, must have gone into Roman slavery. But the greater part escaped to their own kindred in the other states of Etruria; for they would either seek safety in flight, as soon as they perceived resistance to be useless, or they would sell their lives dear, and refuse all quarter. No Tuscan Patrician would trust his honour, his wife and children, to the tenderness of an exasperated and half-frantic foe. The money resulting from the sale of these prisoners was all that went into the Plebeian treasury, and the Plebs were so angry with Camillus as afterwards to procure his banishment; for they said that before his conquest he had deceived them by golden promises, and afterwards reduced their gains to nothing.

Camillus now proceeded to remove the gods from their temples, and their treasures from the shrines ; but this was done more in the spirit of a worshipper than of a captor. Juno Kupra, to whom his vow had been made, he approached with the utmost reverence. Only one family, hitherto, of native Veientes, had been suffered to appropriate her priesthood, or to offer up her sacrifices. He bowed lowly before her, supplicated her forgiveness, and requested her to remove with all honour to Rome, and reign there a queen, as she had formerly reigned in Veii. It is said that the image moved its head in token of assent ; and this we can well believe from what we have ourselves seen in the construction of Etruscan images, the head being often most ingeniously placed upon the shoulders in a loose socket. It is also said she smiled ; and why should she not smile in the eyes of her adorers, as well as the pictures of the Virgin Mary, which are frequently said to do the same ? Upon this, Camillus appointed some of his handsomest young men, having washed their bodies in pure water, to come up to the image, and to bear her, with careful reverence, to a shrine already prepared for her reception upon Mount Aventine.

Veii was now deserted by her gods, and Camillus felt certain that she could never rise again. Why he hated her with so deep a hatred we are unable to divine, but certain it is, that " *Delenda est Veii* " was in the Roman spirit before the same sentence

breathed from the lips of him who pronounced from the darkest depths of his inmost soul, "Delenda est Carthago."

As the town had submitted upon certain terms, Camillus was bound not to destroy the buildings, public or private. Her houses and palaces were finer than those of Rome, but he was resolved that they should never again be inhabited or kept up. He reduced the wealthy to poverty, the free to slavery, and he had decreed within himself, that ruin should be the doom of Veii and that time should crumble her to dust; that she should be abandoned to destruction and neglect; that the owl should roost in the chambers of her kings, and the fox look over her once peopled ramparts. Therefore, when the Plebeians, and even some of the Patricians of Rome, wished to better their condition by removing to that city, he opposed it, as if they sought to destroy all the fruits of his victory, and as if the object of the whole war would thus be rendered useless. He said that Veii was so superior in many essential points to Rome, that the people settled there would soon cease to be Romans; that they would adopt her as their own country, and so become rivals and enemies to their own blood.

The fiery eloquence and imperious passions of Camillus and his party, alone prevented the re-settlement of Veii, and, perhaps, her ultimately becoming the mistress of the world, instead of the eternal city. How strange to think of the different

fates of these two powerful rivals, Rome and Veii! The one, only six years after her proud success, was reduced to smoke and ashes, from which she revived with more than phoenix-like vigour, through long ages to live and flourish, to die and live again, to be brought to the verge of extinction, and yet never to perish. The other, which at that very moment received her fugitives, and towered aloft resplendent in beauty, almost uninjured by military violence and the fearful consequences of her unexpected overthrow, now, in our days, is not to be distinguished from the sods of the mountain, nor, excepting some scattered pieces of broken pottery, has a trace been left, to show where once she stood. "Veii is become a fold for flocks, a pasture for cattle. The lamb crops the grass within her forum; the hare plays around her citadel; and the shepherd tunes his pipe where once rose the altar of imperial Juno, within the precincts of her sacred temple. Strangers dance and laugh upon her burying ground, and the children of the north hunt over her streets, her fortress, and her shrines."—"Sic transit gloria mundi."

No trace of Camillus's mine has yet been found; perhaps, having been made to serve only a temporary purpose, the earth and stones, and occasional earthquakes of ages, may have filled it up; it was hollowed out without much attention to durability, and the volcanic convulsions and physical changes of so many centuries, may have choked it with earth

and stones. Camillus's camp was pitched at what is now the Arco del Pino, and his mine is supposed to have been excavated at La Valca, about the heap of stones on the Via Veientina.

CHAPTER XV.

WARS AFTER VEII.—GAULS.—COLONIES.

Rejoicings in Rome on account of the fall of Veii—Discontent with Camillus—Conquests of the Gauls in Etruria Nova—Fall of Melpum—Dionysius in the Adriatic—Attacks Pyrgos—Romans wish to settle in Veii—Make an alliance with Capena—Sutrium and Nepete—Besiege Faleria—Faliscia allies itself with Rome—Volsinia and Salpina make war on Rome—Embassy from Clusium—Aruns leads the Gauls against Clusium, and then on to Rome—Romans retire to Veii and Cære—Tuscans defeated at Veii and the Salines—Veii abandoned by the Romans—Volsinia and Tarquinia make war on Rome—Siege of Sutrium—Attack on Cortuosa and Contenebra—Attack on Sutrium and Nepete—Meeting at Voltumna to refix the boundaries—Savage war between Tarquinia and Rome—Cære assists Tarquinia—Loses part of her Roman franchise—Colonies—Ardea—Anxur—Circeium—Tusculum—Antium.

FROM AN. R. 359 TO 405; FROM A. C. 394 TO 348; FROM
A. T. TO 793 TO 839.

WHEN the Romans found that Veii had actually come into their possession, their joy knew no bounds. They were at last delivered from perils which hitherto had never ceased to menace them,

* Authorities: Livy v. vi. vii.; Dion. Hal. vii.; Diod. Sic. xi. xii.; Plut. in Camil.; Ant. Hist. xi. xii. xvi.; Niebuhr i. ii.; Arnold's Rome i.; Müller's Etrüsker.

from their nearest and direst foe, and they felt as if their liberty and security could never again be endangered. They were masters of a city, larger and richer than their own, and their territories and population were nearly doubled. The matrons, who so lately had been supplicating the gods for the lives of their sons and husbands, now flew to the temples to return thanks, and the Senate, which alone had not abandoned itself to despair, ordered a worship of four successive days to be rendered to the *Dii Majores*. All ranks went out to meet the Dictator, to sing his praises, and to swell his triumph; and in that triumph he assumed honours which properly belonged to the gods alone, and for which the spectators believed him afterwards to suffer punishment. He painted his face with vermillion, and clad in the robes of empire, he went up to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in an open chariot, drawn by four white horses, sacred to the sun, with the regal crown upon his head, and the ivory sceptre in his hand; his army, prisoners, and spoils followed, and the procession was closed by the priests and nobles of Rome. Camillus was elated by his victory, which all men at that time thought they could not sufficiently exalt, as marking him out to be a favourite of the gods; and the importance of which, to the increase, and even to the safety of Rome, they believed it impossible to overrate.

Camillus laid down his Dictatorship, but yet was thought to take too much upon him, considering himself as the first of the Romans, and the accepted votary of Fortune, the *Bona Dea*. He repaired

the fane of Mater Matuta, his Nortia, without delay, and built the temple he had vowed to Veientine Juno, upon Mount Aventinus. This last he dedicated four years afterwards, and the matrons showed peculiar zeal in their offerings and devotions. Camillus then endeavoured to collect the tenth of the spoils which he had vowed to Apollo, but as he had been obliged to allow his soldiers to plunder at discretion on the surrender of Veii, he had no means of estimating the worth of that property which they had destroyed or appropriated, and he laid it upon each man's conscience to tax himself.

The troops, who had never understood that he vowed for any but himself, were highly indignant, and still more so, when Camillus was convicted of having taxed himself unfairly, in not valuing a pair of bronze gates taken from the city, which he claimed as his own. Camillus further irritated his men, by declaring that his vow included both the buildings in the town and the newly conquered land out of it, one-tenth of which was Apollo's, and must either be considered sacred, or redeemed. He further insisted, that this property must be represented by a golden offering of eight talents' weight, to be sent to the temple of the god in Delphi; and as gold to melt was not forthcoming, the matrons brought in their bracelets and earrings to the amount required. The metal was weighed, valued, and paid for, and then manufactured into a golden bowl; and the Senate, in acknowledgment of this meritorious conduct in their ladies, ordained, that

they should henceforth be permitted to drive in open carriages through the streets every day, and in covered ones at all the games and upon every festival.

The Tuscans would not fail to hear all the circumstances of Camillus's triumph, and of his thank-offerings, so insulting to them. Besides the loss of Veii at this juncture, they had to mourn over the weakening of their influence, and the diminution of their territory in Rhoetia, Etruria Nova, and the north-west boundaries of Etruria Proper. The Diet of Voltumna had refused assistance to Veii, because the troops of so many of the Lucumonies were required at home, to be in a state of watchful preparation and armed neutrality. They were obliged to keep up a strong force along a wide line of frontier, against the Gauls, who were then in movement amongst themselves, and throughout all their colonies and settlements in Rhoetia, and along the Po and Tessinus; and the final result of their counsels and intentions seemed to be very uncertain.*

The Lingones and the Boii (from whom the Bohemians of the present day trace their descent) had traversed Etruria Nova from west to east, one hundred and twenty-six years previously, when Tarquinius Superbus and the influence of Tarquinia reigned supreme in Rome. The Boii had founded Laus Pompeia, now Lodi, and had afterwards yielded their territory to the Insubri, probably the tribe, or kindred of the tribe, settled at Mediolanum. At the same time they crossed the Po, and possessed themselves of

* Müller, p. 156, &c.

Parma, Mutina, (now Modena,) Felsina, and Adria, and colonized temporarily many places along the line of their irruption, even to the shores of the Adriatic Sea. The Lingones conquered and settled themselves between Felsina and Ravenna. But they had overrun, rather than subdued the country, and their want of discipline and of fixed purposes, enabled the Tuscans to recover their strength, and to repossess themselves of their chief towns, not long after they had fallen. Adria was a rich and flourishing commercial port of Turrhenia, for a very long period after the Gauls were expelled, and Felsina presently became, under the name of Bononia, the metropolis of Northern Etruria.

At this time, of which we are writing, the Senones first invaded Etruria Proper, not, as it seems, in consequence of any communication with their kindred, but because their chief was allured from his home by the representations of Aruns, a wronged and offended prince of Clusium, and whilst a very large army followed him into Central Italy, other bands were sent under other leaders to visit and augment the colonies of their countrymen along the Po, and as far as the shores of the Adriatic.

It was these bands, the Boii, Insubri, and Senones united, which alarmed the Senate of Volturnna, when for the last time, it refused assistance to Veii, and they created a very serious war, which lasted for many years. The Boii reconquered Felsina and Adria, whilst all the three tribes joined together to take Melpum, at that time the capital of

Northern Etruria, and her wealthiest and most important city. Melpum fell on the same day with Veii, and created almost as much consternation amongst the various tribes of the Etruscans. "The rich Adria and the mighty Felsina," as Müller calls them, once again recovered their liberty, and became places of wealth and renown; but of Melpum we hear no more, and in the course of time she was, like Veii, so utterly destroyed,* that even the spot on which she stood cannot now be ascertained.

Scylax, who compiled his *Periplus*, describing Italy about thirty years posterior to the fall of Melpum, says, that Adria and Felsina then were Tuscan, and that the Tuscans extended from sea to sea. He gives the distances of many towns from each other, Müller thinks from Spina to Pisa, and mentions their roads, and method of communication for three days' journey; whence Müller infers, that the Tuscans reconquered the country, when the main army of the Gauls marched along with the Clusian Senones, to the south of Italy. Scylax speaks of the Adriatic Gauls of his time as being merely the fragments of former tribes, the Insubri and Cenomani, occupying a small spot on the Adriatic. They seem to have been settled amongst the Tuscans and Umbri, somewhat as the Jews have been mingled with the nations of Christendom. They dwelt in small colonies and separate quarters of their own, but not as masters of the districts. Müller says, they conquered to occupy, but not to rule. The Adriatic Gauls sent an embassy to Alexander the Great, one

* Pliny iii. 17.

hundred years after, by which time, Müller believes them to have possessed themselves of almost all Etruria Nova; and Pliny, four hundred years later, still mentions them, and the Tuscans, and the Umbri, as all three inhabiting that coast.

When Felsina, the successor of Melpum, declined from her glory and became subject to the Gauls, Mantua rose into importance, and was the capital of the Northern Tuscans, so that Virgil in his time mentions the Patriciate at Mantua, as composed of three different people, viz., the Tuscans, the Umbri, and the Gauls.

But Etruria had yet another enemy to contend against, besides the Romans and Gauls. Whilst she was lamenting over the loss of Veii and her subject provinces on the one hand, and whilst she was trembling for all her Lucumonies upon the Po and Tessinus on the other, Dionysius the elder, Tyrant of Syracuse, strove with his Sicilians to annihilate her trade in the Adriatic, and to deprive her both of ports and vessels in that sea. The Tuscans had permitted his merchantmen to fetch race-horses from the Veneti, and he thus unsuspectingly gained a free passage amongst their settlements. He then founded or colonized a town in Picenum, which he called Adria, to deceive foreign traders into the belief of its being the renowned harbour of the Turrheni; and he also built a factory at Ancona, so as to command the line of coast which formerly had belonged to the Tuscans and Umbri only. Dionysius was the friend of the Gauls, because he saw the

immense use his ambition might make of them, as tools, in his desire to humble all the powers of Italy, and therefore he played into their hands on this occasion ; thus originating the first league of the Greek and Italian towns, which was made against him and the land and sea forces at his command.

The next year, when the power of Etruria was so essentially diminished in the north, in the centre, and upon the Adriatic, Dionysius planned another expedition, and ventured into the Turrhene Sea itself, against Cære, in order to recruit his own exhausted treasury, by seizing upon the enormous riches which he knew to be accumulated in a temple there. He wisely supposed, that the Cærte troops would be quite unprepared for an attack, and therefore he sailed into the harbour of Pyrgos, now San Severa, by night, with sixty Triremes,* and took the town and citadel by surprise. The people were wholly unable to resist him, few troops being either in the port or at Cære, and they were, in consequence, forced to an immediate compliance with his terms. He plundered the country for three days, destroying all the vines, and he pillaged the sacred temple of Elythya, the richest in all Italy, carrying off one thousand talents, five hundred of which were in gold. Dionysius then took to his ships, and returned safely home, without the Tuscans having had it in their power to make any reprisals. Niebuhr thinks that the Roman Consuls were bound to assist the Cærtes on this occasion, and neglected

* Diod. Sic.

to do so; for which reason, they were degraded and removed from their office. The collators of the Roman Annals did not choose to record this, because it would have cast a shade upon the all perfect Republic. They, therefore, imputed the removal of the Consuls to sickness, and said that they were at this time changed, because they were so ill as to be unable to fulfil their arduous duties.

The temple of Elythya was too much injured by Dionysius's attack ever to be restored to its former beauty; and, indeed, the power of Cære, as a state, was too much on the decline, for any place within her territories once destroyed, ever to regain its former wealth and splendour. The merchants of Turrhenia, Carthage, Greece, and Egypt, henceforth invested their gifts and their offerings, in some better protected, and more secure temple of Nortia, or the Bona Dea, farther north; storing up their beautiful things in the harbour of Cosa near Vulci; of Populonia, and above all, of Pisa, which sent out the largest fleets, and was the maritime station of most importance. Henceforward the once victorious Elythya dwindled into a neglected Fane, whilst the harbour of Pyrgos lost its arsenal and towers, and Cære, the ancient and celebrated Agylla, sank into a country haunt of invalid Patri-cians, who did not mind the sight of decayed grandeur; who could bear to see all streets deserted and all palaces ruined except their own; and who required for a season, a better atmosphere and warmer waters, than they could find in Rome or the cities of Latium.

But to pursue our history; we are inclined to think that little more than the Agger of Veii, and the lands between her and the Tiber, came at this time into Roman possession, or could be occupied by her new masters, notwithstanding that seven acres apiece were voted to every Plebeian concerned in her fall; yet for many years, some part of her territory was a mere battle-plain to the Etruscans; and all around her, Capena, Faleria, Sutrium, Nepete, Cære, and Tarquinia, were independent and untouched.

One of the Roman Tribunes proposed that half the Plebeians and half the Patricians should remove to Veii, and the motion was only lost because a Plebeian proposed it, and would have headed the colonization, which was too great a shock for the pride of the Patricians. No one disputed what the Tribune and his party urged, that this new conquest was more desirable than any other land under Roman dominion—her territory more fertile and extensive than that of Rome—her situation more commanding and far more healthy, and her edifices, both public and private, more magnificent and commodious. The attention of the Plebeians was fortunately distracted from this subject of discord, by the events of the still enduring war, and the difficulty which the Roman Tribunes found in reducing the allies of this ancient and powerful Lucumony to subjection.

The Roman generals were sent with the victorious legions against Capena and Faleria, and were unable to make the slightest impression on either city. They

could not surround them, nor scale their walls, neither could they, whilst Veii was yet fresh in their remembrance, attempt to reduce them by the stratagem of a mine. They would have been countermined, even into the midst of their own camp; they, therefore, left Faleria unattempted, and once more ravaged the plains of Capena, cutting down, as they had done before, all the fruit trees, and destroying all the crops, only, as the soldiers now could spread themselves more securely and widely over their territories, they did their work more effectually. Capena seems to have been cut off from Faleria, and to have thought it most prudent to accept of peace; the Romans also were too anxious to diminish the number of their enemies to be very difficult as to terms, and Livy simply says, that "when the Capenians were in danger of perishing by famine, because they had lost their fruit, they asked peace of Rome, and it was given them." Generous and considerate Romans! Capena ought surely to have been attached to them by ties of gratitude for ever.

Along with Capena, the free towns of Sutrium and Nepete also became municipia of Rome, bound never to make war themselves, nor permit others to make war against her, and to assist her if attacked. Beyond this, they were not subject, or interfered with. We have mentioned them in the first part* of this work, as amongst the oldest cities of Etruria, and Müller† thinks it probable that they, with

* Vol. i., p. 125.

† Etrusker ii. 2.

Capena and Fidene, may all have been dependencies of Veii. He says that "they were large and flourishing cities, having their own princes, customs, and laws," and yet they never sent representatives to the Diet, nor were they esteemed as important or territorial enough, to be numbered amongst the law makers of Etruria. They must, therefore, have followed the fortunes of one of her leading members, and as they all fell under the influence of Rome when Veii was conquered, and were neither claimed nor defended by any of the other states, he conceives them all to have been considered in the light of Veientine provinces and governments.

On the submission of Capena, Faliscia was exasperated beyond all bounds, roused her citizens, and vowed to be to the Romans as desperate and implacable an enemy, as they had lately found in Veii. Camillus was sent against Faliscia, the second year after his glorious conquest, which may give us some idea of the indomitable foe with whom the Romans had to struggle. Camillus began, as usual, by ravaging the plains, and certainly had free access through the lands both of Veii and Capena. But when he had entered within the bounds of Faliscia itself, he found the roads so steep and narrow, and the passes so well guarded, that he did not know how to proceed. At length he perceived his enemy's camp placed upon a height at the distance of a mile from their metropolis. To attack it was hopeless, until he could, by bribery or terror, induce one of his prisoners to guide him

to an eminence still higher, whence he could command it. When the Romans gained an advantage over the Tuscans, it was generally by some sort of treachery.

Upon this elevated ground the Romans entrenched themselves, and Camillus divided his army into three parts, one of which was appointed to labour, whilst the other two held themselves in readiness to fight. The Tuscans hazarded an attack to prevent him from fixing himself there, and were so severely repulsed, that they fled, passing by their own camp, into Faleria. The camp was accordingly taken, and the spoil given to the Quæstors, to value and apportion. The town was then invested, and Camillus hoped for additional laurels, could he succeed in taking it, as he had taken Veii. He was so far favoured, that the whole strength of Rome was at his disposal, whilst the Tuscans were obliged to keep the main armies of their nation upon the northern frontiers, against the formidable and startling invasion of the Gauls.

Faleria was, however, no wise dismayed. She was strong in the unanimity of her Senate, and the courage of her men. She was amply magazined, and Camillus himself soon judged that, in whatever manner he might invest her, there was no prospect of the siege being terminated under a ten years' blockade. During this interval, the Gauls might move to other countries, and Etruria be free to defend her own members; nay more, to reconquer the provinces she had lost; whilst the Volsci or the Sabines might draw off

the legions of Rome, and force them to fight for her dominions in an opposite direction. But the child of Fortune, though he might have his moments of despondency, was not to be abandoned. He had maintained the credit of prophecy; he had repaired the temple of Matuta, and secured the favour of imperial Juno, and he was to prosper still, by spiritual influences upon the minds of men, where the force of arms might fail.

The head of the chief college in Faleria was a traitor, a man of vulgar and overweening ambition, seeking either his own elevation or his own revenge at any price, even at the cost of his country's ruin, or of his own eternal infamy. We cannot doubt that his vanity had been deeply wounded by some sarcasm, imagined affront, or neglect, from some of the nobles of Faleria, or he would not have sought, as he did, to rise by the favour of a stranger.

Faleria, in the early part of the campaign, was so secure, that he every day led forth his young pupils to exercise beyond the walls; and even after the camp was taken, he continued the same practice. Both Romans and Falerians must have been persuaded, that this was a plot to entice the enemy to their destruction, or he would have been stopped; for he could not pass the gates, without the warders opening them for him, or without his proceedings being known along the whole line of the ramparts.

One day he led his young victims further than usual, up to the enemy's camp, and through it, into

the tent of Camillus, where, presenting the boys to him, he said, that he thus surrendered to his generosity and discretion the city of Faleria, for that these youths were the sons of her princes, and that they would accede to any terms for their preservation. According to the Roman legend, Camillus saw no advantage to his country, or saving to the blood of his men, in this proposal. He, who had gained his present position by the treachery of a prisoner, was above such vulgar considerations. He, therefore, made in return a very fine speech, full of virtuous indignation and romantic heroism, about the Romans not taking advantage of their prisoners, nor using stratagems, nor making war upon youth; and he opened a safe road to the town, through which he ordered these betrayed boys, to flog their unworthy master back again; placing a scourge in the hands of each of them, and stripping his back naked to the lash. In this manner, the head of the college re-entered the city, and no doubt he was soon thrown from her rocks to feed the wolves and bears, beneath whose nature he had degraded his own.

The story continues, that the Senate of Faleria had sworn, before this occurrence, that they would rather have endured the fate of Veii, than have *accepted* the peace of Capena. But now they are overcome by the magnanimity of Camillus, and they enter into a treaty with him, expressing their gratitude in the most extravagant terms. They are painted as sending ambassadors to the Queen of the Tiber, beseeching her to take their

arms and hostages. They assure her that they surrender themselves voluntarily to her sway; they profess themselves her dutiful and faithful subjects, and say that they are convinced they shall be happier under her government, than under their own.

We cannot suppose that Rome was so uncivil as to refuse these very flattering offers. She highly extolled the justice and good faith of Camillus, politely requested the Lucumony of Faliscia to subscribe one year's pay to her army, and then left these new enthusiastic subjects to themselves, satisfied that their own laws and customs, (which were celebrated above those of all other states, for justice and wisdom,) were better adapted to their prosperity than any new ones which she could propose. She did not even send to Faleria a new governor, or acknowledge her devotion by a Roman garrison; and it is with unfeigned surprise that, when we next read of her, thirty-six years after, she joins Tarquinia in an unsuccessful war upon Rome; and fifty years posterior to Camillus's heroism, we find her regretting that she cannot break her last truce with his country, in order to assist her own descendants in the territories of Capua, against the Roman armies. Rome, in gratitude for this latter observation of public faith, then gladly changed the truce into a permanent alliance, and gave to Faleria,* the *Jus Latinum*, and the franchise of Cære.

The Falerian Legend explains itself. Camillus was by no means the person to reject fraud in active warfare, neither was he, who had already cheated

* Livy vii. 37.

the Plebeians, and who had tried to cheat Apollo of his due in the Veientine booty, exactly the character to soar into such heights of romantic sublimity. He was evidently in treaty with the traitorous President before the boys were led forth; and who will not glory in deceiving a traitor? He gave to him and to the youths he guided, a safe conduct to his camp, and when there, he sent to inform the Senate of Faleria of what had happened, and to offer them such terms as would spare him the trouble and uncertainty of a ten years' siege. Peace with the Romans, (probably for one hundred years,) and a twelve months' pay for his men, was all he asked. For this he would retire, restore all his hostages, and give up the traitor with circumstances of merited disgrace, to await their future judgment. The Senate required him to be whipped back into the town, exactly as the ballad relates, and accepted the terms with feelings of gratitude to Camillus, which prevented them for long afterwards from becoming foes to Rome, and from injuring her, or taking advantage of her, in the day of her distress.

There are authors who think that the Tuscans hired the Gauls to attack the Romans, but we have quite as good reason to fancy that at this juncture, during the uncertain and perilous wars of Faleria and Veii, the Romans hired the Gauls to distress and divide the Tuscans. The year after this war was concluded, the great games were celebrated at Rome, and the year following, Camillus, who had conferred such signal and inestimable benefits upon

his country, was obliged to banish himself to Ardea, one of the colonies, because of his dishonourable and avaricious behaviour about the spoil of Veii.

Though so large a part of Etruria had by this time either bowed to the power of Rome, or agreed to a league defensive and offensive with her, the States, whose barrier was removed, and who, in case of a dispute, would be the next exposed to her attacks, were not inclined to submit so very tamely to an agreement, which had been made without their consent. Müller believes that Volsinia, now Bolsena, succeeded to the place of Tarquinia in power and influence amongst the other States, after that Lucumony lost her dominions and influence beyond the Tiber. Volsinia lay between Tarquinia, Faliscia, and Clusium. When, therefore, the Faliscians became the allies of the Romans, Volsinia felt that the line of her Southern frontier was uncovered; and she, in conjunction with the Salpinates, a subject tribe, made an incursion into the Roman lines, and carried off much spoil and booty unharmed.

The following year the Romans sent a powerful army, under four military Tribunes, against them, two of the Tribunes being ordered to march into Volsinia, and two into Salpina, in order to divide the Tuscan forces. The Volsinians brought a strong army to assist their allies, but they did not make so good a stand against the Romans as was usual with the Tuscan troops. We are told that they fled at the first onset, and that the Roman cavalry pursued

them. They, ere long, came up with the fugitives, surrounded eight thousand of them, and forced them to surrender at discretion. We know not what degree of credit should be given to this extraordinary victory, nor by what reverses it might be afterwards counterbalanced. No city was taken in consequence, and no triumph claimed. But the Romans do not seem to have sustained any defeat, and they succeeded in the ultimate object of their expedition.

Etruria at this epoch, once more reminds us of the man with the bundle of sticks. Had she, even now, attacked Rome with her united powers, she would have been much more than a match for that proud republic; but the cord, the bond of union which once united her members at the shrine of Voltumna, was now unloosed and broken. Piecemeal, and one by one, the Lucumonies, with unformidable armies and unsteady purpose, attacked Rome, and piecemeal, one by one, they fell before her centre of unity, and her gathering strength. In the same manner as they dissolved one into many, she gathered many into one, until she ruled alone, and became the head of the nations. After the defeat of the Volsinians, the Salpinates feared to take the field, and kept themselves within their walls and fortresses. Volsinia now found the struggle unequal, because Faliscia had her hands fettered, and Clusium and Tarquinia could not be moved to her support. These two states therefore made peace with the Romans for twenty years. The terms are

said to have been that they should give the Quiritary army a year's pay, and restore to them the booty which they had taken. Niebuhr imagines Salpina to have become the *Urbs Vetus*, now Orvieto.

This war being ended, Camillus banished, and Rome delivered from his influence and deprived of his sagacity, ambassadors arrived there from Clusium, praying the Senate for aid against the Gauls. From this it would appear that after the peace of Faleria, Clusium also, the chief of the Northern Tuscan States, had made a league, offensive and defensive, with Rome. The Gauls had been for many years on the frontiers of Etruria, but they were a new enemy before the great city of Clusium; they had poured down upon her, an immense host of armed men, thirty thousand strong,* and encamped themselves against her walls. They were led on, as the Clusians themselves related, by Aruns, one of their own Tuscan leaders, a brave and powerful noble, who had been deeply injured by the King of Clusium. Aruns, that is, a younger branch of one of their powerful families, had been guardian to the Lucumo now upon the throne.

This Lucumo, when in possession of supreme power, fell in love with Aruns's wife, and seduced her from him, and Aruns not being able to raise a civil war with any prospect of success, and burning with an indignation, which nothing but the death of his adversary could appease, turned to the Gauls, and

* Nieb. ii. n. 1184.

invited them to settle in his own fruitful country. He did not solicit any of those tribes which had long kept the frontiers in alarm from Perugia up to Luna. He left them still to keep the States in check, and to prevent any of those members of the League, from sending assistance to Clusium. He went direct to Gallia, the cradle of the Race. Livy says that tribes of this people had been settled for two hundred years in Italy, and that they had made four different irruptions, previous to the one we are now considering. The first band, in the days of Tarquin the Ancient, had established themselves at Mediolanum, which they built; the second came in, before the days of Tarquin the Proud, and conquered a tract of country for themselves, about Brixen, and Veroua; the third burst upon Italy nearly at the same period, and settled on the Tescinus; the fourth caused that great influx of Umbri and Etrusci into Southern Italy, which we have already mentioned, and spread themselves along the Po to the shores of the Adriatic.

The tribe which now attacked Clusium was that of the Senones, and a branch of them had already marched into Etruria Nova, and had occupied the country between the rivers Uteis and Œsis. It is not known whether the Clusian Gauls came alone, or whether they had asked the assistance of their countrymen already settled on the Po. But they consisted of armed men only, and unencumbered by women and children. Aruns is said to have enticed them onwards by the glowing descriptions which

he gave of the fertility of his country, its riches, and the excellence of its wines. Of this last he carried them some specimens, and he promised that if they would avenge his quarrel on the perfidious Lucumo, he would secure to them a settlement amongst his people. He well knew that the Northern States could give little or no aid to Clusium, without exposing their own frontiers, and that Faleria could not assist her without asking the concurrence of Rome.

When the Romans heard the Ambassadors' story they were not inclined, on their account, to plunge into a war with the Gauls, who were to them a new and strange people; but they offered to send Feciales who should mediate a peace, and if that could not be effected, they then promised to aid the Clusians with a military force. The men whom they chose as their Feciales, were three of the Fabian house, and were unfortunately not more distinguished by birth, than by the haughtiness and rashness of their characters. They departed on their mission, full of the idea that the ancient fame of their clan, the recent conquests of their country, and the very name of Rome would be sufficient to overawe and terrify the Gauls. This fierce people, however, happened never to have heard the names of any of the three before, and therefore when they were told they must not attack the Clusians, *because* they were the allies of Rome, they said they knew nothing about Rome, nor why they should not act towards her allies as they pleased.

A council of the Gauls was held to receive the Roman Ambassadors, and to them they gave answer, "that the name of the Romans was new to the Gauls, but that they supposed them to be a brave people, since the Clusians had asked their help in this season of peril, and since they had preferred trying to negotiate a peace with Brennus, the Gallic leader, rather than to attack them at once by force of arms. For this reason they would not despise their mediation. The Gauls required land, and the Clusians had more than they occupied. If they were content, therefore to share with the Gauls, they would be happy to make peace with them; but if not, the Clusians must expect war. They would be glad to receive an answer to this ultimatum in the presence of the Roman Deputies; because if the declaration were for war, they then could testify in their own homes, how much the "Gauls excelled in bravery all other mortals." When the Romans asked what right the Gauls pretended to possessions in Etruria, they fiercely answered, "That their Right was in their Might, and that all things belonged to the brave." Upon this answer, both the contending parties flew to arms, and the Fabii, instead of returning to Rome, violated the rights of nations, and disgraced their own sacred Fecial character, by taking the part of the Clusians with all their train. The reinforcement they brought, though not considerable, was probably that of a few hundred men, and in joining the battle, they in a treacherous manner, compromised their whole nation.

The Gauls never suspected that the Feciales would take any part in the quarrel, until a fresh message should come from their nation to authorise them. However, in the battle, Quintus Fabius engaged one of the Gaulish generals, and killed him. In his eagerness to secure the *Spolia Opima*, he dismounted, and stopped to strip the body, and then his dress and banner, different from the Clusians, caused him to be recognised by the Gallic officers. They immediately sounded a retreat, full of indignation at the Roman breach of faith, and their first impulse was to leave Clusium, with which they really had no quarrel, and to march to Rome, which had insulted and deceived them. But Aruns, or some other chief, who knew more of Rome than they did, persuaded them that the fault of the Fabii was not that of the nation, and that if they sent a complaint against them, they would probably, be disavowed by their rulers, and punished. If the Gauls now left Clusium, and engaged themselves in a real quarrel with Rome, fighting because their passions were roused, and their pride and vengeance required to be satiated, there was no chance of the tyrannical Lucumo being dethroned, nor of Aruns gaining the satisfaction he had sought, with the sacrifice of all he held most dear, even of his national honour, and the independence of Clusium.

When he became an enemy to his country in this exasperated and unjustifiable manner, all his property was confiscated to the State, and his children must have either become outlaws, or Plebeians. He

allowed his private wrongs to triumph over his patriotism, and because one powerful man had deeply injured him, and his own class did not risk their lives and properties to avenge his quarrel, he scrupled not to bring foreigners into his land, and to spill the blood and ruin the fortunes, of thousands of his kindred. His vindictive spirit was, perhaps, not so dark as that of Brutus, and his wrongs were far greater; but he should have avenged himself through his own people, and not through those, to whom Tarchun and Tages were equally unknown, with the names of Rome and the Fabii. This deed of evil, in forgetfulness of his duty to his country, was not, perhaps, worse than that of Coriolanus. Alas! why had he not such a mother? Or why has no bard invented for him the *story* of such a mother, who could have persuaded him to save and pardon his native city, and to lead his hostile allies against some other foe.

Aruns died in arms with the Gauls. Probably he guided them on their southern expedition, and soothed his wounded soul with the belief that he was revenging Veii, and enabling her to lift herself up again, free and formidable as she had been before. Clusium, whether triumphant or not, was again free; abandoned by that enemy, and delivered from them for ever. Often as the Gauls afterwards made inroads into Etruria, they besieged Clusium no more. It is scarcely possible to conceive more galling ingratitude, or deeper injuries than those under which the spirit of Aruns groaned; but nothing can jus-

tify a human being for the selfish inconsideration which would ruin his own country by strangers, and make all his kindred weep, for his own private insults. Our country is our mother, and though the child may part from the unjust and unnatural mother, and may think of her only with sorrow and coldness, yet she may not be rebelled against.

The Gauls sent their embassy to Rome, complaining in strong terms of the Fabii, and demanding that they should be given into their hands. The Senate were quite sensible of their crime, and did not desire to bring the armies of the strangers upon them. At the same time, the Fabii were too powerful for the Fathers to venture upon their condemnation. They, therefore, with a weakness which ill suits the usual tone of Roman vaunting, referred them to the judgment of the Centuries, in which all their clients and kinsmen now had votes, and where, consequently, they were tolerably sure of their acquittal. The Centuries not only decreed to pardon the Fabii, and bring them back in safety to their own palace, but they awarded to them the most distinguished honours for their high spirit, and their contempt of those trammels which bound the meaner minds of the Gauls and Tuscans. They created all three, military Tribunes, with consular power, for the ensuing year, and of course had them brought back with pomp and honour to the city. Camillus was in exile, Appius Claudius silent; the Tuscan augur who destroyed Veii, we hope, dead; and as the gods were resolved to punish Rome,

Livy says they blinded her,—“*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*” How often do the highest dictates of human wisdom, and the words of revelation agree! How true could even Heathens perceive it to be, that “Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall !”

The conduct of the Romans needed no words to explain it, for of itself, it was a declaration of war to the sword's point. The Gauls, on hearing that the Fabii were named amongst the governors of the Roman State, in reward of the insult they had offered to them, breathed threatenings and slaughter with a fury that could not be restrained. They snatched up their ensigns and began their forward march, with one will in every bosom, and one feeling in every breast. Thus they proceeded upon their road in disciplined array. None strayed for plunder; none desired rest. They halted before no towns, ravaged no lands, destroyed no crops, and fired no villages. The peasants fled, but they were not pursued; the cities armed, but the enemy passed on. We wish another “*Lay of ancient Rome*” would illustrate the still and rapid march of Brennus, as it has done the glorious array of Lars Porsenna, for surely a more awful host never poured through Italy. All was so sudden, that for a time, Clusium knew not whether she was delivered; knew not if she should be thankful; if her foes would be swallowed up by the conquerors of Veii, and return no more; or if, after having made Rome a heap of ashes, they

might not insist upon a domicile extending from the Fossa Cloillia up to the brazen gates of Clusium.

The Gauls marched on with banners streaming, and pipes and trumpets wildly sounding, and they proclaimed, as they poured along, that their quarrel was not with Italy, that it was with Rome alone. They probably pursued the course of the Clanis to its junction with the Tiber, and then went by Fescennium, Feronia, and Cures, down the course of that river; as we find they met the Romans upon the Allia, and that the Roman army lay between the Allia and the Tiber, encamped to the south-west of their enemies.

The chief events of this war belong to Roman history only, and are so well known that we do not mean to dwell upon them. The infatuated Quirites, after their complete defeat upon the Allia, ran away to Veii. The left wing did not fight at all, but threw away their arms and crossed the Tiber, while those who were in the sacred city, and without a hope of defence there, immediately deserted it, and found within the walls of their late rival a refuge and a second home, in which they hoped to spend their days in peace. The aged men who could not flee, were murdered, most of the houses and palaces were fired, and the strong walls of Servius were much injured, though not destroyed. Those who were capable of bearing arms amongst the Senators and the Patricians, together with all the soldiers who could be collected, and the right

wing of the defeated army fortified themselves in the citadel.

So complete at this time was the separation between Rome and Veii, that Livy says, Those that were shut up in the citadel knew not the fate of their fellow-citizens, but believed that the multitudes who had escaped were all dead. Nor were they probably aware of the real fact, until Pontius Cominius contrived to climb the rock of the Capitol, and together with the message from Camillus, to bear to them, tidings of the multitude, who had found in Veii a safer and a second Rome. It is strange that at this time, all the Romans sought safety in Etruria, and none of them either in Latium, amongst their own original blood, or in Sabina amongst their faithful and long-tried allies. Yet the Gauls poured in upon them from the Etruscan side only, and first invaded Italy as the foes of that nation.

The Gauls were some days after the battle of the Allia before they marched into Rome, because they feared treachery a second time, and could not believe in the pusillanimity of any armed nation, thus leaving its gods, its temples, its palaces, its gates, its walls, and all it held sacred and dear, to the discretion of an exasperated enemy. The Gauls had asked land from the Clusians, and they had been forced to halt, and wait before the Tuscan city, though they had arms in their hands, and an incensed and bold Noble of the Clusians at their head; but the Romans gave them up their lands, their Agger, and their city, without even waiting

to be asked for them. They were at this time certainly the most nervous people in the world, and when they came to be known to the universe as potent warriors and mighty statesmen, we find that scarcely one of their celebrated men was born on the territory, which at this date, belonged to Rome. These men were, indeed, Romans, as holding the franchise of the city, but they were Etruscans, Samnites, Sabines, Latins, Volsci, or Campanians, as to the land of their nativity.

But to return to the history. During the few days of uninterrupted fright and agitation, which the Gauls allowed to this wonderful people, the women, children, nobles, and citizens, escaped with all the effects they could carry or convey, beyond the Tiber. The greater part secured themselves within the walls and upon the heights of Veii, building up the gate of the Ponte Sodo, and that one, the brazen doors of which Camillus had borne away. The rest bent their steps to the peaceful and friendly Cære, which seems to have prospered in quiet, when all the States around her were shaken with the storms of war.

The first movement of the Plebeians was to cross the Tiber, and to take refuge on the Janiculum, whence they dispersed to whichever Lucumony of Etruria best suited their convenience. The meagre annals of Rome from the days of her foundation, which were kept by the Pontifex Maximus and the priesthood, were safe within her fortress; and thither were also borne all the annals and public records, the Fasti,

and the Fescennine verses which could be collected together. The Flamens and the Vestals, with their holy fire, immediately turned to Cære, the birth-place of their sacred rites; and such papers of public import, or we should rather say, such linen, books, and palm-leaves, as they had no possibility of taking with them, and no time to secure in the Capitol, they nailed up in casks and buried under the house which stood next to that of the Flamen Quirinalis. These consecrated persons then took their way on foot, in their robes of office, and bearing the sacred fire in their hands, up the Janiculum, in order to pursue their course towards Cære. Lucius Albinus, a rich Plebeian, and from his name very likely a descendant of some ancient Lucumo, was driving his wife and family in a carriage, in order to take refuge in the same city. On seeing the Vestals, he immediately stopped, alighted, and said, that he would never ride, whilst the ministers of the gods had to go on foot. Accordingly he insisted upon their taking his place, and had himself the pleasure of conducting them to their home in the friendly city.

In this party there were six Vestals, beside the Flamens and the driver; therefore we find that the vehicle in which Lucius was travelling was one of those long covered carriages drawn by four or six horses, which are often represented on the Etruscan monuments. The Vestals were received in Cære with the most lively joy, and they were shown all possible honour and hospitality, until

more fortunate times allowed them to return to their own homes. The Romans, when again restored, returned the Cærites public thanks, and are said to have named all their sacred rites "Ceremonies," after them, in gratitude for this act. But we believe that their religious rites were always so called, even in the days of Romulus. The Romans set up a brazen tablet recording their thanks, to the eternal honour of the Cærites; and they probably meant to be practically grateful, when they again were strong enough to have it in their power. But the convenient opportunity never came; they had too many concerns with other nations when once more independent, and they granted the Cærites no privileges, which they could possibly withhold. They are said now to have given them the strangers' franchise, and to have made with them a league of Isopolity; but unless Cære had been Isopolite with Rome before the invasion of the Gauls, her citizens could not have turned thither, in their state of panic, with such unhesitating confidence; and the strangers' franchise, Cære had possessed from the infancy of Rome onwards. Indeed, the ingratitude of the Republic to her Tuscan benefactress was often afterwards cast in her teeth, and the *privilege* of the Cærite franchise became a proverb of ridicule amongst her citizens.

The Gauls blockaded Rome for many months, and when tired of having nothing else to do, detachments of them besieged Ardea and Antium. In the meantime, the Roman emigrants, who had

believed themselves safely lodged in Veii, were alarmed at the report of a Tuscan army marching down upon them. Whence these Tuscans came, we are at a loss to conjecture. They were not from Capena, nor Faliscia, for these two states observed faithfully their treaties; but they may have been the former nobles of Veii, who had escaped when that city was taken by the Romans, joined to the bands of Aruns, or to the troops of Volsinia or Tarquinia.

We cannot help laughing at the indignation of Livy against this host. It was not long since the Romans had conquered from the Tuscans, Fidene, Veii, Capena, and, according to his account, Faliscia also; and yet he laments over the Tuscans' want of generosity in not pitying the city which had wrought them so much harm, and in not raising her up again, by all means in their power, to be as formidable and mischievous to them again as ever. He says "they had no compassion for a nation which, during four hundred years, had been their neighbour, and now was oppressed and overcome by a monstrous and unheard of enemy, but that, on the contrary, there were certain of them who selected that very time to make incursions into the plains of Veii, to carry off prey, and even to threaten the city itself (the last resource of the Roman fugitives) with a siege." He adds, that they were actually so unfeeling, as to pitch their camp close to Veii; so that the Roman soldiers could see them wandering about the fields, and gathering themselves together in bands to go

out in search of booty. At first they could scarcely believe in anything so inhuman and inconsiderate. They said to each other, "Are these men the Etruscans, who have driven the Gauls upon us, and turned them off from themselves? are they now come to mock at our misfortunes?" The Romans in Veii were filled with indignation at such insolence, and after having watched their proceedings until they were sure a second siege of Veii was in contemplation, they took courage to attempt the desperate adventure of leaving the walls, and attacking the Tuscan camp by night. This was an attack so unexpected, on the part of men who hitherto had appeared perfectly resigned to their fate, whether it were insult, blockade, or spoliation, that we cannot wonder at the Tuscans being taken by surprise, and doubting whether those who attacked them, were really the Roman fugitives from Veii. They were defeated in the confusion and obscurity of night, and obliged to retire towards the Salines, near Ostia, and north of it upon the coast. Nor was this all: the Romans were so pleased with their revived prowess, that they ventured upon a second attack, covered by darkness, and as the Tuscans had laid their account with nothing less than being followed, they were again surprised and again defeated, so that they retired finally from the territory of Veii, and troubled her no more.

The consequence was, that the fame of Veii as a place of refuge, increased, and with it the num-

bers of those who congregated there, so that at length Camillus agreed to leave Ardea, and to take the command over the large Roman population of Veientine Refugees. He dwelt probably in the very palace where the haughty Lucumo, whom he overthrew, had dwelt before, and he issued his orders, and made them to be trembled at, in the very citadel, whence that Lucumo had so often defied the Romans, and laughed at the neglect of his own neighbours and his own kindred.

It was in the city of Veii that Camillus formed, and from its conquered gates that he led forth, the army which at last delivered Rome,—which made it once more the home of the Quirites, and which prevented the Gauls, a second time, from returning to it. It was this army from Veii, which, assisted by the Cærites, gave them so signal a defeat near Gabii, and took back part of the spoil. Veii was once more partially deserted, and her empty streets began to show that the swarming multitudes which had lately given life to her Forum, and the armed men who, with proud step, had walked her battlements, were not her native children. We doubt if at this time, they spoke a foreign tongue, or one that differed more, than the French and Germans on opposite sides of the Rhine. We believe that, like most borderers, they were bilingual, and that each could perfectly well communicate with the other.

When the Emigrants returned to Rome, she was totally changed,—desolate, comfortless, and in ruins; her atmosphere tainted with pestilence, her walls

surrounding stones and ashes, and heaps of rubbish. Where her inhabitants had left their houses, their temples, and their palaces, they could not bear now to look upon their blackened roofs, and gaping breaches; and the buildings which remained entire, (as many did) only seemed to make the destruction of the others more offensive from the contrast. The Capitol, with its sacred edifices, was unscathed, and so were the Fabian Palace on the Quirinal, the dwellings upon the Janiculum, and many others upon all the Seven Hills, which had been inhabited by the Gauls. The proud Patricians, whose houses had been spared, once more congratulated themselves in the halls of their fathers, and could not understand the mean spirit of those, who looked back with fondness to Veii, and who still insisted upon taking up their quarters there.

So intent were the people on removing to Veii, having once tasted of its comfort, enjoyed its salubrity, and felt themselves secure in its almost inaccessible position, that Camillus, in the renewed height of his power and fulness of his influence, could scarcely dissuade them from carrying out their scheme. Livy puts into his mouth, one of the most eloquent speeches to be found in the whole of Roman history. He tells them that they are unjust to their own victors, who have saved the Capitol; that they are abandoning the city of their fathers, in order to identify themselves with the people whom they have vanquished; that when they have become citizens of Veii, they will still have to

contend for their liberty, for that the Equi, the Volsi, and the Gauls, will then establish themselves in Rome, and that whilst they threaten them on the one side, Etruria, which occupies the whole breadth of Italy from sea to sea, will distress them on the other, and though not equal to them in war-like skill and valour, yet will never suffer them to live in peace. He ends by conjuring them, in the name of their gods, their temples, their sacred fire, their Ancilæ, and the many miracles which have been worked in their behalf, not to forsake Rome; and specially he named the bleeding head, which was found under the Capitol, and the prophecy that whoever possessed that building, should rule over the whole of Italy.

The fear of impiety, which had prevented the secession of the people three years before, now influenced them again. Juno Kupra, the patron divinity of Veii, had accepted of a habitation on the Aventine. Could they be sure she would willingly return to that city, which she had deserted without reluctance? and would their own gods patronise them in a foreign land? Would their own Lares and Penates follow them to the shrine of their enemies? They began to waver and hesitate, when a fortunate omen brought them to a decision. The Senate was debating the matter in the Curia Hostilia, when a cohort of the guard passed by, and the Centurion called out in a loud voice, "Ensign, fix your standard; it is best for us to remain here." The Senators exclaimed, "Let us accept the omen."

The people heartily gave their approbation, and the doom of Veii was fixed for ever. The stones of her dwellings became a quarry, to rebuild the streets of her rival, her palaces sank into chambers for the poor, and shops for the small traders, and her Forum was turned into the market-place of a mere country town. A small Roman colony was fixed within her precincts, neglect and decay crumbled down her temples; she dwindled into insignificance, and soon became a vision of the past, a thing unvisited and forgotten. One more attempt seems to have been made, and one only, to redeem her from oblivion. That one was unsuccessful, and the Etruscans, equally with the Romans, seem to have been convinced that her gods had deserted her. Their own day was now declining to its evening-time, and Veii, magnificent and glorious Veii, was left alone to perish.

Rome had scarcely begun to raise herself up from her ashes, when Etruria once more threatened her on all sides, with the troubles of a new war. The Diet of Voltumna had been held as usual, and the fair was not omitted, though the terror spread by the Gauls throughout Italy, during the siege of Rome, and their march onwards into Apulia, had probably made it less brilliant than usual. Latin merchants, were, however, there, as heretofore, and on their return to their own country, they informed the Roman Senate, that the Etruscan princes were debating on the expediency of renewing the contest with them, and that, with some portion of the

League, the cry for battle had prevailed. It is certain, from the result, that this was not a case of general hostilities, in which all the twelve States were engaged, but one in which Tarquinia and Volturnia probably asked the approbation of the meeting, upon their project of trying their strength against a too successful and encroaching foe. Niebuhr thinks that the fall of Sutrium had roused them into action, because their territories were thus endangered, joining as they did the lands of Capena and Faliscia, and therefore they had every incitement to check, whilst there was yet time, their new and dangerous neighbour. We also judge, from the events of the war, that the Umbri of Ameria and Narnia joined forces with them.

The Romans, in great alarm, and not being able to ascertain the true extent of the peril, appointed Camillus, for the sixth time, Dictator. A large Etruscan force had reappeared in the territory of Veii, and this he immediately opposed and caused to retire; but he was told that they had fallen back upon Sutrium, which was sustaining a regular siege from the Tuscans, in order to force her magistrates to break their alliance with Rome. Messengers arrived from this city, requesting immediate relief, or they could no longer resist, but should be obliged to submit to the arms of their countrymen. From the story it would appear that many Roman settlers had been admitted into the place; for Sutrium was forced to surrender, and the people neither hailed the Etruscan soldiers as deliverers, nor were they

hailed by them ; and, on the other hand, though ill-used and plundered, they were not insulted as deserters from their country, nor were they reproached with treachery. When Camillus marched to the relief of the town, not knowing that already it had been vanquished by the Tarquinians, he met with a multitude of unarmed and poverty-stricken men, lamenting women, and weeping children, and they told him that they had been turned out without food, or change of raiment, or means of defence, to perish from want and destitution on the road, or to find their way to the Roman frontiers. Camillus pitied and relieved them, bidding them not fear, for he would soon reinstate them in their homes. He desired them to turn with him, to join his rear, and to travel with his baggage-train,—a portion of baggage which a general is usually most anxious to be quit of, but on this occasion he was glad of their company, for they swelled the appearance of his host, and animated the courage of his men.

When the Etruscans had got possession of the city of Sutrium, and rid themselves of this beggarly multitude, whom we presume to have been Romans, they suspected not that any enemy was nearer to them than the plains of Veii, or the shores of the Lake Sabatinus, and with a most unsoldierly negligence, which reflects the utmost disgrace upon their commander, they left the gates of the town open, and the walls unguarded, whilst they abandoned themselves to plunder. Camillus marched up with his well-disciplined army, and surrounded the place

without attracting any particular notice. He then summoned it to surrender, and the Etruscan troops, dispersed and in disorder, were in no condition to resist. The sagacious Camillus was resolved that they should not gain new strength from despair, and immediately proclaimed that he would do no harm to those who submitted without opposition; that he would, moreover, spare the lives of those who laid down their arms, and that the women and children should not be touched. The Tuscan general had time to secure himself in the citadel; but being wholly unprepared for a siege, having already himself breached the walls, and finding that the town was now in possession of the enemy, he surrendered upon terms, and Sutrium was restored to her own magistrates, and to the occupation of her former inhabitants, as the sworn allies of the Roman people.

The riches of this city astonish us greatly, for it could not have been a place of much commerce, and it never was a leading member of the League; and yet the quantity of gold found in it was so great that the Roman Senate was enabled not only to restore to their matrons all the precious metal they had borrowed from them, when they ransomed their city from the Gauls; but to make of the surplus three golden bowls, which repaid a portion of that, which they had been obliged to take from the sacred treasury in the temples of the Capitol. These bowls were not laid at the feet of Jupiter, but of Juno Capitolina, which inclines us to the belief that Juno, or Kupra, was the patron deity of Sutrium. Much money was also brought into the

Roman treasury by the vast number of prisoners whom Camillus disposed of by auction.

Such of the natives of Veii, Capena, and Faliscia, as now sought the alliance of Rome, were not only received with cordiality, but were admitted to her citizenship, given the Cærite franchise, and had their lands inscribed in the Roman roll as forming part of her acknowledged tribesmen. The friendship and good-will of these people enabled Camillus to insist upon and effect the evacuation of the city of Veii, into which, despite all his prejudices, his arguments, and his power, the Roman people continued to flock, and which they still seemed resolute to occupy and maintain as the rival of Rome. The Plebeians at length gave up the fruitless contest, and obeyed the recall, bowing to the strong will of their victorious Dictator; and this was the last attempt made by either Romans or Tuscans to avert the doom of the once large and opulent, the mighty and splendid Veii, now obliterated from the face of the earth, and her very site left as a matter of dispute to the Italian antiquarian.

A. C. 385, A. T. 802.

The next season the Romans made an expedition into Tarquinia, to punish the enemy on their own ground, and maintain the war, if possible, in the very heart of Etruria. Cortuosa and Contenebra were two towns which had grown out of the increase of Tarquinia. They were at first suburbs beyond her walls, and not included within the Augury limits of her Patricians. They were now under

separate magistrates, and protected by separate forts and garrisons. The Roman Legions marched through Veii, across the mountains, and down upon these towns, without any warning; coming upon them like a thunderbolt, and managing at one stroke to cut off their communication with Tarquinia, with the coast, and with each other. Cortuosa was so effectually surprised, that it was quickly taken by storm, burned to the ground, and plundered. Contenebra underwent a siege, but the Roman force so outnumbered their enemies, and the town was so unprepared for an attack, (the first apparently she had ever sustained,) that her citizens were soon worn out by fatigue and constant watching; and after a short resistance, were compelled to surrender. As the King of Tarquinia gave no assistance, and as the whole affair appears to have been a rapidly-conducted, and well-managed stratagem, attended by no important results, we shrewdly suspect that it was effected, whilst the King with his nobles was absent at Voltumna, and that the Governor of the city was paralysed by his own stupid security. The Tarquinii revenged themselves, by again renewing their attempts upon Nepete and Sutrium, places which the Romans considered as barriers to them, against the invasions of the Etruscans, and to the inviolability of which, as their allies, they attached great importance.

Camillus showed his fear of the Etruscan military talents and restlessness, at this period, for upon being appointed Dictator once more, and obliged in

person, to head the Legions against the Volsci, he left a regularly organised and disciplined army in Rome, prepared to oppose the Tuscans, in case of any attempt through Veii, on the part of Tarquinia or Volsinia. The Romans also, now guarded their frontiers, in the same politic manner which the Etruscans, through more than seven ages, had found so successful with the Umbri. They made tranquillity along the borders, the interest of the Tuscans themselves ; for they created four new tribes out of the conquered territory of Veii, and the allied provinces of Faliscia, Capena, and Narnia, calling them the Stellatine, Sabatine, Narnian, and Tromentine ; and not only endowing them with the Cærite franchise, and enabling them to claim privileges and immunities during peace in Rome, but actually permitting them to vote in classes, along with the Centuries, and to be eligible for every office open to the native Plebeians. We have difficulty in believing that the concession of such privileges was not the fruit of some successes on the part of the Etruscans, or some reverses on the part of the Romans, which their historians have not thought it necessary to record.

The Tarquinians and Volsinians laid siege to Nepete and Sutrium ; the first capitulated after a feeble resistance, but the second had been so severely treated during the last war, that it defended itself with the most determined spirit. Both towns found means to send messengers to Rome, explaining their dangerous situation, and praying for help. The

Senate sent these messages forward to Camillus, who was blockading Antium, and he, without hesitation or delay, committed the siege to one of his lieutenants, reinforced himself with the city legions, and marched straight against the Tuscans. He found part of the town of Sutrium already in the power of the hostile force, and the other part contended for, inch by inch. The citizens had barricaded all the streets, and bravely defended them as they retreated. Camillus divided his army into two parts, one of which he appointed to assist his distressed allies, whilst the other took possession of the walls, whence they had every advantage over their foes. The Tuscans finding themselves overmatched, and fighting between two fresh enemies, abandoned the contest, and poured out of the city by one of the gates which had been left unguarded. Many were killed before they could reach this gate, and the others, who escaped, were pursued, and numbers of them slaughtered in their flight, ere they could cross the Mount Ciminus, or fall back upon Tarquinia.

Having achieved this victory, Camillus settled a Roman colony in the place, and then marched forwards to Nepete, and summoned it to submit and expel the Tuscan garrison; but, alas! though very willing, because afraid of the consequences, should they refuse, her populace had no power to comply. Camillus then ordered all who were friendly to Rome to show themselves, and separate from her foes, but this also they dared not do. The Town

Council was believed to be entirely in the interest of Tarquinia, and resolved to hold out as long as possible; he therefore invested the city and ravaged the country all round, hoping to work upon their fears and selfishness. But the rulers in Nepete mocked at the thought of famine, and he appeared to make no progress. After a while, Camillus brought up his machines, and ordered the town to be stormed. The fight lasted with fury for some hours, when a breach was made in the walls. The Romans forced their way in, and the place was taken. Almost all the natives were spared, and their property respected, excepting the magistrates, who were put to death along with the Tarquinian troops. These men, whether armed or disabled, were slain without quarter, as an example to terrify others. Camillus's motto was, "*Parcere humiles, debellare superbos*," and he was the first Roman who, since the days of Mezentius and Julius, had won land within the borders of Etruria, and altered the limits of her dominions; the first, since the overthrow of Vetulonia, who had caused a change amongst the members of the League; and the first, since the landing of Tarchun, who had diminished in Central Etruria the extent of country, which was subject to her sway.

Nepete probably asked for a Roman garrison, being in constant danger of an attack from the Tarquinians, and almost a temptation to them; and not being strong enough to defend herself without foreign assistance. One was accordingly placed there; and the year following, though Niebuhr says

not until ten years afterwards, the place received a Roman colony, and became, to all intents and purposes, separated permanently from Etruria. Sutrium and Nepete formed the armed frontier, between the Quirites and the Rasena, for sixty years; and were placed on the footing of allied Municipia, obliged each to furnish a regiment to serve in the Roman wars, but being governed by their own blood, and according to their ancient laws and customs, except in so far as they preferred placing themselves under the laws and customs of their new head. These places had voluntarily joined themselves to Rome by treaty, upon the cession of certain stipulated privileges, and therefore they were never in the condition of conquered or tributary and suspected cities; even though they admitted the colonists to a share in their lands, and probably adopted the leaders into their Curiae.

The Roman historians do not mention the peace or truce, which was now concluded with all the Etruscan States, for they must in full Diet have agreed to the re-settling of the frontiers, to the election of some other Lucumony, which would make up their sacred number of twelve, in the room of Veii, and to the long cessation of hostilities which followed these last victories of Camillus. One of the Roman Consuls held an assembly* of the tribes at Sutrium, and passed a law about the Patrician share of the spoil in future battles, a proceeding quite unprecedented and forbidden for the time to come.

* A. C. 354.

A. C. 336, A. T. 831.

We hear of no more wars for four-and-twenty years,* and then the truce being over, the Tarquinians made an incursion upon the Romans, which reminded them of their old troubles in former days, and of the necessity of most vigorous measures and most able commanders, if they desired to avoid a repetition of them. A consular army was accordingly sent against the Etruscans, but met with a severe repulse, and three hundred and seven Roman officers, who were taken prisoners, were treated with much insult and hardship, and then transported to Tarquinia and put to death in the Forum there. But for this rash act, the Tuscans might probably have commanded an advantageous peace, instead of the war lasting, as it did, for eight weary and disastrous years. Part of the defeated Roman army retreated upon Faleria, which was still bound by its treaty with Rome; but when the refugees wished to quit the city, they found themselves forcibly detained, and as the Faliscii would not give them up, even when solemnly demanded by the *Feciales*, the Romans considered this conduct as equivalent to a declaration of having joined with the Tarquinians, in the war against them. Another consular army, the following season, engaged the united forces of Tarquinia and Faliscia, but being constantly repulsed, and kept at bay by them, it was forced to retire without having effected anything, if we except having prevented the Tuscans from ravaging the Roman territory.

* Livy vii. 15, &c.

In the third year of this war, the two united Lucumonies found themselves opposed by a Consul of the Fabian house, and as the story of the Cremera was well known to them, they made more than common efforts to defeat him. To their no small joy he was routed in the very first encounter, and his men were so terrified with the strange appearance of their enemies, that he could not persuade them to stand the assault. A band of the Tuscans, whom Livy calls priests, came forward, as they had done in former wars, representing the Furies, with lighted brands in one hand, and snakes of coloured stuff or worsted in the other; and the Romans believing them to be spirits, who fought on the Turrhenian side, fled away in frantic consternation. When the officers, however, could make their voices to be heard, reproaching and striving to rally them, and still more when they could show a torch which they had wrung from the hands of a wounded Tuscan, the Romans recovered from their panic and renewed the attack. Fabius besought them to stand against their enemies, by all the wrongs and the glories of his house, and by their own former victories and invincibility, until they caught the infection, and began to covet for themselves, some of that fame of which they had heard so much. They turned and fought, and repulsed their enemies, attacked their camp, and then marched in triumph back to their own intrenchments. They afterwards made songs upon this battle, and were wisely taught to ridicule

the spectacle which had so nearly proved their overthrow.

The next year, Tarquinia and Faliscia got assistance from some other members of the League, and advanced upon the Romans, by the ancient Tuscan possessions of the Salines, near Ostia. This caused so much alarm at Rome, that a Dictator was elected, and a large army raised, which he led carefully down the banks of the Tiber, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, until he found an opportunity of attacking his foes to advantage. The Tuscan generals allowed their camp to be surprised, and after the loss of eight thousand men, were obliged to retreat within their own frontiers. They still, however, considered themselves as quite equal to the Romans in military strength, and never suffered them to enter the borders of either state; nor in the campaigns of the next year, did they permit them to gain any advantage of any kind within the dominions of Etruria. In the sixth year, they fought a bloody and hardly contested field, in which they were not so successful, for though they kept their ground, and inflicted great slaughter upon the enemy, they themselves lost a multitude of noble prisoners, who could ill be spared. These men, to the number of three hundred and fifty-eight souls, were sent to Rome, beaten with rods in the Forum, and then beheaded; to the disgrace of those who knew not how to observe better, the laws of civilized warfare. It is true, they professed that it was to

avenge the three hundred and seven Romans whom the Etruscans, with a barbarity equally unjustifiable, had massacred six years before ; but admitting the ancient law of retaliation, and the natural principle of “ life for life,” why did they immolate fifty-one innocent persons, unarmed and at their mercy, without a pretence of virtue or justice to exculpate them ?

The outrage was so great, that even the peaceful Cærites, Livy says, felt compassion for their kindred, and were roused to express their displeasure. They suffered some of their men to join the united Lucumonies, and to help them in plundering the country about the Salines, and then they allowed the booty to be carried into Cære. The Roman Senate, without delay, proclaimed war against Cære, though their long tried and hitherto faithful friend, and sent troops into her domains. The cautious ruler, or rulers of the Cærites, certain of not being able to cope with the Republic, and of having their commerce interrupted, and perhaps ruined by the war, disavowed the proceedings of the army, and claimed the forbearance and forgiveness of Rome, for one rash and unauthorised act, in consideration of the refuge which this state had granted to the Romans, with their Lares, Priests, and Vestals, in the hour of their worst distress. According to Livy,* they said “ that the Tarquinians had marched through their territory as a neutral State, and had obliged the peasantry to join them, and they intreated that Cære,

* vii. 20.

the sanctuary of the Roman people, the refuge of her priests, and the asylum of her sacred things, might be left unhurt and unviolated by the horrors of war, in consideration of the Isopolity contracted with the Vestals, and with the Gods, whose worship had been there preserved."

The Fathers wisely judged that it was their interest to divide their opponents by allowing this plea, and the Cærites, in consequence, for ever forsook the Tuscan political alliance, though they kept the religious one, and sent Deputies to Voltumna, as worshippers of Concord, and as men of the same blood with the rest of the Rasena, but not as compromised in their quarrels, or as bound to join in their wars, or to share in their dangers. They made peace with the Romans for one hundred years, at the end of which period, the wealthy and prosperous Cære was of little more importance than the new colony which now occupied Veii.

It was probably at this time, that Rome altered and diminished the ancient Isopolite privileges of Cære, and degraded her to a Municipium. Niebuhr* says, it was after the Gallic war, and yet her troops had all the honour of defeating the Gauls in Sabina, when Rome trembled at their power, and again near Gabii, on their return home. Strabo† reproaches them justly for their ingratitude, and for that mean feeling, which prompts the prosperous to forget the benefits rendered to them in the time of need. It is only the little soul

* ii. n. 140.

† v. 230.

which fears to make itself still less, should it acknowledge former obligations, to those whom fortune or accident, in the course of time, have caused it to surpass, in worldly rank, riches, or power.

Though thus abandoned by Cære, Tarquinia and Faliscia still maintained the war for two successive years, in order to revenge their murdered prisoners, and to pacify the minds of the noble houses who had been injured through their destruction. Nothing of importance, however, distinguished the contest on either side. The Roman Dictator ravaged their lands, but could not besiege any of their towns, and the war was at length concluded by a peace for forty years,* each party keeping the advantages they had acquired. Eight years later the Faliscians accepted of the Quiritary franchise, and became, like the Cærtes, the indissoluble allies of the Roman people, breaking the political confederation which had hitherto bound them to their kindred, and only remaining united by religious ties to the other children of Tarchun and Tages. Alas! how changed—how enfeebled—how disunited and dismembered was now the once glorious and powerful Etruria!

* A. C. 348; A. T. 839.

COLONIES.*

THE Colonies of the Turrheni, which we intend very slightly to notice, are Ardea, Anxur, Circeium, Tusculum, and Antium. They were all to a great degree independent of the mother States from their first settlement, being only bound to allow connubium and commercium, and to abstain from every act of violence against them. But they never were members of any of the Leagues, nor sent representatives to any of the Diets.

ARDEA.†

This place still retains its ancient name, and its walls are built in the Tuscan fashion, with large square blocks of tufo in regular courses, and with mounds behind them, which Gell imagines may have suggested the famous Agger of Rome to Servius Mastarna. This place, the capital of the Rutuli, was colonized by Mezentius and his thousand men, when they were driven out of Cære. Pliny‡ bears testimony to its early civilization, and says, that there were paintings

* Authorities : Livy, *passim*; Dion. Hal.; Pliny; Virgil; Müller's *Etrüsker*; Gell, *Rome and its vicinity*; Arnold, *Rome*; Nieb., *Rome*.

† See vol. i. p. 329. Müller, *Einl.* p. 115. ‡ xxxv. 3.

in its temples older than Rome. Virgil makes the Ardeans allies of the Faliscians, Cærites, Tarquinians, and Vulcians. Festus* says, that one of their early monarchs was Lucer or Lucumo, with whom, or from whom, the Luceres came to the banks of the Tiber. Servius† tells us that the name Ardea means "Noble," and that the Feciales were derived from Ardea to Rome.

Turrhene Ardea was in alliance with Rome under the Tarquins, and joined the League of forty-seven States which agreed to sacrifice to Tiana Aventina, under Mastarna. She traded with Carthage at that time. Tarquin the Second is said to have besieged her, for the sake of her rich spoils, and after his dethronement, the Romans concluded with the city a peace of fifteen years; but Niebuhr thinks this whole story impossible. Ardea, being merely a colony of the Turrheni, whilst the mass of her population was always Rutulian Latin, united herself to the great Latin League of the thirty States, which sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis on Mount Alba, and she signed the treaty of Sp. Cassius, made between the Latins and Rome.

Some time after, she concluded a separate peace with Rome, and then referred to that nation, a dispute she had with Aricia, about the division of some conquered lands. The Romans seized upon the land for themselves, but afterwards, judging the friendship of Ardea to be the more valuable of the two, they restored the lands in question, helped the

* v.

† *En.* vii. 412.

Patricians in a civil feud against their own Plebs, and in the year of Tarquinia 746 (B. C. 441) formed with them a bond of mutual privileges and concessions, and admitted them to become in every sense Roman citizens. They were to live under their own rulers and laws, but to join Rome in all her battles, and to share in all her spoils. Camillus took refuge in Ardea, when driven from his native state, and headed the Ardeans when they were attacked by the Gauls. They, in return, helped him to maintain the conquest of Veii, and to redeem Rome from her Gallic chains. *Castrum Inui*, the shrine of the Tuscan goddess, now *Rudera*, belonged to Ardea, and lay between her citadel and *Antium*. This rich, strong, and polished town, was ruined by dissensions amongst her own magnates, until she gradually dwindled into her present village-like condition. In the days of the empire, a number of elephants used to be kept here.

ANXUR.*

Anxur was a great and strong town, situated on a lofty rock, which rises above the Mediterranean, and was called *Terracina*, after its conquest by the Volsci, a name which it still retains. Arnold says, that it originally belonged to the *Turrheni*, i. e., the same people who founded *Circeium*, and settled themselves in Ardea. We find it mentioned as an ally of Tarquinian Rome in the treaty of Carthage, but it was subdued by the Volsci. The

* Livy iv. 59.

Romans retook it soon after, but as their rule did not please the people, Auxur again revolted to her Volscian conquerors. This city was the object of many hard contests, and finally became united to Rome in the A. Tarq. 860.

CIRCEIUM.*

This beautiful spot lies close to Auxur, but it is situated in the plains bordering upon the sea, and not upon a height. Its promontory was known to the earliest Greek traders, and Apollonius ascribes it to the Turrheni, in the days of the Argonauts. The Volscians possessed themselves of it, and Tarquin the Second conquered it from them, and sent his son Titus to rule there with a Turrhene Roman colony. We accordingly find its trade and safety provided for in the treaty with Carthage, and after a time it joined the Volsci and drove away all the Romans. It was conquered by Coriolanus, and reconquered by the great Volscian warrior and prince, Attius Tullius. It gained for itself an Isopolity with Rome in A. Tarq. 729, and became a Roman Municipium in A. Tarq. 796. It had a celebrated grove and temple of Feronia, the Tuscan goddess of freemen.

TUSCULUM.†

The profound Niebuhr, the learned Müller, and our own Arnold, believe this place to have been founded by the Tuscans. Like many other Turr-

* See vol. i. p. 387. Müller, ii. 66.; Serv. *Æn.* vii. 799.

† Müller, *Einl.* p. 114.

hene settlements, it was a Tuscan colony amongst the Latins, and according to the tradition of the people, their founder came from Circeium. In oriental phrase, he was "the son of Circe," and fixed his home in Tusculum, three generations before the Trojan war. His name was Mamilius, and he became, like the Roman Tarquinius, a chief prince amongst the Latins, so that his Dynasty ruled in Tusculum for many successive ages. Sir William Gell quotes Lycophron, who calls the Tusculans "Turrhene Pelasgi," i. e. Etruscan wanderers or foreigners; and again he says, "they connected themselves with the founders of Agylla and Tarquinia."

We find Tusculum in the Latin League with Mastarna, and the Prince Mamilius was married to the daughter of Tarquin the Second. He received his father-in-law and all his Roman partisans, when deserted by their old allies, the Etruscans under Porsenna, and the Sabines; and Mamilius fought bravely for Tarquin, and headed the Latin forces at the great battle of Regillus. Niebuhr* quotes Tusculum, as an example of the antiquity of Dictators, and their long duration; and he names an Egerius amongst them on the authority of Cato. We presume the Tuscan Mamili and Egerii to have stood in the same position, as the Guelphs in England and the Holsteins in Russia. We find Tusculum as a member of the Latin League, in the treaty of Sp. Cassius, and a Mamilius, with his troops, helped the Romans to regain the Capitol from Herdonius

* Rome, vol. i. on Dictatorship.

and the Sabines. The Volscians at one time, surprised and took possession of the citadel, but were soon starved into a surrender; and Arnold believes that at the time the Romans sought to amend their laws, Tusculum was the only free city between Rome and the Volscians.

The Roman army, which unsuccessfully raised itself against the Decemvirs, took refuge here. About the year of Tarquinia, 809, the Volscians sustained a defeat from the Romans, and many Tusculans were found amongst the prisoners. The Roman Senate resented this, but the Tusculans disclaimed their countrymen, who had joined the Volscian army; and peace and friendship stricter than ever, between the two States, was the result of an event which threatened a desperate war. The Tusculans became not merely Isopolites, which they had been ever since the treaty of Sp. Cassius, but were admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens, keeping their own laws and governors. They willingly entered into that Municipal union, which received as much as it gave. The ancient city is now called Frascati.

ANTIUM.*

Another celebrated colony of the Turrheni, was Antium, situated very near the Mediterranean, and best known as one of the strong and warlike capitals of the Volsci. Niebuhr†

* Livy vi. viii. ix.; Dion. Hal. ix.

† ii. n. 557.

makes Antium Turrhene in its commencement, then Latin and Roman Turrhene, and then admitting the Volsci, and uniting with their confederacy out of hatred to the Romans. Its port, in ancient days was Cerium, one mile distant from the city walls, and it was early known both to Greeks and Romans, as a dangerous and piratical state. We find it provided for in the treaty of Carthage, as a subject ally of Tarquin the Second, and as a place of trade; and both Dionysius and Livy combine, to represent it as a place of great wealth and first-rate importance, long setting at defiance the armies of the Republic. The Antiates fought for Tarquin at the battle of Regillus. The sailors of Antium seized the ships of Gelo of Syracuse, upon their return from taking corn and an embassy to Rome: they put the ambassadors in prison, and threatened war, but the mediation of Rome released the ambassadors and preserved peace.

The Turrheni always remained here the bulk of the inhabitants, though under the rule of foreigners; in the same manner as the Hindus will ever remain at Delhi, Agra, or any of the other cities in their land, though they are subject to the power of the English. The Antiates became discontented with their Volscian governors, and about the year of Tarq. 720, drove them away, and placed themselves under the protection of Rome. Coriolanus, the Roman exile, lived in Antium, was made a member of its Senate, and had a stately sepulchre erected to him in its Necropolis,

when he died, beloved and respected in a good old age. The Roman Consul Numicius attacked Cerium in A. R. 719, and burnt two-and-twenty vessels, destroying the roadstead, and levelling the castle with the ground. Antium was after this, for a long time, one of the most dreaded Isopolites of Rome, and when angry and stirred up to fight, gave her unceasing trouble. The great Camillus strove against the city long unsuccessfully, until at length, in A. Tarq. 851, A. C. 336, his bright star prevailed, and it became a Roman Municipium, having the Roman franchise, but not being permitted to vote, and being obliged to renounce the right of making war, and to deliver up all its cherished vessels. The walls and citadel were destroyed, most of the ships burnt, and the Rostra of many of them were taken to Rome, and suspended as trophies, on a pillar in the Forum.

Twenty-three years after this, the spirit and nationality of the Antiates seems to have entirely disappeared or expired, for they sent an embassy to Rome, to beg that they might henceforth live under her laws, giving up their own, and soliciting one of the leading Patrician families to settle amongst them as their hereditary prince, under the name of Patron. Antium is now Capo d'Anzo, and its port of Cereum is Nettuno, preserving many but little noticed and yet precious remains of antiquity. Should our readers ask why we reckon as Turrhene, a city which never comes forward in history except as a capital of the Volsci, we would

reply in the words of Servius and Diodorus already quoted, "that all Volscia and all the Volscians were once subject to the Etruscans, and that time was, when they formed part of the dominions of maritime Etruria."*

* Vol. i. p. 389.

THE END OF VOL. II.

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