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Parallel of
Rome and
Athens.

gion of the times opposed to their tyranny". In the uniform belief of their subjects, they were the accountable vicegerents of heaven, and the sceptre dropped from their hands, whenever they infringed the sacred obligations, under which they held it. Through the eminent abilities, the obstinate struggle, and the ultimate and complete discomfiture of the Roman, as well as the Athenian tyrants, the martial spirit of both nations was raised to the highest pitch; and in both alike, the enthusiasm for military glory accompanied the enthusiasm for liberty¹⁸. The object of their fond wishes, both of them acquired beyond all other cities in the world; though their roads to grandeur and renown became widely different from their total dissimilarity, in point of local circumstances and neighbourhood. Athens, surrounded by states brave and politic as herself, made conquests abroad; and in the zenith of her greatness, asserted dominion over far remote coasts, and a thousand maritime republics. But her diminutive territory, at home, afforded not any firm basis on which empire could rest; whereas the Romans first conquered the nations of Italy around them, and thence from that central peninsula, the solid citadel of their power, extended their triumphs on all sides, until the whole of the Mediterranean sea was inclosed within their iron frontier. Yet, notwithstanding this diversity of fortune, the maxims and revolutions of the two states, exhibit such a striking resemblance as renders the history of the one a perpetual commentary on that of the other.

Their prominent characteristics.

In comparison with other nations of antiquity, the prominent characteristics of both Greeks and Romans consisted in the law of monogamy¹⁹, and in the zeal for civil liberty. From the former of these

¹⁸ Thucyd. in Proœm. Aristot. Politic. passim. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix. l. xi. c. 11. totally mistakes the nature of these revolutions.

¹⁹ Δὲν δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, &c. Herodot. l. v. c. 78. This passage, attesting the

military energies inspired by liberty, is the text on which Livy expatiates, in his second book throughout.

²⁰ Ἐνὰ ἀνδρὶ μίαν γυναῖκα τυχεῖν, vid. Petit, de Leg. Attic. p. 35. From two passages of Livy, the one corrupt, the other rhetorical, Vico, Neapolitano, and D'Uni, (Della

these sources flowed that early institution, and that propriety of domestic manners, which distinguishes, in modern times, the subjects of Europe from the slaves of Asia. Consuls were in Rome, what the archons had been in Greece. The Tribunes in the one country, corresponded to the Ephori in the other. Uncontrouled powers had belonged to the Grecian *Æsymnetæ*²⁰, before they were conferred on the Roman Dictators. In the Patricians of Rome, it is easy to recognise the Eupatridæ of Greece²¹; while the Equites of the former country bear a striking analogy to those noble bands of Grecian youth, employed by the magistrates in matters requiring celerity²² and dispatch, and, who serving on horseback in proof of their hereditary opulence, were always ready to defend the state against foreign enemies, and the government against domestic insurgents²³. To say all in one word, such was the affinity between the two nations, that even the municipal laws of the Greeks, were early borrowed by the Romans, and embodied in their jurisprudence²⁴.

With such congeniality of character, their transactions also afford very remarkable parallels. In their respective histories, we find alike

Similarity
in their
transactions.

cittadinanza Romana) and other fanciful writers, have inferred that marriages, establishing certainty with regard to the offspring, the duties of education, &c. could be contracted only by Patricians so called, a *pater ciendo*, that is, as they explain the words, from being able to name their fathers. But Homer would have taught them that they should have said from being able to boast their fathers' virtues. The etymology, besides, is denied by Dionysius, l. ii. p. 83. and indeed by Livy himself, " *Patres certe, ad honore; Patricique progenies eorum appellata.*" Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. Conf. l. x. c. 8.

²⁰ Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 14.

²¹ The prerogatives of the Roman Patricians are comprised in the old Athenian law, *Ευπατριδας γινώσκειν τα θία, και παριχειν αεχοντας, και νομινη διδασκαλως ἵσαι, και ὄσων και*

ἑων εξεργτας. "It belongs to the Eupatridæ to perform the rites, and interpret the omens of religion, to teach the laws, and to bear magistracies."

²² The Equites were originally called *Celeres*, a word denoting their primary function, (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. c. 2.) and exactly according with their office in Greece. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

²³ Aristot. Politic. l. iv. & passim. Compare the account of Cinadon's conspiracy, History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

²⁴ Dionysius, l. x. p. 681. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 31. Tacitus Annal. l. iii. c. 27. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 642. & Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 5. The twelve tables were promulgated, U. C. 302. B. C. 452. Hermodorus of Ephesus assisted in the work. Pompon. de Origin. Juris, &c.

haughty

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haughty²⁵ proceedings of the Eupatridæ and Patricians, immediately after the abolition of kings, whose sacred office had served in both countries, as a security and pledge, that the people should not be treated with insult, nor the nobles with injustice²⁶. Yet from the destruction of Tarquin, a period of three hundred and sixty-one years passed away before any dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians terminated in blood²⁷; and so firmly had the foundations of domestic manners been established under the six preceding kings, that two hundred and sixty years elapsed, before any woman in Rome publicly separated from her husband²⁸. In no country in the world were crimes less frequent, or punishments less severe. The dread of admonition from a magistrate long served for a most efficacious restraint²⁹; so acute was the sense of shame, and so awful the respect for government, deemed essential to the nature of man, because indispensable to his existence in community. Habituated to such feelings, the Romans were quickened in the pursuit of greatness by the active emulation of two annual consuls, and the ardent competition between two orders in the state, the Patricians striving to maintain the pre-eminence which they enjoyed, the Plebeians struggling to merit the equality to which they aspired: and the same political arrangements, under which a people less disciplined by morals, would have fluctuated between cruel tyranny and bloody sedition, secured, to this illustrious nation, equality of freedom at home, and abroad consolidation of empire.

Wars of the
Romans in
Italy.

Few readers are altogether unprepared on the subject of Roman warfare in Italy: fewer still entertain clear or correct notions con-

²⁵ Conf. Dionys. l. x. p. 632. & seq. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 13. Dein servili imperio. Patres Plebem exercere. Salust. Fragment.

²⁶ Aristot. Politic. l. 2. c. 10.

²⁷ See in Livy, l. iv. c. 9. 10. the contrast between the impassioned and sanguinary Ardeans, and the disciplined moderation even of the Roman populace.

²⁸ The first divorce happened U. C. 520. Vid. Sigonii de Antiq. Jur. Civil. Roman. l. 2. c. 9. p. 51.

²⁹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 9. and Aulus Gellius, l. xv. c. 11. The sole sanction of the Valerian law, consisted in the declaration, that he, who violated it, would act amiss. Tit. Liv. ubi. supra.

cerning it. For this purpose it would be necessary to cast an eye on the nations by whom Rome was surrounded; and to examine her transactions with these nations separately and successively, so that preceding events may throw light on those that follow them. In prosecuting this new mode of Roman history, it will be proper also to advert to the results of military success, on the increase and embellishment of Rome, and on the extension, improvement, and security of its territory: from the distinct view of which particulars, my readers will be enabled to estimate the progress of the Romans, in arts as well as arms, when, at the close of Alexander's reign, they first came into contact with the inhabitants of Magna Græcia, and thereby fall within the limits prescribed to the present history.

Besides, their brethren in Latium, and the Tuscans who possessed the opposite bank of the Tiber, the Æqui lived more inland towards the north of Rome, and the Volsci on the south, inhabiting respectively the rough and intricate vallies around the Anio, and the Liris. Beyond the Æqui on one side, and beyond the Volsci on the other, the Sabines and Samnites held more extensive domains. The Samnites, who became the more powerful of the two, were colonies of Sabines; both nations descended from the Osce, and spoke the ancient Oscan tongue³⁰; and both were the founders of various smaller communities, which divided by mountains or rivers, and defended by rude walls, occupied and deformed many inland districts, while the neighbouring coasts were cultivated and embellished by Tuscans and Greeks. Of the two seas encompassing Italy, the western received the name of Tuscan, and the eastern is said to have been called the Adriatic from Adria, a Tuscan colony³¹. The Tuscans, indeed, very anciently cultivated the extensive plains between the Alps and Apennines, the Po, and the Rubicon. Their first settlements, however, should seem to have been formed on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the country

Nations
around them
in that coun-
try.

Tuscans—
their limits
denoted.

Strabo, l. v. p. 233.

³¹ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 33.

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still bearing the name of Tuscany³¹. In this district between the Tuscan sea and the Apennine, they built twelve cities, which in process of time planted the eastern side of the mountain, with as many colonies, extending to the Adriatic, and finally occupying the whole of the adjacent coast, except the little corner manfully defended by the Veneti; a name, which local situation perpetuated to modern times in the long illustrious Venetians. Not contented with such ample possessions in the north, the Tuscans in their prosperous days usurped the Campania, that valuable southern plain immediately contiguous to the Latin shore, comparatively small in extent, but peculiarly alluring in point of climate, fertility and beauty³². In this delightful district, the Tuscans likewise established twelve colonies, of which the principal was Vulturnus, afterwards called Capua³³. But notwithstanding the amplitude of their territories, their military power had ceased to be formidable even in the first ages of Rome. At the time when Romulus occupied that stronghold, arts, rather than arms, formed the main pursuit of the Tuscans. They were a commercial and ingenious people, resembling the Greeks in their taste for music and dancing, for painting and sculpture: while their pompous magnificence, voluptuous luxury, and worse than Asiatic effeminacy³⁴, well accord with the characteristics of the Lydians, their reputed ancestors³⁵. Their confederacy had become extremely inadequate even for the purpose of defence; and their thirty six cities, governed by as many kings,

³¹ Livy says of them "in utrumque mare vergentes incolere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare; postea trans Apenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis missis; quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, usque ad mare tenuere." l. v. c. 33. The first settlements of the Tuscans thus lay between the Mare Inferum and the Apennine, they afterwards crossed the mountain, and planted colonies around the ~~sea~~. But

Cluverius says, on the contrary, "Hi igitur antiquæ illius Hetruriæ Circumpadanæ fuere fines; ex quibus postea in novam inter Apenninum et Mare inferum Hetruriam totidem colonias deduxerunt." Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 434.

³² Polybius, l. ii. c. 17.

³³ Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

³⁴ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 517.

³⁵ Justin. l. xx. c. 1.

called *Lucomons*³⁷, will appear to have been anxious, each for its particular safety, taking a very faint concern in the affairs of its neighbours.

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Rape of the
Sabines —
how justified.

Under such circumstances of ancient Italy, a country, exhibiting strength void of art in some parts, and opulence without union in others, Romulus was first engaged in war through the expedient by which his subjects had been collected, and among whom, the number of males greatly predominated over that of females. This gave occasion to the well known exploit, called the rape of the Sabines, though Latin and Tuscan women, still nearer neighbours to Rome, had flocked to see the games of Neptune, and thereby exposed themselves to the rudeness of compulsory wedlock; for Romulus administered to the Romans, and the damsels whom they respectively seized, the elements of fire, bread or rather grain, and water, emblems employed in those days to denote the indissoluble communion of married life³⁸. To the relatives of the detained women, enraged at violated hospitality in so flagrant an outrage, he alledged the plea of political necessity, and the primeval institutions of Greece, according to which it was deemed more decorous³⁹ in females to submit to manly force, than to pronounce a blushing consent. In contempt of such justifications, the neighbours of Rome took arms. The Romans checked their irruption; drove them into disorderly flight; and Romulus, with his own hand, slew their leader, king of Cænina, a city, it is uncertain, whether of the Latins or Sabines. Upon this, and a second victory over the Latin city Antemna, Romulus led back his army exulting in success, and singing rude extemporary verses, to the praise of his skill and valour. He then entered the city cloathed in purple, and crowned with laurel, preceded by priests, and followed by soldiers. Public gratulations hailed this victorious procession. Sacrifices to the gods were accom-

The
triumph.

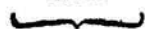
³⁷ *Lucomones reges sunt Tusca lingua.*
servius ad Eneid. l. ii.

³⁸ *Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 95*

³⁹ *Ταῖς γυναιξὶ ἐπιφανέστερον.* *Id. ibid.*

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panied with joyous entertainments ; and during this mixed solemnity, destined, in process of time, to swell into all the pomp of Roman triumphs, Romulus conveyed to the Capitoline hill the spoils of the king of Cæcina, his prostrate rival, and consecrated them to Jupiter under his title of spoil-bearer ; to whom he afterwards raised a temple whose vestiges could be discerned with reverence even in the age of Augustus⁴⁰. This temple, the first germ of the renowned capitol, was destined for the reception of the spolia opima, the spoils stripped by Roman commanders from the bodies of adverse generals ; an honour not lessened to Romulus by frequent participation, since the spolia opima were only twice consecrated, from the death of that prince to the dissolution of the commonwealth⁴¹, after numerous battles, and almost as many victories.

Condition of
the central
states of
Italy during
the 43 years
of Numa's
reign U. C.
39—82.

Under her first king, Rome conquered several cities of the Latins and Tuscans, and incorporated within her own walls a considerable portion of the Sabines⁴². Numa, the second king, reprobated the encroachments of ambition. He erected a temple to Good Faith ; and his example concurred with his precepts towards impressing the salutary conviction that justice is essential to piety. His mild yet firm sway anticipated the wish of the virtuous Plato ; and while populous and powerful nations were a prey to despotism or anarchy, a small community on the banks of the Tiber flourished under the paternal care of a philosopher on the throne. The influence of Numa's virtues extended to neighbouring states. Those who had been rivals and enemies celebrated his well earned praise ; and the spirit of just government, diffusing itself like a mild zephyr from Latium, softened into amity the surrounding commonwealths. To propitiate the gods rather by sanctity of manners⁴³ than by rich offerings,

⁴⁰ Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 102

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 10. The second spolia opima were gained by Cornelius Cossus over Tolumnius king of the Veientes. Id. l. iv. c. 19 ; the third, by Claudius Marcellus

over Britomarus king of the Gauls. Plut. in Marcello.

⁴² Dionysius, l. ii. & Tit. Liv. l. i.

⁴³ Dionysius, l. ii. p. 123. & Plutarch in Numa. Numa rejected all traditions and all ceremonies

offerings, to till or plant the ground, and to rear lawful children, occupied the central states of Italy for the space of forty-three years; during which period it was never once necessary to open the temple of Janus. To this mysterious personage, whose reformation of mankind from savageness into civility, was typified in his double countenance⁴⁵, a temple had been dedicated by Romulus. Numa completed this temple, and adopted it as a fit emblem of war and peace; of war when open, of peace when shut: under which latter circumstance, the territory of Rome was cultivated not more from necessity, than an emulation of industry. Each citizen could call a little "lot of land his own. Husbandmen thenceforth continued the main division of Romans⁴⁶. Other branches of labour were encouraged in proportion to the profit, or even pleasure, which they afforded. The smith, carpenter, weaver, and tanner administered to coarser wants; and already, in the reign of Numa, the more refined trades of the dyer, the goldsmith, and the maker of musical instruments were erected into separate corporations, enjoying appropriate halls, emblems, and festivals⁴⁷.

In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, successor to Numa, the pretensions of Alba, long the chief city of the Latins, were overthrown by the issue of the well known combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; a transaction in several of its circumstances strongly marking the distinction between heroic and barbarous manners⁴⁸. But notwith-

Wars under
the three
succeeding
kings U. C.
82—170.

ceremonies derogatory to the gods, and thereby detrimental to man. He thus refined the mythology of Homer, as was afterwards done by the Pythagoreans. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. From this coincidence in theological reformation arose the anachronism stigmatized by Livy, l. i. c. 18, making Numa a scholar of Pythagoras, who lived 100 years after him.

⁴⁵ Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 7.

⁴⁶ Two Roman jugera, equal to acres 1.236: that is, to five-fourths of an English acre.

⁴⁷ Pim. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 34.

⁴⁸ Plutarch in Numa.

⁴⁸ Manners are barbarous when crimes are committed wantonly, viewed unfeelingly, and either horridly avenged, or allowed to pass unchallenged. The reverse of all this appears in Dionysius, l. iii. p. 151. See the affecting prelude to the combat; the agitations and tears of the kinsmen; the restless transports of the love-sick Horatia bursting the restraints of her well-disciplined modesty: the stern patriotism of her brother; his *audacia*, or confidence in his own dire feelings, of which the propriety, on such an occasion, was recognized by the father of Horatia and himself, and by the king who expiated the murder.

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standing the demolition of Alba, and the conversion of its inhabitants into Romans, wars were often renewed with the Latins, as well as with the Sabines and Tuscans, in consequence of the law of nations then prevalent in Italy. By a useful fiction of modern lawyers, kings are said never to die; amidst the perishing fluctuations of their persons, in their official capacity they are immortal; and the rights and obligations of each prince are thus transmitted intire to his successors. But the neighbours of ancient Rome, not acknowledging this maxim⁴⁰, rejected the supremacy, first of Ancus Martius, and afterwards of Tarquinius Priscus. The former of these princes, grandson to Numa, and heir to his virtues, armed for a just defence, and terminated a long and complicated war by results most beneficial to his country. The Volientes ceded to Rome the property of the Mesian forest; the remotest communities of Sabines acknowledged the superiority of Roman valour: Ancus extended his frontier to the sea; and near the mouth of the Tiber, constructed the safe harbour of Ostia. To secure the navigation⁴¹ of that river, he fortified the Janiculum, an eminence on its western bank; and this eighth, as it may be deemed, and loftiest⁴² of the Roman hills, was joined to mount Palatine by a wooden bridge. To the new citizens, chiefly Latins, whom his victories brought to Rome, Ancus assigned dwellings on mount Aventine. Mount Cælius was inhabited by Albans: the Palatine and Capitoline hills had been already occupied respectively by Romans and Sabines⁴³. Upon the death of Ancus Martius, his successor, Tarquinius Priscus, was involved in a new war. The incursions of his enemies were repressed, their armies driven from the field, many of their cities taken, and chastised with different measures of severity according to the obstinacy of their resistance. The Latins, having wholly submitted, became auxiliaries to Tarquin in reducing the rebellious communities of Tuscans: namely, those

⁴⁰ Dionysius, l. iii. p. 186.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 183.

⁴² The Janiculum rises 260 feet above the level of the Tiber, that is, 100 feet higher

than any of the seven hills on the opposite bank.

⁴³ Dionys. ibid.

first established in Italy on the western side of the Apennine; and both Latins and Tuscans followed the standard of Rome in her renewed hostilities with the Sabines, and in the course of five years compelled that warlike people to accept the same conditions of peace, by which themselves were bound⁵³.

Such a tide of prosperity was celebrated by triumphs at Rome, and commemorated by public monuments. As emblems of his supremacy, Tarquin received from the Tuscans a golden crown, a sceptre of ivory, bearing an eagle on its summit, and a throne of the same rare material. The ostentatious Tuscans, pompous even in their flattery, presented him also with a purple tunic embroidered with gold, and a robe of royalty rivalling the *Candys* worn by the great kings of the East, together with twelve fasces, representing the allegiance of their twelve subject communities⁵⁴. The senate and people of Rome consented that Tarquin should assume these badges of grandeur, which were retained by succeeding kings, and even by the Roman consuls, who rejected only the golden crown and variegated robe of royalty, as ornaments too proud and invidious⁵⁵.

A man of Corinthian extraction, brought up amidst the arts of Tuscany, and carefully instructed by his father in those of Greece, might be expected to employ the wealth acquired by conquest in works of useful magnificence. Wonderful were the exertions of Tarquin for improving the strength, the beauty, and the salubrity of Rome. The four hills rudely inclosed by preceding kings (for the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline were taken in by his successor Servius Tullius), he surrounded with a regular and complete wall, composed, it is said, of stones, forming, many of them, a cart's load. He constructed the Cloaca maxima, destined to carry in a broad subterranean stream the filth of the city into the Tiber⁵⁶. He adorned the

Emblems of
our re-
ceived from
the Tuscans
by Tarquin-
us Præn-

Rome im-
proved in
strength,
beauty, and
salubrity.

⁵³ Dionys. l. iii. p. 184. & seq.

⁵⁴ Dionys. ibid.

⁵⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. & l. ii. c. 1.
& Dionys. ubi supra.

⁵⁶ Strabo, l. v. p. 235. & Plin. l. xxxvi.
c. 24. The Cloaca was repaired under the
republic at the expence of 1000 talents.
Dionys. l. iii. p. 200. It was again repaired
by

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the Forum with elegant porticoes; and, aspiring in all things to rival the magnificence of Greece, erected on a plain between the Palatine and Aventine hills, a regular and spacious hippodrome, which, under the name of Circus, far surpassed its model the hippodrome of Olympia. Tarquin approached his eightieth year, and commenced in this advanced life the noblest of all his works. During his obstinate war with the Sabines, he had vowed temples on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; but as Terminus and Juventas, the god of boundaries and the goddess of youth, who had already in that place chapels erected to them, refused to resign their seats⁷⁷ even to Jupiter himself, he inclosed the mansions of these inflexible divinities within the precincts of his new architectural undertaking, of which he traced the plan, and laboriously formed the vast subterranean base. His grandson, Tarquin the Proud, carried on the design, which was completed in the 3d Consulate. The capitol of Rome stood like that of Corinth on an eminence, though far less commanding⁷⁸; and contained within its walls three parallel temples, that of Jupiter occupying the middle or most honourable place. This enormous pile of building, which extended 1840 Roman feet in circuit, was burnt amidst the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. Enriched with the spoils of Asia, Rome rebuilt the capitol, and adorned it with a profusion of costly ornaments, but neither altered its primary form, nor increased its original dimensions⁷⁹.

by Agrippa under Augustus. Ovid. Fast. l. iv. v. 401. & Strabo ubi supra. It is now choked up and neglected, and its mouth only to be seen when the Tiber is low.

⁷⁷ The obduracy of Terminus was construed by the augurs into an omen, "that the boundaries of the commonwealth should never recede; and that of Juventas, that Rome should ever flourish in youthful vigour. Livy, l. i. c. 55 refers this transaction to the reign of Tarquin the Proud. Dionysius, l. iv. p. 257. is far more worthy of being followed.

⁷⁸ The Capitoline hill now rises 118 feet

above the level of the Tiber: the Palatine, 133; the Cælian, 125; the Esquiline, 154; the Aventine, 117; the union of the Quirinal and Viminal in Diocletian's baths, 141: the top of mount Javiculum, near the Villa Spada, 260. See Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlviii. part ii. for year 1777. But the hills of Rome have been depressed, and its vallies elevated through frequent dilapidations of the city.

⁷⁹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. Conf. Tacit. Histor. l. iv. c. 53. Even under the emperors, all admired, *vastum aggeris spatium et substructiones infanas Capitolii*. Plin. *ibid*.

Tarquinius

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Servius Tullius.—His council of the Latins resembling that of the Amphictyons. U. C. 177—219.

Tarquinius Priscus, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded by his son-in-law Servius Tullius, who, from the cause above explained, which armed the neighbours of Rome on the accession of every new king, had to begin his administration with hostilities against the Tuscans and Latins. The former people, being stripped of part of their lands, renewed their submissions; and the latter, after repeated defeats in war, were more completely subdued by policy. In emulation of the Amphictyons in Greece⁶⁰, Servius required the Latins to build a temple at Rome on mount Aventine, and to send thither annual deputies from their several cities, that they might worship their common gods, commemorate their common origin, adjust their mutual differences, and concert such measures as best suited the general interest. By thus assembling at Rome, the Latins all acknowledged that city for the centre of their union and their capital; and the name of Latin, as Servius had foreseen, came gradually to be lost in the more honourable appellation of Roman.

His new laws.

By fifty new laws, this wise prince restrained the commission of wrongs, and enforced the obligation of contracts. He communicated the rights of citizenship to emancipated slaves, repelling the objections of pride and cruelty, by asserting it for the prerogative of good government to smooth rather than exasperate the harsh inequalities of fortune. To slaves themselves, he communicated the privileges of religion, built for their use wooden oratories on the cross-ways, and allowed them to celebrate in common the festival of the Compitalia⁶¹. To accommodate the new citizens, whom his mild policy had created, he joined the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline to the mounts already inclosed, and thus completed the city of the seven hills. Rome, as thus enlarged, is likened to Athens in extent. The comparison is not exact, for Athens measured eighteen miles in circuit; and the walls of Rome, only fourteen miles, even when the Campus Mar-

⁶⁰ Dionys. l. iv. *p. 213.

⁶¹ Dionys. p. 213. & seq.

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tius had been taken in by Aurelian⁶². But long before the age of that emperor, spacious suburbs, as we shall see, had arisen on all sides, exhibiting from their near contiguity to Rome, and each other, the appearance of one immense and endless city.

In consequence of the enlargement of Rome, Servius deemed it the more necessary to keep an exact account of its resources. For this purpose, he availed himself of the divisions, already made, of the city into wards, and of the country into districts. The wards, he raised from the number of three to that of four, inhabited by four city tribes: the rustic tribes were distributed into fifteen districts, each of which was provided with a place of safety in case of invasion, commonly a natural eminence fortified by art, and denoted by the Greek word Pagus, expressive of its form and use. Over each Pagus an officer was chosen to preside, whose peculiar business was to collect contributions, and to superintend in the celebration of the Paganalia; religious festivals which were made to answer an important political purpose; for the inhabitants of each district were commanded to dedicate, at their respective Paganalia, copper coins of different

⁶² According to Nolle's accurate map, the walls of Rome, including the Campus Martius inclosed by Aurelian, and the Mons Vaticanus, called Citta Leonina, because taken in by Pope Leo IV. extend in their whole circuit only $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 43 cannes, and 5 palms, Roman measure. The modern walls, however, are more extensive than the ancient, which, in the reign of Titus, measured 12 miles, 200 paces. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. But we shall see hereafter that the environs of Rome came to be crowded by buildings, especially along the high-ways, comprehended under the same general name, "Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet; And Claudian,

Inde salutato libatis Tybride lymphis
Excipiunt areas, operosaque semita vastis
Molibus, et quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi.

verses extending the approaches of Rome to the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber. The indefinite signification of the word has passed with similar effect to modern times, of which I met with an example thirty years ago. At the distance of two stages from the Porta del Popolo, a Roman being taxed with cheating, replied "alle porte di Roma non s'inganna nessuno," a moral exaggeration as great as the geographical. Horace, during the meridian greatness of Rome, fixes the Quirinal and the Aventine for its northern and southern boundaries:

Cubat hic in colle Quirino,

Hic extremo in Aventino:

The interval between which boundaries measures 3 English miles.

denominations, according to their own differences of age or sex. These religious offerings at once showed to the magistrate the populousness of his canton or district, the proportion of males to females, and that of fighting men to males above or below the fit military age. The regulations of Servius did not stop here. At the death of every inhabitant belonging to the city or country, a piece of money was appropriated in the temple of Venus Libitina; and for every child that was born, a piece, differently stamped, was to be deposited in the temple of Juno Lucina: directions that produced an accurate register of births and burials. The last and most important ordinance of Servius, was that of the Censur and Comitia Centuriata; an institution of important effect in consolidating the commonwealth, and with the disuse of which, as we shall see hereafter, those evils began, which rendered the most high-minded people in history a prey to military despotism.

Servius is said to have observed⁶¹, that in the best ordered republics of Greece, the proportion of public contributions was adjusted with all possible exactness to the extent of private property. To introduce the same equitable regulation at Rome, a law was enacted commanding fathers of families to deliver upon oath a full and faithful account of their whole household and fortunes. According to their various gradations in point of wealth, Servius distributed them into six classes: the first class consisted of persons worth 100,000 asses⁶², equivalent to 100 pounds weight of silver: the second class, of those worth two-thirds of that amount; the third, of persons estimated at 50,000 asses: one-half of that valuation marked the fourth class: the fifth class required only 11,000 asses equivalent to 35 pounds sterling⁶³: citizens not possessed of property to this amount,

The Censur.

⁶¹ I follow Dionysius, l. iv. p. 213. & seq.

⁶² An as was a Roman pound of copper, nearly 12 ounces avoirdupois. Old square pieces of copper, with the figure of a sheep, are met with in various collections, agree-

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ing with what Varro says. Servius *Æs pecore notavit.* Varro de Re Rustic. l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁶³ In those days, and long afterwards, a bushel of barley sold in Italy for two-pence; a bushel of wheat cost four-pence: a firkia

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amount, composed the sixth class, and were exempted on account of poverty from all pecuniary contributions. But this indulgence was attended with nearly a proportionate degradation as to the exercise of political rights: for the six classes were collectively divided into 193 centuries, comprehending the whole body of Roman citizens: each citizen voted only in his century; and each century had an equal weight in the enactment of laws and the appointment of magistrates. But of the 193 centuries into which the people were divided, not less than 98 were formed out of the first class; so that when these 98 centuries were unanimous, they enjoyed a decided preponderancy in all public concerns. The three succeeding classes were mustered, each into 21 centuries; whose equipments for war varied in completeness in proportion to their respective fortunes, all of them being less perfect than the Grecian bucklers, breast-plates, greaves, and helmets distinguishing the centuries composed from the most honourable division of soldiers as well as citizens. The fifth class was divided into 35 centuries of velites, or light-armed troops; and the sixth class was thrown into one century, not so much for military purposes, as to prevent the exclusion of any individual at Rome, however unfortunate his circumstances, from all share in public deliberations and popular elections. To estimate the fluctuations of property produced among individuals by time and chance, a new valuation of estates, or new census, was to be taken at the end of every fifth year, accompanied by a periodical muster of persons. On this solemn occasion, the centuries of horse and foot, the heavy-armed and velites, were drawn up in battle array in the plain extending between the Tiber on one side, and the Capitoline and Quirinal hills on the other. This plain was called the Campus Martius, being peculiarly consecrated to the god of war, on whose altar the suovetaurilia, that is, a bull, a boar, and a ram, were at

of wine was exchanged for a bushel of wheat; and a man defrayed his expences, dinner or supper, at an inn on the road, for one farthing. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 29.

This cheapness of living arose from the plenty of necessaries subsisting from the industrious agricultural age of Numa.

Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

every

every quinquennial muster offered as an expiatory sacrifice or lustrum; for this is the Greek term denoting such a solemnity; and we have seen in a former part of this work, that similar lustrations⁶⁷ of armed men, prevailed from the earliest times in Macedon, the greatest and most renowned of all Greek kingdoms: at the only muster recorded under Servius Tullius, the Romans in arms amounted to 84,700⁶⁸: a military force, which, in the space of 260 years from the death of their last king, (for Tarquin the Proud was a tyrant), gave to this warlike people a firm dominion over Italy, and eventually enabled them to push their conquests on all sides around it, with an uniformity and stability of success, unparalleled in history.

Had Rome, at the conclusion of Servius' reign, passed from a monarchy to a republic, it would have undergone little other change than that of substituting in the stead of kings two annual consuls. But Tarquin the Proud spurned hereditary and legal forms, governed by domestic councils, oppressed his people, and assassinated his nobles. The public indignation, which had been a long twenty years in collecting, exploded in the well known events which followed the tragic death of Lucretia. In establishing, or rather in restoring the republic, the chief merit belonged to Brutus and Collatinus, both of them of Corinthian extraction, since the former descended from the sister of Tarquinius Priscus, and the latter from Aruns, elder brother to that accomplished prince. At their instigation, the Romans banished Tarquin the Proud with his three sons. They were followed into exile by the obnoxious instruments of their tyranny; and abetted, during the space of fourteen years, by the resentment or envy of both Latins and Tuscans. But this long war, levied for the reinstatement of tyrants, redounded wholly to the glory of Rome and of liberty; names ever to be associated with those of Brutus and Valerius; of Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola; of the virgin Cloelia; and of the dictator Posthumius, who terminated the fierce

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W r with
the P a
quins. U C.
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⁶⁷ See above, c. 1. p. 218.⁶⁸ Dionysius, *ibid.*

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 XII. Tusculan hills. Two sons of Tarquin fell in the field: the third
 had previously perished in an attempt to recover Gabij: the wretched
 father died next year at Cumæ, a Greek colony in Campania, in
 which he had found refuge, after the wreck of his fortunes, with
 Aristodemus, master of that place, and like himself the usurper of
 sovereignty in a free city.

Division of
 Italian wars
 under the
 consuls

Before the consular government was established, Rome had gained an ascendancy over the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. From this time forward, until, on the lapse of two centuries, her affairs come to be embodied in the present history, she carried on, I. Perpetual hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci, envious and angry neighbours, inhabiting respectively the mountainous tracts around the Anio and the Liris. II. She had occasional conflicts with the nations previously conquered, whom she therefore regarded as rebels, especially with the Tuscans, who, though cowardly as a confederacy, showed spirit and perseverance in defending particular cities. III. She had to oppose the bloody and desolating irruptions of the Gauls, until she had cowed the courage of that barbarous enemy. IV. She engaged in the long and obstinate conflict with the Samnites, which finally brought her into warfare with the cities of Magna Græcia. Under these four heads, all the Italian wars of Rome naturally arrange themselves, since her more obscure enemies were dependencies or colonies of the nations just mentioned, and never had recourse to arms but in the character of auxiliaries.

Those of two
 centuries
 with the
 Æqui and
 Volsci.

The Æqui, even in the reign of Ancus Martins, are characterised as a people of high antiquity; and both they, and the Volsci, men of congenial characters, I should regard as the bravest portion of the Siculi, who maintained their hereditary possessions on the continent, when their brethren, as we are informed by the most accurate of

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 19. For the events alluded to in the text, see his second book throughout.

historians,

historians, sought refuge in the neighbouring island, to which they communicated the name of Sicily⁷⁰. Proud of immemorial possession, these fierce clans hated their neighbours in Latium as intruders, lived by prey and plunder, and, from their numerous strongholds among the mountains, were always ready to pour down on the inviting adjacent plains. Their sudden incursions were followed by rapid retreats, that they might avoid pitched battles with the Romans, over whom they boasted their superiority in desultory encounters, as well as in single combats. From the time that Tarquin the Proud first⁷¹ levied war on the Volsci to their total disappearance in history, that is, for the period of one hundred and ninety-four years, their incursions are described as returning almost regularly with the return of autumn⁷². Their arms were frequently joined by the Æqui, who, resisting twenty-six years longer, finally submitted in the 450th year of the city, and were only subdued by being nearly exterminated, since, in the preceding year, the consul Sempronius stormed and burned forty-one of their strongholds or cities⁷³. In the course of this unceasing warfare of two centuries, the Romans often brought their enemies to battle, and defeated them commonly with the loss of two or three thousand slain. They also made themselves masters of several of their townships; and it appears extraordinary, that, reduced in their numbers and curtailed of their territory, the Æqui and Volsci should so long have found new resources, and retained undaunted resolution. In his perpetual narrative of their resistance or aggression, Livy seems apprehensive, not only of tiring the patience, but of staggering the belief, of his readers. "How is it possible that those miserable districts, which are now rescued from solitude only by Roman slaves, should have supplied such continual

Causes which enabled these nations to make such an obstinate resistance.

⁷⁰ Thucydides, l. vi. p. 412. & seq.

⁷¹ Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 53.

⁷² Ab Æquis et Volscis statum jam et prope solenne bellum in singulos annos timebatur. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 15.

⁷³ Sigonius' emendation reconciles Diodorus, l. xx. f. 102. with Livy, l. ix. c. 45. Cluverius Ital. Antiq. p. 776. quotes the latter incorrectly.

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successions of brave military recruits?" He answers by saying, "that each levy must have been confined to persons of a particular age, one race being allowed to spring up before another was entirely cut off; or that the unceasing hostilities of the nations were not carried on by precisely the same cities; or in fine, that the mountains of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* must have teemed beyond all example with inhabitants²⁴." To the causes assigned by Livy, four others, I think, may be added. Without supposing any unaccountable degree of populousness, it may safely be allowed that the proportion of soldiers to the whole inhabitants was far greater in Italy in those remote times, than in the age of Livy and Augustus. In the first centuries of Rome, arms and agriculture formed the great pursuit of that republic herself; and were the sole occupations followed by her ruder neighbours, who needed few accommodations, who coveted no luxuries, and whose ruling passion was the love of independence. Secondly, by the unskillful engineers of those times, whose attainments by no means kept pace with other branches of the military art, many cities of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were regarded as impregnable fortresses. Though driven from the field, those alert and cautious adversaries generally secured their retreat; and oftentimes, after wasting the harvests of Rome, allowed their own to be burned or destroyed without quitting the protection of their walls²⁵. Thirdly, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* did not fight unaided. Not to mention the contemporary wars, that will be examined presently, these incessant and irreclaimable enemies drew to their standard numerous volunteers from various parts of Italy; enterprising youths, eager to exercise their impatient valour, and more concealed levies from jealous communities anxious to crush secretly the power of Rome, though they had not courage openly to assail it. Not only more distant

²⁴ Liv. l. vi. c. 12.

²⁵ In oppida sua se recipere, uri sua popu-

larique passi. Liv. l. iii. c. 3. Similar expressions frequently occur.

states, but the Hernici⁷⁶, a Sabine nation, and even the Latins themselves, were frequently convicted of this clandestine hostility. Fourthly, the colonies which the Romans established as out-posts in the territories of their enemies, were, in the course of time, tempted, in some instances, to prefer the connection by neighbourhood to that by blood⁷⁷, and thus to strengthen the party, which they had been sent out to ruin. In addition to these circumstances, serving to account for the endless wars of the Æqui and Volsci, it may be observed, that mountainous districts, though not essentially more populous than others, are found by experience better to maintain the populousness which at any given time they have acquired: they are not store-houses or arsenals of fighting men, but rather their breeding places and founderies: and whatever numbers you drain off, the populousness again rises to its former level.

In the midst of their long warfare with the Æqui and Volsci, the Romans were engaged in comparatively short but sharp conflicts with the Veientes, their near neighbours in Tuscany, and with the Galli Senones, the most southern clan of the Gauls, who, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, had been pouring their rapacious hordes into Italy. The former of these enemies the Romans totally extirpated; and by the latter, only six years afterwards, were themselves brought to the brink of destruction. The Veientes had submitted, with other Tuscan cities around them, to the arms of the Roman kings; and after espousing the cause of Tarquin the tyrant, had reluctantly acknowledged the new republic for their master. But in the language of the Roman senate, they rebelled seven times; and one of their earliest rebellions had been fatal on the banks of the Cremera, which flowed through their territory into the Tiber, to the most flourishing family of the republic, 306 Fabii, the whole

Siege of
Ven. U. C.
351—361.

⁷⁶ The Hernici apologised, "quod suæ juventutis aliqui apud Volscos militarent: nec culpam in eo publicam, nec consilium. But the Romans were not the dupes of this artifice. Vid. Tit. Liv. l. vi. c. 10.
⁷⁷ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 12. & seq.

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individuals belonging to that name of an age to bear arms⁷⁸. Provoked at this defeat, and stung with many insults which followed it, the Romans vowed revenge on the hostile towers of Veii frowning from abrupt hills, only eighteen miles distant. The strength of Veii defied assault: the place must be taken by blockade, for which purpose it would be necessary to keep the field many months, perhaps years. The senate therefore decreed, that soldiers, who had hitherto served at their private expence, should receive pay from the public⁷⁹; and that each citizen should contribute towards this expence in proportion to his property or census. The Patricians, and more wealthy among the Plebeians, vied with each other in pouring their money into the treasury. Veii was invested in form: a ditch and rampart, thrown round the place; and, at a due distance, a line of circumvallation drawn to intercept succours to the besieged. The vigour of attack was met with equal vigour of resistance. The Romans kept the field in winter as well as summer; having in this warfare first erected tents, covered with skins. Yet Veii was not taken until the tenth year, when Camillus, by means of a mine⁸⁰, opened a passage to the citadel, at the same time that a general assault was made on the walls. The city became a spoil to the conquerors: and nothing was brought into the public treasury, but the

⁷⁸ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 45. & seq. & Dionysius Hist. Roman. l. ix. c. 587.

⁷⁹ The pay of one horseman was equivalent to that of three foot soldiers; but we are not informed of the exact amount of either. Two centuries afterwards, in the age of Polybius, the Roman infantry received the value of two-pence daily; centurions four-pence, and horsemen sixpence. This daily pay sufficed to provide the soldier with eight meals, or to supply him four days with bread. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 39. In Cicero's time, 100 years after Polybius, the bushel of wheat cost 12 sesterii: that is, it had risen four times in

value. In speaking of early times, Pliny, l. xviii. c. 4. says, Ergo ijs moribus non modo sufficiebunt fruges, verum etiam annonæ vilis incredibilis.

⁸⁰ Livy, l. v. c. 19. says of this mine, Operum fuit omnium longe maximum et laboriosissimum. Zanchi examined its remains, and has ventured to give a plate of it in his Veio Illustrato. This circumstance, with many others, confirms the notices in Eutropius and in Peutinger's Tables, concerning the long disputed situation of Veii. That city was distant 18 miles from Rome, and 9 from the Tiber. Its ruins were found by Zanchi in the wood of Montelapuli.

price of the captive Veientes, who next day were sold to merchants accompanying the Roman army.

During the obstinate resistance of this ill-fated people; who had repeatedly burnt or destroyed the *vineæ*, or Roman engines, the oracle of Delphi had been consulted by the Romans, and had exhorted them to perseverance in the siege. To repay this encouraging response, Camillus dedicated the tenth part of his spoil to the god. A golden vase was cast, and shipped for Delphi. But the vessel, conveying this donation, being captured near the straits of Messina by pirates belonging to the Liparean isles, Timasitheus, the archon, or first magistrate, of Lipara, procured her restitution, and himself conducted the Romans to Delphi. The senate declared Timasitheus a benefactor to the republic; rewarded him with fit presents; and, an hundred and forty years afterwards, when in the midst of the first Punic war, they made conquest of Lipara, they gratefully remembered his merit, and exempted his descendants from every public burthen³¹.

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Donation to
Delphi.

The siege of Veii, which first introduced pay into the Roman armies, should seem the æra³² of a far more important change: namely, the introduction of their chequer order of battle. Before this time they were armed, like the Greeks, with long spears. From this weapon, the first rank retained the name of *Haſtati*³³: this rank consisted, as in Greece, of young men: the second, called *Principes*, consisted of soldiers in the vigour of life: the third rank, or *Triarii*, were tried veterans³⁴; and to this system of arrangement, according to different ages, the Romans, as well as Greeks, continued unalterably to adhere³⁵. But in their chequer order of battle, as commonly understood, the Romans differed from the Greeks and all

Digression on
the legionary
order of
battle.

³¹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 25. & seq. & Plutarch in Camill.

³² I infer this from what Livy says, *Clypeis antea Romani usi sunt, deinde postea stipendiarii facti, scuta pro clypeis fecere.* Liv. l. viii. c. 8. We shall see presently the

connection³⁶ between the *scutum* and the chequer order of battle.

³³ Varro de Ling. Latin, l. iv. c. 16.

³⁴ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

³⁵ History of Ancient Greece, c. ix.

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other nations. The legion, it is well known, contained ten cohorts; the cohort, three maniples; and the maniples two centuries. Had the century denoted precisely an hundred men, the legion thus containing sixty centuries would have amounted to six thousand soldiers. But the *Comitia centuriata*, as regulated by Servius Tullius, accustomed the Romans to employ the term "century" in a looser sense; so that in the 497th year of the city, the legion of sixty centuries consisted only of four thousand two hundred men; which continued to be its ordinary force two hundred years afterwards in the age of Polybius. According to received accounts of the legionary order of battle, the sixty centuries, or rather the thirty maniples into which each legion was divided, were thrown into the form of a quincunx; each maniple being a square mass, ten in rank and as many in file, and the whole maniples in the centre line standing directly opposite to the intervals in the front and rear. Upon this supposition, the legion drawn up for battle formed not a full line, but a number of square masses, separated by intervals equal or nearly equal to the fronts of the maniples⁸⁶. These wide intervals, however, must have rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the Romans to advance regularly to the charge, or to have maintained due order in time of action. The same chequer order of maniples would also have exposed them in every battle to be attacked in both flanks, and in rear; and if the second line had been posted, as is commonly imagined, fifty feet behind the *Haftati*, even its *pila*, or missile spears resembling those of Homer's heroes, would have been unable to reach the enemy; much more, the *pila* of the rear guard, or *Triarii*; so that on this system, the inefficiency of men in a Roman army is too absurd for conception.

⁸⁶ The system is explained at large by Lipsius de *Militia Romana*, a work so classical with critics, that Crevier corrects the text of Livy where inconsistent with it. Vid. Crevier Not. ad Liv. vol. ii. p. 704. Could we believe Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius borrow-

ed, without acknowledgement, his doctrine concerning the legionary order, from Francisco Patrizio. Patrizio's work is said to have been written in Italian. Vid. Scaligeran. Art. Lipsius, Edit. Colon. Agrippin. An. 1667.

These inconveniencies are obviated by another, and very different account, of the legionary disposition⁸⁷. Amidst unceasing conflicts with multiplied opponents, the Romans naturally discovered that other weapons, whether manual or missile, were all of them inferior in efficacy to their short massy swords, double edged, sharp pointed, and which, sustained by a proper arm of defence, were adapted alike to all varieties of ground and all descriptions of enemies. To make the best use of such a weapon, they saw the necessity of allowing the swordsman full space around him, and to leave to him this space within the smallest possible compass, they placed the men belonging to the second rank behind the intervals in the first, and the men belonging to the third rank behind the intervals in the second; compensating in safety to the soldier for this loose order by furnishing him with the *scutum*⁸⁸, a shield far more ample than the clypeus, which he had before worn. In consequence of this alteration, the Roman tactics became totally different from the Grecian. The Greeks acted in phalanx by the united impression of their mass, the men behind invigorating the impetus of those in the same file before them. But the Romans, not being drawn up in rank and file, for the latter of which no word remains in their language,⁸⁹ were obliged, each single combatant, to depend on the strenuous exertions of his strength and activity. Arranged in the quincunx, or chequer order, not of Maniples⁹⁰, but of individuals,

the

⁸⁷ For what follows I am indebted wholly to the perusal of a treatise in manuscript on the legionary order, by the same excellent friend, to whom, in my History of Ancient Greece, I owed a rational account of the war gallies of the ancients. The public will anticipate the name of General Melville. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. p. 208. fourth edition.

⁸⁸ Clypeus illis (Macedonibus) Romanis Scutum, majus corpori tegumentum. Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 19.

⁸⁹ This is sufficient to show that the file-order was not usual among them, though employed in particular instances, as at the famous battle of Zama, where the Romans were placed in direct *back standing*, and at intervals, to make way for the enemy's elephants. Polybius, l. xv. c. 5 & seq.

⁹⁰ It would be presumptuous to say that the chequer-order by Maniples never was employed. Yet, upon a careful examination of all the ancient battles, that are described, I find not any one decisive example of it.

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the legionary soldier had, within a given space, the freest scope for the motions of his sword in attack and in those of his shield in defence". This chequer disposition was also incomparably the best fitted with such weapons for facilitating the necessary successions in battle to the killed, wounded, or repulsed, whether these successions were made by individuals, by maniples, or by whole ranks: ranks still retaining the technical names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*; after the long spear or *hasta* had been totally laid aside, and the whole legion armed alike with the sword and *pilum*. This latter weapon was six feet long, terminating in a steel point; after discharging which missile spear", the Roman rushed on the enemy with his massy *gladius*. But I return from this technical digression, to the irruption of the Galli Senones.

Irruption of
the Galli
Senones.
B. C. 390.
U. C. 364.

These Gauls, having traversed the lands long occupied in Italy by their brethren, dispossessed the eastern Tuscans and Umbrians of the territories between the rivers *Utiis* and *Ælis*, extending from *Ravenna* to *Ancona*, ninety Roman miles along the coast of the *Hadriatic*. Not contented with this easy conquest, they marched to *Clusium*, a city in the heart of *Tuscany*, only fourscore miles from *Rome*, threatening the inhabitants with destruction, unless they divided with them their well-cultivated fields. The *Clusians*, while they

The great depth assigned to it by *Lipſius* is better adapted to the phalanx than to the legion, and something very like his Roman order was practised, under particular circumstances, by *Xenophon* when he ascended the mountains, and defeated the *Colchians*. *Expedit. Cyri*. l. iv. p. 341. *Comp. History of Ancient Greece*, vol. iii. c. 26. The same tactics were employed by *Philopœmen* in the second battle of *Mantinæa*; of which hereafter.

"The beautiful passage in *Cicero de Senectute*. c. 17. where *Lyſander*, upon viewing the plantations of *Cyrus*, admired *proceritates arborum*, et directos in quincuncem ordines; and the more beautiful lines in *Virgil*, *Georg.* ii. v. 280, where he

recommends the planting of trees in a quincunx, as armies are drawn up:

Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus
inanem,

Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus
æquas

Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se exten-
dere rami;

These passages apply not to the quincunx of maniples, of men, or of clumps of trees, but to the quincunx of individuals in both kinds, which arrangement alone allows either air and soil to the plants, or elbow room to the soldiers.

"*Dionysius*, *Vegetius*, et *Lipſius de Milit. Roman.* l. iii. c. 3.

negotiated

negotiated with the invaders, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, craving assistance as speedy as their danger was imminent". The Romans sent by way of mediators between the Gauls and Clusians three brothers of the Fabian family, the most distinguished in the republic for patriotism and boiling valour. The Fabii, according to their instructions, explained to the Gauls, that Clusium being united in strict friendship with Rome, any injury done to it could not be overlooked by their commonwealth, hitherto unacquainted with the Gauls, and desirous of being known to them only by good offices. The Gauls replied, that they doubted not the bravery of the Romans, whom the Clusians had chosen for their protectors: that this people possessed more lands than they needed, and, if they refused to relinquish their superfluity, must prepare for a battle, in which the Romans, as spectators, might witness how far the prowess of the Gauls surpassed that of all other nations". The Fabii remonstrated, but in vain: the Gauls told them, that their rights were in their swords". A battle ensued, in which the Roman ambassadors distinguished themselves conspicuously in the first ranks; and one of them, Quintus Fabius, being carried beyond the van by the impetuosity of his horse, encountered, slew, and spoiled a Gallic chief.

The fall of this chief was communicated, by signal, to the whole invading army. The Gauls founded a retreat; and stifled their animosity against Clusium, that it might be directed more fiercely towards Rome. Though blind to their own injustice, they were taught by their priests or elders, to discern that of the enemy, and to send messengers before them, demanding the Fabian brothers, as violators of the laws of nations. These laws were from the reign

" Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 35. & seq.

Arrian Expedit. Alexand. l. i. c. 4.

" Alexander remarked justly, ὅτι καὶ τοὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν. " The Gauls were ever boasters."

" Sc in armis jus ferre. Liv. l. v. c. 36.

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of Numa interpreted at Rome by the college of heralds⁶, which, upon complaint from the Gauls, denounced the wrath of heaven against the commonwealth, unless the Fabii were surrendered to punishment, as men who had polluted the sanctity of their own official character; for among the Romans an awful sanctity invested every institution, and every agent subservient to the prevention or the termination of hostilities. The senate concurred in reprobation of the unwarrantable proceedings of the Fabii; but in tenderness to persons of such distinguished hereditary worth, referred the ultimate decision to the people, who, instead of delivering into the cruel hands of Barbarians, three illustrious youths, whose fault had originated in an excess of valour, named the Fabii, with three colleagues, for military tribunes. Apprised of this proceeding, the Gauls, who had been slowly advancing southward, precipitated their march to Rome with all the fury of ungovernable rage, declaring to the terrified cities in their way, Rome only to be the object of their vengeance.

Allian rout.
U. C. 364.

News of the approaching danger had scarcely arrived there, when the Gallic train, both cavalry and infantry made its appearance, covering a vast extent of country. It exceeded seventy thousand in number, twice the force which the Romans could immediately march. Headed, however, by their military tribunes, they hastened to meet the invaders; and taking post on the left bank of the Allia, eleven miles from Rome, near its confluence with the Tiber, detached part of their number to seize a neighbouring eminence. Brennus, general of the Gauls, fearful of an attack in flank, determined first to dislodge this detachment, whose resistance, short

⁶ The *Feciales* in Rome corresponded with the *Egmodinos* in Greece. War was not to be levied till formally declared by them; and according to the *Jus Feciale* (the law of nations) could not be justly declared on any

other grounds than those of making reparation, of repelling or avenging injuries: *omnia quæ defendi, repetique, et ulcisci fas sit.* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 49. Conf. Dionysius, l. ii. p. 131.

and

and feeble as it was, saved the main body of Romans from destruction, but saved them at the expence of that pre-eminence in martial glory, which they had long and honourably sustained. The celerity of the Barbarians had obliged them to omit those religious ceremonies which inspire confidence, and prevented them from employing those military precautions which ensure victory. Their situation was unusual in taking arms, unauthorized by the college of heralds; and they had to contend with a new and terrible enemy, whose numbers, impetuosity, singular arms, and more singular tactics⁹⁷, heightened the consternation first excited by their savage howlings, sanguinary aspect, and gigantic stature. The Romans fled: one part of them towards Rome, the far greater to Veii⁹⁸.

The conquerors paused in amaze at their easy victory. Apprehending an ambush, they explored the ground on all sides; and when danger in no part threatened them, they began to chaunt boastfully their warlike songs, to pile in towering trophies the Roman shields, which in the trepidation of flight had been abandoned, and to indulge in that levity of mirth, and those intemperate carousals, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the feasts of victory. Their intermediate position, however, prevented all communication between Rome and Veii; so that those of the routed army, who had entered the former city, regretted as lost, the far greater number of fugitives who had escaped to the latter. Thus reduced in strength, they despaired of being able to withstand the progress of the Gauls, or of defending the wide extent of Rome against the fury of their assault. The helpless crowd, belonging to so vast a city, was encouraged to scatter itself southward, through the inferior strongholds of Latium; while the priestesses of Vesta were permitted to transport the venerated symbols with which they were entrusted in an opposite direction to the Tuscan city Cære, fifteen

⁹⁷ See above chapter »

⁹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 38. Conf. Plutarchin Camil.

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miles distant. In performing this sacred office, they were assisted by the piety of Lucius Albinus, a poor Plebeian, who, on beholding them after they had passed the wooden bridge across the Tiber, laboriously ascending mount Janiculum, placed them in a cart, in which he was conveying his wife and children to a place of safety. The preference given by Lucius to a religious duty, above the interests of his own family, was extolled by Roman historians, and his name passed in an obscure rumour into Greece, as that of the saviour of Rome⁹⁹.

Rome except the
capitol,
taken by the
Gauls.
B. C. 390
U. C. 364.

But this commonwealth was really saved by most extraordinary public exertions of patriotism and fortitude. On a similar occasion, the Athenians acquired immortal glory by abandoning their city, for the sake of their country¹⁰⁰. With a magnanimity not less sublime, one part of the Romans invited certain death to render the other invincible. Retarded by their frantic rejoicings, the Gauls advanced not to Rome till the third day after the Allian rout. By this time, the more helpless inhabitants had dispersed over Latium; the men fit to bear arms had fortified themselves in the capitol: while the aged fathers of the republic, disdaining to encumber the warriors, or consume any part of their provisions, seated themselves on their curule chairs, some in the Forum, others in the vestibules of their houses, and desired Marcus Fabius, the high priest, to rehearse to them the form of devotion for the safety of their fellow-citizens. This ceremony being performed, they grasped their ivory rods, and calmly waited the approach of the Barbarians. Amidst the dreary solitude and silence which prevailed in Rome, the majesty of such a sight might have overawed the invaders, a nation peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, when a Gaul more audacious than his brethren, infused the snow-white beard of Marcus Papirius. The venerable senator, with his ivory rod checked the Barbarian, and thereby provoked his impetuous broad-sword: the contagious example was fol-

⁹⁹ Aristot. and Plutarch in Camill.

¹⁰⁰ History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 10.

¹⁰¹ Tit. Liv. lib.

lowed by his blood thirsty companions, who completed the unresisted massacre ¹⁰¹.

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In the sack, which immediately followed, of Rome, the streets in many places were set on fire; by which wanton havoc, the Gauls diminished their own resources for besieging the capitol, now fortified by strong bulwarks in form of a citadel. The want of provisions obliged part of them to quit the blockade; and as the corn in the neighbourhood of Veii had by this time been conveyed thither, the Gauls foraged in an opposite direction, towards Ardea, a Roman colony, twenty miles south of its metropolis. In Ardea there resided an illustrious Patrician, now involved in foul ignominy, instead of the high honours which his services had deserved; and who of all men would have been the best qualified to prevent the evils that had fallen on his country, as he was soon destined gloriously to avenge them. Camillus, after conquering Veii, had celebrated games in the Circus, and triumphed in a chariot drawn by four horses of resplendent whiteness. This pomp offended the jealousy of republicans, by the glare of too conspicuous a prosperity. He was invidiously and most unjustly impeached of peculation, and foreseeing that factious suffrages would prevail, had retired to Ardea in voluntary banishment ¹⁰².

But the good fortune of Rome sent Camillus to Ardea. At his instigation, the Ardeans, by a nocturnal march, surprised the Gauls buried in sleep and wine. Many of them were slain; and a party, being driven towards Antium, was totally destroyed by a sally from that place. Meanwhile, the army at Veii had received reinforcements from many neighbouring districts. Only a general like Camillus was wanting to conduct it to victory. Before naming an exile for Dictator, it seemed necessary to the army at Veii to consult the Romans besieged in the capitol, who still preserved all the legal forms of civil polity, passing decrees regularly, as before the invasion,

Camillus
Dictator—
Destruction
of the
Gauls.
U. C. 367.
B. C. 387.

¹⁰¹ Tit. Liv. *ibid.*

¹⁰² Plutarch in Camill.

C H A P. in name of the Senate and People. To gain admission to this pent-up
XII. majesty of the republic, was a great but not insuperable difficulty ;
 for the Romans had always agents at command, ready for every enterprise. By means of a piece of buoyant bark, Pontius Cominius, an intrepid youth, floated unperceived down the stream of the Tiber ; ascended an unguarded precipice on the bank ; and communicated to the Romans in the capitol, the wishes of their brethren at Veii. Camillus was voted Dictator : news of his election were conveyed to Veii by the successful return of Pontius thither. The Dictator hastened from Ardea, and, having reviewed his army, immediately led it to Rome ¹⁰³.

Before his arrival, the capitol had been narrowly saved from surprise in the night, through the vigilance and valour of Marcus Manlius ; a deliverance, however, that seemed of little importance, as the besieged were now perishing from hunger. Meanwhile, the Gauls learned that their own territories had been invaded by the warlike Veneti ¹⁰⁴. In haste to protect their homes, they gave intimation that, for a moderate ransom, they would consent to raise the siege. Famine compelled the Romans to listen to this mortifying proposition. Their military tribunes began to weigh a thousand Roman pounds of gold to king Brennus. That dishonest Barbarian had brought a false balance : the tribunes detected his fraud, and weighed the gold fairly : Brennus threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming "such justice belongs to the vanquished." During a transaction, infamous on one side, and ignominious on the other, Camillus entered Rome with his army, and ransomed that city with steel. A dreadful havoc was made of the Barbarians, first in the streets, and afterwards where they made a halt, at the eighth mile-stone on the road to Gabii. Not a messenger is said to

¹⁰³ Pinarth in Camill.

¹⁰⁴ We learn this important circumstance from Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. It is pertinently

introduced by Plutarch, in his Discourse on the Good Fortune of Rome, p. 380. Edit. Ryland.

have returned home; to report the universal destruction of the invaders

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Rome re-
paired.

The Romans thus recovered their city, but a city in ruins. That it might be the more speedily repaired, bricks were supplied by the public; and permission was granted of cutting timber, and digging stone wherever these materials abounded. Before the burning of Rome by the Gauls, many houses consisted of several stories, and were adorned by courts and vestibules¹⁶. They were rebuilt, doubtless, with less magnificence; for the owners were obliged to give sureties that the work should be completed within the year; and this desire of expedition prevented due care in straightening the streets, insomuch that the common sewers, which formerly ran below empty spaces, now too frequently annoyed the tenants of well-inhabited buildings. The capitol was strengthened with grateful diligence, and its stupendous basis of square stone constructed on this occasion remained a work of conspicuous grandeur in the age of Augustus. Amidst exertions essential to their subsistence or security, the Romans showed peculiar attention to the concerns of religion. This, as Camillus told them, was the primary and most important of all national objects; "since in recalling to mind the vicissitudes of the Veientian and Gallic war, they must perceive that success had uniformly

¹⁶ Conf. Tit. Liv. Polybius ubi supra, et Plutarch in Camill.

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. et Plutarch in Camill. They were thus distinguished from the huts of rustics, whether husbandmen or shepherds. Yet Montesquieu, in speaking of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, says "L'incendie de la ville ne fut que l'incendie de quelques cabanes de pasteurs." Grandeur et decadence cap. 1. "Nothing has propagated more false notions concerning things remote in place or time, than what the French call "l'Esprit," which may often be translated (though surely

not in the case of Montesquieu) "wit without wisdom." The respectable modern writers who talk of the rudeness and barbarism of the ancient Romans think very differently from Cicero as quoted by Augustin. de Civitate Dei. l. xxii. c. 16. "Magis est in Romulo admirandum, quod ceteri, qui di ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur, minus eruditis hominum seculis fuerunt: Romuli autem aetatem, minus his sexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omni- que illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato, fuisse verumus."

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accompanied their obedience to the gods, whereas *disacer* had as constantly resulted from the guilt of an opposite behaviour "7."

From the rebuilding of the city, the Romans were, in the course of one hundred and seven years, brought nine times in competition with the Gauls, in as many tumultuary wars, commonly decided by the events of single battles. Before the end of this period, the Romans discovered, that the Gauls had not strength proportional to their stature; that their impetuous courage wanted perseverance or firmness; that, though in their first assaults they were greater than men, in their second they were less than women "8": in fine, that in all things, they were more showy than substantial.

In the midst of the Gallic wars, and about half a century after the rebuilding of Rome, the commonwealth first engaged in hostilities with a nation of a far more obstinate character. This was the Samnites, a people inhabiting these rough and lofty tracts of the Appennine, which overlook Latium and Campania on one side, the Hadriatic sea on the other; and which diverge in their southern course towards Apulia and Lucania. From their central mountains, they poured down their arms and colonies towards the Hadriatic and Tuscan seas; and eighty years before this period, a party of Samnites surprised Vulturis, the principal Tuscan settlement in Campania, butchered the inhabitants, and appropriated their city and territory "9". From Capua, the new name of Vulturis, these daring assassins are commonly called Capuans; and their bloody usurpation of that place, compared with the transactions which we are now going to relate, affords a memorable instance of the change which may be

War with
the Sam-
nites.
U. C. 414.
B. C. 340.

Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 54. combat with the gigantic Gaul, l. vii. c. 10.
the account of the Gallic wars, there are considerable differences between Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. served in Antius Gellius, l. ix. c. 18. Quadri-
garius was contemporary with Silenus, who
Livy, l. i. c. 10. and l. ii. c. 10. in the time of Sulla, Velleius Paterculus,
l. ii. c. 9. Livy professes to follow Quadri-
garius in l. vii. c. 10. et l. viii. c. 9.
Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

operated

operated in the course of fourscore years, on the characters of men, through local circumstances and climate.

The Samnites, in their various encroachments, had hitherto met with no opposition from Rome; and, as they admired the valour and good fortune of this commonwealth in the wars which have just been related, they solicited and obtained the friendship of its magistrates, and were accepted as its allies. Presuming on this treaty, they made war on the Sidicini¹¹⁰, a people of Campania, whose capital was within five miles of the Liris; the eastern boundary of Latium. This war was not coloured with the slightest pretence of justice. The Samnites, descending from the Apennine, had been accustomed to infest many adjacent plains, and they quarrelled with the Sidicini, merely because they were strong enough to plunder them with impunity.

The Sidicini applied for assistance to their neighbours the Capuans, and obtained it from that people whose own safety appeared to be at stake. Both communities were defeated by the Samnites; upon which event, the Capuans sent an embassy to Rome, supplicating protection against fierce mountaineers, with whom they acknowledged, that their own city, populous as it was, and next to Rome, the greatest and richest in all Italy, was totally unable to contend. The senate replied, by the voice of the Consul Valerius, "The Romans would willingly contract friendship with the Capuans; but unfortunately a prior friendship stands in the way. We are allied with the Samnites; on which account we cannot arm in your defence, without violating our duty to the gods, as well as to our confederates; to whom, however, we shall intimate our desire, that they desist from further hostilities." Upon receiving this answer, the spokesman of the Capuan embassy said, according to the instructions brought with him, these memorable words, "Although you refuse, consider, fathers, that to protect the Capuans against unprovoked

The Capuans
surrender
their terri-
tory and
persons to
the Romans.
U. C. 414.

Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 29.

violence,

C. H. A. P. violence, you will doubtless defend your own property. We therefore surrender to you Capua, its people, and territory, and temples. ALL. They are all yours; and whatever wrong may be done them is thenceforth committed against the supremacy of Rome." The ambassadors then fell prostrate in the vestibule of the senate-house, with supplicating hands, and tears streaming from their eyes. Historians do not insinuate, that these abject demonstrations might be nothing more than an artful drama, previously concerted with the Romans, for the purpose of enabling them to elude, without dishonour, their treaty with the Samnites. An embassy, however, was sent by them to Samnium of a quite different import from that proposed by Valerius, explaining the recent surrender of Capua; and should friendly admonitions fail, commanding their ancient allies to abstain from injustice towards their new subjects. The Samnian magistrates, assembled in their supreme council, set this mandate at defiance; and in hearing of the Roman ambassadors, ordered their forces into Campania ""

Battle
near Mount
Gaurus.
U. C. 474.
B. C. 340.

Their audacity, when made known at Rome, filled all ranks with indignation. The senate dispatched heralds into Samnium, to demand reparation of wrongs; and, in case of refusal, solemnly to denounce war. The popular assembly, upon learning that justice was denied, decreed that the consuls, Valerius and Cornelius, should immediately march, the former into Campania, the latter into Samnium. Valerius encamped near Mount Gaurus in Campania, where the eagerness and confidence on both sides soon occasioned a battle; neither the swordsmen, nor the cavalry of the Romans could break the Samnite line, bristling with spears; and the resistance, insurmountable to mere force, was overcome by those transports of military enthusiasm which the Romans displayed in their first conflict with this new and formidable enemy. The Samnites had entered the field against men, whose renown filled Italy, with a resolution to conquer or die:

"" Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 31.

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and when asked, after defeat, what had changed their purpose, they said, that the eyes of the Romans flashed living flames, blasting opposition; and that their fierce countenances and wild demeanour, it was totally impossible to endure¹². The Romans took possession of their camp; the Capuans and other Campanians flocked from all quarters to congratulate the victors. During Valerius' war in Campania, his colleague gained a still more bloody battle in Samnium. Thirty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen. But upon the first appearance of a new enemy to Rome, the Volsci, so often defeated, were in arms: and even success fomented dangerous discontent among the Latins, who had long formed one half of the Roman armies. Meanwhile the greatness of their disasters so much dismayed the Samnites, that when the Consul Ænilius invaded their territory, he was met, not by hostile armies, but by supplicating embassies¹³. He therefore granted to them peace, upon receiving three months provisions, and a years' pay, for his legions.

These legions, indeed, were speedily to be employed in a more domestic warfare. The spirit of mutiny, among the Latins, was fomented by ambitious chiefs, particularly Annius of Setia, and Numicius of Circeii. These men, equally artful and enterprising, maintained that civil society inferred perfect equality of law, and that this equality could only be secured by a fair rotation of magistracy; on which account they insisted that the Latins should enjoy a due share in the consular and senatorian power. At the distance of one hundred and sixty-one years from the victory at the lake Regillus, which had confirmed their supremacy over Latium, the Romans were thus brought into a new war with a people, who boasted the same blood and courage with themselves, who had conformed to the same institutions both civil and military; in a word, who had every

Rebellion of the Latins abetted by the Campanians. U. C. 46—419. B. C. 338—335.

¹² Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos — was well understood by Homer, who characterises it as the only virtue agitated by all
¹³ Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 33. Conf. Plutarch in Pyrrhō, the madness of enthusiasm.
 p. 398. Edit. Kyland. Valour, he says, ¹³ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 1.

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thing in common with them, except their unbending loftiness of patriotism and of policy. These virtues never shone more conspicuously than in the present renewed struggle with the Latins, and the Campanians their rash abettors. In the first great battle fought near the roots of Mount Vesuvius, the Consul Manlius, who twenty years before had despoiled the Giant Gaul, and acquired the surname of Torquatus, inflicted death on his own son for combating beyond the ranks^{""}: the other Consul Decius devoted himself to the infernal gods for the safety of his army^{""}. This moral machinery proved irresistible. The enemy were repeatedly vanquished in Campania; and, upon a renewal of hostilities, completely subdued at the river Astura, and the city Pedum in Latium. Lucius Camillus rivalled the glory of his kinsman Marcus, conqueror of the Gauls; and entering Rome in triumph, referred to the senate in what manner the Latins ought in future to be treated, observing that through the bounty of the gods, it now depended on that council, whether these rebels should any longer exist as a nation.

Treatment
of the van-
quished and
settlement of
the Roman
conquests.
U. C. 419—
422. B. C.
335—332.

That correct justice might be administered, the senate determined, that each community, both of Latium and Campania, should be tried separately. Some states were stripped of their lands; new Roman colonies were established in cities belonging to others; national assemblies, and all federal institutions were thenceforth abolished among the Latins, that these allies might be connected with each other, only through the intervention of Rome. But, in compensation for these severities, the fidelity of Laurentium was rewarded with an equal and honourable alliance. Tusculum retained the privileges of Roman citizenship formerly conferred on it. The same benefits were extended to four other Latin cities; Nomentum, Pedum, Lanuvium, and Aricia; forming at the radius of fifteen or twenty miles from Rome, a half circle on the east of that capital. In Campania, and the adjacent district of the Aurunci, similar im-

Th. Liv. l. viii. c. 7.

"" Ibid. c. 9.

nunities were granted to Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Capua, Sueffala; and soon afterwards to Acerra. Colonies were planted at Cales in the territory of the Ausones, and at Fregellæ in that of the Sidicini¹¹⁶. To the north, as we have seen, the Romans enjoyed many strongholds, intermixed with the possessions of the Sabines and Tuscans. They now acquired equally important outposts in the south, stretching an hundred and twenty miles from Rome. The number of citizens amounted to nearly two hundred thousand. Thus in Italy, as afterwards in a large portion of the world, the Romans united and rewarded their friends, divided and punished their enemies; and these simple maxims, flowing from plain sense and natural passion, led them more surely to empire, than all the windings of that crooked policy with which their proceedings are sometimes justly branded.

The extension of their ascendancy and power excited much fear and jealousy among the states of Magna Græcia, from Palæpolis the neighbour and elder sister of Naples, to the far distant Tarentum; a republic whose wealth and commercial prosperity had been long marked in the communication of its name to the great adjacent gulph. All these cities, as we have seen, were deformed by the levity and capriciousness incident to the worst form of democracy; and each had too little stability in its domestic councils to inspire its neighbours with respect or confidence. Without wisdom at home, they were destitute of allies abroad. Like Greeks in all parts of the world, they had among them ingenious and able men, whose admonitions they had the folly to despise; generally committing their concerns to ostentatious haranguers, or petulant buffoons, whose congeniality of character raised them to unrivalled credit with the thoughtless multitude. Under the influence of such counsellors, the commonwealth of Palæpolis, wantonly injured the Roman settlers in

The extension of the Roman ascendancy alarms Magna Græcia.
U. C. 430.
B. C. 324.

Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 13. and seq.

C H A P. Campania; and encouraged by the Samnites who, after a breathing
XII. time of a dozen years, had resumed their hostility, answered all demands for reparation in terms of defiance¹¹⁷. Having unwisely provoked the Romans, Palæpolis more unwisely, admitted a garrison of Samnites. The Romans sent an embassy into Samnium, complaining of the assistance thrown into Palæpolis as an infraction of the late peace. The Samnites returned a proud answer, challenging the Romans to meet them in the plain of Capua¹¹⁸. The ambassadors rejoined, that the legions were accustomed to march whither their own generals commanded them: with all possible dispatch, they in fact proceeded under the consul Papirius into Samnium, and, besides committing dreadful ravages on the open country, conquered the walled towns Allifae, Callifae, a Ruffrium¹¹⁹.

The address of Charilaus and Nymphius by which they saved Palæpolis.
 U. C. 431.
 B. C. 323.

Meanwhile Publilius Philo, consul of the former year, was continued in command until he should finish the war with the insolent Palæpolitans. By making a judicious encampment, he had cut them off from all communication with their brethren in Naples, on the opposite or right bank of the river Sebetus; and, in addition to the usual severities of war, the besieged were dreadfully afflicted by the rapacity, cruelty, and unbridled lust of the Samnites, who were entertained as their protectors. Charilaus and Nymphius, two bold and able citizens, saw no other safety for the place than a speedy surrender of it to the Romans. Having concerted between them the means for effecting this measure, Charilaus repaired secretly to the consul, and acquainting him with his project, subjoined, that it would depend on the treatment of the surrendered city, whether he himself should pass with posterity for a patriot or a traitor. Publilius sent him away with good hopes, and escorted by 3,000 soldiers, for whose exertions his accomplice Nymphius was at this time providing an opportunity. Under the semblance of fierce animosity to Rome, this artful Greek

¹¹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. c. 23.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. c. 25.

persuaded

persuaded the Samnites in garrison, that, as the principal strength of the enemy was then employed in distant service, it would be easy for them to make a descent on the coast of Latium, and to carry their ravages even to the gates of its capital; for which purpose, however, it would be necessary to set sail secretly in the night-time. Agreeably to this plan, all ships in the harbour were put in readiness, and the Samnites, at the close of night, proceeded thither for embarkation. Then was the time for Nymphius to exert his utmost dexterity, and by a number of bold artifices to create confusion and delay, until Charilaus with his Roman escort should arrive, and surprize the nearly defenceless city. The Palæopolitans obtained safety on submission; a few troops belonging to Nola, a town ten miles distant, were glad to escape through the northern gate; while the Samnites betrayed and now deserted by Nymphius, and excluded from the surprized city, which contained all their necessaries, fled in trepidation homeward, in extreme want and half naked, objects of derision and mockery in the different districts through which they passed¹²⁰. We know not how exactly Publilius fulfilled his tacit stipulations with Charilaus. It is certain that from this time forward, Naples, or the new city, rose on the decline of the old; and assumed its proper station as head of the Greek settlements on its beautiful bay. The Romans confirmed the pre-eminence of Naples, and entered into an honourable treaty with its magistrates.

These transactions were not viewed with unconcern by Tarentum. The defection of the Lucanians, its nearest neighbours, and the submission of the kindred colony of Palæopolis, were the circumstances that occasioned most anxiety. The fate of Palæopolis seemed irrevocable; but the Lucanians, a barbarous and unsteady people, it was hoped, might be again prevailed on to change sides. For bringing them over from the party of the Romans, a stratagem was put in

Artifice by which the Tarentines gain the Lucanians to their party. U. C. 431. B. C. 323.

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in practice, that could have been devised only by the profligate artifice of the Tarentines, and that could have proved successful only with the credulous stupidity of the Lucanians. Some youths, more distinguished by their rank in life, than respectable for their characters, were bribed to tear with lashes each others backs, and then expose their bleeding bodies in the Lucanian assembly, demanding vengeance for these abominable cruelties as inflicted on them by the Romans". The multitude beheld, pitied, and called aloud for a meeting of the senate, in which council it was determined to renew the league with Samnium, and to bind the fickleness of the Lucanians by giving hostages to that state, and putting it in possession of several Lucanian strongholds.

War with
the Samnites
and their
allies.
U. C. 432.
B. C. 322.

The confederacy of the Samnites was at the same time joined by the Vestini, one of the numerous colonies of Sabines. The last-mentioned people, being confined on the north-east by Umbria, and on the south-west by Latium, had early poured down their plantations along the Hadriatic sea under the various names of Vestini, Peligni, Picentes, Marrucini, while their more illustrious colony of Marsi occupied the central ridges of the Apennine. To repress the Vestini, whose hostilities might be followed by those of many kindred tribes in their neighbourhood, the consul, Junius Brutus, hastened into their territory, and sacked two of their towns, Cutilina and Cingalia. His colleague Lucius Camillus was obliged, through bad health, to name Papirius Cursor for carrying on the war in Samnium. The Samnites were twice defeated with great slaughter. Twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen in the battle of Imbrinium. Having consented to furnish cloathing, and a year's pay, for the Roman army, they obtained a short truce, which they had the folly to violate. Their country was invaded anew by Cornelius Arvina, and they were compelled to the disgraceful resolution of making atonement for the guilt of the community by surrendering

Brutulus Papius, a bold and powerful citizen accused as instigator of the war. Papius withdrew from ignominy by a voluntary death. His body and effects, however, were sent in solemn procession to Rome; but the Romans disdained private satisfaction for the public delinquency, and rejected all terms of accommodation with a people who had so often proved themselves void of faith.

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This decision was represented as inexorable cruelty by Caius Pontius the bravest of the Samnites, and son to Herennius the wisest of that nation. Pontius exhorted them to consider that war as just which circumstances made necessary, and the cause of those as pious whose sole resource was in arms¹²². The Samnites followed him into the field, to resist two consular armies that were expected to enter their country. To receive them, Pontius, adding craft to boldness, took post in the valley of Caudium, the narrowest and darkest in the Apennines. By soldiers, disguised as shepherds, the consuls Veturius and Posthumius were assured that the Samnites had marched into Apulia, and in the design of following them thither allowed themselves to be decoyed into the most intricate defile of Caudium, overhung by woody rocks, and known by the name of the Caudine Forks. Here their progress was suddenly interrupted. They perceived that the road had been obstructed by trunks of trees and huge masses of rock. The sides of the valley presented unsurmountable precipices. The Samnites were next descried on the contiguous heights. In this extremity the Romans endeavoured to turn back, but found their retreat also cut off by artificial barriers, guarded by the enemy. Pontius consulted his father Herennius, how best to avail himself of this bloodless victory. The wise old man advised him either to grant the Romans entire safety, or to put the whole of them to death. Pontius rejected the extremes of useful mildness, or perhaps more useful cruelty. He exasperated the Romans to irreconcilable enmity by making them pass under the

The Caudine Forks.—

Two Roman legions passed under the yoke.

U. C. 435.

B. C. 319.

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ignominious yoke, at the same time that he spared their lives on the hollow promise of peace, which those who gave it had neither the power nor the will to ratify. Within the space of a few months Papirius Cursor retaliated the disgrace of the Caudine Forks, on a garrison of 7,000 Sabines, which he found in Luceria, a city which he wrested from them in Apulia. The war having thus recommenced with wounds to mutual pride, deeper sometimes than those of blood, continued to be carried on with little intermission till the memorable expedition of Pyrrhus, in whose final defeat the fortune of Samnium and all the more southern districts of Italy was involved¹²³.

Events in
the war with
the Samnites
and their
allies

U C. 440—
473.
B C. 314—
281.

In the course of this long conflict, relentless on one side, and desperate on the other, the Romans experienced several severe checks, but never met with any very signal loss; whereas the Samnites, on five different occasions, are said to have left above twenty thousand slain in the field¹²⁴. The bloodiest battles were those of Beneventum in Samnium, and Aquilonia in Apulia, in the latter of which the Roman cavalry decided the battle with well-levelled spears, breaking down the enemies battalions wherever they charged. Next year Fabius Maximus, among other Samnite prisoners, seized the person of Caius Pontius, their intrepid chief, the idol of his country and the shame of its enemies. Pontius adorned the conqueror's triumph, and his death then expiated the ignominy which he had inflicted at the Caudine Forks, on two consular armies¹²⁵. With the loss of their favourite leader, the Samnites lost for a while the spirit of resistance; and having craved and obtained a truce, they were accused of violating their faith for the sixth time. On this last occasion they were powerfully abetted by the Lucanians and the Brutii, and the force of the war was directed towards the Greek colony of Thurium, formerly Sybaris. situate on the southern side

Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. & seq.
Id. l. ix. & x. passim.

Europius, l. ii. Orosius, l. iii. c. 22.

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Thurium becomes the seat of the war, its siege raised. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

of the broad Tarentine gulph, opposite to, and seventy miles distant from Tarentum. This colony, called indifferently Thurium or Thuriū, had always maintained, as we have seen, a connection with the mother country, and a dozen years before the war of Peloponnesus had been reinforced by a considerable emigration of Athenians, deriving peculiar honour from the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Lyfias, who are numbered among the colonists¹¹⁶. To resist the Lucanians and Brutii, by whom it was surrounded, and whose animosity it had provoked by refusing to join in their confederacy with the Samnites, Thuriū entered into the closest friendship with Rome, and accepted a Roman garrison for its defence. In consequence of this intimacy with a city that had been long one of the most distinguished in Magna Græcia, the Romans first began to examine as matters of improvement or curiosity, the language and arts of their remote Grecian ancestors¹¹⁷. To expel the Romans from Thuriū, the Samnites, with their allies, bent the most desperate efforts of their resentment and obstinacy. But the illustrious Fabricius, whose character will appear more conspicuously in the war with Pyrrhus, defeated them in a great battle, and compelled them to raise the siege¹¹⁸ only one year before the arrival of that prince in Italy.

In the central territory between the Rubicon and the borders of Campania, the Romans had obtained a still more decided ascendancy. The Æqui and Volsci, the Sidicini and Ausones, who had co-operated in the first scenes of the Samnite war, were punished almost by total extirpation, and their territories were occupied or rather entirely colonised by the conquerors. The Tuscan commonwealths of Perugia, Arretium, Volsinii, fought separately and were successively subdued¹¹⁹. Other Tuscan cities were equally unfortunate, whether

Contemporary wars with the Æqui and Volsci, Tuscans and Gauls. U. C. 440—470. B. C. 314—284.

¹¹⁶ Conf. Strabo, l. vi. Diodor. l. xii. Flamin.

Plutarch in Pericl. & Dionys. Hallicarn. in Lyfia.

¹¹⁷ Appian de Reb. Samn. & Plutarch in

¹¹⁸ Liv. Epitom. l. xii. Dionysius Excerpt. Legat. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 6. & Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

they

C H A P. they took arms spontaneously, or were impelled to hostility by the
XII. Gauls, who, having first made them the victims of their rapacity,
 next compelled them to become the instruments of their vengeance in ravaging the Roman territory. The legions, after an interval of forty years, met this new invasion of Gauls at Sentinum in Umbria. Their rattling chariots of war frightened the Roman cavalry, when the consul Publius Decius, in imitation of his father of the same name, devoted himself with equal glory for the safety of his country¹²⁹. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were slain, and eight thousand made prisoners. Nearly ten years, however, elapsed, before the Galli Senones were totally exterminated by the consul Cornelius Dolabella, who reduced their desolated city Sena into a Roman colony, and secured this bulwark against more northern Gauls by a decisive victory over the Boii at the lake Vademon in Tuscany; a victory which happened only four years¹³⁰ before the war with Pyrrhus and Tarentum.

Roman conquests and colonies.—
 Luceria and Saticula.
 U. C. 440—441.

Carfeoli.
 U. C. 456.
 Minturnæ and Sinuessæ.
 U. C. 458.

Venusia.
 U. C. 462.

During this tide of military success, the prosperity of the Romans, we may observe, was marked and confirmed by the establishment of colonies. Early in the Samnite war, they colonised the important strongholds of Luceria and Saticula on the immediate frontier of their enemy. The Umbri were punished for a short defection by being bridled with a garrison in their strongest city Nequinum, or Narni. The same year Carfeoli was planted in the country of the Marfi, the bravest of the Sabine race; and shortly afterwards Minturna and Sinuessæ, both of them on the frontier of Campania, the former near the mouth of the river Liris, the latter in the Vescian forest: and scarcely four years intervened, before they sent one of their largest colonies to Venusia in Apulia. It consisted of twenty thousand men, and proved of vast importance in maintaining their authority over that extensive district. Upon the whole, previous to

¹²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28.

¹³⁰ Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Livit.

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The Tarentines destroy a Roman fleet. U. C. 470. B. C. 289.

the war of Tarentum, they should seem to have established at least thirty colonies in different parts of Italy¹¹.

The Tarentines, as we have seen, had descended to the vilest artifices, for interposing a strong barrier between the manly valour of Rome and their own voluptuous effeminacy. But when they perceived that, by the falling of one people after another, the war was brought to their borders, anger carried them to an act of capricious rashness, which could have been committed only by a city like Tarentum, the abstract and essence of the most corrupt democracy. It happened that the Romans in ten decked ships, a force sufficient to protect them against pirates, sailed, probably from Thurii, to survey¹² the neighbouring coasts of Magna Græcia; and being still at peace with Tarentum, prepared to enter that port as into a friendly harbour. Many Tarentines were then assembled, as was customary with a people who lived only for pleasure, in their magnificent and spacious theatre, from which they had a distinct view of all vessels which approached their coast. Upon sight of the Roman ships, the spectators were thrown into an uproar. The consciousness of their own injuries, made them suspect the strangers of hostility. Philocharis, nicknamed Thais, the most profligate of men, and therefore the most acceptable to the multitude, cried out, that the guard-ships in the harbour must be launched, and the Barbarians repelled. His orders were obeyed; the Romans betook themselves to flight; five of their ships escaped, four were sunk, one was taken, and its crew either slain in making resistance, or dragged into slavery. Proud of this inglorious victory, the Tarentines hastily marched to Thurii, compelled its slender garrison to capitulate, banished the nobles, and plundered the city.

Instead of proceeding immediately to punish those enormous outrages, the Romans, according to their law of nations, sent an embassy

Their beastly insult to the ambassador

¹¹ Liv. l. x. & xi. passim. Conf. Strabo, Rebus Samnit. c. vii. p. 57. Edit. Schweigh. l. v.

¹² Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat.

¹³ Εὐνοῖα τῶν μεγάλων Ἑλλάδων. Appian de p. 743. & seq. Conf. Appian ubi supra.

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P. Posthumus.
U. C. 472.
B. C. 282.

to Tarentum with demands of satisfaction. The embassy was headed by Lucius Posthumus, a man of consular dignity. It was admitted to the bar of the Tarentine assembly, convened, as often happened in Greek cities, in the great theatre. But before the ambassadors declared the subject of their mission, their dress, their appearance, and as soon as they began to speak, the inaccuracies of their language and pronunciation, (for they made use of the Greek tongue), excited derision and mockery among the petulant rabble. Upon their demand, that the authors of most unprovoked violence, against the Romans and their allies, should be surrendered to condign punishment, they were hissed contumeliously from the theatre; and the buffoon Philonides, (for the names of such wretches only occur in the history of Tarentum), followed closely after Posthumus, and lifting up his own garment, defiled with his excrement, the senatorian purple. The grinning multitude claimed his beastly insult for their own, while Posthumus calmly declared that the blood of the Tarentines should wash the stain from his laticlave¹³⁴.

They invite
Pyrrhus to
command
them.
U. C. 473.
B. C. 281.

That wretched people, uniting in an extraordinary degree the weakness of folly with the vices of false refinement, thus provoked the resentment of Rome, without possessing the first requisite in war, a good general. As a free and commercial state, their walls defended them against neighbouring Barbarians; their fleet, against foreign enemies; they were jealous of military power, and careless of military merit; and their ancestors, on various occasions, to avoid employing commanders among themselves, who might have been tempted to become tyrants, had usefully engaged in their service, generals formed in the experienced schools of Greece and Sicily. In compliance with such precedents, the Tarentines, in looking abroad for a stranger qualified to defend them, cast their eyes on Pyrrhus of Epirus. This prince, who boasted his descent from the heroic lines of Hercules and Achilles, had in early youth been ex-

¹³⁴ Dionysius, *ibid.*

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Actual circumstances of that prince.

pelled by treason from his hereditary kingdom. He had long followed the fortunes of Antigonus and Demetrius; and in their cause signalized his valour at the great decisive battle of Ipsus in Phrygia. The misfortunes of Demetrius, after the death of his father in that battle, reduced Pyrrhus to the condition of an hostage at Alexandria with the first Ptolemy; where, by his activity and address in hunting and the gymnastic exercises, he gained high favour with the king, and by the regularity of his morals, accompanied with assiduity and flattery, so strongly ingratiated himself with queen Berenice, that in preference to many illustrious suitors, he obtained in marriage her daughter Antigone. This alliance, with the dower of troops and treasures which followed it, reinstated Pyrrhus in his kingdom of Epirus. After his re-establishment there, he had, upon the death of Antigone, espoused Lanassa, daughter to Agathocles of Sicily, in virtue of which marriage he laid claim to the isle of Corcéyra, and was assisted by some gallies belonging to Tarentum, in effectuating his designs against that island. Fortune for a moment had flattered him with far higher acquisitions; he had gained the kingdom of Macedon from the capricious Demetrius, lost it to the warlike Lysimachus, and was again on the point of contending for it with the detestable Ptolemy Keraunus, when the ambassadors of Tarentum and her allies gave a new direction to his arms¹³.

According to the custom of that age, the ambassadors presented him with crowns of gold as tributes of respect from their several cities. They assured him, that the strength of the sea-ports in Magna Græcia, and of the Italian confederates around them, exceeded three hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry; a mighty force which they were desirous of entrusting to the greatest of Greek generals, that he might employ it against an upstart and arrogant republic on the banks of the Tiber. Pyrrhus needed not the encouragement of this alluring exaggeration. His ancestors, as

His great views.—He makes sail for Italy. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

¹³ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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we have seen, had fought with glory in defence of the Greek colonies in Italy; his affinity with the house of Agathocles gave him a personal concern in the affairs of Sicily and even of Africa; and his own genius, being vast and romantic, and emboldened by great, sudden, and most unlikely strokes of good fortune, he presumed to take the great Alexander for his model, and doubted not his abilities to effect in one-half of the world a revolution similar to what his renowned kinsman had accomplished in the other. Through the peninsula of Asia, the son of Philip had ascended to universal empire in the East; Pyrrhus hoped to make the peninsula of Italy, the ladder by which he was to attain an equal supremacy in the West. Under such flattering delusions, he immediately dispatched to Tarentum his lieutenant and friend Cineas the Thessalian at the head of 3000 men; and being furnished with transports by his allies in Magna Græcia, followed in person with a far greater force, partly raised in Epirus, and partly received from Ptolemy Keraunus on condition of leaving that murderous usurper in quiet possession of Macedon. This second embarkation consisted of twenty thousand heavy armed infantry, three thousand horse, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants¹⁶: a well composed army which, by the Greeks of that age, might very reasonably have been deemed capable of achieving mighty exploits among barbarous nations.

His proceeding
at Tarentum.

U. C. 473.
B. C. 281.

The first imprudence of Pyrrhus was that of setting sail at the stormy opening of spring, in consequence of which rashness his transports were scattered by a tempest, and even his own galley wrecked on the coast of Messapia. The inhabitants of that extensive district, surrounding on the land side the territory of Tarentum, who had entered into all the views of their Grecian neighbours, received, with the most respectful courtesy, a prince who had braved every danger in hastening to their aid. Pyrrhus advanced to Tarentum at

¹⁶ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

the head of little more than two thousand men ; he was met on the way by an escort under Cineas ; and a few days after his arrival at the place of destination, most of his transports reached its capacious harbour in safety. The Tarentines had suffered much uneasiness during the storm by which the king's ships were assailed ; and fearing the immediate vengeance of Rome, had pusillanimously pent themselves up within their walls. Pyrrhus exhorted them to employ nobler means of safety. By his orders, an exact account was taken of the males fit to bear arms. Levies were made with all possible expedition ; and the king, soon discovering the cowardice of the people with whom he had to do, charged the press-masters to bring him personable men, such as had size and strength, saying, that it would be his own business to fashion them into soldiers ¹²⁷. In conformity with this resolution of rendering Tarentum a place of arms, the number of useless holidays was reduced ; unseasonable solemnities were proscribed ; an order was issued for shutting up the public walks and gardens, the porticoes of prating politicians, the gymnasia for superfluous exercise, above all, the infamous bagnios, those vile resorts of all the vices that lazy voluptuousness carries in her train. Instead of the general whom they had voluntarily chosen, the Tarentines began to complain that they had found a cruel tyrant ¹²⁸. Pyrrhus treated these murmurs as sedition, some of the more audacious demagogues, he is said to have taken off by assassination : others of them, he ordered under various pretences into Epirus ¹²⁹, governed in his own absence by his son Ptolemy, nephew on the mother's side to Ptolemy Philadelphus then reigning with great glory in Egypt.

There was in Tarentum a certain Aristarchus, a man of much eloquence and address, and so universally acceptable to his countrymen, that Pyrrhus was at some loss by what means most safely to

Aristarchus
the Tarentine
demagogue
escapes to
Rome.

¹²⁷ Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 1.

¹²⁹ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

¹²⁸ Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 3.

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remove him. To ruin the credit of this favourite, he affected to take Aristarchus into his most intimate confidence; and, mingling with the severe discipline of camps the cruel artifices of courts, caused it to be industriously circulated that the measures most displeasing to the Tarentines had all of them been suggested by this able counsellor. Soon afterwards, Aristarchus was dispatched on pretence of an honourable commission to young Ptolemy, viceroy in Epirus. He embarked without any apparent reluctance, but determined in his own mind to elude the base arts of the king by still more perfidious address; for he was no sooner beyond the reach of Tarentum, than he commanded his pilot to steer for the coast of Latium, and was received cordially at Rome as a person well qualified to serve the commonwealth⁴⁰. From him, the Romans first learned the vigorous preparations of the enemy: that the Messapians, Lucanians, and Samnites were ready to co-operate with the Greeks; and that embassies had been sent to the Tuscans, Umbri, and Gauls to rouse against Rome the ill-stifled animosity of these nations, and to make them take part in a war that would assuage their utmost hatred.

A legion, consisting of 4000 Campanians, massacres the Rhegians, and usurps their city.
U. C. 473.
B. C. 281.

The first care of the Romans was to secure the fidelity of their allies. They next sent a legion of 4000 men to protect the inhabitants of Rhegium, who, though Greeks by blood and language, were Romans in affection. But it unfortunately happened that the greater part of this legion consisted of licentious Campanians, headed by their countryman Decius Iubellius, a wretch capable of every enormity. The Campanians beheld from Rhegium the towers of Messenè on the opposite side of the Strait, and the sight reminded them of the successful villainy of their now envied brethren. Iubellius exhorted them, in the midst of the present general convulsion of Italy, to imitate the bold example which would crown them with wealth and power. The design was executed as fiercely as it had

been cruelly conceived. The unsuspecting Rhegians were massacred ; their women and property became a spoil to the murderers ; and those abominable assassins, having soon entered into a confederacy with their neighbours of Messenè, brethren to them in blood and infamy, set the resentment of Rome at defiance, and styled themselves the new commonwealth of Rhegium " We shall see in due time the late but dreadful vengeance which overtook the contriver and the actors in this perfidious and murderous enterprize.

Meanwhile the consul Coruncanius, having marched northwards to repress insurrections in Tuscany, the concerns of the south were committed to his colleague Lævinus. He proceeded into Lucania, and encamped on the left bank of the Siris, which, after watering the Platæan settlement Pandosia, flows into the Tarentine gulph near Heraclæa, a colony of Tarentum. Pyrrhus was also in the field, but still unaccompanied by his auxiliaries. Lævinus hoped to fight him before their arrival ; and having received from him a herald with the proposal of submitting to his arbitration the differences between Rome and Magna Græcia, the consul made reply, " that his countrymen neither desired Pyrrhus for their judge, nor feared him as their enemy." That he might discover the foundation of this extraordinary confidence, Pyrrhus employed fit emissaries to examine the number and quality of the adverse army. They were detected, however, and conducted to Lævinus, who, instead of punishing them as spies, ordered them to be shewn every thing at the greatest leisure. They were then dismissed to their employer, with the information, that a second, and far greater army, than that which they had just reviewed, was ready to take the field. The king scarcely believing his own agents, ventured to reconnoitre in person the quadrangular camp of the Romans, and when he had accurately surveyed the judicious plan of the whole, and the nice configuration of the parts, exclaimed to Megacles, one of his generals

Pyrrhus defeats the Romans on the river Siris, and advances to Præneste within 25 miles of Rome. U. C. 474.

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who accompanied him, "These Barbarians have nothing barbarous in their encampments; we shall see, whether the bravery of their actions corresponds with the skill of their dispositions." But every thing, that he had yet heard or seen, inclined him to avoid a battle before the arrival of his expected succours. For this purpose it was necessary to defend, if possible, the passage of the Siris. His movements, however, with this intention, were ill-concerted and unsuccessful. The Romans passed the river with little molestation. A general action ensued, in which the legions were seven times repelled by the phalanx, and seven times returned to the charge¹¹. Pyrrhus performed prodigies of valour; his horse was killed under him, and Megacles, who fought in the royal garb, was mistaken and slain for his master. The victory of the Greeks was due to the compact arrangement of their phalanx; to the terror occasioned among the Roman horse by the appearance and noise of the elephants; and to the rapid evolution and resistless irruption of the Thessalian squadrons, whose superiority was conspicuous in all the combats of cavalry during that age. According to the most moderate computation, the Romans lost 7000 men; the Greeks, about half that number: the vanquished, abandoning their camp, retreated into the still friendly district of Apulia: Pyrrhus, after burying even the enemy's slain, out of respect to their valour, hastened into Campania in order to make conquests, or gain allies through the fame of his glorious victory. His attempts failed against Naples and Capua; he captured Fregellæ, a Roman colony on the Siris, and from thence proceeded to Prænestè within twenty-five miles of Rome.

Occurrences
in the nego-
tiation about
exchange of
prisoners.

By this time two legions had been raised with a view to reinforce Lævinus; and his colleague Coruncanius had returned triumphant from Tuscany. Pyrrhus, in consequence of this intelligence, perceived his danger of being inclosed between two consular armies. He resolved, therefore, to return southward with his spoil and pri-

¹¹ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

seners to Tarentum, suspecting that Italy was not the country in which it would be easy for him to gather laurels. This suspicion was much strengthened by occurrences which immediately followed. The Romans sent to him a deputation of three senators, Dolabella and Æmilius, famous for the reduction of the Galli Senones¹¹, and Fabricius who had more recently in the defence of Thurii signalized his skill and valour against the Samnites and Lucanians. Pyrrhus fondly hoped that they had come to treat of peace, but their only errand was the exchange of prisoners, particularly their captive knights, of whom 1,800 had fallen into the enemy's hands in consequence of the disorder produced by his elephants among the Roman cavalry. Pyrrhus gratuitously released 200 of the number, and allowed the whole remainder to return to Rome on their parole that they might celebrate the Saturnalia. According to the Greek custom, he entertained the ambassadors at his table; and on this occasion, when Cincas, the king's minister and friend, was explaining the fashionable philosophy of Epicurus, "that pleasure was the greatest of goods, and that the gods were neither delighted with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes," Fabricius exclaimed, "may such principles actuate Pyrrhus and his allies while they continue at variance with Rome!" The king had already acknowledged the worth of Fabricius, as a man whom he could neither scare by his elephants, nor corrupt by his gold: his simple word had been declared a certain pledge for the return of the Roman prisoners; and when they actually returned, Pyrrhus, in admiration of proceedings so unlike to what he had been accustomed to meet with in the wars of the East, sent Cincas to the senate with offers of peace and the restoration of all prisoners unransomed, on condition that Magna Græcia should be left unmolested, and that, for its future security, the Romans should evacuate their strongholds in the neighbouring districts of Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia. At the instigation of

¹¹ Dionys. Halicarnass. Excerpt. Legation.

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Obstinate and undecisive battle of Asculum in Apulia. U. C. 475. B. C. 279.

Appius Claudius Cæcus, so named from his blindness, the senate rejected all terms of accommodation, and even determined not to receive any new proposal from Pyrrhus, while he remained in Italy with an army.

In consequence of this transaction towards the end of winter, the king invaded Apulia early in the spring: he gained some towns by assault, and others by capitulation. But his success terminated on the arrival of the consuls Sulpicius and Decius, the latter of whom was son and grandson to the two Decii, who had successively devoted themselves to voluntary and certain death in the service of their country; events of which both Pyrrhus and his soldiers were apprised. As that prince, however, had kept up a communication by sea with Epirus, and the Lucanians and Samnites had by this time joined his standard, the strength which he now mustered was fitted to inspire confidence. It exceeded forty thousand men. The Romans led against him two consular armies, each consisting, as usual, of two legions with a due proportion of auxiliaries; so that their force fell short by about one-fourth of that of the enemy. To resist his elephants, the Romans accoutred their strongest horses in plates of iron, and yoked them in chariots blazing with fire-brands, and bristling with iron forks. It appears not, however, that this contrivance was made available in action. The battle was fought, at Asculum in Apulia, and the field so obstinately disputed, that it is said to have contained fifteen thousand slain on either side, when the approach of night left the victory still doubtful. The phalanx remained impenetrable, until a detachment being sent by Pyrrhus against the Apulians who had broken into his camp, discomposd and discouraged the Epirots, and thus producing a fluctuation in their line, gave admission, in various parts, to the Roman swordsmen. The consul Decius had fallen in the beginning of the engagement, and near the close of it, Pyrrhus was severely wounded

with a pilum. Next day, though both parties claimed the superiority, yet both thought fit to retreat; Pyrrhus, to Tarentum; the Romans, to the friendly strongholds in Apulia. The dreadful carnage on both sides is attested indeed by the long inactivity which followed it: and Pyrrhus when congratulated on his victory, said frankly, "Another such, and we are undone." During the remainder of the campaign, he shewed no inclination to risk a second general engagement; and when the new consuls Fabricius and Ænilius entered the field against him in the spring, an event happened which made him more desirous than ever of accommodating his differences with the Romans¹⁴.

The king's physician, with equal levity and baseness, sent a letter to Fabricius, offering for a due reward to poison his royal master. Fabricius immediately transmitted this letter to Pyrrhus, accompanied with another from himself to the following purport. "You make an unhappy choice of your friends and of your enemies, as the writing herewith sent will afford proof. Your hostilities are directed against honest men, while you repose confidence in villains. This communication is not made through regard to your safety, but lest the Romans, if any misfortune happened to you, should ever be suspected of having employed expedients unworthy of them." Pyrrhus exclaimed, that in this letter he recognised the soul of Fabricius, a man not to be diverted from the path of rectitude, any more than the sun from its course¹⁵. He immediately dispatched Cineas to Rome with rich presents, and the release of all prisoners. The Romans, both in their individual and collective capacity¹⁶, rejected his presents, and claiming no remuneration for an act of mere justice, they sent back an equal number of prisoners in exchange, but firmly maintained their first resolution of not hearkening to any terms of accommodation, until the king should withdraw from Italy.

The
Treachery
of Pyrrhus's
physician
discovered
to him by
Fabricius.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *ibid*.

¹⁶ Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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Pyrrhus fails
to assist the
Greeks in
Sicily, and
the Cartha-
ginians and
Mamertines.
U. C. 475.
B. C. 279.

To this resolution Pyrrhus was shortly afterwards determined by the magnanimity of the Romans, his own inconstancy, and an emergency altogether independent on these causes, but which strongly co-operated with them. This was an invitation from the Greeks in Sicily, harrassed at the present crisis by evils above explained, and who saw no other defence but the arms of Pyrrhus, whose marriage with the daughter of Agathocles gave him strong claims in their island, against the usurpations of the Carthaginians on one side, and the rapacity of the Mamertines on the other. The Carthaginians had not been inattentive to his Italian warfare. They had long looked to that quarter as presenting most danger to their republic; but Magna Græcia, not Latium, was the object of their jealousy. The strength of Carthage had been shaken and bent by the invasion of Agathocles, Pyrrhus, with equal abilities, was animated by not less ardent ambition. The Carthaginians, therefore, most heartily wished success to Rome, in the defensive war which she waged with that prince, and had even made offers of sending a fleet to her assistance, if that should be deemed necessary¹⁴⁷. With such apprehensions, we must refer to that instability above explained in their councils, in order to comprehend the extreme remissions with which they guarded the straits of Messina; for Pyrrhus, upon the pressing solicitations sent to him from Sicily, having left a garrison in Tarentum, immediately embarked for that island, touched at Tauromenium, landed at Catana, and uninterrupted by the Carthaginians, marched with an increasing army towards Syracuse. Thurion and Sosistratus, who, as we have seen, held a divided sovereignty in that city, entrusted to his command its whole military and naval force. He was joined by Tyndarion, the general of Tauromenium; Agrigentum expelled its Carthaginian garrison; the insurrection in his favour was universal throughout the island; and

His circuit
unsuccessful in
that island

Pyrrhus ~~saw~~ at his disposal upward of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a fleet of two hundred galleys, which were employed by that prince with an activity and effect worthy of his ambition. The Carthaginians were driven to the western corner of the island distinguished by the promontory Lilybæum, after they had lost Panormus on the northern, and Selinus on the southern shore. At the other extremity of Sicily, near the promontory Pylorus, Pyrrhus' detachments had proved equally successful against the Mamertines of Messenè. The hostilities of these Banditti had been repressed, their rapacious collectors had been made prisoners, they had been beat from their strongholds in the country, and were cooped up within the walls of their capital. Lilybæum and Messenè, at the mutually remotest points of Sicily, were the only places that held out against the arms of the invader ⁴⁸.

In Lilybæum, the Carthaginians resisted with unabating vigour; and being masters of the neighbouring sea, continually multiplied the means of defence by new supplies of men and provisions, of arms and military engines. Pyrrhus besieged the place for two months, and is said to have performed prodigies of valour, worthy of his ancestor Achilles. But his soul, equally impatient, was not proof against the irritations of delay; his temper was completely overset; he thirsted for speedier vengeance, and the example of Agathocles had taught him that the enemy was most vulnerable in Carthage. His resolution to invade Africa was followed by most obnoxious measures for carrying the design into execution. In the pressing of sailors for his fleet, his agents were guilty of such cruelties, as inflamed the hasty temper of the Sicilians into mutiny. The punishment of their ringleaders only exasperated their fury, and the exertions of this fury were repressed by new acts of tyranny. Those of Pyrrhus' advisers, who exhorted him to persevere in coercion, were alone in credit with him; and all who would have per-

His impatience in the siege of Lilybæum and rash proceedings thereon.
U. C. 478.
B. C. 276.

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suaded him seasonably to relax his rigour, not excepting those by whom he had been invited into the island, and by whom chiefly his authority in it had been established, were heard with disgust, treated with suspicion, and many of them punished as traitors. In consequence of such proceedings, his standard was universally abandoned by the islanders¹⁴⁹; and a new armament from Carthage, threatened to overwhelm the puny force of his faithful Epirots.

His return
to Italy—
State of the
war in that
country.
U. C. 478.
B. C. 276.

In this distressful perplexity, the natural result of his own headstrong folly, Pyrrhus was glad to escape from Sicily, as from a vessel tempest-tost and unmanageable, and to seek rather honourable than safe refuge in his renewed war with the Romans. That people, though afflicted with a malady, which under the name of pestilence had raged above twenty times at Rome since the foundation of the city, had, during Pyrrhus' absence in Sicily, gained successive victories over the Lucanians and Samnites, and made themselves masters of the Greek cities, Locri, Heraclæa and Crotona; the last of which was surrounded by strong walls twelve miles in circuit. Their armies had undertaken a new invasion of Lucania and Samnium, when Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, after being pursued at sea by the Carthaginians, and at land by the Mamertines, the latter of whom, having crossed the Frith, much harassed his march. But notwithstanding these afflicting circumstances, he found to his joy, that the yet independent Greek cities, reinforced by all the surrounding Barbarians, the Bruttii, Salentines, Lucanians, Messapians, and Samnites, had combined towards one vigorous exertion for resisting the domination of Rome. Of the forces collected from so many nations, the smaller division marched into Lucania, to keep in check the Consul Cornelius Lentulus, who had entered that district; while Pyrrhus at the head of eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse proceeded to offer battle to his colleague Curius Dentatus in Samnium.

The Romans had encamped on a rough and woody spot, near a city then called Maleventum, learning from experience that such ground was most unfavourable to the phalanx. They had also provided themselves with ignited weapons of an improved construction, which were successfully employed against the terror of the enemy's elephants¹⁵⁰. These precautions, and still more their valour in the time of action were rewarded with a memorable and decisive victory. Above thirty thousand of the enemy were counted among the slain, while the prisoners amounted to only thirteen hundred, for the Consul Curius determined, by the greatness of the carnage, to break at once the force of so formidable a confederacy¹⁵¹.

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Decisive
battle of
Maleventum
in Samnium.
U C 479.
B. C. 275.

The battle of Beneventum, for thus, by a grateful change, the place was thenceforth named, proved completely decisive; and determined Pyrrhus who had nothing of the perseverance of Alexander, his boasted model, to cross the Ionian sea with all convenient expedition. To cover his shame he amused the allies who had unhappily confided in him, with a promise of speedy and more effectual aid; and to promote this delusion condescended to the meanness of reading to them many counterfeit letters which he pretended to have received from his own and the neighbouring kingdoms¹⁵². Having then left Milo, one of his officers, to guard the citadel of Tarentum, he passed into Epirus, carrying with him only eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. By singular good fortune, he regained, for a moment, possession of Macedon; but lost that kingdom, his son Ptolemy, and his own life, by an unseasonable invasion of Peloponnesus. He fell combating in the streets of Argos, not by the hand of any rival champion, but killed by a tile from a house top, thrown by an anxious mother, who snatched her only son from danger by destroying his assailant. Thus perished Pyrrhus, in death, as well as in his whole life, the sport of contin-

Pyrrhus'
return to
Greece, and
subsequent
fortunes.

¹⁵⁰ Orosius, l. iv. c. 2.

¹⁵¹ Plutarch in Pyrrhoe

¹⁵² Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vi. c. 6.

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 XII. artful politician who formed only unsuccessful projects, a meteor
 which blazed fiercely for a time, leaving no traces behind it, since
 his bold sanguinary career terminated only in transmitting his little
 kingdom of Epirus, much exhausted in wealth and strength to a
 prince named Alexander, born to him by Lanassa, the daughter of
 Agathocles. Besides this Alexander, Lanassa brought to her husband
 Nereis, married to Gelon of Syracuse, and involved, as we shall see
 presently, in the disasters which ruined the family of that prince.
 Alexander the son of Pyrrhus, was succeeded by a descendant named
 Ptolemy, in whose daughter Deidamia, the race of the *Æacidæ*
 became extinct; and Epirus was erected into a commonwealth,
 whose transactions, until it was reduced with peculiar circumstances
 of cruelty under the Roman yoke, will be embodied in a following
 part of this history.

The Romans
 reduce the
 Tarentines
 and their
 allies.
 U. C. 482.
 B. C. 272.

Punish the
 treacherous
 usurpers of
 Rhegium.

In less than two years after the repulse of Pyrrhus, the Romans
 completely reduced his allies, the Lucanians, Samnites, and Taren-
 tines. Upon his first arrival in Italy, the Carthaginians we have
 seen, had made offers of assistance to Rome: they now changed
 their policy in consequence of the Roman preponderancy, and en-
 deavoured to save Tarentum from the grasp of the victorious com-
 monwealth. That place was taken: and the squadron which they
 had sent to defend it, sowed the seeds of the first Punic war which
 broke out eight years afterwards. Rome at length enjoyed leisure
 to punish her infamous legion, which being sent to the protection of
 Rhegium had banished or butchered the citizens of that place, and
 appropriated their wives, children, and effects. During ten years

¹¹ Plutarch through his excessive predi-
 lection for Pyrrhus, is betrayed into a con-
 tradiction. In speaking of the famous con-
 ference between Scipio and Hannibal, at
 Ephesus, he says that Hannibal pronounced
 Pyrrhus the first of all generals; Scipio the
 second; and himself the third. Plutarch in

Pyrrho, p. 637. Edit. Kyland. But the
 same author, in speaking more expressly of
 what passed at the above mentioned confer-
 ence, makes Hannibal assign the first place
 to Alexander; the second to Pyrrhus; the
 third to himself. Plutarch in *Flamin.*
 p. 381.

that

that these wretches had usurped Rhegium, they had maintained an intimate correspondence with their fellow assassins, the fierce Mamertines of Messenè. The two cut-throat communities, separated only by a narrow frith, mutually abetted each other's enormities; and, during Pyrrhus' wars in Italy, ravaged many parts, both of that country and of Sicily. The time was now come for destroying the one of those confederates in guilt, and thereby much weakening the other. Soon after taking Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Rhegium. The assassins made a furious resistance. Of four thousand, their original number, only three hundred were dragged in chains to Rome, and there scourged and beheaded¹⁵⁴. Their leader Decius Jubellius, is cited as an example of that sacred vengeance, which usually pursues enormous wickedness. Having passed from Rhegium to Messenè, and being seized there with a malady in his eyes, he applied to the most eminent surgeon of the place to which he had come, who happened to be a native of that from which he had removed. This surgeon administered to him an application, which totally destroyed his eyesight: and, having thus avenged the assassination of his fellow-citizens, provided for his personal safety by a precipitate flight from Messenè. The blind Jubellius had returned to Rhegium before the capture of that city; and only escaped the public execution which awaited him at Rome, by killing himself in prison¹⁵⁵. The Romans collected the remains of the dispersed Rhegians, and reinstated them in their possessions, their laws, and their liberties¹⁵⁶.

Vengeance
that pursued
Decius
Jubellius.

In the interval of eight years that elapsed from the taking of Tarentum to their war with the Carthaginians for Sicily, they completed the conquest of that part of the peninsula antiently comprehended under the name of Italy. Cornelius triumphed over the Sarsinates, the fiercest mountaineers in Umbria¹⁵⁷: Sempronius sub-

Romans
complete the
conquest of
Italy.
U. C. 482—
490.
B. C. 272—
264.

¹⁵⁴ Polybius, l. i. c. 7. Appian. Zonaras.

¹⁵⁶ Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Diodor. Excerpt. l. xxii. p. 562. et Appian de Rebus Samnit. l. ix. c. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Polyb. l. ii. c. 16. et Fasti Capitolin.

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duced the more populous nation of the Picentes, extending from the mountains of Umbria to the coast of the Adriatic. Their capital Asculum, with other strong-holds, were reduced to unconditional surrender¹⁵⁸; and three hundred and sixty thousand men swore allegiance to the victors¹⁵⁹. The Salentines, occupying the heel of Italy, next suffered the punishment due to allies of Pyrrhus¹⁶⁰. They afforded an easy triumph to Regulus and Libo¹⁶¹; and yielded their convenient sea port, Brundisium, which sent out and received fleets with the same wind, and was deemed incomparably the best harbour on the southern coasts of Italy¹⁶².

New coinage, new quaestors and new colonies.

The opulence of Rome received great accession from the war of Magna Græcia. Instead of herds of cattle driven from the Sabines and Volsci, the empty cars of the Gauls, and the broken arms of the Samnites, Papirius Curfor exhibited in his triumph over Tarentum, innumerable carriages loaded with precious furniture; pictures, statues, vases, with a profusion of implements and ornaments of gold and silver¹⁶³. The public prosperity was attested by the introduction of denarii and quinarii of silver¹⁶⁴, which received the name of money, because first coined in the temple of admonishing Juno, Juno Moneta¹⁶⁵. As the important conquest of the Picentes which we have just mentioned, nearly coincided in point of time with this new coinage, the most antient denarii are stamped with the image of Picus, the reputed founder of the nation of the Picentes, supplicating the protection of a Roman magistrate¹⁶⁶. But spoils, in the form of precious metals, were accompanied by still

¹⁵⁸ Eutropius, l. ii. et. Liv. Epitom. l. xv.

¹⁵⁹ Plin. N. Hist. l. iii. c. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Tit. Liv. ibid. Florus, l. i. c. 20.

¹⁶¹ Fast. Capitolin.

¹⁶² Polybius, l. x. c. 1. Ennius. Zonaras.

¹⁶³ Florus, l. i. c. 28.

¹⁶⁴ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Suidas in *Mormo*.

¹⁶⁶ The later denarii are stamped with the figure of Rome, and with a biga or quadriga on the reverse. The quinarii, five asses, were called *victoriati*, from the figure of victory. The sesterii, 2½ asses, are usually distinguished by the figures of Castor and Pollux.

more important acquisitions. The conquered nations were stripped of one part of their lands to be divided among Roman citizens, and of another part to be cultivated as public domain at a stipulated rent. The Tarentines were subjected to a severe annual tribute: and the augmentation by these means accruing to the public revenues made it necessary to double the number of *quæstors* ¹⁶⁷. Two of these financial administrators had the care of the temple of Saturn, which served at Rome for a treasury: two attended the consuls in their military expeditions: the four remaining were distributed among four distinct departments in Italy: at Ostia in Latium, Cales in Campania, Sena, in the country formerly belonging to the Galli Senones, and Tarentum in Magna Græcia ¹⁶⁸. The Romans with their usual prudence consolidated their conquests by colonies. Within the interval just mentioned, they planted Cosa and Poestum ¹⁶⁹, the former in Tuscany, the latter on the coast of Lucania: and five years afterwards they colonised Ariminum in the territory of the Gauls, and Beneventum in that of the Samnites ¹⁷⁰. Their new possessions were thus firmly united with the old, under the various titles of colonies, municipia, allies, and subjects: and to enlarge the basis of a dominion projecting on every side, the antient Sabines were now advanced to the complete dignity of Roman citizens; an equal right of suffrage, and an equal participation in all offices of authority. At the next census or *lustrum*, in the four hundred and ninetieth year of the city, the number of Romans capable of bearing arms amounted to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four ¹⁷¹. But populousness formed the least pre-eminent distinction of a people invigorated by exertion, disciplined by laws and manners, and to whom the best institutions both public and domestic, had through custom, been rendered the most agreeable; above all, who in their

Census.
U. C. 495.
B. C. 264.

¹⁶⁷ Tacit. *Annal.* l. xi. c. 23.

Liv. Epitom. l. xiv.

¹⁶⁸ Tit. *Liv. Epitom.* xvi. Conf. Pigh. *Annal.* ad an. 488. U. C.*

¹⁶⁹ Velleius, *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Tit. *Liv. Epitom.* l. xvi. Eutropius,

¹⁷¹ Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11. Conf. l. ii. c. 18.

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State of
Carthage at
that period
— her recent
usurpations
in Sicily.

behaviour to friends and enemies invariably adhered to a practically accurate admeasurement of rewards and punishments, and thus pursued for the attainment of empire, those natural and solid maxims which far surpass in efficacy all political refinements.

In this flourishing condition of the commonwealth, the Carthaginians, who had unseasonably offended her by interference in the defence of one part of Magna Græcia, soon provoked her jealousy by perpetual usurpations in the other. The power of Carthage had been bent, not broken, by the invasion of Agathocles. During a peace of forty years which followed that event, an industrious and maritime people had full leisure to repair their losses, and once more began to shine in all the brightness of naval and commercial prosperity. Masters of a vast domain in Africa, of many important settlements in Spain, of Sardinia, and other inferior islands in the Tuscan sea, they had been continually grasping one city in Sicily after another, until the turbulent republic of Syracuse, almost alone independent, was now compressed on one side by the subjects of Carthage, and on the other by the fierce Mamertines of Messenè.

Hieron II.
king of
Syracuse.
U. C. 485.
B. C. 269.

The rapacity of these usurpers had received a check by the destruction of their confederates in Rhegium. But other events, at first sight highly unpromising to them, had tended to increase their courage. The mercenaries belonging to Syracuse, being, as often happened, at variance with the magistrates, appointed generals by their own authority, among whom was young Hieron¹⁷², who had been recommended to their choice by his popular manners, his conspicuous valour, and his descent from the generous and high-minded Gelon, the brightest character in the long line of antient Syracusan kings. Through the bold exertions of the mercenaries, and his own address in gaining a party among the citizens, Hieron made himself master of the obnoxious magistrates and their capital: but used his advantage with such mildness and magnanimity, that his praises

¹⁷² Polybius, l. i. c. 8, et seq. Conf. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

were founded more loudly by those whom he had conquered, than by the instruments or companions of his victory. Hieron, with universal consent, was named general against the Mamertines, who were carrying on, as in every autumn, their predatory incursions. He led forth part of the citizens in arms, together with the whole body of the mercenaries; but knowing the fickleness and levity of his countrymen, and that those who remained at home, were easily moved to severity against their generals serving abroad, he entered before his expedition into a bond of amity with Leptines, a man in high credit with the multitude, and cemented his union with that powerful citizen, by taking his daughter in marriage. Having thus provided a fit coadjutor in policy, his next care was to rid himself by war of those turbulent hirelings, who had been the ready instruments of his elevation, but whose capricious inconstancy might as suddenly precipitate him from power. To this end he dexterously exposed them to the Mamertines, by whom the greater part of them were cut in pieces: while the well affected portion of his army was led home in safety. Elated by their victory over the mercenaries, the Mamertines renewed their devastations, extended them more widely than ever, and by losing discretion through success, at length carried them on as incautiously as fiercely. Hieron meanwhile had been collecting recruits; these he carefully disciplined, at the same time that he animated the old soldiers with a near prospect of revenge. In a short time he took the field with an army, confident in its own strength, and the abilities of its general; and having surprised the enemy at the river Longanus, which washes the beautiful Mylæan plain, he gave them a total defeat, pursued them with great slaughter, and made captive their leaders. This glorious exploit raised Hieron to the throne of Syracuse: while the Mamertines retired within their walls, and instead of any longer sending forth their ravenous banditti, to infest the neighbouring territories, trembled for the safety of their own guilty stronghold.

Amidst

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The Mamertines in fear of Hieron—apply to the Romans and Carthaginians.

Amidst the divided councils incident to misfortune, one part of them applied to the Carthaginians, and another to the Romans. Among the latter people, the senate enjoyed the prerogative of discussing in the first instance all matters of foreign policy. The conquest of southern Italy had brought, they acknowledged, the victorious arms of their country to the shores of Sicily; but, however tempting the occasion, they declined to interpose in favour of the infamous Mamertines, whose demerit surpassed that of the recently and most justly punished Rhegians, since the latter had been imitators, but the former were originals and models, in perpetrating the most execrable villainy. The popular assembly was far less scrupulous. Its leaders represented the critical situation in which the safety of Rome must be placed, should Carthage, already possessed of nearly all Sicily, and whose dominion was gradually encompassing and threatening their own, gain possession of Messene, which by its commodious situation on the straits, seemed to rite like a bridge for passing conveniently into Italy. This was the argument on which they thought fit chiefly to dwell; but as they hoped to enrich themselves as generals in the expedition, so they failed not to point out to the avidity of the soldiers, that the insular part of Magna Græcia surpassed the continental in opulence¹⁷³.

The possession of Messenè disputed by them. Victories of Appius Claudius. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

While the Romans deliberated, the Carthaginians were in arms. They entered Messenè, and placed a garrison in its citadel. Upon learning that event, the Roman comitia, or general assembly of the nation, without waiting for the authority of the senate, sent the consul Appius Claudius to the straits. His arrival there occasioned great commotions in Messenè. The Mamertines, being most of them Italians, were less fearful of Rome than of Carthage; and when they understood that a Roman consul had advanced to their neighbourhood, they flew to arms, overpowered the party in the citadel who abetted the Carthaginians; expelled all whom they

¹⁷³ Polybius, l. i. c. 8.

judged their foes, with equal cruelty and insult; and urged the consul Appius to use the utmost diligence in coming to them and seconding their boldness. Before he could pass the straits in transports with which he was furnished by the dependent Greek cities on the Italian shore, Messenè was invested on one side by the resentment of the Carthaginians, and on another by the policy of Hieron, who deemed this a fit opportunity for rooting out of Sicily a commonwealth of robbers and assassins, long the opprobrium of that island. But Appius with great resolution threw himself into Messenè in the night time¹⁷⁴. When apprised of the strength and animosity of the besiegers, he made offers to them of an accommodation, on condition that the Mamertines should be included in it. His proposals were rejected both by Hieron and by the Carthaginians. Appius fought with them separately, and successively defeated them.

With this double victory commenced the first Punic war, which lasted with little intermission for twenty-four years, and in which, though Sicily was its main scene as well as its principal object, the actions of the native islanders make but a small figure in history. Their cities, many of them rich and populous, were deformed or ruined by the invading rivals, as their arms alternately prevailed. In the sack of Agrigentum, the Romans, in one day, sold twenty-five thousand citizens for slaves. Shortly afterwards that magnificent city, second only to Syracuse, was nearly depopulated and demolished by the Carthaginians¹⁷⁵. The inland country for the most part submitted to the legions, while the fleets of Carthage domineered over the sea coast. But in this general outline of the war, Syracuse, a maritime city, stands as an important exception. Its king Hieron, whose good policy continued conspicuous through a reign of fifty years, had the sagacity, in his first intercourse with the Romans, to

The first
Punic war.
U. C. 490.
B C 264.

Hieron
unites him-
self with the
Romans.

¹⁷⁴ Polybius, l. i. c. 8. Conf. Frontin. Stratagem. l. iv.

¹⁷⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xvi. c. 58. l. xviii. c. 38.

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discern the incomparable superiority of their character; and having made atonement to them for his ill-advised opposition to a consular army, he craved and obtained their friendship, and continued thenceforth to be numbered with the most zealous, and most strenuous of their allies.

How far that
people were
then ac-
quainted
with naval
affairs.

But even with his maritime assistance, the Romans, who now first carried armies beyond seas, laboured under great inconveniences in contending with a people, who had long commanded all the western shores of the Mediterranean. They were not indeed, as is generally reported by historians, too prone to the marvellous, altogether unacquainted with sea affairs. As early as the reign of Ancus Martius, their fourth king, they had built the convenient harbour of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber: and in the first year of the republic, they counted among their maritime allies or subjects, the cities of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Anxur or Terracina. In that memorable year, the first consuls, Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, obtained a treaty of commerce with Carthage, already approaching, as we have explained above, through the destruction of the first and far greater Tyre, to the zenith of its extensive maritime dominion. In this instrument, which has fortunately come down to us¹⁷⁶, the Carthaginians granted to the Romans a free trade to Sicily; they granted to them also the privilege of buying and selling in Sardinia and Africa, without paying other imposts than certain stipulated fees, to the criers and public clerks of the markets; but they forbade the Roman merchantmen to pass beyond the fair promontory, now Cape Bon, towering on the north of Carthage, and shutting up, as with a strong bulwark, the valuable unwalled towns in Byzantium or Emporia. The Carthaginians, on their part, agreed not to erect any fortress in Latium; and, if carried to that coast in pursuit of an enemy, promised to use their best endeavours not to pass a single night in the country. The spirit of these articles accords well with

Their an-
cient treaties
with Car-
thage. U. C.
245—448.
B. C. 509—
306.

Nature and
limitations
of the trade
between the
two nations.

the circumstances of the contracting parties. The Carthaginians from a commercial jealousy, as well as from fears of a political nature¹⁷⁷, were unwilling that the Romans should trade directly with Byzantium; they totally debarred them, therefore, from that part of the African coast, and in case they were driven thither by stress of weather, commanded them to carry nothing from thence, except what was essentially requisite for refitting their vessels, or performing indispensable sacrifices. With regard to Carthage itself, and all the western parts of Africa, as well as the island of Sardinia, the Roman traders were placed, in some measure, under the controul of criers and clerks, appointed by the magistrates of Carthage; their transactions were to be public, and the public faith was thereby pledged for the exact fulfillment of all bargains. As to Sicily, on the other hand, the Romans were indulged in the most perfect freedom. The Carthaginians, as yet, possessed scarcely a third part of Sicily. The Greeks, chiefly, were masters of all the rest: and the Romans, if fettered by commercial restrictions in one part of the island, would naturally have directed their attention to another. What were the commodities which Carthage at this time exported, we had formerly an occasion to explain. The exports of the Romans, it is not difficult to conjecture. Africa, indeed, abounded in corn, but different kinds of grain should seem to have been early cultivated in Italy, which were little known on the southern coast of the Mediterranean¹⁷⁸. Linen and leather, wool, oil and wine, formed probably very important articles: above all, slaves taken in war, which a republic in Africa was in that age as eager in purchasing from the coasts of Europe, as the Europeans have in later times been busy in prosecuting the same odious commerce on the coasts of Africa. Besides all this, the Romans from the age of Numa, cultivated, as we have seen, many ingenious arts, and

Principal
articles of
their traffic.

¹⁷⁷ To prevent revolt among their dependencies. See above, p. 529.

¹⁷⁸ Varro de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 8.

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carried on many useful manufactures whose productions might be in request among the Carthaginians or the nations with which they traded.

Wonderful exertions of the Romans in constructing and equipping war gallees. U C 493. B. C. 261.

This memorable treaty contracted with the Carthaginians in the 245th year of the city, had been renewed and modified three several times, that is, in the years 406, 448, and 473 of the same æra: so that the Romans were not altogether inattentive to commercial concerns, though matters of war and government form the exclusive theme of their historians. Neither were they strangers to sea affairs, nor unexperienced in the construction of round, flat, heavy sailing merchantmen; but they had not as yet built gallees, and were altogether unpractised in naval warfare. When they carried their arms beyond Italy, it became necessary to apply to those objects, and they did so with an alacrity and perseverance which surpasses every thing most admirable in their history¹⁷⁹. Fortune, at the commencement, seconded their views. About the time that Appius passed the Straits into Sicily, a Carthaginian quinquereme sailing too near to the land, was stranded on the coast of Rhegium: and being boarded by some Roman soldiers, was carried as a prize into that harbour. Quinqueremes or vessels with five tier of oars had been discovered, as we have before seen, amidst the naval engagements of Alexander's successors, to be the most serviceable rate of war-ships; and their use very generally substituted to that of trireme gallees, with which, alone, the Athenians had raised their immortal trophies over the Persians. The captured Carthaginian quinquereme served the Romans by way of model; and within the space of sixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they built a hundred such vessels: commonly manned by 300 sailors and 200 marines. While the ship-carpenters performed their assigned tasks, the future rowers were furnished with heavy oars, and, being seated on benches, were daily exercised¹⁸⁰ in the use of them. In this manner they were

¹⁷⁹ Polybius, l. i. c. 20—62.

¹⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.* c. 21.

accustomed

accustomed to handle these implements with vigour and dexterity, and to obey with quickness and precision the signals of their officers.

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With a fleet thus formed on land, Cornelius put to sea, and was defeated¹⁸¹. But his successor, Duillius, obtained a signal victory, chiefly through his address in converting the naval engagement into a pitched battle. This was effected by grappling machines, called corvi, from the resemblance which they bore to beaks of crows. For working these corvi, Duillius erected strong pillars on the prows of his galleys. These pillars were furnished with pulleys at top, and surrounded with stages of stout timber, bordered with a parapet knee high. In action, the corvi, being thus raised aloof by pulleys, might be turned to any direction, so that on whatever side an enemy's vessel approached, it would be infallibly made fast by them. When the ships thus lay along side of each other, the Romans enjoyed the advantage of boarding in full line; but when they could only bring their own prows to touch the middle, or either extremity, of the enemy's vessels, they then advanced cautiously in two files, the file-leaders extending their shields in front, and their respective followers resting the same arm of defence on the bordering parapets above-mentioned, which completely defended them in flank¹⁸². In this manner they rushed on the enemy with their pointed, two-edged, massy and well tempered swords, incomparably the fittest of all instruments for such desperate service.

Duillius' naval victory
—The corvi.
U. C. 494.
B. C. 260.

When the decision of sea-fights was brought to this issue, and became a battle of men rather than of ships, the Romans uniformly prevailed: they were long as constantly unsuccessful, when the engagement chiefly depended on swiftness of sailing and dexterity of manœuvre. Notwithstanding this inferiority, they carried the war into Africa, where the first successes of Regulus rivalled those of

Maritime war.
U. C. 498—
512.
B. C. 256—
242.

¹⁸¹ The Punic wars constitute that portion of Roman history, on which the writers of Rome have most delighted to expatiate. From the nature of my work, it seemed fit

to enter into subjects so universally known, no farther than as they serve to explain the general revolutions of the world.

¹⁸² Polybius, l. i. c. 22.

C H A P. Agathocles. But a body of Greek mercenaries arriving at Carthage under the Lacedæmonian Xantippus, the Romans, about 15,000 foot and 500 horse, were totally defeated, and their general made prisoner¹¹². His story is well known. Being sent home on his parole to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, he dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to that proposal, and returned to the cruel death that awaited him at Carthage¹¹³. In the course of the war, above 700 Roman quinqueremes were destroyed. Their losses were great in action, and still greater in storms on the coasts both of Sicily and Africa¹¹⁴. But their spirit in resisting these misfortunes, their indefatigable perseverance and unextinguishable patriotism afford one of the noblest spectacles in history. On one occasion the engaging squadrons amounted collectively to 500, and on another to 700 quinqueremes; the former containing 210,000, and the latter 294,000 combatants¹¹⁵. At length the consul Lutatius Catulus gained a decisive victory at the Ægades isles, off the western coast of Sicily, sunk 125 Carthaginian quinqueremes, and captured 73 with upwards of 30,000 men on board¹¹⁶: for the Romans had now attained an equality in seamanship, and by wonderful and most unwearied diligence had brought their vessels to cope with and surpass those of the enemy in all the celerity and variety of their most alert nautical movements.

The consul Catulus' decisive victory off the Ægades.

U. C. 512.
B. C. 242.

Incidents during the siege of Lilybæum.

U. C. 502—
512.
B. C. 252—
242.

During the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted ten years, and terminated only with the war itself, the Carthaginians felt the utmost anxiety to know the fate of a city, which, on account of its situation, its fidelity, and its power, they regarded as an essential outpost to their empire. But none of their boldest captains would venture through intricate shallows, which lay between two Roman squadrons that blocked up its harbour. At length, Hannibal, a noble Cartha-

¹¹² Polybius, l. i. c. 34. & seq.

¹¹³ Polybius, l. i. c. 25. & seq. & 49. &

¹¹⁴ Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, l. iii. seq.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 61.

Od. 3.

¹¹⁶ Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 37. 39. 54.

ginian, but named the Rhodian for his intimate connection with that naval island, in a vessel built on a new model, and at his private expence, darted into the desired port in sight of the whole Roman fleet¹⁰⁰. Provoked at this audacity, the Romans, to intercept his return, prepared ten of their swiftest vessels, and stationed them as near to the harbour's mouth as the shallow would permit, with orders to keep their oars suspended in the air, ready to be plied on the first signal. The Rhodian at length made his appearance, and before the enemy could bear down on him, escaped from the harbour in safety: then insulting and mortifying the Romans still further by lying on his oars by way of bravado in the midst of obstacles and dangers which they themselves feared to approach. The success of Hannibal the Rhodian, encouraged other Carthaginian captains. They built vessels of a similar construction, and by their means kept up a useful intercourse with the besieged city. But one of these vessels having unfortunately struck on the fragment of an ancient mole, fell into the hands of the Romans, and served them for a model in building ships of their own, fitted to cope with and finally to capture all those of the enemy employed in this dangerous service¹⁰¹. Thus did they wrest from the Carthaginians the command of the sea, by instruments which, though they wanted ingenuity to invent them, they had however the industry to improve, and the boldness and perseverance victoriously to employ.

In the last stages of the war, there was not any Roman general that surpassed in abilities and enterprize Hamilcar Barcas. This man was the father of the great Hannibal, and of four other sons, whom he afterwards boasted of rearing, "as so many lion's whelps against the Romans." When the decisive sea-fight near the Ægades isles compelled the Carthaginians to treat of peace, he refused to surrender the city Eryx, in which he commanded, on any but the most honourable conditions. Articles, however, were soon agreed to, by which the Carthagians not only relinquished all their possessions

Hamilcar Barcas.— His indignation amidst the humiliating terms of peace imposed on his country.
U. C. 512.
B. C. 242.

¹⁰⁰ Polybius, l. i. c. 46.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. c. 47. & seq.

C H A P. XII. in Sicily, and its small satellite isles, but consented to pay down 1,000, and to raise a contribution of 2,200 talents in the course of ten years. Such was the issue of the first Punic war, which gave to the Romans ships and seamen, and enabled them, as we shall see, only a dozen years afterwards, to carry great armaments across the Hadriatic. This advantage, which opened to them a vast career of conquest in the Macedonian empire, was not on their side cheaply purchased. In the twelfth year of the war, they mustered 297,797 citizens: at their following census the number was found to be reduced to 251,222.

Division of
Sicily be-
tween the
Romans and
king Hieron.

The first Punic war involved the fate of what was regarded as the most important division of Magna Græcia.¹⁹¹ Many Greek cities in Sicily, which had flourished in arts and arms, were reduced with the far greater part of the island, into the form of a province; and thus subjected to tribute and port-duties, and the stern jurisdiction of a prætor, sent annually from Rome with an army¹⁹². From this humiliating dependance, the dominions alone of king Hieron were exempted. His zealous co-operation with the Romans procured for him, not the bare title, but all the substantial advantages of an equal and honourable ally¹⁹³. These advantages he improved with incomparable abilities in his subsequent reign of twenty-seven years, during which Syracuse, possessed of a territory extending scarcely fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, enjoyed a degree of credit abroad, as well as prosperity at home, altogether unexampled in any other so small a kingdom.

¹⁹¹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xix.

¹⁹² Strabo, l. vi. p. 253. & 273.

¹⁹³ Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. De Jurisdic.

Sicil. Orat. vii. Plutarch in Marcell. Conf.

Tit. Liv. l. xix. c. 64.

¹⁹³ Id. l. xix. c. 33.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Strahan and Franks,
Printers, Street, London.



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