

TUTORIAL
HISTORY ÓF ROME.

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THE TUTORIAL HISTORY OF ROME

TO 14 A.D.

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on the great histories of Mommsen and Ihne, which have been constantly compared, so far as they are available. The *Dictionary of Antiquities* (Third Edition) has been largely drawn upon, and extensive use has also been made of the following amongst many other works : Duruy's *History of Rome*, Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, Muirhead's *Roman Law*, Ihne's *Early Rome*, Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic*, Warde Fowler's *Julius Caesar*, and Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*. In chronology the writers have relied on Matheson's useful *Outline of Roman History*, and Peter's *Zeittafeln der Römischen Geschichte*.

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THE TUTORIAL HISTORY OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEOPLES OF ITALY.

§ 1. Geography of Italy.—§ 2. Natural Divisions.—§ 3. The Aryan Peoples.—§ 4. Pelasgians, Ligurians, and Venetians.—§ 5. The Umbrians.—§ 6. The Etruscans: their Origin, Empire, Manners, and Decline.—§ 7. The Latins and their Neighbours, Volsci, Aurunci, Æqui, Hernici, Osci.—§ 8. The Sabellians.—§ 9. The Greeks in Italy: Cumae, the Achæan cities, Magna Græcia.—§ 10. The Gauls in Italy.

§ 1. OF the various chapters of ancient history, the scene of the greater number is laid upon the shores of the Mediterranean. Around this central sea Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hellenes, Etruscans, and Carthaginians successively rose to power, contributed their share to human progress, and sank into decay. The people which was to succeed to them and gather to itself the fruits of all was of the native race of Italy. This was in the natural order of things, for Italy was the very centre of the ancient world: midmost of the three European peninsulas, she had Gaul and Spain as her neighbours on the west, Greece on the east; on the south, by the medium of Sicily, she almost joined hands with the continent of Africa. By her position she was destined to hold the keys

Geography
of Italy.

of the western and eastern basins of the Mediterranean : in point of civilization also she lay between the effeminate and corrupt East and the barbarous and savage West. It needed only union, for Italy to achieve the conquest of all.

The Italian peninsula is separated from the mainland of Europe by the semi-circular barrier of the Alps. Under its various names—Maritime, Cottian, Graian, Pennine, Rhaetian, Carnic, Julian—this range extends from the Mediterranean westward of the Gulf of Genoa to the head of the Gulf of Trieste. It attains to enormous heights, yet over and over again it has proved no insurmountable obstacle to invading forces, a fact which is to some extent due to natural configuration ; for while the Alps rise in precipitous and abrupt ascent from the south, the slopes on the north and west, the quarters of attack, are less impracticable. By way of the Alps alone is there a route into Italy, yet her history chronicles a series of successful inroads across this seemingly insuperable barrier.

At the point where the Western Alps fall into the sea, commences the range of the Apennines. Skirting the Gulf of Genoa, they run east for a time, and then turn in a south-easterly direction along the whole length of the Italian peninsula. Northward of Tuscany they rise to a height of 7000 feet, forming an almost impracticable wall between the valley of the Po on the north and the valley of the Arno on the south. As with the Alps, so with the Apennines : one side, the eastern, is abrupt, and falls almost directly to the sea ; the other, the western, is of more gradual slope, and leaves between its various spurs a series of lowland plains, which fringe the western shores of Italy from the Gulf of Spezzia to that of Salerno. Broadening continually, the range reaches its greatest

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elevation (9500 feet) in the Abruzzi, east of Rome. Sending out spurs eastward and westward to the sea, it proceeds with lessened height until it nears the Gulf of Taranto. Here it splits into two ridges: one trends eastward into Apulia, while the other turns west into Bruttium. This western ridge is for a moment broken by the Straits of Messina, but emerges again from the sea to form the triangular island of Sicily.

§ 2. The Italian peninsula consists of two well-defined parts: one is the level country of the north, comprised between the two great mountain Natural Divisions. ranges; the other is the land traversed by the Apennines. The first is an exceedingly fertile plain, by far the largest in the peninsula, the product of the alluvial deposits made by the Po, the largest river of Italy. The second includes indeed the plains of Etruria, Latium, and Campania, and the rivers Arno and Tiber, on its western side; but with these exceptions it is everywhere a country of mountains, intersected by an infinite number of streams which are devastating torrents in winter, but in summer shrink to mere rivulets or disappear entirely. Like other mountainous countries, it fostered a brave and hardy race, so jealous of liberty that every valley became the home of a free and independent state. Before Italy could proceed on her career of conquest it was necessary to force these communities into some sort of union. The more mountainous the land, the more intractable its people: it was on the west and south of the Apennines, in the plains of Etruria and Campania, in the Tiber valley, and in the lowlands about the Gulf of Taranto, that the civilization of Italy was developed; while to the east of the central chain of mountains there were no plains, and the state of culture was rude, and rudest of all were the tribes who dwelt

amongst the still wilder highlands and forests of Lucania and Bruttium—the “toe” of Italy.

§ 3. Like the sister peninsulas, Spain and Greece, Italy
The Aryan Peoples. was at a very early period invaded by tribes from the North, speaking, in some form or other, that language which is, however divergent in appearance, the common tongue of the peoples of Europe, and which is variously known as Indo-Germanic or Aryan. The first who used this language were a pastoral people, whose original home, according to a view now winning general acceptance, was somewhere in the great plain of Central Europe. Their civilization was of the rudest character. They clad themselves in skins, lived during the summer in reed-thatched huts and in winter in circular pits dug in the earth. Their implements were of unpolished stone. They knew nothing of metals. They were probably unacquainted with agriculture, and gained their livelihood as nomad herdsmen, wandering with their cattle over the lowlands of Europe. From this primitive people developed groups of nations speaking languages which are beyond question of common origin, but are at the same time marked by characteristic peculiarities. To some extent this variation was probably due to the fact that those who spoke this language were a conquering race who forced their speech upon less vigorous peoples, and these adopted it, but not without modification. In Europe there arose Slavs, Letts, Germans, Celts, Italians and Greeks, each with their own Aryan dialect, while others wandered off to Asia. The first Aryan-speaking peoples of Italy were allied far more closely to the Celts than to the Greeks; for Greek in various ways approximates rather to the Asiatic than to the European form of Aryan speech. At a date which may approximately be assigned to the year

2000 B.C., those Aryans who were destined to develop into the Italians of history made their way across the Alps into Italy : but even in that early age they found the land fully peopled, and after fifteen hundred years they had not altogether ousted its earlier inhabitants.

§ 4. The first inhabitants of Italy belong to an era long prior to all history. They were cave-dwellers, unacquainted with any metals, and occasionally, The Pelasgians, Ligurians, and Venetians. it would appear, of an even cannibal barbarism. Science classes them as belonging to the Iberian stock. Much later come the first inhabitants known to history, and even these are little more than names to us. We hear of Siculi or Sicels who dwelt in the valleys of the Po and Tiber, and along the western and southern coasts of the peninsula ; of Chones, Morgetes and Enotri in Bruttium and the adjoining country ; of Daunians, Peuce-tians and Messapians in Calabria ; of Liburnians along the eastern coast. These peoples were collectively known to the ancients by the vague appellation of Pelasgians, and they were probably akin to the oldest historical peoples of Illyria and Greece. They are said to have ousted a yet older people, the Sicani of Iberian stock, who fled into Sicily ; but in their turn they gave way before new peoples. Some of them, the Siculi in particular, fled to the south and settled in Sicily side by side with the Sicani ; others submitted quietly and became the serfs of their conquerors. They disappear from the history of Italy, leaving behind them perhaps no memorials more notable than those walls, built of enormous blocks of stone without cement, to which in after ages men have given the name of Pelasgian or Cyclopean ; yet of a certainty they mingled to some extent with their conquerors, and there may have been Sicel blood in the Latins as there was in

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the common folk of Etruria. To the very last they maintained their footing in the wilder parts of Southern Italy. The new-comers, before whom the Pelasgians fell back, were the Ligurians and Umbrians, both related to the so-called Celtic stock and both speaking Aryan languages. The Ligurians for ages occupied the northern Apennines between the valleys of the Po and the Arno, a rugged and barren land, where every valley had its own independent village-capital. At one period they reached south perhaps as far as Pisa and Elba; but in historical times their central and only town was Genua (*Genoa*), which they used as their common market. Poor in the extreme, they were brave and vigorous, so that they were able to offer a desperate and protracted resistance when attacked.

About the head of the Adriatic, where now is Venice, there dwelt a people akin to the Illyrians. These were the Veneti, who, settled in a most fair and fertile land, soon exchanged their old simplicity and courage for commerce, luxury, and indolence. More than fifty towns belonged to them. Patavium (*Padua*), their capital, was famous for its manufacture of woollen stuffs and cloths; they exported horses to Greece to take part in the Olympian races; and traded overland with the Baltic tribes for amber which they disposed of in Greece and Sicily.

§ 5. The Umbrians descended upon Italy from the

The Umbrians.

Alps while yet ignorant of the use of metals, between the years 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Their first homes were built on wooden piles among the lakes of the Po valley, and from the relics which they have left behind we can trace their progress in civilization onward from their first appearance in the peninsula. The earliest remains show that the Umbrians on reaching Italy were a rude pastoral people, clad in skins,

ignorant of agriculture, and having no tools or weapons but those of stone. Later they learned to weave mats successively from the bark of trees and from flax; and while originally the only animal they possessed was the dog, they subsequently tamed the goat, sheep, pig and ox. With the help of the ox, they became skilled in agriculture. For ages their implements continued to be of stone, but metals were subsequently introduced from the East, and the Umbrians changed their weapons and tools of flint for better ones of bronze, and still better ones of iron. These were the rude forefathers of the Sabines, the Samnites, the Latins, of the peoples of Italy, and of Rome itself.

The Umbrians expelled the Siculi and Liburni from the North of Italy, and as they grew in numbers they fought their way southwards until they reached the Tiber and the confines of Apulia. North of this line their territories stretched across Italy from sea to sea, and only the Ligurians maintained their liberty in the Apennines of the north-west. Their power had lasted for at least three centuries, when about the year 1000 B.C. the Etruscans made themselves masters of Etruria and reduced the Umbri of that region to serfdom. This was only the commencement of misfortune. The Etruscans speedily ousted them also from the valley of the Po and shut them up between the Apennines and the Adriatic. When, four centuries later, the Gauls came into Italy and drove the Etruscans back within the line of the Apennines, the Umbri were pressed still further to the south. Simultaneously the younger peoples which Umbria had sent forth to seek other homes and develop into the Sabellians of Central Italy, in turn grew too large for their territories, and pressed back the mother-nation from the southern side.

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Harassed by these foes, the Umbrians barely maintained themselves in a narrow, uninviting region in the heart of the Apennines—the region which still bears the name of Umbria.

§ 6. The Tyrrheni were a people of Lydia in Asia Minor, who, under pressure of famine, left their homeland and settled in Italy: to the place where they first settled they gave the name of Tyrrhenia, but it was called also Etruria, and its people Etrusci or Tusci. So said the legend, and with one exception every Greek and Latin author who mentions it seems to believe it. Modern critics are sceptical: they prefer to believe not the majority of the old writers, but the one exception, who says that the Etruscans were not like the Lydians in language, laws, or customs. Moreover Livy says that there were tribes in the Rhaetic Alps whose language resembled a debased dialect of Etruscan. Therefore the modern critics have stated that the legend of the Lydian origin of the Etrusci is only a fable, and that in reality that people came into Italy, like so many other races, by way of the Alps; that they drove the Umbri first from the Po valley, next from the land beyond the Apennines which we now call Tuscany; and that the Alpine tribes of which Livy speaks were their forefathers still remaining in their original home.

But this theory is beset with difficulties. What Livy says does not prove it, for he tells us that the settlements of the Etrusci in Tuscany were older than those in the Po valley; tradition is strongly against it, and the Etruscans themselves believed that they came from Asia Minor; those barbarous peoples amongst the Rhaetic Alps of whom Livy speaks are far more likely to have been a remnant of the old Etruscan Empire, separated from their fellows

by the later invasion of the Gauls (600 B.C.), and there maintaining their original language, than to have ever sent forth into Italy a people capable of such a high degree of civilization as the Etruscans attained. The Etruscans (who called themselves *Rasena*) were certainly not an Italic or Celtic people; their language is to this moment a well-nigh insoluble riddle and like no other European language; many of their customs, much of their art, their very features, are more Oriental than European. It is safest to say that we do not know who they were or whence they came; and we may add that, while the theory of their coming from *Rhaetia* finds no new evidence to support it, there is in all the evidence that is yearly being collected nothing to disprove the tradition of the Greeks and Romans and of the Etruscans themselves, that they were immigrants who came from Asia by sea.

According to Etruscan annals this event occurred in 1044 B.C. They made themselves masters of Tuscany and the valley of the Po, driving out or subjugating alike the Umbrians and their Sikel serfs. Themselves but few, they constituted an alien nobility—^{Their} Empire. lucumons, or patricians—ruling over a population of serfs, as the Normans ruled the Saxons for a time in England. Leaving the barren eastern slope of the Apennines without molestation to the Umbri, they turned south, whither they were attracted by the fertile plains of the Tiber valley and of Campania. All-victorious by land, and famous as seamen and buccaneers, they overran all Western Italy as far as Surrentum (*Sorrento*), and planted colonies at each likely spot upon the coast, as at Antium (*Porto d'Anzo*) and Tarracina (*Terracina*). In Etruria Proper (Tuscany), in Upper Etruria (valley of the Po), and in Lower Etruria (Campania), they formed three several leagues of twelve

great cities, about which were grouped as dependencies the surrounding districts and the smaller towns of the land. Notable amongst these league-cities were Tarquinii (*Corneto*), Caere (*Cervetri*), Clusium (*Chiusi*), Arretium (*Arezzo*), Vulci, and Volsinii (*Bolsena*), in Tuscany; in Campania, Volturnum, afterwards called Capua, Nola, and Pompeii; in the Po valley Melpum, afterwards known as Mediolanum (*Milan*), Ravenna, Felsina (*Bologna*), Mantua, and Atria (*Hadria*), the port which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea; and from them the waters west of Italy were known as *Mare Tyrrhenum*, the Tuscan Sea. Each league-city was independent and sovereign, governed by its lucumons, or at times by a king by them elected; each league had its special centre, whither the league-cities might send their deputies to debate upon affairs concerning the nation at large (in the case of Etruria Proper, this was the shrine of the goddess Voltumna at Volsinii). Their kings had the purple robe, the embroidered *toga* or gown, the attendants (*lictors*) bearing the rods and axes (*fascēs*), and the ivory chair (*sella curulis*), which are best known as insignia of the chief magistracy of Rome. The common people were serfs, not treated cruelly perhaps, but without political rights. In their fertile land the Etruscans reached a high degree of civilization, which, though bearing some resemblance to that of the Greeks, presents features without parallel in that of any European people. Their religion was remarkable for its elaborate ceremonial and its many "Books of Fate." Etruscan priests acquired renown for their skill in discovering the will of the gods by means of divination; and in this, as in many other points, they largely influenced the later Roman religion.

From Etruria too the Romans acquired a taste which

shows the brutal side of the Etruscan character—the taste for gladiatorial contests, man fighting with man to the death to afford pleasure to the onlookers.

Sailing from their stations on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, Etruscan merchants, combining piracy and trade, cruised about all the coasts of Italy. The Carthaginians closed the Straits of Gibraltar against them, but the Tuscan Sea was as it were their private domain, where every strange vessel might be treated as a prize. Greek commerce was active with the Adriatic ports and with Caere (*Cervetri*), but when Greek colonists began to found cities along the coast of Sicily and Italy, Etruscans and Carthaginians for a time united against a common foe.

The alliance was of no long duration, and each people settled down into fighting for its own hand. In 600 B.C. the Gauls overran Upper Etruria. About 510 B.C. the cities of Latium threw off the yoke of the lucumons, a fact which is concealed beneath the legend of the expulsion of the Tarquins, for undoubtedly the Tarquins were an Etruscan dynasty. At the same time the Volscians, aided by the Greeks of Cumae, began to attack the Etruscan ports of Antium and Tarracina. Shortly after 500 B.C. Anaxilaus the tyrant of Rhegium barred the Straits of Messina, and in 474 B.C. the Syracusan navy in conjunction with the people of Cumae inflicted on them a terrible defeat off the latter town. Finally the Samnites swept down upon Campania and in 424 B.C. took its capital city of Capua. The leagues proved incapable of united action, and between the combined onsets of Romans and Gauls they fell into utter ruin; while the speed with which was lost all trace of the Etruscan nationality shows that the old Umbrian population was alike numerous and near akin to its conquerors the Romans.

Their
Decline.

§ 7. When history begins we find the descendants of the original Umbrian invaders already established in definite seats and distinguished by names which quite disguise the common origin

The Latins
and their
Neighbours.

of all. Speaking broadly, these peoples—Umbro-Oscans, Osco-Sabellians, or Umbro-Latins, as they have been variously styled—fall into two main groups, according as they occupy the lowlands or the hills, the western plains or the eastern mountains. One group comprises the tribes which settled between the rivers Tiber (*Tevere*) and Liris (*Garigliano*), and in the plain of the Volturnus (*Volturno*) in Campania—the Latins, Volsci, Aurunci, Æqui, Hernici, and Opici. The Latins occupied the land to the south of the Tiber's mouth and along its lower waters. Here they lived clustered around the Mons Albanus (*Monte Albano*), where stood Alba Longa, the chief of their thirty towns. They were a peaceful agricultural people, in marked contrast to their neighbours on the south—the Volscians.

• Volsci.

Pushing down from the Apennines, this people, a nation of warriors, early made themselves masters of the harbours of Antium and Tarracina, and following the example of the Etruscans, became dreaded for their piratical raids. Their corsairs swept the whole coast as far as the lighthouse of Messina. They were equally formidable ashore, and caused infinite annoyance to their Latin neighbours, upon whose lands they steadily encroached. South of

Aurunci.

the Volscians, the Aurunci occupied the coast to the Liris. They were distinguished for their lofty stature and fierce aspect, but they early vanished and are scarcely heard of in history. They were known also as Ausones, a term which Roman poets extended to all the lowland Italians of the western coast, and from which comes Ausonia, a poetical name for Italy at large.

East of the Latins, where the plain of Latium (the *Campagna*) begins to rise towards the Abruzzi, Æqui. lay the Æqui, a nation of shepherd-freebooters whose largest towns were but villages. These pressed upon the Latins from the east, as did the Volsci from the south, but while the latter built or occupied fortresses in the lands which they overran, the Æqui made no attempt at permanent occupation, content to make ceaseless forays into the plain and to retreat again to their hills. Between the two, along the valley of the Trerus (*Tolero*), lay the small territory of the Hernici. Hernici. They were more nearly akin to the Latins than to the restless neighbours who constantly vexed their fertile lands. South of the Liris and stretching far into Campania dwelt the Opici or Osci, an unwarlike people. Osci. The dominion of the Etruscans had extended at one period over all the lands occupied by this group of peoples, but it had borne most heavily upon the Opici, who speedily ceased to exist as a nation, though their language remained to show how nearly akin they were to the Latins.

§ 8. From the point where the river Nar (*Nera*) takes The Sabellians. its rise, the Apennines begin to soar to immense heights. In this land, one of the wildest in the whole peninsula, flourished the Sabellian tribes—the second or highland group of Italic peoples descended from the original Umbri. The Sabines, who dwelt on the southern bank of the Nar and Tiber, were the oldest and purest example of the stock, and the most nearly akin to the Latins on the one hand and the Æquians on the other. They were a nation of shepherds and husbandmen, religious, brave, honest, and noted for the severe simplicity of their habits. They had no inclination for mental culture; indeed they viewed it with such contempt that we know nothing of

their peculiar dialect. When threatened by famine in their bleak and arid country, they were accustomed to institute a *ver sacrum*, or sacred spring-time, by which every child and animal born during that season was consecrated to the gods. In the twentieth year thereafter, the children, now grown up, were sent adrift to find new homes for themselves. In this way possibly were formed most or all of the Umbro-Latin peoples, and in this way too the Piceni made their way to the part of the Adriatic coast known as Picenum, and the Hirpini and Samnites went south to Samnium (the *Abruzzi*). Other tribes of Sabine origin were the Vestini, Marrucini, and Frentani, between Picenum and Apulia; the Paeligni and Marsi inland around the shores of Lake Fucinus (*Lago di Celano*). The Marsi and Paeligni formed a league which they made powerful in the land through their dauntless bravery. A second league was formed by the four cantons of the Samnites—the Caraceni, Pentri, Hirpini, and Caudini. It was for a time the most powerful federation in Italy, and was able to offer a successful resistance even to the all-conquering Romans. From Samnium the Sabellian race overflowed into the rich plain of Campania on the west and into Lucania on the south. It was never able to reach the southern ocean, for the Bruttians (a mixed race descended from the Greeks and Siculi, and in a less degree from the Sabellians), and the Greek towns lining the Tarentine Gulf, proved (about 360 B.C.) enemies too formidable; but it carried all before it in Campania, and overwhelmed Etruscans, Greeks, and the kindred Auruncan and Opican races with equal facility. The advance of the Sabellians commenced with the coming of the Gauls (600 B.C.), and gathered head continually until (about 500 B.C.) they ventured to join issue with the Etruscans. Capua[•] fell before

them in 424 B.C. ; four years later they occupied Cumae and the Greek cities of the Campanian coast. It was to their onset that the Latins owed their ability to throw off the Etruscan yoke and to beat back the Volsci ; but in the year 266 B.C. the last of the Sabellians laid down their arms before the eagles of Rome.

§ 9. The Greeks crossed to Italy for purposes of colonization at an early period. The east coast was too inhospitable to invite settlement, but there were excellent harbours along the south and

west. The first Greek colony was undoubtedly the Campanian Cumae, on Cape Misenum (*Punta di Miseno*), founded according to tradition as early as 1046 B.C. by a band of emigrants from Eubœa (*Negropont*), and the Æolic town of Cyme in Asia Minor. Cumae sent off several offshoots, the most famous of which was Parthenope, later called Neapolis (*Naples*). A great interval elapsed before Greek enterprise again turned to the West. In 743 B.C. Rhegium (*Reggio*), which held the entrance to the Straits of Messina, was founded by other colonists from Eubœa, and a few years later (728 B.C.) the Sicilian side of the straits was secured by emigrants from Cumae who settled at Zancle, afterwards Messana (*Messina*). About this time the

The Achæan Cities. Achæans of the Peloponnesus (*Morea*) began to move westwards. They founded the powerful and luxurious Sybaris (721 B.C.) and Crotona (710 B.C.), on the western shore of the Tarentine Gulf. The Achæan colonies were less commercial than agricultural, and with their numerous dependent cities occupied a wide territory inland across to the opposite sea. By 600 B.C. Sybaris possessed twenty-five towns and ruled over four native tribes. It was constantly at variance with the people of Crotona, by whom it was ultimately taken and rased

(510 B.C.). In 708 B.C. the Dorians effected their only settlement on Italian soil by colonizing Tarentum (*Taranto*) at the head of the gulf of the same name, a city destined to rival in wealth and duration any of the Grecian colonies. Other Greek cities of more or less importance were Metapontum, Heraclea, Scylacium, and Locri, along the southern sea; and Laus and Poseidonia (or Paestum) on the Tyrrhenian shore. A glance at the map will show how completely the Greeks had taken possession of Southern Italy, and such was their prosperity in their new homes that they were not without justification in calling the country Great Greece (*Magna Graecia*). Until about 600 B.C. they grew and prospered exceedingly, but shortly after that date they were involved in perpetual strife with the natives of Etruria and Carthage on the one hand, and with Lucanians and Samnites on the other. The former enemies were jealous of their commercial prosperity, the latter envied their wealth and their fertile lands. Yet despite their hostilities, Greeks and Etruscans traded freely with one another, and in particular the Etruscan Caere (*Cervetri*) became almost Hellenized, and passed on much that was Greek to the neighbouring Latins and to Rome. Cumae fell before the Samnites 420 B.C., but on the other hand the Etruscan cities of Campania became Hellenic in tongue and manners despite the Sabellian conquest. Far away from the Italian Greeks, colonists from Phocaea in Asia Minor founded (about 600 B.C.) near the mouth of the Rhone the city of Massilia, famous to-day as Marseilles.

§ 10. Last of all the invaders came the Gauls, a Celtic people like the Umbri before them. As told by Livy, the story of their migration is as follows:—About 600 B.C., when the Bituriges

*Magna
Graecia.*

*The Gauls
in Italy.*

were the
C

leading nation of Gaul, the modern France, their king Ambigatus sent out from the over-abundant population two great hordes under the leadership of his nephews : one of these settled in the Black Forest ; the other under Bellovesus crossed the Graian Alps and reached the valley of the Po. The Etruscans were routed, and Bellovesus established his people, the Insubres, on the northern bank of the Po, where Mediolanum (now *Milan*) became their chief town. After an interval other Gauls followed. A chieftain named Elitovius or "Lightning" led the Cenomani into the country west of the Insubres. Brixia (*Brescia*) and Verona became the chief towns of this second host. Little by little they displaced the Etruscans, who still held out in isolated strongholds like Melpum, until they were masters of the whole northern side of the Po. When other swarms arrived, they crossed to the southern side, expelling thence the Etruscans and Umbrians. The Lingones established themselves along the coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Po to the Rubicon (*Rugone*). The land between the Rubicon and the *Æsis* (*Esino*) was seized by the Senones, who thus shut off the Umbrians completely from the sea. The more powerful tribe of the Boii settled in the hilly country in their rear, having the Po as their boundary on the north and the Apennine range on the south. The conquest was completed by about the year 400 B.C. It was these Gauls who, by their incursions, first set the Sabellian tribes afoot for the conquest of Southern Italy, and then combined with them to dismember the Etruscan empire ; thereby giving to the Latins their opportunity to throw off the yoke of Etruria, and to Rome her first impulse towards the conquest of that land.

CHAPTER II.

ROME IN THE REGAL PERIOD.

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§ 11. THE river Tiber (*Tevere*), which rises in the centre of the Apennine range in the latitude of Florence, divides Italy by an irregular line Topography of Rome. from north to south. For the greater part of its course the river flows between mountains and hills which make it, in times of rain, a torrent; but after passing beyond the line of Mounts Soracte (*Sant' Oreste*) in Etruria and

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Lucretilis (*San Gennaro*) in the land of the Sabines, it winds more slowly through the plain of Latium, where its last tributary the Anio (*Teverone*) falls into it from the Æquian hills. Here the banks are low and muddy, and rains in the uplands result in sudden and frequent floods in the lowlands, for the higher ground on either hand springs as a rule at some little distance from the river's bed, and only at one or two points is the soil on the immediate bank of the stream sufficiently high to escape inundation. At one such point, sixteen miles from the sea, where the land on either bank presents a series of irregular elevations, was founded the city of Rome.

From north to south the river winds through the city roughly S-wise: the upper curve includes the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), a level space whose eastern boundary is the Quirinal Hill (*Collis Quirinalis*), and the Capitol (*Mons Capitolinus*). The latter abuts abruptly upon the river and faces the Janiculan Hill (*Mons Ianiculus*) on the western bank, whose gentle slopes in a measure fill up the river's lower curve. Immediately below the Capitol, the Aventine (*M. Aventinus*) overhangs the river. Eastward of this rises the Caelian (*M. Caelius*), and between this and the Quirinal to the north lie two less marked elevations, the Esquiline (*C. Esquilinus*) and the Viminal (*C. Viminalis*). These last, with the Quirinal, form three spurs of the higher level of the plain of Latium. The other hills on the eastern side of the river are isolated mounds. All lie irregularly round a quadrangular central mound, the Palatine (*M. Palatinus*), also isolated. Together these form the Seven Hills of Rome.

Long centuries of wear and tear, of improvement or destruction, have removed the once steep scarps of the hills, lessened their elevation, levelled their summits, and filled

The map illustrates the Camp of Mars (Campus Martius) in Rome, showing its geographical features and divisions. The Tiber River (RIVER TIBER) flows along the left side. The Camp is divided into four regions (I, II, III, IV) by dashed lines. Key locations include:

- Region I:** Mons Aventinus, Mons Caelius, Mons Esquilinus (Oppius Mons), Mons Viminalis, Mons Quirinalis.
- Region II:** Mons Aventinus, Mons Caelius, Mons Esquilinus (Oppius Mons), Mons Viminalis, Mons Quirinalis.
- Region III:** Mons Esquilinus (Oppius Mons), Mons Viminalis, Mons Quirinalis.
- Region IV:** Mons Quirinalis, Mons Viminalis, Mons Esquilinus (Oppius Mons), Mons Viminalis.

Other labeled features include the Forum, Velia, Subura, Circus, and the Tiber River. A scale bar indicates 3 x 10. The map is titled "FIELD OF MARS" and "CAMPUS MARTIUS".

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1 <i>Citadel (Atr)</i>	7 <i>Walls of Romulus</i>	Tribes of Servius
2 <i>Capitolium, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus</i>	8 <i>Wall of Servius</i>	I Suburana
3 <i>Palatium</i>	9 <i>Temple of Vesta</i>	II Palatina
4 <i>Pons Sublicius</i>	10 <i>Senate House (Curia)</i>	III Esquilina
5 <i>Quay of the Tarquins</i>	11 <i>Comitium</i>	IV Collina
6 <i>Janicular Citadel</i>	12 <i>Via Sacra</i>	

up the hollows between, which in the earliest times were mere swamps. To-day it is hard to find the whereabouts of many of the hills: once they were worthy of their name, and the Capitol and Palatine especially, defended by the river and the swamps about them, were formidable strongholds.

§ 12. In the preceding chapter we have seen that the
The Legends
of Rome.
The Coming
of Æneas. Latins were a people of Celtic affinities, nearly related to the Hernicans, Volscians, Æquians and Sabines, and like them invaders from the North. The Romans however, having long lost all knowledge of their true origin, had invented or borrowed a cycle of legends which connected them with Troy and the heroes of Homeric Greece. These legends must be related in brief: the reader will remember that they are but fictions.

When Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks, had waged war against King Priam of Troy for ten years, that city was destroyed. Æneas, son of Anchises by the goddess Venus and a kinsman of King Priam, gathered together the remnant of the Trojans and sailed into the West. Seven years had he wandered over seas, when at last he reached Laurentum on the coast of Latium, ten miles below the Tiber's mouth, and he knew that this was the goal which the gods by their oracles had pointed out. Latinus, king of the land, made peace with the strangers, and gave to Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. In her honour the Trojans built and named the town of Lavinium, five miles south-east of Laurentum. But Turnus, king of the Rutuli who dwelt in Ardea yet seven miles further to the south, to whom had been promised the hand of Lavinia, now claimed his bride by force. There followed a war in which Turnus was defeated but Latinus fell. Thenceforth Æneas

reigned over the combined peoples of Laurentum and Lavinium, called Latins from the dead Latinus. Three years passed, and Æneas was again assailed by the disappointed Turnus, who had called in to his assistance Mezentius of Caere (*Cervetri*) and the Etruscans. The Latins conquered, but the victory was bought by the death of Æneas, who disappeared in the waters of the Numicius, nigh to Ardea.

§ 13. Ascanius, Æneas' son, who succeeded him on the throne, did not stay in the little town of Lavinium. He built Alba Longa on the highest ridge (*Monte Cavo*) of the Alban Hills, eighteen miles from the coast. The new city became the capital of the surrounding plain, the

The Birth of
Romulus.
The Found-
ing of the
City.

mother of thirty several colonies, whose people came to her every year to offer up sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris, the god of the Latins. So powerful was this federal state that the Etruscans did not venture to attack it, and an agreement was made that the boundary between the two peoples should be the Albula, afterwards famous as the Tiber. Ascanius was succeeded by a long line of kings. Three hundred years after the coming of the Trojans, Procas, twelfth in descent from Ascanius, occupied the throne. On his death a quarrel broke out between his two sons, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius, the younger, ousted his brother Numitor, whose daughter Rhea Silvia he compelled to become a Vestal Virgin, that so she might be always childless and no son of hers might ever claim the throne. But it was ordained otherwise. The Vestal bore twin sons to the god Mars: for her fault she was put to death, and King Amulius bade that the two children should be cast on the Tiber. In their cradle of wicker-work they floated down the river until they reached the Palatine Hill, where

the cradle was arrested by the branches of a fig tree. The children did not perish from hunger, for a she-wolf came out of a neighbouring cave and suckled them. A shepherd, Faustulus, who saw the marvellous sight, took them home and named them Romulus and Remus. One day when they had grown up and become shepherds, they were accused of robbery, and Remus was taken before Numitor. The story of their birth was revealed by the shepherd, and Numitor recognized his grandsons. After this the two brothers slew Amulius and replaced their grandfather Numitor on the throne. They refused to stay at Alba, and determined to found a city on the hill where they had been suckled by the wolf. As they were twins they asked the gods to show by a sign which should be the founder of the town; and there appeared six

753 B.C.

vultures to Remus, but twelve to Romulus, and Romulus knew that he was the favourite of the gods. He marked out the site of his city by drawing a furrow around the Palatine, and began to build a wall. But Remus was jealous, and to show his contempt he leaped over the rising rampart, and Romulus in anger slew his brother. Rome was founded, said legend, in 753 B.C.

Although many followers had come with Romulus from Alba, the people were not large enough to fill the city; wherefore he opened an Asylum, or place of refuge, on the Capitoline Hill, to which flocked outcasts and evil-doers from the neighbouring tribes.

The Asylum.
The Rape
of the
Sabines.

But wives were still wanted, for the Sabines and other peoples refused to give their daughters in marriage to robbers and exiles. Romulus accordingly resorted to stratagem: he invited the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to games in honour of the god Consus, and there came together a great concourse of people

gathered from the Sabine towns of Caenina and Crustum-erium and Antemnae; and in the midst of the games Romulus and his warriors carried off the young Sabine women. The wronged parents on reaching home appealed to Titus Tatius, King of the Sabines, but he seemed slow in revenging the injury; wherefore the people of Caenina at once invaded the Roman territory. They were defeated and lost their king Acron. Then also they of Crustum-erium and Antemnae marched against Rome and were easily driven back. After this Titus Tatius led the whole force of the Sabine nation against Rome, and pitched his camp on the Quirinal Hill. The Capitoline Hill had been entrusted by Romulus to the care of Spurius Tarpeius, and his daughter Tarpeia offered to admit the Sabines to the fortress, provided they would give her what they carried on their left arms, meaning by this the heavy golden bracelets which they wore. Thus the Sabines got possession of the Capitol, but they requited the maiden's treachery by overwhelming her with their shields; for these also they wore upon their left arms. After this the Romans and Sabines met in battle on the level ground between the Capitoline and the Palatine Hills, afterwards known as the Forum. The Romans had at first the worst of the fight, but Romulus called on Jupiter to stay their panic, and they again faced the enemy. At this moment the Sabine women, fearing for their fathers and brothers on the one hand and on the other for their husbands, rushed between the opposing ranks and entreated them to make peace; and a compact was made between Romulus and Titus Tatius that they should rule in common and that their two peoples should become one. The Sabines left their capital of Cures, far up the Tiber's valley, and came to dwell at Rome. Thereafter some of the relatives

The Story of
Tarpeia.

of King Tatius killed envoys from Laurentum, and when he went to Lavinium to offer up sacrifice, he was beset and slain in revenge for the wrong. Romulus now became sole king of the two peoples and ruled with great glory: he captured the Etruscan town of Fidenae and deprived the people of Veii of part of their territory. But though popular with the multitude and the soldiers, he was not so much loved by the senators. While he was reviewing his army near the Goat's Pool in the Campus Martius a furious tempest sprang up, and when it had passed away, the king was no longer to be seen. Some said he had been slain by the senators; but one Proculus Julius declared that Romulus had appeared to him, and bade him command the people henceforth to worship him as a god.

§ 14. To Romulus was due, said the legend, the political organization of the state. He divided his people into patricians (*patres, patricii*) and plebeians (*plebs*): the patricians were the nobles, the plebeians the common multitude, and the plebeians were attached to one or other of the patricians. In this relation the plebeian was known as a client (*cliens*), and the patrician upon whom he was dependent was termed his patron (*patronus*). The client was bound to honour his patron, and the patron on his part was obliged to protect the client.

Romulus divided the patricians into three tribes (*tribus*), called Ramnes, Tities and Luceres. Each of these tribes was divided into ten parts called curies (*curiae*). Each of the curies was subdivided into ten clans (*gentes*); and each *gens* again into ten families or households; so that in the whole state there were three tribes, thirty curies, 300 clans, and 3000 households. The plebeians were not divided in this way, said the legend. From the patricians,

Romulus choose 100 of the wisest old men (*senes, seniores*), whom he named senators (*senatores*). Together they were the senate (*senatus*, from the same root as *senex*, old), and them he consulted when any grave matter demanded attention.

The patricians met in their curies to decide on questions of war and peace: if a majority of those in a curia voted for war, the voice of that curia counted as one vote for war; and if a majority of the thirty curies were in favour of war, then war was declared.

Romulus picked out 3000 of the young men to form the foot-soldiers of his army, and 300 more to serve as horsemen (*equites*), in three centuries of one hundred each. In this way every family would furnish one foot-soldier, and every ten families one horseman. The horsemen he called *Celeres*, and to command them he chose an officer termed the Tribune of the *Celeres* (*Tribunus Celerum*).

For a year after the disappearance of Romulus there was no king at Rome. During that time the senators chose between-kings (*interreges*) from their own body, and these ruled the city for five days each. At last it was agreed to elect Numa Pompilius, a Sabine famed for his righteousness.

§ 15. Romulus had been a great warrior, and under him the Romans had grown accustomed to a life of violence and rapine: Numa taught them religion and the fear of the gods and the arts of peace. He had learned wisdom from

The Story of
Numa (715—
673 B.C.¹).

¹ The dates of the reigns of the kings are of course just as legendary as is the date and story of the city's founding. Nevertheless it is necessary to know the latter date, for to the Romans of the Empire it constituted the era from which they reckoned all other dates, and many modern writers adopt the same system in dealing with Roman History. Such dates are marked by the letters A.U.C. (*Anno Urbis Conditee*, in the year from the city's foundation). To change any

Pythagoras, the philosopher of Magna Graecia, and from the goddess Egeria who met him secretly in a grove by night and instructed him in sacred lore. When the people refused to listen to his teaching, he convinced them of his divine power by inviting them to a banquet and converting the plain earthenware dishes into silver and gold. He told the Romans by what ritual they might win the favour of the gods. To superintend the religious worship of the state he made Numa Marcius chief Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*), and under him he appointed four lesser Pontifices. He instituted four Augurs, who were to discover the will of the gods by observing the flight of birds. He created three Flamens, so called because they kindled the sacred fire; one of these was the servant of Jupiter, another of Mars Gradivus, another of Quirinus the deified Romulus. The fire on the city hearth was kept burning by the Vestal Virgins, who were vowed to a life of chastity as long as they kept their office.

The god Mars was also served by twelve Salii, wardens of the *Ancilia* or sacred shields. Numa built a temple to the double-faced god Janus, whereof the gates were closed in time of peace and opened only when the army went forth to war. During all Numa's long reign they remained shut, for the neighbouring peoples did not once attack the Romans. Numa also divided the land among the people, and in commemoration of this he built a temple to Terminus, the god of boundaries. Anxious that the

date A.U.C. into the corresponding date B.C. or A.D.: take the difference between 753 and the number representing the date A.U.C. If 753 be the greater of the two numbers, the difference *plus* one will represent the date B.C.; if 753 be the lesser number, the difference will give the date A.D. Thus the year 477 A.U.C. = 277 B.C. (for $753 - 477 = 276$, and $276 + 1 = 277$); and the year 2646 A.U.C. = 1893 A.D. (for $2646 - 753 = 1893$).

people should forget their division into Romans and Sabines, he divided the craftsmen into gilds according to their occupations. He formed eight in all—musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, braziers and potters. Moreover he introduced the calendar. He died after a reign of forty-two years.

§ 16. Numa Pompilius was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, a warlike king of Roman descent. At this time Alba Longa was ruled by a king called Gaius Cluilius. Now a quarrel arose between some Roman and Alban farmers, and

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fall upon him together. Therefore the Romans were declared lords of the Albans, and they escorted Horatius in triumph to the gates of Rome. And as he entered into the city he was met by his sister, who was betrothed to one of the slain Curiatii. She recognized her lover's cloak amongst her brother's spoils, and cursed Horatius for the murder. Then Horatius was wroth and slew her, uttering the wish that such might be the fate of every Roman woman who should lament the fall of an enemy of Rome. For the shedding of his sister's blood Horatius was tried before two judges (*duumviri*) appointed by the king, and was condemned to death; but Tullus granted him the privilege of appealing to the people. His father pleaded his cause, and entreated the citizens that he might not lose all three sons in one day; and for his valour in the fight, and for his father's sake, the people granted pardon to Horatius.

After this the peoples of Veii in Etruria and of Fidenae, upon the banks of the Tiber five miles away, declared war. In doing so they relied on pledges of help from Alba, for the Albans bore uneasily the Roman supremacy, and their dictator Mettus Fufetius was dissatisfied with his lessened dignity. In the battle, when the Romans were hard pressed, Mettus caused the Albans to flee from the fight; yet in spite of this Tullus bore himself bravely, and the Romans won the day. When the fight was ended, Mettus came back to the field and made **pretence** to be glad that the Romans were victorious. But Tullus had observed his treachery, and he ordered the Alban to be seized and torn to pieces by wild horses; and for their treachery he transferred the whole population of Alba to Rome, where he settled them on the Caelian Hill. From this time Alba Longa was a wilderness. Tullus was successful in other wars,

The Treachery
of Mettus
and Fall of
Alba.

but his pride caused the gods to send a pestilence upon the people. Therefore he tried to find a remedy by consulting the sacred books of Numa, and while he did sacrifice to Jupiter, he was smitten with lightning, and with his house disappeared for ever.

§ 17. Ancus Marcius, the grandson of the Sabine Numa Pompilius, was the fourth king. Like Numa he was a peaceful monarch and anxious to serve the gods. The Latins, thinking that he would not retaliate, made war on him, but Ancus proved himself no coward: he captured Politorium and Tellenae and Ficana, and so extended the lands of Rome along the southern shore of the Tiber as far as the sea; and he brought the whole population thereof to Rome, just as Tullus had done with them of Alba. He settled these new subjects on the Aventine Hill and on the lower ground between the Aventine and the Palatine. He also fortified the Janiculan Hill and connected it with the city by a bridge of piles (*pons sublicius*); he deprived the people of Veii of all their land on the right bank of the Tiber from Rome down to the sea; and he founded Ostia at the river's mouth, to serve as a harbour. To Ancus is attributed the construction of the ancient prison, the Tullianum, as a menace to evil-doers, and the institution of the College of Fetials (State-heralds), whose duty it was to declare war on an enemy with the due solemnities, to demand reparation for injuries, and to preserve the record of the treaties which were ratified by the Romans.

§ 18. When the oligarchy of the Bacchiadae at Corinth was overthrown by the tyrant Cypselus, one of their number, Demaratus by name, sailed across the sea and came to Tarquinii in Etruria. He had a son called Lucumo, who wedded an Etruscan

The Story
of Ancus
Marcius (642
—616 B.C.).

The Story
of Tarquinius
Priscus (616
—578 B.C.).
His Origin.

lady of the name of Tanaquil. Now the Etruscans held Lucumo in little esteem as being the son of a foreigner; wherefore Tanaquil, who was wealthy and ambitious, induced her husband to seek his fortune at Rome. When they reached the Janiculan Hill on their journey, an eagle carried away the cap from Lucumo's head and then flew back and replaced it. By this sign Tanaquil, who was versed in Etruscan divination, knew that her husband was destined to attain to the highest rank. Lucumo settled in Rome, and changed his name to Lucius Tarquinius. He soon became a favourite with King Ancus, who frequently consulted him on business of importance, and dying, made him guardian to his two sons; and the people chose him for their king. He was a vigorous and successful ruler: he defeated the Sabines, and annexed Collatia on the Anio (*Teverone*), one of their towns; then turning his arms against the Latins, he took Crustumium, Medullia, Nomentum and other places between the Tiber and the Anio, and compelled the whole of the Latin nation (*nomen Latinum*) to swear allegiance to himself. Moreover he even subdued Etruria, so that the Etruscans became his subjects, and sent him the golden crown and other regal ornaments in token of their obedience.

Tarquinius tried to alter the constitution as settled by Romulus. He proposed to add three new tribes to the three old ones, a change which would involve the doubling of the numbers of the senate and the cavalry as fixed by Romulus;

His Reforms.
The Story
of Attus
Navius.

but Attus Navius the augur declared that such an innovation was contrary to the will of the gods. Then Tarquinius asked the augur: "Say you that the thing whereof I am now thinking is possible?" Attus consulted the auspices and declared that it was. Then said the king,

“Here are a whetstone and a razor; I was thinking that you should cut through the whetstone with this razor.” Attus took the whetstone and cut it through without effort. Tarquinius now desisted from his plan of making new tribes, but he increased the old tribes to twice their former magnitude by the admission of new clans, so that henceforth each tribe (Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres) consisted of old or greater clans (*maiores gentes*) and of new or lesser clans (*minores gentes*); the three centuries of knights were consequently increased to six, so that the horsemen of the city numbered 600; the senate was increased to double its former numbers, and now consisted of 200 senators, of whom half belonged to the greater houses and half to the lesser. Tarquinius left some famous buildings to commemorate his reign: amongst these were the great *cloacae* or sewers which drained the low-lying parts of the city and rendered them fit for habitation. On the ground between the Capitoline and the Palatine he made a market-place or Forum, and between the Palatine and the Aventine he laid out a racecourse (*circus*), at which games were performed every year.

§ 19. Now Tarquinius had in his household one Servius Tullius, the son of a slave-girl. Once when Servius was asleep before the hearth, the onlookers saw that his head was surrounded with flames. They hurried to Tanaquil to report the marvellous sight, and the queen declared that Servius would one day be famous. From this time she showed particular favour to the boy, and when he was grown up Tarquinius gave to him his daughter in marriage, and evidently intended to make him his successor. Until this time the sons of Ancus, who had been passed over in favour of their guardian Tarquinius, hoped that the kingdom

The Story of
Servius Tul-
lius (578—
534 B.C.). His
Accession.

would be theirs when the king died ; but now they thought they would never reign, and hired two peasants to murder Tarquinius. One peasant went up to the king and pretended that there was a dispute between himself and his companion ; and while Tarquinius was listening to his complaint, the other struck him to the ground with an axe. But Tanaquil acted with promptitude. She addressed the people from an upper window, and declared that Tarquinius was not dead or even mortally wounded : until he recovered, he had appointed Servius to act as his deputy. So Servius sat in the king's place, and the people were so greatly pleased with his rule that, when it was at last formally announced that Tarquinius was dead, they bestowed the crown on Servius.

§ 20. The reign of good King Servius was long remembered, for under him Rome prospered exceedingly, and all that the king did for the better organization of his state and city and people remained to later times as the reforms of Servius. By these reforms the Roman army was made more mighty than ever, for all the people were told off each to his place and duty in the host. There was no citizen that was not a soldier, and the army of Servius mustered 80,000 men in the Field of Mars. In Servius' day too the people came to have a clearer voice in questions of the state, for now was created the *Comitia Centuriata* ;¹ and the city was divided into four new tribes and surrounded with a great wall and mound.² Servius

¹ For an account of the Servian Reform, see below, chap. iii. § 52.

² These were the tribes *Suburana*, *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, and *Collina*, taking their names from their topographical position. They were determined therefore by locality, and embraced all who dwelt within their respective boundaries ; whereas the three ancient tribes which had existed even in Romulus' time were determined, at least in theory, by blood-relationship, so that no new-comer could find a place in them.

was as successful a warrior as legislator, for he compelled the Etruscans to pay homage to him as their overlord, and he made a treaty of alliance with the Latins and commemorated this by a temple of Diana on the Aventine, to which both nations came to offer sacrifice.

§ 21. Now Servius Tullius had two daughters : one of these was gentle and meek ; the other, haughty and ambitious. Tarquinius had left two sons, Lucius and Aruns : the disposition of Aruns was mild and unassuming, but Lucius aspired to the sovereign power. Servius married his gentle daughter to Lucius, while the ambitious one he wedded to Aruns, in the hope that partners of such diverse characters would neutralize each the other's defects. But the reverse of this happened, for Lucius Tarquinius despised his own wife as much as he admired his brother's. The ambitious Tullia returned the feeling, and induced Lucius to murder his wife and brother, and to wed herself. Not content with this, they began to plot against the aged Servius. When Lucius Tarquinius had secured a sufficient body of followers, of whom he found many among the young patricians of the lesser houses, he put on the royal purple and, attended by an armed throng, burst into the senate-house. Then as he sat on the royal seat he commanded the senators to attend and listen to their king Tarquinius. Servius, on being informed of this daring act, hurried to the senate-house. He attempted to oust Tarquinius from his seat, but as he was now feeble with years, he was no match for the younger man, and was cast down the steps of the building. He was betaking himself homewards when he was cut down by armed men who had been sent in pursuit. As he was lying dead on the wayside, his daughter, the wicked Tullia, chanced to be passing in her chariot. She did not turn aside, but drove over the

The Story of
Tarquinius
Superbus
(584—510
B.C.). His
Accession.

body, and bespattered and defiled with her father's blood entered her home. Wherefore that road was known as the Via Scelerata—the Accursed Way.

Such was the commencement of the reign of Lucius Tarquinius, whom men for his cruel deeds soon began to name the Arrogant (*Superbus*). He surrounded himself with a body-guard of armed men; he was the first of the kings who neglected to ask the advice of the senate when he made war or peace with the surrounding peoples; many of the fathers he put to death, and their places he did not fill up, so that the senate became weak and despicable. The poor people he compelled to work at his public buildings, and he completed the great sewers (*cloacae*) and the Forum and the racecourse near the Aventine, which the first Tarquin had begun.

But though hated for his tyranny at home, he was a great warrior, and he carried the Roman arms further than any of the kings who had gone before him. He compelled the Latins to continue in their allegiance, and when Turnus Herdonius of Aricia spoke seditious words about his arrogance, he caused him to be arrested and executed on a false charge. The people of Gabii, a Latin town fifteen miles east of Rome, refused to submit to the tyrant and defeated his troops. So he won the town by stratagem: his son, Sextus Tarquinius, came disguised as a fugitive to Gabii, and implored the townspeople to protect him against his father's cruelty. They believed his tale and gave him part of the army to command. When his popularity was assured at Gabii he sent a messenger to his father to ask what was next to be done. Tarquinius made no reply in words, but passed into his garden, and in the presence of the messenger silently struck off with a switch the heads of the tallest poppies that grew there. All this was incomprehensible to the messenger, but Sextus grasped his

father's meaning, and by insidious accusations cut off the chief men of Gabii. When there was no one left to offer resistance, he handed over the town to his father. Tarquinius further strengthened his position by giving his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius, who was king of the strong town of Tusculum (*Frascati*), fifteen miles to the south-east. He waged war against the Volscians and took from them the town of Suessa, Pometia, which was more than fifty miles distant from Rome.

While he was engaged in sending out colonies to Signia (*Segni*), and Circeii (*Monte Circello*) in the Volscian land, great consternation was caused by the appearance of a snake within the palace. To learn what was the meaning of this portent, Tarquinius sent his two younger sons, Titus and Aruns, to the celebrated Greek oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

The Stratagem of Brutus.

With them went their cousin Lucius Junius, surnamed Brutus or the Dullard. But his dullness he had only assumed to avoid awakening the jealousy of Tarquinius, and as an emblem of his own mind he offered to the god a rod of gold enclosed in a staff of cornel wood. When the young men had discharged their father's commission, it occurred to them to make inquiry who should rule after him at Rome, and there came answer: "He among you that shall first kiss his mother." The two Tarquins took the answer in its literal sense, but Brutus bethought him that the earth was the true mother of all; wherefore he stumbled and fell, accidentally as it seemed, and touched the ground with his lips.

§ 22. When the young men returned to Rome, they found Tarquinius engaged in besieging Ardea. One day the princes were banqueting with a kinsman, Tarquinius Collatinus, who dwelt at Collatia,

The Fall of the Tarquins.
Læretia.

and the conversation turned on the merits of their wives, and each was enthusiastic in praise of his own. Finally they agreed to leave the camp before Ardea and see with their own eyes how their wives were at that time occupied. At Rome they found the daughters-in-law of Tarquinius engaged in the revel and gaiety of the court; but when they came to Collatia, Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, was sitting in the midst of her maidens and toiling at the loom, and the princes at once agreed that Collatinus had the best wife. But the beauty of Lucretia had filled Sextus Tarquinius with evil desires, and one day he left the camp unknown to Collatinus, and came in the evening to Collatia, attended by a single slave. He was welcomed by Lucretia, who had no suspicion of his intent. When all was still in the house, Sextus entered Lucretia's room. Entreaties and threats were powerless to move her, nor did she yield until Sextus declared that he would kill her and his slave, and lay the slave's dead body with her own, and then tell her husband that he had so found them. On the morrow Lucretia sent messengers to her father at Rome and to her husband at Ardea, bidding them come attended each by one faithful friend, for a great calamity had come upon her. Spurius Lucretius hastened from Rome and with him came Publius Valerius; Collatinus brought with him Lucius Junius Brutus. On their arrival Lucretia told them of the crime of Sextus, and when she had finished the story of her wrongs, she drew a knife from her robes and slew herself. Then Brutus drew out the knife from her heart and swore that he would pursue the accursed stock of the Tarquins until he had driven them from the land. And they carried Lucretia's body into the market-place, and Brutus assembled the people and bade them avenge the deed, as became men and Romans. All

the warriors joined him, and leaving a guard at Collatia, they marched on Rome. At Rome the words of Brutus were as effective as at Collatia, and the people declared that they would no longer be ruled by Tarquinius. On hearing of the tumult, Tarquinius hastened to Rome, but the gates were shut and he was unable to effect an entrance. The army at Ardea also declared against him: he was forced to go into exile among the Etruscans at Caere (*Cervetri*), and with him went his two younger sons. Sextus Tarquinius fled to Gabii, where he was at once put to death by the citizens. So the monarchy ended and the government became a republic, in the year 509 B.C.

§ 23. In this way the Tarquins were expelled from Rome. From this time forth the citizens in the Comitia Centuriata elected every year two magistrates, called consuls, who took the place of the king. The earliest consuls were L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus. The first action of Brutus was to replenish the senate, which had fallen far below its proper number owing to the murders of Tarquinius. A sufficient number of members was chosen from the centuries of the horsemen to bring it up to 300. These new members were known as *conscripti* because they were enrolled by the consul; the older members were *patres*, so that henceforth the senators were addressed as *patres conscripti*, this being a shortened expression for *patres et conscripti*.¹ As the centuries of the horsemen included plebeians, many of the latter thus found their way into the senate, and this concession tended greatly to unite patricians and plebeians firmly against the exiled king. At the same time Brutus bound the whole people by an

The Beginning
of the
Republic.

¹ For another explanation, see § 45.

oath that they would never suffer a king to reign again in Rome. A king of the sacrifices (*rex sacrorum*) was instituted to perform the sacred duties which had been part of the royal functions, but he was no longer the chief of the priests, for the supreme authority in religious rites was given to the *pontifex maximus*.

§ 24. Though Collatinus had assisted in the expulsion of the Tarquins, yet he belonged to that hated family, and the people clamoured that he should give up his consulship. His colleague Brutus implored him to gratify their wish, so he resigned his magistracy and retired to Lavinium. Now many of the young patricians had been accustomed to riot and license during the reign of the Tarquins, and they lamented that they should be compelled to obey the laws like the poorest of the people. They now entered into a conspiracy to bring back the exiles, but the plot was revealed by a slave named Vindicius, who had overheard it. Though the sons and nephews of Brutus were implicated, the consul did not hesitate to inflict the punishment of death upon them; so great was his love for freedom. After this the Etruscan peoples of Veii and Tarquinii (*Corneto*) tried to restore the Tarquins by force of arms. Aruns Tarquinius was in command of the Etruscan cavalry, while Brutus was at the head of the Roman knights. When the two foes caught sight of each other they rushed forward; neither was careful to protect his own body, and both fell pierced by a mortal wound. By the death of Brutus, P. Valerius, who had been chosen his colleague on the retirement of Collatinus, became the sole magistrate of the state. He was accused of building a stronghold for himself at Rome, and when he neglected to ask the Comitia Centuriata to give him a colleague, people whispered that he was aiming at the royal power.

To quiet the discontent Valerius proposed two laws : the first, that if the consul sentenced a citizen to death or the lash, the condemned man should have the right of *provocatio*—that is of appealing to the Comitia Centuriata, which might, if it so willed, cancel the punishment ; the second, that the offence of aiming at the kingship should be punishable by death. These proposals so pleased the people that Valerius won the title of Publicola, or the People's Champion. After this an election for a second consul was held, and Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, was chosen.

§ 25. After the failure of Veii and Tarquinii to cope with the Romans, Tarquinius betook himself to Lars Porsena of Clusium (*Chiusi*), who was at that time overlord of the Etruscans. Porsena

The Story of
Lars Porsena
and Horatius.

collected a great army from all Etruria and marched on Rome. He captured the Janiculum on the right bank of the Tiber, and put a garrison in it ; nothing but a wooden bridge remained to be crossed, and the city would be in his hands. But Horatius, whose surname was Cocles, resolved to defend the bridge, and two warriors, Lartius and Herminius, agreed to live or die with him. The three Romans withstood the whole assault of the Etruscans until the bridge was broken down behind them. Lartius and Herminius darted back when only a few planks remained, but Horatius stayed until escape in that way was impossible : he plunged into the foaming Tiber, and reached the opposite bank in safety. Thus Rome was saved for the moment, but Lars Porsena proceeded to besiege the town, and the Romans were sore pressed by famine. Then C. Mucius, a youth of noble birth, thinking it disgraceful that Romans should thus be hemmed in by foes, went to the Etruscan camp with the resolution of killing King Porsena. He did not know the king, and

Of Mucius
Scaevola.

was afraid to ask, but seeing some one in authority who was paying out money to the troops, he attacked and slew him. It proved not to be Porsena, and Mucius was dragged before the king. Threatened with death, he did not lose his composure, and to show how little he recked of tortures he plunged his right hand into a brazier of burning coals, nor did he remove it until it was burnt to a cinder, wherefore he won the name of Scaevola, the Left-handed. Porsena, surprised at his fortitude, allowed him to go free, and Mucius told the king: "Three hundred Roman youths of courage and daring like mine have sworn to slay thee should I fail." On hearing this Porsena made peace: he was so generous that he only demanded that the Romans should give hostages, and surrender some territory which they had taken from the Veientes in olden times.

Of Cloelia.

Cloelia, a noble maiden, who was one of the hostages, escaped from the Etruscan camp in the night-time, and swam across the Tiber. She was followed by her companions; but Porsena was so far from requiring their return that he allowed them to select one each from the male hostages, and these he set at liberty. After this Porsena made no further attempt to restore the Tarquins. The Romans soon had an opportunity of showing their gratitude to him for his chivalrous conduct, for on desisting from the siege of Rome, Porsena led his army southwards against Aricia (*Ariccia*). The people of that city got help from the Latins and from the Greek city of Cumae in Campania, and thus reinforced, they cut the greater part of the Etruscan expedition to pieces. The remainder were welcomed at Rome; many of them preferred to stay there altogether, and a spot known as the Tuscan Settlement (*Tuscanus vicus*) was assigned to them to dwell in. Tarquinius at last gave up all hope of being reinstated by the

Etruscans, and betook himself to Tusculum, where his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, was king. There he began to intrigue with the Sabines and the Latins, with the result that the Sabines declared war on the Romans. But one of the most powerful of the Sabines, Attus Clausus, disapproved of these hostilities, and Of Attus Clausus. made an agreement with Valerius Publicola to migrate to Rome. He accordingly left Regillum with all his clients to the number of 5000, and settled on some territory on the right bank of the Anio, which was allotted to him by the Romans. He himself was admitted to the senate, and under the Roman name of Appius Claudius, became the progenitor of a house which was to give twenty-three consuls to Rome. Soon after this Valerius Publicola died, after being consul four times and leading the Romans in all their wars since the expulsion of the Tarquins. The matrons lamented him for ten months as they had lamented Brutus.

§ 26. Eight years after the downfall of the monarchy, in 501 B.C., there was great consternation at Rome lest the Latins should revolt, and it was rumoured that Octavius Mamilius had enlisted the thirty Latin towns in a conspiracy. It seemed to the people that the divided authority of the two consuls would be unequal to cope with the emergency, and they for the first time created a dictator, a magistrate against whose sentence of death there was no appeal, and who had the same unlimited power which the kings had enjoyed. The Roman historians were not agreed as to the name of the first dictator: some said it was Titus Lartius, others Manius Valerius, a relative of the great Publicola. This measure was sufficient for the time; but soon afterwards (in 499 B.C. or 496 B.C.) it was necessary to again appoint a dictator, and Aulus Postumius was chosen. The

The Latin War,
and Battle of
Lake Regillus
(496 B.C.).

Latin confederates and the exiled Tarquins met the Romans at Lake Regillus, not far from Tusculum, and the Romans won the battle after a hot conflict, in which Mamilius was slain. According to legend, they were assisted by the twin-gods Castor and Pollux, who appeared on white horses in the front of the battle and encouraged them to renewed exertions. After this defeat Tarquinius made no further attempt to return to Rome; he went to Cumae, where he was protected by the tyrant Aristodemus, and there he died.

§ 27. In the year 390 B.C. the Gauls sacked and burned Rome, and in doing so destroyed most, if not all, written authorities for the years preceding that date. These authorities could not have been very copious, for it was not until many years later that anything like a yearly history of events was made; and still less could they have been reliable for any period as ancient as the kings, since writing, if used at all, was only used very sparingly. There remained, then, only tradition to fill in the details of the years previous to 390 B.C. Tradition was copious, but utterly inconsistent. Scarcely two writers agreed on any but the most salient points. None took the trouble to examine the credibility of the legends. Each chose what he thought most interesting, and avoided all discussion; but even thus each falls into inconsistencies and impossibilities, as, for instance, when Livy prefers the account that Tarquin the Arrogant was the son, and not the grandson, of Tarquinius Priscus, in which case he must have been about seventy years of age when he threw Servius down the steps of the senate-house, and seized the kingdom. A few pieces of evidence

The Materials
for this
Legendary
History.

there may have been, such as laws and treaties engraved on metal or stone, and therefore able to resist the ruin of the Gauls and the hand of time ; and there were other such monuments, as the still-existing fragments of the wall of Servius Tullius and that which encircled Roma Quadrata, the cloacae, the foundations of the Capitoline temple, and the Mamertine prison, which was said to have been built by Ancus. But the Roman writers were not antiquaries ; they could neither read ancient Latin nor understand the “sermons in stones” which were all around them.

§ 28. The legends are not history : a brief consideration will show that they are in many particulars impossible. The tale of Romulus' birth is Absurdity of the Legends. common to half a score of national heroes : this and his ascent into heaven may be dismissed as myth, pure and simple. So also may the story of Rome's connection with Troy, and the whole body of legends which has become grouped about the name of Æneas ; the story of the Asylum, of Tarpeia, of the miracles of Numa's dishes and Attus Navius' razor and the death of Tullus, and the portents in the lives of Tarquinius Priscus and of Servius ; the appearance of Castor and Pollux at Regillus. Apart from the more palpable myths, some of the legends defy all chronology : thus Numa is said to have learnt wisdom from Pythagoras, who lived two hundred years later than the date assigned to Numa ; and Romulus is said to have founded the temple of Jupiter Stator, which was only built many years afterwards. The miraculous and impossible elements grow less frequent as the story progresses—a proof that the Romans themselves saw their lack of credibility. Probably the Latins, like many other peoples, had their folk-lore and folk-songs, going back to the times when the

gods were supposed to deal openly with men; and extracts from these songs gradually made their way into the prose narrative of the ancient days of Rome.¹

§ 29. The account of Romulus creating the senate, dividing the people into patricians and plebeians, and causing the free Romans to assemble in their curies, is scarcely less incredible, when we consider that the Council of the Old Men and the Assembly of the People are found among the political institutions of almost every nation of Europe. As a matter of fact, they were common to all Italian communities—whether Latin, Sabellian, or Umbrian, and the Romans no doubt received them as their heritage from remote ages, just as did the Athenians and Spartans. It is still more absurd to ascribe the religious organization of the state to Numa; for this involves the folly of asserting that before his reign the Romans had neither religious rites nor priestly functionaries—a state of things without parallel among any people, civilized or uncivilized.

Such legends belong to the class called ætiological, that is, legends constructed purposely to explain existing facts. It is a fact that there was a Senate, a Comitia, certain classifications of the people by local tribes, by families, and by property, and a complete religious organization: it was a simple matter to invent originators for all these facts. It is especially with names and customs that the ætiological legend concerns itself: the meaning of the name of Rome was forgotten, therefore Romulus was invented as its founder and the author of its name; there was a Tarpeian Rock on the Capitol, and Tarpeia was invented to account for the name; there was a Via Scelerata and a Vicus

¹ Some idea of these folk-songs may be gathered from Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

Tuscan in Rome, and to explain these names arose the stories of Tullia driving over her father's corpse and of the welcome given to Porsena at Rome. So too for the right of *provocatio*, an origin was found in the legend of Horatius' murder of his sister; and because it was the custom at Rome, as even in parts of England till lately, for the bridegroom to pretend violence in carrying away his bride, there arose the story of the rape of the Sabines to account for what was in reality a custom of world-wide extent and antiquity.

§ 30. Many features of the legends can be traced to a Greek source, the fact being that the first Legends of Greek Origin. historians of Rome were Greeks, who introduced into the meagre annals of the Romans some of their own more striking stories. To this side of the legends belong among others the tale of Æneas' wanderings, and of the Trojan origin of the Romans. The story of the Asylum (a Greek term) betrays its origin. So too the name of Numa, the law-giving king, is connected with the Greek νόμος, law. Tarquinius Superbus, who overrides the laws, humiliates the senate, refuses to consult the elders, crushes the people with great public tasks, and sends embassies to the oracle at Delphi, is a Greek tyrant of the type of Peisistratus and Periander. Just as Sextus Tarquinius got possession of Gabii, so did Zopyrus in Herodotus' story secure Babylon for his king, Darius. Tarquin's advice to his son about the poppies is also found in Herodotus, who says it was given by Thrasybulus of Miletus to Periander of Corinth.

§ 31. When at length, in the second century B.C., there appeared historians of Roman blood and language, they were not slow to follow the National Vanity and Family Pride. example of the inventive Greeks; and they had the additional motives of national vanity and family

pride. The former led them to make conquerors of their mythical kings and to represent Rome's early history as one steady advance from little to great; the latter had already constructed elaborate genealogical histories for all great *gentes*—never was any so proud of his ancestors as a true-born Roman—and of these the later historians availed themselves. They were not critics, and if the great houses of the Horatii and the Valerii had invented or borrowed stories which carried back the glory of their family to the days of Tullius and Tarquin, the historian did not trouble himself to examine too closely their probability. When the Romans came into contact with the Greeks of Cumae, they found that it was a matter of punctilio with every Greek state or family to trace its descent from the Grecian heroes who fought at Troy; while similarly all non-Greek peoples who had had dealings with the Greeks, made themselves out to be of Trojan blood. Roman pride could not bear to be without part in that famous story, so it invented the story of Æneas' wanderings and claimed lineal descent from Priam of Troy.

§ 32. However, Roman genius was not imaginative or poetical; and after claiming an antiquity which went back through seven centuries and a half, the annalists found it very difficult to invent details for filling up the early centuries for which there were no records and but few traditions. So they contented themselves with telling the same old tales twice over.

Thne has shown that the legends are often repeated in slightly different forms. Tullus Hostilius, the warlike monarch, is the double of Romulus, and it can be shown that the details of their reign are, with a few variations of name, practically identical. Ancus Marcius, the peaceful king, is a copy of Numa, and the two Tarquins are evolved

from one original type. So in the matter of events : time after time recur the same wars, revolts, and sieges, as, for instance, at Veii and Fidenæ ; and if one historian avoids repeating himself, another is less careful, and scarce one event is associated with the name of one king alone.

§ 33. But clumsy and incredible and contradictory as the legends are, they nevertheless contain here and there germs of truth. To say exactly The Credible Element in the Legends. where truth ends and fiction begins is impossible, but it is not difficult to detect occasionally the bare outlines of real historical events. By comparing the customs, myths, and languages of other nations, we may be enabled to reject much that is false, as, for instance, the story of Gabii and the rape of the Sabines. By comparing the legends with themselves, we can trace the growth of other myths. But it is by comparing the legends of early Rome with the known facts of her later history, law, language, customs, and religion, that we best gain an insight into their origin and value. A knowledge of the Roman constitution, as existent in republican times, will help to throw light on the earlier period ; for relics of older times persist among modern developments. For instance, even if the legends said nothing about a time when Rome was governed by kings, and if we could not infer its existence from the analogy of other peoples, yet the mere existence of "between-kings" (*interreges*) appointed to hold the elections in the absence of duly qualified magistrates, would justify our belief in a regal period ; while from the fact that under the republic there was a "king of sacred matters" (*rex sacrorum*), we should rightly conclude that in an earlier age the king had taken a chief part in religious ceremonies. From hints such as these, and from a consideration of Rome's position with regard to her Latin,

Sabine, and Etruscan neighbours, and from the known history of these peoples, we can indicate some main facts which underlie the legends, and can from these construct in vague outline a history of Rome from the time when she rises above her sister Latin cities until she establishes the republican constitution within her walls. After this we are on surer ground, although it is not until the war with Pyrrhus in the fifth century of the city's existence that we commence to feel certain about the details of the struggles by which she achieved the conquest of the world.

§ 34. While yet the Latins were little differentiated from the Sabines, they descended from the high-lands about Reate (*Rieti*) on the upper waters of the Nar (*Nera*), and at the dawn of history we find these, the Old Latins (*Prisci Latini*), settled in the "Broad Land" (Latium, cp. *latus*, broad), the fertile plain which stretched along the southern and eastern bank of the Tiber from its confluence with the Anio (*Teverone*) to the sea. On every available hill and mound, secure as far as might be from human foes, and safe from the more deadly malaria—the poisonous atmosphere of the marshes—they planted their settlements, which dotted so closely their confined territory of some 700 square miles—an area less than that of Buckinghamshire—that in the earliest days of the Republic there were thirty towns of importance upon the roll of the Latin League. The central point of their land was the Alban Mount (*Monte Cavo*), and here stood Albâ Longa, which from its strength and commanding site—for it overlooked the whole of Latium like a watch-tower—became naturally the centre of their nationality. Here was the temple of the Latin Jupiter (*Iuppiter Latiaris*), and hither came the whole people year by year to do him honour and sacrifice in the Latin Festival (*Feriae Latinae*). But league

in any proper sense of the term there was as yet none, and certainly the Latin towns were not colonies from Alba. Each town was independent, and presumably ruled by its own king as was Rome. Probably also the inhabitants of all the Latin towns possessed, as members of one people, the right to intermarry, to migrate from one town to another, and to acquire and dispose of property as they could. It is possible that the deputies of all may have met from time to time to debate upon matters which affected all alike; and probably such congress would have in fact, if not in theory, a certain control over the individual towns. They were not a belligerent folk, but as occasion demanded they might doubtless levy a conjoint army to defend the interests of all, and might appoint a dictator, or, later, two praetors to take the supreme command; yet there could have been no compulsion in the matter, and each several town was its own master, whether it were Tusculum (*Frascati*), or Praeneste (*Palestrina*), or Tibur (*Tivoli*), or Rome, or any other settlement large or small.

§ 35. The Latins were in a state of constant feud with their neighbours and kinsmen. South and east were the Volscians, Hernicans, Æquians, and Sabines; and to the north, across the Tiber, the more menacing power of the Etruscans stretched far and wide; and while their corsairs were coasting southwards to Campania and their armies advancing towards the Tiber, it was inevitable that they should come into conflict with the Latins. It required little insight to discover the importance of guarding the frontier which nature provided for the land in the wide stream of the Tiber. Thus a minor settlement, not yet deemed worthy to rank as one of the thirty cities of the League, but strongly placed on a group of hills on the southern bank, speedily grew into importance. This was

The Rise of
Rome.

Rome. The city owed its rise solely to its strategic consequence, for in many respects its situation contrasted unfavourably with that of other Latin cities; the soil was barren and unhealthy; the hollows between the hills were mere morasses; there were no springs, and the Tiber overflowed whenever there was any unusual rainfall. But, on the other hand, these hills formed in themselves a series of closely-grouped strongholds, and in connection with the Janiculan Hill on the further bank they commanded alike the lands on either bank of the river and the river itself down to the sea. Merchants had only to reach this haven to be secure from Etruscan pursuit; here would fall the brunt of any advance from the side of Etruria; and from hence the Latins might maintain relations of alliance with the kindred cities between the river and the Ciminia Silva, or, when these had fallen into Etruscan hands, might harass from hence the invaders' possessions. From the legends and certain archaeological indications the growth of the city may be traced as follows. Beyond doubt the Palatine was the spot first occupied by the Latins. Around this primitive stronghold, known from the shape of its walls as Square Rome (*Roma Quadrata*), there sprang up several minor settlements: the Cermalus, the Velia, the three peaks of the Esquiline (the Fagutal, Oppius, and Cispius), and the Sucusa or Subura; the last a strong fortress intended to repel the men of the Quirinal. Together with the original settlement on the Palatine, these formed the Septimontium, the population of which, known as the Men of the Mounts (*Montani*), spread subsequently over the Capitol and the Aventine. At a later date the Quirinal and Viminal, occupied by a hostile Sabine tribe from the hill-country (§ 36), were also incorporated; and then, probably towards the end of the regal period, all the different settlements

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were enclosed within a fosse, wall, and rampart of immense strength, the so-called Wall of Servius.

§ 36. Contemporaneously with, or subsequent to the Latin settlement on the Palatine, some of ^{The Sabines in} the more adventurous among the Sabines issued ^{Rome.} from their mountain home and followed the course of the Tiber. We know that Cures, about twenty-five miles from Rome, was their capital, and that they had villages about the Tiber and the Anio (*e.g.* Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae), the latter not three miles from the Capitol Hill. It was no difficult task for them to advance a little further and occupy the hill which lay nearest to them, the Quirinal. At first the Latin dwellers on the Palatine and the Sabine dwellers on the Quirinal were always at feud, although at that remote epoch the two peoples must have been little, if at all, diverse; and one settlement may even have carried off women from the other,—a state of things which would help to give rise to the legend of the Sabine women. After a while, however, the two peoples agreed to coalesce, and instead of each having its own king and senate and army and priests, to be jointly ruled by the two kings, to have a double senate, a double army, and united colleges of priests. This is indicated in the legends by the joint reign of Romulus and Tatius, but there are also some very significant constitutional facts which point to the same union. Throughout the priestly organization there runs a peculiar duplication, which cannot be due to chance: among the Salii, for instance, there were two distinct gilds, of which one belonged to the Palatine, the other to the Quirinal city; there were two gilds of Luperci or priests of the god Lupercus, one Roman, the other Sabine; the Roman *Fratres Arvales*, a college of priests in honour of a rural divinity, were in all probability the counterpart of the Sabine *Sodales Titii*.

Augurs, pontiffs, vestals, and fetials show traces of similar doubling; and both Numa and Ancus are said to have been Sabines. When the union of the two cities occurred, the Sabines were enrolled in the same three tribes as the Romans—the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres: but they took lower place, so that afterwards the tribes consisted of two ranks. They in fact formed the lesser houses (*minores gentes*), which we hear of in the legend of Tarquinius Priscus, while the Romans were the greater houses (*maiores gentes*). The story of Tarquinius and the augur Attus Navius indicates that the union was attended with difficulties and not effected at once; but when once accomplished, it marked a distinct advance. Rome had even at this early stage commenced that policy of absorption and union which was to lead to such wonderful results.

§ 37. One other assertion we may make with confidence
The Etruscans
 in Rome. about the regal period: its close was a time
 of Etruscan conquest. We have seen how the
 Etruscans, after settling in Etruria, carried their victorious
 arms beyond the Ciminian Forest to the Tiber and as far
 south as the ports of the Volscians and the Campanian
 plain. Whether their advance thither was by land or sea,
 or by both these routes, they must have come into conflict
 with the Latins. This is borne out by the legends: the
 Tarquins are expressly said to be of Etruscan origin; even
 Servius, according to one version, was an Etruscan by name
 Mastarna, who came to Rome with an armed force and
 settled on the Caelian Hill. That the Etruscans reigned
 over Rome cannot be doubted: their lucumons ruled over
 Latium also, for this is the meaning of the legend which
 gives to Tarquinius Superbus dominion over Gabii and
 Signia and indeed over all the Latin League, and makes his
 son-in-law Mamilius to be lord of Tusculum. Nay, Tusculum

means the city of the Tuscans, as Tarracina means City of Tarquin; we are told that the Etrurians ruled the Volscians; and traces of them are found at Ardea, at Praeneste (*Palestrina*), at Tibur (*Tivoli*), and at Velitrae (*Velletri*). Roman historians, too patriotic to acknowledge any such conquest, minimize the connection between the Tarquins and Etruria, and altogether distort the real events of the war with Lars Porsena. Porsena was probably one of the Etruscan dynasty which bore sway over Rome, and we are actually told that the city was surrendered to him, and that he forbade the Romans to use iron except for purposes of agriculture. The details of the expulsion of the Etruscans cannot be supplied, but Ihne suggests the following outline: The Etruscans met with their first disasters when attacking the Greek cities of Campania. Cumae, in particular, offered a successful resistance; and encouraged by this, the Latins, Volscians, and Sabines also rose more or less simultaneously against the invader, and in conjunction with the Romans gained a great victory at Lake Regillus and so secured their freedom. The Etruscans were driven back beyond the Tiber, and only Fidenae for some time longer maintained its position as an Etruscan outpost on the river's southern bank. But the rule of the Tarquins had done much for Rome: their skill had built her stoutest walls, drained her low-lying spots, fringed her riverside with quays, and brought to her all the varied trade and culture, science and art, of an Etruscan merchant-city. To the last she showed the traces of the aliens' teaching: the Roman's dress (*toga*) was Etruscan, his house was Etruscan; much of his religion, his favourite amusements, were Etruscan; and it was from Etruscan masons that he learnt to build as no nation has built before or since.

CHAPTER III.

GROWTH OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION.

§§ 38—46. The State in the Regal Period.—§§ 47—48. Religion and Priests at Rome.—§§ 49—52. Change to the Republican Constitution.—§§ 53—54. Grievances of the Plebeians.—§§ 55—58. The First Conflict between Patricians and Plebeians; the Tribunate.—§ 59. Spurius Cassius.—§§ 60—64. The Decemvirate and the Valerio-Horatian Laws.—§ 65. The Laws of Canuleius.—§§ 66—67. The Censorship and Quaestorship.—§ 68. Spurius Maelius.—§§ 69—71. The Agrarian Question and the Licinian Rogations.—§ 72. The Praetorship and Aedileship.—§§ 73—76. Further changes down to the Lex Hortensia.

§ 38. EVERY primitive community comprises two classes—
those who enjoy the advantages, privileges, and
honours of the state, and those who do not.
The former are citizens, the latter non-citizens.

If there is found a class intermediate between these two, enjoying part only of the citizen's rights, such class is of comparatively late growth. The earliest traditions of Rome reveal the existence of the two primitive classes, and we may believe that there never was a time when they did not exist amongst the Romans. The citizens (*populus, cives*) were the patricians, the non-citizens were their clients. It is probable that at any rate the larger number of the original clients were the people whom the conquering Latins, when first they came down from the highlands of Umbria and Sabina, found already dwelling upon the seven hills. By their conquest they became the

non-privileged subjects of their conquerors. The latter became the patricians; and of these alone, as alone being citizens, the primitive constitution took account. Occupying an intermediate position between the patricians and the clients were the plebeians, who are said to have arisen largely from the populations of Alba and other Latin towns whom the early kings conquered and transported to Rome.

The organization of the Roman state during the early part of the regal period was based on the division of the *populus* or citizens into three ^{And} tribes—Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. According to tradition each tribe was divided into ten curiae, each curia into ten gentes, and each gens into ten families; so that theoretically the state consisted of 30 curiae, 300 gentes, and 3000 families. Of course there is no necessity to suppose that these multiples of ten were at any time in actual existence. The statement is only to be taken as a method of indicating that a group of families or households went to make up a gens or clan, while a group of gentes or clans was comprised in a curia, and so on.

§ 39. The unit in the Roman state was the family or household. The master of the household, ^{The Familia or Household.} known as the *paterfamilias* (father of the family), exercised over those under his control a power extending even to their lives, and from which there was no appeal. A son, on attaining his majority, was still subject to the will of the *paterfamilias*; his wife and children were in the same position of dependence, and he was incapable of acquiring property of his own. No temporal authority could oppose the will of the *paterfamilias*, and any cruelty or abuse of power on his part could be perpetrated with impunity. The only hindrance was of a religious nature, for to sell or slay a son or wife was an act of impiety

which would call down the anger of the gods. Moreover, if his wife was accused of misconduct, the master of the household was expected to call in her relatives and lay the case before a family council prior to pronouncing sentence. Still, if he refused to do so, there was no power in the state capable of coercing him.

§ 40. A group of related households constituted the gens or clan. We can see how this came about.

The Gens or
Clan On the death of a *paterfamilias*, the various sons became themselves the heads of households. When this process had been repeated a few times, there would arise a number of households claiming descent from a common ancestor. They would be called by the same gentile name,¹ and inherit the same religious rites (*sacra gentilitia*). Taken collectively, they would form a gens. Originally each gens had its own territory and village; the arable land being the property of the cultivators, while the pasture land was common and open to all members of the gens. The gens, in fact, was originally a self-governing community with common property and customs, religion, and even laws distinct from those of other gentes. After the union of the Palatine and Quirinal cities the gentes were divided into greater (*maiores*) and less (*minores*), the former being the older or Roman, the latter the younger or Sabine gentes (§ 36).

§ 41. A group of clans constituted a curia or ward.

The Curia or
Ward. Unlike the familia and the gens, the curia was a topographical division, but each curia had also its own religious observances, its own place of

¹ The gentile name was that which specified a man's gens, and was, *par excellence*, the *nomen*. A free-born Roman had usually three names and the *nomen* was the middle one of the three. The third (*cognomen*) marked the *familia* to which he belonged, the first (*praenomen*) marked the man himself as an individual.

worship, and its own priest, known as *curio*. Each, too, had its own particular place of meeting, where the ward-members (*curiales*) met for worship or discussion. In all there were thirty curiae, that is, ten for each tribe, and the meeting of the citizens in these curiae formed the Comitia Curiata, the sovereign assembly in the time of the kings (§ 46).

§ 42. The three tribes of Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres embraced the whole *populus* in its wards, clans, and households. They ceased as early as The Tribe. Servius's time to have any political significance, being replaced by the later system of territorial tribes. Just as the family, the clan, and the ward were supposed to be held together in lessening degree by the bond of blood, so it may have been with the tribe; and as each of these divisions proved permanent in proportion to the closeness of the bond of blood, the tribe disappeared from practical existence even sooner than did the curia, exactly as the curia grew constantly less of a reality in comparison with the gens.

§ 43. The members of the three tribes were styled patricians (*patricii* or *patres*), because they alone were capable of becoming *patresfamilias* in the legal sense of the word. They alone possessed the full rights of citizenship. The Privileged and Non-privileged.

The various duties and rights (*civitas*) of a full citizen, as conceived by the Romans, may be enumerated as follows. The citizen has a legal right to Civitas. hold property. The citizen can stand as plaintiff or defendant in a court of law.¹ The citizen is entitled to

¹ This and the preceding right were known as *commercium*, "the right of making contracts, of acquiring, holding, and transferring property of all kinds, according to the law of Rome."

contract a legal marriage, over the issue of which he exercises the *patria potestas*.¹ It is the privilege as well as duty of the citizen to serve his country in the field. The citizen has a right to vote in the assembly of the people, whether for the making of laws or for the election of magistrates.² Finally, the citizen is himself eligible to office.³ All these privileges were from the first possessed by patricians, and for a time by patricians alone. As the city increased in size and prosperity, there grew up outside the

rank of the patricians a body of men who were
 Clients destitute of many or all of these rights. These were the clients⁴ and plebeians.⁵ To judge from the case of the Claudii, who brought their clients with them when they migrated to Rome (§ 25), the system of clientship⁶ was prevalent among the Italian tribes at a very early stage of their history. So at Rome it is mentioned in the oldest legends. The foreign merchant who settled at Rome for purposes of trade, and the exile from a neighbouring tribe, would at Rome possess none of the rights of citizenship enumerated above. They would be without the most elementary—the right to hold property, and to seek redress at law when wronged. They were outcasts, against whom even the sources of justice were closed. But at Rome there was a method of obtaining relief. The alien was permitted to attach himself to the person of a full citizen, who became his patron (*patronus*), and acted on his behalf in the courts of law. He was now styled client (*cliens*), the position on which he had entered was termed

¹ *Ius connubii*.

² *Ius suffragii*.

³ *Ius honorum*.

⁴ *Clientes*, "heareis": to "hearken" is to obey.

⁵ *Plebes*, or *Plebs*, whence the adjective *Plebeius*.

⁶ It is unnecessary as yet to speak of slaves, for they were probably only a small class until comparatively late times. In law a slave was a chattel, incapable of possessing any rights whatever.

clientship (*clientela*),¹ and it was his duty to place his personal services at the disposal of his patron whenever or wherever the latter demanded. In many cases he would be settled upon some portion of the land belonging to his patron, taking the position of a tenant, and cultivating such land for his patron's profit in return for his own maintenance. His position was hereditary; and when in later days the clients came to share in the growing privileges of the plebeians, and even became owners of the land they occupied, they were still theoretically in the same relation to their patrons as before.

Next suppose there migrated to Rome a citizen of Tusculum or Praeneste, Latin towns of which the inhabitants possessed *commercium* with Rome (*i. e.* the right of holding property at Rome and pleading at law). It would be unnecessary for such a person to become a client, because he already possessed advantages greater than those which accrued from the tie of clientship. Thus between the clients and the citizens there arose a second body of denizens without full citizen rights, the plebs or plebeians. The rights of the latter were after a while extended to the clients, so that plebeians and clientes became practically synonymous terms. Plebeians.
Their Origin.

This occurred at so early a date that we cannot point to any period in history when there was any distinction in point of law between the two classes. The next step in the enfranchisement of these inferior citizens was the reform attributed to King Servius Tullius (§ 46). By the Servian reform the plebeian was formally admitted to service in the army and a share in the spoils of conquest. He could And Progress.

¹ The client became a *gentilicius* subsequently with reference to his patron, *i. e.* a dependent of a full *civis* who was a member of a gens. He therefore took his patron's gentile name, and was liable to serve in war.

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now rise to the rank of a military tribune, a promotion which must have had a marked effect on his position, and which long subsequently led the way to laws admitting him to civil office. The army, as enrolled on the Servian plan, shortly became, in lieu of the *Comitia Curiata*, the chief assembly of the people, and the plebeian gained one more step to citizen rank by this change, for now he had a voice in the making of law and was entitled to vote at the election of magistrates. But improved as was his status, there still remained a vast difference between him and the patrician. The plebeian, whatever his wealth and ability, was incapable of contracting an equal marriage with the more privileged class. He was still under a ban as far as civil office went. He voted in the assembly of the people, but his voice was drowned by the predominant influence of the patricians. If he happened to be a poor farmer who had contracted debt while cultivating the land of some wealthy patrician, he found himself at the mercy of a tyrannous usury-law, enforced without scruple by the patrician magistrates. Such was the position of the plebeian in the early days of the Republic.

§ 44. In the polity of most of the Indo-Germanic peoples there are three characteristic features—the

The King. Chief, the Council of the Old Men, and the Assembly of the People. All these were in existence at Rome. The Chief, the regulator of things human and divine, was known as *Rex*, or the Orderer. Like the Homeric chief, the king at Rome exercised a triple authority: he was at once the supreme judge, the sole general, and the high-priest of his people. He was to the state at large what the father was to the household. He enjoyed various marks of distinction—the embroidered toga and purple robe, the curule chair, the ivory throne and

eagle-headed sceptre. Wherever he went, he was preceded by twelve attendants (*lictors*) carrying rods and axes to show that he had power of life and death. According to the theory of the constitution, indeed, the life and property of every citizen was at the king's mercy, and none could dispute any act of his, however arbitrary and unjust. But custom had placed some check on this unlimited power as upon that of the *paterfamilias*: it was only the tyrant who disdained to consult the Council of the Old Men, or neglected to ask the assent of the Assembly of the People, when he proposed to wage an aggressive war.

As judge we are told the king decided in person such cases of greater importance as lay beyond the jurisdiction of the *paterfamilias*, while others he left to the decision of individual senators. For purposes of police he from time to time selected two Commissioners for Treason (*duumviri perduellionis*), who were perhaps identical with the Trackers of Heinous Crime (*quaestores¹ paricidii*). The king had power of life and death, but should he feel so disposed he might allow a condemned criminal to appeal to the people.

As commander in war, the king had the disposal of booty and conquered territory. When absent from Rome, he left the city under the care of a Prefect (*praefectus urbis*).

As high-priest the king offered up sacrifice on behalf of the entire community, and just as he appointed minor officials for purposes of justice, so he named lesser priests (*Flamines, Salii, Pontifices, &c.*) to help him in his sacred duties.

§ 45. The king was assisted in his deliberations, just so far as he chose to allow it, by the Council of the Old Men—the Senate (*senatus*). The Senate. The members of this body were styled *patres conscripti*, i. e. heads of

¹ *Quaestor* is the same word as *quaesitor* (fr. *quacro*).

households (*patres*) enrolled (*conscripti*) by the king.¹ The Senate of Romulus, that is, of the earliest era, numbered one hundred only. It was probably doubled when the union of the Palatine and Quirinal occurred, and at the end of the regal period it consisted of three hundred, a number at which it remained fixed for centuries. Under the kings, the senate had no independent authority, but served merely as a council of state for the monarch, who might take or neglect its advice according to inclination. Its members were chosen by the king, and one restriction alone fettered his choice: it was essential that senators should be of free birth and unstained character. Though it was originally of course a patrician assembly, there is no reason to doubt that plebeians might be selected, even in very early times.

§ 46. The Assembly of the Citizens was the ultimate source of authority, for even the king was but the people's representative; but during the regal period its powers were latent rather than actively exercised, and it is doubtful whether it possessed any independent choice at the election of the monarch. At the beginning of each reign it swore an oath of allegiance, and committed complete executive authority to the new ruler. The king, on his side, was expected to rule in accordance with established custom and precedent.

In the earliest stage of the community the citizens met by curies, whence their assembly was termed the *Comitia Curiata*. They could be convened by the king alone, who informed them of the matter which he desired to lay before them. There was, however, no freedom of discussion. When the king had introduced his motion, the citizens in

¹ For another explanation, see § 23.

each curia determined whether the vote of that curia should be aye or no. If a majority of the thirty curiae voted aye, the proposal became law. The questions most usually brought before the people would relate to aggressive war and the grant of citizenship to aliens. In both these cases the king could do nothing without the assent of the people.

As patrician birth was originally a necessary qualification for admission to the curiae, the *Comitia Curiata* was, in the first instance, exclusively patrician. But it was impossible to permanently exclude others from all share in the government, the rather as their numbers were constantly increasing, while, on the other hand, the numbers of the patrician gentes had a constant and very decided tendency to diminish. Servius Tullius availed himself of the increasing numbers and wealth of the plebeians by enrolling them in the army. From this, the military organization of the entire community, there arose a new assembly of the people styled the *Comitia Centuriata*. This younger body grew in importance, and continually usurped new functions until it superseded the *Comitia Curiata* for all practical purposes. On the establishment of the Republic, the older assembly almost disappears from history. Thenceforward it only met at the summons of the Pontiffs to witness certain acts of a religious character. In this character it came to be known as the *Comitia Calata*,¹ and consisted only of one representative from each of the thirty curiae. In one act alone did it retain its original name, namely, when meeting to pass the law (*lex curiata*) which conferred the *imperium* (§ 49) upon a newly-elected magistrate, and bound the citizens to obey his authority.

The *Comitia Calata*.

¹ Because "summoned" (*calare*) by the Pontiffs.

§ 47. With the Romans, Church and State were inseparable : on the one hand, there could be no State without its particular gods and ceremonies ; on the other, the religion of the State required the participation and support of the entire body of citizens. Chief of their gods was Jupiter, the counterpart of the Greek Zeus, worshipped as Jupiter Stator, the "Stayer of Flight" in battle ; as Jupiter Pistor, "the Crusher," or "Hurler of the Thunderbolt" ; as Jupiter Leucetius, the god of Light and Day. More widely worshipped among the Italian people than even Jupiter, was a peculiarly Italic deity called Mavors or Mars, the god of creative energy, who developed into the god who keeps off the foe and presides over war. Of little less importance was Hercules or Heracles, the god of the farmer's *heretum* or homestead, who protected the land and cattle of the agriculturist. There was a host of lesser deities, each with his own particular prerogatives and powers. Such were Saturnus, who presided over the sowing of the fields, and Pales and Faunus, the protectors of the flocks. Besides the two great goddesses—Juno, the "type of queenly womanhood," and Minerva, the patron of wit and learning—there were Vesta, the guardian of the hearth-fire, and Dea Dia, the bringer of fertility to the soil, better known by the name of Ops.

In early times the Romans never invested their deities with the characteristics of men : their gods never walked the earth, but were shadowy impersonations of the powers of nature, especially in relation to the life of the shepherd and the farmer, and deserving of worship because of their potency for good and evil. The Roman offered up sacrifices and celebrated festivals in their honour, because he feared that they would send misfortune upon him unless he did so ; and having performed his part of the compact, he

expected the gods to do theirs, and by their powerful intervention to ward off blight and disease from his crops, his herds, and his own person. But in order that a man's sacrifices and prayers should be effectual, it was necessary that they should be offered up in such special way as was pleasing to the deity invoked. A neglected or mistaken step in the ceremony was likely to call down the wrath of the god with disastrous results to the devotee, so that if Ceres and Hercules were worshipped with a ritual to which they did not respond, the sacrifice was futile, the worshipper's labour vain, the ground would not produce abundant crops, and the flocks would perish from disease or the attacks of savage animals. The proper ordering of these ceremonies required the assistance of special priests, whose number and importance increased with the growth of the State.

§ 48. Within the household the *paterfamilias* was priest, just as was the king in the State at large; but while the proper performance of the special Priests. ritual of each family and clan might be left in the main to their hereditary votaries, the ritual of the State at large required more artificial and elaborate safeguards. There were therefore at Rome two classes of priests: firstly, there were the Pontiffs, Augurs, and Fetials, who formed three great colleges with the general duty of collecting and guarding whatever had reference to the performance of divine rites and ceremonies; secondly, there were priests who offered up sacrifice to particular deities in the name of the community: such were the three greater Flamines, the Salii, the Arval Brethren, and the Vestals.

By far the greatest of the colleges was that of the pontiffs,¹ who exercised control over the minor Pontiffs. colleges and priesthoods, and over the whole

¹ The derivation is uncertain. It is suggested that (1) *pontifex* is for

religion of the State. Not only did they inform the people in what manner it was most lawful to worship the gods, and decide whether the cult of a strange deity should be sanctioned, but they kept the calendar, made some sort of a national record (the *annales maximi*), and drew up a collection of laws (*ius pontificium*). In the regal period they appeared to have been six in number, consisting of the king and five others.

Next in importance were the augurs,¹ who had charge of the science which discovers the will of the gods by means of the signs they send to mortals. In the infancy of the State, at least, the Romans firmly believed that the gods declared their pleasure by prodigies, such as lightning, earthquakes and eclipses, and especially by the cries and flight of birds. Accordingly, before any important political act could be undertaken by the State, it was essential to inquire whether the gods approved, and this process was styled taking the auspices.² The augurs preserved the rules of the science, and as the magistrate was less skilled in the sacred mysteries, directed him as to the procedure. So before a meeting of the Comitia could be held, before the king or magistrate assumed office, before the general set out against the foe, the auspices had to be taken. It can easily be seen how the augurs became of political importance and their science an instrument of political intrigue; for the augur had only to declare that the gods had sent unfavourable

pompæfex, "conductor of processions"; or (2) the word is from *pons* and *facere*, because the pontiffs built the one bridge across the Tiber; or (3) it is from *pons* and *facere* in the sense of "to sacrifice," so meaning "the priests who offer up sacrifice on the bridge"; or (4) it is connected with *πέντε*, "five," because at first they numbered five.

¹ From *avis*, "bird." The termination is perhaps connected with *garrere*, "to cry."

² *Auspicia*, from *avis*, "bird," and *spicere*, "to look."

signs, to delay or annul every election and every act of legislation or government. Like the pontiffs, the augurs were probably six in the regal period.

The *fetials*¹ were State heralds, twenty in number, who demanded satisfaction from an enemy when injury was done to the State, and went Fetials. through the ceremonies without which no legal declaration of war could be made.

The three greater *flamens*² were consecrated to the service of Jupiter (*Flamen Dialis*), Mars (*Martialis*), and Quirinus (*Quirinalis*) respectively. They Flamens, &c. were known as *Maiores* or greater, in distinction to the twelve lesser flamens who served the minor deities. All were subject to the authority of the Pontifex Maximus. The *Salii*³ had the guardianship of the sacred shields of Mars, which they brought out at the festival in March and carried round the city. The Arval Brethren (*Fratres Arvales*) offered sacrifice to Dea Dia for the fertility of the fields. The Vestal Virgins (*Virgines Vestales*) were six maidens vowed to a life of chastity, who for centuries kept always burning the sacred fire of Vesta in her temple in the Forum. All of these priests were patricians only, for patricians alone were believed to possess the right to have dealings with the gods. The plebeians had no part in the religion of the State, and—what was perhaps of more moment—no part in the knowledge of the law of the State, for this too was collected and guarded by the priestly colleges. Hence came long and violent struggles of the plebeians to obtain a share in the

¹ The word is connected with *fa-ri*, "to say."

² Literally "blowers," i. e. "kindlers of the sacred fire," from *flare*, "to blow."

³ Literally "leapers," from *salire*, "to jump."

priesthoods ; but it was not until 300 B.C. that the plebeians attained their object by being admitted to the office of augur and pontiff, in comparison with which all other priesthoods were of small weight.

§ 49. On the expulsion of the last of the kings, the royal powers were divided in such a way as to prevent any one man ever passing constitutionally beyond the control of the State. Superstition forbade that there should be any interference with the religious functions of the king, and there was therefore created a *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificulus* to represent the monarch in matters divine. But all other royal prerogatives were now transferred to the consulship, subject to two all-important limitations : whereas the king had held office for life and had known no control, each consul held office for but twelve months, and was checked by the presence of a colleague with powers identical with his own. It became a principle of constitutional law that in Rome any action of a magistrate might be instantly arrested by order of another magistrate of the same or higher rank. This right to stop a magistrate's action was the right of intercession (*intercessio*). Many other restrictions followed from these primary limitations ; the consul was to be elected by the people in the *Comitia Centuriata*, that is, for all practical purposes, by the patricians ; therefore only he who could reckon upon the favour of the patricians would be able to obtain the consulship. Even supposing he had now obtained the office, he dared not then change his views and offend the ruling class ; for he must lay down his consulate at the close of the year and become once more a private citizen, and though none could impeach him while in office, yet he was at the mercy of the law when his term of office

had expired. The consuls were in fact the servants of the patricians, for to the patricians now came the entire control of the State.

Yet each consul was theoretically a king while in office. He and his colleague were supreme judges and supreme generals. Like the kings they appointed quæstors and duumvirs to assist them in matters of justice and police, and their power as judges was limited only by the *Lex Valeria* (509 B.C.), which gave to every citizen the right of appeal to the people against a capital sentence. Like the kings, the two consuls¹ had control over the whole military force of the nation,² and when once the consul had passed beyond the city's bounds, he was free alike from the trammels of *intercessio* and of *provocatio*; and this distinction was marked by the fact that in the field his attendant lictors carried the axes and rods as they had carried them before the king, but within the walls they carried the rods alone. In all other respects he had the insignia of a king,³ and his dress was the *toga prætexta*.

¹ They were originally called *prætores* (*præ* + *tor*), because they "went before" their troops to battle, or *iudices* ("judges"). The name of *consules*, "those who consult together," was probably not regularly given to them until 367 B.C., when the title of *prætor* was assigned to a new magistrate who took over the consul's judicial functions.

² The power of issuing commands to the people, enjoyed by the supreme magistrate, was styled *imperium*. The *imperium* had two sides; by virtue of possessing it, the consul (or dictator) took command of the army and administered justice. Outside the city the consul exercised the *imperium* in its fullest extent; inside the city he was hampered by *intercessio* and *provocatio*. The dictator's *imperium* was unlimited. Subsequently the prætor also had *imperium*.

³ He was a curule magistrate, that is, he possessed an authority of which the unlimited character was symbolized by the use of the ivory chair of office (*sella curulis*), which could be set anywhere. On the other hand such an office as that of the tribunes of the people was non-curule. The curule magistracies were (1) the consulate, (2) the dictatorship, (3) the prætorship, (4) the censorship, and (5) the curule ædileship. The consular tribunes, substitutes for the consuls, were also curules, and so was the Master of Horse.

§ 50. Although the division of the chief executive power between two was the surest means of preventing its abuse, yet there might arise occasions when such division of command was dangerous. Therefore the State reserved to itself the power of reverting, whenever an emergency required it, to the government of one. If the senate agreed that any crisis was sufficiently grave to warrant it, they requested one or other consul to name a dictator. The consuls and other magistrates retained their offices and attended each to his business as before; but all were subordinate to the dictator. He was for the time being king; four-and-twenty lictors went before him, armed with axes whether within or without the walls, for against him there was neither appeal nor intercession, and he ruled in the city and in the field with supreme authority. But his authority expired at the end of six months, and usually he laid it down voluntarily before the legal limit was reached. It was to cope with sudden dangers in war that dictators were most usually appointed, but also to deal with disturbances at home. The first dictator was appointed in the year 501 B.C. (§ 26).

§ 51. The senate represented the patricians as a body, and into the hands of the senate now came the whole administration of the State. While the magistrates changed year by year, the senate remained permanent; while the people in the Comitia were easily swayed, the senate became the conservative element in the State. It encroached on the powers both of the magistrates and of the people. As we have seen, its constitutional position during the regal period was merely that of an advising body with no active powers; and similarly even under the Republic it was only when the chief magistrate put a matter before it for deliberation that the senate

could declare an opinion, and this opinion (*senatus consultum*) was technically a recommendation upon which the magistrate might or might not act. But, as has been said, the magistrate was in reality the senate's servant, and he rarely made any objection. To the senate drifted the management of every department of State affairs. It assisted the consuls in administering justice; it had control of all finances; it decided what forces should be levied and with what object, and dictated to the consuls their various duties for the year; no question could be put to the Comitia save by the recommendation of the senate, and no vote of the Comitia was valid save with the sanction of the senate (*auctoritas patrum*).

Its numbers were definitely fixed at 300, and yearly the consuls revised the list of members (*album senatorium*), filled up vacancies, or struck off the names of any who had by misconduct or misfortune forfeited their seats. Patricians themselves, the consuls would only introduce patricians as a rule; and if perhaps a more liberal consul, such as a Valerius Publicola, should introduce a few plebeians, they would be too few to influence the voting of their colleagues, even if not ejected again by succeeding consuls of less liberal views. It soon became the practice for ex-consuls, and others who had held curule office, to be at once enrolled as senators, and their experience went to render the whole body still more fitted for its varied duties.

§ 52. The Comitia Centuriata, of which the creation was attributed to Servius Tullius, was the assembly of the whole populace in military order. The Comitia Curiata, also originally a military assembly, took no cognizance of the ever-increasing numbers of the plebeians; and it was to put at the

The Assembly
of the
Centuries.

disposal of the State the fighting powers and financial resources of the plebeians that the new Assembly was established. It soon replaced the *Comitia Curiata*; and when, on the fall of the monarchy, the people asserted their powers as sharers in the Government and the ultimate sovereign of the State, it was in the *Comitia Centuriata* that they assembled. Even under the kings this assembly had possessed the right of deciding upon questions of peace and war and certain other matters: it was both natural and easy for it to develop into the paramount political assembly. Yet its military origin was never forgotten: it was summoned only by magistrates having the *imperium*, at the sound of the military bugle; like all else that was military at Rome, it had no place within the walls, but met without them in the Field of Mars; a battle flag floated over the Janiculan citadel during its continuance; and assembled in its centuries the citizens were addressed as *Quirites* or "warriors."¹ It was the central feature of the reforms of Servius, and the first public recognition of the rights of the plebeians.

The qualification for admission to the new assembly was no longer birth but property. It consisted of all freeholders—no matter whether patrician or plebeian—arranged in five classes (*classes*), according to their possession of landed property. In the first class were enrolled those who owned land valued at 100,000 *asses* or pounds of copper; the minimum value of land which qualified for the second class was 75,000 *asses*; for the third, 50,000 *asses*; for the fourth, 25,000 *asses*; for the fifth, 11,500 *asses*. Each class was divided into centuries (*centuriæ*)²: there

¹ From the Sabine word *quirs*, "spear," from which come also the words *Quirinus*, *Quirinalis*, and probably *curia*.

² The word *centuria* has here no numerical significance.

were 80 (*i. e.* 40 of seniors¹ and 40 of juniors) in the first class ; 20 (*i. e.* 10 of seniors and 10 of juniors) in each of the three intermediate classes, and 30 (*i. e.* 15 of seniors and 15 of juniors) in the fifth and lowest class. In addition, there were four centuries of engineers (*fabri*) and musicians (*cornicines* and *tubicines*), of whom the former voted with the first class, the latter with the fifth. Citizens who had no landed property, or property that was worth less than 11,500 *asses*, were enrolled in a single century : they were known as *proletarii* ("producers of children"), or *capite censi*.² The knights formed eighteen centuries, and voted first of all.

THE COMITIA CENTURIATA.

CLASSES.	QUALIFICATION.	CENTURIES.	NO.
<i>Equites</i>	not specified	6 (old) + 12 (new)	18
First class	100,000 <i>asses</i>	10 seniors + 10 juniors	80
<i>Fabri</i>	Below 11,500 <i>asses</i>	" " " " " " " "	2
Second class	75,000 <i>asses</i>	10 seniors + 10 juniors	20
Third class	50,000 <i>asses</i>	10 seniors + 10 juniors	20
Fourth class	25,000 <i>asses</i>	10 seniors + 10 juniors	20
Fifth class	11,500 <i>asses</i>	15 seniors + 15 juniors	30
<i>Tubicines</i> and <i>Cornicines</i>	{ Below 11,500 <i>asses</i>	{ " " " " " " " "	2
<i>Proletarii</i>			{ " " " " " " " "
			193

As each century had but one vote, determined by the majority in that century exactly as in the old assembly of the curies, the predominance of wealth was secured by the division of the first and richest class, which would naturally contain fewer members than the others, into the large number of eighty centuries. The knights also belonged to

¹ At Rome a man was a *junior* between the ages of seventeen and forty-six, *senior* when older than forty-six years. For active service only the juniors were called out, except in grave emergencies, while the seniors formed as it were the permanent garrison of Rome.

² That is, those rated (*censui*) by their persons alone,—the expression being analogous to our "*poll-tax*," &c.,—including all non-freeholders who possessed any means at all.

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the wealthiest rank, for though there was no expressed qualification for knighthood, they represented the most expensive branch of service. Now the eighty centuries of the first class combined with the eighteen centuries of knights possessed greater voting power than the centuries of all the four other classes, and if they were unanimous, it would be unnecessary to call upon the other centuries to vote at all, since they were too few to alter the decision already arrived at.

At the commencement of the republic the Centuriate Assembly had the following duties :—

- (a) It elected the consuls.
- (b) It was the only body in the State competent to make or repeal a law.
- (c) It decided upon all questions involving the making of war or peace.
- (d) It was the only court that could try charges of treason against the State (*perduellio* or *maiestas*) ; and
- (e) It heard appeals from the capital sentence of a magistrate.

There were from the first various checks on its freedom of action. To take the case of a law, only the consul could convene the Assembly and put a question to it, and usually he would not do so until the senate had expressed its assent. Again, even if a motion was passed by the Assembly, it did not become valid until it received the formal approval of the senate (*patrum auctoritas*)—a rule which enabled the senate, if circumstances caused it to change its views, to throw out a bill which it had already caused to be laid before the Assembly.

§ 53. The collapse of the efforts of the Tarquins to recover their dominion in Rome and Latium left the patricians, no longer in dread of a restored monarchy, free to rule the city as they chose. Their attitude towards the plebeians led to dis-

Patricians
versus
Plebeians.

content and hostility so acute that the irremediable disaster of a schism was barely averted.

It must not be supposed that all the plebeians were ill-treated, that none were able to assert the few rights already accorded to them by law, or again that the whole patrician body was consistently united in its oppression of the plebeians. On the contrary, even as early as the expulsion of the kings, there must have been in Rome plebeians who rivalled or excelled in wealth many of the patricians ; while the conduct of Valerius Publicola is only one of many instances which go to prove the existence amongst the governing class of whole families who saw the wisdom of compromise with the plebeians.

The grievances of the plebeians were of a twofold character. They arose partly from political, partly from economic causes. Of the former Grievances of the Plebeians : Political. we have already spoken, and it will here be sufficient to recapitulate them in the briefest outline. Though the plebeian was entitled to vote by the side of the patrician in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the artificial arrangement of that assembly by classes and centuries based on the qualification of wealth made it impossible for him to compel attention to his views. He was precluded from contracting an equal marriage with any member of the superior order, and an impassable barrier separated him from the State magistracies, which were reserved for patricians alone. A still more general grievance lay in the administration of the laws. At Rome, as originally in all states, there was at first no written code. The laws, handed down from father to son in the patrician families and the priestly colleges, were manipulated in the interests of the ruling class. The only judges were the consuls and their nominees, and these were one and all patricians ; and

even the right of appeal was effective only in the case of patricians, for whether an appeal should be rejected or not depended upon the vote of the centuries, and therefore practically upon the will of the patricians.

By the side of these political disabilities, there existed an economic question, of much greater interest to the bulk of the plebeian order. Among the plebeians there were both rich and poor, but the latter naturally were far the more numerous; for only in a few cases would the plebeian acquire sufficient means to avail himself of his *ius commercii*, and buy up landed property on any appreciable scale. The large majority of the plebeian order were either small freeholders cultivating a few acres of ground—it must be borne in mind that in early Rome the tilling of the soil was almost the only occupation for a free man, and that the Romans were a nation of small farmers—or clients who cultivated as tenants the surplus fields of their patrician lords. It was inevitable that many from these two classes should fall into the hands of the capitalist and money-lender. A series of bad harvests, or the interruption of agricultural operations caused by a war and the military service thereby rendered necessary, would exhaust the scanty means of the small farmer. When this happened, the client was at once at the mercy of his patron. The case of the freeholder was little better: first he mortgaged his few acres; then stock and implements went; after which it only remained for him to pledge his person according to the legal process styled *nexus*. By so doing he virtually doomed himself to servitude, for if he was unable to repay the loan, his creditor might lawfully claim him as his property. Usually he met with the most brutal treatment, chains, starvation, and stripes

Economical.

The Roman
law of debt.

being his portion; yet though he was no better treated than a slave, he retained all the rights of a Roman citizen, and when an enemy threatened the State, he was temporarily released for service in the army, only to be thrust back into bonds when the danger had disappeared.

§ 54. The evil plight of the small farmer was deepened by the monopoly exercised by the patricians over the common land of the State (*ager publicus*). The Agrarian Question. In very early times no doubt the members of a *gens* made from time to time a redistribution of the arable land belonging to the clan village, but of this state of things there are few traces in historical Rome, where cultivated land was at a very remote period regarded as private property. The pasture land, however, was always considered to belong to the *gens* as a whole, and upon it the cattle of every clansman was allowed to graze.

But it was not only the *gens* which possessed land common to all its members: the Roman State also had land which was the property of the whole people. This was the *ager publicus*, and it was acquired in the following manner: whenever a neighbouring state was conquered, its territory became the prize of the victors. The newly-acquired land was disposed of in various ways: part was given back to the old possessors; ¹ part was sold to replenish the treasury; ² another part was occasionally distributed in allotments among citizens, mainly poor plebeians, sent out from Rome as colonists. The best portions of the arable land thus passed under private control, but there still remained much pasturage and uncultivated land. This was not allotted to individuals, but belonged to the State, and constituted the

¹ *Ager redditus*.

² *Ager quaestorius*, because in later times it was sold by the *quaestors*.

ager publicus. Any citizen might graze his cattle upon the pasturage, but for this privilege he had to pay *Ager Publicus*. a fixed due (*scriptura*) for each head of stock. Any citizen again might till the uncultivated land on payment of a tithe of the seed crops and a fifth of the oil or wine which it produced (*vectigal*). He could bequeath it or sell it, but it never became his property. It belonged in perpetuity to the State, which could eject the occupier (*possessor*) without compensation, and resume possession whenever it so desired. Such land naturally was grasped by the wealthy. It was situated far from the city, usually on the border of an enemy's country, and the poor farmer would care to risk neither his life nor his small savings in working it. The rich patrician, however, could send out to it his clients, freedmen and slaves, and gain a great profit at little cost.

In the regal period the *ager publicus* was at the disposal of the king, who had the power to admit plebeians to its benefits, and very probably did so. With the establishment of the republic, a different state of affairs commenced: the patricians now had the government in their own hands, and they insisted that the public land was theirs and theirs alone. From this claim to exclusive rights, three grave evils manifested themselves. In the first place, the pasture-dues were not collected by the patrician officials of the treasury. Secondly, poorer citizens were no longer sent out as colonists, but remained in idleness and poverty at Rome, that the patricians might have the more land to occupy. Thirdly, the patricians got into their hands great tracts of land, the first step to that system of slave-tilled estates (*latifundia*) which ultimately ruined and depopulated Italy.

§ 55.* In 495 B.C. the quarrel between the two orders of

patricians and plebeians burst into flame. It proved the commencement of a struggle which filled the city with dissension and even occasional bloodshed for more than two hundred years. The immediate cause of the outbreak, says the legend, was as follows.

The First Conflict between the Orders, 495 B.C.

One day an old farmer rushed into the Forum, and related to the people how his farm-house had once been plundered and burnt by the Sabine foe and his flocks driven away; how after this a war-tax had been levied at a time when he had lost everything; and how, to pay it, he had been compelled to borrow money from a wealthy patrician. He told how the interest upon the loan had swallowed up his farm, and how his creditor had seized him and confined him in a debtor's prison. In the midst of the excitement caused by this incident, news came that the Volscians were advancing upon the city. The plebeians refused to march against the enemy until some protection was granted them against the oppressions of the patricians, and it was only when P. Servilius, one of the consuls, promised that they and their possessions should be safe from their creditors while the war lasted, that they consented to take the military oath. The campaign was short and successful, but on its return to Rome the victorious army was bitterly disappointed in its hope that justice would be done. Appius Claudius, Servilius' colleague, refused his assent to every compromise, and the wretched debtors were dragged back again to captivity as before.

Next year, 494 B.C., a combination of Sabines, Æquians, and Volscians threatened the city, but the plebeians met in great numbers on the Esquiline and Aventine, and refused to lift a finger in defence of their country until the patricians had

Secession of the Plebeians, 494 B.C.

satisfied the expectations raised in the preceding year. The situation was so desperate that the appointment of a dictator was necessary. The extreme patricians attempted to secure the creation of Appius Claudius; but more moderate counsels prevailed and M. Valerius, the representative of a family which though itself patrician had strong plebeian sympathies, was named by the consul. The dictator and consuls led three armies into the field and a threefold triumph was won. On his return to Rome, Valerius demanded that measures should be passed to better the condition of the plebeians, and as the senate still persisted in its policy of refusal, he laid down his office. The plebeians then broke out into open rebellion. In their military organization they marched across the Anio and occupied in the Crustumian district a hill afterwards known as the Sacred Mount (*Mons Sacer*). They threatened to build there a new city, and to leave the patricians to inhabit Rome by themselves. At last the senate saw that neither force nor trickery could avail them, and that a compromise alone would save the State. The two orders accordingly made a compact and ratified it by oath. To meet the existing distress it was agreed that debts should be cancelled and the debtors set at freedom; but an enactment of far greater consequence was the law that henceforth

The plebeians should meet once every year in an assembly of their own, and should there elect, from their own body, officers to protect their persons and interests.

§ 56. This assembly, the Concilium Plebis, is not to be confused with the Comitia Tributa, which developed afterwards. The Concilium Plebis consisted of those plebeians who were included in the thirty wards or curies. Patricians were rigorously excluded.

But this arrangement lasted only a few years, for it was soon found that the clients—most of whom were not freeholders but the tenants of their patrician lords, and therefore peculiarly open to patrician influence—were too numerous to allow the assembly to give free expression to the views of the plebeians.¹ If the small plebeian farmers—the class whose grievances were greatest—were to have free voice in the assembly, it was imperative that there should be devised another arrangement. Accordingly in 471 B.C. Publilius Volero by a *Lex Publilia* enacted that

The assembly of plebeians should meet according to tribes (*concilium plebis tributum*).

§ 57. Long back in the regal period, King Servius Tullius had for the purposes of his census divided the city into four districts or tribes. The Local Tribes.

At a later date the country round about Rome was distributed into additional tribes, so that in 471 B.C. the total number amounted to twenty-one. Others were added as the Romans conquered more and more of Italy, until by 241 B.C. there were thirty-five tribes; after which year they underwent no augmentation, and whenever the inhabitants of other parts of the country received the franchise, they were, no matter to what district they belonged, enrolled in one or other of these thirty-five tribes.

In 471 B.C. and for many years subsequently only freeholders (*assidui*) were placed on the registers of the tribes. Patricians and plebeians, if freeholders, were alike registered from the first, but only plebeians so registered were admitted to the new assembly (*concilium plebis tributum*), while the patricians were jealously excluded, and their

¹ The voting was by *curiæ* as in the original Comitia Curiata, and the clients in many of the *curiæ* would be more than enough to swamp the plebeians.

clients, not being freeholders, were equally incapacitated from voting. The result of the change was that the Concilium Plebis became an assembly in which the vote of the petty farmer of some two or three acres of ground possessed as much weight as did that of his wealthiest landowning plebeian neighbour, while the landless man was altogether unrepresented.

The Concilium Plebis had three chief duties :

- (a) It elected officers of the plebs called Tribunes.
- (b) It passed resolutions (*plebiscita*) formulating the demands of the plebeians.

Naturally, these had not the force of law, and were not binding on the whole people like the resolutions carried at a meeting of the Centuriate Assembly. They were rather petitions, addressed by the plebeians to the senate. If the latter body approved of them, it would direct the consul to lay them before the Centuriate Assembly, which alone had the power of converting them into laws.

- (c) It judged offenders against the plebeians.

But here again its power was limited. A fine was the utmost penalty it could inflict, a sentence of death being only valid when coming from the Centuriate Assembly.

§ 58. The new officers established by the law of 494 B.C., the Tribunes of the People (*Tribuni Plebis*), were probably by analogy with the consuls at first two in number; and, just as the consuls had two inferior magistrates under their control, namely, the quaestors, so the tribunes had as their subordinate officers two plebeian aediles (*aediles*). They did not remain long at this number, for they soon became a college of five, and later (in 457 B.C.) of ten. Their term of office lasted for a year, and their authority was negative

The Tribunes
of the
People.

rather than positive : they did not possess the *imperium*, and could not command the people in war ; but in one respect they stood on an equality with the consuls, for just as one consul could by intercession put a veto upon his colleague's actions, so the tribune could interfere with the consul, and render it unlawful for him to proceed further. It was not necessary that the whole body or college of tribunes should be unanimous in condemnation : the veto of a single tribune was as final as the veto of all. Ultimately, this peculiar constitutional practice proved adverse rather than helpful to the progress of the plebeians ; for the patrician party had only to secure the election of a tribune favourable to themselves, or to win over one of their number, and there was forthwith at their service an instrument sufficient to bar any revolutionary proposals. None but plebeians were eligible for the tribunate.

The primary object for which the tribunician office was created was to protect the plebeian against the unjust sentence of patrician magistrates, or, in technical language, to exercise the *ius auxilii* on behalf of the oppressed persons, in token whereof the tribune's house stood open night and day as a refuge for them that needed it. From this comparatively slight prerogative, the tribunate gradually gathered powers so extensive as to menace the independence of magistrates and senate alike. Its growth may be traced somewhat as follows. A tribune might declare that he would use his *ius auxilii* to protect every plebeian against whom the consul endeavoured to enforce a particular law. If he did so, his action would nullify the law, which would fall into disuse. There needed but a short step from this for the tribune to put a veto on laws proposed by the consul and on the consul's political conduct generally. As early as 483 B.C., there is an instance of the tribune vetoing

motions put to the Centuriate Assembly, and not long afterwards the tribunes began also to veto resolutions of the senate; *i. e.* they forbade the consul, the president of that body, to take a vote on the resolution proposed. At last the tribune usurped the power of stopping all magistrates in their public duties, and, in fact, could block the machinery of government altogether.

As the tribune had neither military nor judicial *imperium* to support him, it was essential that he should be placed under the special protection of religion. He was therefore consecrated and inviolable (*sacrosanctus*), and whoever attacked him or hindered him in the discharge of his peculiar functions was declared an accursed (*sacer*) person, whom any man might slay.

§ 59. The secession had deprived the patricians of their monopoly of security of person and property, and had won for the plebeians the further right to a corporate organization. The advantages thus gained were followed up by an attempt to wrest from the patricians their monopoly of the public land. This was in 486 B.C., when Spurius Cassius, famous as the man who brought about the League of Rome with the Latins and Hernicans, and then consul for the third time, proposed the first agrarian law (*lex agraria*). Every consideration of equity was in favour of the reform; for as we have seen, the public land was acquired by war, and not only did the plebeians contribute largely to the *tributum* or war-tax, but they formed by far the largest part of the Roman army. At this early period, however, their claims were not so strong as they afterwards became, if, as seems probable, the public land was then not so largely the result of successful warfare as it subsequently was. No extensive conquests were made for many years after the commence-

The Agrarian
Law of Spurius
Cassius, 486 B.C.

ment of the Republic, and the boundaries of the Roman State extended but a few miles from the city's walls: what public land there was must to a great degree have consisted of the pasturage and waste land surrounding the cultivated patches, and to this the patricians laid exclusive claim as the descendants of the conquerors who first made their settlements on the Seven Hills.

The precise nature of Cassius' proposal is uncertain. Livy says that the Hernicans had lately been deprived of two-thirds of their territory, and Cassius wanted to divide among Latins and plebeians the new conquest. He also proposed to take the public land from the patricians and distribute it in allotments among the poorer plebeians. There is good reason to believe that the statement as to the Hernici is a mistake, and, with regard to the second proposal, we do not know whether Cassius intended to allot the whole of the public land or some particular portion of it only. The same doubt rests on the manner of his death. According to one account, on laying down his office, he was accused by the quaestors before the Centuriate Assembly and condemned; another version said that he was put to death by his own father because he had proved a traitor to the patrician order. Of two things only can we be certain: Cassius was the first statesman who endeavoured to admit the plebeians to the benefit of the public land, and he came to the violent end which has been the lot of many great reformers.

§ 60. In the establishment of the tribunician power, the plebeians had gained protection against the more flagrant abuses by the consul of his judicial functions; but the laws by which his sentences were regulated were as yet unwritten, and only preserved by oral tradition among the patrician families and priestly officials.

Development
of Law.

Among the Romans the development of law ran much the same course as among their Hellenic kinsmen. During the regal period, the king pronounced a decision on all disputes which were brought to him for settlement. His judgments or "dooms" would doubtless be carefully remembered and be used as a guide in any similar cases which occurred in after times; and on every occasion that a new and strange dispute or claim or crime demanded his attention, the sentence which he pronounced would swell the ever-increasing body of precedents. In this way would come into existence a mass of customary law, which could be best preserved, in those days before the invention of writing, or at any rate before its extended use, by being entrusted to the guardianship of a particular class in the community. Thus the patricians, or the priestly colleges representing them, acquired a monopoly of legal knowledge, and by means of their champion, the patrician consul, were able to use the law as a class weapon for the oppression of the luckless plebeians. At last a cry arose among the inferior order that the laws should once for all be fixed, that no one should any longer be in doubt as to what he might do and what he might not do, and that the magistrate henceforward should frame his awards not in accordance with prejudices of class, but by reference to a written code wherein the penalties of evil-doing were published for the guidance of all.

The spokesman of this agitation was C. Terentilius Arsa, one of the tribunes of 462 B.C., who carried a proposal in the *concilium plebis* that

The Bill of
Terentilius
Arsa, 462 B.C.

A body of five commissioners should be appointed 'to frame a code of laws.

The patricians bitterly resented the proposed interference

with their peculiar and most valuable prerogative, and year after year the senate refused to consider the bill. The plebeians with equal resolution elected the same tribunes over and over again and reiterated their demands. About this time the attacks of the Æquians and Volscians caused a change of tactics among the patricians, and they endeavoured to soothe the dangerous discontent within the walls by some minor but not unimportant concessions. In the fifth year of the struggle, 457 B.C., it was agreed that the number of tribunes should be increased from five to ten; and in the following year (456 B.C.) the public land on the Aventine was distributed among the poorer plebeians. But the demand for a written code did not die away, and in 454 B.C. the senate yielded so far as to send envoys to Greece to study the constitutions of Athens and other Greek cities. Their return in 452 B.C. was the signal for a famous constitutional experiment.

§ 61. The pact between the two orders took the following form—

Ten commissioners (*decemviri*) were to be chosen from both patricians and plebeians, for the purpose of framing a code of laws. They were to be the chief and indeed sole magistrates, for ^{The Story of the Decemvirate, 451—449 B.C.} until their task was completed, there were to be neither consuls nor tribunes nor quaestors nor aediles in the State. They were to hold office for a year, and as the Valerian law of 509 B.C. was suspended during that time, the life and liberty of every citizen was at their mercy.

From the subsequent history we may perhaps infer something more: as soon as the Decemvirs had done their work, consuls would no doubt be again elected, but there also seems to have been an understanding that the tribunate should not be revived. If this was the case, patricians and plebeians alike waived something of their previous claims. On the one hand the patricians consented to limit the consular powers by establishing a written code;

on the other, the plebeians acknowledged that, the consuls once bound to administer justice according to the written law, the *raison d'être* of the tribunician authority forthwith disappeared.

From the very first trickery was at work. Although it had been agreed that the Decemvirs should be chosen impartially from both orders, the patricians took advantage of their superior voting power in the Centuriate Assembly, to elect all the ten from their own body. With this exception, however, the plebeians had for a time nothing to complain of. Throughout the year 451 B.C. the administration of the Decemvirs met with general commendation : they drew up ten tables of laws, which were submitted to the Centuriate Assembly and approved therein. Decemvirs were again chosen for the year 450 B.C. to complete the work. And at this point begins the inexplicable part of the story. Appius Claudius, the chief of the first body of Decemvirs and, according to Livy, the representative of all that was sternest and most unbending among the patricians, now began to intrigue with the ex-tribunes and the plebeian party. The senate perceived his change of attitude, and as a counter-move assigned to him the duty of presiding at the election of the new Decemvirs, in the hope that he would not accept votes for himself. Appius was too sharp-sighted to allow himself to be out manœuvred by such a palpable device : not only did he secure his own re-election, but he carried in with himself no fewer than three or even five plebeians, and caused the defeat of the most extreme among the patrician candidates. But when his power was secure he began to act in the most despotic fashion, and it was on the plebeians that his and his colleagues' tyranny fell most heavily. To show that they possessed without restriction the power of life and death,

the Decemvirs set an axe among their lictors' fasces, and they confiscated men's goods to their own uses, and many citizens they scourged and others they killed. By the end of 450 B.C. they had prepared two additional tables of laws, full of clauses directed against the plebeians, and only the assent of the senate and Centuriate Assembly was needed for their complete ratification. As their year of office approached its termination, the citizens expected that the Decemvirs would hold elections for consuls and bring their reign of tyranny to an end. But the Decemvirs had no intention of laying down their power, and if a magistrate refused to resign voluntarily, there was no political machinery at Rome capable of coercing him—a constitutional fact which well shows the conservatism underlying all political change at Rome, for it is a relic of the regal period. In the normal course of things, the rule of the king ceased only with his life, and when the supreme magistracy was transferred to two consuls the old principle remained. The consuls were expected but not *required* to hold elections for new magistrates and to deliver up their authority when their year of office expired, and there was no power in the State which could lawfully force them to do so against their will. Accordingly the Decemvirs continued their tyranny into the year 449 B.C. It being needful to take the field against the Sabines and Æquians, Appius Claudius and Spurius Oppius remained behind to secure the obedience of the city, while the rest of their colleagues set out against the enemy. Among the troops engaged against the Sabines was a brave centurion named L. Siccus, who had not only won renown in The Stories of many campaigns, but had been tribune of the L. Siccus people. His daring and incessant attacks on the existing tyranny caused great uneasiness among the Decemvirs, and

they determined to be rid of their troublesome opponent. Siccius was sent in advance of the main force with a small company under his command: but these were hirelings of the Decemvirs, and when they reached a secluded spot they turned on Siccius and slew him in spite of his stout resistance. Yet all in the camp knew what had really happened, and the feeling against the Decemvirs grew continually more bitter.

But a fouler deed was to be done before vengeance reached the guilty. Verginius, a centurion in ^{And} the army, had left behind him in Rome a ^{Verginia.} beautiful daughter, betrothed to the plebeian Icilius. Unfortunately Appius Claudius saw the maiden as she passed to and from school, and he suborned a client of his who should claim her as the daughter of one of his own slave women, and therefore his property. On the first day that the case came on for trial before the Decemvir, the girl's friends with difficulty obtained a respite and sent in all haste for Verginius. On the morrow Appius Claudius was about to award her to his client when Verginius, seeing that there was no means of resisting the tyrant's power, snatched a knife from a butcher's stall hard by, and to save his daughter's honour stabbed her to the heart. Holding the reeking knife in his hand, and followed by a great throng of people, he hastened to the army and roused the citizens against the tyrant. They encamped on the Aventine, and thence, joined by all the other plebeians in the city, they marched to their old place of secession, the Sacred Mount. Their demands for the restoration of the tribunate and the right of appeal were accepted by the senate. The Decemvirs were compelled to resign and the old magistracies re-established: L. Valerius and M. Horatius became consuls, and new tribunes were elected. Appius

Claudius and Spurius Oppius put an end to their lives in prison, and the other Decemvirs were sent into exile. Such, says the story, was the end of the Decemvirate.

Soon after the return of the plebeians to the city, the consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius carried in the Centuriate Assembly three laws of the ^{The Valerio-Horatian Laws.} greatest importance, providing that—

(a) The tribunes should be sacrosanct and inviolable.

(b) No magistrate should ever be appointed from whose sentence an appeal to the Centuriate Assembly was not open.

(c) Any measure passed by the Assembly of the Tribes should be as binding on the whole people as one passed by the Centuriate Assembly (*ut quod tributim plebs iussisset, populum teneret*).

§ 62. The story as above related is taken mainly from the pages of Livy. Modern criticism points to many inconsistencies and absurdities in the narrative, and most inconsistent and absurd of all is the rôle attributed to Appius Claudius. For once Mommsen and Ihue are agreed in rejecting the traditional views; the family of Appius, as Mommsen points out, was far from being “exceeding arrogant and heartless towards the common folk.” It owed its distinction, unlike the other great patrician houses, to the democratic weapon of oratory rather than to arms. Beyond dispute the Decemvirate was legally open to plebeians, but it was only by Appius’ aid that the plebeians obtained seats upon the commission: this means that the despised inferior class had, by help of Appius, successfully asserted its claims to share in the supreme magistracy of the State—a tremendous blow to patrician exclusiveness; while the very object for which the Decemvirate was created—the codification of the law—was a blow no less severe. The conduct of Appius has certainly been misrepresented, and even in Livy’s narrative we can see traces of the truth when we

The Truth
about Appius
Claudius.

are told how at the second election of Decemvirs, Appius took his stand resolutely with the plebeians and secured the overthrow of some at least of the patrician champions. If Appius was no bitter partisan of the patriciate, still less did he act the part of a Greek tyrant: rather he belonged to the moderate and sagacious party of compromise among the patricians, the party which wished to reconcile the rival factions, and saw in the existing confusion equal ruin for all.

§ 63. With this as the true view of Appius' position,

Possible History of the Decemvirate Ihne proceeds to reconstruct the history of the second and third years of the Decemvirate.

When Appius had secured a clear majority upon the Commission, he inserted in the two tables required to complete the code clauses which improved the plebeian status. The assent of the Centuriate Assembly was necessary before these could become law, and patrician influence was there sufficiently strong to ensure their rejection. Undaunted by this failure Appius persisted in his attempt to carry them through, and on the expiration of his year of office refused to lay down his authority so long as his demands remained unratified. The senate protested against the usurpation, and ultimately forced Appius to resign. No fresh Decemvirs were elected and the old magistracies were revived. Two consuls—Valerius and Horatius—were appointed. The new magistrates re-drafted the two tables left by Appius, and among their alterations introduced enactments unfavourable to the plebeians. Worst of all, the senate spoke of the agreement arrived at in 451 B.C., and refused to sanction the further election of tribunes. At this point, and not until this point, the plebeians left the city; their secession was the result not, as represented by patrician historians, of decemviral tyranny,

but of patrician oppression. The consuls Valerius and Horatius then negotiated in the laws which bear their names an agreement whereby the tribunate was restored and the rights of the plebeians guaranteed and extended. The code drawn up by the Decemvirs constituted the historical basis of all Roman law, and was known as the Twelve Tables (*Duodecim Tabulæ*).

§ 64. The first of the Valerio-Horatian laws calls for little comment: it simply renewed the solemn agreement extorted from the patricians in 494 Import of the Valerio-Horatian Laws. B.C. (§ 55), and was meant to re-assert the security of the tribunes' persons against the enemies whom they constantly irritated by their growing boldness in indicting ex-consuls for maladministration before the plebeian assembly.

The second law, so far as we can tell, was a re-enactment of the great Valerian law of 509 B.C. (§ 24). Possibly it was something more, and it may have formally extended the *ius provocacionis* to plebeians as well as to patricians.

The remaining law, "that the resolutions of the plebeians in their tribal assembly should be binding on the entire people," is the most important of the three, but the most difficult to understand. Firstly, we shall find similar laws in 339 B.C. and 287 B.C., and as the period is one of continuous plebeian advance, it is but a lame explanation to say that on these three occasions nothing further occurred than the re-enactment of one and the same law. Secondly, to what plebeian body does it refer? Before the Decemvirate the only plebeian assembly in existence was the *concilium plebis tributim*. To suppose that a body of this character, composed of the plebeian order alone, was empowered to make laws for the whole State is a manifest absurdity.

In all probability the constitutional fact hidden beneath this account of the law is the creation of the famous tribal assembly, the *Comitia Tributa*. We know that ^{The *Comitia Tributa*.} for purposes of taxation patricians had been from the very first (§ 57) enrolled in the tribal lists by the side of their plebeian neighbours. What the law did was to authorize these patricians and plebeians to come together in their tribes and, under certain restrictions, to make laws for the whole people. The new assembly—the *Comitia Tributa*—had as its president a consul, a praetor, and later a tribune. Its duties were—

(a) To make laws for the whole people.

As with laws passed in the Centuriate Assembly, endorsement by the senate was necessary.

(b) To elect certain magistrates.

To anticipate a little, these were the whole of the minor magistrates, the quaestors, curule aediles (after 367 B.C.), some of the legionary tribunes (after 363 B.C.), and subsequently the greater number of the priests. The major magistrates—consuls and praetors—were elected in the *Comitia Centuriata*. But just as with laws, so at elections, it was needful (until the *Lex Maenia* of uncertain date, perhaps 287 B.C.) to obtain the senate's approval of the candidates selected.

What became of the older and purely plebeian assembly, the *Concilium Plebis*? Did it continue to exist and to enjoy the functions originally assigned to it (§ 57), or did it merge in the patricio-plebeian assembly of the *Comitia Tributa*? Mommson is of opinion that it continued to have a separate existence. It still met, he thinks, under the presidency of the tribunes and plebeian aediles, to elect its own magistrates and to

Did the *Concilium Plebis* continue to exist?

send up petitions to the senate.¹ Whether we accept this theory or not, it is evident that the two assemblies must soon have become practically identical ; for as a separate order, the patricians were fast vanishing.

§ 65. The plebeians obtained a great victory over caste prejudice when, in 445 B.C., the tribune C. Canuleius proposed that—

Plebeians should have *conubium* with patricians ; or in other words, that a plebeian should be allowed to contract a full legal marriage with a patrician.

The patricians were actuated in their opposition largely by religious scruples ; every family and gens had its own peculiar worship, and the patricians honestly believed that to admit to the household and gentile sacrifices the descendants of aliens, and very possibly of slaves, would be regarded as an insult by the deified ancestors whom they worshipped.

The Laws of
Canuleius,
445 B.C.
1. *Conubium*.

The same Canuleius was successful in carrying a second reform of equal importance—the admission of the plebeians to the chief magistracy. Already in the Decemvirate the inferior class had succeeded in establishing their claim to the highest office of the day, and now they found themselves again excluded by the restoration of the consulship. To this office they now demanded that they should be eligible. The patricians represented that in the consul was vested the right of consulting the gods on behalf of the State, and that the divine anger would be roused against the whole people should men of base lineage be chosen to the office. The struggle resulted in a compromise : the patricians refused to yield their monopoly of the consulship, but they agreed that the chief magistrates

2. The Consular Tribunes.

¹ Strictly, the resolutions of the Concilium Plebis were styled *plebiscita* ; those of the Comitia Tributa and Comitia Centuriata were *leges*.

should no longer be consuls, but new officers, chosen from both orders alike. The new magistrates, styled Military Tribunes with Consular Power, or for brevity's sake Consular Tribunes, were to enjoy equally the old powers and prerogatives of the consuls. Yet in one particular there was a difference : from a comparison of what happened in 367 B.C. (§ 72), it may be inferred that the judicial authority of the consuls was transferred solely to one amongst these tribunes, who was bound to be of patrician birth. The others, who succeeded to the consuls' military position, might be patrician or plebeian as the electors in the Centuriate Assembly should decide. The number of consular tribunes varied in a manner for which it is difficult to account : we hear of four, six, and even eight ; but usually they were six.

Thus it seemed that another patrician monopoly was destroyed, but it was so only in appearance, and the patricians' expedients for thwarting their plebeian rivals were far from exhausted. Every year at the elections the patricians put it to the Assembly whether consuls or consular tribunes should be chosen for the coming year. Of course they used every weapon at their command to carry the election of consuls, and as often as not with complete success ; but even when foiled on this point, their influence weighed so heavily in the Assembly that they could as a rule secure the return of their own nominees for the consular tribunate. The presiding magistrate, if a patrician, might omit altogether from the list of candidates the person whom the people was inclined to honour, and refuse any votes tendered in his behalf ; or again, he might admit so many plebeian candidates that the votes of the people were scattered and wasted among them. Again, the senate had to be consulted, for no election was valid until

it had been endorsed by the senate. Lastly, should all other devices prove ineffectual, the aid of religion might be invoked by the dominant class, and it was seldom indeed that the priestly colleges were unable to declare that the auspices had been vitiated or that some flaw existed in the religious ceremonies attendant on the election.

So effectual was patrician obstruction that it was not until 400 B.C., some forty-four years after the *Lex Canuleia*, that the first plebeian was chosen as consular tribune. At the first election indeed (444 B.C.) two plebeians, aided by the wave of enthusiasm consequent on the reforms of the previous year, contrived to win election; but the patricians soon professed to discover that there had been a fatal neglect of the customary formalities, and a fresh election resulted in the return of patricians only. It was not until external perils from Etruria and the Gauls made internal unity imperative, that the plebeians were able to secure practical recognition of their claims.

§ 66. But the patricians, when forced at last to surrender their monopoly of the chief magistracy, lessened its value by dividing it amongst six colleagues, The Censorship, 443 B.C. and by a still further distribution of its powers. They were of course actuated by partisan spite to some extent in so doing; but, apart from class jealousy, the growing complexity of the State organization rendered advisable an increase in the number of magistrates. It had been the duty of the consuls to arrange the people in tribes according to the position of their freeholds, and in centuries according to their wealth; and by the lists so drawn up was determined what citizens were entitled to vote at the Tribal and Centuriate Assemblies. The consuls too performed the duty of enrolling suitable persons in the eighteen centuries of knights, and of filling up vacant seats in the

senate. Unwilling that so great a political engine should fall into the hands of plebeians, the patricians created two new magistrates of their own order with the title of Censors (*Censores*, "Valuers"), whose election was entrusted to the Centuriate Assembly.

The primary duties of the censor have been mentioned above : they were to register the citizens according to their property, to review the knights, and to summon new members to the senate. Every citizen at the drawing up of the census-lists had to state to the censor the amount of his property in land, and the number and value of his slaves and cattle. In making out his lists, the censor exercised a power practically despotic, and subject only to his colleague's veto. He could move a citizen from one tribe to another of less or greater repute, he could disenfranchise him entirely by refusing to enter his name on a tribal roll at all, or he could act in quite the contrary way, and put landless • men and freedmen upon the register.

New members had thus far been admitted to the senate at the practically unlimited discretion of the supreme magistrate. In the regal period the king summoned suitable persons to assist him in his deliberations, a prerogative which in republican times naturally descended to the two consuls. But not only had they power of admitting to the senatorial body : their power of expelling therefrom was equally absolute, and, as we shall see, their successors the censors, in conformity with their duty of supervising the public and private morals of all citizens (*regimen morum*), from time to time made startling clearances amongst the senatorial benches. Their censure (*nota*) was a disgrace which could be prevented only by the dissent of a colleague, and removed only by the order of succeeding censors. To the

censors also fell the direction of all State finance, such as the levying of the war-tax, the control of the *vectigalia* or dues arising from the rent of public land and pasturage, the sale of Government monopolies, such as salt, and royalties upon mining. They had, however, no control over the disbursements of State revenues, and touched no portion of the public moneys except what the senate might vote for their use in the construction of such public works as roads, aqueducts, drains, and bridges. They were elected once in every five years,¹ but as early as 434 B.C. it became law that their labours should be completed within the space of eighteen months, and that they should thereafter resign office. The office remained exclusively patrician until 351 B.C., when C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, attained it. In 339 B.C. one of the *Leges Publiliae* made imperative the election of at least one plebeian to the censorship.

§ 67. From the beginning of the Republic the consuls had chosen two subordinate magistrates, called quaestors, to assist in justice. In 447 B.C. the The Quaestors. quaestors were no longer nominated by the consuls, but elected by the *Comitia Tributa* from patricians alone. Their number was raised to four in 421 B.C., of whom two (*quaestores urbani*) always remained in the city, while the other two accompanied the consuls to war; and at the same time plebeians were made eligible, so that in 409 B.C., three out of the four were plebeians. More were from time to time appointed as the Roman dominions increased, until in 81 B.C. there were twenty.

After 447 B.C. the two urban quaestors continued to exercise judicial functions, probably in cases of murder and

¹ At the close of their census they performed a solemn "purification" (*lustrum*) of the State; whence the term *lustrum* came to mean a censor's term of office, a period of five years.

arson ; but henceforward their duties were mainly financial, forming in some sort a complement to the authority of the censor. They had the keys of the State treasury in the Temple of Saturn, where were kept the public treasure, contracts, and documents ; and they collected arrears of taxation and fines, and disbursed money to the consuls and other magistrates on the orders of the senate. The remaining quaestors were attached to the consuls when they took the field, and exercised control over the finances of the war.

§ 68. Five years after the creation of the consular tribunate there occurred a memorable episode. Spurius Maelius, 439 B.C. In 439 B.C. there was a terrible famine in the city, and the dearth grew so severe that many of the common people flung themselves into the Tiber to escape death from hunger. At this juncture, a wealthy plebeian of knightly rank, Spurius Maelius by name, bought a great quantity of corn in Etruria, and distributed it at a nominal price among the starving populace. So great popularity did he win, that he meditated the overthrow of the Republic, and sought to make himself king. The situation was considered so perilous that the senate ordered the consul to name a dictator ; whereupon the aged Cincinnatus was appointed, with C. Servilius Ahala for his Master of Horse. On the morrow the whole people, and Maelius amongst them, flocked to the Forum to learn what danger was apprehended. As soon as Servilius Ahala caught sight of Maelius, he summoned him before the dictator, and when the threatened man implored the protection of the people, slew him on the spot. The plebeians crowded tumultuously round the dictator, menacing the murderer with vengeance ; but Cincinnatus said that Maelius had brought his fate upon himself by his disobedience to the dictator's summons, and he ordered his

house to be rased. The anger of the people however forced the assassin into exile.

So runs Livy's narrative. Whatever the truth or falsity of the details, of one thing we may be sure : Maelius never sought to be king. That a plebeian in a private station, with no possible support from an armed force, should aim at the overthrow of a constitution so firmly established as was that of Rome by this date, is absurd. We do not know what was Maelius' real offence : possibly he was but standing for the consular tribunate, with a very good chance of success owing to his public spirit. The patricians were determined to prevent his election at all costs, and failing constitutional methods, they resorted to assassination.

§ 69. It was about this era that Rome at last turned her attention seriously to external affairs, and commenced her victorious conflict with Vol- The Agrarian Question scians, Æquians, and Sabines. But the more successful the Romans were in warfare, the more burning became the dispute about the public lands. Any considerable acquisition of conquered territory was sure to be the subject of fierce controversy between the patricians and plebeians. The remorseless working of natural economic laws, aided by no less remorseless legislation, bred up in place of the old prosperous yeoman farmers, the middle-class and backbone of the State, a multitude of wretched men ejected from their homesteads by usurers and capitalists. As often as conquest brought new lands to be disposed of, the Forum was filled with broken and homeless applicants imploring that a fresh start in life might be made possible for them, and declaring their willingness to risk their lives in the defence of the conquered territory, if only some small portion was allotted to them.

The conquest of Ardea in 442 B.C., the fall of Fidenæ in 426 B.C., and of Labici in 418 B.C., were each followed by agrarian agitations. When Veii (396 B.C.) was captured, and the extensive and fertile domain of that city became Roman spoil, a number of allotments of seven acres each—a comparatively large grant—were distributed among the poorer farmers. But whatever relief was afforded by these measures, it was partial only. The real want was a complete revision of the law as to the public land, and it was not until 376 B.C. that the plebeians set themselves in earnest to secure this.

§ 70. Probably something of the kind was attempted by

The Story of
Manlius,
384 B.C.

M. Manlius Capitolinus, though the story, as told in Livy, does not expressly say so. The invasion of the Gauls¹ (390 B.C.) had swept off nearly everything possessed by the farmers: their houses had been burnt and their cattle lifted; while the high war-tax and the purchase of new stock and implements had sunk them deeply in debt. The creditors were mainly the wealthy patrician landowners, who set in force all the iniquities of the *nexus* against their debtors. The situation, in short, was precisely what it had been a century before, when Cassius proposed his famous agrarian law. Like Cassius, Manlius, the defender of the Capitol, belonged to the patrician order. One day he saw an old comrade being carried off to slavery by his creditor. He paid the debt and helped many others who were in the same plight, declaring that as long as he possessed a single foot of ground, no Roman should be cast into prison. No fewer than 400 citizens were set at liberty by his generosity. The patricians, dreading his growing power, prevailed on the

¹ See § 86.

dictator, A. Cornelius Cossus, to summon Manlius before his tribunal and put him in bonds: but so violently did the poorer classes resent the outrage, that the senate was forced to set him again at liberty. Backed up by the wealthy plebeians, they now resorted to the fatal accusation which they had employed against Maclius: two of the tribunes impeached Manlius before the Centuriate Assembly for aiming at the royal power, and he was condemned to be cast from those very cliffs by the defence of which he had won immortal fame.

§ 71. Whatever the real nature of Manlius' aims, a determined attack on patrician monopoly began, eight years after his execution, 376 B.C. As The Licinian Rogations, 376-367 B.C. with most great constitutional reforms, success

was obtained by a combination of parties, who agreed to sink their own minor differences in a resolute assault on the common enemy. We have already stated that the plebeians were divided into two distinct parties, each with its own particular aims, grievances, and ambitions. The great plebeian capitalists and landowners had no desire to change the existing laws: no doubt they had often enforced the *nexum* against the humbler plebeians who were in their debt, and their wealth had long since opened up to them the public lands, which they, like the patricians, occupied in vast tracts, and tilled by means of free labourers or slaves. But they coveted the honours of the highest magistracy, and they burned to take their stand side by side with the haughty patricians at the head of the State.

Far other were the feelings and aspirations of the struggling yeomen, the landless day-labourers, and the client-tenants of the patricians. Their demands were for a share of the public land and deliverance from the debts wherewith, by no fault of their own, they were burdened.

In 376 B.C. the tribunes, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, commenced the struggle which was to last ten years by bringing forward the famous Licinio-Sextian Rogations. For five years the patricians fought against the measure by inducing one tribune or another to interpose his veto. Thereupon Licinius and Sextius determined to use their tribunician power to its full extent, and for the next five years they refused to allow any patrician magistrate to be elected, only relaxing their opposition when the State was threatened from without. Last of all, the patricians had recourse to the dictatorship, and nominated M. Furius Camillus, the legendary hero of Veii and the Gallic inroad, in the hope that he would crush the movement. The aged hero saw that resistance was hopeless, and soon laid down his office. When made dictator a second time for the purpose of repelling a fresh inroad of the Gauls, he counselled peace, and advised the patricians to yield. Thus at length, in the tenth year of the struggle, 367 B.C., the two tribunes, now holding office for the tenth successive year, laid their bill (*rogatio*) before the Comitia Tributa. It was carried forthwith ; the senate endorsed it without further demur, and the measure became law. Its provisions were as follows—

(a) Consuls and not consular tribunes were to be elected in future, and one consul *must* be a plebeian.

(b) The Keepers of the Oracles (*Decemviri sacris faciundis*) were to be raised from two to ten, and half were to be plebeians.

(c) No citizen was to occupy more than 500 acres of public land, or to keep more than 100 men and 500 sheep on the public pasture.

(d) Debtors were to deduct the money already paid as interest from the capital representing their original debt, and the remainder they were to pay in three instalments.

(e) A landlord was compelled to employ a number of free labourers proportioned to that of his slaves employed in agriculture.

Of these provisions, the first two were passed for the benefit of the wealthy plebeians. Experience had shown

how powerful was patrician influence in the Centuriate Assembly, for although the consular tribunate had been in theory always open to both orders, Explanation of the First Law. a plebeian did not secure election for almost half a century after the institution of the magistracy. If the new law was not to be a dead letter, it was necessary formally to exclude the patricians from one of the consulships, and this was accordingly done. Yet the patricians would not yield the point at once: on several occasions they carried the election of two nominees, and only in 342 B.C., when a further enactment decreed "that *both* consuls might be plebeians," did they see the danger of further violation of the law.

With the admission of the plebeians to the consulate, the character of the aristocracy underwent a change. The New Aristocracy. Hitherto the aristocracy had consisted solely of patricians, a privileged class who based their claims to priority on their superior birth. In their view, the blood in their veins was derived from the warrior-founders of the city, while the plebeians were the descendants of slaves and aliens, and of the peoples subdued by the prowess of their victorious ancestors. But after the Licinian legislation, every plebeian who attained to the consulship became *ipso facto* one of the dominant class. The new aristocracy consisted of the old patrician houses, and a small but increasing number of wealthy plebeian families: it was as exclusive as had been that which it supplanted, but its exclusiveness was based on a different principle. It was office, not birth, that now secured admission to the charmed circles of Government and all its profits, and instead of the man of noble descent on one side and the base-born on the other, the struggle was soon to become one between rich and poor. The plebeian of only moderate

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means had little chance of winning curule honours : the few successes of this kind were won only after a desperate conflict, in which the new nobility used every weapon suggested by political jealousy. For more than three centuries the nobility summoned into existence by the Licinian laws were, with few and brief interruptions, rulers of the State. During the first half of that period they governed with honesty, prudence, and vigour ; after the Second Punic War they degenerated into an effete and corrupt oligarchy founded on wealth, which pillaged the empire for its own enrichment.

The second of the Licinian laws is also significant of plebeian advance, for admission to even the least important and the least ancient of the sacred colleges—and such was the position of the *Decemviri Sacris Faciundis*—was a notable victory to achieve. Their admission to one was the presage and surety of their admission to all.

The three remaining laws no doubt improved the lot of the small freeholders by relieving them from the pressure of debt and giving them a share in the public land. But it is at least probable that the section of the plebeians most directly benefited was the class of the tenant-clients. We have seen that it was customary for capitalists to grasp large tracts of the public domain, and to send out their clients and slaves to till them. The client paid rent in money or kind, and the capitalist made so much clear profit, seeing that he neglected to pay his dues to the State and the Government did not trouble to enforce its claims. What the law did, therefore, was to restrict the occupation of public land by the capitalists and to curtail their use of the public pasturage. Whatever land thus reverted to the State passed

into the direct occupation of the former tenant-clients, who were both relieved of their indebtedness and practically put into the position of freeholders.

The recurrence of an agrarian agitation a few years later shows that this legislation was not final. The ^{Result of this Legislation.} one thing essential to a settlement of the question—the appointment of a standing commission with powers to enforce the laws of 367 B.C., and to distribute further acquisitions of conquered territory as they were made—was not done. So the old evils revived; the wealthy again occupied the public domain beyond the limit of the law and treated it as private property. Yet the position of the farmers showed signs of improvement; for a time at least the Licinian law was observed and fines were imposed on those who offended against it—a fate which is said to have befallen Licinius himself, who was convicted of occupying more than 500 acres of public land. But of more avail than any legal enactment was the brilliant success of the Roman arms, which at once crushed out discontent and brought solid relief in the shape of numerous colonies sent from the city for the protection of newly-won conquests.

§ 72. Although they had assented to the creation of plebeian consuls, the patricians repeated the ^{New Magistrates.} tactics they had pursued in 443 B.C. with regard to the censorship: they deprived the consul of active participation in judicial duties, and created a new patrician magistrate, styled praetor, to act as the supreme judge of the State.

The Praetor was a curule magistrate possessing the *imperium* in a less degree than did the consuls, and elected by the Comitia Centuriata. His ^{The Praetor.} rank was marked by the attendance of six lictors, and his

powers, which were in theory judicial only, were exactly those which had belonged to the consuls in their capacity of judges ; that is to say, they embraced every question of justice save such as involved the life of the defendant, and were controlled only by the right of appeal, by the provisions of the Twelve Tables, and by such extraordinary forces as the *auxilium* of a tribune, religion, or the superior powers of the consuls. The praetor (known as *praetor urbanus*) had no colleague until the year 247 B.C., when a second praetor was created for the purpose of administering justice between citizens and aliens (*peregrini*) resident in Rome, a duty from which he was styled *praetor peregrinus*.

As we shall see later on, two more praetors were created in 227 B.C. to administer the newly-acquired provinces of Sicily and Sardinia ; and yet two more in 197 B.C., when Spain fell under Roman control. Their number was raised by Sulla (81 B.C.) to eight, by Caesar to sixteen, but reduced again by Augustus to twelve. For a time the office was, as the patricians intended it should be, held only by patricians, but in 337 B.C. it was opened to plebeians.

At the same date (367 B.C.) as the creation of the praetorship, two subordinate patrician magistrates, termed Curule Aediles, were appointed by the side of the plebeian aediles¹ (§ 58) for purposes of police and urban administration. The plebeian aediles now ceased to be under the direction of the tribunes, and, like the curule aediles, were concerned only with the supervision of city matters. Their duties, in fact, were very similar to those of modern county-councils and vestries, for they repaired and cleansed the roads, de-

¹ They are said to have received the name from their guardianship of the Temple (*aedes*) of Ceres, where copies of all decrees of the senate were lodged.

stroyed unjust weights and measures, supervised the markets, provided a supply of corn for the needs of the city, and organized the public games. The patricians retained exclusive possession of the curule aedileship for one year only; in 366 B.C. plebeians were made eligible for the office, but, by a curious arrangement, for a long period two patricians and two plebeians were chosen in alternate years. The curule aediles were elected by the Comitia Tributa. The plebeian aedileship of course continued to be filled by plebeians, whose election rested perhaps with the Concilium Plebis.

§ 73. After the great victory of 367 B.C., the plebeians rapidly secured admission to the other magis-^{Opening of the}tracies that were still closed to them. The ^{Magistracies.} patricians were not able to retain exclusive possession even of the new offices—the praetorship and curule aedileships—which they had invented for the express purpose of lessening plebeian influence. There was a plebeian dictator, C. Marcus Rutilus, in 356 B.C., just as there had been a plebeian Master of Horse, C. Licinius Calvus, in 368 B.C.; there was a plebeian censor, the above-mentioned C. Marcus Rutilus, in 351 B.C., and a plebeian praetor in 337 B.C.

Finally the patricians had to surrender their sole right to membership in the greater priestly colleges. ^{Lex Ogulnia,} In 300 B.C. a law was passed by the tribune ^{300 B.C.} Ogulnius providing that—

The College of Augurs should be increased to nine, and the College of Pontiffs to eight (exclusive of the Supreme Pontiff), and that the new members should be plebeians.

These great colleges continued to elect new members by co-optation. The purely ceremonial offices of the Salii, the Arval Brethren, the Fetials, and the Rex Sacrorum, remained in the possession of the patricians as long as the

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Roman religion lasted. It had been as custodians of the methods of legal procedure that the greater priestly colleges were valuable to the patricians, and this value was largely lost when, in 304 B.C., one Cn. Flavius made public the knowledge of the formulae of civil law.

§ 74. The next great popular struggle after the Licinian laws centred round a demand for greater freedom of action for the assemblies. No motion, whether carried in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the *Comitia Tributa*, or the *Concilium Plebis*, became law until it had received the approval of the senate (*patrum auctoritas*); and even when this assent had been extorted, the senate, by virtue of its position as an executive council, frequently interpreted the law by the light of its own inclinations and carried it out accordingly.

In 339 B.C. the senate parcelled out some Latin and Falernian territory into allotments of two or three acres only. The consuls, Q. Publilius Philo and T. Aemilius Mamercinus, were respectively plebeian and patrician, but alike opposed to the policy of the senate. Aemilius, despite the protests of the senate, named his colleague dictator, and Publilius carried the following laws, that —

(a) The resolutions of the tribes should be binding on the whole people.

(b) The sanction of the senate (*patrum auctoritas*) should be given beforehand to all measures proposed in the Centuriate Assembly.

(c) One censor at least should always be a plebeian.

The first law, as stated by Roman historians, is identical with one passed in 449 B.C. Probably, however, it was more than a mere re-enactment. The older law had invested the *Comitia Tributa* with legislative functions, but had declared the subsequent approval of the senate to be essential; the present law removed this

Laws of Publi-
lius Philo,
339 B.C.

Their Meaning.

restriction, so that proposals carried in the assembly at once became law. In this view the first of these three Publilian laws did for the *Comitia Tributa* what the second did for the *Comitia Centuriata*, and this explanation appears satisfactory when we remember that identically the same citizens voted in the two assemblies, though arranged in different ways. The second law calls for no comment: it gave to the Centuriate Assembly final legislative power, and removed all chance of collision between that body and the senate. The third law marked yet another step in the equalization of the two orders: it was doubtless grounded upon partiality and other abuses on the part of patrician censors in the exercise of their powers of degrading senators, knights, and citizens alike, making out the lists of tribesmen, and classifying the citizens in the Centuriate Assembly, and was therefore but another step towards the complete emancipation of both assemblies from patrician control.

§ 75. So far the possession of landed property, together with citizenship, had been the qualification for admission to the Assemblies, but the growing prosperity of the city had attracted thither a multitude of merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, and a series of successful campaigns had resulted in a great increase in the number of slaves. The merchant who possessed no land and the slave who had been emancipated by his master were alike excluded from tribe and century, though many of them were worthy to exercise the franchise and likely to become a source of national strength. In 312 B.C. one of the censors was Appius Claudius, a man in many respects resembling the great Decemvir, and like him belonging to the party of reform. He resolved to break through the customary usage, and in making out the tribal rolls he included therein a number of landless men and

The Censorship
of Appius
Claudius, 312
B.C.

freedmen. Naturally the conservative party was furious at the innovation; furious above all were the nobles, who foresaw the danger of their dependents being outnumbered by the new voters. Appius' work did not remain unchallenged: the next censor, Q. Fabius Maximus, refused (307 B.C.) to continue so sweeping a change; he did not entirely exclude the freedmen, but he confined them rigidly to the four city tribes, where their vote was of less importance, and his policy was generally supported by succeeding censors.

Two other acts of Appius gave equal umbrage to the aristocracy: he admitted the sons of freedmen to the senate, and instead of resigning at the end of eighteen months, he persisted in exercising the censorial powers until the completion of two great public works—the Appian road and the Appian aqueduct. Such, however, was his popularity with the masses, that on laying down the censorship he was at once chosen consul.

§ 76. In 287 B.C. the plebeians, angered by some unknown agrarian dispute, seceded for the third time, and last time; but upon the intervention of the dictator, Q. Hortensius, they agreed to return on the understanding that—

The resolutions of the tribes should be binding on the whole people.

In form, the Hortensian law does not differ from a famous clause of the Valerio-Horatian and Publilian laws, and of its precise significance we cannot be sure. Mommsen believes that the Hortensian law applied to the Concilium Plebis, which, freed from the trammels of senatorial endorsement, now became as powerful for legislation as the Centuriate Assembly, and indistinguishable in form from the Comitia Tributa. Whatever its actual purpose and

details, its effect was to throw off the last hold of the senate on popular legislation, while a *Lex Maenia*—of perhaps the same date—did the same for elections, and rendered the assent of the senate no longer necessary. But nevertheless, for one hundred and fifty years subsequent to this date, the senate remained the well-nigh absolute head of the State. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, the growing complication of Rome's relations with other states within and without the peninsula, rendered daily more excusable and more effective the usurped authority of the narrow, but far-seeing and experienced, aristocratic council, as compared with the cumbrous, inexperienced, and slow-moving mechanism of the Assemblies. "Rome was a complete aristocracy with democratic forms," as Ihne says, and it was only when the aristocracy forgot its duties and abused its privileges that the democracy asserted its latent powers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF LATIUM, 496—338 B.C.

§§ 77-78. Rome and Latium.—§§ 79-81. Wars against the Aequians and Volscians; Cincinnatus and Coriolanus.—§§ 82-84. Wars against the Etruscans; Fall of Veii.—§ 85. Rome and the Latin League.—§ 86. The Gallic Invasion.—§§ 87-91. The League after 390 B.C.—§ 92. The Samnites.—§ 93. First Samnite War.—§§ 94-95. The Great Latin War.—§ 96. Roman citizens, passive citizens, Latins and allies.—§ 97. Settlement of Latium and Dissolution of the League.

§ 77. THE year 509 B.C. may be taken as a definite date in Roman history, but for one hundred and ^{History still doubtful} thirty years afterwards, our knowledge of the true course of events is, though in a gradually lessening degree, still doubtful, since for the period prior to the burning of Rome and her records by the Gauls in 390 B.C., there could remain nothing in the way of a continuous chronicle of her doings.

As we have seen (§ 37), the earlier legends imply a period during which the Etruscan power dominated Rome and Latium alike, and also a national rising of the Latins whereby such domination was overthrown (510 B.C.). It is likely that this rising was self-determining rather than pre-arranged, and the legends betray the fact: the movement began in one or other of the chief towns of Latium, possibly in Rome itself, and spread thence to others until it embraced every Latin settlement. The victory of the

ANCIENT LATIUM

AND ITS NEIGHBOURS



Towns of Latin League
in small capitals thus

Garrison Towns *

TUSCULUM

Latins was won slowly and with difficulty, but it was complete : the Etruscans had never in Latium been more than a fighting nobility, so that with the supremacy of the Lucumons disappeared well-nigh every trace of their presence. In Fidenæ (*Castel Giubileo*) alone did they hold their own, for that town occupied a position upon the Tiber only less valuable and strong than was that of Rome, having the wealthy Etruscan city of Veii less than eight miles distant in its rear. Hence Rome's long and ceaseless struggles with Fidenæ and Veii, for she could not be secure until she had crushed the fortress which, lying but five miles away, beset her very gates and gave to her implacable foes free passage of the Tiber and free entry into the plain of Latium. Roman history for the next century (500 B.C. — 400 B.C.) falls into two periods : for fifty years she fought a doubtful battle against Etruscans on the north, and against the inroads of Sabellian tribes on the east and south ; then suddenly (after 450 B.C.) we find her no longer on the defensive, but as an aggressive city and, the champion of the Latins, pushing her conquests alike to the east, the south, and the north.

The legend said that Alba Longa was destroyed by

The Position
of Latium,
500 B.C.

Tullus Hostilius : we know that it was already destroyed when the Tarquins were expelled, and we may conclude that its destruction was due to the Etruscans, who found it good policy to blot out this stronghold and centre of the Latin nation. But the League of the Latins was by no means dispersed by the Etruscan rule : rather, their common oppression by the conquerors, and their common victory at Regillus, replaced by a stronger bond of unity the older and still continuing bond of religion.

In one way indeed the expulsion of the Lucumons was a

disaster : it gave back to the Volscians their freedom, and tempted them, together with the Sabines and the Aequians, to attack the seemingly defenceless Latins ; and by involving the land in a century of warfare, it laid many cities desolate, so proving the beginning of that depopulation and neglect which never afterwards ceased to increase, and which even to-day make the Campagna a poverty-stricken, fever-breeding wilderness.

But as Rome had been the centre of the Etruscan power in Latium, so she reaped the fullest advantages therefrom. The commerce which their policy Position of Rome, 500 B.C. had gathered to her quays, as to the only river-port on all the coast of peninsular Italy, still flourished after their fall. More important than all, though she lay nearest to the nation's most redoubtable foes, yet was she the most secure ; for while the Volscians and their fellows ravaged the undefended borders of further Latium and wasted its fields, Rome lay safe beyond their reach, and grew rich by her commerce, protected by her wide river against the Etruscans on the further bank.

§ 78. Nevertheless, beset as Rome and Latium were on all sides by so many enemies, there was need of real union if they were to hold their own, and such union was speedily achieved by the formation of the new Latin League, the "first great political act" of the new republic. Tradition said that Spurius Cassius was the diplomatist who effected this, 493 B.C. Tradition also said, with small probability, that the members were always thirty, but we have no reliable list of their names. Such towns as Tibur, Praeneste, Tusculum, Aricia (*Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, Ariccia*), would certainly be included, as also Gabii, Bovillae, and Laurentum. We find included also Nomentum (*Mentana*) and other

The Latin League becomes a Political Union, 493 B.C.

towns beyond the Anio (*Teverone*), which shows that the Sabines were already giving way before the Latins. Brought into existence by the attacks of the surrounding peoples, the object of the League was to unite against those peoples the whole power of the Latin nation.

With this definite object in view, definite statements of privileges and duties took the place of the Articles of the League looser ties of the ancient Latin religious federation (§ 34). Henceforth the voice of the conference had a binling force upon all the members of the League. The conference called out the federal army, and apportioned the numbers of the levy to be contributed by each Latin city. The command of the army lay alternately year by year with Rome and with two Latin praetors nominated by the conference.

§ 79. Here then were the first requisites for the national security—national union and a national army, and how greatly these were needed is proved Inroads of the Aequians and Volscians by the traditions of the next fifty years (500 B.C.—450 B.C.). The expulsion of the Etruscans, and the consequent disturbances in each town, had left the land seemingly helpless and divided, while it had set free the Volscians to advance at will by removing the power which beforetime had checked them and overawed the Aequians. The Aequians were but a nation of shepherds and robbers, who came only to plunder, and vanished forthwith into their mountains; but the Volscians were a warlike people with a more organized policy; they aimed at the permanent conquest of Latium, and secured their advance by rasing or colonizing the towns which they conquered. While the Volscians pushed northwards by land, the last strongholds of Etruscan power, the seaports of Antium (*Porto d'Anzo*) and Tarracina (*Terracina*) were beset from the seaward side

by hostile Greeks, and soon fell beneath the double attack. Satricum, Cora (*Cori*), Corioli, Velitrae (*Velletri*), Lavinium, all strong positions in the south and west of Latium, fell into their hands; and at length (*circa* 450 B.C.) Volscian garrisons occupied Bovillae on the slopes of Mons Albanus, a bare ten miles from the walls of Rome, and from thence ravaged the land to her very gates. Simultaneously the Aequians, grown bolder by impunity, pushed westward as far as Mount Algidus, the north-eastern ridge of the Alban Mount, and threatened to seize Tusculum. It seemed as if the invaders might effect a junction at any moment, thereby cutting off Rome and the Latins of the north-east from their fellows in the south-east, while south of these they were parted only by the narrow territories of the Hernicans along the valley of the Trerus (*Sacco*). If the junction were effected the Latins were of a certainty lost.

Accordingly the Latin League was extended to embrace the all but isolated Hernicans, a second act of diplomacy attributed to Spurius Cassius, 486 B.C. It probably came at a later date, after the last efforts of the Carthaginians and Etruscans to crush the Greeks had been broken at the famous battle of Himera (*Bonformello*) in Sicily (480 B.C.), and in the great sea-fight off Cumae (474 B.C.); when the Gauls, who had already wrested from the Etruscans their possessions in the valley of the Padus, were threatening to cross the Apennines into Etruria proper; when the Sabellian tribes were already seizing upon the Etruscan cities of Campania, and threatening the rear of the Volscian land; and when the patricians had to some extent secured internal quiet by various concessions to the plebs.

§ 80. After 450 B.C. Rome set herself in earnest to redeem her past neglect of her allies. She must first rid herself of

The Hernicans
join the
League.

Fidenæ, which hung always upon the flank and rear of her armies when moving against Aequians and Volscians. In 426 B.C. Fidenæ was rased utterly and Rome was left with a free hand. Her next care was to secure communication with the Hernicans, and this object was attained by the planting of a colony at Labicum (418 B.C.) at the foot of Mount Algidus—a measure which made the position of the Aequians on the mount no longer tenable, and forced them to withdraw—and by garrisoning Bola near Praeneste (414 B.C.). For five-and-twenty years the Aequians ceased to be a danger to Rome, retreating eastward and upward into the highlands behind Praeneste and Tibur, and the inaccessible valleys of the upper Anio (*Aniene*).

Not less successful were the operations against the Volscians, a foe far superior in point alike of numbers, resources, and valour; but they were more tedious, for the Volscians had driven the garrisons from a number of strong Latin fortresses, and had destroyed no fewer than thirteen when at last fortune turned against them. Nevertheless the repulse of the Volscians was steadily effected, commencing probably with the recovery of Bovillae, which would fall about the time when the Aequians were driven from Algidus (*circa* 418 B.C.). We have few reliable details of the war, but we can trace the advance of the Romans by the destruction of Corioli and by the mention of colonies planted at Velitrae, Cora, and Norba, through central Latium, and along the Hernican frontier; and as time went on the coast-towns also fell again into the hands of the allies, for we find Lavinium and Laurentum restored to the League. By the close of the century (400 B.C.) the Volscians must have been hemmed in between two lines of fortresses, in the narrow range of hills between

the Trerus (*Sacco*) and Ufens (*Ufente*), and the lands of the Latino-Hernican League were once more free. Nevertheless they had suffered heavily, and many towns had been utterly destroyed by the Volscians. In some instances, *e.g.* Corioli, they were rebuilt, and became so-called Latin colonies—mixed communities of Romans and Latins, amongst whom were divided the adjoining lands and those of other ruined towns.

§ 81. Needless to say, the course of the Aequo Volscian wars is given in very different style in the Latin historians, and reads with wearisome monotony and little approach to likelihood. The narrative given above is the probable and natural kernel of history which may be extracted from the mass of tradition. There are, however, one or two legends, those of Coriolanus and Cincinnatus, which must be recorded.

At the time when the plebeians were struggling with the patricians about the tribunate, there was a grievous famine in Rome (492 B.C.), and The Story of Coriolanus. there was bought corn by the senate to distribute amongst the starving. Now Gaius Marcius, to whom men had given the name of Coriolanus, because he had captured Corioli from the Volscians, was of the proudest of the patricians, and he would have prevented the distribution of the corn: wherefore the tribunes summoned him to trial, and as he came not, he was declared an exile, and went to the Volscians of Antium. Now the Volscians were glad to have him with them, for he was wroth with the people of Rome and swore to be revenged; and having gathered an army, they came up against the city and took eleven towns of Latium, and encamped at five miles distance from the walls. Then were the senate and the people in great fear, for there was none that could withstand the enemy, and they sent to Coriolanus, first the chiefest of the senators,

and then the priests of his fatherland, to pray for mercy, but he would not hear them. But when there came the noblest of the mothers of Rome, and with them his own mother and wife and children, his anger went from him, and he led away the host of the Volscians and granted peace to the Romans.

The story is beautiful perhaps, but absolutely baseless. If the Volscians were strong enough to capture eleven walled towns in one campaign and to bring Rome to terms, they would never have relinquished alike the conquered towns and their triumph over Rome in order to gratify the sentimental feelings of an exiled Roman. The legend was invented to point a moral, and to make less humiliating the real victories of the Volscians by attributing even these to the good generalship of a Roman, albeit an exile.

In the year 459 B.C. there was truce between Rome and the Aequians; but next year the Aequians broke the peace, and appeared upon Mount Algidus near Tusculum, and there they defeated the consul Minucius and hemmed in his army. Then the senate looked about for a man brave and skilled in war, who should save the blockaded army, and they named T. Quinctius Cincinnatus to be dictator. Cincinnatus was a patrician, but he had no false pride: when the summons came to bid him attend upon the senate he was ploughing his own small farm beyond the Tiber like any plebeian peasant. He came to the senate, and accepted its behests. He bade all business be stayed save that of war, and ordered all that were of military age to meet him at sundown in the Field of Mars, each with five days' provisions and twelve stakes. By midnight he came to Mount Algidus, and when morning arrived, the Aequians found themselves in their turn shut in by a rampart of earth, bristling with a palisade of stakes.

They had no choice but to surrender, and Cincinnatus let them depart after they had passed beneath the yoke (one spear bound crosswise upon two others upright) in token of their submission. Then he returned to Rome with the rescued army twenty-four hours after his setting out.

The legend is scarcely credible; for even allowing that the dictator's army might in five hours' time march the twenty miles from Rome to Algidus, yet it is inconceivable that it could in as many hours more, and without interruption, erect a rampart of sufficient size and length to shut in the Aequians, themselves spread out widely to encircle Minucius' army.

§ 82. Less formidable, but not less harassing, were the wars with the Etruscans, though here too it is impossible to sift out the truth from the mass of tradition. Chief amongst the traditions is the story of the Fabii. Once when the Etruscans, and notably the men of Veii, were vexing the Romans and attacking their lands about Janiculum, the patricians of the house of the Fabii volunteered to take upon themselves the burden of the war beyond the Tiber: they built them a fortress upon the river Cremera near to Veii, and there for many days they fought valiantly. But the men of Veii laid an ambush and fell upon the Fabii and slew them all, even 306 warriors, so that of the whole of the gens there remained alive but one child to raise up again the Fabian line (477 B.C.). And thereafter matters went hard with Rome, and the Etruscans took Janiculum; but the Romans drove them out again, and there was peace for forty years (474—434 B.C.).

The Story of
the Fabii at
the Cremera,
477 B.C.

Another fable. The Fabian gens could scarcely have numbered 306 fighting men; still less could 306 warriors of full age have left behind them but a single child.

Doubtless the whole legend is a late invention to glorify the Fabii.

The fall of Fidenæ has been already mentioned, though reserved for fuller relation here. The Etruscans, ^{The Etruscan Wars. Fidenæ.} after repeated efforts to reconquer Latium, relapsed into a sulky quiescence. The centre of their power in Southern Etruria was Veii, and Fidenæ was to Veii what Janiculum was to Rome—a doorway into the enemy's land. The town stood upon a small hill by the Tiber's left bank five miles above Rome, now a desolate spot known as Castel Giubileo. According to tradition, the town revolted from Rome for the seventh time in 438 B.C., when Mamercus Aemilius and Aulus Cornelius Cossus defeated the Fidenates but assaulted the town in vain. Twelve years later (426 B.C.) the Fidenates, in defiance of fetial law, put to death some Roman envoys, flew once more to arms, and as usual called in the aid of Veii. At this time Lars Tolumnius was chief lucumon or king of Veii. He marched to aid Fidenæ, and was attacked by the Romans under the command of the same generals as before. In the battle which ensued Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius with his own hands, routed the combined armies of the Etruscans, and ended the struggle for ever by rasing Fidenæ. The story betrays itself: it is another case of reluplication. We may say that Fidenæ was finally destroyed somewhere about the year 426 B.C., and such was the value of this victory to Rome, that the Veientines now made a truce of twenty years with Rome.

§ 83. In fact the tables were completely turned. Twenty years later Rome found herself rid of Sabines, ^{Roman advance upon Etruria.} Aequians and Volscians, and virtual head of all Latium. Several reasons led her now to deal first with the Etruscans: first, they were too near to be

desirable neighbours; secondly, they were little in a condition to defend themselves; and lastly, she could not as yet disown the terms of the Latin alliance and extend her territories to the south at the expense of the Latins.

That the attack was premeditated we have additional reason to believe, because it is just at this date (405 B.C.) that we find her army put upon a ^{Establishment} of Military Pay. new footing. Hitherto the forces of Rome had been a mere militia, called out upon occasion and kept in the field only for a few months in each year, and therefore entirely unfitted for distant expeditions or for such as entailed continued activity for a long period. All this was altered when the State undertook to pay its troops for their services. The soldier could now, if he choose, leave his farm untilled or pay another to attend to it, and the State could have troops at its command from year's end to year's end.

In the year 405 B.C. the newly-organized army appeared before Veii and commenced to blockade the ^{Attack upon} town. Many circumstances combined to favour ^{Veii, 405 B.C.} the attack of Rome. Caere was her ally, and south of the Ciminian forest there were no other important towns than Capena and Falerii. Moreover the Gauls were already raiding Etruria Proper, so that when the Veientes sent for aid against Rome they received none but such as came voluntarily from Tarquinii and elsewhere. Even the dependent cities of Capena and Falerii lent only intermittent help.

Perched upon a steep cliff by the rock now known as Isola Farnese, naturally protected further by the Cremera and a tributary stream which ran by two of the three sides of the town, and fortified also with all the strategic and architectural ability of the Etruscans, Veii shared with

Caere the dominion of Southern Etruria, and had grown to an opulence which Rome could not parallel. Its people might well laugh at their enemy's hopes of capturing so strong a

ITS Fall,
396 B.C.

fortress, nor do we know how it fell at last. Tradition said that the siege lasted ten years, and that during all this time the Roman army lay before the city which it had hemmed about with colossal siege works, well-nigh impervious alike to the Veientes from within and the assaults of the Faliscans¹ and Capenates from without. Yet Veii fell at length; its site was left desolate, its wealth and much of its population were transferred to Rome. With it fell the resistance of Capena and Falerii, which hastened to ally themselves with the conquerors; and having these cities and Caere as her allies, Rome occupied the lands of Veii with Roman settlers, and subsequently (387 B.C.) created from them four new tribes (so that now there were twenty-five in all), for whose protection she founded also the two colonies of Sutrium (*Sutrin*) and Nepete (*Nepes*), where the Ciminian Hills afforded too insecure a frontier.

§ 84. But these facts are as usual wrapped up in fable.

The Legendary
Account.

For ten years (so runs the legend) the siege dragged on, and the people murmured at the burden of the war, to which it seemed there would be no end. But in the eighth year a Roman soldier overheard a Veientine say mockingly that the labour of Rome was in vain, for Veii could fall only when Fate's decrees were fulfilled. By a stratagem the soldier took the seer prisoner, and he was sent to Rome there to explain his words. The gods, he said, had decreed that Veii should fall only when the waters of the Alban Lake had been drawn off over the

¹ *Falisci* is the name of the inhabitants of Falerii (*Civita Castellana*).

fields of Latium. In doubt and perplexity the senate sent to consult the oracle of Delphi, and thence also they received a like answer. Therefore they set about doing the oracle's bidding, and they made a great tunnel through the rock of the Alban Hills, and so drew off the waters of the lake. And now, confident of success, they named as dictator M. Furius Camillus, and all the people flocked eagerly to conclude the war and to spoil Veii. Camillus dug a mine from the Roman lines up into the citadel of Veii, and the troops poured into the city and took it. But Camillus had made a vow that a tithe of the spoils should be dedicated to the gods, and the people murmured thereat, and condemned him to pay a fine; and in wrath Camillus left the city, and went to live at Ardea amongst the Latins.

It seems that after the taking of Veii there were violent quarrels between the patricians and plebeians as to the distribution of the conquered lands, and from this arose the legend of Camillus cheating the people. Whether he was ever fined we do not know: but the legend of the coming of the Gauls required that he should be an exile a few years later, and this quarrel was made to account for it. As for the story of the Alban tunnel, such a tunnel does exist, and dates probably from the days when the Etruscans were lords of Latium. Perhaps it was in some way cleaned out or restored about this date, and so arose the legendary connection between its construction and the capture of Veii.

§ 85. Thus while the Etruscans lost ground on all hands—for Capua, and with it all Campania, had ^{Rome and the} fallen into the hands of the Samnites in 424 ^{Latin League.} B.C.—Rome grew daily stronger. The members of the Latin League were originally strictly the equals of Rome (§ 78):

Rome on the one hand, the Latins and Hernicans on the other, were to share alike all burdens, all privileges, and all spoils. By the terms of the original alliance of Rome and the Latins, the Romans furnished two legions of troops, and so did the combined allies. Originally, too, Rome had command of the entire force for one year, the combined allies for the next, and wars and treaties were decided by the federation as a whole. If a town were conquered by the army of the League, Rome took one half of its lands, or if it were decided to form a colony there, supplied one half of its colonists. Again, Rome's position put her in the main beyond the reach of the Aequians and Volscians: all the miseries of war fell upon the outlying Latins and Hernicans, and what they lost to the enemy was wholly their loss, not affecting Rome at all. None the less, if Rome helped them to recover what was lost, she took one share as her due.

Further, Rome had this great advantage, that she was one undivided state with only her own interests to maintain, while her allies, on the other hand, were many, and their interests proportionately divided. Growing yearly weaker before the inroads of their foes, losing continually fresh lands and towns and men, the League-towns could not avoid thrusting the onus of defending them more and more upon Rome. Hence it came that soon after 450 B.C. Rome was entrusted with the officering of the entire army of the League, and with the supreme command on all occasions. She thus became the acknowledged mistress of the League rather than a simple member. It was in this character that she at last roused herself, as already described, to avenge her so-called allies, and drove back the Aequians and Volscians. But her progress was soon to be stayed by a great disaster.

Rome the Head
of the League,
400 B.C.

§ 86. It has been said (§ 10) that various tribes of Gauls crossed the Apennines during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. One of these, the The Senonian Gauls. Senones, had pushed beyond the rest, ousted the Umbrians from the coast of the Adriatic, and there settled. Their frontier to the south was the Aesis (*Esino*), which flows eastward from the Apennines to the sea near Ancona. About the source of this river the great chain of the Apennines suddenly becomes dwarfed, so forming a natural and easy pass between the lands of the Senones and those of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins.

The Gauls were not the people to remain inactive. Plunder was their one object, and in pursuit of this they at last (391 B.C.) attacked the great city of Clusium (*Chiusi*). The Burning of Rome, 390 B.C. Clusium baffled their onset, and they turned southward down the Tiber, seeking easier prey. At the news of their approach the Roman army advanced to the streamlet of the Allia, eleven miles from the gates. There, on July 18, 390 B.C., the Gauls won a decisive victory, and three days later they entered Rome. The city was at once sacked and fired; but there had been time for most of the inhabitants to fly to the friendly city of Caere or elsewhere, and for a handful of warriors to garrison the Capitol. The Gauls were unskilled in sieges, and for many months they beset the citadel, at the same time ravaging Latium far and near. At length they withdrew, bought off by a heavy ransom.

The story of tradition is more poetical. When the Gauls beset Clusium, says Livy, its people begged aid of Rome, and the senate sent ambassadors of The Story of Camillus and the Gauls. the Fabian gens to bid the Gauls not molest the friends of the Romans. The Gauls bade the Fabii begone, and set themselves to the storm of Clusium. The

fight went hard with the Etruscans, and the Fabii forgot that they were ambassadors and therefore bound by the law of nations not to use the sword : they came to the aid of the men of Clusium, and saved the day. The Gauls forthwith sent to Rome to demand that justice should be done on the Fabii for their breach of law. But the people of Rome scorned their demands ; nay, they elected the three Fabii among the consular tribunes of the ensuing year. Then the Gauls swore revenge. They came down upon the city, turning neither to right nor to left, and routed the Romans at the Allia, so that but few escaped to Veii. At Rome all was terror. The senate bade each man save himself, while a thousand patrician youths put the Capitol in a state of defence ; the older men, ex-consuls and others, refused to fly, but robed in their garb of office they sate upon their chairs of state each in his own home, and awaited their doom. The Gauls entered the city, and wondered that it should be deserted. They found the old men sitting calm and silent, and marvelled again. At last as one stroked the white beard of an aged patrician, the old man smote him, and then the Gauls massacred all and fired the city. Then the barbarians set themselves to besiege the Capitol. For long they beset it in vain, and meanwhile the remnant of the Roman people gathered at Veii. They looked for Camillus, but he was in exile and only the senate could give permission that he should be named dictator. Therefore a young warrior made his way from Veii to the Capitol, and returned with the senate's fiat, and Camillus was recalled and made dictator. But meantime the Gauls had marked how the Capitol might be climbed, and in the dead of night they sent a company to scale it. The very watch-dogs slept, and the fortress was well-nigh captured, when the sacred geese, the birds of Juno, over-

heard the Gauls' approach, and clangoured aloud. M. Manlius heard them, and rushed to the spot in time to hurl down the first of the Gauls, and his comrades joined him and foiled the attack. For this feat, says the legend, was Manlius surnamed Capitolinus. Thereafter the garrison were forced for very starvation to offer terms, and in the seventh month they paid a thousand pounds of gold taken chiefly from the temples. As the gold was being weighed out Camillus suddenly arrived: he bade the Gauls withdraw and leave the gold behind, and when they tarried he set upon them and defeated them utterly, nor did a man of all the Gallic host escape to tell the tale.

It is needless to point out all that is false in this legend. The Etruscans of Clusium were little likely to ask aid of Rome, and Rome was little likely to ^{Falsity of the} grant it. ^{Story.} Camillus certainly did not surprise the Gauls and take from them the gold of the ransom. He was not an exile: from the legend's own showing, he had left Rome of his own accord, and could come back when he chose, and no law was necessary for his recall. Neither could the senate on the Capitol make him dictator, but only one of the Consular Tribunes. The Roman writers were forced to acknowledge Rome's defeat, and they distorted the fact to make it glorious to Camillus and less disgraceful to themselves.

§ 87. Rome had not recovered from the Gallic raid when she was suddenly assailed by foes on ^{Attacks on} every hand. ^{Rome.} The Etruscans sought to avenge Veii; the Volscians and Aequians resumed their ancient aggressions; worst of all, the Latins and Hernicans, long discontented, regarded the old League as dissolved by Rome's ruin, and began to act severally for themselves. The Latins, in particular, had every reason to assert their freedom while there was yet time: by settling only Romans upon

the Veientine lands Rome had shown clearly how little she meant to consult the claims of her allies, albeit the alliance demanded that their due share of those lands should be given to the Latins and Hernicans, and albeit those people had served in the army which won the victory of Camillus.

We know little of the history of the next fifty years (389—339 B.C.). It is filled with confused Disorganization of the League. accounts of campaigns in which the hand of each city and people seems to be against that of all the others. It would seem that each Latin town chose its own line of action: a very few, such as Tusculum and Laurentum, stood loyally by Rome, for which they became objects of attack to their less loyal fellows. The stronger towns of the League, such as Tibur and Praeneste, stood up as independent powers, and made conquests of their weaker neighbours: thus Praeneste became mistress of eight or nine towns, and she seems to have as a rule acted in alliance with Tibur.

* But Rome held her own, aided by divisions amongst her Reforms in the Army. enemies, by timely concessions here and there, and by her veteran army. About this time the army was reorganized. Until now, by an arrangement which was attributed to King Servius, the legion had consisted of five ranks, each marshalled in unbroken line and armed in various ways. The legion was now divided into three lines, all armed with the long pike (*hasta*), and each line again was divided into companies or maniples (*manipuli*). The resultant advantage was that the whole force was able to manœuvre with equal ease whether in one mass or by companies; its more open arrangement made it better able to deal with any attacking force whether of horse or foot; and the three lines could relieve one another without interrupting the course of an engagement.

§ 88. The Latins, however, did not all revolt at once, and this respite gave Rome time to deal with the Etruscans. The enrolment as tribesmen of the settlers on the Veientine lands assured their whole-hearted hostility to Etruria, and furnished a valuable supply of new troops, and the war never gave much difficulty. Indeed, the security of the northern frontier was virtually assured when, in 383 B.C., were sent out the two new colonies of Sutrium and Nepete. As for the Volscians, already in 385 B.C. Rome was able to send out a joint colony of Latins and Romans to Satricum, the last of the old style of Latin colony. From this date the League was closed, and any new Latin colonies that were established were not admitted to the privileges enjoyed by the thirty old voting members of the League and their seventeen non-voting allies, nor did Rome any longer treat the members of the League as allies but as subjects. When, in 383 B.C., she was able still further to extend her operations against the Volscians, and to plant settlers upon lands in the valley of the Ufens (the Pomptine Marshes), she made no provision for the Latins, nor again when in 382 B.C. she planted a colony at Setia. Such selfishness was not likely to conciliate the Latins, and in this same year we find Praeneste in open collision with Rome, ravaging the *ager Romanus* up to the Colline Gate. It was less to reward the fidelity of Tusculum than to retain it that in 381 B.C. that town was completely united with Rome: it received the full *civitas*, public and private rights included, retaining its own magistrates and local government, but accepting the yearly presence of a Roman prefect (*praefectus iuri dicundo*), whose duty was to administer law in all cases touching *commercium* and *conubium* with Romans. Such

The Recon-
struction of
the Frontiers.
In Etruria

Amongst the
Volscians.

Tusculum be-
comes a Muni-
cipium.

was the position of the first town to incorporate itself with Rome. The result was unfortunate for Tusculum, for the town became at once the object of Latin hatred.

§ 89. Next Tibur joined the ranks of the discontented, and in that folly which comes of hate the men of Tibur and Praeneste, possibly the Latins at large, called in to their aid those very Gauls who had lately ravaged Rome and Latium alike. There is said to have been another victory of Camillus over the Gauls

at Alba in 367 B.C. Then in 363 B.C. the Hernicans took up arms and slew the consul Genucius ; but being defeated in the following year, they appealed to a fresh Gallic host which was moving upon Campania. The dictator Pennus routed them (361 B.C.), and in this battle (so legend said) T. Manlius won his surname of Torquatus, because he slew a giant champion of their host, and despoiled him of his golden collar (*torques*). In 360 B.C. the Gauls returned again, united with the men of Tibur and the Hernicans, and were only driven off in a battle before the very gates of Rome. Thereafter the Hernicans submitted (358 B.C.). In the same year the bulk of the

Latins also made peace, and renewed the ancient league with Rome, but on terms less favourable to themselves : Rome was resolved

to be supreme in Latium, and from their old position of equal allies the Latins now sank into that of subjects. The fortress-cities of Tibur and Praeneste, however, held out for five years longer : it was impossible to capture positions so strong, and Rome might be thankful when, in 354 B.C., they voluntarily allied themselves with her, preserving their freedom, laws, and local government, and only binding themselves to conform to the views of Rome in point of foreign policy.

§ 90. In 356 B.C. war broke out with Tarquinii, brought about perhaps by the encroachments of the new ^{Tarquinii and} tribesmen and colonists in southern Etruria. ^{Caere.}

Even Caere, so long Rome's faithful ally, threw in her lot with Tarquinii (353 B.C.); but the conclusion of the war with the Latin cities had now left Rome free to act with decision: Caere was easily humbled (351 B.C.), and paid for her fault by exchanging her liberty for a position similar to that of Tusculum, but not so advantageous. She was incorporated with Rome, and her citizens became *cives sine suffragio* (§ 96). In this way the Caerite Franchise (*Tabulae Caeritium*) came to be the usual name for a form of political inferiority—the *civitas sine suffragio*—of which it was the first example. A truce of two years was made with Falerii and Tarquinii. The struggle with the Volscians had ceased to be of great moment when the Latins and Hernicans returned to their allegiance ^{Rome makes} the rather as the Samnites were now pressing ^{alliance with} hard upon that people from the side of Campania. In 358 B.C. were formed two new tribes (so that now there were twenty-seven) in the Pomptine lands, a measure which at once drove to arms the town of Privernum, whose safety it threatened. One campaign sufficed to reduce the Privernates, and the senate virtually put the Volscians *hors de combat* when in 354 B.C. an alliance was concluded between Rome and the Samnites. When six years later (349 B.C.) the Gauls made their final appearance in Latium and wintered upon the Alban Hills, the dictator Lucius Camillus, son of the hero of Veii, was able to rout them easily and finally. It was in this fight that M. Valerius won his name of Corvus, because (said the legend) while doing single combat with a Gallic champion, he was aided by a raven, which flapped and

buffeted the barbarian's face, and so put him at the Roman's mercy.

§ 91. The Romans heard no more of the Gauls for some time. The Latins, however, were discontented with the position of inferiority into which they had been thrust in 358 B.C. (§ 89). They were preparing to make a fierce struggle against Roman rule, and the threatened defection of Antium (346 B.C.), and the actual revolt and punishment of Satricum in the same year, were but shadows of the coming trouble. But Rome was watchful, and only profited by these futile and sporadic outbreaks, as when in 345 B.C. she wrested from the Volscians the strong fortress of Sora commanding the Samnite frontier, upon the upper waters of the Liris (*Garigliano*), and reduced the Volscians and Auruncans again to peace. She had now pushed her frontiers to the borders of Samnium, and it was to no one's surprise that in 343 B.C. the Samnites came into collision with the legions.

§ 92. Long before history begins, the Samnites had swarmed off from the parent stock of the Sabellian peoples, and had grown to be a distinct nation. When Rome and Etruria conjointly broke the Sabine advance, and forced that people to pass further to the south along the hill-country, there ensued a general movement of the Sabellians: some drove the Etruscans from Campania, others passed on to Apulia and Magna Græcia. In the eighth century B.C. Campania was occupied by Oscans largely intermixed with older peoples. The Etruscan conquest led to active trade with the Greeks of Cumæ, and introduced the refinements and luxuries of Greek life into the upper ranks of Campanian society. Then came the Samnites: an earlier wave of the

Alarm of the
Volsci.

The Samnites
attack Cam-
pania.

Sabellian migration easily overcame the unwarlike Oscans, drove out the Etruscan Lucumones from Capua (424 B.C.), and captured even Cumae (420 B.C.). In turn they became denationalized by Etrusco-Greek fashions: they forgot their own country and their own people, disowned their Samnite origin, and appear at this date (345 B.C.) as another, but the dominant element, in the mixed people of Campania. Campania, a fertile plain, shut in by a ring-wall of highlands, in its position strongly resembled Latium. Like Latium also it was exposed constantly to the attacks of highland tribes, and its worst enemies were the true Samnites—the rearguard of that migration which had overthrown the Etruscans. Settling amongst that part of the Apennines now known as the *Matese*, between the upper waters of the Vulturnus (*Folturno*) and its tributary the Calor (*Calore*), and there developing into the two tribes of Pentri on the north and Caudini on the south, they overhung the whole plain of Campania, and soon commenced to encroach upon their kinsmen there.

§ 93. Fifteen miles north of Capua lay Teanum (*Teano*), the capital of the Sabellian clan of Sidicini, but ranking on every ground of interest and policy as a Campanian town. For fifty years past the Samnites had harassed alike the Volscians and the Campanians, and in making the alliance of 354 B.C. Rome had ^{First Samnite War 343 B.C.} doubtless given the Samnites permission to ^{Its Cause} wrest from the Volscians whatever they could. Now the senate saw a new danger: the advance of the Samnites would replace the helpless Volscians by an energetic and warlike people. The Sidicini, powerless against the Samnites, had in vain called to their aid the Campanians of Capua (*S. Maria di Capoa*): the Samnites had occupied Mt. Tifata (*Monte di Maddaloni*), and were keeping Teanum

and Capua alike in a state of siege. At this juncture came envoys from Capua seeking Roman aid, and the senate gladly gave it.

Now at Capua, as at Rome, there was violent party feeling: on the one hand was the patriciate, the The Equites Campani. so-called Campanian Knights (*Equites Campani*), who had stepped into a position very similar to that of the Etruscan Lucumons, and governed as a privileged aristocracy; on the other hand were the commons, a mixed population with a preponderance of Samnite blood, who had little or no share in the government. The latter represented the patriotic party, which was aware that Roman interference would sooner or later mean Roman dominion. The Knights' policy was simply to secure their own position, and they knew that they could purchase support from Rome by the betrayal of Capua. Their plan succeeded: the Roman senate, aristocratic itself, was always ready to support aristocrats, and only wanted an excuse for interference; the consul, M. Valerius Corvus, hurried south and relieved Teanum, and the Knights seem, despite the murmurs of the commons, to have put Capua into his hands (343 B.C.). The Samnites, according to the narrative of Livy, gave battle at Mt. Gaurus, a few miles north of Cumae, and again at Suessula (*Maddaloni*), but being defeated in each case they withdrew to their hills, while the Romans passed the winter in Campania (343 B.C.).

At this point a violent mutiny of the troops interrupted the course of conquest. Large numbers were dismissed for insubordination, but the mischief spread. Early in 342 B.C. Campania was evacuated, either voluntarily or because the discontented commons of Capua were too strong for the combination of their nobility with the remnant of Corvus'

mutinous army, and a new treaty of alliance was made between Rome and the Samnites.

§ 94. But the retreat of the Romans, and their seeming desertion of the interests of their allies, whether Sidicini, Campanians, or Latins, roused fresh anger amongst those peoples, who forthwith made war upon the Samnites on their own account. The latter appealed to Rome to protect them from her over-zealous allies. But things had gone too far : Rome felt that her control over the Latins was lost, and she said so. A few weeks later the Latin League formally demanded the full Roman franchise : it was of course refused, and thereupon the Latins, in alliance with the Volscians, Auruncans, Sidicini, and the mass of the Campanians, declared war on Rome. All the old grievances were now made weightier still by reason of Rome's appropriation of the Pomptine lands and her recent advance upon the Liris. It was a national war of independence for all the peoples from the Alban Hills to Vesuvius.

But the senate's foresight in renewing its alliance with the Samnites checkmated the Latins, for it put at Rome's disposal more or less actively the whole of the Sabellian tribes from the Marsi southward to the Caudini. Moreover, now as always, her enemies were themselves divided : the Campanian Knights of course sided with Rome, albeit they could do little against the national feeling of the commons ; but when Fundi (*Fondi*) and Formiæ (*Formia*) among the Auruncans declared themselves neutral, when several Latin towns did the same, when some Latin cities such as Laurentum and Ardea took the side of Rome, the confederates began to realize their weakness. Nevertheless they were hardly prepared for the calculated boldness wherewith, early in

The Great
Latin War
Its Causes

Value of the
Samnite
Alliance

341 B.C., two consular armies traversed the country of the Aequi and Marsi, united with the Samnites, and by descending at once into Campania, drew from Rome towards the south the whole forces of the confederates. This stroke of generalship virtually decided the war. The combined

Battle of
Vesuvius,
340 B.C.

Latin and Campanian armies gave battle upon the rivulet Vesperis at the foot of Vesuvius, and were routed despite their valour with fearful loss by the consuls T. Manlius Imperiosus and P. Decius Mus. A second battle at Trifanum, near Minturnae, had the same result, and thereafter the war resolved itself into a series of sieges in which the fortresses of the allies, among them Pedom and Antium, fell in detail. In 338 B.C. the war was ended by the surrender of the remaining towns, and the famous Latin League came to an end.

§ 95. In connection with this war two famous legends must be related. While the Roman and Latin armies lay encamped over against each other by Vesuvius, each looking for a fit moment to attack, the consuls gave orders that none should venture to do single combat with any of the foe, for they feared that the legions might refuse to fight against their ancient Latin comrades. Now T. Manlius, son of the consul, was captain of a troop of horse; and as he rode with his company near to the enemy's lines there came upon the rampart one Geminus Mettius, a knight of Tusculum, and challenged him to battle. And young Manlius forgot his father's bidding, and did battle, and slew Mettius; but his father was wroth that his son was disobedient, and he bade the lictors bind him and smite off his head.

On the eve of the battle there came a dream to each consul, that the victory should be with those whose chieftain should give his life for all. Therefore they made

between them a compact, that he whose men first wavered in the fray should give his life for all. And when it came to the battle the legions of Decius wavered, and Decius was mindful of his bond: he called the gods of Rome to witness the sacrifice whereby he devoted the foe to death, threw his toga about his face, and so rode into the midst of the Latins and died. Then the Latins broke and fled, and by the blood-offering of the plebeian Decius were saved the army and destinies of Rome.

The Story of
Decius.

§ 96. The suppression of the Latin revolt marks a very important stage in the development of the Roman theory of government, and it will here be convenient to indicate in general outline the system on which Rome dealt with her subjects and allies generally. It will first be necessary to explain the nature of the Roman *civitas*. Viewed from the standpoint of the Roman, every man was either a citizen (*civis*) or an alien (*peregrinus*), and each of these two great classes was further divided. The *cives* were subdivided into full citizens (*cives optimo iure*) and non-voting or passive citizens (*cives sine suffragio*); while the *peregrini* were either Latins (*nomen Latinum*) or allies (*socii*). As already stated (§ 43), a full citizen (*civis optimo iure*) had the following rights (*iura*):

A. PRIVATE RIGHTS: (i.) *ius commercii*, the right to inherit, acquire, and dispose of property with the aid and safeguards of Roman Law.

(ii.) *ius conubii*, the right to marry, rear children, &c., with the same aids and safeguards.

Rights of
the Roman
Citizen.

B. PUBLIC RIGHTS: (iii.) *ius suffragii*, the right of voting in the comitia at the making of laws and the election of magistrates.

(iv.) *ius honorum*, the right of attaining public office.

(v.) *ius provocationis*, the right of appeal to the Centuriate Assembly against a magistrate's sentence of capital or corporal punishment.

Any one who possessed part only of these rights was a

civis non optimo iure; and as the three public rights were practically inseparable, a *civis sine suffragio* was any one who possessed the private rights only.

1. The full citizens consisted firstly of the burgesses of Rome itself; secondly, of the burgesses of communities like Tusculum (§ 88), which were on their submission admitted to all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens; thirdly, of the citizens who were sent out to the colonies (*coloniae*) established on the coast of Italy for the maintenance of Roman supremacy (§ 106).

2. The non-voting or passive citizens consisted of the burgesses of those towns which, like Caere (§ 90), were on their submission presented with the partial franchise only. Such citizens possessed the private rights (the *ius commercii* and the *ius conubii*) of the Roman citizen, but they were not enrolled in the tribes, and so could not come to Rome to vote, or be themselves elected to office. These partial citizens were liable to taxation, and served by the side of the full citizens in the legions. The general name for a community of this kind was *municipium*. As with the

Municipia. colonies, whether Latin or Roman, the *municipium* managed its own local affairs. In imitation of the Roman system of government, there was a popular assembly to elect magistrates; there was a town council or senate (*senatus, ordo decurionum*) selected in the first place from ex-magistrates; and there were two pairs of magistrates, one pair for judicial business (*iure dicundo*), and another pair having the care of public buildings and roads (*aedilicia potestate*). Sometimes, as a punishment

Præfecturae. for insubordination or other offence, the community lost its right of local government, and was administered by a prefect (*præfectus iuri dicundo*)

sent from Rome. These towns of the lowest grade were known as *præfecturae*.

3. The *nomen Latinum* included all old Latin towns which were not presented with the franchise on the settlement of Latium (338 B.C.), and all Latin colonies (§ 106) established after that date to protect the great military roads and to ensure the subjection of the inland tribes of Italy. These Latins were liable to military service, but they were enrolled not in the legions but in the auxiliary forces along with the allies. They possessed the peculiar rights of the Latin franchise (*ius Latii*), which included *commercium* and sometimes *conubium* with Rome. But its most distinctive feature was the facilities it offered for the acquisition of the full Roman franchise. If a Latin left his native town and came to Rome, he at once acquired the full rights of a citizen. This at least was the rule in early times, though afterwards certain restrictions were imposed.

4. The position of the allies (*socii*) differed very materially, according to the treaties which they concluded with Rome. The *civitates foederatae* and the *civitates liberae et immunes* were free from taxation, and as a rule uncontrolled by the central government at Rome. The *civitates stipendariae* paid taxes, usually a tithe of the crops. *Dediticii* was the name given to peoples who, on their surrender, put themselves absolutely at the mercy of the Roman people.

§ 97. On the conclusion of the war in 338 B.C. the Latin League was dissolved for ever, that is, in its political bearings; for its religious features were of course not to be altered without impiety, and for generations later the Latin

Festival continued to be held in each spring upon the

The Latins
and Allies.

The Settlement
of Latium.
• Dissolution of
the League,
338 B.C.

Alban Mount. Originally the League had postulated the strict equality of each of its members and their entire freedom of intercourse with one another. The new alliance started with the assumption that Rome was mistress of all, and that each Latin and Hernican town made a separate alliance with Rome alone, to the exclusion of all other communities. Rome's purpose was to isolate her subjects, and with this view it was stipulated that any rights now conceded to a community were valid only as between that community and Rome. These were generally only the civil rights of a Roman citizen, the *ius commercii* and the *ius conubii*. In some cases (as with Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum), the public rights (*ius suffragii, honoris, provocationis*) were also conceded; and in yet a few other cases (as with Praeneste and Tibur), complete independence was granted conditionally on such towns furnishing troops when called upon, and adopting the same friends and the same foes as Rome, that is, waiving their independence in all questions of foreign policy. These were *civitates foederatae* (§ 96, 4), as yet but a very small class. But by far the greater number of the communities of Latium now became *civitates sine suffragio*, isolated municipalities liable to taxation and bound to service in the army, enjoying each its own local government, and precluded from any legally acknowledged right of intercourse with other Latin towns.

These arrangements had two objects: first, to make each township feel that from Rome alone could it expect any profit, even as to Rome alone it owed any duty; secondly, to encourage freer intercourse between its inhabitants and Roman citizens, inviting the former to come to Rome as full citizens or as traders, the latter to extend amongst the Latins at once their commerce, their acquisition of property, their family connections, and

Object of the
Settlement.

their way of life. Thanks to this freer intercourse, to the general introduction of the municipal form of government, and to the extension of the Roman law by the prefects, in two centuries the Latins became more Roman than the Romans themselves. From all or most of these towns were taken portions of their domain, which forthwith became *ager publicus*, and was allotted to Roman settlers, from whom were formed in 332 B.C. two new tribes.

With this settlement of Latium begins the unification of Italy. Henceforward we hear less and less of the Aequians, Volscians, Auruncans, and other petty tribes : in fact, they disappear utterly in the course of the next half century. From the Tiber to the Liris the people became Latin, that is, Roman in all but the legal sense, and thenceforward the name of Latium includes the whole of that region.

Lastly, beyond the frontiers of Latium, the towns of Fundi, Formiae, Suessula, Cumae, and Capua became *civitates sine suffragio*. In other words, they became subjects of Rome, bound to furnish contingents in war and liable to taxation, but receiving in return the guarantee of protection. Whether they were isolated or not in so many words does not appear : to all intents and purposes they were, for their reception of the subject-franchise marked them as traitors to the national cause of their particular district, and while the Romanizing party in each would regard such *civitas* as a gain, the patriotic anti-Roman party would look upon it as the reward of treachery and the badge of slavery.

The new
Latium.

Extension of
the passive
franchise
towards Cam-
pania.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

§ 98. Advance of Rome towards the South.—§§ 99—104. The second Samnite war.—§§ 105, 106. Roads and Colonies.—§§ 107—109. The third Samnite war.—§ 110. War with the Gauls.—§§ 111—117. The war against Tarentum and Pyrrhus.—§§ 118, 119. Rome, the Mistress of Italy.

§ 98. To strengthen its hold upon Campania and the communications therewith, and at the same time to fortify the frontier against the Samnites, was now the chief object of the senate.

Magna Græcia
Archidamus of
Sparta.

The Samnites saw the process going on before their eyes, but did not interfere: they were occupied with a more immediate struggle in the south, where the Tarentines, hard-pushed by the Messapians and Lucanians, had (338 B.C.) at length called in the aid of the Spartans under King Archidamus. Despite his successes, Archidamus soon became unpopular with the inconstant Greeks, and was deserted and slain; but the Tarentines found another champion in Alexander, King of Epirus, uncle of Alexander the Great of Macedon, whose career of conquest was just commencing (336 B.C.). In 332 B.C. the Epirote army entered Magna Græcia, and overran much of Bruttium and Lucania. While the Samnites only watched his progress, the senate diplomatized: a treaty of alliance was concluded between Rome and

Alexander of
Epirus.

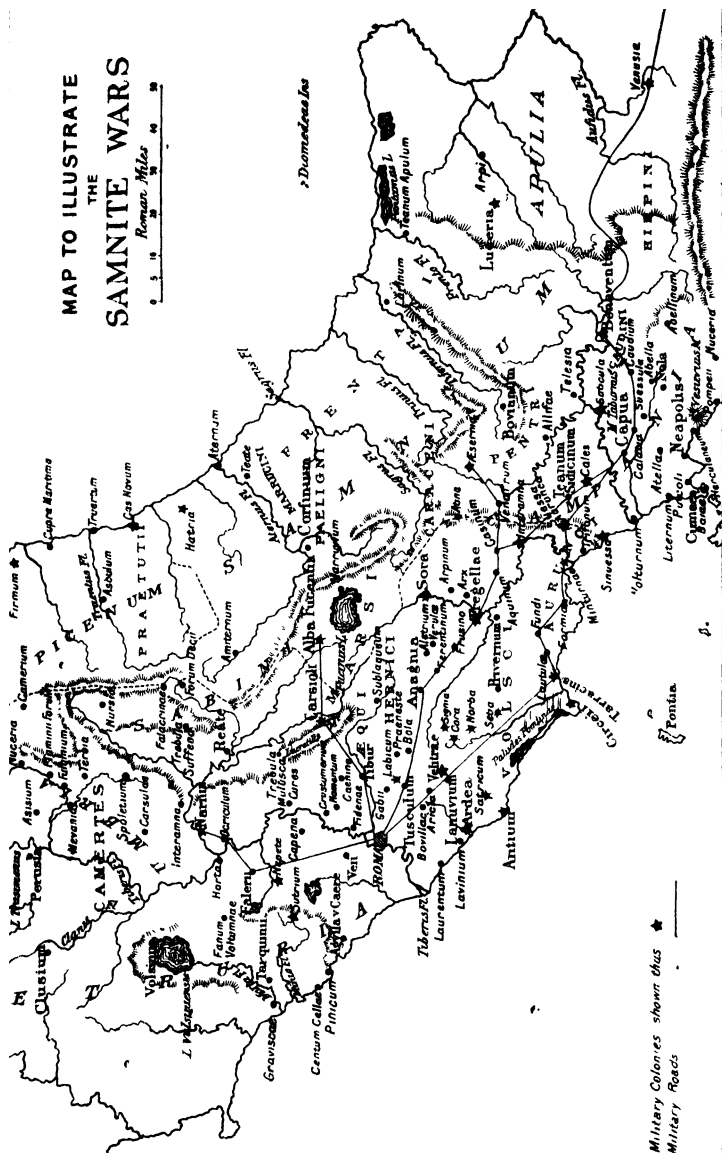
Alexander, but the assassination of the king by a Lucanian rid the Samnites of a formidable enemy, and left them free to give attention to Rome's advance.

There were two lines of communication between Rome and Campania: one, the lower or coast road, afterwards known as the *Via Appia*, passed through Aricia and western Latium to the sea at Anxur (*Tarracina*), and so along the coast by Minturnae (*Traetto*) and Suessa (*Sessa*) to Cales and Capua; the other, the upper road or *Via Latina*, traversed the Hernican land, passing between Mt. Algidus and the Aequian Hills to Anagnia, and so down the valley of the Trerus and the Liris to Teanum.

In 334 B.C. Rome took advantage of a quarrel with the Sidicini and the people of Cales (*Calvi*) to occupy the latter town with a Latin colony. Two years later Acerræ (*Acerra*) in Campania put itself under Roman protection, and received the *civitas sine suffragio*. But though the Samnites looked on passively, the Volscians were less indifferent: Privernum, chastised already in 358 B.C., once more took up arms for freedom, and was joined in a half-hearted fashion by Fundi, but the revolt was speedily suppressed (330 B.C.). In the next year (329 B.C.) the seaport of Anxur (*Tarracina*), the last stronghold of the Volscian privateers and a chief fortress upon the coast-road into Campania, was occupied by a citizen-colony, and lastly (328 B.C.) Fregellæ (*Arce*), the key of the valleys of the Liris and Trerus, through which ran the inland road from Rome to the south, became a Latin colony. When the Samnites at length took up arms it was too late: both roads to Rome were blocked against them, and their own frontiers were commanded by a line of colonies and of subject-towns which could each be garrisoned with ease.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SAMNITE WARS

0 5 10 20 40 80
Roman Miles



★ Military Colonies shown thus
— Military Roads

§ 99. In its days of power the Greek town of Cumæ had founded amongst others the two colonies of Palæopolis and Neapolis, both on the site of the present great city of Naples. Here, as in every other town of Campania, there were two rival parties : the one, the democratic patriots, saw with misgivings Rome's advance into Campania ; the other, the aristocracy, favoured it. The patriots of Palæopolis attacked the subjects of Rome in Capua and elsewhere, and when Rome threatened hostilities they called in a garrison of Samnites. Whereupon Rome declared war upon the Samnites at large, and Q. Publilius Philo, one of the consuls, laid siege to Palæopolis (327 B.C.).

The Second
Samnite War,
327 B.C.
Its Cause.

The war opened in 326 B.C. Rome was well prepared : besides her colonies on the Campanian frontier and in the Liris valley, she could reckon on the aristocratic party throughout Campania. Moreover, she had secured the alliance or neutrality of the northern Sabellians, the Marsi and Paeligni, through whose lands she could throw armies into Apulia, and the Apulians were the hereditary enemies of the Samnites. Her only anxiety in attacking the Greeks of Palæopolis had been as to the attitude of Tarentum and the southern Greeks ; but though the Tarentines fumed they took no active measures, for Rome had won over the Lucanians, who kept the Tarentines engaged at home. Within a few months indeed the Tarentines persuaded the Lucanians that their best policy was to support the Samnites against the common enemy ; but by that time Palæopolis had fallen into Philo's hands (326 B.C.), and with it all the other Campanian Greeks had gone over to Rome. On the other hand, the Samnites had no reliable allies, for they got little help from the democrats of Campania and the

The Resources
of Rome and
Samnium.

weak tribes of Vestini and Frentani. They were practically alone in the struggle, and their greatest strength was in the difficult and well-nigh impassable nature of their mountainous country.

§ 100. The war was commenced by the simultaneous advance of three consular armies of two legions each upon Samnium. One consul entered Apulia and advanced from the east; the other moved southward from the Liris valley; the third was that of Publius Philo, consul of the preceding year, who made his attack from Palaeopolis and the west.

Philo's retention of command marks a new era in Roman military development. Heretofore the old constitutional doctrine that no military command should extend beyond one year had been strictly adhered to. The rule was necessary for liberty, for it prevented any one man from acquiring a dangerous power; but it was also ill-advised, as it entailed the dismissal of each general as soon as he had gained experience in any particular war and formed a definite plan of campaign, replacing him by another who must of necessity waste some time in realizing his true position, the nature of his enemy's resources and movements, and the value of his own army. But henceforth when occasion demanded, the consul of one year was continued in command with the title of Proconsul.

§ 101. We have little reliable information as to the course of the war. The triple attack of 326 B.C. was not repeated in the following years (325---323 B.C.), because Rome was occupied with troubles nearer home, and the Samnites for their part busied themselves with Apulia and the Vestini. The Romans, however, reduced the Vestini and

Military Re-
form. The
Proconsulate.

Renewed
Troubles in
Latium,
324 B.C.

Frentani, and so secured the road into Apulia at least as far as the frontiers of that country. Whether Samnite intrigues had anything to do with the troubles which broke out in Latium (324 B.C.) is uncertain: the important towns of Velitrae and Privernum took advantage of the war with which Rome was now busy to demand the full citizenship on threat of revolt. A Latin war at this juncture would entail the recall of all Roman forces, and would leave the Samnites free to occupy Campania, for the example of the Latins would certainly be followed by other subject-towns. Rome dared not refuse: she agreed that the three communities should be enrolled as full *cives*, and subsequently two new tribes were formed.

In 321 B.C. the consuls T. Veturius and Spurius Postumius, while commanding in Campania, received intelligence that the whole force of the Samnites was attacking Luceria (*Lucera*), the key to Apulia. To save the place they resolved to march straight across Samnium. The only practicable route led from Nola (*Nolu*) past Calatia to Beneventum (*Benevento*), the capital of the Caudini. Its whole course was flanked by forests and mountains, and at a point between the modern villages of Arpaia and Montesarchio it traverses a narrow swamp surrounded by a complete amphitheatre of hills. Having crossed this, the consuls found the eastern outlet occupied by a Samnite force. To force the pass was impossible, and when they retraced their route to the western inlet, they found this also occupied. A desperate battle failed to dislodge the Samnites, and to save the remnant of their army the consuls capitulated and took oath that there should be peace. Thereupon they were permitted to retreat under the yoke, leaving six hundred knights as hostages in the enemy's hands. Such was the

The Disaster
of Furculæ
Caudinæ,
321 B.C.

famous disaster of the Caudine Forks (*Furculæ Caudinæ*). The Samnite who wrought it was C. Pontius of Telesia (*Telese*).

Great was the alarm and anger at Rome. The senate refused to acknowledge the peace sworn by its generals under fear of death. The oath it could not revoke, and as a salve to its conscience the two consuls were formally surrendered to the Samnites to deal with as they chose. C. Pontius, upbraiding the senate for its faithlessness, sent them back unharmed.

§ 102. But though the troops were saved, Roman prestige had suffered a terrible blow, to remove the effects

The Samnites
occupy Cam-
pania.

of which required a struggle of six years (321—315 B.C.). Luceria was lost, and with it most of Apulia; throughout Campania the patriots bestirred themselves, and practically the whole of that country fell into the hands of the Samnites. The danger was intensified by the revolt of Fregellæ and the Latin colony of Satricum, which commanded the two roads into Campania. Satricum was soon recovered, and in 318 B.C. the discontent of the Latins and Volscians was calmed by the enrolment of large numbers of the inhabitants in two new tribes, an act which conceded to them the full Roman franchise. But further desultory campaigns were needful in Campania, and to fill up the gap in the records the Roman historians said that the Samnites asked for a truce. Nothing of the sort occurred, for they were actively engaged in the effort to drive the Romans out of Campania, and to close against them both roads to the south. In the year 315 B.C. the dictator Q. Fabius Rullianus assailed the Samnite fortress of Saticula. A fierce battle resulted in his falling back to the very borders of Campania, and there at Lautulæ, near the mouth of the Liris, he was completely

defeated. Thereupon the Samnites occupied the fortresses of Nuceria (*Nocera*) and Nola, and overran all southern Campania. Moreover, Capua again threatened to revolt.

This was the crisis of the war, which from this point began steadily to go in Rome's favour. A vigorous effort reopened the Liris valley by the recapture of Sora and Fregellae (314 B.C.).

Rome recovers
Campania,
312 B.C.

Capua was again strengthened and Nola recovered. Roman colonies were planted at Suessa Aurunca to guard the coast-road and at the Insulae Pontiae (*Ponza*) off the Latin and Campanian coasts; others at Calatia (near *Caserta*) between Capua and Nola, and even within the Samnite territories at Saticula (*S. Agata*). By the close of 312 B.C. the continuous line of fortresses was connected into one strategic whole by the reconstruction of the existing roads across Latium and along the coast, which were now united in the great military road known as the *Via Appia*, because undertaken under the censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus. Rome's grip upon Campania and the intervening lands had never been so firm as now, while Apulia was secured by the recovery of Luceria, to which half a legion of soldiers was sent as a permanent garrison.

§ 103. Foiled in Campania, and hemmed in on all sides, even in Apulia, by Roman colonies and fortresses, the Samnites changed their tactics, and their suggestions to revolt found a ready response in the rising of Etruria and of many of the Umbrians against Rome (311 B.C.). Fabius Rullianus hurried across the Tibur, passed the Etruscan army which was besieging Sutrium, and by descending from the Mons Ciminus upon the plain of central Etruria, compelled it to return for the defence of its own land. He is said to have gained a great victory, and to have repeated this achievement in the

The Rising
of Etruria,
311 B.C.

following year (310 B.C.), when he defeated Etruria's largest army at Lake Vadimo (*Laghetto di Bassano*). At any rate he had the credit of being the first to lead a Roman army beyond the Ciminian Forest. In 309 B.C. he penetrated as far as Perugia (*Perugia*), and compelled the bulk of the Etruscans to sue for peace. But unawed by Etruria's disasters, a host of Umbrians moved towards the Tiber valley in the same year. The movement was neither organized nor national, and Rullianus ventured to strike up the Tiber into the heart of the disturbed country. At Mevania (*Bevagna*) on the Clitumnus (*Clitumno*) he won a victory which ended the war with Umbria (308

War with
Umbria,
308 B.C.

B.C.), while Decius Mus completed the subjugation of Etruria. In the meantime the Samnites had been active, for their hopes depended upon

Rome's presumed inability to meet a simultaneous attack from opposite quarters. In 310 B.C. the consul C. Marcius Rutilus all but repeated the disaster of the Caudine Forks, and was only rescued by the appointment of Rome's best general, Papirius Cursor, as dictator; but we hear of no other successes of the Samnites, and in 308 B.C. they were finally ousted from Campania. The double attack had failed utterly, and the value of the Roman system of colonization had been splendidly vindicated.

§ 104. Disappointed in Etruria and Umbria, the Samnites

War with
the Marsi,
307 B.C.

now turned to the northern Sabellians for aid, and during the year 307 B.C. the Romans were engaged in hostilities against the Marsi and

Paeligni, which ended in the complete restoration of their neutrality. Probably the Romanizing party in those quarters was strong enough to paralyze any attempt at a national rising. In any case, the appeal of the Samnites came too late, for their brethren were not likely to join a manifestly falling

cause. The Hernicans were less prudent: taking no warning from the fate of others, several of their towns revolted openly in 306 B.C., and at once the Samnites in one last effort hurried towards the Liris and captured Sora and Arpinum (*Arpino*). But they had Fregellae and its fellow-colonies in their rear, and on reaching the Hernicans they learnt that of their half-dozen towns, the three next in importance to the capital Anagnia, namely Alatrium (*Alatri*), Ferentinum (*Ferentino*), and Verulae (*Veroli*), remained loyal to Rome. In the face of such lack of union the rising was doomed to failure from the very first, and the Samnites were compelled to retire. The rebel Hernicans were mercilessly chastized of course, the remnant receiving the *civitas sine suffragio*, while the three towns whose treason to their nation had caused the failure of this last effort kept their liberty.

This was the last struggle of the Samnites. In the next year (305 B.C.) they were driven out of Sora and Arpinum, forced back beyond the Vulturnus, and saw Bovianum, the chief town of the Pentri, captured by the legions. They had tried all means, and all had failed, and they had no longer strength to continue the war. In 304 B.C. Rome granted to them peace on the old terms, that is, an equal alliance. Such a termination to twenty-two years of incessant warfare is the best proof of the valour of the conquered people: Rome was glad to make peace on any honourable terms, and she dared not ask for conditions which she might yet have to enforce with the sword. In the treaty were included the northern Sabellians, viz. the Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, and Piceni; but the question whether Latins or Samnites were to be rulers of Italy was only postponed, not decided.

Revolt of
the Hernici,
306 B.C.

End of the
War, 305 B.C.

§ 105. Rome knew this, and set herself to prepare the way for its final settlement. Sora became a Latin colony; Arpinum received the *civitas sine suffragio* in 303 B.C., and there was nothing else needed to secure Campania and the Samnite frontier. In the same year (303 B.C.) were completed two new military roads: the first, afterwards the *Via Flaminia*, led due north through southern Etruria to Falerii, and thence across the Tiber and up the valley of the Nar to Nequinum—which became a garrison under the name of Narnia (*Narni*) in 299 B.C.—opening the way across Umbria towards the Adriatic coast, and commanding that gap in the Apennines through which the Gauls had descended upon Latium; the second, afterwards the *Via Valeria*, passed eastward up the Anio valley by Tibur to Carsioli (*Carsoli*) and Alba Fuentia (*Albe*), which became a Latin colony in this year, thus bringing Rome into direct connection with the Marsi and Paeligni. It was probably along the line of this road that her armies had moved into Apulia during the late war, and its construction marks the final disappearance of the Aequians, whose land it traversed on the northern side. They made one last effort at resistance, but their forty feeble villages could not defy the legions, and their pacification was guaranteed when Carsioli also became a Latin colony in 298 B.C. The Marsi also saw too late that their independence was threatened, but Rome had little difficulty in quelling their uprising against the newly-founded fortress at Alba. At once the symbol of Roman conquest and the presage of its extension, the *Via Valeria* had a further value: it formed a means whereby Rome might at any moment smother the Sabellians on the south of Alba from the peoples on the north, the Piceni, Sabines, Umbrians, Gauls, and Etrurians. It was intended to render impossible

Via Flaminia
and *Via*
Valeria,
303 B.C.

such a joint rising of the Italian peoples as the Samnites had recently, when it was too late, tried to effect.

These great roads, carried in direct line from point to point, by cuttings through hills and by embankments across hollows, so solidly made that they are in many cases used to this day, were a boon

The Roman
Road-system
its value.

to all at a time when roads of any sort were few, and especially in a land where other roads are commonly well-nigh impassable. They were, moreover, the complement of the Roman colonies, and it was with this aim that they were first constructed; for they connected one garrison with another throughout Rome's dominions, and furnished direct routes for the instant despatch of troops to any point, as far transcending the means of transmission in any other known country of the time as the railways of to-day transcend the roads. At every point of vantage for attack or of weakness for defence was stationed a colony, a "watch-tower" of the State and a "model" of Rome herself, forming a centre from which the manners, speech, and laws of Rome spread insensibly throughout the whole country. This was but an indirect result of their foundation, which was in intention solely strategic. The narrative of this chapter has shown how and why they were founded, and has furnished proof of their utility.

The System of
Colonization.

106. The colonies were of two classes, Roman and Latin. Each was so far a model of Rome in that it was organized upon the Roman plan of government by senate, popular assembly, and yearly magistrates; but whereas the members of a Roman colony enjoyed the same full franchise which they had possessed in Rome, those of a Latin colony were without the *ius suffragii* and the *ius honorum*, and had only the *ius commercii*

Colonies,
Roman and
Latin.

and occasionally the *ius conubii*. Roman colonies were formed, with few exceptions, upon the coast, while Latin colonies were sent usually into the interior; and lest the extension of the full franchise should be too rapid, the colonists in the former case were few in number, and the Roman colonies themselves not many. Of Latin colonies there were two classes, according as they were founded before or after the Latin war, 338 B.C.: the former were situate within the limits of Latium itself, and included many old Latins; the latter lay beyond its limits. Whatever the nature of the foundation, the original occupants of the town and district forfeited so much of their land as was needed to provide allotments for the colonists, and retained the rest as subjects, originally without legal rights, and when we hear of the revolt of a Latin colony we may generally understand that it was a rising of this lower class against their privileged and alien masters. Length of time assimilated one class to the other, and eventually made both to become one. For a Roman to take part in a Latin colony was legally a degradation, since he lost his public rights; but the offer of lands and the prospect of attaining to eminence in their new home tempted many to accept the change, despite the burden of garrison-duty, which was the primary function of every colonist.

In conclusion, the colonies, each a miniature Rome set down in an enemy's land, guarded the frontiers, advancing as conquest advanced and serving as cities of refuge to all loyal to Rome. They were fortresses which an enemy rarely assailed with success, while he dared not, if he could, pass on and leave them to fall upon his rear or block his retreat. Had the Samnites secured their conquests in the same way, the course of their struggle with Rome might have had a very different issue.

§ 107. Thus at the commencement of the third century B.C. the Roman state was beyond question the most securely organized in Italy. Its frontier was now protected by a continuous line of colonies, such as Cales (*Calvi*), Suessa (*Sessa*), Interamna (*Teramo*), Fregellae (*Arce*), Sora (*Sora*), Alba (*Albe*), and Carsoli (*Carsoli*), rendering it impossible for an enemy to cross the boundary of the Liris (*Garigliano*) and the Anio (*Teverone, Aniene*); while the Ciminian range in Etruria was commanded by the strongholds of Sutrium (*Sutri*) and Nepete (*Nepi*). The one gap in the line, that formed by the valley of the Tiber, had been secured (§ 105) in 299 B.C., when the Romans, prompted by the rumours of fresh movements amongst the Gauls, colonized Narnia (*Narni*), a strong position defended by lofty rocks and the river Nar (*Nera*).

The Roman
Territory,
300 B.C.

The surrounding nations looked on sullenly at the steady improvement of the Roman position. In particular the Samnites would not rest. They resolved, before it was too late, to make a last effort to overthrow their adversary, and their emissaries were active throughout Italy in seeking new allies and striving to revive once again the recent short-lived coalition against Rome. In the year 298 B.C. the anti-Roman party in Lucania got the upper hand, and invited their Samnite brethren to send an armed force to their assistance. The Samnites had in the late war learnt the value of the support of Lucania, and readily responded to the appeal, but before anything could be effected the Romans appeared upon the scene and compelled the Lucanians to give hostages as an assurance of fidelity. But the mischief was done: the Samnites had already declared war, and the nations of northern Italy, Etruscans and Umbrians, were slowly arming for the struggle. As usual there was no joint action

The Third
Samnite War,
298—290 B.C.

amongst the discontented peoples, and the Samnites found themselves left virtually alone. In 297 B.C. the consuls Fabius Rullianus and P. Decius were able to overrun Samnium, wasting it pitilessly and twice defeating the enemy, now led by Gellius Egnatius, at Tifernum and at Maleventum (*Benevento*). But Gellius would not despair. In the spring of 296 B.C. he contrived to equip three armies, of which one remained in Samnium, the second descended upon Campania, while the third marched without hindrance across the Abruzzi northward into Etruria. The policy of such a course was as wise as bold: it would distract the attention of the Romans, preventing them from concentrating their whole force at any one point, and it would overcome the hesitation of Umbrians and Etruscans. The national party in the Etruscan cities viewed with dislike the Romanizing policy of their aristocratic rulers; the Umbrians were disquieted by the recent colonization of Narnia; the Gauls were astir for booty. Could all these elements of discontent in the north only be united with those in the south, there was still hope of a successful fight against Roman ambition.

§ 108. Nevertheless, with the exception of some engagements in Campania, where C. Pontius once more captained the Samnites, the year 296 B.C. passed quietly away in further preparations for the struggle. In the spring of the following year, however, two great Roman armies amounting to 60,000 men marched into Etruria. At their head were the consuls Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, the hero of so many battles, and P. Decius Mus, son of him who had laid down his life at the battle by Vesuvius nearly fifty years before. The allies—Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls—had gathered in Umbria, and thither through the gap in the Apennine

Battle of
Sentinum,
295 B.C.

range the consuls directed their march, throwing off a corps under Scipio Barbatus to penetrate into central Etruria. As had been foreseen, this measure, though the corps itself was cut to pieces near Camerinum (*Camerino*), caused the Etruscans to desert their allies and withdraw for the protection of their own country. The rest of the confederates awaited the Roman attack at Sentinum (*Sentino*), between the Apennines and the Upper Sea. Here for the first time in history the Romans met the Gallic war-chariots. For long the issue remained doubtful—so doubtful that Decius Mus devoted himself to death as his father had done before him—but the good generalship of Fabius at length prevailed. Nine thousand Romans remained indeed upon the field of battle, but the victory was complete (295 B.C.). The Etruscans and Umbrians at once submitted.

§ 109. The Samnites continued the struggle for some years longer. Though unable to secure help from any of their old allies, they fought on in their mountain fastnesses, even at times gaining notable victories, as at Luceria (294 B.C.); but at Aquilonia (*Iacedogna*) they sustained (293 B.C.) a defeat so bloody that thenceforward they could scarcely raise forces for the war. In 290 B.C. they concluded peace: the old treaty of alliance was renewed, and no humiliating terms were imposed by the victors; no attempt was made to enslave the vanquished, no Roman colony was established within the limits of Samnium, nor were the Samnites deprived of any portion of their territory. But their spirit had been broken, their numbers and resources exhausted, by a struggle of seventy years, and henceforth they only ventured on hostilities with Rome after securing the co-operation of some powerful ally. The man who finally triumphed as their conqueror was M'. Curius Dentatus.

End of the
Third Samnite
War, 290 B.C.

The Romans proceeded to fortify their new position in the usual way. In 291 B.C. colonists to the extraordinary number of 20,000 were sent to Venusia (*Venosa*), which now became the chief Roman outpost in Southern Italy. The strategic importance of the new settlement is manifest: situated on the borders of Apulia, Samnium, and Lucania, it held the Samnites to their allegiance and checked any intrigues they might carry on with the Lucanians, while at the same time it faced towards Tarentum and the other Greek cities of the southern coast, destined to be the next object of Roman attack. The Appian Way was extended from Capua (*S. Maria di Capoa*) as far as Venusia, traversing the very heart of Samnium, and even those Caudine Forks which had once witnessed the ignominious surrender of a Roman army. Two new citizen colonies, Minturnae (*Traietto*) and Sinuessa (*Mondragone*), had already (295 B.C.) in the course of the war been planted on the Campanian coast. The Sabines had aided the Samnites at Sentinum: over them (290 B.C.) M'. Curius Dentatus triumphed a second time, after overrunning their land as far as the Adriatic. In 289 B.C. they were declared to be *cives sine suffragio*, and a citizen-colony was established upon their eastern flank at Hadria (*Adria*) in Picenum.

§ 110. Ten years after their great defeat at Sentinum, the Gauls again entered Etruria at the summons —the last summons—of the national party there and of the Umbrians (285 B.C.), and attacked Arretium (*Arezzo*), an Etruscan city in which the dominant aristocratic party had concluded a treaty of friendship with Rome. A Roman army under L. Cæcilius, marching to the relief of the city, was annihilated beneath its walls; and the ambassadors who

Operations
against the
Gauls. Sub-
jugation of
Etruria.

came to negotiate for the restoration of the prisoners were put to death by Britomaris, the Gallic chief. Leaving Etruria to be dealt with later on, the consul Cornelius Dolabella passed by way of Sabina into the land of the Senones, massacred the greater part 283 B.C. of the male population, enslaved the women and children, and drove into exile such as were fortunate enough to escape the sword. Henceforth there was no nation of Senones in Italy. They were the people which had once sacked Rome, and this was the retribution. The neighbouring tribe of the Boii, terrified into revolt by the dreadful fate of their kinsmen, at once united with the disaffected Etruscans, and being reinforced by the remnant of the Senones, marched direct upon Rome to retaliate upon her for the barbarities of Dolabella. At Lake Vadimo (*Laghetto di Bassano*) near Narnia they sustained a bloody defeat (283 B.C.), and a subsequent disaster near Populonia (*Populonia*), on the coast of Etruria, forced them to conclude peace (282 B.C.).

After the expulsion of the Senones, the Romans had to decide whether they should occupy the desolated country - the *Ager Gallicus* - beyond the northern Apennines, a region where they had never yet ventured to make permanent acquisitions. They now determined that their attitude should be one of attack rather than of defence, and in token of their resolve a citizen-colony was established at Sena (*Sinigaglia*), the old Gallic capital of the land. This new outpost, together with the colony of Hadria, gave to the Romans a firm hold on the Upper Sea, where they forthwith stationed a fleet. It was the jealousy with which the Tarentines viewed the rising maritime power of Rome that hastened her inevitable conflict with the remnant of the free cities of Magna Græcia.

§ 111. The Third Samnite war had hardly come to an end when the Romans began to encroach upon those cities. Time had been when the Italian Greeks marched

The Greek
cities of the
south.

in the van of civilization, but the heyday of their mental culture and material prosperity had long since passed away. Most of their cities—Metapontum (*Torre di Mare*), Heraclea (near *Polichor*), Thurii (*Terranova*), Crotona (*Cotrone*), Locri, Rhegium (*Reggio*)—were but the shadows of what they once had been. Worn out by perpetual conflict with each other, and by the constant assaults of the Lucanian and Calabrian peoples and of the despots of Syracuse, they were, with one brilliant exception, ready to submit with feelings of relief to any power which would guarantee them peace. The one exception was Tarentum (*Taranto*). Placed securely at the head of the gulf to which it gave its name, this city had even now, in the fifth century of its existence, in Italy at least no rival in point of commercial importance. It was still the great emporium of the peninsula, and carried on with the ports of the Adriatic a considerable trade in the produce of its rich fisheries, its woollen fabrics and purple dyes. Its situation was one of great strength, for it lay upon a narrow tongue of land, defended at the seaward extremity by the citadel which crowned a considerable hill; and between this hill and the opposite shore there was but a narrow passage leading into a magnificent harbour for the city's multitude of ships. As in Capua and elsewhere, the citizens of Tarentum were divided into two parties: the wealthier portion was favourable to Rome, while the lower classes generally represented the party of patriotism and independence. The latter, at this moment in possession of the government, viewed with alarm the constant and rapid advance of the Romans. They had held aloof from

the recent wars, partly deterred by the attitude of Lucania and Apulia, partly from indolence. They had even made a treaty with Rome in 301 B.C.; but now, when all in Italy who might have sided with them were crushed and disabled, they commenced to cast about for allies in Greece.

§ 112. The Lucanians had aided Rome in the recent Samnite wars: in return Rome left them free to deal as they could with the Greek cities of the southern coast. Amongst these was Thurii.

Conflict with
Tarentum,
282 B.C.

Unable to make head against the onset of the Lucanians, the Thurians surrendered their city to Rome, whereupon C. Fabricius Luscinus marched to their relief, defeated Sthenius Statilius the Lucanian general, and placed a garrison in the city (285 B.C.). Not long afterwards Locri, Crotona, and Rhegium fell under Roman influence, so that very shortly Tarentum alone of the Greek cities retained its independence. In 282 B.C. ten Roman vessels, in contravention of an ancient treaty which forbade their appearance east of the Lacinian promontory (*Capo della Colonna*), anchored off Tarentum while on the voyage from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic Sea. Possibly they were in agreement with the aristocratic party within, and hoped to take quiet possession of the city; but their presence so exasperated the anti-Roman party that they rushed upon the ships, captured four and sank another; and when L. Postumius arrived in Tarentum at the head of an embassy to demand the release of the prisoners and the surrender of the leaders in the outrage, he was subjected to personal insult. Following this, a Tarentine corps surprised Thurii and expelled the Roman garrison thence. Thereupon the senate declared war, and the Tarentines called in the aid of Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus.

§ 113. From his cradle the life of Pyrrhus had been one

of strange vicissitudes. He lost his father, a kinsman and vassal of Alexander the Great, when yet an infant, and lived for some years in exile under the protection of Glaucias,

Early life of
Pyrrhus.

an Illyrian chief. At the age of twelve he was restored to his father's dominions, but five years later he was again a fugitive. He took service under Antigonos, one of those who shared amongst them the vast empire of Alexander, but misfortune still dogged his footsteps: Antigonos was defeated and slain at the great battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), and Pyrrhus found himself a hostage of the Egyptian King Ptolemy in Alexandria. His handsome person and daring courage soon made him popular at the Egyptian court, and Ptolemy not only gave him the hand of his step-daughter, the princess Antigone, but supplied him with Egyptian troops and Egyptian gold wherewith to win back his rugged inheritance of Epirus (296 B.C.). The wild Epirotes welcomed their young prince with enthusiasm, and Pyrrhus easily secured his restoration. Thereafter for many years he showed all the qualities of a brave and politic ruler: the weakness of Macedonia made it possible for him to extend his dominions at her expense; the acquisition of Ambracia (*Arta*) and Corcyra (*Corfu*) opened the sea to the commerce of Epirus; and for a short time in 287 B.C. he was in possession of Macedonia itself. From 287 B.C. to 281 B.C. he lived in comparative quietude, devising plans for the foundation of a great empire which might compare with that of his kinsman Alexander; and when at the latter date the war-party at Tarentum appealed to him for help, he eagerly welcomed this opening for conquest in the west. He dreamed of uniting under his rule the Greeks of Italy and Sicily and their foes the Carthaginians of Africa, and even if he failed in his aims, there is no reason to brand his enterprise as insane or

impracticable. Against all but one of the peoples of the west Pyrrhus was more than capable of holding his own : it was to the peculiar solidity of Roman political organization—a solidity which it was impossible for him to estimate at its true value—that he owed the overthrow of his schemes.

§ 114. Late in 281 B.C. Pyrrhus sent across to Tarentum 3000 troops under Milo, the most able of his generals. Cineas, the philosopher and diplomatist to whom he entrusted the conduct of his negotiations with foreign states, was already in Italy, and in the spring of 280 B.C. Pyrrhus himself landed with a further force of 25,000 troops. He soon discovered that the hearty co-operation of the Italians as represented by the Tarentines existed mainly in the imagination of the latter, and that the Tarentines themselves were little inclined to render actual service in the field. Stern rule alone could ensure their obedience : the political clubs and all places of amusement were suppressed or closed, and from a gay and luxurious commercial centre Tarentum was transformed into a camp and an arsenal. The Romans on their side did not underrate the powers of their antagonist : they levied a war-loan (*tributum*), and summoned contingents from all their subjects and allies. While T. Coruncanius secured the inaction of Etruria with one army, a second, numbering at least 50,000 men, marched under P. Valerius Laevinus to meet Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus awaited the attack on the eastern bank of the river Siris (*Sinno*) near Heraclea. The Romans forced the passage of the river, and commenced the battle by a cavalry charge which routed his Thessalian horsemen ; but though their infantry dashed seven times against the Epirote phalanx, it could make no impression on that serried mass of pikemen, and when at length

First Italian
Campaign,
280 B.C.

Battle of
Heraclea

Pyrrhus brought up his battalion of elephants the legions broke in terror. Leaving 7000 of his troops on the field of battle, the consul retreated across the Siris, and thence fell back upon the strong outpost of Venusia, where he re-organized his forces. Pyrrhus himself suffered considerable loss. The battle is said to have cost him 4000 of his veteran soldiers, and he did not venture to press upon his retreating foes; but whatever the cost, his victory was amply repaid by the results. The Greek cities at once fell away from Rome. A legion of Campanian allies, commissioned by the senate to garrison Rhegium and guard the Straits of Messina, massacred the citizens and seized the town for themselves. At the same time many Bruttians, Lucanians, and Samnites passed over to the winning side. Yet, in spite of all these gains, Pyrrhus was anxious to come to terms with the Romans. No doubt he saw more clearly now than when he entered upon the war, the magnitude of the work he had in hand. If he could by negotiation induce the Romans to recognize the freedom of the Greek cities, still more if he could compel the evacuation of Luceria and Venusia, the Roman advance would be thrust back and a secure basis obtained for further operations against them in the future. With proposals to this effect Cineas proceeded to Rome. His reception was encouraging, and the senate appeared likely to give its assent, but at that moment Appius Claudius, the famous censor of 312 B.C., now aged and blind, delivered so vehement an oration against all concession, as to persuade the hesitating council to continue the struggle without compromise. On the failure of the negotiations, Pyrrhus, who was already in Campania, marched on Rome. He crossed the Liris, seized Fregellae, and pushed on to Anagnia; but when not one town stirred on his behalf, he retraced his steps to

Campania and thence to Tarentum, where he passed the winter. During this year the senate had finally reduced all Etruria to peace. From this time forward there is no further mention of any armed collision with the Etruscans, who rapidly died out and became a memory only.

§ 115. Pyrrhus selected a different region for his second campaign. In 279 B.C., probably hoping to take the great fortress of Venusia, he advanced into Apulia. At Asculum (*Ascoli di Puglia*)

Second Italian
Campaign,
279 B.C.

he met the Romans for the second time. The forces on either side amounted to about 80,000 men, and on this occasion Pyrrhus was assisted by Samnite, Lucanian, and Bruttian levies. The Roman leaders were the consuls Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius, son of him who fell at Sentinum. The fight raged for two days: on the first, Pyrrhus was unable to manœuvre his phalanx, which was involved amongst broken ground; but on the morrow he moved it into the plain, and though his main body was unable to obtain any decisive advantage, the onset of the elephants once more gave him the victory. Yet, though the Romans were undoubtedly defeated, we hear of no further operations on the part of Pyrrhus. Whether his apathy was due to the wound he had received in the battle, or to his heavy loss in troops, or to the threat of trouble in his own kingdom of Epirus, certain it is that he left the Romans in possession of Apulia and retired to Tarentum. As he was there passing the winter of 279 B.C., there came Sicilian envoys who offered him the sovereignty of Syracuse. That great city, more than once the mistress of all Sicily, was sore pressed by her inveterate enemy Carthage. The Carthaginians, whom Agathocles, the late despot of Syracuse, had confined to the western part of the island and to their impregnable fortresses of Panormus

(*Palermo*), Eryx (*Monte S. Giuliano*), and Lilybaeum (*Marsala*), had at the moment of his death (289 B.C.) resumed the offensive, and there occurred one of those transformations so common in the history of Sicily: the Carthaginians overran the whole country as far as the walls of Syracuse, and were at this moment attacking those massive fortifications with their whole energy. In their distress the Syracusans, remembering the ties which bound Pyrrhus to them—for he was now married to the daughter of the dead Agathocles—turned to him for help.

§ 116. Pyrrhus seized with alacrity this opportunity of abandoning his difficult and unprofitable fight in Italy. In spite of the entreaties of the Samnites and Lucanians and the protests of the

Pyrrhus in
Sicily,
278 B.C.

Tarentines, he embarked (278 B.C.) for Syracuse, leaving his lieutenant Milo in command at Tarentum. The aspect of affairs in Sicily changed as though by magic. The mere appearance of Pyrrhus' fleet was sufficient to relieve Syracuse. He himself was welcomed as a saviour by the smaller Greek cities, and with their united aid drove the Carthaginians rapidly westward until all that remained to them was their inexpugnable stronghold of Lilybaeum. The only other enemy in the island with which Pyrrhus had to reckon was Messana, where some Campanian mercenaries of Agathocles had perpetrated an outrage similar to that of their compatriots at Rhegium, massacring the citizens and seizing the town for themselves. To reduce these two places a powerful fleet was necessary, and Pyrrhus was engaged in equipping a great armament in the harbour of Syracuse, when his Sicilian allies, impatient of the arbitrary fashion in which he had overridden their free constitutions, broke out into revolt. The Carthaginians emerged from Lilybaeum, and were again defeated; but this success notwith-

standing, Pyrrhus was embarrassed by the discontent fermenting throughout the island. Changing his plans yet once again, he sailed back to Tarentum (276 B.C.). His embarkation for Italy was the signal for the downfall of his Sicilian kingdom.

§ 117. Meantime in Italy his position had altered greatly for the worse. The Romans had made havoc with the compact line of fortresses which he ^{Third Italian Campaign, 275 B.C.} had occupied along the southern coast: Heraclea, Crotona, and Locri were again in their hands, and Tarentum alone remained intact. The two parties, in fact, were precisely where they had been at the outbreak of the war. But apart from this, Pyrrhus was far less favourably situated now than when he first set foot in Italy: he had held his own indeed against the legions, but he had deserted the allies whom his presence had induced to revolt, he was no better than a discredited adventurer, who had wasted the fruits of two successful campaigns by a wild venture in Sicily. His old servant Cineas was dead, and his faithful Epirote troops were largely replaced by untrustworthy Italian mercenaries whom he had not the means to pay. Still he did not abandon the struggle. He opened his third campaign (275 B.C.) by marching to the aid of the Samnites, whose territory was occupied by the consul M'. Curius. At Beneventum¹ he fought his ^{Battle of Beneventum.} third and last battle with Rome. His attempt to surprise the Roman position miscarried, the legions held their own, and his elephants, terrified by the Roman archers and by firebrands, wheeled about and charged through the ranks of the army they were intended to protect. His troops dispersed and his camp taken, Pyrrhus had neither

¹ Then Maleventum. The name was changed to Beneventum on its colonization by the Romans in 268 B.C.

men nor money wherewith to continue the struggle. In the same year he returned to Epirus, leaving Tarentum in charge of Milo with a considerable garrison. His career continued to show the old restlessness. After failing to capture Sparta, he assaulted Argos in the Peloponnese, and in that ancient city a tile cast from a housetop by an old woman ended his eventful life (272 B.C.).

§ 118. On receiving news of his death, Milo gave up Tarentum to the Romans (272 B.C.), and in the same year the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutrians laid down their arms. In 270 B.C., aided by Hiero, the new ruler of Syracuse, the Romans stormed Rhegium, which had for ten years been held by the Campanian mutineers. They took an exemplary vengeance upon the offenders, putting every surviving member of the garrison to the sword.

The Romans were now undisputed masters of the peninsula. From the *Ager Gallicus* to the Straits of Messina every opponent had been discomfited and disarmed, and Etruscans, Samnites, and Greeks became every year more inclined to bear the supremacy of Rome with patience. Her rule indeed was usually remarkable for its justice and clemency: for though she forbade her subjects to meddle with the mysteries of government, and suffered no interference with her foreign policy, she exacted no tribute, only demanding the equipment and payment of a moderate force to assist her in the field. Throughout Italia—now extending as far northwards as the Arnus (*Arno*) and the Aesis (*Esino*)—she pursued her old policy of favouring the aristocrats at the expense of the popular and patriotic party. In the Etruscan towns, which nominally at least retained their independence, the government was entrusted to aristocracies who were but the nominees and servants of

Rome. Similarly, in Capua the Campanian Knights, who had been mainly instrumental in admitting the Romans to the town (§ 93), were invested with the rights of a privileged class, and even pensioned with funds extorted from their fellow countrymen. But in other respects the subjects of Rome had little ground for complaint: their local self-government, their language and customs, remained intact, and if it performed nothing else, Roman rule at least established peace in lieu of the perpetual conflicts which had hitherto been the bane of Italy.

§ 119. A further series of colonies was sent out by Rome at the conclusion of the war. In 273 B.C. two citizen colonies were established in Lucania, Further Colonies. at Paestum (*Pesto*) on the site of the ancient Poseidonia and at Cosa near Thurii. A Latin colony was sent (268 B.C.) to Beneventum, in the heart of the Samnite land. It was situated on the great Appian Way, which was about the same time prolonged from Venusia to Tarentum and Brundisium. In the same year the whole body of the Sabines, with only a few exceptions such as the inhabitants of Reate (*Rieti*) and Amiternum (*S. Vittorino*), received the full franchise. Five years later (263 B.C.) another Latin colony was founded at Aesernia (*Iserni*), a few miles to the north of Beneventum. Three colonies—Ariminum (*Rimini*, 268 B.C.), Firmum (*Porto Fermo*, 264 B.C.), and Castrum Novum (at the mouth of the *Salinello*, 264 B.C.)—served as outposts against the Gauls. Of these the last alone was a citizen-colony: the two others were Latin, and it is a noteworthy fact that Ariminum did not receive to the full extent the privileges which had hitherto been bestowed on all Latin colonies. Whereas previously the citizen of a Latin colony enjoyed the privilege of free migration to Rome, a citizen of Ariminum could only do so provided

he had held public office in his native town ; and this restriction was henceforward imposed on all new Latin colonies.¹ Now that Rome was mistress of Italy, her citizenship was of great and ever-increasing worth, and she did not intend that its privileges should be too easily acquired.

¹ They were commonly spoken of as the "Twelve Colonies," and their peculiar franchise was known as the *ius Latinitatis*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE.

§ 120. The Phoenicians.—§§ 121—123. Carthage.—§ 124. Cause of the First Punic War.—§ 125. Capture of Messana and Siege of Agrigentum.—§ 126. First Roman Navy; Battle of Mylae.—§ 127. Ecnomus.—128. Regulus.—§ 129. Battle of Panormus; Siege of Lilybæum.—§ 130. Battle of Drepanum.—§ 131. Conclusion of the War.—§§ 133—135. Gallie and Illyrian Wars.—§ 136. The Barcidæ in Spain.—§§ 137—145. The Second Punic War: In Italy.—§ 146. In Sicily.—§ 147. In Spain.—§§ 148—150. In Italy (continued).—§ 151. In Spain (concluded). §§ 152—154. End of the War.

§ 120. CARTHAGE was a colony of the Phoenicians established, so tradition declared, a century before the foundation of Rome (853 B.C.). The Phoenicians were a Semitic nation who settled about the year 2000 B.C. along the Syrian coast. Their territory, Phœnicia, was a mere belt of coast-land, not more than 180 miles long, and at no point exceeding forty miles in width. The barrier of the Lebanon range protected them to some extent against the powerful nations of the interior, but they never utilized it, as they might have done, to form the bulwark of a national liberty. Content to be tributaries of whatever great power might for the time be in the ascendant, provided that they were free to develop their commerce, they were the first great commercial people of the ancient Mediterranean, and gathered wealth from all its shores and even from the Atlantic. In search of the *naurex*, the shell-fish which

furnished them with the famous Tyrian dye, they advanced from one point to another, establishing their factories or marts at every step. They are found even before the year 1000 B.C. in Cyprus, in Rhodes, in Crete, and about all the shores of Greece; and so, still pushing westward, they came to Sicily and to Africa, where in 1140 B.C. they founded their factory of Utica (near *Porto Farina*). A century later they made a settlement at Gades (*Cádiz*), on the coast of that land of Tarshish or Tartessus, whence they brought gold for the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Still later (853 B.C.), a body of wealthy citizens emigrated from Tyre to Africa, and founded, a few miles distant from Utica, a city known by its inhabitants as Kirjath-Hadeschath, "The New Town," and by the Romans as Carthago, the famous Carthage. According to Roman legend, the leader of these emigrants was Dido (or Elissa), and their object was to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, who had murdered Dido's husband and usurped his throne in Tyre.

§ 121. By this date (850 B.C.) the greatness of Tyre and
The Growth
of Carthage.
Phoenicia was rapidly waning. The Phoenician merchants had been driven from the eastern basin of the Mediterranean by the rising power of the Greeks, and elsewhere they were only represented by a few scattered factories, without cohesion and without room for expansion. Carthage, however, was an exception: situated upon the shore of a most fertile land, and commanding the finest harbour on the African coast, she rapidly took the lead amongst the trading cities of the west. Her merchants penetrated even to Britain, to the Baltic, to the Canaries, and to the Cameroons in their quest for trade. She early renounced the national apathy of the old Phoenicians, and set herself to the task of consolidating a great empire in the western basin of the Mediterranean. The

westward advance of the Greeks, who had Hellenized most of the coast of Sicily by the year 600 B.C., received an effectual check. The Etruscans learned that Carthage was more to be desired as an ally than as a foe; and thus, even in 500 B.C., the Carthaginian territory extended eastwards to Barca (*Barca*) and Cyrene (*Ghrennah*), and westward beyond the Pillars of Hercules (*Straits of Gibraltar*). Corsica and Sardinia, the western half of Sicily with its great harbours of Panormus and Lilybaeum, she regarded as her provinces. Malta, and the Lipari and Balearic Isles, were hers; and through Gades and other Phoenician settlements about the coasts of Spain, she had gained a firm foothold in that peninsula. The treatment which the Carthaginians¹ meted out to their African subjects and allies was notorious for its severity. The towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage, many of them old Phoenician factories, were occupied by a half-breed population known as Liby-Phoenicians, the product of the intermarriage of the conquering people with the native Libyans. With one exception, all these—Hippo Regius (*Bona*), Hadrumetum (*Susa*), the Greater Leptis (*Lebda*) and the Lesser, etc. were forbidden to fortify themselves, and taxed heavily both in men and money. The Lesser Leptis, for instance, paid the extraordinary contribution of a talent a day. The ancient settlement of Utica alone escaped this fate, probably because there the Phoenician element was too strong to allow of any fear of disaffection; and as a rule, whenever Carthage concluded a treaty with a foreign state, she placed Utica upon an honourable equality with herself.

¹ The Romans called the Carthaginians in general *Poeni* (adj. *Punicus*), transferring to them the name which more strictly belonged to the Phoenicians proper. The name *Carthaginenses* properly signified only the actual natives of the town of Carthage.

The country round the immediate possessions of Carthage to the south and west was occupied by Numidians, Mauretanians, and Gaetulians—branches of the native Libyan race—who for the most part acknowledged the Carthaginian supremacy by paying tribute and supplying contingents.

§ 122. Carthaginian citizens furnished only the officers of her armies ; they did not serve in the ranks—a fact not due to any cowardice or lack of enterprise on their part, but simply to the consideration that their lives were too valuable to be thrown away when other material was plentiful. Hence mercenaries were constantly employed ; and they were collected from every available nation, subject or otherwise. The Balearic Isles provided the best of slingers, the Ligurians made an excellent light infantry, the African tribes supplied in inexhaustible numbers the finest light cavalry of the west , and we hear of Gauls, Etruscans, and even Hellenes in the Carthaginian armaments. From the days of Pyrrhus' invasion of Sicily the Carthaginians, following his example, attached to every army an elephant corps. It was, however, for her navy that Carthage was especially famous : her seamen had no rivals in the west and her vessels of war were counted by hundreds. Yet the weakness of her military system is palpable enough : her mercenary troops, owing to no ties of patriotism, and only to be kept in allegiance by success and the plunder which it brought, were always liable to turn against the masters who had bought their services. The choice of commanders lay with the oligarchic council, and despite the jealousy with which an oligarchy commonly views any extensive military command, the Carthaginian commanders-in-chief were invested with almost dictatorial authority, limited to no fixed term. There were two checks only upon his powers : firstly, he was accompanied by

a civil commission, which exercised at least a moral control over his actions; and secondly, he knew that culpable failure was likely to meet with terrible requital. More than one unsuccessful leader was nailed to the cross in the heyday of the nation's prosperity. And yet Carthage could and did produce generals both capable and successful--more frequently, it has been said, than did Rome, at least during the years of the struggle between the two nations despite the biassed choice of oligarchic monopolists, despite the menace of death in the event of misfortune and the unstable and heterogeneous character of the mercenary armies which they led.

§ 123. Our knowledge of the earlier constitution of Carthage is gathered from Aristotle, who says that its stability was something to admire, in-^{Government.}asmuch as he could find no occasion on which it had been seriously endangered even by attempts of its own members to make themselves despotic rulers. When we first learn anything of the government, a Select Council, consisting of two Suffetes or "Judges" (who acted as presidents, and originally no doubt had possessed regal authority) and twenty-eight ordinary members, had the sole authority. It declared war, made peace, and appointed generals, while the Suffetes acted generally as its Executive, occasionally leading the army in person. The mass of the populace had no privileges and no voice in the government.

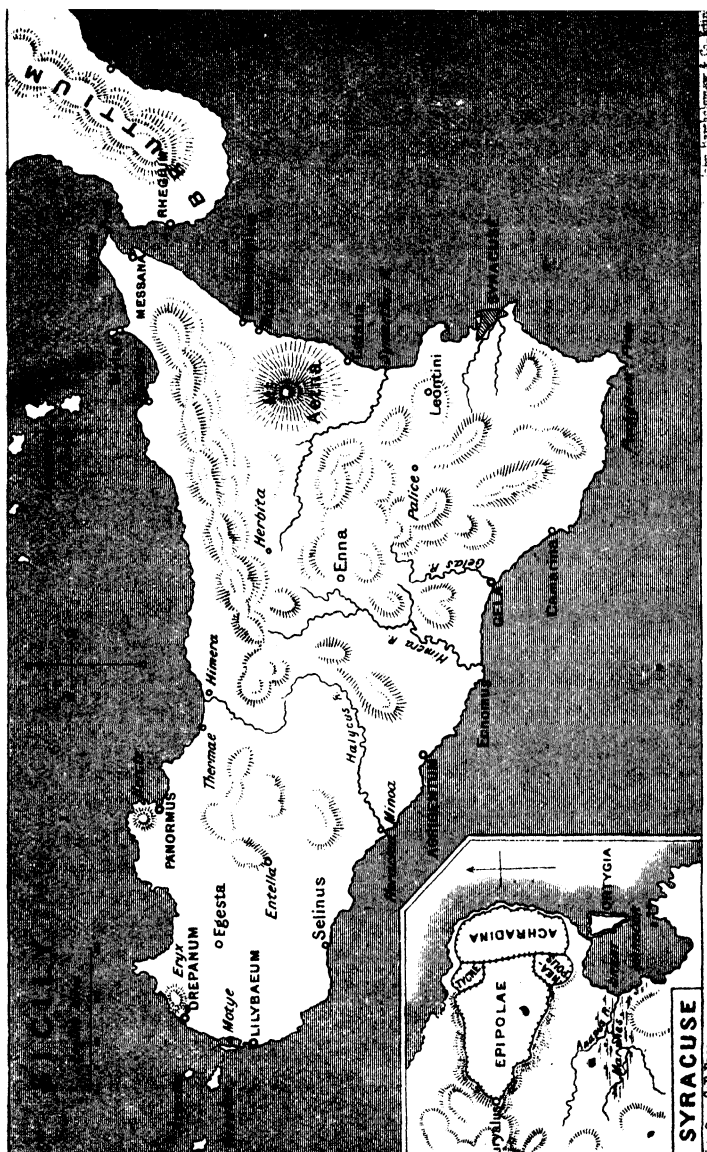
But in the nature of things such a constitution could not remain unaltered, particularly in a mercantile state where wealth was every day bringing new men to the front. A council of thirty men, holding their position for life, afforded too few prizes for the ambition of a nobility of merchant-princes at once rich, powerful, and numerous; the more as the offices of Suffete and Councillor, and con-

sequently those of General and Admiral, had fallen inevitably into the hands of a few families to the exclusion of their fellow-nobles. Accordingly there was formed a second Council of one hundred and four members, commonly known roundly as "The Hundred," who controlled the Select Council just as the latter controlled the Suffetes. Thus the Select Council was gradually superseded and its powers transferred to The Hundred. With The Hundred rested the audit of the actions of Councillors, Suffetes, and Generals alike, while they seem to have purposely avoided office themselves, content to exercise control over others. Thus the constitution of the city was still an oligarchy of the closest kind, although the actual centre of power had shifted to a somewhat larger if not less irresponsible body than the original council. The mass of the people remained as destitute as ever of political rights. In a Greek town the presence of a commercial lower class carried with it the assurance of political disquietude and democratic agitation: it was otherwise with Carthage, whose seafaring multitude retained the old Phœnician indifference to political questions and theoretic freedom.

§ 124. The scene on which Roman and Carthaginian

The First
Punic War,
264-241 B.C.

fought out their first conflict for supremacy was the island of Sicily, which, lying as it does between Europe and Africa, has in all ages been the subject of dissension between the two continents. In 264 B.C. Sicily was in unequal proportions divided between three masters. By far the largest part was in the hands of the Carthaginians, who, as already related (§ 116), had regained their position on the withdrawal of Pyrrhus, and now claimed as their own the great harbour-fortresses of the extreme western coast together with Selinus (*Selinunte*), Heraclea Minoa (upon *Capo Bianco*), and



Agrirentum (*Girgenti*), once flourishing centres of Greek commerce, learning and magnificence. The eastern shore of the island was under the influence of Syracuse, which after suffering the miseries of anarchy for many years following the death of Agathocles, was now ruled by Hiero, a young and capable general who had won distinction in service against the Mamertines. The latter were masters of Messina, the Sicilian port upon the strait facing the Italian Rhegium. Once the mercenaries of Agathocles, they had some twenty years before (284 B.C.) requited the hospitality of the Messanians by slaying the citizens and distributing amongst themselves their wives, their wealth, and homes. For long this treachery escaped punishment.

The Cause of
the War. The Mamertines laughed at the menaces of Pyrrhus, and it was not until after a protracted

conflict with the Syracusans that their position became one of serious difficulty. In 265 B.C. they commenced to look about for external assistance, hesitating whether to invite the aid of Rome or of Carthage. Those in favour of alliance with Carthage acted with the greater promptitude, and while the opposite faction was still negotiating with Rome, delivered up the citadel to Carthage. The senate had deliberated long and anxiously as to the course it ought to pursue: if the Mamertines became allies of Carthage, that power would hamper Italian trade even more grievously than she now did; on the other hand, the despatch of troops beyond the bounds of Italy meant the inauguration of a new and hazardous policy. The Centuriate Assembly, however, which was alone capable of authorizing war, was troubled by no doubts: when the consul put the question, the people eagerly assented to a declaration of hostilities. The Mamertines were accordingly admitted to alliance, and put upon the same footing as the Italian *socii* of Rome (265 B.C.).

§ 125. In the spring of 264 B.C., when C. Claudius arrived at Rhegium in advance of the main force, he learnt that Messana was already occupied by Capture of Messana. Carthaginian troops. Nevertheless he at once crossed the straits, and at a public conference with the citizens contrived by a ruse to seize the commandant of the Carthaginian garrison. The captive officer, to secure his freedom, evacuated the citadel, which was promptly secured by the Romans. Soon afterwards, Appius Claudius Caudex, the consul, eluding the Carthaginian fleet, crossed the straits on a dark night, and attacked the Syracusans who lay encamped near the town. Hiero, uncertain of the good faith of his Carthaginian allies, retired towards Syracuse, and left the consul free to throw his whole force upon the Carthaginians, who forthwith raised the siege of Messana.

The second campaign (263 B.C.) went still more in favour of the Romans. Not merely did they retain Messana, but most of the Greek cities in the island voluntarily opened their gates to them. To crown all, Hiero himself, chagrined at the remissness of his allies, changed his policy and opened negotiations for peace. The terms dictated by the Romans placed at their disposal all the great resources of Syracuse, and for nearly fifty years they found in Hiero a faithful and unwearying friend.

Thus far the Carthaginians had evinced an apathy only explicable upon the supposition that the war had come upon them by surprise and that they Siege of Agrigentum, 262 B.C. were entirely unprepared to meet it. Messana had been in their hands, but they had lost it through the cowardice of their general. With their superiority in ships, they might have prevented the Romans from ever crossing the straits. At least they should have retained the friendship of Hiero. Yet in every instance their cause had been

ruined by their lack of energy. In the third campaign they bestirred themselves in earnest. The famous Agrigentum (*Virgenti*)—or, as the Greeks termed it, Acragas—a town situated on a rocky plateau surrounded by steep precipices at about a mile from the southern coast, became their basis of operations, and herein Hannibal the son of Gisgo began to reorganize the scattered Punic forces. The Romans at once laid siege to the town. Unskilled in this branch of warfare, their only hope of reducing so impregnable a position lay in blockading and starving out the defenders, while they themselves were liberally supplied with provisions by the energy and fidelity of Hiero. A double line of circumvallation had been drawn round the town, when in the fifth month of the siege a Carthaginian army marched to the relief from Heraclea Minoa (*Capo Bianco*), and encamped in the rear of the besiegers, thus intercepting their supplies. Two months elapsed without a decisive engagement, and the position of the Romans was growing almost untenable, when the Carthaginians at length gave battle and were utterly defeated. Hannibal, however, contrived to escape with the troops at his command. The wretched inhabitants of Agrigentum thereupon surrendered at discretion: most of them were sold into slavery, and their city was pillaged and sacked. Thus with the exception of the great fortresses of the west, Sicily had even in the third year fallen before the Roman arms; yet twenty further campaigns were to be fought before the victory was finally won.

§ 126. In fact, it soon became apparent that the efforts
The First Roman Navy. of Rome were practically futile so long as Carthage retained the command of the sea. Not only were such coast towns of Sicily as had been won by the Romans continually exposed to the attack of Car-

thaginian squadrons, but the coast-line of Italy itself, notwithstanding the citizen-colonies long since established expressly in view of such a contingency, was equally at the enemy's mercy. Disembarking from their galleys, the latter harried the open country, firing and destroying everything within reach; and carrying off the population into slavery, disappeared as swiftly as they came. In the construction of an adequate fleet lay the only means of defence, and the Romans, although unequalled for their qualities as foot-soldiers, were almost as ignorant of the sea and all matters thereto appertaining as their enemies were experienced. Yet, as we are told, in less than two months after the axe had been laid to the first timber, a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail put out to sea. Whatever credence we attach to the various stories related by patriotic writers—how, for instance, the Romans only secured a pattern for the quinqueremes (vessels with five banks of oars) in a Carthaginian ship that had luckily stranded on the coast two or three years before—and whatever qualifications of our own we impose on their achievement—for it is impossible to doubt that they derived very material assistance from the skilled mariners of the Greek and Etruscan cities—with all these deductions, the achievement remains amongst the most notable in their annals. Not less striking an instance of their resourcefulness is afforded by the novel tactics which they adopted. At that period vessels of war were manœuvred not by sails but by oarsmen, and the actual combatants on deck were comparatively few in number; for the first object in naval warfare was to disable the enemy's vessels by charging them in such fashion as either to sweep away their oars or to sink them by the thrust of the powerful iron beak (*rostrum*) attached to the prow. Success therefore depended on the readiness

with which oarsmen and vessel responded to the captain's orders, while personal bravery was of little account. The Romans were as remarkable for physical courage as they were deficient in seamanship. They could not hope to hold their own against the long-practised skill of the Carthaginian mariners. To neutralize this, and to avail themselves of the valour of their legionaries even at sea, they invented boarding-bridges. To a mast in the fore-part of the ship was fastened by a strong hinge a ladder or drawbridge, thirty-six feet in length and four feet broad, protected by railings and furnished at the further end with a sharp spike. While not in action the bridge remained raised: when within range of an enemy's vessel it was suddenly allowed to fall; the spike sank securely into the adversary's deck, forming a stable gangway across which the legionaries might rush and so reduce the struggle to a mere hand to hand fight. The new invention was soon put to the test. Early in 260 B.C. C. Duillius, with a hastily constructed fleet of one hundred vessels, met the slightly larger force of the Carthaginians off Mylae (*Melazzo*), on the north-eastern coast of Sicily. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, bore down on his antagonists in full assurance of an easy victory, but the boarding-bridges and Roman bravery disconcerted the skill of his sailors: fifty Carthaginian ships, including the admiral's own monstrous seven-banked galley, were taken, and the rest put to flight. For this, the first naval victory of the Romans, Duillius received unprecedented honours, and a column decorated with the beaks of the captured vessels was erected in the Forum—the famous *Columna Rostrata*.

Battle of
Mylae,
260 B.C.

§ 127. The campaigns of 259 B.C. and 258 B.C. were marked chiefly by the loss and recapture of some unimportant places in the interior of Sicily. In the latter year

the Romans, to whom the naval power of the Carthaginians was now less formidable, crossed to Corsica, and made that island an outpost for operations against Sardinia, and in 257 B.C. a naval battle was fought with indecisive result off Tyndaris (*Tyndaro*), not far from Mylae. Still no crushing blow was struck by either side, and at last the senate, wearied of the damage inflicted by the protracted war upon the trade and shores of Italy, decided, in imitation of Agathocles of Syracuse, to cross boldly to Africa and so carry the war into the enemy's territory. In 256 B.C. both sides had again equipped enormous armaments: the Roman fleet consisted of 330 vessels manned by something like 150,000 sailors, and the Carthaginian force was even more numerous. The two consuls, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso, were coasting the southern shore of Sicily on their way to the opposite coast of Africa, when at a point between the promontory of Ecnomus (near Gela, *Terra Nova*) and the town of Heraclea Minoa they encountered the Carthaginian fleet. On both sides the obstinacy of the combatants was on a par with their numbers; but the boarding-bridges were again brought into play, and when darkness fell more than one half of the Carthaginian fleet had been either sunk or captured.

§ 128. The way to Africa was now open, and thither Regulus sailed. After reaching the Hermaean promontory (*Cape Bon*), he coasted eastwards until he came to the town of Clupea (*Kalibaiah*), where he disembarked. The country in the neighbourhood, favoured by the climate and the irrigation of innumerable canals, was like a garden in its luxuriant fertility; and all around were prosperous villages and towns and the magnificent villas of the wealthy Carthaginian merchants.

Battle of
Ecnomus,
256 B.C.

The Expedition
of Regulus,
256, 255 B.C.

Over all this region Regulus ranged at his will, gathering in slaves and spoil of enormous value to his camp at Clupea. After a brief interval his colleague Vulso was recalled to Rome with one half of the army, but this event caused no change in the tactics of Regulus. His depredations went on as before, and the Carthaginians, who were probably embarrassed by a revolt of their mercenaries, seemed absolutely incapable of defending more than the walls of their capital. In their distress they opened negotiations for peace; Regulus, however, insisted not merely on the evacuation of Sicily, but on the complete submission of Carthage in matters of foreign policy, and to demands so outrageous the Carthaginians would not listen. Regulus, who had now established himself at Tunes (*Tunis*), scarce ten miles from Carthage, retained the command as proconsul into the following year, 255 B.C. His good-fortune, however, suddenly deserted him. Among the Greek mercenaries in Carthaginian pay was a certain Spartan, Xanthippus by name, who had perhaps acquired his knowledge of war by service in Asia. During the winter he reorganized the cavalry and the force of elephants, and, entrusted with the sole command at the opening of the campaign, ventured to descend into the plains and offer battle to the Romans. Chiefly owing to the charge of the elephants, the invaders were utterly defeated: only a paltry remnant of 2000 made good their escape to Clupea, and Regulus himself was taken prisoner. The senate at once despatched a huge fleet, larger even than that which had fought at Ecnomus, to rescue the survivors. The attempt succeeded: the Romans defeated a Carthaginian fleet off the Hermaean promontory and took on board the relics of the ill-fated expedition; yet further misfortune followed, for on the return voyage all but eighty ships

perished in a fearful hurricane off Cape Pachynus (*Cape Passaro*), the southern angle of Sicily.

Regulus himself, as is nearly certain, died a natural death in captivity, and there would be no need to mention his name further but for a magnificent The Legend of Regulus. fable which, originating in an attempt to conceal an act of shameless barbarity, was fostered by the patriotism of Roman historians and immortalized by Horace. The story runs that after he had languished in prison for five years, the Carthaginians released him on parole in the expectation that he would advise the senate to make peace. But nothing was further from his intention : when he came to Rome he exhorted the senators to fight on until Carthage was subdued ; and then, refusing to look on his wife and children, he departed once more with cheerful countenance into captivity, although he well knew the tortures that awaited him. On his return he was put to death with the most brutal cruelty ; and his wife, to whom the senate had entrusted the keeping of two noble Carthaginian captives, revenged his fate by taking a revolting vengeance on her helpless prisoners. Modern criticism agrees in regarding this last discreditable episode as the sole element of truth in the whole story : the rest was invented to palliate the disgusting brutality of a Roman matron.

§ 129. After the defeat of Regulus, the scene changes again to Sicily, whither the Romans, undaunted by recent events, sent a fresh fleet of over 200 Battle of Panormus, 250 B.C. vessels in 254 B.C. An important success was gained in the capture of Panormus (*Palermo*), one of the few places of strength that still remained Carthaginian : but the victory was counterbalanced in the following year, when an expedition, sent to raid the African coast, was first stranded on the "Drifts" (*Gulf of Khabs*) and

founded subsequently off the Lucanian coast to the number of 150 sail. In 250 B.C. the Carthaginians in their turn resumed the offensive. An armament of 200 ships, 30,000 men, and 140 elephants, was sent under a general named Hasdrubal to attempt the re-conquest of Sicily. Hasdrubal at once led his forces against Panormus; but his incapacity in manœuvring the elephants led to an utter defeat at the hands of L. Caecilius Metellus—a calamity which he expiated by suffering crucifixion on his return to Carthage. The triumph was a great one: the Carthaginians again made fruitless overtures for peace, and it was to this occasion that legend referred the imaginary embassy of Regulus. In the same year the Romans, now recovering from the despondency caused by the failure of their last naval efforts, advanced with a fleet of 200 sail and two consular armies against Lilybaeum (*Marsala*) and Drepanum (*Trapani*),¹ the last strongholds of the Carthaginians. By far the most considerable of these was Lilybaeum, situated on the most westerly promontory of the island. On two sides, the town was protected by the shallows and sunken rocks of the environing sea; and where it adjoined the land, it was secured by massive walls and a moat so wide and deep as to be almost unassailable. Its spacious harbour was difficult of entrance; indeed, the sand-banks and hidden reefs which lay before it were well-nigh impracticable to all but those who were familiar with their intricacies. Such was the fortress that the Romans set about besieging in 250 B.C. They could hardly suspect that, in spite of their unremitting efforts, ten years would elapse before their

* Siege of
Lilybaeum,
250 B.C.

¹ This place had been converted into a harbour-fortress by Hamilcar about 258 B.C., in place of Eryx (*Monte S. Giuliano*), which he dismantled and rased.

object was attained. At first indeed they made considerable progress; but Himilco, the commandant, was a man of resource and daring, and despite the threatened treachery of his Gallic mercenaries and the stubborn efforts of the Romans, he held the town until winter came. Then the suffering of the besiegers became acute, and cold, hunger, and the plague decimated their ranks.

§ 130. But if nothing was effected in 250 B.C., the ensuing year brought positive misfortune. P.

Claudius Pulcher, son of the great censor of 312 B.C. and one of the consuls for this year, possessed a full share of that arrogance and violence which was believed to be the especial characteristic of the Claudian line. His first operations were directed to blocking the entrance of the harbour of Lilybaeum and so cutting off the town from the supplies constantly thrown into it by Carthaginian cruisers. Failing in this, he sailed towards Drepanum, where lay a fleet under Adherbal. Before venturing upon a battle, it was essential for the auspices to be taken, and the auspices in this particular case would be obtained from the manner in which certain sacred chickens took their food. Word was brought that the birds refused to eat; whereupon Claudius ordered them to be thrown overboard, remarking "If they will not eat, they shall drink." Whether the anecdote is altogether veracious may perhaps be the subject of doubt. Claudius, entering one horn of the sickle-shaped harbour of Drepanum, found Adherbal in the act of leaving by the other. For Claudius to remain where he was was to be caught in a trap: endeavouring to retire, his fleet—210 vessels in all—fell into confusion in the narrow waterway, and thus cooped up close to the shore in a position which precluded all manœuvring, it lay helpless before Adherbal's attack.

Claudius was utterly defeated ; though he himself escaped, 20,000 of his men were captured and of his ships all but thirty were sunk or taken. Yet the tale of Roman misfortune was still incomplete, for a fleet of transports, 800 in number, in which the consul L. Junius Pullus was bringing up provisions to the starving forces before Lilybaeum, was driven inshore at Kenomus by the Carthaginian admiral Carthalo with the loss of eighty sail, while the residue were wrecked to the last ship near Camarina (*Camarana*). The only success of the year was won when Pullus seized the temple of Venus at the summit of the lofty Mt. Eryx, and made it a Roman centre of attack.

§ 131. After the battle of Drepanum and the defeat of Claudius, the character of the war changes ; the Romans no longer attempted to meet the Carthaginians on the sea, contenting themselves with a blockade of the still unconquered harbour-fortresses of Lilybaeum and Drepanum ; while the Carthaginians despatched no more large armies to the scene of war, but, led by the famous Hamilcar, surnamed Barca or "Lightning," the father of the still greater Hannibal, resumed their old policy of raiding the Italian coast. After one of these expeditions, Hamilcar in 247 B.C. occupied Mt. Hercte (*Monte Pellegrino*) on the coast near Panormus, whence for three years he harassed the Romans by his continual sallies and alarms. In 244 B.C., probably to be closer to the beleaguered fortresses, he changed his quarters to Mt. Eryx, in spite of the fact that both the summit of the mountain and the plain below were in the enemy's possession. At length in 242 B.C. the Romans resolved to make one supreme effort to end the war, and a fleet of 200 vessels was equipped. The admiral, C. Lutatius Catulus, intercepted near the Aegates Insulae (*Favignana, Levanzo, &c.*) off

Conclusion of
the First Punic
War, 241 B.C.

the west coast of Sicily the Carthaginian fleet conveying supplies to Lilybaeum, and gained by the aid of his deputy the praetor Q. Valerius Falto a great and final victory. By this time both nations were exhausted by the struggle and anxious to arrange a peace. The terms agreed upon by Catulus and Hamilcar were more reasonable than might have been expected: certainly they did not approach in severity those so light-heartedly proffered by Regulus. Carthage was to evacuate Sicily; to take no measures of retaliation against Hiero of Syra-
Terms of Peace.
 cuse; to give up all prisoners of war; and to pay a ransom of 2200 talents in twenty years. A commission sent out by the senate raised the indemnity to 3200 talents, a third to be paid at once and the rest in ten annual instalments. In other respects the terms of peace remained unaltered. The Carthaginians opened the gates of the two fortresses which had so long resisted the Roman arms, and the First Punic War came to an end. It must have been evident from the first that the struggle would be renewed. Neither of the contending powers had inflicted decisive damage upon the other, though the Romans had certainly suffered more than their enemies. Even the surrender of Sicily was rather a moral than a material loss to the Carthaginians; while between the years 252—247 B.C. alone the muster-roll of Roman citizens showed a loss of more than 46,000 men. In little more than a score of years the struggle recommenced.

§ 132. No sooner had Carthage concluded the war with Rome (241 B.C.) than she was involved in new The Inexpiable War. and even greater peril. It was only by his consummate genius that Hamilcar Barca had been enabled to keep his untrustworthy mercenaries to their allegiance during the last years of the late war, for the home government had furnished him with neither money nor supplies.

Consequently, when he sent back his troops from Sicily to Carthage, considerable arrears of pay were due to them. The Carthaginian government either could not or would not satisfy their claims: an attempt to cajole them drove them to mutiny, and the capital was besieged by a horde of 20,000 barbarians and desperadoes collected from almost every nation of the Mediterranean. But there was greater misfortune to come: the native Libyans and the subject towns, including even Utica, threw off the Carthaginian yoke and joined the rebels. It seemed that Carthage was doomed: not merely was she destitute of ships and treasure and troops, but even in this time of peril her councils were divided by furious quarrels and party feuds. The peace-party, which found a leader in Hanno styled "The Great," included the majority of the Select Council and The Hundred; the war-party, headed by Hamilcar Barca, derived its main strength from the poorer classes, who protested against the abandonment of a national policy to gratify oligarchical greed and exclusiveness. At last the government was compelled to give the command to Hamilcar, as previously in Sicily. His combined popularity and generalship changed the face of affairs, and in the fourth year, amid unparalleled barbarities on both sides, the Inexpiable or Truceless War came to an end, 237 B.C.

Sardinia was garrisoned for Carthage by a small force of mercenaries. Following the example of their

Cession of
Sardinia,
240 B.C.

fellows in Africa, these also threw off their allegiance: they attempted to seize the island for themselves, but finding the resistance of the natives greater than they had bargained for, they volunteered to surrender themselves and the island to Rome. In defiance of all justice the senate accepted the offer, and the ex-

postulations of Carthage were met only with the threat of instant war unless she should at once abandon her claim to Sardinia and pay a further sum of 1200 talents. For the time Hamilcar advised compliance, but the wrong sank deeply into his soul: under the smart of this injustice he caused his son Hannibal, now a child of nine, to take a solemn vow of eternal hatred to the Romans—a vow which was redeemed to the full in after years.

§ 133. Before resuming the narrative of the struggle between Rome and Carthage—and the peace of 241 B.C. was hardly ratified before there occurred ^{Conflicts with the Gauls.} fresh collisions between the two powers—it will be convenient to describe the steps by which Rome extended her frontier beyond the northern Apennines to the Padus (*Po*), and secured her sovereignty over the Adriatic. For many years after the battle of Lake Vadimo the Gauls made no further movement, remaining in a state of unwonted calm due partly to the doom of the Senones, partly no doubt to the fact that their more restless warriors had found employment in the First Punic War by serving as mercenaries on the Carthaginian side. In 238 B.C. they once more bestirred themselves: the Boii, the most powerful of the Gallic tribes, summoning to their aid their kinsmen beyond the Western Alps, attacked Ariminum, which was Rome's most recent and most advanced colony in the north and the especial object of their hatred. The confederates effected nothing on this occasion, for they quarrelled and turned their arms against each other; but in consequence of this disturbance, proposals for settling colonists on the devastated lands of the Senones about Ariminum began to be discussed at Rome, and in 232 B.C. the popular tribune C. Flaminius carried a measure to this effect, in spite of the

violent opposition of the senate and of the nobles, who had occupied the land and hoped in time to make it their own property. Unlike some other agrarian laws, that of Flaminius seems to have been enforced with vigour, and many impoverished citizens found new homes in the north.

§ 134. The Gauls looked on quietly for some time, but in 225 B.C. the Boii, leaders as before in revolt, organized an alliance which included the Insubres and most of the tribes in Cisalpine Gaul, though the Cenomani and the Illyrian Veneti joined the Roman side. To meet their attack L. Aemilius Papus, one of the consuls, was posted at Ariminum, while a second army of Umbrians and Sabines was intended to guard the passes from Northern Italy into Etruria. The other consul of the year, C. Atilius Regulus, was absent in Sardinia. It was naturally expected that the Gauls would direct their first efforts against Ariminum; but instead of so doing they turned southwards, forced the passes of the Apennines, and marched straight upon Rome. They were not however to repeat the day of the Allia: by the time they reached Clusium (*Chiusi*) their accumulation of booty was such that they prepared to retreat, satisfied with their present spoils. Aemilius Papus was now at their heels, and his colleague Atilius Regulus had landed at Pisae (*Pisa*) with the army from Sardinia. At Telamon (*Telamone*), on the coast of Etruria, near the river Umbro (*Ombro*), the retreating Gauls were hemmed in between the two armies, and though they fought with the courage of their nation, they were cut to pieces almost to the last man. Regulus fell indeed, but with him fell 40,000 Gauls. The Romans resolved to follow up their advantage and to crush the Gauls in their own lands. Three campaigns sufficed for this object. In 224 B.C.

Gaulic War,
225 B.C.

Battle of
Telamon,
225 B.C.

the Boii and the Lingones submitted unconditionally. In 223 B.C. C. Flaminius, the author of the agrarian law of 232 B.C. and now consul, crossed the Padus and crushed the Insubres after an engagement in which he owed more to the sturdy valour of the legionaries than to his own skill. In 222 B.C. the Insubres, in consequence of a further victory of the consul M. Marcellus¹ and the taking of their capital Mediolanum (*Milan*), laid down their arms. The valley of the Padus thus passed completely under Roman influence; and the new conquest was secured by the establishment of two important Latin colonies at Placentia (*Piacenza*) and Cremona (*Cremona*), and by the extension of the great highway (now first called the Flaminian, after its completer the famous C. Flaminius) from Narnia across the Apennines to Ariminum (220 B.C.).

§ 135. When Rome had completed her line of colonies-- Ariminum, Sena Gallica, Firmum, Castrum First Illyrian War, 229 B.C. Novum, Hatria—by the occupation of Brundisium (*Brindisi*, 244 B.C.), it was evident that she would speedily assert control over the adjoining sea. After the First Punic War the Adriatic became more and more infested by Illyrian pirates, who, favoured by the dangerous creeks and innumerable islands of their wild and mountainous coast, preyed with impunity upon the merchant vessels of the Upper Sea and upon the coast towns of Greece. At length not even such considerable places as Apollonia (*Pollina*) and Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium, *Durazzo*) were secure from their raids, while the people of Coreyra (*Corfu*) were forced to surrender their once powerful island and to

¹ Marcellus won in this campaign the third and last—and only historically authenticated—*spolia opima*. General-in-chief of the Roman forces, he slew with his own hand the king of the Insubres, Vnidomarus, routed his army, and ended the war.

accept as their ruler a certain Demetrius from the island of Pharus (near *Salona*). The evil spread beyond endurance, and in 230 B.C. the senate, moved by the entreaties of the people of Issa (*Lissa*), and still more by depredations on Italian commerce, sent the envoys C. and L. Coruncanius to the pirates' capital-stronghold of Scodra (*Scutari*). At that time Queen Teuta was governing for her young son Pinnes, and stung by some remarks of the Romans, she caused the younger of the envoys to be waylaid and slain. The senate retaliated by sending (229 B.C.) both consuls across the sea. There was scarcely an attempt at resistance. Demetrius of Pharus handed over Corcyra on the first appearance of the invaders, and then assisted them in their attack on the Illyrian strongholds. By the following year (228 B.C.) all was quiet: the Illyrians were forbidden to sail beyond Lissus (*Alessio*), and were deprived of a part of their territory, which went to aggrandize the traitor Demetrius. The gratitude of the Greeks was unbounded: the Athenians admitted the Romans to the holy mysteries of Eleusis, and Corinth, not to be outdone, invited them to the Isthmian games, then in course of celebration. This was the first intercourse between the Romans and the Greeks in their own land.

For some years the Romans experienced no serious trouble from this quarter, but when they be-
Second Illyrian War, 219 B.C. came involved in further conflicts with the Gauls, Demetrius of Pharus turned traitor once more and recommenced his plundering expeditions. In the spring of 219 B.C. he was easily deposed by a Roman force under L. Aemilius Paullus. He found a refuge at the court of Antigonus of Macedonia, where he lived to foment hostilities between the two nations.

§ 136. At the close of the Inexpiable War Hamilcar Barca found himself the acknowledged leader of Carthaginian politics. The services which he <sup>The Barcidae
in Spain.</sup> had rendered to his country in Sicily against Rome and in Africa against the mercenaries had brought his party to the front, and the discredited oligarchs were obliged to look on passively while he was invested with the sole control of the army, subject only to the voice of the popular assembly. In possession of this dictatorial authority he resolved to win for his country a new empire in Spain, a country of inexhaustible wealth and in every way superior to the lost island of Sicily. Moreover, the Spanish tribes afforded the material for armies not less valiant than numerous, and the country offered a new and formidable base of operations against Rome. For it was no secret in Carthage that the head of the Barcidae had pledged himself and his family to be avenged on Rome.

In 237 B.C. he crossed to Gades (*Cádiz*), and with that port for his capital he steadily pursued his schemes, organizing a military force and conquering or winning over the native tribes, until he died in battle nine years later, 228 B.C. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who founded a new capital in Carthago Nova (*Carthagena*), and extended the Carthaginian power as far north as the Tagus. When he fell (221 B.C.) by an assassin's hand, that Hannibal whom Hamilcar had caused to swear eternal enmity to the Romans had attained maturity. He was now twenty-eight years old: his training in the hardest of military schools had made him an adept in every art of the soldier and the general, and he was endowed in the fullest degree with the subtlety and persistence of his nation. He at once set about the work to which his father had dedicated him. His first two campaigns were directed

against some tribes on the southern bank of the Iberus (*Ebro*). These ended, he deliberately threw down his challenge to Rome by laying siege to Saguntum (*Murviédro*), a Spanish town which Rome had taken under her protection some years before. The senate sent an embassy warning him to desist, but Hannibal was deaf to its admonitions, and after a terrible siege of eight months—for Spaniards have ever been noted for their stubborn resistance—stormed Saguntum, 219 B.C. Thereupon a Roman embassy to Carthage demanded the surrender of Hannibal. The demand was refused, and war was formally declared.

§ 137. In several points the Carthaginians were at a disadvantage as compared with the Romans: The Cause of the Second Punic War. their naval force was of the weakest, their treasury had scarcely recovered from the exhaustion of her late struggle, and—what was of greater import than all else—while Carthage found it a hard task to keep her subjects in obedience, there was growing throughout Italy the feeling that Rome deserved her position as head of the Italian nations. Yet old sores still rankled: whatever position the Latins took up, Hannibal might reasonably hope that the Marsians, Samnites, Campanians, Lucanians, and Bruttians would remember their humiliation and rise against their masters when he appeared among them. But his surest allies were the Gauls of Northern Italy—those Boii and Insubres whom the Romans had only four years since reduced, and in whose territories they had during this very year (218 B.C.) erected the fortress-colonies of Placentia and Cremona—and it was their country which he determined to make the scene of his first campaign. In the summer of 218 B.C. Hannibal set out from Carthago Nova with a force of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37

elephants. Between the Iberus and the Pyrenees the native tribes were up in arms, and so costly was their reduction that when Hannibal had at length effected it and detached a force to keep them in check, and had further dismissed such of his own troops as were faint-hearted, he had remaining but 50,000 men and 9000 horse.

Reaching the Rhone without further opposition, he forced a passage in the face of some hostile

*Passage of
the Rhone.*

Gauls, and was already marching up the left bank northwards, when he learned that a Roman army had been landed at Massilia (*Marseilles*). The Romans in fact had just missed their last chance of intercepting Hannibal before his appearance in the valley of the Padus. Early in the year they had raised two armies: of these, one under Tiberius Sempronius Longus sailed to Sicily with a

view to crossing thence into Africa; P. Cornelius

*The Romans
out generally*

Scipio was to lead the other to Spain and there attack Hannibal on his own ground. That Hannibal intended to invade Italy never occurred to Roman minds: they fancied that they would themselves be left to take the offensive, and that the double attack upon Africa and Spain would effectually paralyze their enemies' movements. Hannibal's real design came upon them like a revelation when P. Cornelius Scipio, coasting leisurely towards Massilia on his way to Spain, learned first that the Carthaginians were on the Rhone, next that they had crossed the river and were already marching for the passes of the Alps. The news caused no change in the destination of his troops, though their presence at this critical moment in the valley of the Po might even now have ruined Hannibal's plans. Scipio had not the strength of character to modify on his own responsibility the deliberate policy of the senate: he sent on his two legions to Spain under his brother

Gnaeus, and himself returned to Genua (*Genoa*). The destined attack of Sempronius upon Africa was even more abortive: he had got no further than Sicily when he was recalled with both his legions to assist in the defence of Italy.

§ 138. The place where Hannibal crossed the Rhone

The Crossing
of the Alps.

was in the neighbourhood of Arausio (*Orange*). The enmity of the Ligurian tribes deterred him from passing into Italy by way of the sea-coast. He was therefore obliged to make use of one of the more northerly passes—those of the Great St. Bernard, the Little St. Bernard, Mt. Cenis, and Mt. Genèvre. Which of these he actually took is still a subject of dispute: Livy and Polybius, the chief authorities, differ so essentially in their account of the march that it is impossible to reconcile their conflicting statements. Livy favours the Mt. Genèvre, while the narrative of Polybius, an earlier writer and one better acquainted with the locality, points either to Mt. Cenis or the Little St. Bernard. Modern historians, however, are practically unanimous in deciding for the Little St. Bernard, a pass which, besides presenting fewer difficulties than the others, was the recognized path of intercourse between the Gauls of Italy and their fellow-countrymen of the west, and was therefore familiar to the Insubres who acted as Hannibal's guides. Moreover, upon their egress from this pass the Carthaginians would at once find themselves in the territory of the friendly Salassi. Hannibal proceeded northwards for several days up the Rhone, crossed the Isara (*Isère*), and then, marching eastward from Vienna (*Vienne*) through the fertile lands of the Allobroges, found himself at the first terrace of the Alps (*Mont du Chat*). Here his difficulties commenced: while his army was winding along the edge of precipices, the natives assaulted him from the mountains above, and the

baggage train, on which depended the safety of the whole expedition, was barely saved. Coming now again to the Isara in the upper part of its course, he commenced to climb the main wall of the Alpine chain. On the ninth day of the ascent, after constant fighting with the mountaineers, he reached the summit. It was now late October, and the perils of their position and the dreadful cold might well dispirit his Spanish and African levies; but their courage rose when their general pointed out that the spoils of Italy were now within their grasp, and after a rest of two days, the descent began. In its downward course the army found itself on a glacier terminating in an abyss, beyond which it seemed impossible to pass; but with three days' toil a road was engineered, and at length the Carthaginian forces, shrunken and shattered with the privations of the march, reached the valley of the Duria (*Dora Baltea*, near *Aosta*), where they were able to recruit their strength. The Alps were passed, but at an enormous cost; for now Hannibal had remaining but 22,000 foot and 6000 cavalry. There had perished three out of every five of his infantry, and a third of his horse.

§ 139. When P. Cornelius Scipio returned from Massilia and reached Placentia, he found two legions awaiting him in the valley of the Padus, where they were acting with nothing but disaster against a new rising of the Boii, whom the colonization of Placentia and Cremona and the promptings of Hannibal's emissaries had driven once more to arms. With these troops he instantly hastened westwards along the northern bank of the river, crossed the Ticinus (*Ticino*), and engaged the Carthaginians for the first time in an unsuccessful skirmish upon that stream, himself receiving a severe wound. He then crossed to the southern bank of

The First
Campaign,
218 B.C.

the Padus, and retreated to Placentia. Hannibal followed him closely, and while Scipio encamped on the left or western bank of the Trebia (*Trebbia*), a small stream flowing from the Apennines into the Padus, he took up his position on the opposite bank, about six miles from Placentia. A battle was becoming imminent when Scipio was at length joined by the other consul, Tib. Sempronius Longus, with the two legions recalled from Sicily. Sempronius, irritated by his disappointment of a campaign in Africa, and longing to strike a decisive blow before his term of office expired, resolved to force on a battle. Nothing could be better suited to Hannibal's plans than such a frame of mind : he posted his brother Mago and a squadron of cavalry in ambush, where rushes and brambles concealed a dried-up watercourse, and at daydawn sent out a detachment of Numidian horse to entice the enemy across the river. The challenge was eagerly accepted, and when the Numidians purposely retired, the Romans, though sleet was falling and they had taken no food to prepare them for the coming struggle, rushed in pursuit through the icy waters of the Trebia and past Mago's ambush. Their cavalry soon fell back, and the infantry, after a gallant fight with Hannibal's main body, was already thrown into utter rout when Mago started from his ambuscade and attacked it in the rear. The consuls retreated to Ariminum with the miserable remnant of their legions, leaving Hannibal in possession of all Cisalpine Gaul excepting the two fortresses of Placentia and Cremona.

Battle of
the Trebia,
218 B.C.

§ 140. The consuls for 217 B.C. were C. Flaminius and Cn. Servilius. Of Flaminius' political sym-

The Second
Campaign,
217 B.C.

pathies we have already spoken : he was the champion of the poorer classes, and his second election to the consulship was only won after a fierce

electioneering struggle with the nobles. Even then the senate set to work against him all the machinery of superstition, and when he set off to Ariminum without having first gone through the customary formalities, it insisted upon his immediate return. Flaminius, not for the first time in his career, paid no heed to the demand: leaving his colleague at Ariminum, he established his own camp near Arretium (*Arezzo*) in Etruria and awaited Hannibal's movements. As soon as spring rendered the passes practicable, Hannibal crossed the Apennines, some where to the north of Luca, and gained the plains about the upper Arnus (*Arno*), now flooded through the melting of the snows. Here among the swamps his men suffered terribly, and Hannibal himself lost an eye from ophthalmia, before reaching the higher ground near Faesulae (*Fiesole*). Thence Hannibal, learning that the consuls were not in conjunction, marched past Flaminius' quarters at Arretium and proceeded southwards until he reached the northern shore of L. Trasimenus (*Lago di Perugia*) between Cortona and Perugia. Knowing that Flaminius would follow him to protect Rome, Hannibal waited at a point where the horns of a semi-circular range of hills approached the lake so closely as to leave but narrow defiles

The Battle of
Lake Trasimenus,
217 B.C.

by its shore. At the further pass he posted some of his troops in full sight of the enemy; the rest he carefully concealed about the more northerly defile. A mist hung all along the defile when in the early morning Flaminius with his 30,000 soldiers marched into the trap. When the whole force was now between the two divisions of the Carthaginian army, Hannibal gave the signal for attack. His troops rushed down from the hills, and while some blocked up the defile in the rear, the others set upon

the main body of the Romans. It was impossible for the legions to form in line in so confined a space, and they were cut down almost without resistance. Six thousand men forced their way out, only to surrender to Hannibal's cavalry. The entire army was destroyed or captured. Flaminius himself, seeing that all was lost, died sword in hand. Soon afterwards Servilius the other consul was reduced to inactivity, for his cavalry, sent from Ariminum to effect a junction with Flaminius, was annihilated among the Umbrian hills.

§ 141. Moved by these disasters, the senate resolved to revive the dictatorship, an office that had almost fallen into abeyance. But according to constitutional practice only a consul could name a dictator, and now Flaminius was dead and communication with Servilius was impossible. The matter was referred to the comitia, and by the vote of the people Q. Fabius Maximus was made Pro-dictator, and M. Minucius Rufus his Master of Horse.

Contrary to general expectation, Hannibal did not march on Rome after his victory at L. Trasimenus. Fully aware that it was useless for him to attempt the siege of a place so strongly fortified, he passed through Umbria to the Adriatic Sea, and allowed his weary soldiers to rest awhile in the fertile plains of Picenum. Thence he proceeded leisurely through the lands of the Vestini, Marrucini and Frentani, gathering in booty from all sides, until he came to Apulia. At Arpi (near *Foggia*) he was once more confronted by a Roman army, but the tactics of its general were such as no Roman had ever before employed: Fabius had resolved not to tempt fortune by a pitched battle, and despite all the provocations of Hannibal, who devastated the country before his yes, and the impatience of his own officers, he persistently

Fabius
Cunctator.

followed the Carthaginians from place to place, cutting off stragglers here, capturing a baggage-train there, intent only on out-wearying the invader and gaining time for Rome to recover from her wounds. He dogged Hannibal's steps from Apulia to Beneventum (*Benevento*); from Beneventum into Campania, deservedly called the garden of Italy; and looked on without interference while villages and homesteads went up in flames. Once, in a defile by the upper waters of the Volturnus (*Volturmo*), it seemed as though he had trapped the Carthaginian. But Hannibal's craft had not deserted him: by tying lighted faggots to the horns of some oxen, and driving the terrified animals over the heights upon one side of the valley, he induced Fabius to abandon the head of the pass and hurry after them in pursuit of the imaginary fugitives. Hannibal then marched quietly out, again ravaged Samnium, and so returned to Apulia, where he made Geronium, between the Tifernus (*Biferno*) and the Frento (*Fortore*), his headquarters. At this time Fabius had gone to Rome, leaving Minucius in command. The young and impetuous Master of Horse was anxious to strike a blow, and actually won some small advantages over the hitherto unbeaten Carthaginians. His success had a great effect on parties at Rome: Minucius, the nominee of the popular party, was raised to an equality with Fabius, whose nickname of Cunctator or the Laggard expressed the small esteem in which he was held. The two commanders now divided their forces and occupied separate encampments; whereupon Hannibal, perfectly informed of the state of affairs, laid an ambush and tempted Minucius to an engagement. He was in imminent danger of annihilation, when Fabius generously came to his aid and beat off Hannibal. Not to be outdone, Minucius laid down his separate authority.

The praise of Fabius was on every one's lips: as the poet Ennius sang afterwards, he had for the time "saved the state by his delay"—

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,"

and given to Rome a breathing-space before the renewal of the struggle.

§ 142. The consular elections for 216 B.C., which did not pass off without violent party quarrels, resulted in the election of C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus. Varro, a man of low birth, was the champion of the popular party, and had been one of Minucius' chief supporters in the preceding year. Aemilius Paulus belonged as decidedly to the aristocrats: he was a man of some military skill, and had commanded in the Second Illyrian war. The consuls, sharing the command upon alternate days, took the field with the unprecedented number of 80,000 foot and 6000 horse, and as the senate feared the defection of the allies if the ravages of Hannibal were continued with impunity, it ordered the new commanders to abandon the tactics of Fabius and to accept battle whenever opportunity offered. At first both armies were posted on the southern side of the Aufidus (*Ofanto*), Hannibal at Cannae (*Canne*), the Romans a few miles higher up the river. Subsequently Aemilius transferred a portion of his troops to the northern bank, and when Hannibal also sent across some of his cavalry and prevented the Romans from getting at the water, Varro, whose day of command it now was, boldly led the entire army across the stream, and in a bend of the river prepared for battle. He drew up the double army with a front of the usual breadth but in twice the customary depth, supported right and left by the cavalry.

The Third
Campaign,
216 B.C.

Hannibal did not decline the challenge : he put his whole force across the Aufidus—it was little more than half as numerous as that of the Romans—and facing northwards, with the river winding along his left and rear, drew up his line of battle. In the centre he posted his Gallic and Spanish foot, and there commanded Cannæ,
216 B.C. in person. On either side of his main body, but somewhat behind them, was his Libyan infantry ; while on both flanks, well in advance, was stationed his cavalry, a strong force of 8000 heavy horsemen under Hasdrubal being on the left by the river, and a much smaller body of Numidians on the right. The battle began when Hasdrubal's horse charged the weaker Roman cavalry : routing these they made their way behind the main force of the Romans to the opposite wing where the Numidian horse were keeping up a stubborn fight. The double attack soon scattered the Roman cavalry, and by this time the infantry, now closely engaged in the centre, was drawing nearer to the Aufidus, the Carthaginians purposely falling back, and the Romans pressing on them in the hope of forcing them into the river. At this crisis Hasdrubal fell upon the rear of the Romans while the Libyans wheeled inward upon their flanks. Then the battle became a massacre. As at Trasimenus, the Romans had no room for manœuvring : beset in front, flank, and rear, they fell where they stood, until after a butchery of eight hours 50,000 of them lay dead on the field. The Roman camps on the Aufidus were both taken, and in them or elsewhere 20,000 fugitives. Aemilius Paulus, Minucius the late Master of Horse, the ex-consul Servilius, and no fewer than eighty senators, perished. Varro with less than a hundred horsemen made good his escape to Venusia ; and thither came the other survivors, two thousand or so in all, to join him.

§ 143. Any other state than Rome would have abandoned
 the struggle after so frightful a defeat, and
 Feeling in Rome. even at Rome for a short time there was panic.

One of the consuls had perished, and many of the other magistrates were either dead or absent. The senate was reduced to a mere handful. The loss of men and treasure was beginning to be felt severely : at least 120,000 citizens had already perished ; and not merely were so many homes left vacant or ruined, but the domain land, the pastures, and the mines of Southern Italy were in the hands of the enemy, and so long as this remained the case there must be a grievous diminution in the revenues on which the government chiefly depended. After the first shock, however, hope revived : there was no fear of the revolt of the cities of Latium or of all the many colonies and fortresses where-with Italy was studded. Fabius the Laggard infused some of his own stubborn courage into the remnant of the senate. M. Marcellus was ordered to proceed to Apulia and collect the survivors of the battle ; Varro, the surviving consul, was publicly thanked because he had not despaired of his native land. In the next year (215 B.C.) the senate was restored to its usual complement by the admission of 177 new members ; money was raised by new war-loans and by sumptuary duties on plate and similar luxuries, and a force of 18 legions, or (including the allies) about 200,000 men, was put into the field. To fill up the complement of the legions 12,000 criminals and slaves were liberated and armed.

§ 144. The character of the war now undergoes a change :
 the onward sweep of Hannibal's career, which
 lends such interest to the first three campaigns,
 terminates with this his greatest victory. The
 Character of the War after Cannæ. war becomes a record of sieges and marches and counter-

marches, in which Hannibal's genius, though in reality as great as ever, shows to less brilliant effect. The Romans indeed gave him little opportunity of dealing any further crushing blows : they reverted to the tactics of Fabius, who had first taught them how to withstand their terrible antagonist, and resolved for the future never to stake everything on a pitched battle, but to rely chiefly on the network of fortresses which they had spread over Italy. Keeping thus on the defensive at home, they were able to pass to the offensive abroad, and finally to compel the withdrawal of Hannibal from Italy for the defence of his native land.

Such a policy was the last for which Hannibal could have wished. It was only by brilliant victories that he could hope to win to his side the subjects of Rome in Italy : he must show himself able to defend them if they dared to renounce their allegiance, and it was to prove this that he had thrice welcomed the hazard of a pitched battle. His sole prospect of ultimate success lay in the dissolution of the Roman confederacy, for his own forces were too few to capture Rome, no matter how often they might defeat her armies. He was without the materials or the numbers requisite for constant sieges. He could neither coerce Rome without the aid of the Italians, nor win the aid of the Italians against their will. If they were ever to join him at all it would surely be after his last superlative victory. But he was disappointed. The minor peoples of the south—Hirpini and Caudini, Calabrians, Lucanians and Bruttians—joined him indeed, but these were just the peoples least to be feared as foes and least valuable as friends ; but general rising in his favour there was none, and as it did not come now, he knew that it would not come at all. It only remained for him to maintain himself

Position of
Hannibal.

in Italy until he could be joined by his brother Hasdrubal with a second army from Spain. Then perhaps he might be able to coerce the Italians at large, and with them Rome herself.

§ 145. At the moment of his triumph indeed it seemed that

Revolt of
Capua,
216 B.C.

his hopes might be realized. He was joined by many Apulian cities—notably Arpi, Salapia, and Herdonea; by the Lucanians and Bruttians;

and by those inveterate enemies of the Roman power, the Samnite cantons of the Hirpini and Caudini. What was a greater gain, immediately after Cannae he was admitted into Capua, next to Rome the wealthiest and most flourishing city of the peninsula. In Capua the aristocratic party of the Knights was generally devoted to the Romans, who had granted them the full suffrage and settled on them an income from the Capuan domain-lands. One of their number however, Pacuvius Calavius, was a staunch partizan of Hannibal, and, supported by the populace, he extorted from his compeers a sullen assent to his policy. Hannibal spent the winter of 216 B.C. at Capua, in the neighbourhood of which, at Mt. Tifata, he fortified a camp, after spending the autumn of that year in more or less successful attempts upon the various towns of Campania: at Nola he met with a repulse, Nuceria and Acerrae welcomed him, Casilinum he only reduced after a protracted

The Campaign
of 215 B.C.

and stubborn resistance from its petty garrison, Cumae and Neapolis he failed to take. On the other hand, Locri and Crotona admitted him (215 B.C.) as a means of casting off the Roman yoke; so that, although he made little progress in Campania, where Roman influence was all-powerful, he established himself firmly in the more southern parts of Italy, so securing free communication with Carthage by sea. But it became every day more clear

that Hannibal must look for allies elsewhere than in Italy. He found one in Philip, King of Macedonia, with whom the overtures of Hannibal's emissaries answered entirely to his own wishes : he was jealous of the recent interference of the Romans in Illyria, and believed himself able to deal with them there while Hannibal kept them busy in Italy. Accordingly he concluded an alliance with Hannibal, but he proved so irresolute an ally that the senate never found it needful to detach any large force for service beyond the Adriatic.

In the next year the consuls retook Casilinum and raided the lands of the revolted Samnites.

214 B.C.

Hannibal was foiled in an attack on Tarentum, and lay passive for the greater part of the year, waiting in vain for reinforcements from Spain, from Carthage, and from Macedonia. Philip made as if to attack Apollonia, now in dependence upon Rome, but changed his mind and remained inactive. Similarly the year 213 B.C. slipped away without material results. The Romans gained some small successes in Bruttium ; but so far as Italy was concerned, the war settled down into a wearisome monotony, Hannibal seeking opportunities for battle as eagerly as the Romans avoided them.

213 B.C.

§ 146. Meanwhile Sicily was in confusion. Hiero, the old and faithful ally of Rome, died in 215 B.C., after a long and prosperous reign, leaving his kingdom of Syracuse to his grandson Hieronymus, a boy of fifteen. Prompted by foolish family intrigues, the young prince opened communications with Hannibal, and notwithstanding the warnings of Appius Claudius, the Roman praetor in Sicily, framed a convention by which he was to receive the whole of the island in return for his assistance. At Syracuse

The War in
Sicily,
214 B.C.—210
B.C.

there was, however, a strong party with Roman sympathies, and these contrived the death of Hieronymus, subsequently massacring all that remained of the line of Hiero. The atrocity aroused the furious indignation of the popular party: the Romanizing leaders, mostly wealthy merchants, were expelled or murdered, and the government of the city was entrusted to Hippocrates and Epicydes, the emissaries of Hannibal. M. Claudius Marcellus, the consul, advanced against Syracuse, but his attempts to storm it were foiled by the skill of the great mathematician Archimedes, and he was reduced to the necessity of a blockade.

At this time Syracuse comprised a number of quarters each with its own walls and fortifications. The southernmost of these was Ortygia, situated on a small island, and therefore peculiarly suitable for a stronghold. Originally the spot first settled by the colonists of Syracuse, it had been cleared of dwelling-houses, and was now a fortress containing the magazines and treasury of the city and garrisoned by a large body of mercenaries. North of Ortygia lay Achradina, and extending over the triangular plateau to the west were the more recent suburbs of Neapolis, Tyche, and Epipolae, these together forming the third main division of the city. For a time the Romans made little progress in the siege. The Carthaginian government, on Hannibal's advice, made a determined effort to defend the place, and their general Himilco, landing with a force of 15,000 men, occupied Agrigentum, which had to some extent recovered from its overthrow in the First Punic War. These efforts were assisted by the cruelties of Marcellus and the Romans. At Enna (*Castro Giovanni*), a position of some importance in central Sicily, the commandant of the Roman garrison,

Siege of
Syracuse,
214 B.C.—212
B.C.

suspecting the loyalty of the townspeople, summoned them into the theatre on pretext of reading a proclamation, and there massacred them indiscriminately. Disaffection spread throughout the Sicilian towns.

In 212 B.C., however, Marcellus was successful in surprising part of Syracuse. At a great festival, when, as he anticipated, all Syracuse was given up to revelry, he assaulted the weak fortifications on the north and made his way into Epipolæ. Tyche and Neapolis were next gained, but Marcellus' difficulties were by no means at an end. Not only were Achradina and the yet stronger Ortygia still in the hands of the enemy, but the Carthaginian forces under Hippocrates and Himilco were entrenched just without the gates on the swampy plain of the Anapus (*Anapo*). As often in the history of Syracuse, a terrible pestilence broke out in the army encamped amongst the marshes: the Carthaginians died off by thousands, and both their generals perished. Epicydes, who had so far conducted the defence, saw that his case was hopeless, and fled to Agrigentum. In the autumn a Spanish officer opened the gates of Ortygia and Achradina, and the Romans were masters of Syracuse after a siege of more than two years. The usual atrocities marked its downfall: the city was pillaged, and most of its treasures of art carried off to Rome. Archimedes was cut down by a Roman soldier. The war in Sicily lasted two years longer owing to the energy of Mutines, a Libyan officer, who waged a guerilla war with the Romans, until the repeated slights of a jealous colleague led him in revenge to betray Agrigentum, 210 B.C. After this the island became once more a peaceful province, whose destiny it was to provide corn for its masters and submit patiently to the extortions of the governors, tax-collectors, and money-lenders of victorious Rome.

§ 147. The year 212 B.C. was thus marked by a signal and most important gain in Sicily: elsewhere it brought serious disaster to the Roman arms. Both in Italy and in Spain the tide was with the Carthaginians. It will be remembered that

The War in
Spain,
218 B.C.—212
B.C.

P. Scipio, after failing to intercept Hannibal near the Rhone, sent forward his army under his brother Gnaeus Scipio into Spain (218 B.C.). That officer speedily won over the country between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, although it had apparently been subdued by Hannibal just before. He made Tarraco (*Tarragona*) his head-quarters, and there in 217 B.C. he was joined by his brother Publius, the consul of 218 B.C., with 8000 fresh troops. This energetic action of the Romans (which, it must be remembered, occurred after the disastrous battle of Trasimenus) had

Battle of Ibern,
216 B.C.

great influence on the war, for in 216 B.C., the year of Cannae, the two Scipios routed Hasdrubal at a place called Ibera, just when the latter was preparing to march to the assistance of his brother Hannibal. But for this check, the Romans would have been obliged to meet two armies in Italy at the most critical period of the struggle, and with Hasdrubal devastating the north while Hannibal held the south, they must very possibly have been forced to submit. The victory was attended by a further benefit: a powerful reinforcement of 12,000 foot which Mago, the youngest brother of Hannibal, was to have led to Italy, was thereby diverted to Spain. Emboldened by their success, the Scipios carried on the struggle with vigour: at Illiturgi they are said to have routed the Carthaginians with a loss of 60,000 men; and whatever exaggeration may be contained in the narrative of their panegyrists, no doubt they gained further important victories, which enabled them to advance south of the

Ebro and retake Saguntum, 215 B.C. To some extent their progress was due to an insurrection of Syphax, a tributary Numidian prince, which kept the Carthaginians busy nearer home. The Scipios sent Roman officers to help the insurgent, and themselves, for the first time in Roman history, hired mercenaries on a large scale. It seemed as though the Carthaginians might be driven entirely from Spain; but, Syphax submitting, Hasdrubal and Mago crossed from Africa with their entire forces, and in the campaign of 212 B.C. cut off the armies of P. and Cn. Scipio in detail. Both the brothers were killed while fighting at the head of their troops, Carthaginian influence was fully re-established in Spain, and it seemed as though the oft-attempted project of sending reinforcements thence to Hannibal was about to obtain realization.

Defeat and
Death of the
Scipios,
212 B.C.

§ 148. The Romans were almost as unfortunate in Italy. Early in the year Tarentum went over to Hannibal. The loss was due to a useless act of cruelty perpetrated by the Romans, who punished with death the attempted escape of some Tarentine hostages. The anti-Roman party in Tarentum took advantage of the general indignation to admit Hannibal; but M. Livius Macatus, the governor, kept possession of the citadel, nor, in spite of the repeated efforts of the Carthaginians, was he ever dislodged. Heraclea and Thurii followed the example of Tarentum, so that Rhegium was the only city on the southern coast that remained faithful to the Romans. But Hannibal still found it impossible to gain a permanent footing in the cities round Capua, and Capua itself was daily hemmed in more and more closely by the legions. The Romans, in fact, whose armies had hovered about the rebel city in the last two campaigns,

The Italian
Campaign
of 212 B.C.

resolved to make the punishment of Capua the first object of the war, and to take such vengeance as should effectually keep the other cities of Italy to their allegiance. The Capuans became straitened for provisions: they appealed to Hannibal, but allowed the convoy he sent to be captured through their own remissness, and the Carthaginian had to appear in person to relieve the blockade. No sooner did the consuls hear of his approach than they retired, and for the time Capua was saved. Hastening south again, Hannibal marched against the other armies which Rome had put in the field, and defeated one in Lucania and a second near Herdonea (*Ordona*) in Apulia—the latter, under Fulvius Flaccus, so utterly, that of 18,000 men barely 2000 escaped. Yet scarcely had he turned his back on Capua than the three Roman armies gathered again around the doomed city, and beleaguered it with a double line of works. Once more the Capuans appealed for succour, and Hannibal promised that he would appear at the fit season.

§ 149. In the spring of 211 B.C. it was evident that Capua could hold out no longer. On learning ^{Fall of Capua, 211 B.C.} its danger, Hannibal marched again into Campania, hoping that the legions would withdraw at his coming as they had done in the preceding year. But by this time they were secure behind their intrenchments, and though Hannibal pitched his camp hard by on Mt. Tifata, they stirred not. To storm their position was hopeless, and Hannibal could only draw off his troops towards Rome on the chance that they might follow and be tempted to an engagement. He proceeded slowly along the Latin Way, marking his passage with fire and pillaging, but only one of the investing armies moved. He stayed before Rome some days, but to assault those massive walls was out of the question, and he marched away in the direction of

Samnium. Soon afterwards Capua surrendered. The leaders of the revolt had already put themselves beyond human vengeance. Of the remainder, fifty-three senators were scourged and beheaded, three hundred of the noblest Campanian youths were thrown into prison at Rome to die of starvation, while the common people were either sold into slavery or distributed among the Latin colonies. The city was deprived of its autonomy and put under the jurisdiction of a prefect from Rome. Such was the fall of Capua, nor did it ever recover from its overthrow.

In this year (211 B.C.) the statecraft of the senate brought about a coalition of the most powerful Eastern states against Philip of Macedon, notably of the Aetolians and of Pergamus (*Bergamo*) in Asia Minor. As a party to the coalition Rome sent a handful of troops across the Adriatic, but for the most part she was able to keep her enemy employed without cost to herself by judicious handling of her allies upon his borders.

§ 150. The loss of Capua was the greatest blow that had yet befallen Hannibal: it was useless now for him to hope that smaller towns would join him, or that there would occur any serious revolt from Rome. Yet though driven out of Campania, he was still master of Southern Italy: in 210 B.C. he gained over the prætor Cn. Fulvius Centumalus a second victory at Herdonea, almost as decisive as that of 212 B.C., and routed the consul M. Marcellus at Numistro, perhaps in Lucania. In 209 B.C. the senate was startled by the refusal of twelve of the Latin colonies to contribute further to the war. The cause of their refusal is unknown: probably it was sheer exhaustion, as they were mostly small communities. The remaining eighteen colonies, chiefly those at some considerable distance from Rome, showed no signs of flagging

loyalty, and the incident passed over. It was none the less an alarming symptom, and it found an echo, though for less satisfactory reasons, in Etruria, whither it became necessary to send yearly contingents to overawe the disaffected. In this year Q. Fabius Cunctator, consul for the fifth time, had the satisfaction of recovering Tarentum through the treachery of a Bruttian in the garrison, while Hannibal was engaged as successfully as ever with M. Marcellus or in Bruttium. The victors treated the captured city as harshly as custom allowed: they sold 30,000 of its people into slavery, and carried off all its famous statues and pictures to Rome. If Hannibal still had hopes of any assistance from Philip of Macedon, they were sadly weakened by the loss of this harbour. The chief object of the campaign of 208 B.C. was the recovery of Locri; its results

Death of Marcellus, 208 B.C. were absolute failure and the death of M. Marcellus, now enjoying his fifth consulate, near Venusia. Marcellus and his fellow-consul Crispinus had ridden out of their camp to reconnoitre, when a body of Numidian horse surprised them. Crispinus escaped only to die of his wounds; Marcellus fell fighting. Hannibal gave his body honourable interment, remarking that though he was not a great general he was a brave soldier. The epitaph was not undeserved: though merciless and avaricious, Marcellus had ever shown himself loyal and stout-hearted in the long struggle against Hannibal; he had been the spear of Rome as Fabius was her shield; he had never routed Hannibal, but neither had he been routed like a Varro or a Flaminius; and he had done what no one else had done in history in taking Syracuse by fair siege. Locri was saved, but when the next campaign came, the only districts that remained faithful to Hannibal were Bruttium and Apulia. But there had at last reached him

news that (207 B.C.) Hasdrubal had eluded the Romans in Spain and was in full march for Italy. Could he only effect a junction with his brother, he might yet be able to renew the struggle on equal terms.

§ 151. Though the death of the Scipios (212 B.C.) had apparently left Spain in the hands of the Carthaginians, the senate despatched troops in the following year to contest the prize with them. The War in Spain, 211 B.C. — 208 B.C. When further reinforcements were sent in 210

B.C., the command was bestowed on P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the dead P. Scipio, the consul of 218 B.C. Though he was only twenty-four years of age and had filled no public office save that of aedile, he seemed to have a hereditary right to conduct a Spanish war; and indeed he always treated Spain rather as a fief of his own than a part of the empire, disposing of its armies and wealth practically at will. He early justified the choice of the citizens. In 209 B.C., hearing that the three Carthaginian commanders in Spain were stationed at great distances from one another, and that Carthago Nova was garrisoned by only a small number of troops, he conceived the bold idea of marching 300 miles through hostile territory and assaulting that stronghold. The attack succeeded, and the seat of the Carthaginian government in Spain became with all its treasure and munitions of war the prize of the victor.

By this time Hasdrubal Barca, the brother of Hannibal, was determined at every cost to make his way into Italy. Leaving Carthago Nova in undisputed possession of the Romans, he set out on his long march in 208 B.C. He is said to have been routed by Scipio at Baeculæ (*Boyle*) on the upper Baetis (*Guadalquivir*) with a loss of 20,000 men, but his defeat must have been much exaggerated—possibly to exculpate Scipio for allowing so terrible a foe

to descend on Italy—inasmuch as he at once crossed the Pyrenees by one of the western passes, and had arrived in Gaul before Scipio learnt what had become of him. In the early spring of 207 B.C. Hasdrubal crossed the Alps, and, welcomed by the Gauls and Ligurians of Northern Italy, advanced to Sena (*Sinigaglia*) on the eastern coast.

§ 152. The Romans had long been aware of Hasdrubal's intentions, and made their preparations for this campaign with even more than their usual care.

The Battle of
the Metaurus,
207 B.C.

The consuls for 207 B.C. were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator: Livius was entrusted with the command in the north, while Nero watched Hannibal. Having reached Sena, Hasdrubal sent a letter to his brother asking him to meet him in Umbria; but Hannibal was marching from one point of Southern Italy to another in the face of superior numbers, and the messengers, instead of finding him, fell into the hands of Nero near Tarentum. Thus Nero was perfectly informed of Hasdrubal's movements while Hannibal was still ignorant of them. He at once took upon himself the responsibility of quitting his own province regardless of the result, and with a picked force of 8000 troops set out without attracting the notice of Hannibal and joined Livius before Sena. Hasdrubal discovered that both consuls were opposing him and concluded that his brother had been defeated. Seeing no chance of a successful battle, he prepared to retreat across the Metaurus (*Metauro*). His guides misled him in the darkness of the night, and when day dawned he had no alternative but to prepare for battle, with troops exhausted and an impassable river behind him. The result was the destruction of his army. Hannibal only learnt of his brother's defeat and death when Nero ordered the head of Hasdrubal to be thrown into his camp. His last hope

gone, he withdrew into the recesses of Bruttium. In 205 B.C. he lost Locri, and learnt that Philip had concluded peace with Rome; after which he had nothing more to lose but his ability. That he never lost, and amongst the uplands of Bruttium for two years longer he continued the struggle, invincible as ever, until he was summoned home to defend Carthage, 203 B.C.

§ 153. The defeat of Hasdrubal was doubly disastrous, for it involved the loss of Spain. Hasdrubal Gisgo and Mago offered the best resistance Last years of the War, 207—202 B.C. they could with the weakened forces at their disposal; but step by step they lost ground, until Gades (*Cádiz*), their last foothold, was abandoned in 205 B.C. All resistance of the Spaniards was stamped out with the sternest barbarity. In 206 B.C., when the conquest of Spain was practically complete, Scipio had returned to Rome resolved to attack Carthage at home. He was unanimously elected consul for 205 B.C., and despite the opposition of Fabius Cunctator and the majority of the senate, he obtained Sicily as his province, with a grudging permission to carry the war into Africa if that course should seem advisable. For such a purpose neither men nor ships were voted on an adequate scale, but Scipio's mere name soon raised a sufficient army from Italian volunteers, and the Etruscan towns furnished him with a fleet. After spending a year in Sicily to complete his arrangements, he sailed from Lilybaeum as proconsul early in 204 B.C. He landed without opposition not far from Utica, which he at once proceeded to besiege. He had expected to Scipio in Africa, 204 B.C. receive effective help from Massinissa, prince of the Numidian Massyli; but unfortunately Massinissa had just been ejected from his kingdom by Syphax and the more westerly Numidian Massaesyli, and was wandering in exile

with a scanty body of followers. However, he did good service by accustoming the Romans to Numidian tactics, and after the summer of 204 B.C. had passed away without any decisive action, he prompted Scipio to attack the camps of Hasdrubal Gisco, the Carthaginian general, and his ally Syphax, and to set their rush-covered huts on fire. A terrible slaughter ensued, as many as 40,000 of the enemy perishing, but Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax made their escape to levy a second army, and Utica was still untaken. Scipio's successes continued in 203 B.C. He defeated Hasdrubal and Syphax at a place called the "Great Plains," and Massinissa followed up the advantage by capturing Syphax and the strong fortress of Cirta (*Constantine*); so that the whole strength of the Numidian people was now directed against the Carthaginians. Unable to continue the struggle longer, the Carthaginian government, after a fruitless attempt to negotiate a peace, in despair ordered the recall of Hannibal and of his brother Mago, who had been rousing the Ligurians against Rome. Mago died of a wound on the voyage home; but Hannibal, abandoning with many a regret the Italian land over which he had ranged at will for fifteen years, obeyed the mandate and landed at the Lesser Leptis, 203 B.C. Wintering at Hadrumentum, he took the field again in 202 B.C. for the last time. Opposed to him were Scipio and Massinissa: the latter he at first defeated, but on the Battle of Zama, 202 B.C. River Bagradas (*Mejerdeh*) he was attacked by the combined Romans and Numidians. Many of his levies were raw recruits incapable of contending against the trained legions, but his veteran troops kept their ground and died where they stood. The battle ended in Hannibal's first and final defeat: it was fought on the 19th October, 202 B.C., and is usually known as

the battle of Zama (*Djama*), though that place was some days' march to the east. Peace was concluded in the same year. The terms offered by Scipio were severe : Terms of
Peace. the Carthaginians were to give up all their ships of war save ten ; to pay 10,000 talents in ten years ; to recognize Massinissa as king of all Numidia ; to give up Spain, and such islands of the Mediterranean as they still retained ; and worst of all, to wage no war in Africa or elsewhere without the consent of Rome. Scipio, henceforward known by the *agnomen* of Africanus, returned to celebrate a splendid triumph.

§ 154. So the war ended. Abroad its results may be summed up as follows : Spain became a Roman province, although nearly two centuries were to Results of the
Second Punic
War. elapse before its unruly tribes submitted entirely to the foreign rule ; the hitherto independent state of Syracuse was amalgamated with the rest of Sicily and placed under the authority of a Roman governor ; Numidia passed into dependence on Rome, to be utilized as a convenient tool for the humiliation of Carthage ; and Carthage was degraded into a helpless mercantile city without army or freedom of action.

In Italy, those districts which had sided with Hannibal were punished without mercy ; the lands of Capua, the entire breadth of Bruttium, most of Lucania and Apulia, and many cantons of Samnium and Picenum were confiscated to the state. In addition the Romans began to set an ever-widening barrier between themselves and the other peoples of Italy. Those communities which possessed the passive franchise (*civitas sine suffragio*) were advanced to the full franchise : but this was the sole reward which the Italians received for their loyalty, while the position of the Latins (*nomen Latinum*) altered so much for the worse that few of

the allies cared to exchange their own charters of federation for the once envied Latin rights. In accord with this new policy of Rome were the repeated expulsions of Latin citizens from Rome, the curtailment of their privilege of migration to the capital, and the refusal to establish any further colonies with Latin rights. Of these the last to be planted on Italian soil was Aquileia (*Aquileia*), 184 B.C.

The effects of the war on Rome itself will be described subsequently. Briefly, it gave increased powers to the senate at the expense of the magistrates and the comitia; while, owing to the depopulation caused by the struggle, the old class of farmers disappeared and their lands were bought up by capitalists who worked large grass-farms by means of slaves. Many of the dispossessed agriculturists left the country to make a living by selling their votes at Rome, or by serving in the legions.

STEMMA OF THE SCIPIOS.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Cornelius Scipio, killed in
Spain, 212 B.C.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus,
killed in Spain, 212 B.C.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus
Maior, the victor of Zama,
202 B.C.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

(by adoption)

P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus
Africanus Minor (son of L.
Aemilius Paulus), raised Carthage,
146 B.C.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF FOREIGN CONQUEST.

§§ 155—159. The Fate of Alexander's Empire and the condition of the East in 200 B.C.—§ 160. The First Macedonian War.—§§ 161—165. The Second Macedonian War.—§§ 166—170. The Syrian War.—§§ 171—175. The Third Macedonian War.—§ 176. The Fourth Macedonian War.—§§ 177, 178. The Achaean War.—§§ 179—181. The Third Punic War.—§§ 182, 183. Wars in the North of Italy.—§§ 184—186. Spanish Wars.—§ 187. Cato the Censor.

§ 155. THE close of the Second Punic War left Rome without a rival in the western Mediterranean. In Rome and the East, however, there was an almost unlimited field of conquest, and thither she turned her legions. Nor was this policy without justification. In the first place, the intrigues of Philip of Macedon, coming as they did at the most critical period of the struggle with Carthage, might have proved fatal to the existence of Rome, and could hardly pass without punishment now that she was free from her Punic enemy. Secondly, there was a possibility that the Macedonians might, under an enterprising ruler, burst upon Italy as Hannibal had lately done. Thirdly, Egypt was the granary of the Mediterranean, and it was politic to preserve that country and its teeming produce for the benefit of Rome's increasing population, and to prevent it from becoming a dependency of Syria or Macedonia. Yet the Romans at large were little desirous of a new war of

unknown magnitude; and the career of Eastern conquest upon which they now entered was rather thrust upon them than sought for.

§ 156. Before narrating the course of the war with Macedon, it will be necessary to sketch the position of the nations bordering on the eastern Mediterranean at the commencement of the

*The Fate of
Alexander's
Empire.*

second century B.C., and in order to do so we must go back to the time of Alexander the Great, from whose military achievements the civilized East had taken a new political shape. When Alexander died in 323 B.C., he had brought beneath the sway of Macedon all the kingdoms of the ancient world which were recognized as anything more than barbaric. In Europe he was master of all Hellas—including the famous Athens, Sparta, and Thebes; in Africa, of the ancient kingdom of Egypt; and in Asia, of the whole country eastwards to the Indus—that is, of the vast regions attached more or less loosely to the fallen Persian empire. And though at his death his conquests at once fell asunder, yet the Greek philosophers and merchants who followed him introduced Greek civilization and the Greek language over all this great extent of country.

The royal line of Alexander was soon thrust from its heritage, and the provinces of his empire became the spoil of the Macedonian generals who had helped to conquer them. After many quarrels, coalitions, and wars, the most powerful of Alexander's officers, Antigonus of Asia, was defeated at Ipsus in Phrygia, 301 B.C.; and the bulk of his empire went to Seleucus, who was thus the first of the kings of Syria known from him as the Seleucidae. Egypt, the second of the great kingdoms which arose from the wreck of Alexander's empire, remained under the rule

of the Ptolemies, who had been in possession of it since the first partition in 323 B.C. Macedonia, the third of the great powers, ultimately fell into the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonos, and it was his great-grandson, Philip V., who first of the Macedonian kings came into conflict with the Roman power.

§ 157. The unwieldy Syrian empire, too heterogeneous to be controlled by any but the strongest will, was soon enfeebled by the revolt of its out-
In Asia.
Syria.
 lying dependencies. There thus arose in Asia a number of virtually autonomous principalities, of which the most influential were the semi-barbaric kingdoms of Bithynia, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, the confederation of the Galatians, the mercantile state of Pergamus, and the maritime league of Rhodes. While Asia Minor—especially the districts of the coast—paid only nominal obedience to the Seleucidae, in the farthest east and north-east the wild peoples of Bactria and the Caspian were still less under control, and in the south there was perpetual fighting against the encroachments of the compact Egyptian monarchy. Only in Syria and Mesopotamia—the region between the Levant and the Tigris—did the “king of kings” rule with anything like unquestioned authority.

The Galatians, kinsmen of the Senones who had burned Rome, were the descendants of a host of Gauls
The Gala-
tians.
 who, after overrunning Macedonia and Greece in 280 B.C. and the following year, crossed into the heart of Asia Minor, and there settled in the country known as Galatia—the land of the Asiatic Gauls. They were divided into three tribes—the Tolistoboi, Trocmi, and Tectosages; and each of these was again divided into four cantons, called Tetrarchies. The government was in the hands of twelve Tetrarchs, controlled by a senate of three hundred.

These Asiatic Gauls, a terror to their effeminate neighbours, repeatedly defeated the armies of Syria, and eventually compelled the Seleucidae to pay them tribute.

The kingdom of Pergamus (*Bergamo*), which was to become under Roman patronage the leading state of Asia Minor, was called into existence by the resolute defence shown by one Philetaerus when the Gauls swept over Asia, 279 B.C. Attalus, the first of his successors to receive the title of king, made his capital a great commercial city and the rival of Alexandria as a centre of Greek learning.

Rhodes, which threw off the yoke of Macedon immediately after the death of Alexander, made itself the head of a confederacy of Greek communities—including Sinope, Smyrna, Samos, Abydus, Byzantium and Mitylene—which fringed the coast of the Aegean. By policy the Rhodians were close allies of Egypt and Pergamus; and not being desirous of acquiring possessions on the mainland, they were on good terms with the leading powers of the East, to whom their great naval force rendered them of consequence.

§ 158. Under the descendants of Ptolemy, Egypt became a great mercantile state, which in conjunction with Rhodes and Pergamus dominated the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Its attacks on Syria were prompted less by territorial ambition than by the wish to possess the great ports of Syria and Phoenicia, and it was a similar motive that led it to annex Cyprus, Cyrene, some of the Cyclades, and even places in the Thracian Chersonese. Its capital, Alexandria, was the most populous and wealthy city of the East, and like its allies Pergamus and Rhodes, fostered all that was best in Greek philosophy, science, and art.

§ 159. Macedonia, in spite of the poverty and exhaustion caused by the conquests of Alexander, was still a formidable power. It still held all Greece in subjection: in northern Greece the Thessalians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocians, and Boeotians were either loyal subjects or allies, and the Peloponnesus was secured by the friendship of the Achaean League, which more than counterbalanced the hostility of Sparta, Messenia and Elis. The greatest enemy of Macedonia among the Greeks was the Aetolian League; for Athens, though adverse as ever, had sunk through economic distress and internal troubles into insignificance. Demetrias (*Gorizia*) in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth, three fortresses known as the "Fetters of Greece," were garrisoned by Macedonian troops.

In Greece itself we still hear of Athens, Sparta and Thebes; but those once famous states were politically impotent. At Sparta the old monarchy had disappeared and the city was in the hands of a tyrant. Thebes was as a rule devoted to Macedonia. What strength there was in Greece was to be sought in the newly-formed leagues of Achaea and Aetolia. The Achaean League, which originally consisted of four petty cities on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, is first heard of in 280 B.C. From that date it grew steadily though slowly, becoming of no great importance until 251 B.C., when Aratus of Sicyon expelled the Macedonian garrison from that town, and to every one's surprise, instead of making himself its despot, united it to the League. The act gave a new impetus to the confederacy; and so successful were its leaders, that within five-and-twenty years their League comprised virtually all Peloponnesus with the exception of Sparta, Messenia and Elis. Unfortunately the resolute opposition of Sparta compelled Aratus to turn for aid to

Antigonus Doson of Macedonia (223 B.C.), and though the defeat of Sparta was secured, it was only at a heavy price: it gave to the Macedonians a firm hold upon the Peloponnesus by the occupation of Corinth and other important places, and it made the League politically subordinate to the northern power.

The League of the Aetolians, a nation of free-booters half Hellenic and half Albanian, held a position inferior only to that of Macedonia and the Achaean League. The Aetolian League. With both the latter powers it waged a bitter feud, and, to crush its rivals, did not scruple to make alliances with Rome, or to break them when that foreign power dealt too leniently with those enemies.

§ 160. After the victory of Cannae, Hannibal, who saw in the Macedonian soldiery—the troops with which Alexander had conquered the East—the materials for completing the overthrow of Rome, The First Macedonian War, 214 B.C.—205 B.C. invited King Philip V. to cross the Adriatic and join him in the attack. Philip, who had seen with uneasiness the presence of Roman troops in Illyria, was not disinclined to accept the proposal, and came to an understanding with Hannibal in 215 B.C. But the Romans had intercepted a previous embassy, and knew what was threatened: in 214 B.C., before Philip could act, they despatched M. Laevinus to Illyria to find some means of keeping the Macedonians busy in Greece. To secure his line of communications with Italy, Philip besieged Apollonia (*Pollina*), the strongest fortress in Illyria, but his fleet was burnt and his camp taken. This reverse at once reduced him to inactivity. Two years later, 212 B.C., Laevinus, still in command as admiral, organized a formidable coalition. The Aetolians joined the Romans with alacrity, and were followed by the mass of the mountain tribes who lived west of the Pindus range.

The Achæan League remained faithful to Macedonia, but all those states of central and southern Greece—Athens, Elis, Messenia, and above all Sparta, now under the tyrant Machanidas—which were jealous of the League, readily rose at the call of Laevinus. In Asia, Attalus of Pergamus supplied him with money from his immense wealth, seeing in Rome a possible protector against his dangerous neighbours, Antiochus of Syria and Philip. The senate had gained its object: for ten years Greece was distracted by a war that wasted her forces and resources, while Laevinus, and after him P. Sulpicius Galba (consul in 211 B.C.), looked on and fomented the feuds. At last the Aetolians, who suffered as greatly as any of the combatants, grew tired of the horrors and cruelties of the suicidal struggle, and, in spite of Roman intrigues, concluded peace with Philip (205 B.C.). The Romans did the same: they gained no territory, but conquest had not been their aim: at the cost of a handful of troops and a few ships they had prevented the Macedonians from uniting with the Carthaginians, at a time when such a union would probably have been fatal to Rome.

§ 161. Philip had made trial of the strength of the western power, and had no desire to encounter it again. He possibly sent a few troops in secret to assist Hannibal at Zama, but with this exception he did nothing to aid his ally.

He turned his arms once more to the East.

In the year of the peace (205 B.C.) died Ptolemy Philopator, King of Egypt, leaving the throne to his son, Ptolemy Epiphanes, then five years old. Always jealous of the maritime empire and wealth of Egypt, Antiochus and Philip united to take advantage of the new king's helplessness, and agreed to a Treaty of Partition by which Egypt, Cyprus, and

The Second
Macedonian
War, 200 B.C.
—197 B.C.

The Compact
between Syria
and Macedonia,
205 B.C.

Ptolemy's possessions in Syria were to belong to the Seleucids, while the dependent islands of the Aegean, with Iona and the Cyrenaica, were to be the share of Philip. Antiochus at once seized upon Syria, while Philip proceeded to attack the Greek cities in Thrace and Asia. He took the island of Samos, but off Chios he was defeated by the combined fleets of the Rhodo-Byzantine League and of Attalus of Pergamus; for he had provoked the former by his attacks upon the towns of the Hellespont, the latter by a raid upon the territory of Pergamus. A second engagement on the Carian coast was more successful, and enabled Philip to return home with the honours of war, 201 B.C.

Meanwhile the young Ptolemy, incapable of defending his kingdom unaided against the coalition, threw himself upon Roman protection. The senate was in a dilemma: it did not desire war, yet it could not permit the corn trade and other commerce of Egypt to pass into the hands of a hostile power, or the power of Philip to be augmented by the acquisition of the supremacy of the Aegean. For the present, however, it was contented with purchasing the inactivity of Antiochus by the surrender of the Egyptian possessions in Syria, that it might be left free to deal with Philip alone.

At this juncture the Athenians, allies of Rome, were attacked by Philip as the champion of the Acarnanians, because they had put to death Declaration of war by Rome, 200 B.C. two of the latter nation for an unintentional profanation of the sacred mysteries of Eleusis. Herein the senate found a *casus belli*, and war was resolved upon. When, however, P. Sulpicius Galba, the consul, convened the assembly, the people, still exhausted by the struggle with Hannibal, refused to take the field again so soon; and it was only by means of the unfounded statement that

Philip was preparing to invade Italy, that the consul was able to secure the vote which he desired.

§ 162. Two legions only were despatched with the consul to Illyria; for the senate was resolved to fight, as in the first war, with Grecian rather than with Roman troops. It had allies in the East

The allies of
Rome and
Macedonia.

both numerous and powerful. Attalus of Pergamus and the Rhodian League, irritated by fresh attacks of Philip on the towns about the Hellespont during this very year, gladly assisted the Romans with a respectable fleet. The Athenians of course joined Rome, but their aid was of little value. The Aetolians were less cordial: they had, they considered, been utilized in the previous war as tools by the Romans, and thrown aside when useless, but on the other hand, Philip had offended them anew by some recent aggressions. For the present, therefore, they hesitated. Acarnania, Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and Boeotia went heartily with Macedonia; the Achaean League remained neutral. Outside Europe, Egypt was forced into alliance with Rome, although foreseeing that the presence of the Roman power in the Aegean would damage her own influence there; Antiochus was deterred from assisting Philip by his war with Egypt for the possession of Syria.

It was late in the year 200 B.C. when Galba arrived at Apollonia, and he could do no more than or-

The First
Campaign,
200 B.C.

ganize a confederacy of the border tribes of the Pindus range with a view to a joint attack upon Macedonia in the ensuing spring. Meanwhile the fleet moved round to the eastern coast and surprised Chalcis in Euboea, a place of such importance that, as mentioned above, with Demetrius in Thessaly and Corinth on the Isthmus, it was termed one of the "Fetters of Hellas." The Roman admiral had not troops enough to

garrison his acquisition, and was obliged to abandon it on the approach of Philip, after burning all the stores there collected. The king in revenge passed into Attica, where he vainly endeavoured to storm Athens, and ravaged her territories to the very walls, destroying all the monuments of art and history which came within his reach.

In the following year, 199 B.C., Galba, whose successor had not yet arrived, made his way through the Illyrian mountains into the west of Macedonia. After some indecisive fighting, he was out-manceuvred by Philip, who occupied the passes through which the Romans must shortly retreat to their winter quarters in Illyria, and nearly met with serious disaster. However, the legions made good their retreat to Apollonia; and then Philip, left to deal with the border tribes who had, according to their compact with Galba, attacked Thessaly and Macedonia all along the northern and western frontiers, routed them in succession. The Illyrians were driven back in the north, while the Aetolians, who had by this time resolved to support the Romans, met with severe punishment in Thessaly. The only real success of the campaign was won when the combined Roman and Rhodian fleets captured Oreus (*Orei*) in the north of Euboea. On the whole Philip so far had decidedly the best of the war, and he was encouraged to cross the Macedonian frontier into Epirus for the next campaign.

The Second
Campaign,
199 B.C.

§ 163. Late in the autumn of 199 B.C. the Consul P. Villius Tappulus took over the command of the legions from Galba, but before he could achieve anything he had to give place to the consul for 198 B.C., T. Quinctius Flaminius. This general crossed to Apollonia in the spring of 198 B.C., and joined his army, which lay entrenched before that of Philip in a narrow

The Third
Campaign,
198 B.C.

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gorge of the Aïus (*Vovussa*). The Macedonian position was so strong that Flaminius did not venture to assail it. At last after some weeks of indecision the treachery of the Epirote chief Charops furnished the consul with guides, who led a strong division of the Roman forces by a circuitous march into the rear of the enemy's position. The simultaneous attack in front and rear utterly confounded the Macedonians, who hastily retreated to their own country leaving 2000 men on the field. The battle threw all Thessaly into the hands of Flaminius save a few towns which still held out against his assaults. Philip entrenched himself anew near Mt. Olympus, in the gorge of Tempe (*Lykostomon*), the key of Macedonia on the Thessalian border-line. He still retained possession of Chalcis and Corinth, and the consul desisted from further advance upon Macedonia until he had secured Southern Greece. After long negotiations he succeeded in drawing the Achaean League over to Rome, much against its will indeed, because such an alliance, in addition to giving too great power to the invaders, placed it side by side with its natural foes the Aetolians, also allies of the Romans.

In Asia meantime Antiochus had shown signs of coming at last to the support of his ally. His army was already moving towards the Hellespont, and was engaged in raiding the territories of Attalus, when envoys from the senate arrived to remonstrate. Antiochus allowed himself to be turned from his purpose, and left Philip to his fate.

Thus deserted by his one powerful ally, and seeing the Romans masters of all Greece excepting the "Fetters," which must sooner or later fall, Philip endeavoured to conclude peace. At an interview between Philip and Flaminius an armistice of two months was arranged, in the course of which envoys were sent to Rome to treat with the

senate. But one question was put to them : was Philip willing to surrender all Greece with its three fortresses ? To this demand the envoys could only reply in the negative, and they returned home without success. At the same time Flaminius was appointed proconsul to continue the war, and fresh reinforcements were sent out.

§ 164. In 197 B.C. the Boeotians were coerced into joining the Romans. Philip, however, made one last effort. He raised what forces he could by enrolling even boys in his ranks, reinforced the garrisons of Corinth and Chalcis, and marched out into the plains of Thessaly. The two armies met near Cynoscephalæ ("The Dog's Head"), a name given from their shape to the isolated heights with which the plain of Scotussa is here broken. The conflict was brought on suddenly, neither army being aware of its proximity to the other owing to intervening hills ; and for some time the fortune of the day was doubtful. One wing of the Roman legions was utterly broken by the charge of the phalanx, the flower of the Macedonian infantry, ranged sixteen deep, and armed with twenty-four-foot pikes ; but another division, falling upon the moiety of the Macedonians under Nicanor when thrown into disorder by inequalities of the ground, cut it to pieces. A few companies, brought to bear upon the rear of the victorious phalanx under Philip, turned the victory of the latter into complete defeat. Eight thousand Macedonians fell ; five thousand more were taken prisoners.

The Fourth
Campaign,
197 B.C.

Battle of
Cynoscephalæ,
197 B.C.

Macedonia had perforce to accept whatever terms were offered by the Romans. Most of her enemies in Greece itself, particularly the Aetolians, would gladly have seen her blotted from the map of nations. Such a course did not suit the policy of the Romans, which aimed at pre-

serving the balance of power between the Greeks, Syria,
 Pergamus, and Macedonia, as well as maintain-
 ing a strong frontier against the Celts and
 Thracians of the north. The annihilation of
 Macedonia would be equivalent to setting Anti-
 ochus free from all check in the East, and also to inviting
 the incursions of the savage northern tribes. By the terms
 of peace drawn up by Flaminius, and ratified by the
 senate some months later, Philip lost all his foreign posses-
 sions in Asia, Greece, and the Aegean Sea; he was to pay
 an indemnity of 1000 talents; and he entered into the
 usual bond not to make war upon, or alliance with, any
 civilized people, without Rome's consent, and to limit his
 army to 5000 men, his fleet to five transports. He was also
 to lend help to Rome when called upon.

Terms of
 Peace.
 Settlement of
 Macedonia,
 196 B.C.

It remained for Flaminius to settle the affairs of
 Greece. The time had not yet come for an-
 nexing that country to the Roman dominions,
 and a plan had to be devised by which the various states
 should act as a check on one another and Macedonia. To
 the assembled Greeks at the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C.
 was read the proclamation that all those Greeks who had
 been dependent at any time upon Philip were now to be
 free and independent. The Achaean League was treated
 with respect, but the Aetolians, who regarded the victory
 as due in a large measure to their aid, were bitterly
 disappointed when Thessaly, instead of being handed over
 to them, was divided into four autonomous cantons, and
 they received for their share only Phocis, Locris, and
 Ambracia.

§ 165. If the Peloponnesus, the war between the
 Achaeans and Spartans still continued. Philip had given
 up Argos to Nabis: that town was by the mandate of the

senate henceforth to be free, but Nabis declined to surrender it. Flamininus, still proconsul, was invited by the united Greeks to free Argos and themselves from the despotism of Sparta, and he at once descended, together with a large Achaean force, into Laconia, 195 B.C. He gained no great success, and after some months was glad to leave Nabis still in possession of his city after despoiling him of his treasures, fleet, and dependencies, including even the coast towns of Laconia proper. The Achaeans murmured because their ideal of uniting all Peloponnesus under their rule was not realized: but the policy which had spared Philip caused Nabis also to be spared as a counterpoise to the influence of the League. During two years more, Flamininus moved about from town to town, doing his best to organize the affairs of Greece and to strengthen a party in favour of Roman views.

Evacuation of
Greece by the
Romans,
191 B.C.

In 194 B.C. matters were sufficiently quiet for the Roman garrisons to be withdrawn from the "Fetters" and other towns in their occupation. Flamininus himself returned in the same year, and the splendour of his triumph was as great as that of Scipio the conqueror of Carthage.

§ 166. Thus far the senate had shown no desire to be involved in eastern affairs. The first two Macedonian wars had been forced upon it ^{The Syrian War, 191 B.C. - 190 B.C.} by the necessities of self-defence or of policy; and the complete withdrawal of the legions in 194 B.C. proved clearly that territorial empire was not the senate's aim. Its only wish was to reduce to a political subservience all powers which might possibly threaten danger: thus it had reduced Macedonia and Hellas, yet had left each free and autonomous. Accordingly the prospect of a

new war in Asia Minor which immediately supervened was more distasteful than ever, as it was more distant, and was only entered upon when all negotiations had proved futile.

Antiochus III. had so far carried out his part of the Treaty of Partition as to drive the Egyptians from Phoenicia and annex that country to his own dominions. He then proceeded to attack in detail Caria, Lycia, and the other dependencies or allies of Egypt in Asia Minor, until, in 195 B.C., he even crossed into Europe and established himself in Thrace by the seizure of the impregnable fortress of Lysimachia (*Hexamili*).

Now Rome had but lately gone to war with Philip to prevent his gaining in Asia Minor exactly the influence which Antiochus had now acquired—command of the sea board of Ionia and the territories of Pergamus, and control over the trade of the Rhodian League, Egypt, and the Aegean. They could not suffer the Seleucids to acquire what they had withheld from Philip, particularly when the latter was no longer capable of balancing Syrian influence. Still less could they allow the Seleucids to extend their power so far as to get a firm footing in Europe, for that was merely to transfer to Thrace what Macedon had lost. Finally, they must protect the interests of their ally Eumenes II.—he had succeeded Attalus I. as king of Pergamus in 197 B.C.—and of the Rhodians. They sent envoys ordering Antiochus to quit Europe and give up the newly conquered Asiatic cities.

Antiochus saw that he must fight at last, though he had lost the opportunity of joining with Philip against Rome. He proceeded to strengthen himself by alliance with the kings of Egypt, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and the Galatians; came to terms with the Rhodians by liberal concessions; and lent a ready ear to

Ally of Syria
and Rome.

Thoas the Aetolian, who declared that all Hellas (especially the Macedonians and Spartans) was ready to rise against the Romans if the Syrians would but give the sign. On the other hand, Eumenes of Pergamus stood firmly by the Romans. In all this Antiochus was abetted by Hannibal, to the last faithful to his oath of undying enmity to Rome. After the battle of Zama the vanquished general had put down the oligarchs at Carthage, introduced democratic reforms in the government, and set the finances of the state on a good footing. His enemies revenged themselves by accusing him at Rome of inciting the people to war, and he was forced to fly, 195 B.C. He threw himself heart and soul into the cause of Antiochus, and was only prevented by the jealousies of Antiochus' other advisers, and by the remissness of the king himself, from using the Syrian forces to rouse Carthage once more to war, invade Italy anew, and bring upon Rome at one blow the combined armies of the East and West.

§ 167. The war broke out before Antiochus was in any way prepared. The Aetolians, impatient of delay and anxious only to avenge themselves on what they considered the ingratitude of Rome, made simultaneous attempts to surprise Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta. They were successful at Demetrias, but at the other points they failed with loss, and though Nabis was slain at Sparta, the city soon after joined the Achæan League and was thereby lost to Antiochus; for the League, ever at feud with the Aetolians, had no alternative but to side with the Romans. Athens and Thessaly did the same. Philip was far too indignant with Antiochus to join his old and faithless ally. The unanimous rising of Hellas of which Thoas had spoken was reduced in reality to a feeble confederacy of the Aetolians, Boeotians,

Antiochus
occupies Greece,
192 B.C.

and Magnes about Demetrias. However, Rome was at the time harassed by a vexatious war in Spain and Liguria. The great king landed in the Gulf of Pagasae (*Amphipolis*) late in 192 B.C., occupied Demetrias, gained by surrender Chalcis and with it all Euboea, took several towns in southern Thessaly, and then retired to spend the winter in revelry at Chalcis. Appius Claudius was only able to prevent the occupation of northern Thessaly.

§ 168. Had Antiochus made full use of his opportunities

First Cam-
paign of the
Romans in
Greece,
191 B.C.

he might possibly have secured the support of united Greece. He had forestalled the Romans by his sudden arrival in Greece, but to do so he had sailed with a miserable force of about 10,000 foot; and while no reinforcements reached him during the winter months, the few troops with him were thinned by sickness and enervated by indulgence. The Aetolians brought him but 4000 men. He had not numbers sufficient to keep the field when, early in 191 B.C., M'. Acilius Glabrio, the consul, appeared in Thessaly with forces amounting to 40,000 men of all arms. The new general wasted no time: he determined to drive the king from Greece before succour could reach him there. Antiochus had entrenched himself at Thermopylae: Glabrio charged up the pass where once Xerxes' troops had charged, but with a very different result. The phalanx of Antiochus gave way at once, and its flight became a carnage when M. Porcius Cato fell upon its flanks and rear, having crossed the mountains by the path which had once brought the Persians upon Leonidas. The Great King fled to Asia; Chalcis and Demetrias surrendered; and while the Romans spent the remainder of the year in fighting the Aetolians and pacifying southern Greece, Philip, now their cordial ally, revenged himself upon Antiochus by once more overrunning as

much of Thessaly as had taken up arms for the latter. By sea C. Livius gave battle to the Syrian fleet near the bay of Corycus between Chios and Ephesus, and by his victory obtained complete command of the Aegean and of the passage of the Hellespont (*Straits of Gallipoli*).

§ 169. The commander in the second campaign, 190 B.C., was nominally L. Scipio, but as his legate was appointed his brother P. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, with whom rested all real authority. The army crossed the Hellespont without opposition, for Antiochus, terror-stricken by fresh defeats of his navy, was by this time anxious only for peace. He endeavoured to purchase terms, but Scipio refused to accept anything less than the cession of all his dominions to the west of Mount Taurus. The Romans advanced into Lydia, crossed the Hermus (*Sarabat*), and at the foot of Mount Sipylus near Magnesia (*Manissa*) L. Scipio gave battle to an army of 80,000 Asiatics and won a decisive victory. Antiochus is said to have lost 50,000 men; the Romans little more than 300.

Second Campaign: the Romans in Asia, 190 B.C.

Battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.

Scipio now offered the same terms of peace as before, and this time Antiochus did not refuse them. The River Halys (*Kyzyl-Irmak*) and the Taurus range became the western limit of the kingdom of the Selencidae; all lower Asia passed under the protectorate of Rome, and even Cappadocia and the Armenias, Nearer and Further, though lying east of the Halys, became independent sovereignties. Antiochus paid 15,000 talents as an indemnity, and reduced his fleet to ten ships. The territory of which he was deprived went chiefly to reward the loyalty of Pergamus and Rhodes. Eumenes received the Syrian possessions in Thrace, and of those in Asia, Phrygia, Pisidia and Pamphylia, in addition to Mysia and Lydia.

Settlement of Asia, 189 B.C.

The Rhodians were aggrandised by the acquisition of Caria and Lycia, while the Greek cities of the coast (such as Byzantium and Cyzicus) remained free and independent. Thus Pergamus became a great kingdom, a vassal state bound to Rome by every tie of interest and gratitude, and strong enough to overawe the remainder of western Asia, while counterbalanced itself by the still powerful kingdom of Macedonia, also a vassal state of Rome. Once again the senate showed its unwillingness to commit itself to a foreign policy in the East by annexing no portion of the conquered king's territories, but the course which converted the Roman power from an Italian to a Mediterranean empire was already begun; and though Asia was left unvisited by the legions for nearly 100 years more, the land passed little by little from a protected to a subject state.

§ 170. The settlement of Asia had been in great part arranged by Cn. Manlius Vulso, the consul of 189 B.C., aided by a commission of ten. Although peace was restored, Vulso was unwilling to return to Italy without some kind of victory. Accordingly he attacked the Galatians on the plea that they were dangerous to the kingdom of Pergamus, and marching into their territory, defeated them without difficulty and carried off a great quantity of booty. No doubt it was a gain to have quieted such a nation of freebooters, but Vulso, by conducting a campaign without the mandate of the people and senate, set the precedent of ignoring the government at home, which ultimately transferred the sovereignty of Rome from the senate to the army.

In the same year, 189 B.C., the other consul, M. Fulvius Nobilior, ended the war in Aetolia. After the expiry of the six months' armistice granted in 190 B.C., the Aetolians

The Galatian
Campaign of
Vulso, 189 B.C.

had resumed their aggressions on their neighbours. Fulvius now attacked them from all sides with the aid of Macedon and the Achaean League, captured Ambracia (*Arta*), their last stronghold, and ended the war with a slave-hunt. The Aetolians were confined to their own territory, forced to surrender Cephallenia (*Cefalu*) and Zacynthus (*Zante*) to Rome, and to make the senate the arbiter of their disputes.

The Subjection of the Aetolians.

§ 171. The success of the Romans in the war with Syria had been largely due to the aid of Philip, who thus revenged himself on his self-seeking ally. In return he hoped to reap some commensurate reward, but found his hopes disappointed. Macedonia was left at the close of the war exactly as at its outbreak, and Philip was repeatedly thwarted in his efforts to recover something of his lost possessions in Thessaly and Thrace. Exasperation confirmed his determination to strike one more blow for his freedom, but he would not plunge rashly into this last struggle. He set himself to restore the strength of Macedonia by every means in his power. The finances were reorganized, fresh settlers were introduced, the army, small as the treaty made it, was admirably trained. In the midst of his preparations and his vexations he died, 179 B.C. Three years before (182 B.C.) he had ordered the execution of his son Demetrius, his own and his people's favourite, whom he had too late discovered to be the victim of a treacherous accusation on the part of Perseus, an elder but illegitimate son.

The Third Macedonian War, 171 B.C.—168 B.C.

Perseus, who thus secured the throne by his brother's death, inherited all his father's hatred towards Rome. He continued zealously the preparations for reasserting his place amongst the kings of the East, and soon won the

entire confidence of his own nation. He made alliances with Syria and Bithynia, and with Cotys king of the Odrysae, the most warlike and powerful people of Thrace. His northern frontier he secured against the possible enmity of the barbarians; and, like his father, he is said to have invited the Bastarnae of Moesia to join him in an invasion of Italy by way of the head of the Adriatic. The plan failed, and Perseus was forced to adopt the old and oft-repeated scheme of expelling the Romans from Illyria and arousing the Greeks against them, and also intrigued, it was said, with the Carthaginians as Antiochus had done. But Hannibal was dead now. After the peace with Syria, that general, again a fugitive, had taken refuge at the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia. Thither the senate had sent to demand his surrender, and he had taken poison to escape that disgrace. He died in 183 B.C., in the same year as did Scipio his conqueror, who had also lived long enough to experience the ingratitude of his nation. Attacked on various petty charges, particularly on one of embezzlement in the Syrian campaign, Scipio had left Rome. Declaring that his country should not even have the honour of burying his ashes, he died in retirement at Liternum in Campania.

§ 172. Many circumstances favoured the plans of Perseus. Throughout Greece there was a general reaction against the dominion of Rome, in which the Aetolians and the Boeotians were especially active. The power of Eumenes, purchased by treachery to the cause of Greece, was now viewed with detestation, and no concessions could redeem its character in the eyes of Hellas. In 172 B.C. that king in person made complaint to the senate of the proceedings of Perseus. He pointed

Accession of
Perseus,
179 B.C.

Position of
Perseus,
172 B.C.

out his attacks on Abrupolis, a Thracian chieftain and ally of Rome, and his alliance with Boeotia and Actolia, and declared that he was on the eve of re-uniting all the East against Rome. The senate was alarmed, and in secret declared that war must be waged without delay. Perseus was aware of Eumenes' action, and made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him at Delphi.

Had Perseus acted at once he might have driven the Romans from Greece. Unfortunately, while he hesitated the prompt action of the Romans dissolved the threatened coalition of Hellas. Epirus and the western frontiers of Macedon were strongly occupied, and Boeotia was detached from the cause of Perseus. Seeing the inactivity of the Macedonian king, his promised allies repented. The Rhodians, however angry with Eumenes, could not be expected to fight against Rome. Perseus' Illyrian allies, Bithynia, Syria, and Carthage, followed this example. Himself and Cotys were left alone; but Perseus had at his call a nation of warriors all of one mind, 45,000 trained troops, and treasures and stores for ten years of war.

§ 173. The senate had decided on war in 172 B.C., but a quarrel with one of the consuls prevented any action from being taken. Next year, the Centuriate Assembly voted for war, and the consul P. Licinius Crassus advanced into Thessaly, where he was reinforced by contingents from Pergamus, the Achæan League, the Aetolians, and Thessalians. Between Mount Ossa and the town of Larissa (*Larissa*) he was attacked by the Macedonians, and driven back within his lines with the loss of nearly 3000 slain or captured. The news roused in Greece fresh sympathy for Perseus; but the dread of Rome was too pronounced to allow of any open revolt, and Perseus himself made overtures for peace instead

The First
Campaign,
171 B.C.

of following up his success. Crassus refused to negotiate, but when war was resumed he met with a second reverse at Phalanna, not far from the scene of the first engagement. Though again successful, Perseus now evacuated all Thessaly, and devoted himself to securing his northern and western frontiers.

In 170 B.C. Aulus Hostilius, a man as incapable as his predecessor, took the command, but by this time the army was so disorganized that he was forced to waste the whole year in restoring discipline, after failing in two attempts to fight his way by the passes from Thessaly into Macedonia.

The Second
Campaign,
170 B.C.

The third campaign (169 B.C.) opened with the advance of Q. Marcius Philippus, who turned the Macedonian position at Tempe. Although the Romans were now between two fires (for to the south lay Tempe and to the north Dium), Perseus was too incapable to cut off their communications. Instead of striking a decisive blow, the king in panic evacuated the impregnable pass of Tempe, and even ordered his treasures to be sunk. The fall of Tempe threw the key of Macedonia into the hands of Rome, and only a capable general was wanted to bring the war to an end. Dium (*Malathria*) now became the outpost of the Macedonians.

The Third
Campaign,
169 B.C.

§ 174. By this time the senate was weary of the war and displeased by the cruelties which had been wreaked by its incapable commanders. It had one good general, L. Aemilius Paulus, son of the consul who fell at Cannae, a man whose ability had been proved in the Spanish and Ligurian wars of which we shall shortly speak. He was already an old man who preferred to live in retirement; but the call of the senate brought him once more into the field, and he was elected consul.

The Fourth
Campaign,
168 B.C.

He found Perseus entrenched in front of the Roman camp on the banks of the Elpius, a small river immediately north of Tempe. On his left lay the range of Mount Olympus, the passes of which were so carelessly guarded that the new consul was able to surprise them at once and so get in the rear of Perseus, who evacuated Diium and withdrew forthwith to Pydna (*Kitros*). Here the two armies again entrenched themselves, and some days passed in inactivity. On June 22, 168 B.C., a battle was unexpectedly brought on before Perseus could properly dispose his forces. Taken by surprise on rough ground, the heavy phalanx was routed before it could form in battle order. In a short time the entire army of Macedon was dispersed: 20,000 fell, 11,000 were taken prisoners. Perseus gave up the struggle and fled to Samothrace, only to surrender in a few days to the Roman admiral. In fifteen days Aemilius Paulus had ended a war which less capable generals had prolonged to their disgrace for four years. He triumphed in the following year (167 B.C.). Amongst the captives who walked before him to the Capitol were Perseus, his queen, and his three children; and so immense was the treasure which the conqueror brought to Rome, that the senate was able, after paying the entire cost of the war, to remit all direct taxes upon the citizens for many years.

Battle of
Pydna,
168 B.C.

§ 175. Macedonia was now at the mercy of Rome; but the senate, while disarming and isolating it, refused to constitute it a province under a Roman governor. It was split into four departments, that of Pella, that of Amphipolis, that of Thessalonica (*Saloniki*), and Pelagonia. All were debarred from intercourse and intermarriage with one another; the officials of the late reign were deported to Italy, and

Settlement of
Macedonia,
167 B.C.

the government was placed in the hands of the remaining nobles. A tax of one hundred talents was levied annually, half the sum which had been previously paid to Perseus. Cotys remained unmolested, for the senate, not yet prepared to take up a war with the multitudes of Thrace, preferred to bind him to quietude by the show of generosity with which it restored to him his son, who had been made prisoner. Illyria was otherwise treated. The country was re-organized in three isolated states paying tribute, like Macedonia, to Rome. From this date ceased the piracy and brigandage of Illyria, which rapidly became Romanized (168 B.C.).

Throughout southern Greece, the supporters of the fallen Perseus were hunted out, and at once executed or transported to Italy. One thousand leading men of the cities of the Achæan League were thus exiled and retained in or near Rome, including Polybius the historian. The severities of the Romans were outdone by some of the Greeks themselves, notably Lyciscus the Actolian and Callicrates the Achæan, who became informers, and butchered their enemies or rivals on the plea of supporting Rome.

In Asia, both Pergamus and Rhodes were humiliated. Now that Macedonia had fallen, the kingdom of Pergamus was left with no power to balance it by land; and the Rhodian League, besides enjoying the command of the sea, had offended Roman vanity by offering to mediate between Rome and Macedonia. Pergamus, at least, had supported Rome heartily in the war, but now it fared as ill as Rhodes. The Rhodians were stripped of their territorial possessions in Lycia and Caria, and their commerce was hampered by the formation of a free port at Delos. Eumenes, whose visit to Rome had been the direct

cause of the war, received no reward for his loyalty: on the contrary, the Romans tried to set his brother in opposition to him, encouraged the Galatians to overrun his territories, and deprived him of his quasi-supremacy over Galatia and Pamphylia, both of which were erected into free and independent states. Antiochus had profited by the war with Macedonia to attack Egypt, and he was actually besieging Alexandria when, OF EGYPT. immediately after the battle of Pydna, the Roman envoy C. Popilius Laenas presented himself, and bade the king evacuate Egypt forthwith. Drawing a circle with his staff round Antiochus, he demanded an answer before the king stepped from the circle. The "king of kings" submitted to the insult and retired: Egypt passed henceforth under the protectorate of the senate.

§ 176. The division of Macedonia into four cantons led to perpetual dissensions and disputes, and embassy after embassy appeared at Rome to draw the attention of the senate to its own The Fourth Macedonian War, 149 B.C. — 148 B.C. particular grievances. For some years after the battle of Pydna there was no overt act of hostility against Rome, but troubles recommenced in 149 B.C. A certain Andriscus, a fuller of Adramyttium in Mysia, gave out that he was Philip, a son of Perseus who was known to have previously died in captivity in Italy, and claimed the Macedonian crown. This adventurer was given up to the Romans by Demetrius, the Syrian king, but he was so carelessly guarded that he escaped, 149 B.C., and speedily gained many supporters among the Macedonians. For a time he met with considerable success; he defeated the praetor P. Juventius Thalna in a pitched battle, and made himself master of all Macedonia and of much of Thessaly. It was not until the close of 148 B.C. that Q.

Caecilius Metellus, the praetor selected to command in Greece, drove him out, and compelled the Thracians, with whom he took refuge, to deliver him up.

After this outbreak Macedonia was no longer treated as a dependent state, but organized as a province on the same footing as Sicily and Spain, and so converted into an integral part of the Roman dominions. To it were attached the Roman possessions in Illyria, including Apollonia and Dyrrhachium and the islands off the coast; and the praetor, who every year took up the government, was regarded also as the over-lord of Greece. The tribute remained as it had been settled by Aemilius Paulus in 168 B.C., and the towns were suffered to retain their own local government; but Macedonia as a nation ceased to exist.

§ 177. The downfall of Greek freedom occurred almost simultaneously. As in Macedonia, the settlement of 168 B.C. had been followed by a period of intestine feuds and party quarrels, which the Roman senate studied rather to foment than to appease. In 149 B.C. the president of the Achaean League was a certain Diaeus, who, to conceal some misdoing of his own, hurried on the League into an attack on Sparta. The Spartans, though nominally admitting the headship of the League, were as jealous as ever of Achaean encroachment, and appealed to the arbitration of Rome. The League also sent an embassy, but the senate would not give an immediate decision, only promising to send a commission to Greece to investigate the matter. The next year, 148 B.C., Damocritus, the new general of the League, made a fresh attack on Sparta, in spite of the protest of Metellus, the Roman commander in Macedonia. At last, in 147 B.C., the long-expected commission arrived in Greece. The decree

Macedonia
becomes a
Province,
148 B.C.

Rome and the
Achaean
League.

which it brought from the senate was to the effect that the authority of the League should be confined to its immediate territory, and that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Orchomenus, and Heraclea (near Thermopylae) were to be independent. On learning this the Achaeans, assembled in congress at Corinth, broke out into bitter denunciations of Rome, and the chief of the envoys barely escaped ill-usage. A second commission bore less exacting demands: but Critolaus, the president of the League, was determined to fight out the quarrel, and assured the Achaeans that the Romans were too much occupied with their troubles in Africa and Spain to be capable of coercing the Greeks.

§ 178. In the spring of 146 B.C. Critolaus, disregarding the warnings of Metellus, induced the League to declare war against Sparta. As the Spartans

The Achaean
War and Sack
of Corinth,
146 B.C.

were too much enfeebled to offer resistance, the forces of the League moved northwards into Thessaly to effect the reduction of Heraclea, that town having taken advantage of the senate's mandate to throw off the control of the League. Metellus moved from Macedonia to protect the threatened position. The mere report of his advance was sufficient to cause the retreat of the Greeks. In Locris they were overtaken by Metellus, and at Scarpheia (not far from Thermopylae) met with utter defeat. Few of their number reached the Peloponnesus, and Critolaus was never again seen. Before Metellus could strike the final blow L. Mummius, the consul, arrived with a large army from Rome to conduct the operations against the Achaeans. At Leucopetra, near Corinth, he won a decisive victory: the Achaeans, now commanded by Diaeus, offered but slight resistance, and Corinth fell without a blow into the consul's hands. He removed all the famous works of art from the city, and reduced

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it to ashes. So fell the most prosperous commercial city of Greece.

Greece did not technically become a province (under the name of Achaea) until the time of Augustus, but after Mummius' victory it was a province in all but name. The rule of the League was overthrown, the towns were isolated, and the supremacy in administration and justice was vested in the praetor of Macedonia. Each community paid a fixed tax (*stipendium*) for the soil it cultivated: nevertheless, they were so far free that they possessed their own laws and were administered by their own citizens, from whom were formed oligarchies in place of the democratic governments of old.

§ 179. The year in which Corinth fell was marked by the downfall of Carthage, and both these events were to a large extent due to the jealousy with which such great commercial centres were viewed by the merchant class at Rome.

By the peace of 201 B.C. the kingdom of Numidia had been assigned to Massinissa, the chief of the Massyli. In return for this gift, Massinissa was expected by the senate to act as a spy on Carthage, and to prevent her from regaining her lost power. Under his vigorous rule the kingdom of Numidia acquired a solidity and strength which made it unique among the peoples of Africa. Encouraged by his success, and urged on in secret by Rome, he commenced his aggressions on Carthaginian territory almost as soon as the peace of 201 B.C. was concluded, and continued them uninterruptedly for a period of forty years. The Carthaginians, precluded by the treaty from deciding their disputes by war, appealed to the arbitration of the senate, but were met only by evasion and injustice.

Carthage, indeed, had recovered with astonishing celerity from her late overthrow; the reforms introduced by Hannibal after the war were so beneficial, that in 195 B.C. the Carthaginians offered to pay down in one sum the remainder of the war-indemnity still due, and their merchantmen again crowded the seas in rivalry with those of the Romans. Hence the merchants of Rome again became jealous: Cato, who had observed the new vigour of Carthage when on an embassy to that city in 157 B.C., never failed to end every speech—no matter what its subject—that he made in the senate with the epilogue *Delenda est Carthago*, “Carthage must be destroyed”; and the sentiment found an echo in the breast of every Roman.

§ 180. Carthage occupied the extremity of a small peninsula running eastward into the Gulf of Tunes (*Tunis*), so indented on either side by Description of Carthage. lagoons (the Bay of Sokra and the Lake of Tunis), that the neck of the peninsula, across which ran the outer wall of the city, was of no great breadth. This outer wall was triple, so thick and lofty as to provide stalls for many thousand elephants and horses, and magazines of all kinds. Within it, behind other walls of their own, lay the citadel or Byrsa, and the two harbours of the city; of which one, the Mercantile Harbour, was a natural basin, while the other, the Cothon, was a dock of circular form, built to accommodate a war-navy of two hundred sail.

In 151 B.C. the patriotic party in Carthage, driven to desperation by the intrigues of Massinissa, broke out into open war against the Numidians. The Third Punic War, 149 B.C. —146 B.C. The senate then determined to interfere; and though the Carthaginians in a panic put the leaders of the war party to death, and offered to make any reparation for violating the treaty, war was declared in 149 B.C. Even then

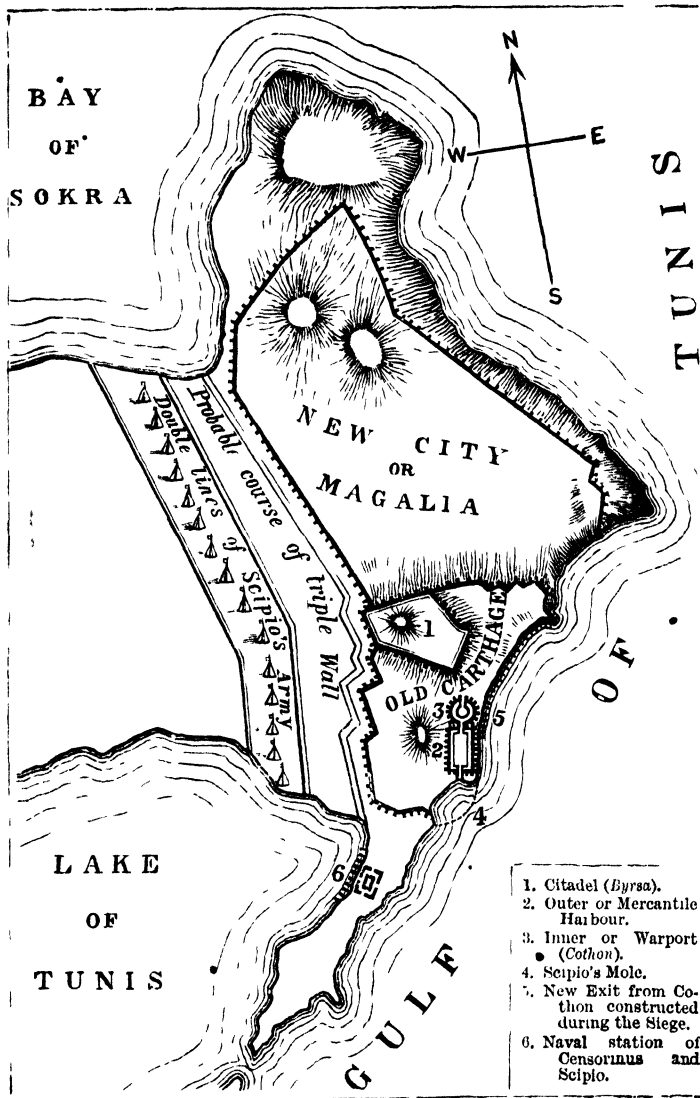
a final embassy tried to deprecate the vengeance of the Romans: three hundred hostages from the noblest families were given up; but when the consul, L. Marcius Censorinus, had crossed to Africa and secured Utica as a base of operations, he made further demands. First he bade them give up their munitions of war, and two thousand catapults and two hundred thousand stand of arms were handed over. Then he bade them quit their city, and withdraw to a new site ten miles from the sea. At last the Carthaginians were roused to fury. To quit the coast was to lose their commerce: as one man they flew to arms, tore in pieces all who spoke of surrender, and when the consul marched on the city from Utica, he found it armed anew and prepared to resist to the last.

§ 181. Censorinus began the attack from the Lake of Tunes, while his colleague, M'. Manilius, encamped before the outer wall in order to cut off supplies from the landward side. The year passed without any decisive action. Massinissa, who proved but a lukewarm ally, died at the age of ninety, and his kingdom was divided between three of his sons—Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal.

The consul of 148 B.C., L. Calpurnius Piso, obtained no successes: the Numidians showed signs of restlessness, and the siege of Carthage was practically abandoned. At last the senate, weary of its incapable generals, allowed P. Cornelius Scipio to be elected to the consulship, though he was not of the age required by law. The new general, who had served in the first two campaigns in an inferior capacity, was the youngest son of L. Aemilius Paulus the conqueror of Perseus, but had been adopted by the childless P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the great Africanus.

The Campaign
of 149 B.C.

148 B.C.



Scipio soon restored confidence among his troops by taking the suburb of Magalia. Then erecting a line of fortifications across the isthmus, he cut off Carthage by land, while the entrance to the Mercantile Harbour was blocked by the construction of a huge mole. The Carthaginians were thus apparently shut in ; but at the very moment that the mole was completed, they opened a new passage from the Cothon to the sea, and through this their imprisoned vessels sailed out. The Roman fleet was so little prepared for this, that it would probably have been destroyed had the Carthaginians given battle at once. They waited however three days, and were then defeated with severe loss. The blockade was now securely established, and famine ended the struggle.

In the spring of 146 B.C., C. Laelius, the friend of Scipio, and now acting as his admiral, forced his way into the Cothon. The Carthaginians made a last effort in the streets which led upwards to the Byrsa ; but after six days of massacre, they were driven by the flames into the citadel, and there surrendered. The city was rased, and the plough driven over its site, while Scipio uttered a solemn curse on any one who should attempt to found it again.

The territory of Carthage became the Roman province of Africa. It needed but slight defence, for by land it was encircled by the allied kingdom of Numidia. Such towns as had aided Rome, including Utica, became free cities ; all such as had held out to the last, like Carthage herself, were treated more harshly, and deprived of their territory.

§ 182. The war with Hannibal had involved the whole of the Gallic tribes dwelling between the Alps and the central

Apennines, and had thus undone the work of assimilation for which the Romans had founded Placentia and Cremona (218 B.C.). After the peace with Carthage this work was resumed, but their brief experience of freedom only made the resistance of the Gauls the more desperate, and on the first attempt to re-introduce colonists from Rome, the Boii, incited by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian officer, commissioned for the purpose, rose in a revolt which drew with it the Insubres and the Ligurians about the head of the Gulf of Genoa. In 200 B.C. the colony of Placentia was sacked, and Cremona was only relieved by a severe battle. In 199 B.C. the legions which had gained that victory were cut to pieces by the Insubres, and the successes by which the Romans were at last able to re-establish themselves at Placentia (197 B.C.) were due rather to quarrels of the Gauls amongst themselves than to the valour or skill of the commanders. The Cenomani went over to Rome, and so decided a fight near Comum (*Como*), after which the Insubres sued for peace (196 B.C.). South of the Po, however, the Boii held out until 193 B.C., when they were crushed near Mutina (*Modena*). One-half of their territory was ceded to Rome, and the remnant of the nation soon after disappeared from Italy. Colonies were planted at Potentia (*S. Maria di Potenza*), Pisaurum (*Pesaro*), Bononia (*Bologna*), Mutina (*Modena*), and Parma; and the country was opened up by new strategic roads, such as the *Via Aemilia* from Ariminum to Placentia.

Subjection of
the Italian
Gauls.

The region north of the Po, Gallia Transpadana, was suffered to maintain its national polity of small cantons; no tribute was levied, and the greatest disability imposed on the Gauls was that none of their number could ever become a citizen of Rome. In spite of this the country

was Romanized with extraordinary speed, and the Celtic inhabitants rapidly lost their national character.

§ 183. The Ligurians gave more trouble, though the war in this region was attended with less marked disasters. Their mountain fastnesses, reaching from the neighbourhood of Florence to near Marseilles, were almost inaccessible and could only be opened up by incessant campaigns. In 180 B.C., L. Aemilius Paulus (afterwards famous as the victor of Pydna) reduced the Ingauni, a leading tribe, and next year the Apuani were transported bodily to the almost deserted lands of Samnium about Beneventum. Still the natives were not subdued. In 177 B.C. they took Mutina, and for many years more it was necessary to maintain a military force amongst them. The Arnus was declared their southern limit, and the fortresses of Pisae (*Pisa*), Luca (*Lucca*), and Luna (*Carrara*) were garrisoned to hold them in check ; but the warfare was not definitely ended until 165 B.C. The neighbouring islands of Corsica and Sardinia were equally rebellious. Ligurian Wars. Tiberius Gracchus, father of the great reformers, brought home so many captives from Sardinia at the close of his campaign of 177 B.C., that "Cheap as Sardinians" became a proverb.

§ 184. By the peace of 201 B.C. Carthage had ceded to Rome the whole of the Spanish peninsula. Thus far but a small strip along the eastern coast had been occupied by the Roman arms ; but now the senate, albeit opposed to foreign empire, was constrained to annex this land of minerals, dyes, and wool. In so doing it undertook a task which exceeded in difficulty any other of Rome's conquests : the Spanish wars lasted 200 years, and were only ended finally by Agrippa in the year 19 B.C.

Wars in Spain,
200 B.C.—
178 B.C.

The newly-acquired land was at once divided into two provinces, known as *Hispania Citerior* or *Tarraconensis*, stretching from the Pyrenees to some point south of *Carthago Nova*, and *Hispania Ulterior* or *Baetica* (197 B.C.); and there were created six praetors instead of four, the command of these provinces being entrusted to the new magistrates. Their efforts to introduce Roman authority were met by a general rising of the whole nation, headed as usual by the tribes of the central highlands, the region called by the Romans *Celtiberia* and by us known roughly as the two Castiles. The praetor of Hither Spain was slain, and the war became so serious that in 195 B.C. M. Porcius Cato, one of the consuls, was despatched to restore Roman prestige. After reorganizing his army, he defeated the combined Spaniards near *Emporiae* (*Ampurias*) so decisively that the people of *Tarraconensis* at once submitted; but, on hearing a false report that Cato had sailed home, they rose again and were again crushed. To secure his victory Cato sent simultaneous orders to their strongest towns to dismantle their fortifications forthwith, and each, fearing Roman vengeance for itself alone, did so. The consul proceeded to introduce a regular tribute, and in particular levied dues upon the mines of iron, silver, and gold. Such imposts only exasperated the Spaniards, and though Cato triumphed for his successes, the legions of both provinces were continually in the field, fruitlessly seeking to push their way into the mountains of the interior.

In 179 B.C., after the war had been proceeding year after year with varied results, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, seeing that force alone would not suffice, combined with it diplomacy and kindness. By granting honourable terms to those who submitted,

*The Pacification
of Gracchus,
179 B.C.*

enlisting many in the Roman service, settling others on new lands, and in every way sparing the proverbial pride of the Spaniards, he effected a far more lasting pacification than by the capture of 300 of the revolted towns and fortresses. He left his name behind him in the new town of Graccuris, and his memory was long cherished by the people whom he subdued.

§ 185. For sixteen years the pacification of Gracchus remained a reality, although the extortions of the praetors provoked many complaints from the native tribes. In 153 B.C. there was a revival of the old troubles, and for nearly twenty years following that date both Hither and Further Spain were the scene of perpetual conflict. To relate all the details of the quarrel would not be profitable, but two of the main episodes—the war with Viriathus and the struggle of Numantia against the Romans—are worthy of some notice.

In 150 B.C., Servius Sulpicius Galba, the governor of Further Spain, committed an act of shameful perfidy: on promise of settling the Lusitani in new lands, he induced them to assemble in three bands; then attacking each company separately, he massacred all with the exception of seventeen persons. Galba was impeached on his return, but acquitted by a venal jury in spite of the eloquence of Cato. Among the fugitives, however, from the massacre was a certain Viriathus, distinguished above all his countrymen by activity and courage, by a genius for craft and deceit almost Phœnician, by an aptitude for command not unworthy of a Roman. In 149 B.C., when Rome was busily engaged both in Africa and Macedonia, Viriathus out-manœuvred the Roman army with such striking success that he became the acknowledged leader of the Lusitani. Although the senate sent its best

Renewal of
Hostilities,
153 B.C.

Viriathus, 150
B.C.—140 B.C.

generals against him, his good fortune lasted until he was recognized as an independent chief, 141 B.C. At last the consul of 140 B.C. induced some treacherous followers to murder him. Upon his fall the Lusitani made peace. So ended for the present the wars in Further Spain.

§ 186. There still remained a fierce struggle in the nearer province, where the Arevaci were induced by the successes of the Lusitani to ^{The Numantine War, 143 B.C.—133 B.C.} take up arms, 143 B.C. The chief town of the insurgents was Numantia, which, strongly situated on the upper waters of the Durus (*Douro*), held out for a space of ten years, though it was defended by no more than eight thousand warriors against the whole force of Rome. In the successive campaigns the Romans got little besides disgrace; but the climax was reached in 137 B.C., when C. Hostilius Mancinus was driven from his lines about Numantia and forced to surrender. To save his army from the ignominy of passing under the yoke, he was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the Numantines, who set free his army when his quaestor Tib. Sempronius Gracchus swore to observe the treaty. In spite of the protests of the latter, the senate refused to acknowledge the agreement; and Mancinus, naked and with chained hands, was offered to the Numantines as an indemnity. They refused to receive him, and for three years the struggle continued, until in 134 B.C. the command was given to Scipio Aemilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. Matters had come to such a pass, that the services of the best general of his time were needed to reduce an insignificant country town. Scipio raised troops where other commanders would have failed, for service in Spain was highly unpopular owing to its hardships and slight profits. He also took a picked company of his clients. Micipsa, one

of the sons of Massinissa, sent him men and elephants, and among those serving under him were Jugurtha the Numidian and the famous C. Marius. Many months were spent in restoring discipline; and then Scipio, after cutting off supplies by ravaging the surrounding country, drew his lines round the town, contenting himself with a strict

blockade. At the close of 133 B.C. Numantia fell. The few Spaniards who had maintained life by eating the bodies of their dead comrades fired the town and perished almost to a man. After this event the Romans reduced the greater part of the peninsula, though in the remote north and north-west some tribes still refused to accept the foreign yoke.

§ 187. Throughout this period the Scipios had been the most powerful family at Rome. Their great antagonist was M. Porcius Cato, of whom mention has been made in the wars with Antiochus, Carthage and Spain. Though only a small farmer of Tusculum, his sterling qualities so attracted the notice of an influential neighbour, L. Valerius Flaccus, that the latter advised him to stand for office at Rome. Cato had already served through the greater part of the second Punic war, when in 205 B.C. he was elected to the quaestorship. After the death of Fabius Cunctator, he took up that hero's policy and led the opposition to the aggrandisement of Scipio Africanus. After being aedile and praetor, he was chosen consul for 195 B.C., in which year, as already related, he campaigned so vigorously against the tribes of Spain, that he is said to have stormed or taken more towns than there were days in his year of office. In 191 B.C. he fought under M'. Acilius Glabrio, at Thermopylae; but on his return, when both were candidates for the censorship, he attacked

his old chief for misappropriation of the booty. The manœuvre, however, did not secure for him the office he desired, for though Glabrio withdrew from the contest, the Scipionic party to which he belonged exerted all its influence against Cato. Cato retaliated by accusing L. Scipio of embezzlement in the Syrian war, while a further charge of corruption against Scipio Africanus caused the latter to retire in disgust from Rome. Thus freed from his more formidable enemies, Cato won the censorship for 184 B.C., and exercised his office with such vigour in expelling unworthy members from the senate and in legislating against luxury, that he gained the title of "The Censor" (*Censorius*). On one occasion at least his severity was not misjudged: L. Quinctius Flaminius, the brother of the "Pacificator of Greece," had in a Ligurian campaign beheaded a prisoner for the gratification of a worthless favourite, who had missed the games at Rome and wished to see how a man died; for this he was punished by being ejected from the senate. During the remainder of his life, Cato was frequently prosecuted by his political enemies, but such was the confidence of the people in his integrity that he was invariably acquitted. When envoy to Carthage, 157 B.C., he noted the prosperity of the city, and thenceforth advised war on every occasion. He died 149 B.C., aged more than eighty.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

§ 188. The Nobles.—§§ 189, 190. The Senate and its Authority.—
§ 191. The Magistrates.—§ 192. The Comitia.—§§ 193, 194. The
Decay of the Farmers.—§ 195. The Growth of the City Rabble.—
§§ 196, 197. The Latins and Allies: their grievances.—§§ 198—
201. Administration of the Provinces, the *Lex Calpurnia de
Repetundis*.—§ 202. The Equestrian Order.

§ 188. WE have seen (§ 71) that with the Licinian Laws of
367 B.C. a new aristocracy came into existence.

The Nobles
The governing class now consisted of the old
Patrician houses, but still more largely of wealthy plebeian
families who had fought their way to the great magistracies
of the state. The criterion of nobility was now election
to curule office (curule aedileship, praetorship, consulship),
and the descendants of a citizen who had held one of these
posts, were admitted to the ranks of the aristocracy and
regarded as justly entitled to a share in the spoils of
government. The rise of a man from without was viewed
with the utmost jealousy by this narrow circle of some
three hundred families; and a "new man" (a *novus homo*,
i. e. one belonging to a family which had heretofore held no
curule office) was successful at the elections only when some
national crisis had deeply stirred the voters against the
dominant oligarchy.

§ 189. Vacancies in the senate were filled up by the censor;

but as custom had established the rule that those citizens who had held curule office were entitled to a seat in the senate, and as such citizens would amount The Senate. to a large number in the course of five years—the interval between two censorial revisions (*lectiones*)—the censor had few additional places to fill. He might of course assign these to non-nobles, but as a rule he would select senators from the oligarchy of which he was himself a member. Thus the senate was completely in the hands of the governing class.

Since the commencement of the great wars, the power of the senate had grown continuously. Originally the theory of the constitution was that authority rested primarily with the people, and was by the people delegated to the magistrates of their choice, while the senate's functions were to assist in advising the magistrates. But this state of things had long since passed away. The senate, by encroaching on the powers both of the people and the magistrates, was now predominant. The reasons of this development are obvious. The tribes became scattered throughout Italy instead of being located in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. It was thus impossible for the comitia to be fully attended except indeed on very urgent occasions,—as for instance to vote upon an agrarian law,—or for the citizens who met there to be capable of giving a judicious decision on a complex question of foreign policy. So the comitia was rarely convened except to decide whether war should be declared; the senate conducted wars and arranged the conditions of peace at its own discretion, and though such a course had no constitutional sanction, decided by its sole decree (*senatus consultum*) what action was to be taken in any particular matter. The magistrates degenerated into the obedient

ministers of the senate, the more readily because as a rule they were in harmony with the policy of the oligarchy ; or if they were not, were liable to be checked by the veto of a colleague or of a tribune—for by this time the tribunes were drawn from the ruling nobility equally with the other magistrates. And yet the position of the senate was insecure. It rested on no constitutional basis. At any time the people might be aroused by some burning question of the hour to flock to Rome and declare their sovereign will in the comitia. If a magistrate was resolved to attack the policy of the senate, the latter body could not prevent him as long as he was in office. All that it could do was to set a fellow magistrate or a tribune to act against him.

§ 190. The authority of the senate ranged over the whole field of government, but its control of the finances, religion, the provinces, and foreign affairs is worthy of some detailed account.

Sphere of the
Senate's
activity.

With regard to the finances, the senate had the control of the domain land, and imposed taxes and import dues. As shown by numerous decrees, it directed the public worship of the state ; introduced when it thought fit foreign forms of religion, such as that of the Phrygian Cybele, expelled false prophets and destroyed alleged sacred books. What it did in the famous case of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C. is a striking instance of its unquestioned authority. In that year the senate found that the rites of Bacchus, introduced some time before from the East, were characterized by flagrant indecency and immorality. It at once issued the decree *De Bacchanalibus*, visiting with death all males who had participated in the ceremonies, handing over the female converts to the judgment of the family tribunal, and giving to the consuls and their officers the fullest powers to hunt out and punish the offenders. When war had

been declared the senate assigned the various commands to the magistrates, decided what forces were to be raised among the Romans and their allies, and what proportion was to be entrusted to each commander. When war was over, either in Rome or by means of a commission sent to represent it abroad, it meted out rewards and punishments, and determined under what conditions treaties were to be made with friends and enemies. It was still more supreme in the case of the provinces, and formed the only body to which oppressed provincials could appeal. Its control over the Italian allies was almost as severe, for it never hesitated to issue the harshest orders to them when public advantage rendered expedient such a course.

§ 191. The magistrates, with an occasional increase in numbers, continued to be the same as in the earlier republic. There were two consuls, who took the command abroad or presided in the senate at home; six praetors, of whom two (the *praetor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus*) acted as the chief legal authorities in the capital, while four more were sent out every year to administer some of the newly-formed provinces—Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, the two Spains, &c.; two censors for finance and the revision of the census lists; four aediles (two curule and two plebeian) for police; eight quaestors, of whom two (*quaestores urbani*) supervised the revenue in Rome, two (*quaestores militares*) accompanied the army as paymasters to the troops, while four (*quaestores classici*), first elected in 267 B.C., enrolled crews for the fleet and collected such sums as the subjugated Italians paid to Rome. Ten tribunes were annually elected as of old, but a strange transformation had come over that magistracy: originally intended to screen the poor, it was now the strongest weapon of the wealthy. The tribunes as a rule

The Magis-
trates.

belonged to the governing class, and so far from being feared as revolutionaries, were trusted by the senate to propose all the important laws which it desired to lay before the comitia. After the fiasco of 217 B.C., when Fabius and Minucius were appointed with equal powers, no dictator was created; if the dictatorial power was needed at any crisis, the senate passed the *senatus consultum ultimum* (*videant consules ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*, "let the consuls see to it that the state suffer no harm"), which invested the consuls with plenary powers of life and death, and proclaimed in fact a state of martial law. As the dominions of Rome increased, pro-magistrates were appointed with growing frequency, until, as we shall see, in Sulla's time it became the practice for all consuls and praetors to have a second year of office as proconsuls and propraetors respectively.

To prevent any citizen from becoming too powerful by a succession of magistracies, various laws were passed from time to time. Thus in 342 B.C. it was enacted that no one should hold the same office again until after a period of ten years, and about 151 B.C. re-election to the consulship was forbidden. A more general law was the *Lex Villia*

Annalis of 180 B.C., which decreed (1) that no citizen was eligible to office unless he had served ten campaigns; (2) that the order of quaestor, praetor, and consul must be observed (*i. e.* that election to the consulship was not valid unless the quaestorship and praetorship had been previously held); (3) that two clear years must elapse between the tenure of one office and the next. From this it followed, since no Roman could serve until at least seventeen years of age, that he could not be quaestor until twenty-eight, praetor until thirty-one, or consul until thirty-four. If, as was usual, the curule aedile-

ship was filled between the quaestorship and the praetorship, the consulship would not be attained until the candidate was thirty-seven.

§ 192. The two great assemblies of the people continued to meet, though by this time the younger The Comitia Centuriata and Tributa. Comitia Tributa had become the favourite instrument for legislation. The Comitia Centuriata chiefly assembled for the election of the higher magistrates—the consuls, praetors, and censors. By a change which must have been effected after 241 B.C., when the last of the thirty-five tribes was created, it was to some extent assimilated to the Comitia Tributa. There is no certainty as to the details, but the following explanation may be accepted as probable: it was organized on the basis of the tribes, the citizens in the thirty-five tribes being divided into five classes, each ranked as in the Servian constitution according to property; and each of these five classes comprised one century of *seniores* and one century of *iuniores*. Thus the reformed Comitia Centuriata would consist of three hundred and fifty centuries, of which seventy belonged to each of the five propertied classes. In addition the eighteen equestrian centuries continued to exist, but their precedence in voting was abolished, and their place was determined by lot among the centuries of the first class. The change was an improvement, in so far as it diminished that preponderance of the wealthy which characterized the Servian organization; but the mass of the voters, especially the four city tribes, had become hopelessly corrupt.

§ 193. In the early republic agriculture was the backbone of the state and the Romans were a nation of The decay of the farmers. small farmers. Unfortunately this stalwart class, which had won so many victories for the republic, was in danger of disappearing outright. The change com-

menced with the Hannibalic war. It was upon the small farmers throughout Italy that the whole force of the Carthaginian attack fell: their crops, their stores, their plant, and their houses were alike destroyed, and many of those that survived the war preferred to continue with the legions rather than to eke out a laborious living on their devastated holdings. Those who still struggled to exist on their little farms found many circumstances unfavourable to them. Most inimical of all was the grasping spirit of wealthy neighbours, who appropriated the public domains, and even seized by force or fraud the homesteads of the small agriculturists; but besides this, they had to contend against the importation of cheap corn from Egypt and the provinces, and—a still more difficult task—against the cheaper labour of slaves, who were being introduced into Italy in ever-increasing numbers by the capitalists.

The nature of the public land (*ager publicus*) has been described (§ 54): it was land acquired by conquest and belonging to the state, and therefore could never become the freehold of an individual. A small rental was theoretically charged to the occupier (*possessor*), but in practice, owing to the remissness of the government officials, the public land came to be entirely rent-free. Romans and Italians alike regarded it as private property, and transferred, sold and mortgaged it at their pleasure. The limit fixed by the Licinian Laws of 367 B.C. was soon disregarded, and as previously, the public land, instead of being of use for the rearing of a free peasantry and the rehabilitation of impoverished citizens, fell entirely into the hands of the powerful and wealthy.

By a similar process the small freeholds were absorbed in the wide farms of the rich. Not merely was this change brought about by economic conditions—the importation of

corn from abroad, and the growing need of capital in farming—but the country farmers were evicted by fraud, by distraint for debt, or by force.

§ 194. When the capitalist had thus dispossessed his poorer neighbours, he converted his widely-spreading fields (*latifundia*) into grass farms and cultivated them by the labour of slaves. It was cheaper to purchase many slaves than to hire one free labourer; the slave cost nothing but his starvation rations, The Latifundia and Slave labour. the chain which fettered him, and the underground dungeon where he lay like a beast at night. Probably Mommsen is right in declaring that there never was a system of slavery which could approach that of Rome for brutality; “compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro suffering is but a drop.” War, while it drew off annually the best and strongest blood of Italy, poured into the market for slavery the nations from Spain to Syria. At Delos 10,000 slaves were sold in a day; private persons in Rome counted their *familia* (slave-train) by thousands. The demand was so great that the Roman merchants prosecuted their slave-hunts on every frontier, and yet could not glut a mart in which the commodity, when purchased, was worth scarce an effort to preserve. So the slaves drove the free labourers and farmers from the fields, and this happened not only to the Romans, but to every nation of Italy. Depopulation grew apace in Apulia, Campania, and Samnium, but the case of Etruria was worst of all. The capitalist preferred cattle-raising to agriculture. To grow crops requires continuous labour and some knowledge of the laws by which land is used to the utmost, yet rather improved than exhausted. To rear cattle, on the other hand, requires nothing beyond wide acres and a few scattered herdsmen. Cattle-farming took the place of

agriculture: where there were once fields and cottages there were now only ranches and the thinly scattered watch-huts of the slave-herdsmen. Italy, in fact, seemed likely to revert to her original condition as a land of untilled marsh and mountain.

§ 195. The evicted population of the country districts flocked to Rome by thousands. If they were already Roman citizens, they did not of course lose their franchise by change of residence, but continued to vote in the particular tribe in which they had been registered. In this way there were often sufficient members of a tribe resident in the capital to neutralize any ordinary concourse of the genuine country voters. Now votes were worth much to the wealthy man who was desirous of office with all its distinction and profit, and after 200 B.C. bribery and corruption in every form grew rampant. The starving proletariat began to expect "bread and games" from the candidates who claimed their suffrages. The curule aediles spent immense sums of money in celebrating the great festivals and games under their care, for they knew that this was the surest way of gaining election to the higher offices of the praetorship and consulship. Gladiatorial combats and fights of wild beasts (*venationes*) became common from the same cause. Of similar tendency were the free gifts of grain (*frumentationes*) to the people. The government had always regarded the provisioning of the city as part of its ordinary duties, but now wealthy seekers after office began to distribute grain on their own account, and this became increasingly frequent as competition for popularity grew more keen. Already there was beginning to be heard that demand for free doles of corn, which was actually granted by the legislation of C. Gracchus (123 B.C.). Thus it became possible for a rabble of many

The Growth
of the City
Rabble

thousands to make a living and find amusement while living in utter idleness and beggary.

§ 196. The city rabble was naturally in opposition to the government of the senate; but it hated the ^{The Latins} Latins and allies still more, and was determined ^{and allies.} not to admit them to the franchise, a question which came into prominence about 150 B.C. The various communities which made up Italy were (1) citizen-colonists, (2) passive citizens (*cives sine suffragio*), (3) Latins, and (4) allies (*socii*). After the second Punic war the Romans endeavoured to widen the gap between citizens and non-citizens, for although those communities which possessed the passive franchise (*civitas sine suffragio*) were advanced to the position of full citizen-towns, the Latins were humiliated until they were little better off than the Samnites or Lucanians. Originally the *ius Latii* had specially ensured the right of any one possessing it to migrate to Rome at pleasure; but as this inducement rendered the Latin towns less capable of furnishing the customary contingents for war, a Latin citizen was forbidden to migrate unless he had left children to represent him in his native town. To the same end were the frequent ejectments of Latin citizens who had become domiciled at Rome: in 187 B.C. no fewer than 12,000 Latins in residence at Rome were summarily expelled and dismissed to their native towns without compensation or warning, and the same harsh procedure was repeated ten years later. After the foundation of Aquileia in 184 B.C. no further Latin colonies were planted in Italy. The result of all this was that the entire peninsula parted into two hostile camps, that of the Roman citizens and that of the non-citizens.

§ 197. It could not be expected that the Italians¹

¹ In 133 B.C. the name *Italia* denoted only that part of the peninsula which lay to the south of the Macra and the Aesis. In the time of

would always acquiesce in their inferior position. Their ^{Grievances of the Italians.} grievances were many and various. In time of war they were called upon to provide as many foot-soldiers and far more horse than the Romans. In spite of this they were not treated on equal terms with the citizens when land and booty was distributed. Generally they enjoyed the right of self-government, but it was always possible for this to be overridden by a law passed at Rome or even by a simple decree of the senate. While the Roman citizen was secure from capital or corporal punishment, an Italian, even though he had filled the highest offices in his native town, might be scourged, beheaded, and generally maltreated at the caprice of any Roman official. One flagrant instance may be noticed: once when a Roman consul was travelling with his wife to Teanum Sidicinum, the lady desired to bathe in the public bath. It was not prepared with sufficient care, and on his wife's complaint the consul caused the chief magistrate of the town to be scourged in the market-place. In spite of such incidents the Italians were in many respects satisfied with Roman rule, and before deciding their claims by an appeal to arms tried repeatedly to acquire the franchise by peaceful means. The delay was partly due to the fact that in most of the Italian communities the upper and lower classes were opposed to each other. The wealthy Italians had been allowed to share in the public land of Rome, and so did not resent so keenly as the poorer classes the unjust pressure of military service and the unfair division of spoil. On the other hand, they eagerly desired the *ius honorum*, so that they might be admitted to the ranks of the aristocracy that was now ruling the world.

Caesar the boundaries were the Macra and the Rubicon. *Italia* did not extend to the Alps until the reign of Augustus.

• § 198. Countries outside Italy were on their conquest reduced to provinces, the great distinction between which and Italy consisted in the fact, ^{The Provinces.} that while the Italians helped Rome to conquer the world, the provincials were never entrusted with arms.

The *provincia*¹ of a magistrate meant primarily the sphere in which his powers as such were exercised; hence its use to represent that part of the Roman empire which was habitually committed to the control of a governor. By the laws of ancient warfare everything which belonged to a conquered people passed by conquest into the hands of their victors. Theoretically then, the entire area of a province belonged to the Romans; in practice none but royal demesnes and the territories of such cities as had resisted to the last, were taken over as public domain to be leased to new occupants for the benefit of the state. The remainder, by far the larger portion, was left in the hands of its original possessors as tenants who paid to the state a certain rental, called *stipendium*, usually equivalent to one-tenth of the annual income from such lands. Commonly such rental was taken in money, and was therefore a definite annual tax (*capitatio* and *tributum soli*); in the case of Sicily it was levied in kind (*decumae*), ^{Taxes.} and was therefore variable as the crops were good or bad. Such of the inhabitants as possessed no land were subject to a poll-tax (*capitatio*); and it was customary also to retain whatever custom-duties (*vectigalia*) had previously been in force, or to impose new ones according to a regular scale on mineral products, such as metals, marble and salt.

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§ 199. As in Italy, the communities were of several

¹ The word is probably a contraction of *pro-volentia*, "something put in one's charge."

ranks. We hear of citizen-colonies, Latin colonies, allied towns, towns free from tribute, and tributary towns.

(1) *Coloniae*.—These were miniature Romes sent out into the provinces to form strategic positions whence Roman forces and Roman civilization could be brought to bear on the province. Transmarine colonization, however, only dates from the time of C. Gracchus, 123 B.C.

(2) *Coloniae Latinae*.—These were such towns as possessed the rights of Latin citizens. The first extension of these rights to entire communities of provincials occurred in the case of Transpadane Gaul (§ 235).

(3) *Civitates Foederatae*.—These were such cities as Athens and Sparta, Gades, Messana and Massilia, which had by their loyalty to Rome earned a definite *foedus* securing to them the exercise of their own laws and jurisdiction, and making them liable only to the governor's interference in cases of life and death affecting a Roman *civis*. They enjoyed almost complete independence, but they were bound to have no foreign or domestic policy save that dictated by Rome.

(4) *Civitates Liberae et Immunes*.—These were a small class of towns or states which, though not possessing the guarantee of a special *foedus*, yet enjoyed a position virtually equal to that of the foregoing. Like the *Civitates Foederatae*, they were exempt from taxation and impost in any shape, and remained entirely independent in name at least.

(5) *Civitates Stipendiariae*.—These were the mass of the provincial communities, non-privileged towns which paid tribute to Rome.

Divided into so many classes, the provincial towns were naturally divided in interests, which was what the senate

desired. The policy of Rome was to let the subject peoples govern themselves in the main, and thereby to save the cost of maintaining a large staff of officials amongst them. One governor and half-a-dozen minor officers sufficed for a kingdom. In return she took only a sum—often smaller than that which they had paid to their own monarchs when free—sufficient to defray the cost of defending them, which duty now of course fell upon General Policy of Rome.

Rome. They were not asked to find troops for the Roman service, and they were allowed to practise their own religion and customs. In point of fact, Roman manners and customs rapidly spread abroad. Few nations made any great resistance to the process of imperceptible Romanization, which was indeed favoured by the wealthier provincials, who delighted to ape the style and manners of their rulers, the aristocracy of Rome.

§ 200. To each province was sent a governor, either consular or praetorian, to maintain the influence of Rome, to defend the country from foreign attack, The Governor. to watch over the conduct and policy of the people, and to decide, or remit to Rome for decision, judicial cases involving loss of life or other serious points. On his arrival the governor published an *edictum*, setting forth the plan upon which he intended to administer justice, and his year of office embraced a series of assizes held at regular centres (*conventus*) of his own choosing, whereat he settled any suits referred to his arbitration. He had an allowance from the state for his travelling expenses, and the provincials were ordered by the senate to provide him with certain necessaries, such as corn (*frumentum in cellam*), salt, etc., at a rate fixed beforehand. Beyond this he had theoretically no claims upon his province. In practice he could find means enough to enrich himself at the

expense of the people, and hence arose the terrible fact that a provincial administration might be made the royal road to wealth. The governor could not leave his province until his successor arrived, nor delay his departure after that event.

The governor was assisted by a number of *legati* of his own choosing, proportionate to the extent of his province. Their duty was to aid him with their counsel in peace and war, and to divide with him the labours of administering justice. He took with him also a number of young nobles (*comites*) in a non-official capacity to learn under him the duties of administration.

The only other assistant of the governor was the quaestor, whose duties were solely financial, though in case of need he might be called upon to command in the field and to assist at the tribunals. He was charged with the superintendence of the tax-collections, the payment of the governor and his *legati*, and in some degree with everything which concerned the finances of the provinces. Governor and quaestor had to leave two copies of their year's accounts behind them.

§ 201. The governor was in fact a monarch. His power was virtually absolute while it lasted, for the senate was far away, and was content if no serious abuses came to its notice. There was every temptation for an unscrupulous and needy governor to rob his subjects, while they had no redress but to appeal to the senate. Now, as we have seen, the governor was himself almost always one of the senatorial oligarchy, and was therefore sure of as much protection as the senate could decently accord. If he were impeached (and this could not happen until he had resigned his province) he must be tried before a senatorial court, where judge and jury had every reason

to acquit him if possible, for each of them expected in his turn to be a governor and to receive the same indulgence. Nevertheless, good governors were not altogether wanting; and the provincials, whatever they suffered, at least gained peace and security—both so requisite for progress in culture, commerce, and wealth. They had some protection, too, in the fact that many of them became the clients of leading Roman nobles who were in duty bound to aid them in every possible way. So the Marcelli were the *patroni* of Sicily, Gracchus was the *patronus* of many Spanish towns. Complaints against the governors commenced at an early date, and in 149 B.C. was established by the *Lex Calpurnia* a standing court, composed of senators, to hear prosecutions *de Repetundis*, that is, for extortion. Lex Calpurnia de Repetundis, 149 B.C. This was the earliest of those standing commissions (*quaestiones perpetuae*) which became of importance after the time of C. Gracchus, 122 B.C., as the subject of perpetual quarrels between the senate and the Equestrian Order.

§ 202. With the growth of the provinces is intimately connected the rise of the Equestrian Order The Equestrian Order. (*ordo equester*) or knights (*equites*), a class which in some sort formed a link between the senate and the lower orders. By this time (133 B.C.) the term *Equites* had come to mean not only the state cavalry, but also, with the exception of senators, all who were sufficiently wealthy to possess the property required for a member of the eighteen centuries of horse, that is, 400,000 sesterces. The eighteen centuries of horse existed now only as so many votes in the comitia; they were no longer called upon for service in the field, and they only appeared in full armour once a year, when on the Ides of July they rode in procession in honour of the victory of Lake Regillus. As

senators had by a Lex Claudia of 218 B.C. been forbidden to engage in trade, the whole of the financial operations of the state fell to these capitalists. The knights formed themselves into great companies, which undertook the farming of the revenues as a speculation. In this capacity they received the name of *publicani*. They paid a stated sum annually into the treasury, and in return recouped themselves from the provincials. The actual collection lay with their agents, the tax collectors; and just as it was to the interest of the Equites to get as much as possible out of their agents, so the latter in turn used every possible means to extort money from the subject peoples (*stipendiarii*). Collector, capitalist, and governor alike combined to enrich themselves at the expense of the provinces. The Equites protected their agents, and were themselves protected by the fact that they were themselves men of wealth like the senators, and too valuable as political allies in the comitia to be lightly offended. The quarrel between the two orders did not break out until C. Gracchus initiated his reforms.

The Equites
and the
Provincials.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

§§ 203—205. Tiberius Gracchus.—§ 206. The Province of Asia.—§§ 207—214. Gaius Gracchus and his Legislation.—§ 215. The Province of Gallia Narbonensis.—§§ 216—220. The Jugurthine War.—§§ 221—225. War against the German Tribes.—§ 226. Sicilian Slave Wars.—§§ 227—231. Events at Rome : Saturninus to Drusus.—§§ 232—235. The Social War.—§§ 236—240. Sulla, Marius and Cinna.—§§ 241—246. The First and Second Mithradatic Wars.—§§ 247—254. Sulla's Return and Legislation.

§ 203. THAT Tib. Sempronius Gracchus who had pacified Spain, 179 B.C., left in the charge of his wife Cornelia two sons ; the elder, now about thirty years of age ^{The first attack} and tribune of the people (133 B.C.), was Tiberius, ^{on the Senate.} the younger was Gaius. The elder son had distinguished himself by personal bravery at the siege of Carthage, and had seen service in the army of Spain, where his word had saved the army of Mancinus from destruction, 137 B.C. He was brother-in-law of Scipio Aemilianus, for his sister was married to that great general ; and he himself had wedded the daughter of App. Claudius Pulcher, a leading noble, consular and ex-censor. While on his journeys to and from Spain he had marked the desolation of Etruria ; he now came forward to propose a remedy.

His ideas of reform were not altogether new. C. Laelius, the close friend of Aemilianus, had only abandoned similar ideas because he foresaw that ^{Proposals of} Tib. Gracchus. revolution would ensue—moderation which earned him the

name of Sapiens, "the Prudent." Since the Licinian Rogations (367 B.C.) nothing had been done to prevent the occupation of the state lands by the wealthy: and though those Rogations were still unrepealed, nobody dreamt of enforcing them, and they were now a dead letter. The depopulation of Italy, which threatened to leave Rome without the materials for an army while it filled her streets with beggars, was due to the misappropriation of the public lands and the spread of slave-labour: therefore after taking counsel with App. Claudius, P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus the Chief Pontiff, and P. Mucius Scaevola the best lawyer in Rome and consul for the year, Tiberius brought before the comitia the following proposals, amounting to a re-enactment of the Licinian Laws:—

(a) That no person should occupy more than 500 *iugera* of public land, with 250 extra for each son: the total amount so occupied by one family not to exceed 1000 *iugera*.

(b) That all land thus recovered should be distributed at a small rent to the poor (Italians as well as Romans) in lots of 30 *iugera*, inalienable and hereditary.

(c) That a certain proportion of free labourers should be employed on all estates.

(d) That the redistribution of land should be managed by a standing commission of three, specially appointed and maintained by the state.

§ 204. The bill attacked the entire wealthy class of Rome and of Italy, just as it offered relief to the whole of the pauper population; for in the colonies, municipia, and allied communities alike, the rich had both seized on the public land and ousted the small farmers from their

holdings. All the rich were therefore in arms against the measure. Tiberius did not lay his proposals before the senate, as was customary, but referred the matter directly to the tribes. The country tribes were enthusiastic in their support, and flocked to Rome in immense numbers to vote for the bill.

The Land
Commission.

• On the day of voting a fellow-tribune, M. Octavius, vetoed the bill. No vote could be taken: Tiberius retaliated by using his powers of veto against every act of the magistrates, until the tribes were summoned anew. The bill was vetoed a second time by Octavius. Then Tiberius did an unconstitutional thing; he summoned the tribes again, and put to them the question whether they would depose Octavius. They decided in the affirmative, and Octavius was dragged from the tribunes' bench. Then the bill was again put and carried, and as commissioners to execute it were appointed Tiberius himself, his brother Gaius, and his father-in-law App. Claudius.

The senate was beaten, but for the moment contented itself with obstruction. Tiberius' term of office would expire soon (Dec. 10th, 133 B.C.), when it could impeach him; for he could not, in strict law, be re-elected for the ensuing year. Meantime it voted the commissioners no adequate supplies, and watched the difficulties which beset them. There were no means of determining what lands were public and what were not. Everywhere there were endless disputes. Those against whom judgment went, very many of them wealthy Italian *socii*, swelled the ranks of the opposition. Nevertheless the allotments began.

§ 205. Tiberius felt that he was falling, and made new bids for popular support. Just at this time died Attalus III., the last king of Pergamus, bequeathing all his belongings to the Roman state. Tiberius gave notice of a bill to devote the funds so acquired to providing the new settlers with stock for their farms. Next he talked of extending the franchise to all Italians, of shortening the period of military service, of weakening the power of the senate in the jury-courts by extending the right of service to the equestrian order.

Fall of
Tiberius.

In this way he hoped to win his re-election as tribune for 132 B.C. As tribune he would at least be safe from impeachment, whereas now he was not secure even **against** assassination. The senate determined to prevent **his** re-election. On the day of voting the tribes began to poll for him ; but the senatorial party declared that his re-election was illegal, and nothing was done. On the morrow both parties were prepared to use force, and P. Scipio Nasica, a bitter opponent of Gracchus, called upon the consul to save the state. When the consul Scaevola refused to shed a citizen's blood, Nasica cried out that the state was deserted by its guardians : he would defend it himself. He led the way to the brow of the Capitol where Tiberius was standing with 3000 of his followers, fell upon them suddenly and put them to flight. Tiberius stumbled as he endeavoured to escape and was struck down by one of the tribunes. Three hundred of his partisans fell, while many more were afterwards put to death by a special commission of the senate.

§ 206. The death of Attalus III. occurred when the
Acquisition of Pergamum senate was too busy to attend to foreign
 affairs, and while it tarried, Aristonicus, a natural son of Attalus II., appeared as a claimant for the throne. During the year 132 B.C. he was defeated off Cyme by an Ephesian fleet, but in the following year, having called to arms the slaves, he made himself master of Samos and much of the adjoining seaboard. The senate now determined to send an armed force to Asia. Both consuls were eager for the command. P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, who was also Chief Pontiff, after forbidding his colleague Flaccus, the Flamen Dialis, to leave Rome, secured the prize for himself by a vote of the people ; but his selfish-

ness cost him dear, for he was defeated and killed by Aristonicus in 131 B.C. His successor, the consul M. Perpenna, avenged the defeat, blockaded the pretender in Stratonicea, a Carian town, and forced him to surrender (130 B.C.). The kingdom of Pergamus was then settled by M'. Aquilius, consul for 129 B.C., assisted by a commission of ten senators. Now was constituted the province of Asia, embracing Mysia, Lydia, and the major part of Caria. The southern portion of Caria was given to the Rhodians, and Phrygia went to the king of Pontus, Mithradates V., who had sent troops to assist the Romans; but in 120 B.C. the latter country was taken back and added to Asia, which was, and always remained, the richest of the provinces.

The Province
of Asia,
129 B.C.

§ 207. Although Tiberius was dead, his work had not been in vain. His place as Land Commissioner was taken by P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, who, as above related, fell in Asia, 131 B.C., and about the same time died another Commissioner, App. Claudius. The vacancies were filled by Carbo the tribune and M. Fulvius Flaccus, both leaders of the popular party, and the allotments continued. The work was real, for within the next decade the census showed an increase of 70,000 citizens, most of whom must have owed their status to the new law. About 129 B.C. the wealthy Latins and Italians, with whose tenure the commission was now interfering, broke out into protest, and declared that their property was being confiscated. The poorer members of the Italian community on the other hand were eager that the laws should be enforced. Both parties appeared in Rome, and called on Scipio Aemilianus, the most powerful of the citizens, to decide between them. Scipio, who had since his

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and the Land
Commission.

return from Numantia become more and more identified with the aristocrats, declared in favour of the wealthy Italians ; and by this attitude, though heretofore a favourite of the people, he now forfeited their affection. But any collision was averted by his death. One day after making

Death of
Scipio Aemili-
anus, 129 B.C.

a great speech in the senate he was found dead in bed. Later generations accused Carbo of murdering him, but there seems no valid ground for supposing that he met with foul play. So perished the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia, aged 56, in the winter of 129 B.C. Nevertheless he had virtually ended the work of the commission, for he had secured a decree of the people transferring its duties to the consul for the year, C. Sempronius Tuditanus ; and as the latter quitted Rome to conduct a campaign against the Iapydes, a piratical tribe of Illyricum, the agrarian distributions came to an end.

§ 208. The bitterness which had for generations prevailed between Italians and Romans became now a new element of political discord, for the former began to demand the franchise. The Romans, the poor almost as much as the wealthy, were jealous of their own special privileges and resolved to keep them ; and when the question was raised, a tribune carried a motion for expelling all non-Romans from the city, 126 B.C. Thereupon M. Fulvius Flaccus in his consulate, 125 B.C., retorted, by proposing

The Italians
demand the
franchise

That any Latin or Italian ally should be allowed to ask for the Roman citizenship, and to get a vote of the comitia on his request.

Flaccus met with little support even from the party he professed to lead. Carbo had already gone over to the senate, and C. Gracchus was absent in Sardinia. The proposal was defeated, and its author removed by being despatched into Gaul to carry on war against the Salluvii.

Instantly the town of Fregellae, one of the most important of the Latin colonies, rose in arms to obtain satisfaction by force, 125 B.C. Fortunately for Rome there was dissension among the insurgents themselves, and Fregellae was betrayed, rased to the ground, and its place taken by a new citizen-colony at Fabrateria.

Revolt of
Fregellae,
125 B.C.

So speedy and decisive a punishment checked whatever disaffection there was. For a space the question of enfranchising the Italians slept, but a fresh and formidable agitator was now on the scene, one who for a few months was virtually monarch of Rome.

§ 209. This was C. Sempronius Gracchus, younger brother of Tiberius, already conspicuous as one of the Commissioners under Tiberius' law.

C. Gracchus.

Nine years younger than his brother, and like him full of designs for reforming the state, Gaius had no need to hunt for popularity. He had served in Spain under Scipio in 133 B.C., and as quaestor in Sardinia in 126 B.C. On his return from that province without authorization (124 B.C.), he was impeached by the senate for complicity in the revolt at Fregellae, but acquitted. All men knew that he had come back to resume his brother's work, and he was elected tribune for 123 B.C.

The constitution of Rome had proved itself incapable of preventing the abuses which follow from the quarrel of the few rich with the many poor. Once a republic of equal citizens, Rome had become now an oligarchy of the most exclusive kind. Gaius set himself to accomplish

His aims.

two objects: to overthrow the oligarchy, and to better the lot of the poorer citizens. His brother had aimed at the latter only, but Gaius was a political as well as a social reformer.

§ 210. Ten years after his brother's first tribunate he

brought forward a series of measures calculated to win the support against the senate of the various classes who had grievances demanding redress. The order in which his proposal was introduced is not known, nor again can we be sure of the year, for Gaius was elected to a second tribunate in 122 B.C., and no doubt continued to press forward and develop his schemes.

(i) A *lex frumentaria* decreed that the state should provide corn once a month to all citizens at a price less than half its market value.

(ii) The *lex agraria* of Tiberius Gracchus was renewed but not re-enforced.

(iii) Colonies were to be established at Tarentum and elsewhere in Italy, besides one at Carthage (*Tunonia*), which was to include poor Italians.

Legislation of
C. Gracchus,
123, 122 B.C.

(iv) A series of army-reforms was introduced: all citizens on service were to have the right of appeal from an officer's capital sentence; the soldier's clothing was henceforth to be found in addition to his pay; no one was to be called for military service except between the ages of seventeen and forty-five; a foot-soldier after serving sixteen campaigns, a horse-soldier after ten, was to be free from liability to further service.

(v) In addition to the existing permanent Commission for Extortion (*de repetundis*), others were to be established for the trial of cases of poisoning and murder, and the jurymen in all these courts were to be chosen from the equestrian order.

(vi) The taxes of Asia were to be put up for auction at Rome instead of being collected by the provincials themselves.

(vii) Before the election of consuls for any year, the senate was to decide what provinces should be assigned to them.

The first of these laws secured the support of the proletariat, but it was fraught with the most pernicious consequences, for it increased the depopulation of the country districts by teaching the dregs of the country folk to flock to Rome, where bread was to be had for the asking. The second law Gaius appears to have proposed rather as a tribute to his brother's memory than because he desired to re-open the question of allotments. The third is remarkable as being the forerunner of that colonization beyond the sea which afterwards became a recognized feature of the

Tendency of
these Laws.

democratic programme. By far the most important is the fifth. Gaius saw that he needed firmer support than the proletariat could afford him : accordingly he destroyed the union which had previously existed between the senate and the Equites, by raising the latter to a position of rivalry in the state. The control which the senate had hitherto possessed over the law-courts was taken from them and handed over to the merchants and money-lenders of the equestrian order. In other words, the Equites were bribed to take Gaius' side by the prospect of plundering the provinces ; for if any senatorial governor endeavoured to prevent their extortion he did so at the peril of having a charge trumped up against him by the Equites, and being condemned by them in the court where they acted as jurors. The sixth law was also intended to gratify the Equites, for Asia was the richest of the provinces, and presented an almost unlimited field for their malpractices.

§ 211. Thus Gaius had not fallen into the error, which his brother had committed, of relying upon one section of the community only. He had the ^{Proposal of Gracchus about the Franchise.} starving proletariat to back him up indeed, but he had also the great financial magnates of the state. Unfortunately a further law which he proposed in order to win over the Latins and Italians, viz. :—

(viii) That the full franchise should be granted to the Latins, and Latin rights to the allies,

broke up the coalition. His motive no doubt was to soothe the Italians for any loss that might befall them through the establishment of the colonies at Tarentum and elsewhere ; but as in the time of Flaccus, the populace objected to sharing their comitial privileges with any new-comers, and they began to fall away from their leader.

The senate saw its opportunity: it would widen the coldness into a quarrel by pretending to become the patron of the poor. A tribune, M. Livius Drusus, was prompted to propose laws—

Counter-proposals of M. Livius Drusus, 122 B.C.

(a) That the small rent-charge for land allotted by the law of the elder Gracchus should be remitted, and that the allotments should be henceforth free and transferable.

(b) That twelve colonies of 3000 citizens each should be established for the benefit of the poor, not beyond the seas but in Italy.

Gaius was at the time absent, superintending his new colony at Junonia; when he returned it was too late. He was not elected to the tribunate of 121 B.C., and L. Opimius, his most active foe, was chosen consul.

§ 212. Immediately upon the commencement of the consular year, Opimius proposed the abolition of Junonia, having previously worked upon the scruples of the people by aid of the priests, and by the report of awful portents and ill omens connected with the accursed spot. Gaius appeared in the Forum, and one of his supporters struck down Antullius, a sacrificial servant, for some insulting language. A riot ensued, and the senate at once ordered Opimius to assume the powers of a dictator—*videret ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet*, “let him see that the state received no harm.” He armed senators and slaves and the few Equites who held by the senate, occupied the Capitol, and on the following morning advanced to the Aventine, where Gaius’ supporters were collected. Gaius himself endeavoured to obviate a collision, and M. Fulvius Flaccus, now as ever faithful to the popular cause, sent his son to treat with the senate. The latter arrested young Flaccus, and offered its weight in gold for the head of either Gaius or Flaccus the elder. In the attack on the Aventine the mob was speedily dispersed. Gaius would

Fall of C. Gracchus, 121 B.C.

have stood his ground but was persuaded to fly. His body was found in the grove of Furinna with that of one slave, who had slain his master by command and then himself.

§ 213. When Gaius fell the popular party was left without a head. His adherents to the number of three thousand were mercilessly tracked out by a special commission under L. Opimius, and the populace made no resistance. Too debased to be loyal, they only cared to get as much as they could, and they now looked to the tribune Drusus to fulfil his promises. But he had only The Oligarchic Reaction. acted as the instrument of the senate, and the senate had no mind to fulfil promises of which the purpose was already served. On the contrary it attacked in detail every act of Gaius' tribunate and gradually recovered most of its power. The question of the *iudicia* alone gave it serious trouble. Yet the memory of the revolution did not die. The mob had learnt its powers: it was sovereign, and could, at will, interfere with every department of government; all that the senate could do was to cajole it and see that none stepped forward to lead it.

§ 214. The land laws were first attacked. The decree prohibiting any further attempt to refound Carthage (*Junonia*) was carried, and shortly Fate of the Land Laws. after were cancelled all other transmarine colonies. One only held its ground, and struggled on until it became a great city, Narbo (*Narbonne*) in Gaul; but, as will be seen, this was because of its utility from a military point of view. Gaius' Italian colonies fared no better; while the twelve promised by Drusus were allowed to be forgotten. The commission for distributing lands, restored by Gaius, existed nominally until 119 B.C., when Spurius Thorius, prompted by the senate, passed a law that all remaining public land should be left to its present occupiers for a

small rental, which was to go towards the fund for the provision of corn. Finally in 111 B.C. a new law decreed that this small tax should be abolished and that all holdings should be alienable. Thus the smaller and poorer tenants were soon bought out or evicted by less honourable means: the entire domain land passed again into the hands of the wealthy, who were exempted from any payment for their possessions. All the labours of the Gracchi were lost. Grass-farming and slave-labour grew up anew, and the depopulation of Italy became every year more marked.

The corn-laws the senate dared not touch, yet even in the popular party the wiser men saw that such laws were radically evil. Their sole tendency was to encourage pauperism and discourage labour, to fill Rome with beggars who would sell their support for a fresh largess. The famous Gaius Marius endeavoured in his tribunate (119 B.C.) to curtail these distributions, but without success.

The Equites were long left unmolested in their new powers. With regard to the jury-courts, the senatorial party came to a tacit understanding with the Equites, that the latter should be allowed to plunder the provinces at will, and should in turn suffer the senatorial governors to share what remained. The provinces had reason to regret the transfer of the *iudicia* to the new class. Before this they had had but their governors to fear: now they had governors and Equites as well.

In fine, the one feature of the Gracchan reform which might have produced good results—the design of providing lands by allotment and colonization, and so re-peopling Italy—was abolished; and every feature that was faulty and dangerous, the corn-doles and the abuse of justice, was fostered by the restored nobles. There set in “an age of

political mediocrities," for it was the policy of the aristocrats to distribute office and power amongst the younger members of their own ranks, and not to encourage the rise of men of mark such as had been Scipio and Paulus. Hence came disaster and disgrace on all hands abroad, corruption and intrigue at home. The next great names in Roman history are those of men who attained power by aid of the populace.

§ 215. The conquest of Liguria and the other tribes beyond the Padus (*Po*) was completed in 143 Wars in Gallia Transalpina. B.C., when Appius Claudius reduced the Salassi and took from them the gold-washings of Victumulae. Between Spain and Italy, however, there was no means of communication except by sea, for in Gaul only Massilia was in alliance with Rome. It was manifestly to be desired that the provinces in Spain should be connected more closely with Italy. Accordingly, when in 125 B.C. the senate were anxious to be rid of M. Fulvius Flaccus, the partisan of the Gracchi, they sent him into Gaul to secure a footing for the Romans in that quarter.

The country between the Rhone and the Alps as far as the Isara (*Isère*) was occupied by the Salluvii and Vocontii, tribes of mixed Ligurian and Celtic descent; while beyond these lay the more important Gallic tribes of the Allobroges and the Aedui. The whole region east of the Rhone was fertile and its inhabitants were but weak. Beyond the Rhone the power of Gaul lay with the Arverni in Auvergne, and so formidable were they that the Aedui (about *Autun*) and the Suessones (near *Soissons*) in the north were their only rivals. Flaccus campaigned successfully (125, 124 B.C.) against the Salluvii and Vocontii; his successor C. Sextius Calvinus defeated the Allobroges who came to the assist-

ance of the Salluvii (123, 122 B.C.); and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, following up these successes, forced the Allobroges in their turn to summon the Arverni to their aid. The Arvernian king Betuitus brought up 180,000 men to help the Gauls, and the senate despatched the consul Q. Fabius Maximus, 121 B.C., to support Ahenobarbus. In a great battle at the junction of the Rhone and the Isère in that year, the Arverni were utterly routed with, it is said, the loss of 150,000 men, mostly drowned in their flight across the Rhone. The Allobroges submitted at once. Soon afterwards Ahenobarbus captured Betuitus by treachery, and in the battle of Vindalium near Avennio (*Avignon*) reduced the Arverni to peace (121 B.C.). The country from the Lake of Geneva to the Pyrenees was constituted a province, called Gallia Narbonensis from its chief town of Narbo, where three years later (118 B.C.) was established a colony. Communication with Spain was thus secured. Narbo (*Narbonne*) was colonized partly as a concession to the populace, as some fulfilment of the promises of Livius Drusus, partly as a garrison town for the new province, partly in the interests of the Equites as a commercial rival to Massilia. The town of Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*) sprung up where C. Sextius had fixed his head-quarters.

§ 216. When Massinissa of Numidia died, 149 B.C., his kingdom was divided between his three sons; Micipsa was the acknowledged king, but Gulussa, who sent troops to act at the siege of Carthage, was commander-in-chief, and Mastanabal was entrusted with the control of justice. Both the younger brothers died before 118 B.C., and Micipsa, whose death occurred in that year, left his kingdom to be divided between

Jugurthine
War,
111 B.C.—105 B.C.

his own sons Adherbal and Hiempsal, and his nephew Jugurtha, son of Mastanabal. Jugurtha had led a contingent of Numidians to the aid of Scipio in the Numantine war, and besides distinguishing himself by his courage, had intrigued so successfully with many of the leading Romans that he could count upon their support in the future. Now left co-heir with Micipsa's sons, he refused to be satisfied with his share of the kingdom, assassinated Hiempsal (117 B.C.), and forced Adherbal to fly to Rome. The senate divided Numidia between Adherbal and Jugurtha, and a commission under L. Opimius, which was sent to carry out the arrangement, gave the capital, Cirta (*Constantine*), to Adherbal, while the western and more productive region fell to Jugurtha. Five years passed, during which Jugurtha, confident of the connivance of the Romans, continued to harass his adopted brother. Eventually he shut him up in the almost impregnable city of Cirta, 112 B.C., and declined to pay any attention to an embassy of young nobles which was despatched by the senate to interfere. A third commission under M. Aemilius Scaurus, the leader of the aristocracy, was no more successful, and while the senate still hesitated Cirta fell. The inhabitants, many of them Roman and Italian traders, were put to death, and Adherbal was Fall of Cirta,
112 B.C. killed by torture (112 B.C.). Whereupon Jugurtha sent envoys to explain his action and to purchase the acquiescence of the senate.

He was now in possession of the entire kingdom of his grandfather Massinissa, a kingdom stretching from the borders of Egypt on the east to those of Mauretania, the kingdom of Bocchus, on the west, excepting only the Roman province about the site of Carthage. He had a full treasury, an inexhaustible supply of men, and his

Numidians were the finest light cavalry in the world. He had married the daughter of Bocchus, whom he might therefore consider his ally.

§ 217. The senate, after vain endeavours to ignore Ad-herbal's fate, was compelled by the popular indignation and the harangues of C. Memmius, tribune designate, to declare war. The consul L. Calpurnius Bestia, and his legate Scaurus, entered Africa, and when Bocchus appeared likely to support them, Jugurtha offered terms. He purchased a peace which left him in possession of his kingdom at the price of a petty fine and the surrender of his elephants (111 B.C.).

In Rome there was deep anger at the treaty. The senators were again threatened with impeachment by the tribune C. Memmius, and were constrained to summon Jugurtha to defend himself in person, granting him safe-conduct. The king came, bought over one of the tribunes whose veto defeated the purpose of Memmius, and finding that his kinsman Massiva, a son of Gulussa, was suing for restoration, had him assassinated at Rome by an agent named Bomilcar. Whereupon the people forced the senate to cancel the peace and dismiss the king; Sp. Postumius Albinus was entrusted with the command against him.

Sp. Albinus did nothing, for his army was too much demoralized to be serviceable. He left Africa at the close of 110 B.C., passing on the command to his brother Aulus. This general coveted the wealth of Jugurtha, and marched upon his treasure city of Suthul (*Guelma*). The attack failed; the legions, induced by a simulated retreat to follow the king into the desert, were suddenly beset by the entire Numidian army, and lost their camp. The Romans were forced to purchase their lives by passing under the yoke, and by agreeing

Campaign of
L. Calpurnius
Bestia, 111
B.C.

Defeat of Aulus
Albinus, 109
B.C.

to evacuate Numidia forthwith and renew the peace of Scaurus (109 B.C.).

§ 218. Thereupon C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribune, secured the appointment of a special commission (*quaestio Limetana*) to try the senatorial ^{The Quaestio Limetana.} leaders on charges of high treason and corruption. A number were exiled, amongst them Sp. Albinus and L. Opimius, the adversary of C. Gracchus. Scaurus contrived to get himself made president of the commission, and thus saved himself at the expense of fellow criminals not more guilty. The second treaty was cancelled; Q. Caecilius Metellus (the nephew of that Metellus who crushed the pretender Andriscus in Macedonia) was put in command, and amongst his lieutenants was C. Marius, who as tribune in 119 B.C., had made an attack upon the corn-doles. Metellus was a good general, and if he had little scruple on other points, he was at least proof against bribery. Energetic measures reorganized the army, and a great battle on the river Muthul, in which the safety of the Romans was due in large part to the ^{First campaign of Metellus, 109 B.C.} valour of Marius, gave to the invaders possession of the greater part of Numidia. Most of the towns surrendered, but Jugurtha shut himself up in Cirta, and Zama successfully withstood a short siege, during which Metellus' camp was taken (end of 109 B.C.).

Jugurtha felt the danger of his position: he again attempted to negotiate terms, and surrendered much treasure and stores, and probably his capital Cirta; but when asked to surrender himself he refused, and broke off the negotiations. Metellus was sufficiently dishonourable to retain everything that had been given up, though Jugurtha had gained nothing in return. The Numidians, however, were still anxious to continue the struggle. The

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town of Vaga (*Beja*), which had opened its gates to the Romans, revolted anew and massacred the entire Roman garrison. Two days later it was recovered and paid the usual penalty, but the Numidian tribes still flocked to Jugurtha. The whole campaign of 108 B.C. was wasted in the idle effort to capture the king amidst his deserts. Moreover Bocchus the Mauretanian seemed not unlikely to aid him. He was afraid of Jugurtha's power, but still more afraid of the prospect of having the Romans as his neighbours.

§ 219. At the close of the campaign of 108 B.C. Marius returned to Rome as a candidate for the consulship. He was only the son of a Sabine farmer of Arpinum; yet he found supporters enough, for he was a good soldier, and though no orator, was on good terms with the people. He was elected easily, and was appointed to the command in Africa for the campaign of 107 B.C.

Election of
Marius to the
consulship for
107 B.C.

The election of Marius was a serious blow to the aristocrats, for it marked the passing away from them of the monopoly of the higher magistracies. Without birth, money, or patronage, Marius attained by popular will the highest office in the state, and the precedent was not forgotten. A change introduced by Marius was no less momentous: heretofore service in the legions had depended, as had been the case ever since the Servian Reform, upon the possession of a certain amount of property, originally 11,000 *asses*, but subsequently lowered to 4000; Marius did away with this restriction, and threw open the ranks to the *capite censi*, that is, to those citizens on the tribal lists who had not even the lower of these two qualifications. The effect was disastrous in many ways: it opened the way to the formation of armies devoted to the interest

of indulgent leaders, and so heralded the civil wars. But it was necessary in so far as there were scarce any left in Rome who possessed the amount of property requisite under the old system, and were at the same time desirous of military service.

During the year 107 B.C. Metellus still retained the command as proconsul while Marius was levying troops in Italy. It was not until late in the year that Marius appeared and took over the legions. When the new troops, who had as yet seen nothing of war, had been drilled sufficiently, Marius commenced operations by the surprise of Capsa (*Kafsa*), a very strong fortress, with whose fall the whole of eastern Numidia came into the hands of the Romans.

First campaign
of Marius,
107 B.C.

§ 220. Next year, 106 B.C., Marius after a march of many hundred miles, reached the Muluchath (*Mejerdeh*), the border river between Numidia and Mauretania.

Bocchus was alarmed by the progress of the Romans, and supported Jugurtha in the attempt to cut off their retreat. Marius was placed in great peril on at least three occasions during the backward march, and his escape he owed mainly to the courage and dash of L. Cornelius Sulla, his quaestor, who commanded the cavalry. At last he reached his headquarters at Cirta in safety and passed the winter there.

Second
campaign of
Marius, 106
B.C.

To conquer the Numidians in open war seemed a hopeless task and Marius had recourse to intrigue. Sulla served him well in the matter, and Bocchus was induced to betray Jugurtha, albeit his own son-in-law, as the price of the friendship of Rome. Jugurtha was invited to a conference, where he was surprised and surrendered in chains to Sulla (105 B.C.).

Capture of
Jugurtha,
105 B.C.

Marius triumphed in the following year, though the

real work of the war had been done by Metellus and Sulla.¹ Although Numidia was thus at the mercy of the Romans it was not converted into a province. The western half was added to the kingdom of Bocchus, while the eastern was made over to Gauda, the half-witted brother of Jugurtha. Jugurtha perished by violence or starvation in the Tullianum at Rome, and while he lay dying the people summoned the conqueror to lead their legions against a far more formidable enemy, the Gauls and Germans of the North.

§ 221. The Ligurian war, and the campaigns of Flaccus and his successors in Narbonese Gaul, had for Conflicts with the Northern Tribes. their object the consolidation of the frontier on the north-west. A similar task kept various commanders occupied on the north-eastern frontier, about the head of the Adriatic and Illyricum. After the war with Tenta little or nothing was done in this direction until 184 B.C., when, on the rumour that Philip of Macedon meditated an invasion of Italy by land with the aid of the Thracian peoples, a colony was settled at Aquileia. Subsequently, when Macedonia became a province, it was found that this acquisition of territory brought the Romans into conflict with the more or less savage tribes who lived to the south of the Danube. Frontier wars of little importance were conducted almost without intermission from 150 B.C. onwards. In 114 B.C. a consul, C. Porcius Cato, and his army marched out of Macedonia and were cut to pieces by the Scordisci, a people dwelling in what is now called Servia. A war thus commenced which lasted until

¹ The chronology of the war from 109 B.C. to 106 B.C. is doubtful. The dates given here are from Ihne.

110 B.C., when M. Minucius penetrated to the Danube and finally crushed the Scordisci. Unfortunately by breaking the strength of this Danubian people, the Romans had destroyed the bulwark which had thus far protected them from a far more terrible foe. The Cimbri, or "the Champions," a people of Germanic origin, had long been hovering about the northern bank of the Danube, unable to force a southward passage in face of the brave Celtic tribes like the Scordisci by which the river was covered. Now the Cimbrian and Roman came face to face.

§ 222. The Cimbri had much in common with the Gauls; they lived only for battle and deeds of valour, owned as king the bravest of their number, sacrificed to their gods their prisoners of war, and had little civilization. They moved along with no fixed homes, living in the wagons which accompanied them. In 113 B.C. they presented themselves at the passes of the Carnic Alps, close to the colony of Aquileia. They were met by Cn. Papirius Carbo, and ordered to quit the lands of the Taurisci, who were friends, that is dependents, of Rome. They obeyed, and Carbo treacherously drew them into an ambushade. They revenged themselves by inflicting a terrible defeat on the faithless Roman, but instead of at once entering Italy, they passed westward over the Jura, and there lived quietly.

The Cimbri.

Defeat of Cn.
Papirius Carbo,
113 B.C.

In this position, however, they appeared to threaten the newly-acquired province of Narbonese Gaul, and to protect this M. Junius Silanus brought up an army in 109 B.C. The Cimbri asked for lands in which to settle: Silanus retorted by attacking them, and lost both army and camp. It was most difficult to raise new troops to face these flaxen-haired giants, and the senate was relieved to find that the Cimbri contented

And of M.
Junius Silanus,
109 B.C.

themselves with repeating their demand for lands, and refrained from any advance upon the Roman frontier.

§ 223. But now a new foe appeared. The Helveti, a

The Helvetii. Celtic tribe settled in Switzerland, grew restless, and advanced to seek less barren lands to the west of their Alpine homes. The consul L. Cassius Longinus encountered them near Agen on the Garonne, and fell with most of his troops (107 B.C.). The remainder of the army bought its safety by passing under the yoke, surrendering its baggage and hostages, and at once withdrawing. For this treaty the interim commander C. Popilius was impeached on a charge of treason and condemned to exile. Tolosa (*Toulouse*) now revolted, but was recovered by Q. Servilius Caepio in the following year, for neither Cimbri nor Helvetii showed any desire to molest those who did not provoke them. At Tolosa Caepio improved his opportunity by plundering the great temple of the Celtic Apollo, 106 B.C.

„In 105 B.C. there were three armies in Gaul to meet the Cimbri, who, under their king Boiorix, now made a definite advance upon Italy. M. Aurelius Scaurus, an ex-consul, was the first victim. completely routed on the eastern bank of the Rhone, he was captured and put to death for the haughty spirit with which he answered his captors. The consul Cn. Mallius Maximus now summoned Caepio, the proconsul, from the western bank, and the combined armies lay side by side at Arausio (*Orange*), to the number of more than 80,000 Romans, exclusive of auxiliaries and other troops. The two commanders quarrelled, and despite the entreaties of the senate persisted in their antagonism. The chief command of course belonged to the consul Maximus, and this galled the pride of Caepio, who ventured to attack the Cimbri single-handed so as to forestall his

• colleague in the expected victory. His army perished almost to a man, his camp was taken, and the victorious Cimbri followed up one triumph by ^{Battle of Arausio, 105 B.C.} another scarcely less complete over Maximus (Oct. 6, 105 B.C.). The dead numbered 120,000, of whom two-thirds were Romans. No such defeat had been experienced since the fatal day of Cannæ; but, though the road to Italy was open, the Cimbri passed on towards Spain.

The people promptly showed its indignation against Cæpio: he was at once deprived of his imperium, his property was confiscated, and his seat in the senate taken from him. There were other symptoms of the popular restlessness. By the *Lex Domitia* of 104 B.C., vacancies in the priestly colleges were no longer filled by co-optation but by the vote of seventeen of the tribes chosen by lot. C. Marius was returned a second time as consul for 104 B.C.

§ 224. His triumph over, Marius left Rome forthwith, and took up the command of what troops were left in the Narbonese, 104 B.C. He carried ^{Second consulship of Marius, 104 B.C.} with him a number of new levies raised in Italy by the extraordinary measures of the consul P. Rutilius Rufus in 105 B.C., when so great was the panic, that it had been necessary to forbid any man capable of military service to leave the country. With these, assisted by contingents from Massilia, the Allobroges, and other peoples of the Transalpine districts who dreaded the Cimbri no less than did the Romans, Marius was able to put the Narbonese in a good state of defence. • The Cimbri meantime had entered Spain and had been driven out by the stubborn valour of the Celtiberi. In 103 B.C. they passed northward along the western shore of Gaul up to

the Seine, and were there joined by other German hordes, notably the Teutones. Failing to oust the Belgæ of northern Gaul, they once more wheeled about and advanced upon Italy by two routes. The Cimbri made for the passes of the Carnic Alps; the Teutones and Ambrones were to enter Italy by the western roads.

§ 225. Marius had returned for a space to Rome towards the end of 104 B.C. to hold the consular comitia, and had been a third time returned as consul.

Battle of Aquæ
Sextiæ, 102
B.C.

He employed the year (103 B.C.) as before in preparing the province and his army for the impending struggle. When at last it came (102 B.C.) he was consul for the fourth time, with Q. Lutatius Catulus, an aristocrat, as his colleague. He entrenched himself at the juncture of the Rhone and Isara (*Isère*), and suffered the Teutones and Ambrones to cross the stream and attack his camp without assuming the offensive. The Germans knew nothing of sieges, and soon gave up the task of storming the Roman position. As they passed on towards the Alps, Marius followed cautiously. He overtook them near Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*), where he again entrenched himself upon a hill after a successful skirmish with the Ambrones. Two days later the barbarians attempted to storm his position, and for half the day the fight was obstinate. Then the Germans broke and fled to their baggage-waggons whither the legions followed them. The entire host was annihilated, men, women, and children alike. The victory of Marius was complete, and when he returned to Rome he was chosen consul for the fifth time.

Meanwhile the second horde, the Cimbri, guided and swelled by the Helvetii, had traversed the Brenner Pass and descended the eastern bank of the Athesis (*Adige*) towards the Po. They were encountered by Catulus, the

second consul, with a full army; but so great was the terror of their name that at first sight of the enemy the legions broke and fled. With difficulty Catulus retreated to the southern bank of the Po, thus leaving all Transpadane Gaul at the mercy of the invaders.

In the spring of 101 B.C. he was joined by Marius, now a fifth time consul, and the two commanders crossed the Po and marched eastwards towards Vercellae (*Vercelli*). At a spot called Campi Raudii they fell unexpectedly upon the Germans. The Cimbri were annihilated as completely as the Teutones had been. Few survived to be the slaves of their conquerors. Henceforth Rome had no German invaders to fear until the days when Alaric led his Goths into Italy.

Battle of
Vercellae,
101 B.C.

§ 226. While the deadly contest with the northern tribes was in progress, Rome was harassed by a servile war. The scene of the uprising was Sicily, where gangs of slaves, starved, overworked and tortured, toiled on the land chained neck to neck. They had broken out into revolt once before in 135 B.C., under the leadership of Eunus, a Syrian juggler who gave himself the title of King Antiochus, and of his lieutenants Cleon and Achaeus. At one time they were in possession of the important towns of Messana and Agrigentum, and were not crushed until P. Rupilius, the consul of 132 B.C., took their strongholds, Enna and Tauromenium (*Taormina*), and crucified 20,000 of his prisoners.

First Sicilian
Slave War.

In 104 B.C. P. Licinius Nerva, the praetor of Sicily, held a court in Syracuse to inquire into the condition of persons who, though belonging to nations in alliance with Rome, had been captured by the slave-merchants and sold into captivity. Nerva ordered the release of no fewer than 800, but when the numbers of those demanding

Second Sicilian
Slave War.

redress continually increased, he grew alarmed at the prevalent excitement and refused to hear any further cases. This was the signal for insurrection: in the east of the island a Syrian magician, Salvius, who assumed the title of King Tryphon, defeated Nerva near Morgantia; while in the west a Cilician, Athenio, a man of considerable ability, gathered a force and placed it under the command of King Tryphon. The slaves held their ground for the next two years, despite the fact that they had to contend against considerable bodies of troops, and it was not until 101 B.C., when the consul M'. Aquillius took the command, that Athenio, now general through the death of Tryphon, was defeated in a great battle and the revolt so came to an end.

§ 227. Since the fall of C. Gracchus the popular party had been without a great leader. Nevertheless it was not crushed. The disasters, corruption, and general misgovernment of the restored senate had only aroused the democrats to renewed efforts, and they had shown their indignation by the prosecution of the incapable generals who had commanded against Jugurtha and the Sicilian slaves. What they needed was a leader with force to back his efforts. As they thought, they had found the necessary man in Marius, who owed his five consulships to them, and who came back from the field of Vercellae in 101 B.C. at the head of a victorious army absolutely devoted to his interests. Accordingly, Saturninus and Glaucia, the heads of the popular party, entered into an alliance with the great general, and in return for his support secured for him a sixth consulship.

L. Appuleius Saturninus had already held office: in 104 B.C. he had been quaestor, but his management of the

The Coalition
of Marius,
Saturninus,
and Glaucia.

corn-supplies was distasteful to the senate and he was superseded, an insult which caused him to join the popular party. When tribune in 103 B.C., he passed or proposed several laws in the interests of the democracy, notably one that sanctioned the distribution of land in Africa among the veterans of Marius, and another relating to high treason (*maiestas*), which was brought in to ensure the inviolability of the tribunes. He found a strenuous and able ally in C. Servilius Glaucia, who seems by no means entirely to deserve the charge of low cunning and low wit which writers of contrary views brought against him. He had won prominence by supporting the claims of the Equites to the jury-courts, of which it seems they were for a time deprived by a law of Q. Servilius Caepio, the defeated general of Arausio. Metellus, the conqueror of Jugurtha, endeavoured during his censorship (102 B.C.) to eject both Saturninus and Glaucia from the senate, but his colleague disapproved of so violent a proceeding. In the elections for 100 B.C. Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia were candidates for the consulship, tribunate, and praetorship respectively. The soldiery of Marius were present in ample numbers, and Marius and Glaucia obtained the offices they desired. Saturninus however would have failed had not his partisans openly murdered Nonius, who was on the point of being returned for the tenth and last vacancy in the tribunician college.

§ 228. Saturninus proposed—

(i) That the Gallic lands recently occupied by the Cimbri, which by the law of war were now at the disposal of the state, should be distributed among new Roman colonies, and that any senator* who refused to swear obedience to the law within five days should be expelled from the senate.

The *Leges*
Appuleiae,
100 B.C.

(ii) That colonies (probably open to Italians) should be established in Transalpine Gaul, Sicily, Achaea, and Macedonia.

(iii) That corn should be sold by the state at a lower rate than even that fixed by C. Gracchus.

The first of these laws was proposed chiefly to gratify Marius, for the bulk of the new colonists would be his old soldiers, and he would himself receive extensive powers for settling the colonies. The corn law of course conciliated the proletariat. The senate offered what resistance it could, but the combination of army, Italians, and populace was too powerful: the tribunes who vetoed the laws were driven from the place of voting, and the proposals were carried by sheer force. When the senators were called upon to swear to obey the agrarian law, Marius at first declared that he would not take the oath, afterwards however he said that he would obey it so far as it was law—that is, in accordance with the constitution. Metellus Numidicus alone absolutely refused and went into banishment, to the great joy, as people said, of Marius, whose mortal foe he had been since the time when (108 B.C.) he had attempted to prevent the candidature of the latter for the consulship. Before the year was over the alliance between the three politicians was sorely shaken: the proletariat disliked the colonial law; the Equites, whose interests were solely on the side of law and order, were disgusted by the late scenes of violence; and finally Marius, altogether lost amid the storms of the Forum, fell more and more away from his friends.

§ 229. Saturninus and Glaucia were too deeply involved

Death of
Saturninus
and Glaucia.

to desist. They had no choice but to secure re-election or to submit to prosecution. Accordingly Saturninus offered himself for a third tribunate, Glaucia for the consulship, for which he was legally unqualified. On the day of the consular elections they saw that C. Memmius, once the agitator in the

Jugurthine war, but now the senatorial candidate, would be returned, and they had him murdered. But the senate was prepared: the nobles and their adherents armed for the struggle, and invested Marius sorely against his will with dictatorial powers. On the day following Saturninus gave regular battle in the Forum to the senatorial party. The latter easily prevailed. The democrats fled to the Capitol, and there capitulated when the water-supply was cut off. Marius confined their leaders in the senate-house, hoping that they would thus be safe; but before any decision could be arrived at with regard to their punishment, the young nobles pulled open the roof and stoned them to death. The senators followed up their victory by the recall of Metellus. Marius, who had ruined the popular party by his indecision, retired in disgust to Asia, awaiting a new opportunity for the display of his military genius.

§ 230. This decisive victory of the senate secured tranquillity for a period of ten years, broken only by two noteworthy incidents. In 95 B.C., by a The Exile of Rutilius Rufus, 92 B.C. *Lex Licinia-Mucia*, Latins and Italians resident in Rome were ordered to leave the capital. The law was enforced, but at the cost of civil war, for it was this enactment, as much as any other event, that drove the Italians into the struggle of a few years later. In 92 B.C. the Equestrian order showed once more that it was determined to use its control of the jury-courts for the oppression of the provincials. P. Rutilius Rufus, the legate of the noble Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia, had repressed in his province with a stern hand the extortion of the *publicani* and their agents. In revenge, he was charged with extortion, and condemned by an unscrupulous Equestrian jury. The falsity of the accusation was sufficiently proved by the reception which the provincials gave Rufus when he went

into exile in Asia. He was welcomed with every mark of affection by the very people he was declared to have plundered.

§ 231. At length there appeared another reformer, this time from the ranks of the aristocracy. M. Livius Drusus, who was the son of the opponent of C. Gracchus, desired to do justice to the provincials and at the same time to strengthen the senate by depriving the Equites of their judicial powers; to win over the populace by corn and land laws; and to give the franchise to the Italians. He proposed—

- (i) That the *iudicia* should be transferred to the senate, which was to be increased by 300 new members.
- (ii) That cheap corn should be distributed.
- (iii) That the remnant of the public land, notably that in Campania, should be allotted to new colonists.
- (iv) [A proposal kept back for the present] That the full franchise should be extended to the Italians.

The Equites opposed him furiously, and while many of the better sort of senators gave him their support, there was a large party which preferred to share the plunder of the provinces with the Equites, and so was hostile. Chief among these latter was the Consul Philippus. It was clearly impossible to carry the laws separately, for the populace, though anxious for colonies, would not have supported the measure for depriving the Equites of their judicial powers; therefore Drusus, despite a law passed a few years before, put them to the vote in a body, and arrested the consul when he attempted to break off the polling. By this means all three laws were passed; but Philippus declared them illegally carried, and it seemed that he would unite with the Equites to use force. The timid senators gave way; the promise which Drusus had made to the Italians became known, and cries of traitor

were raised. The reformer was left alone, or supported only by the Italians, and his laws were cancelled by the very senate for which he acted. A few days later he was assassinated. The Italians, once again disappointed, would wait no longer. Drusus' murder was the signal for the Social War.

§ 232. The victorious party declared that Drusus was in treasonable correspondence with the Italians, The Social War, and by a *Lex Varia*, 91 B.C., a special com- 90 B.C.—88 B.C. mission was appointed to try the most prominent of his followers. Angered anew by this attack on their friends, the Italians broke out into revolt. The people of Asculum (*Ascoli*) in Picenum led the way by the massacre of a Roman praetor and his attendants. Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Vestini and the tribes of Samnium joined in the insurrection until all central and southern Italy was in arms. Only in Etruria, Umbria and Campania, where the great landowners were strongest, did the Romans hold their own. Corfinium (*Pentima*), a Paelignian town, was selected as the capital of the new confederation. A senate of 500, two consuls, twelve praetors were chosen; a curia and forum were built, and a new coinage was issued. Of the rebel consuls; the Marsian Q. Pompeidius Silo held the north and centre of the peninsula; while the other, the Samnite C. Papius Mutilus, was commander-in-chief of Italy from Campania southwards. The Roman consuls opposed respectively to them were P. Rutilius Lupus and L. Julius Caesar.

The first attack of the Romans was directed against the revolted town of Asculum. Cn. Pompeius First Campaign, 90 B.C. Strabo was here in command against the insurgents, and after serious reverses was able to besiege the place in earnest.

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The consul Rutilius Lupus who took the chief command in the north, lost the bulk of his men in surprises and battles when assailing the Marsi, and was at last slain. His successor was as unfortunate, and it was only when Marius, hitherto serving in a subordinate capacity, took the command that the Romans made any headway.

In southern and central Italy, the Romans were even less successful. The colonies throughout the land were now as in the Hannibalic war faithful to their mother city ; but Aesernia, Beneventum, and Venusia were at once beset by the confederates, and the two first soon fell. The consul Caesar was beaten in Samnium. His legate, Crassus, was shut up in the Lucanian Grumentum (*Saponara*) and there forced to surrender. Encouraged by these successes, Mutilus overran all Campania as far as Vesuvius.

§ 233. Thus the results of the first campaign were altogether favourable to the insurgents. The Romans were not sure of any part of the country beyond Latium and northern Campania, for at the close of the year the Etruscan and Umbrian towns revolted and could only be coerced by armed force. For the moment fear did away with party feeling at Rome, and the first sign of this was a motion carried by the tribune, M. Plautius Silvanus, which transferred the Commission on High Treason from the Equites to a jury elected by the tribes, and so ended the spiteful prosecutions in which the moneyed men had thus far indulged. The first victim of the new arrangement was the author of the Commission, Q. Varius. Then the burgesses began to think of compromise with the insurgents. At the close of 90 B.C. the consul L. Caesar carried a *Lex Iulia* to confer the franchise upon every Italian community which had not yet joined the secessionists, and the tribunes, the

The Lex Julia
and Lex
Plautia-Papiria.

above-mentioned Plautius and C. Papirius Carbo, passed another bill (the *Lex Plautia-Papiria*) that any resident of an Italian township who presented himself before a Roman magistrate within two months' date might so acquire the franchise. There was however one important qualification : the new voters were to be registered in eight tribes only. It was a bitter recantation for the selfish citizens, but it was one that was necessary in order to check the spread of revolt. It was politic too, for it offered rewards to all those Italians who deserted the national cause : it spread distrust amongst their ranks and so broke a power never too strongly concentrated.

§ 234. The new year (89 B.C.) opened with a general attack by the Romans. The consuls Cn. Pompeius Strabo and L. Porcius Cato both took command in the northern district, the former, as previously, in Picenum, the latter against the Marsi. L. Caesar, as proconsul, acted in the south, supported by Sulla and Cosconius. After a brave resistance Asculum was stormed by Pompeius, and with the fall of this important place came the submission of the surrounding peoples, the Vestini, Marrucini, and Paeligni. Progress was still more rapid in the south, where Cosconius quickly recovered all Apulia. Sulla, now commander of Caesar's army—for the pro-consul died early in the year—overran Campania, defeated and slew L. Cluentius before Nola and advanced into Samnium. He captured and sacked Aeclanum (*Mirabella*), defeated Mutilus and shut him up in Aesernia (*Isernia*), and took Bovianum (*Boiano*). The Hirpini now made peace ; all Campania, except Nola and a few other isolated positions, had already been recovered, while the stronghold of the revolt, Samnium, maintained but the one fortress of Aesernia where the Italian senate was collected.

The Second
Campaign,
89 B.C.

§ 235. In 88 B.C. Pompeidius took over the supreme command of the remnant of the insurgents, but his forces were reduced to 30,000 men, and even the arming of all the slaves who joined him only added 20,000 to this number. In spite of this, he contrived to recover Bovianum (*Boiano*), but fell soon afterwards in a skirmish. The war dragged on for a few months longer, but it had lost all serious proportions: Nola indeed withstood the assaults of three Roman armies, and the Samnites, who were still holding out amongst their own hills, were not conquered until seven years later, 82 B.C. But the *Lex Iulia* and the *Lex Plautia-Papiria* had done their work; and a *Lex Pompeia* of 89 B.C., which conferred upon the inhabitants of Gallia north of the Po the privileges before belonging to the Latins, the *Ius Latii*, completed the disarming of the country.

The result of the war was that the Latins and the bulk of the Italians received the full franchise; but the requisite journey to Rome to take part in the elections could be made only by the richer of them, and by the rabble who had no ties to keep them in their native towns, and who hoped at Rome to earn a living by the help of the corn-doles and by the sale of the votes with which they were now presented. The numerous middle class could not neglect their home duties for the journey, and as mentioned above, the Italians were only registered in eight of the thirty-five tribes, so that their political influence was not great. But a great step had been gained: the war cost 300,000 lives; but it added 80,000 new citizens to the census-roll, and it prepared the way for the enfranchisement of the provincials, which was soon to commence.

§ 236. The close of the social war inaugurated fresh

party conflicts in Rome. Finance was in disorder ; the Italians resented their restriction to eight only of the tribes ; Marius was angry because his rival Sulla had received the conduct of the war now afoot with Mithradates. Taking advantage of these elements of discontent, the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus, a distinguished orator and soldier of the aristocratic party, proposed—

The Laws of
P. Sulpicius
Rufus, 88 B.C.

- (i) That the Italians should be enrolled in all the thirty-five tribes.
- (ii) That the sympathizers with the Italian cause who had been exiled by the Varian Commission should be recalled.
- (iii) That the command in the East should be given to Marius.

The two consuls L. Cornelius Sulla and Q. Pompeius Rufus joined the senate in opposing these changes ; but the Italians thronged the streets of Rome when the voting came on, and the Sulpician laws were carried amid violent riots in which Sulla all but lost his life. His army was encamped before Nola, and to it he at once hurried. He told his 35,000 men of the proceedings of Sulpicius, and inquired what was their will. They replied by tearing in pieces the tribunes who were sent to take the command from their general, and by marching upon the capital. Marius could levy no adequate force to resist, and when Sulla made his way into Rome almost without opposition, he fled with his chief partisans. Himself, Sulpicius, and ten others of their party were proscribed, and rewards were offered for their heads. Sulpicius was taken at Laurentum and his head was nailed to the Rostra. Marius was arrested as he lay hid in the marshes of Minturnae, but the German slave who was commissioned to execute him, had not the courage to slay the conqueror of the Cimbri. So he was suffered to escape, and fled to the island of Cercina (*Kerkenah*) in the bay of Tunis.

§ 237. Sulla, instead of making himself monarch of

Rome, preferred to rehabilitate the senate, and to leave it to maintain peace and order while he himself restored Roman supremacy in the East. He at once annulled the Sulpician laws, and passed the following series of measures in the senatorial interest—

- (i) The senate was increased by 300 members of the Optimate party.
- (ii) No magistrate should propose a bill to the people without first obtaining the assent (*auctoritas*) of the senate.
- (iii) Votes on laws should be taken in the Comitia Centuriata (perhaps re-arranged on the Servian basis) instead of in the Comitia Tributa.

Of these measures, the second completely broke the power of the tribunes to introduce revolutionary and democratic bills, while the third transferred all ascendancy in the assembly to the rich. Events however prevented either from being carried out. Sulla, in spite of all his power, did not secure the election of his nominees to the consulship, for the choice of the people fell upon Cn. Octavius, an Optimate, and L. Cornelius Cinna, a determined opponent of the senate. Cinna had already opened communications with the exiled Marius and his friends, in order to compass their restoration. But Sulla could not stop to retaliate, for a dreadful massacre of Roman citizens in Asia had just been instigated by Mithradates of Pontus. Accordingly he set sail for the East, leaving behind him Appius Claudius to continue the siege of Nola, Q. Metellus Pius the son of Metellus Numidicus to act in Samnium, and Cn. Pompeius Strabo to command in Etruria.

§ 238. Freed from the presence of Sulla and his army, Cinna and Octavius. Cinna took up the democratic policy where it had been left by Sulpicius. The Italians were angry at the abrogation of the law which had promised to distribute them amongst all the tribes alike: Cinna re-introduced this bill, and coupled with it another for the

recall of the exiled members of Marius' party. Cn. Octavius, the senatorial champion, resisted him obstinately. Both consuls armed their followers and a pitched battle was fought in the Forum, in which Octavius prevailed and massacred 10,000 of his opponents. In defiance of all constitutional practice, Cinna was deprived of his consulate by the senate, and in his stead was elected L. Cornelius Merula (87 B.C.).

Cinna could rely upon the aid of the Italians, and he at once appealed to them. The army before Nola went over to his side; Metellus was kept inactive by the renewed assaults of the Samnites and Lucanians; Pompeius Strabo, with the army stationed in Etruria, did not appear to protect Rome until Cinna, supported by the tribune C. Papirius Carbo and by Q. Sertorius, a captain distinguished for his services in the Social War, was already encamped before the city. Here Cinna was joined by Marius, who had landed at Telamon in Etruria.

§ 239. The senate, distrustful of Strabo's loyalty, endeavoured to win over the Italians and ordered Metellus to make terms with the Samnites, but ^{Return of} ^{Marius, 87 B.C.} the latter were already pledged to the opposite side. Metellus then hurried to Rome with the bulk of his men to protect the senate; whereupon the Samnites and Lucanians relieved Nola, and joined Cinna in force. By this time Cn. Pompeius Strabo was dead: it was given out that he had been struck by a thunderbolt; more probably he was murdered by his mutinous soldiers. Octavius and Metellus could render no effectual aid. At last the senate, outnumbered and out-manœuvred, endeavoured to come to terms with the Marians, but the delay brought famine and pestilence into the city, and the slaves deserted to Cinna in large numbers. Ultimately the city surrendered on the

mere word of Cinna that, so far as he could prevent it, there should be no bloodshed. Marius made no sign.

Cinna and Marius entered Rome, closed the gates, and for five days let loose their troops to massacre every Optimate who had not escaped. No rank was spared: Cn. Octavius and L. Merula both fell, although the latter had voluntarily resigned the consulship which had been against his will transferred to him from Cinna. There died too L. Caesar, the author of the *Lex Iulia*, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, the victor of Vercellae. Marius vented his rage like a barbarian, refusing even burial to his victims. But his career was now at an end. On Jan. 17, 86 B.C., a few days after entering upon his seventh consulship, he died.

§ 240. Cinna named L. Valerius Flaccus consul-suffect.

The former was in fact monarch, and for four years (87—84 B.C.) remained consul by his own decree, nominating even his colleagues without the pretence of election by the people. His one object was to prevent the vengeance of Sulla, whose enactments he at once declared null, forcing the senate to pronounce valid the recently renewed Sulpician law as to the distribution of the new voters; and he compelled the comitia in 86 B.C. to transfer Sulla's army to the command of L. Valerius Flaccus, who was then despatched to the East with his legate Fimbria to depose that general.

The Italians were left to themselves and were content: the provinces mostly acquiesced in the new government, preferring anything to senatorial oppression. In 84 B.C. there arrived letters from Sulla: he had concluded peace with Mithradates, and was now on his way home with his victorious and devoted legions. The news aroused Cinna and his fellow-consul Carbo, and they planned to crush Sulla in Greece before he could reach Italy. The life of

neither was safe, for Sulla's despatch declared that he was coming to put down the revolution, to restore the senatorial exiles, and to see justice done on the murderers of his friends. Cinna endeavoured to throw into Illyricum the few troops which he had still kept under arms ; but they had no mind for civil war, refused to cross the sea, and tore Cinna to pieces at Ancona. It thus fell to Carbo to meet the long threatened attack.

His Death,
84 B.C.

§ 241. Before proceeding with the narration of events at Rome, we must turn back to the exploits of Sulla in the East. In 120 B.C. Mithradates VI., surnamed Eupator, succeeded on the death of his father to the kingdom of Pontus. He claimed descent from Darius Hystaspes the Persian ; in bodily strength and skill he was unsurpassed ; he was something of a *littérateur* ; and he had bravery and subtleness to second his ambition of founding in Asia a monarchy which should oust the Romans from the East. Early in his reign he conquered the Crimea, saving from barbarians like the Roxolani of the Russian steppes the few Greek towns which still maintained their existence as the Kingdom of the Bosporus, but making them in turn his own dependencies. By the year 95 B.C. he was master of most of the north and south shores of the Black Sea, and his fleet was the most formidable in existence.

Mithradates
of Pontus.

§ 242. Mithradates' first quarrel with the Romans was about the sovereignty of Cappadocia. In 96 B.C. he put a son of his own on the throne, but the senate, on the appeal of the Cappadocians, ordered a certain Ariobarzanes to be recognized as king, 93 B.C. Ariobarzanes was soon expelled by Tigranes of Armenia, at the instigation of Mithradates, but restored in 92 B.C. without difficulty by Sulla, the governor of Cilicia

The Quarrel
about
Cappadocia.

(which had been constituted a province since its conquest in 102 B.C.). The settlement was of no long duration. Not only was Ariobarzanes driven out a second time by Tigranes (91 B.C.), but Nicomedes III., who had just succeeded to the kingdom of Bithynia, was also attacked and dethroned. The two princes invoked the aid of Rome. M'. Aquillius, the son of that M'. Aquillius who had settled the province of Asia in 129 B.C., was sent as envoy to the East. Again there was no serious fighting. Ariobarzanes was restored to Cappadocia and Nicomedes III. to Bithynia. Not satisfied with the achievement, Aquillius, in hopes of making profit thereby, compelled the reluctant Nicomedes to declare war against Mithradates, 89 B.C. Mithradates looked for allies on all sides : to Tigranes, the powerful king of Armenia, he had already given his daughter Cleopatra ; he made overtures to the Thracians and the Greeks, intending, like Antiochus, to carry the war into Europe ; and he allied himself with the Cilician pirates. When war broke out in 88 B.C., he acted with vigour. The Bithynian king and the three Roman generals who assailed him were beaten in detail. M'. Aquillius fled to Pergamus, but was ultimately given up and tortured to death.

The First Mithradatic War, 88 B.C.—84 B.C. The whole of Asia lay at the mercy of Mithradates, who met with no resistance except from Rhodes. He was hailed as a deliverer, and either in consequence of his orders or as the result of an outbreak of national fury, the Romans and Italians in Asia to the number of 80,000 were hunted down and put to death. Mithradates made Pergamus his capital, and converted Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Bithynia into satrapies. By his powerful fleet which swept the Aegean, he was able to send his generals across to Greece and to raise the whole peninsula against Rome, 87 B.C. Sparta, Achaea, and Boeotia were willing to help ;

and Athens opened its gates to the Pontic admiral Archelaus. At the same time more Pontic troops were sent into Greece by way of Macedonia.

§ 243. By this time Sulla had landed in Epirus with 30,000 men. He knew that his leaving Rome at this moment meant the overthrow of his recent measures and the triumph of Cinna and Marius; but not to leave Rome meant the loss of the Eastern Empire. His first move was to offer Mithradates terms of peace, by which the Great King might retire on giving up his recent acquisitions. When the offer was declined Sulla marched upon Athens, and having defeated Archelaus in Boeotia, proceeded to invest the city. Such rapid successes speedily influenced the cowardly Greeks: most of the towns bought pardon by instant submission and by gifts of men, money, or supplies. Archelaus and his coadjutor Aristion defended Athens and its harbour the Piræus for many months. Assault was useless, and the slow method of blockade alone could be employed; but even this was a difficulty while Mithradates commanded the seas and supplied the city from his vast resources.

It was not until March 1st, 86 B.C., that Athens capitulated. It was plundered of course, but not deprived of its freedom. Mithradates grew impatient. He might have ruined Sulla's army by a policy of delay: he chose rather to push matters to a head. His general Taxiles, who was in Macedonia with 100,000 foot, marched into Greece. In Boeotia he was joined by the forces which Archelaus now withdrew from the Piræus; and the two generals gave battle to Sulla at Chaeronea (*Kaprena*) in March, 86 B.C. They were utterly defeated, and only a miserable remnant under Archelaus escaped to Chalcis.

Sulla in
Greece.

Capture of
Athens, 86 B.C.

Battle of
Chaeronea,
86 B.C.

§ 244. In spite of this brilliant victory Sulla was still unable to move. He had no fleet, and the utmost endeavours of his legate L. Licinius Lucullus could not collect one; and at this very moment the Cinnan consul, L. Valerius Flaccus (§ 240), was in Epirus, invested by his party with the task of disarming Sulla rather than of crushing Mithradates. But Flaccus was incapable; finding that his men were more likely to desert to Sulla than Sulla's to come over to himself, he avoided a battle, and passed into Macedonia, intending to enter Asia by way of the Hellespont and attack Mithradates at home.

In the same or the following year (86 or 85 B.C.), the Great King sent another expedition into Greece. Archelaus, still with the chief command, again massed his forces in Boeotia, only to fight a second battle with no better result than before. So completely was he defeated at Orchomenus (*Skripu*), that he lost even his camp and barely escaped to Euboea (*Negropont*). As a result, the Pontic forces practically evacuated Europe, and Sulla, after some futile negotiations with Archelaus, spent the ensuing winter in preparing to invade Asia.

The consul Flaccus, escaping from Sulla, had crossed the Hellespont and reached Chalcedon in Asia when a mutiny broke out in which he lost his life. It was headed by a demagogue of no birth, C. Flavius Fimbria, who now took up the command and defeated a Pontic army on the Rhyndacus. At the same time L. Lucullus appeared with a small but well-handled fleet raised from Rhodes and other island states. Fimbria invited his co-operation to capture Mithradates in Mitylene, but Lucullus was too loyal a Sullan, and went on with his own business

of recovering in detail the islands and maritime towns. After this he met Sulla in Thrace, and conveyed the troops of the latter across to the Troad, 84 B.C.

§ 245. The conduct of Mithradates had already alienated the Asiatics: he murdered, confiscated, and insulted on all hands, robbing the rich to find gifts for his favourites and extorting money for the war by every possible means. The various cities showed their resentment by welcoming Lucullus, and the Great King saw fit to offer terms. He endeavoured to purchase his conquests in Asia by offering to support Sulla against the Mario-Cinnan democracy. Sulla refused to surrender any portion of Roman Asia, demanded the complete restoration of the king's recent conquests, a war-indemnity of 3000 talents and the surrender of Archelaus' fleet. Mithradates at last accepted the terms, and then Sulla turned to settle accounts with Fimbria. It was easily done, for Sulla's forces were far the more numerous, and Fimbria's men began to desert at once. The self-made general fled to Pergamus and there killed himself. His two legions took service with Sulla, and were placed under the command of L. Licinius Murena, an officer who had done good service at the siege of Athens and elsewhere.

End of the
First Mithra-
datic War.

The organization of the recovered provinces was rapid and thorough. Nicomedes III. and Ariobarzanes were reseatd upon the thrones of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and Mithradates bound himself to live peaceably with them. The few states and towns which had been loyal to Rome—Rhodes, Chios, Magnesia, etc.—were rewarded by the grant of new lands or further privileges. Those which had rebelled were reduced to the *status quo ante*, and were called upon for the tribute which they had neglected to pay during the past five years. The men who

Settlement
of Asia.

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had taken a prominent part in the massacre of the Italians were executed. A war-indemnity of 20,000 talents was levied. Sulla had recovered the Eastern Empire, but the cost of the war left its mark upon the provincials, for they now fell more deeply still into the toils of the Roman usurers, toils from which they never escaped until the Republic was overthrown.

§ 246. L. Licinius Murena, left by Sulla in command of the province, was determined to force on a second war with Mithradates. Making a pretext of some preparations of the Pontic king against the revolted Bosphorians, he began to plunder the territories of Mithradates. The latter appealed to the senate at Rome, but Murena seems to have been encouraged by that body to continue the war. On the river Halys however he was defeated with great loss, and compelled to retreat into Phrygia. Soon afterwards there came peremptory orders from Sulla that he should desist from hostilities. Murena obeyed, and for some years Mithradates and the Romans were on good terms with each other.

§ 247. The consuls for 83 B.C., the year in which Sulla sailed home from Greece, were C. Norbanus and L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, the latter a descendant of the victor of Magnesia. Neither was a general: nevertheless they got under arms upwards of 150,000 men to oppose the bare 30,000 of Sulla. The Italians as a whole sided with the government, for the success of Sulla meant the restoration of the senate, and perhaps, as they dreaded, their own disenfranchisement. Most of all the Samnites and Lucanians flocked to resist his return. Landing at Brundisium, Sulla overran Apulia without hindrance. Here he was joined by many of the exiled nobles; chief among these were Q. Metellus Pius

Second Mithradatic War,
83 B.C.—82 B.C.

Sulla returns
to Italy,
83 B.C.

and the famous Gnaeus Pompeius, of whom the latter, son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, had declared for Sulla in Picenum, where he had many clients, and had raised a force of three legions. In Campania Norbanus barred the way, and Sulla, finding negotiations again fruitless, attacked and utterly routed him in the battle of Mount Tifata. Hurrying thence northward he met Scipio at Teanum (*Teano*) and proposed a conference. The two leaders arrived at no decision; but Sulla's veterans, mixing with the recruits of Scipio, persuaded them to desert their commander, and the second consular army thus fell before the invader.

§ 248. In 82 B.C. the revolutionists made a desperate effort to recover their lost ground. Carbo and ^{The Campaign of 82 B.C.} C. Marius, the adopted son of the great Marius, were consuls: the former held this office now for the third time; the latter was invested with it at the age of twenty-six, for it was hoped that, for his father's sake, men would hasten to serve under the son's standards. Sulla, after wintering in Campania, advanced into Latium, and at Sacriportus near Signia (*Segni*) met and defeated Marius, and shut up the remnant of his army in Praeneste (*Palestrina*), entrusting the siege of that strong fortress to Ofella. By the orders of Marius, Brutus Damasippus the praetor evacuated Rome, but not before he had convoked the senate in the Curia and there cut down the few adherents of Sulla who had survived thus far. A few hours later Sulla entered the capital, placed in it a garrison, and hurried on towards Etruria, where Carbo held at bay the second division of the Sullan forces under Metellus Pius. This officer had captured several scattered divisions, stormed Sena Gallica (*Sinigaglia*), and by the help of Pompeius had driven Carbo back upon Ariminum (*Rimini*). Carbo now moved into Etruria, and there the Sullans beset him on all

sides. His first engagement was with Sulla in person at Clusium (*Chiusi*), and proved so favourable to Carbo that he detached a large column to relieve the siege of Praeneste. At the same time the entire body of the Samnites and Lucanians, 70,000 men under Pontius of Telesia and M. Lamponius, raised the siege of Capua and advanced to the relief of Praeneste. Carbo's column was cut to pieces at Spoletium (*Spoletto*), and Sulla returned in person to face the Samnites. About the same time C. Norbanus, after some successes in Gallia Cisalpina, was defeated and forced to fly to Rhodes. The victorious Sullans, under Lucullus and Metellus, moved upon Carbo, who gave up hope and fled to Africa. The repeated attempts to save Praeneste had failed. The forces of Ofella blockaded the doomed fortress as vigorously as ever, and the revolutionists in despair resolved to signalize their own destruction by the sack of Rome. The Samnites especially lusted to rase "the wolves' den," and on November 1st, 82 B.C., their entire host quitted the neighbourhood of Praeneste and encamped before the Colline Gate. Sulla hastened to save the city. He appeared within a few hours, and despite the exhaustion of his men, gave battle forthwith.

Battle of the
Colline Gate,
82 B.C.

The fight lasted twenty-four hours and left Sulla barely victorious. Rome was saved; the army of the Revolution was destroyed. C. Marius committed suicide and Praeneste surrendered, only to be sacked. One by one the few remaining towns fell. Nola, garrisoned by Mutilus and his Samnites, held out until 80 B.C., and Volaterrae in Etruria did not submit until 79 B.C.

§ 249. Italy and the East were thus in the hands of Sulla; but Sicily, Spain, and Africa were held by scattered bands of Cinna's adherents. Q. Sertorius escaping from Etruria raised a force in Spain, but

The Sullans
in the West.

was soon forced to fly, though, as we shall see, he afterwards returned and defied the Sullans for many years. M. Perpeana withdrew from Sicily at the mere approach of Pompeius, who soon afterwards captured Carbo and put him to death (80 B.C.). Crossing thence to Africa, Pompeius found himself opposed by a large army under Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. He finished the war within forty days. When he was recalled and ordered to disband his army, his men claimed for him a triumph which Sulla saw fit to accord, though Pompeius was not yet of senatorial rank (79 B.C.).

§ 250. The battle of the Colline Gate left Sulla undisputed master of Rome, and free to take what vengeance he pleased on his enemies. Three successive lists of proscribed persons were drawn up, until nearly five thousand men of note were marked out as fit objects for any one to kill; and many more died because their wealth tempted the greed of Sulla's satellites. Their goods and lands were given away or auctioned by Sulla—he called them his spoils—at prices that were almost nominal. By a law of unprecedented injustice, the children and grandchildren of the proscribed were forbidden ever to hold office. All Italy suffered as did Rome. Throughout Etruria there were wholesale massacres; in Samnium scarcely a single town except Beneventum remained standing; flourishing communities like Norba, Praeneste, Interamna, and Florentia were spoiled and deprived of their charters because they had the misfortune to be on the losing side. On the lands thus acquired Sulla settled 120,000 of his legionaries, on whose loyalty he knew he might rely should any resistance to his despotism be offered. But resistance there was none. Towards the close of 82 B.C., both consuls being now dead, the senate nominated as

Sulla's Reign
of Terror,
82 B.C.

interrex L. Valerius Flaccus, the cousin of that Flaccus who was cut off by the mutineer Fimbria. To Flaccus Sulla addressed a despatch: the disorders of the state were such, he declared, as to require one man's hand to heal them; a perpetual dictator was the desideratum, and he offered his services. There could be no refusal: and in 81 B.C. Sulla assumed the dictatorship, which being limited neither in time nor place, resembled rather a Greek Tyrannis than the old republican magistracy last held by Fabius Cunctator.

§ 251. Throughout 81 B.C. and the following year Sulla was busy in re-fashioning the constitution. His main and indeed sole object was to place the authority of the senate on a secure and legal basis, so that it should have nothing to fear from the popular assemblies on the one hand, or from powerful magistrates on the other. The senate, depleted by the recent wars and proscriptions, was filled up by three hundred new members, elected in theory by the tribes, but really of the dictator's own choosing. A series of laws now gave it the supreme power in the state, for (1) the tribunician office, that had proved so irresistible in the hands of the Gracchi and their successors, was degraded by various restrictions, and the tribune was forbidden to lay measures before the assemblies; (2) the Comitia Centuriata was to replace the Comitia Tributa as the great popular body for the making of laws, and no bill was to be laid before it which had not previously received the assent of the senate (*senatus auctoritas*); and (3) the Equestrian Order was deprived of its right to send jurors to the standing commissions.

§ 252. Considerable changes were made in the position of the magistrates. The tribunate suffered severely, for it was

deprived of most of the powers which had accrued to it in the course of time. The tribune could still protect a citizen by his right of veto; but he could neither check a decree of the senate, nor stop a vote of the assembly, nor throw a magistrate into prison. Most important of all, he was absolutely debarred from proposing a law to the assembly. There were personal restrictions also attached to the office: probably no one but a senator could be elected, and the very holding of the tribunate was made a bar to any higher magistracy. To meet the requirements of the provinces, now ten in number,¹ the six praetors were increased to eight, and the eight quaestors to twenty.² Consuls and praetors were no longer sent to govern the provinces in their year of office. During that period they remained in Rome to superintend the civil and legal business of the city: the consuls had a general power of control; of the praetors, the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus* retained their old functions, while the remaining six sat as presidents in the newly-established *quaestiones perpetuae* (§ 253). On the expiration of their year of office, the two consuls and the eight praetors were, as proconsuls and propraeors respectively, sent abroad to govern the ten provinces. The result of this was that the civil and military authority were no longer in the same hands, and so the magistrate was less formidable to the senate. The quaestorship henceforth entitled a man to a seat in the

¹ Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, the two Spains, Macedonia, Africa, Asia, Gallia Narbonensis, Cilicia, and Gallia Cisalpina (constituted a province by Sulla).

² The quaestors were apportioned as follows: two (*quaestores urbani*) were treasury officials at Rome; two (*quaestores militares*) acted as paymasters to the troops on service; four (*quaestores classarii*) attended to the fleet, eleven (two in Sicily and one in each of the remaining nine provinces) supervised the finances of the provinces; the duties of the twentieth are not known; cp. § 191.

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senate, and as there were now twenty quaestors, there was no need of a censor for the purpose of filling up vacancies. Accordingly the censorship fell for a time into abeyance, and no censor was appointed for twelve years. To further check any usurpation on the part of the magistrates, two laws were revived: (1) no magistrate was to be eligible a second time to a curule office until ten years had elapsed since his first tenure of such office; (2) no one was to be consul before being quaestor and praetor, and the earliest age at which the quaestorship, praetorship, and consulship could be attained was fixed respectively at 30, 40, and 43.

§ 253. The power of the people was limited by the Comitia Centuriata taking the place of the
 The People Comitia Tributa as the organ for making laws. Another change tending to the same end was the repeal of the *Lex Domitia* of 104 B.C. which had committed the election of Pontiffs and Augurs to the votes of seventeen tribes, chosen from the whole thirty-five by lot: Sulla now reverted to the old system, by which the members of the priestly colleges filled up vacancies by co-optation. A more defensible piece of legislation was the abolition of the corn-largesses instituted by C. Gracchus.

The Equites suffered an equal loss of position. Sulla
 The Iudices increased the standing commissions (*quaestiones perpetuae*) to the number of nine. Besides the court for trying cases of extortion (*quaestio de repetundis*), established by the *Lex Vulpurnia* of 149 B.C., there were now courts for treason (*maiestatis*), violence (*de vi*), assassination (*de sicariis*), parricide (*de parricidio*), poisoning (*de veneficiis*), forgery (*de falso*), and other offences. The six praetors acted as presidents, and the jurors were no longer taken exclusively or even in part from the Equestrian

Order. By Sulla's arrangement, senators alone were capable of serving.

§ 254. Such a constitution, fraught as it was with the seeds of discontent and hatred, could only be permanent if the governing class which it benefited was capable and honest. But the nobility was weaker now than it had ever been, for proscriptions and wars had robbed it of even the poor support of a conservatism founded upon tradition: it was a nobility of parvenus. Almost every other class in the state resented the treatment it had received from Sulla: the proletariat demanded the re-establishment of the corn-doles; the democrats agitated for the restoration of the tribunician authority; the Equites desired to recover control of the law-courts. Outside Rome the Italians were alienated by the massacres at Praeneste and elsewhere, and by the confiscation of their lands for the benefit of Sulla's veterans; the soldiery who occupied their farms knew nothing of agriculture, so that wide tracts of country ran to waste, while the *latifundia* increased and the free population almost disappeared. Last of all there was growing up a class of men who had lost or made fortunes in previous revolutions, and looked to new seditions as the speediest way of enriching themselves.

Weak points
of Sulla's
legislation.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST AND SECOND TRIUMVIRATES.

§§ 255, 256. The Rising of Lepidus.—§§ 257, 258. Sertorius.—
§ 259. The War of Spartacus.—§ 260. The First Consulship of
Pompeius and Crassus.—§§ 261—268. The Third Mithradatic War.
—§ 269. Cicero.—§ 270. Caesar.—§§ 271—280. The Conspiracies of
Catilina to the Murder of Clodius.—§ 281. The Parthian War.—
§§ 282—290. Caesar in Gaul.—§§ 291—295. Struggle between
Caesar and the Senate.—§§ 296—299. Constitutional Measures and
Death of Caesar.—§§ 300—310. History of the Second Triumvirate.

§ 255. In 79 B.C. Sulla laid down the dictatorship and
retired to the privacy of his villa at Cumæ,
The Rising
of Lepidus. where he died in the following spring, 78 B.C.
The consuls for 78 B.C. were Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of
the conqueror of Vercellæ, and M. Aemilius Lepidus. The
latter had been threatened with impeachment for extortion
in Sicily, and to avoid condemnation he suddenly deserted
the senatorial party and ranged himself with the democrats.
Scarcely was Sulla dead when Lepidus, encouraged by the
recent successes of Sertorius in Spain, made an assault on
the new constitution. First and foremost, the tribunate
was to be re-established and the corn-doles renewed.
After this, all lands and property confiscated during the
recent dictatorship were to be restored, and the sentences
by which the adherents of Cinna had been banished, and
their children debarred from public office, were to be
rescinded. The senate, growing alarmed, made a half-

hearted attempt at a compromise : the corn-doles were renewed on the original plan of C. Gracchus, but only in favour of a limited number of the citizens. But the discontented did not wait for the sanction of law : the evicted people of Faesulae in Etruria proceeded to oust the Sullan allotment-holders, and the disputes which followed soon gave the senate opportunity to declare the state in danger, and to despatch Lepidus and Catulus to the disturbed districts. This foolish proceeding would inevitably furnish the head of the sedition with troops ; but the senate hoped to keep Lepidus quiet by administering to him an oath not to turn his arms against his colleague. The consul took the oath, remarking that it would only bind him during his year of office, and went on raising fresh troops for the revolution. He refused to return when recalled, and at the beginning of 77 B.C. sent to demand the restoration of the exiles and the tribunate, and a second consulship for himself.

§ 256. These demands were refused, and Lepidus marched upon Rome. The capital was protected by Catulus and the Sullan veterans, to whom a ^{Defeat of} Lepidus, 77 B.C. revolution meant the loss of all their recent gains. Cn. Pompeius was despatched to Cisalpine Gaul, where M. Brutus, legate of Lepidus, was at the head of a small force. In a battle fought on the Campus Martius, under the very walls of Rome, Lepidus was defeated and withdrew to Etruria. His legate Brutus was still less successful : he was besieged by Pompeius in Mutina (*Modena*), captured, and put to death. Lepidus contrived to take ship from Etruria after a second engagement, and sailed to Sardinia, where he hoped to maintain himself by the aid of Sertorius. He died, however, before he could effect anything ; and Perpenna, the Cinnan leader who had abandoned Sicily to

Pompeius (§ 249), carried the remnant of Lepidus' men into Spain.

§ 257. In 80 B.C. Q. Sertorius, who had previously withdrawn from Spain, returned thither on the invitation of the Lusitanians. Though he had comparatively few troops, he completely succeeded in his attacks on the Sullan generals who were sent against him. The most formidable of these, Q. Metellus Pius, he routed on the Anas (*Guadiana*), while his lieutenant Hirtuleius was as fortunate in the Hither province. Continuing to act with great skill, Sertorius was by 77 B.C. in possession of the entire peninsula, except a few coast towns. From the exiled Marians who flocked to him for protection he formed a senate and found officers for his Spanish army. His chivalry of character gained the affection of the Spaniards, whom he protected against the insolence of his Roman troops, and refused to oppress by excessive tribute, while he worked on their superstition by pretending to be a favourite of Diana, and to receive instructions from her through the agency of a tame fawn. In 77 B.C. he was joined by M. Perpenna with the remnant of Lepidus' army.

§ 258. At this juncture Cn. Pompeius arrived to carry on the war. He was fresh from his victory over M. Brutus, on the strength of which he had demanded the post of general in Spain.

Murder of
Sertorius,
72 B.C.

The senate would gladly have refused; but Pompeius declined to disband his forces, and to avert worse things the senate gave way and invested Pompeius with proconsular authority in Spain. He reached that country in 76 B.C., after passing through Gaul, and at once marched southwards to join Metellus in the Further province. He forced the passage of the Iberus (*Ebro*) in the face of Perpenna,

•but was out-generalled by Sertorius in the rest of the campaign. The year 75 B.C. saw the defeat and death at Segovia of Hirtuleius, an irreparable misfortune for Sertorius, which was followed by the junction of Metellus and Pompeius. By the end of the year the senatorial generals were in complete possession of Further Spain, and the war now centred about the Ebro valley and the important towns of Ilerda (*Lerida*), Calagurris (*Calahorra*), and Osca (*Huesca*). Here Sertorius still held his ground. There were few battles, many sieges; and each winter Metellus and Pompeius, owing to lack of supplies, were compelled to retire, one into Southern Spain, the other beyond the Pyrenees. At last Sertorius fell. It was said that he had forgotten his early frankness and simple habits: at any rate he could no longer rely upon the Spaniards, and his own intimate friends conspired to murder him. Twice they failed, and many of them paid with their lives for their treachery. Perpenna, however, consummated this villainy by assassinating his general at a banquet at Osca. He had hoped to obtain the place of the murdered leader, but men had no confidence in him, and when he fell into Pompeius' hands he was ordered off to execution. So ended the Sertorian War, 72 B.C.

§ 259. When Pompeius returned to Italy, he found the land devastated by a slave war. Not only were the agrarian evils, which Tiberius Gracchus had tried to combat, more rampant than ever, but the growing popularity of gladiatorial shows had led to the establishment of regular schools (*ludi*) for training the most desperate class of slaves—condemned criminals, prisoners of war, and the like—for their appearance in the arena. It was natural that these men should use the skill so acquired to preserve their lives, and in 73 B.C. a

The War of
Spartacus,
73—71 B.C.

band of seventy picked gladiators, headed by Spartacus, a Thracian of noble blood, and by Crixus and Oenomaus, two Celtic prisoners, broke out of a training school at Capua and escaped to Mount Vesuvius. The insurgents, increased by numbers of runaway slaves from all parts, defeated the magistrates sent against them, and soon all Southern Italy was at the mercy of Spartacus and 40,000 savages, who stormed and sacked the old Greek towns of the coast. So formidable was the war, that in 72 B.C. both consuls took the field. Crixus, who had quarrelled with Spartacus, was defeated and killed in Apulia; but this loss was forgotten in a series of victories which Spartacus won soon afterwards. He defeated both consuls and traversed Italy from end to end, even appearing as far north as Mutina. To wipe out this disgrace, the consuls were in the autumn superseded by M. Licinius Crassus, the richest man in Rome and the representative of the Equites. Spartacus retreated into Bruttium with the design of crossing to Sicily; but the pirates upon whom he relied to carry him across the straits, played him false. Turning northwards again he broke through the lines which Crassus had constructed across Bruttium from sea to sea, but dissensions once more broke out among his followers, of whom the entire German and Celtic portion seceded, 71 B.C. They were cut off by Crassus to the last man, and Spartacus himself soon afterwards perished in a great battle in Lucania. The survivors were hunted down by Pompeius, who had by this time finished the Sertorian War and was marching to the support of Crassus.

§ 260. Thus far the Sullan constitution had endured: the repeated attacks of the democrats had only resulted in the re-establishment of the corn-largess and the removal of the restriction which had made a tribune ineligible for

other offices. But the discontent was great among all classes: the popular party clamoured for the restoration of the tribunate to its old dignity, the Equites demanded that they should again serve in the jury-courts, while both declaimed against the corruption of the senatorial jurymen and governors, of whom the notorious Verres was about this time being impeached for hideous oppression and cruelty in Sicily. When therefore in 71 B.C. Pompeius and Crassus returned to Rome, each bringing with him a victorious army, the senate looked on with unconcealed dread, while its opponents were filled with hope. The generals did not disappoint the popular expectation. On being elected to the consulship for 70 B.C., they led the attack on the government, keeping their armies close to the city in case of need. There were passed three great bills—

The First
Consulship of
Pompeius and
Crassus,
70 B.C.

(i) That the tribunes should again be allowed to bring measures before the assembly.

(ii) That the jury-courts (*iudicia*) should be divided between one decuria of senators and two of Equites.

(iii) That the censorship should be restored with its old power over the senate.

The whole of Sulla's work was undone, except that his reforms concerning the jurisdiction of the standing commissions (*quaestiones perpetuae*) and the division of magisterial duties remained untouched. The tribunician power again became as threatening to the government as it had ever been, and the censors appointed in accordance with the new legislation ejected no fewer than sixty-four members from the senate. Before their year of office was over Pompeius and Crassus quarrelled, and seemed about to turn their armies against each other, but the democrats brought about a half-hearted reconciliation. The consuls disbanded their legions and became private citizens again. Pompeius

however was eager to win fresh laurels, and looked anxiously to the east for the chance of doing so.

§ 261. Since his defeat by Sulla, Mithradates had regained much of his old power. For allies he had the Cilician pirates by sea and Armenia by land: and inasmuch as Rome had destroyed all the other Mediterranean fleets without adequately arming one of her own, the pirates were, if properly handled, invincible, and might even prevent the appearance of any Roman forces in Asia; while Tigranes of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithradates, had almost immediately upon Sulla's retirement from Asia, commenced a series of aggressions which had added a great part of Mesopotamia, Cappadocia and Syria to his dominions, and broken to pieces the empire of the Seleucidae. His boundaries were on the east the Caspian Sea, on the north the kingdom of Mithradates and the Caucasus, on the south the Parthians, whom he had reduced to comparative helplessness. On the west his limit was where he might choose to set it, and Mithradates wished him to swoop at once upon Roman Asia.

§ 262. Dying in 75 B.C., Nicomedes III. left his kingdom of Bithynia to the Romans. This meant the extension of Roman Asia to the very borders of Pontus, and Mithradates knew that sooner or later it would lead to a collision between himself and Rome. He promptly overran Bithynia, made overtures of alliance to Sertorius, and obtained from him a number of exiled Romans to drill his army of 100,000 men and to act as his officers. The pirates assisted in providing him with a fleet of 400 vessels.

The consuls for 74 B.C. were L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta. Lucullus, who had been one of Sulla's most capable officers in the First Mithradatic War, was a

staunch optimiste, but fonder of ease than of politics; and he was that rare citizen, an honest man, who would wink neither at equestrian oppressions nor at military excesses. Supported by Cotta as his admiral on the Hellespont, he commenced the attack by marching through Phrygia with a force of 30,000 men. Luckily for him, Tigranes left Mithradates to take care of himself, but even thus the Romans were seriously out-numbered. By this time Mithradates had got as far as Calchedon (*Kadiköi*), where he was besieging Cotta. He burnt the Roman fleet in the harbour, but learning that Lucullus was coming to the rescue, he passed on to Cyzicus (*Balkiz*). There he found himself entrapped, unable either to advance or retreat, while want of supplies bred sickness amongst his host (74 B.C.). He was at length compelled, after losing two-thirds of his infantry and almost all his cavalry, to put the residue on board his fleet. Further disasters occurred at sea, and only a stroke of good fortune enabled him to reach Pontus upon a pirate vessel, 73 B.C.

The Third
Mithradatic
War, 74—
65 B.C.

§ 263. The Romans now assumed the aggressive, and in the following year, 72 B.C., Lucullus surprised the Pontic army at Cabira (*Niksar*), and forced Mithradates to take refuge with Tigranes of Armenia. Then leaving his legates to reduce the coast towns, he returned to re-organize the province of Asia. The reduction of the coast was not accomplished for two years, and the re-organization of Asia was attended with difficulties almost as tedious, for the land was brought to the verge of ruin by the exactions of Roman tax-gatherers and money-lenders, following upon the exhausting wars of Sulla. Lucullus performed his task well from the provincials' point of view, less well from his own: for his rectitude raised up against him the enmity of the entire

Battle of
Cabira, 72 B.C.

Equestrian order, and though they could not avenge themselves at once, they found means to do so later on.

§ 284. It was evident to Lucullus that Asia could not be secure while Tigranes was unchastised, yet he knew that the inert home-government would never authorize him to attack so formidable a power as Armenia. But he was determined to act, and in order to find a valid excuse for war, he sent to Tigranes envoys demanding the surrender of Mithradates. Tigranes was astounded at such a message from a general whose entire force was under 30,000 men: he gave an emphatic refusal, which was all Lucullus desired, and before the Armenian army could be collected a Roman force of 15,000 men had laid siege to Tigranocerta, a new city which Tigranes had peopled with Greek captives from Cappadocia and Syria. In attempting to relieve the town Tigranes was defeated utterly: he lost, said Lucullus' despatch, 100,000 men as against five Romans slain, and the town itself was surrendered (69 B.C.).

§ 285. Yet Mithradates was able to induce the Armenians to continue the struggle, though he failed to find an ally in Phraates of Parthia, who made a treaty on his own account with Rome. Accordingly in the following spring, Lucullus marched eastward into Armenia Proper, intending to attack Artaxata (*Ardaschar*), the capital of the empire. But the country was difficult, the weather severe, the soldiers weary of long service and of the sternness with which their general prevented them from plundering while he made a fortune for himself. They mutinied, and compelled him to march back across the Tigris, and his only exploit in this year (68 B.C.) was the sack of Nisibis. But meanwhile Mithradates had armed new forces, and successfully assailed the weak detachments

Lucullus
attacks
Tigranes.

Battle of
Tigranocerta,
69 B.C.

Reverses of
Lucullus.

which Lucullus had left behind him in Pontus. His legates sent urgent demands for help, and Lucullus reluctantly abandoned Nisibis, Tigranocerta, and all his recent conquests, 67 B.C. Even so he arrived too late: the Romans had already sustained a severe defeat at Zela (*Zilleh*), and news now arrived from Rome that the people, instigated by the Equites, had deprived Lucullus of the command, and superseded him by the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio. Fresh mutinies broke out among his troops: he could not induce them to confront Mithradates, who overran Cappadocia without hindrance, and he had the mortification to see once more in the possession of the enemy every inch of ground that he had conquered in his eight campaigns. After witnessing this melancholy issue of his brilliant exploits he retired into private life, and spent his days in luxury and literary pursuits, leaving a name that was to be proverbial for wealthy refinement and indolence.

§ 266. The pirates had deserted Mithradates in his hour of defeat, but only to resume the more profitable employment of piracy in the western seas, ^{The} Gabinian Law, ^{67 B.C.} and to make life a burden to the coast towns and merchants of Italy. Again all classes in Rome clamoured for deliverance from the corsairs, and turned to Pompeius for help, although the democrats were almost as much afraid as was the senate that he might ultimately prove another Sulla or Marius.

Accordingly the tribune Aulus Gabinus brought in a bill conferring upon Pompeius the conduct of the war against the pirates, with proconsular power for three years over the entire Mediterranean and the whole coast to a distance of fifty miles inland. He was to have twenty-five legates of his own choosing, and whatever supplies and funds he desired. Such a bill showed that the fall of the

Republic was very near, for it set up a private citizen as virtual monarch. The bill was carried, and at once the starvation prices which had until then ruled in the markets dropped to the normal rate. Pompeius raised a fleet, swept the western seas, drove the pirates before him to Cilicia, and there routed their united squadrons in a final battle off Coracesium. The whole war was begun and ended in ninety days, and the general might again have

The Manilian Law, 66 B.C. sunk into privacy but for the conduct of another tribune, C. Manilius, who proposed that, as Pompeius was now in Asia, he should receive the command in the war with Mithradates. The powers conferred by the *Lex Gabinia* were not superseded; they were merely extended until such time as Pompeius should choose to declare the war ended. He was left entirely at liberty to make war or peace. There was little opposition, for the senate had learnt its weakness. Q. Catulus, now an old man, endeavoured, as in the case of the Gabinian law, to prevent the passing of a bill so fatal to Republican ideas.

§ 267. In 66 B.C. Pompeius landed in Cilicia, and under the provisions of the *Lex Manilia*, took the command against Mithradates. Men said that he only came to reap the results of Lucullus' labours; but by this time Mithradates had recovered his kingdom, and the war had to be begun afresh. After much manoeuvring, Pompeius crossed the Pontic border, and, where afterwards he built the city of Nicopolis (near *Enderes*), entrapped the enemy in a ravine and cut his entire host to pieces (66 B.C.). Mithradates, again a fugitive, and now disowned by Tigranes, fled beyond the Caucasus to Panticapæum (*Kertch*), the capital of that principality of the Russian Chersonese (*Crimea*) over which his rebel son Machares was suzerain. For a moment

Pompeius
defeats
Mithradates

Pompeius seemed disposed to follow, but the hostility of the Caucasian tribes, and the impassable nature of the country, caused him to alter his purpose; and after traversing Armenia as far as Artaxata, receiving the abject submission of Tigranes, and chastising the Iberians and Albanians (65 B.C.), he withdrew beyond the Euphrates to Syria (64 B.C.), and proceeded to settle the affairs of what was once the empire of the Seleucidae. Mithradates, still indomitable, set himself to equip and drill yet another army: it was said that he intended rousing against Rome the warlike tribes of Thrace and the Danube valley. But the patience of his people was exhausted by his levies and his exactions for fresh war-
End of Mithradates, 63 B.C.
 material: his son Pharnaces joined in their revolt, and disaffection spread so rapidly that Mithradates was unable even to fly, and slew himself to save from parricide the son who now sent to Pompeius news of his exploit and assurance of his loyalty (63 B.C.).

§ 268. In the settlement of Asia, the new frontier was, roughly speaking, to be the rivers Halys and Euphrates: Bithynia, with the western half of
Settlement of Asia by Pompeius.
 Pontus, was constituted a province, as was also Syria (the kingdom of Seleucus) as far as the frontiers of Judaea; Cilicia was rearranged so as to include Pamphylia, Pisidia, and part of Cappadocia. Ariobarzanes I. was restored to the throne of Cappadocia, and Deiotarus received most of Galatia. The Jews, who had under the rule of the Maccabees become a formidable power, were constrained to accept as king the high priest John Hyrcanus, who had for years been disputing the throne with his brother Aristobulus. When Pompeius returned to Rome he left behind him peace in lieu of anarchy, and a frontier whose only menace was the power of Parthia; and

he paid into the treasury two hundred millions of sesterces, reserving twice that amount as largess and prize-money for the troops with whom, barely 40,000 men, he claimed to have conquered twelve millions of Orientals—with whom he had certainly humbled the great empires of Western Asia.

§ 269. While Pompeius was absent in the East, two men at Rome had risen into prominence. Cicero, 106—
13 B.C. These were Cicero and Caesar. M. Tullius Cicero, the son of a knight of Arpinum, began his career by pleading in the law-courts, as was customary with young men who aimed at political distinction. His bold defence of Sextus Roscius of Ameria against a worthless favourite of Sulla, attracted public notice, and even aroused the resentment of the dictator. After travelling for two years in Greece and Asia, Cicero renewed his forensic labours at Rome. His success was conspicuous, and he obtained the quaestorship in 75 B.C. In his year of office, which was spent in Sicily, he became exceedingly popular with the provincials, and at their request impeached Verres for misgovernment in 70 B.C. Verres withdrew into exile without waiting for the verdict of the court. Cicero filled the curule aedileship in 69 B.C., and the praetorship three years later, when he warmly supported the Manilian Law in favour of Pompeius. In politics Cicero occupied a middle position: in his early career he more than once exposed senatorial misgovernment and defended popular leaders, but he never committed himself to the democratic programme; least of all had he any sympathy with the ideas and wishes of the mob. He evinced almost equal dislike to senatorial rule. Belonging to the wealthy middle class, Cicero desired to see the government in the hands of the

combined Equites and senate, and it was to this ideal union between the two great orders (*ordinum concordia*) that he devoted himself.

§ 270. C. Julius Caesar belonged as decidedly to the aristocracy as Cicero did to the middle class; Caesar, 102—
44 B.C. for his family was one of the noblest in the state, and traced back its descent to Aeneas and Venus. He was, however, from the first connected with the democratic party, for his aunt Julia was the wife of Marius, and he himself had wedded the daughter of Cinna. When Sulla assumed the dictatorship he bade Caesar put away the daughter of the dead rebel; but Caesar refused—an attitude which drew from the dictator the remark that “there were many Mariuses in the boy”—and fled to Asia, where at Mitylene he won the civic wreath by saving the life of a fellow-citizen. On the death of Sulla, he returned to Rome, but kept aloof from the premature movement of Lepidus and devoted himself to rhetoric and law-pleading. On the way to Rhodes, whither his studies took him, he was captured by Cilician pirates, but while still at their mercy he threatened that they should pay dearly for the insult, and when he was ransomed by his friends, he returned with a few vessels and crucified the offenders. The next few years were passed in the capital, amid profligacy and excesses of all descriptions: but though this life helped to render Caesar bankrupt, it was powerless to impair his vigour either of mind or body. Shortly before the first consulship of Pompeius and Crassus, he came forward as a leader of the Marian party. He was quaestor in 68 B.C. and praetor in 65 B.C. When quaestor, he exhibited at his aunt’s funeral a bust of Marius, and pronounced a glowing eulogy on that great general, although the senate had ordered all portraits of him to be

destroyed; and in his aedileship, which he signalized by magnificent games, he angered the government and delighted the populace by setting up on the Capitol those trophies of Marius' Cimbric victories which Sulla had overthrown. As yet, however, Caesar had shown little promise of his coming greatness: he was overwhelmed with debts, and seemed ready to plunge into any scheme, no matter how desperate and dangerous, to secure relief from his poverty. So far was he from his subsequent pre-eminence that at present he was but one among many representatives of an almost discredited party.

§ 271. When the democrats passed the Gabinian and Manilian bills in the teeth of senatorial opposition, they gained a victory which seemed Democratic discontent. likely to recoil on themselves: for Pompeius, with a triumphant army at his back, was too powerful for a citizen. The popular party endeavoured in his absence to raise up its own chiefs to equal power; and in so doing it could count on the help of Crassus, the representative of the moneyed interest, who had never forgiven Pompeius since the quarrel in their consulship. Should it be necessary to use violence against the government, materials were not wanting. The mob was always ready for a riot; those who had been dispossessed by Sulla longed for an *émeute*; even the Sullan veterans were restless and looked anxiously for fresh campaigns; and there were many young nobles whose politics were determined by their necessities, and who saw salvation only in the abolition of debts (*tabulae novae*) which might result from a successful revolution.

§ 272. The democratic leader most nearly connected with these discontented and reckless groups was L. Sergius Catilina, who returned from govern- Catilina's First Plot. ing the province of Africa to seek the consulship at Rome,

66 B.C. Like Caesar, he was of noble family and sunk in debt, and his career, which he began as one of Sulla's bloodhounds, was in men's estimation stained by the most infamous crimes. An impending accusation for extortion in his province prevented him from standing at the consular elections in 66 B.C., and there were chosen P. Cornelius Sulla, a relative of the dictator, and P. Autronius Paetus. Before the new consuls could enter on their magistracy, they were convicted of bribery—a verdict which carried with it perpetual exclusion from office and the senate. In despair Sulla and Paetus joined Catilina in a plot to overturn the government: L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, the consuls who had taken their places, were to be murdered on their entry upon office; and this blow was to be followed up by making Crassus dictator, with Caesar as his master of horse. Catilina beset the senate-house with a band of ruffians, but the plot miscarried twice.

§ 273. For some time after this failure at revolution, the popular leaders proceeded by more constitutional means. Caesar tried to get a proposal carried in the comitia that he should reinstate King Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt, who had been ejected by his subjects. Pompeius would thus be kept out of the wealth of the Nile valley, and Caesar would be able to raise a great military force: but this plan also failed. In the summer of 64 B.C., when the consular elections for the following year were in progress, Catilina and C. Antonius Hybrida came forward as the democratic candidates. The senatorial party had no nominees of its own, and was compelled to vote for Cicero, the champion of the Equites and the country folk. In spite of Crassus' money and Caesar's exertions, the new man from Arpinum was returned at the head of the poll. Catilina was not elected

The Democrats
and Pompeius.

at all, and Antonius only obtained the second place. Once more the government was safe, for Antonius, a weak and indolent politician, was easily secured by Cicero with the bribe of the province of Macedonia. When the tribunes for 63 B.C. entered on office, the democrats made another effort to secure authority on a great scale. On the plea of providing for poor citizens, the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, proposed the appointment of a Commission of ten men, supported by 200 adjutants of Equestrian rank, with special powers for five years to purchase and allot lands, especially the still undistributed Campanian domain. The funds for buying out the owners of private land were to be found by selling the royal demesnes of conquered kingdoms like Macedonia. No one was to be appointed on the Commission without personally appearing as a candidate. Pompeius was in Asia: therefore his election was an impossibility. Against him would be set Caesar and Crassus, with eight other democratic leaders and 200 moneyed men as supporters, wielding a power over the whole empire as great as was that of Pompeius on the Mediterranean and in the East. Cicero attacked the bill with all his eloquence: the multitude preferred not to take up a position of hostility to Pompeius, and the scheme was frustrated. At the consular elections of 63 B.C. Catilina was again a candidate, but evidently with little chance of success. He knew that Pompeius would soon be back from his conquests, and that if a blow had to be struck, it must be at once. Turning therefore to the discontented throughout Italy—the Sullan veterans, the landless yeomen, the reckless adventurers of the capital, even to slaves and gladiators—he drew together the scattered threads of the conspiracy, and sent C. Manlius, one of Sulla's veterans, to Faesulae to collect a force from the discontented cities of Etruria. But again at the election

his programme, despite its democratic and even socialistic features, failed to arouse enthusiasm, and the feeble senatorial candidates won the day.

§ 274. Catilina appealed to force, but his designs were common property and all the details of the plot had been learnt by Cicero. On October 20

*The Second
Conspiracy
of Catilina.*

Cicero denounced Catilina in the senate-house, and the consuls were invested with dictatorial power by the customary formula. Before the week was over the insurrection broke out at Faesulae, and on November 1 an unsuccessful attempt was made to surprise Praeneste. On November 8 Cicero convened the senate, and delivered the famous invective known as the First Catilinarian Oration. Catilina felt that he was no longer safe in Rome, and hurried away to Etruria, leaving the conduct of the plot in the city to the praetor P. Lentulus Sura, C. Cethegus, and others of his associates. He was declared a public enemy, and Antonius sent to take the field against him. For some time further the conspirators in Rome made no move: but it was agreed that on the Saturnalia, December 19, there should be a general rising for the purpose of assassinating Cicero and burning the city. But before the plot could take effect, Cicero had secured evidence which incriminated the chief actors in the plot, and was prepared for vigorous measures. The Allobroges in Gaul, who both as a community and as individuals were overwhelmed with debt, sent an embassy to the senate to ask for some relief in their distress. Lentulus, expecting to find ready tools in the envoys, opened negotiations with them and invited them to join in the plot. They professed to assent to his overtures, while revealing everything to the government. They arranged for their own arrest and the seizure of papers compromising the conspirators; and this done, Cicero on

December 3 arrested Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and others who could not effect their escape. They were put into the custody of leading citizens, for a Roman could not lawfully be either put into bonds or executed. Even Caesar and Crassus were each entrusted with the safeguard of a prisoner. On December 5 the senate met, and debated hotly over their fate: Caesar, while admitting their guilt, did his best to get their lives spared, and seemed at one time likely to succeed, but Cato spoke vigorously for a sentence of death, and his energy decided the question. A few hours later the conspirators were hurried to the Tullianum, and there strangled by order of Cicero. Their condemnation was unconstitutional. It violated the right, which every citizen possessed, of appealing to the people, and Cicero had to suffer for his action at a later date. Early in the month of January, 62 B.C., the troops of Antonius, commanded for the day by M. Petreius, and those of Q. Metellus Celer, closed upon Catilina's small army at Pistoria (*Pistoja*), between Luca and Florentia. The battle was fierce; Catilina fought like a Spartacus, and fell like him amongst 3000 of his men.

Were Caesar and Crassus in the plot? They probably knew of it, possibly they aided it in everything but its worst objects. Crassus, who had more property to lose than any other man in Rome, was not likely to favour a plot which aimed at abolition of debts and general anarchy. Caesar was over head and ears in debt, and might look with more favour even on so extreme an object. An informer implicated both, but perhaps falsely. It was of little moment now. The conspiracy had failed, and Pompeius was more emphatically than ever the greatest power in the state.

§ 275. Whatever the relations of the democrats to the

conspiracy, the defeat of Catilina was a defeat for them too. The Equites, frightened by the attack on property, united, as Cicero wished, heartily with the senate, and even the city mob was disgusted when it learnt that the Catilinarians had proposed to fire their dwellings over their heads. The position of the senate was stronger than it had been for some time past, and the only cloud on the political horizon was the great power of Pompeius. In 63 B.C. Q. Metellus Nepos, an agent of Pompeius, came to Rome to procure for the great general a second consulship and the prosecution of the war with Catilina. The senate, influenced chiefly by the obstinate and unbending Cato, refused both the demands. In spite of this rebuff, Pompeius, though at the head of an overwhelming force, was too honest or too timid to seize his opportunity. He might easily have overturned the ruling oligarchy and, doing what Caesar did thirteen years later, made himself the monarch of Rome. In the autumn of 62 B.C. he landed at Brundisium, but instead of marching on the capital, he disbanded his legions, and after celebrating a triumph in the following year, retired a second time into private life. He had many enemies in the senate, notably Lucullus, whom he had succeeded in the command against Mithradates. He demanded that his arrangements in the East should be ratified as a whole: Lucullus wished each ordinance to be discussed separately. He asked that he might bestow upon his veterans the allotments which they had been promised. In this too he met with a refusal, and the opposition of Cato was so pronounced, that he turned for help to Caesar and the democrats.

§ 276. Caesar was praetor in 62 B.C., and in the following year went out as pro-praetor to Further Spain. When he returned in 60 B.C. he was a wealthy man, and Pompeius

• was reduced to a nullity in politics. Neither Caesar nor Pompeius was sufficiently powerful to carry out his aims alone ; united they might succeed. The First Triumvirate, 60 B.C. Accordingly they formed a coalition in the same year, admitting M. Crassus also as a party, because of his useful wealth. Caesar saw clearly that he could never rise to pre-eminence as a mere popular leader with no armed force at his back : he resolved now to gain a provincial command, and thereby raise a military power equal to that of Pompeius. It was arranged that Caesar should be consul for 59 B.C., and should while in office gratify Pompeius by carrying those demands which the senate had refused. The senate resisted as far as bribery could help it, and returned a bigoted aristocrat, M. Bibulus, as Caesar's colleague ; but, urged on by Cato, it had just quarrelled with the Equites about the contract-price of the Asiatic taxes, and so had lost its most reliable supporters. Caesar immediately introduced three bills—

(i) A Commission of twenty was created to allot the Campanian lands among the veterans of Pompeius, and, if necessary, to purchase out of the new Asiatic revenues other lands for distribution.

(ii) The Equites were satisfied by the reduction of their Asiatic tax-contract, which the senate had declined to grant.

(iii) All the proceedings and arrangements of Pompeius in the East were ratified.

The bills were rejected by the senate, and were thereupon submitted to the comitia. Bibulus prorogued the assembly repeatedly on the score of unfavourable omens ; but Caesar disregarded both the augurs and the tribunician veto. His adherents came to the poll armed, and carried the bills ; whereupon Bibulus shut himself up in his house, and took no part in political business for the rest of the year. Soon afterwards the tribune P. Vatinius brought in a bill (*Lex Vatinia*), which, in imitation of the Gabinian and

Manilian laws, conferred upon Caesar for five years (58—54 B.C.) special proconsular command in Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with three legions. ^{The Vatinian Law, 59 B.C.} The comitia passed the bill without difficulty, and the senate, as though to salve its injured conceit with a show of carelessness, voluntarily added the province of Narbonese Gaul and a fourth legion. Caesar had obtained what he wanted—a protracted and wide military command; and he cemented his alliance with Pompeius by giving to him his daughter Julia in marriage.

§ 277. Early in 58 B.C. Caesar set out for Gaul, leaving Pompeius to control the unruly elements of the capital—a task for which he was singularly unfitted. ^{The Exile of Cicero} The first move of the Triumvirs was to get rid of Cato and Cicero, the most dangerous of their opponents. Egypt and Cyprus had been bequeathed in 86 B.C. to the Roman people, but instead of annexing the former country the senate preferred to recognize Ptolemy Auletes as its king. Cyprus however presented less difficulty, and Cato was sent thither to effect a settlement. The proposer of the bill was P. Clodius Pulcher, a patrician of ruined name and fortune, but of importance to the Triumvirs through his influence with the democrats. For some time he had been the sworn enemy of Cicero. The quarrel arose from the celebration of the rites of the Bona Dea in the house of Caesar, the Pontifex Maximus, 62 B.C. Though the presence of men was forbidden, Clodius, who had an intrigue with Caesar's wife, obtained admittance in the disguise of a female flute-player, only to be detected and expelled. He was tried for profaning the mysteries, but acquitted by a corrupt jury. To revenge himself on Cicero, who had upset his plea of *alibi* at the trial and attacked him in the senate, he got himself adopted into a plebeian family

with a view to standing for the tribunate. When tribune (in 58 B.C.) he brought up the never-forgotten execution of Cethegus and his associates. In putting citizens to death without trial, Cicero had violated one of the first principles of the constitution: it was no adequate excuse to say that the sentence was authorized by the majority of the senate. The democrats were eager to revenge the murder of the Catilinarians, and when Clodius introduced a bill "that any one who put a Roman citizen to death without trial should be banished," Cicero, although not mentioned by name, retired from the city into exile. He went to Macedonia, where he spent more than a year in wretchedness, imploring his friends at Rome to obtain his recall.

§ 278. Clodius soon quarrelled with Pompeius by procuring the release of Tigranes, one of that general's Armenian hostage-princes. In the capital, fights, murder, incendiarism, and violence of every kind were of daily occurrence. Clodius headed a regular band of gladiators and ruffians, who terrorized the streets. He found an opponent of congenial temper in T. Annius Milo, who did for the senate what Clodius did on his own or Caesar's behalf. In revenge for the escape of Tigranes, Pompeius supported the oft-debated recall of Cicero. The democrats tried every means to prevent the passing of the bill, but the country voters came up in great numbers, and it was finally carried in 57 B.C. by Milo's aid, after a riot which resembled in its fury the dreadful "day of Octavius" (87 B.C.). Cicero returned amidst the acclamations of all Italy, and the senate welcomed him with open arms. He proved his gratitude by coming forward in the same year to support a bill conferring upon Pompeius the control of the corn-supply for five years. Pompeius did not get the powers he secretly desired, but he fulfilled his commission

The Return
of Cicero.

and relieved the scarcity to which Rome was now continually liable. He made a further attempt to gain military command in 56 B.C., applying for a mandate to interfere in Egyptian affairs ; but the senate was determined that he should not regain the overpowering position from which he had just fallen.

§ 279. Indeed, the senate was again full of confidence. It saw that the coalition of 60 B.C., The Conference at Luca, 56 B.C. besides being intensely unpopular with the democrats, was virtually dissolved, for Pompeius had become jealous of Caesar. Now that Pompeius was no longer an object of fear, it would proceed to humble Caesar. In April, 56 B.C., Cicero proposed that an inquiry should be made into Caesar's Agrarian Law, and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus declared his intention of getting Caesar recalled from Gaul. Caesar, who was well informed of party movements at Rome, retorted by inviting his allies to meet him at Luca in Etruria. Pompeius and Crassus attended, together with more than 200 senators : so large was the party of the Triumvirs. The leaders came to a fresh understanding, and in the course of the following year (55 B.C.) this took effect in the election of Pompeius and Crassus to the consulship, and their immediate action. The tribune Trebonius brought The Trebonian Law, 55 B.C. in a measure (*Lex Trebonia*) conferring upon Crassus the command in Syria for five years, on Pompeius the government of the two Spains for the same time. These two provinces were, next to Gaul, the most important in the state. Cato's opposition led to riot and bloodshed, but the bill was carried, and Crassus and Pompeius were once more set up as military powers. Crassus, however, could be relied upon to support Caesar, and was, so far, a counterpoise to Pompeius. In their turn the consuls now proposed a law (*Lex Licinia-Pompeia*) by which Caesar's

tenure of his province was extended for another five years, that is, until March 1, 49 B.C. This was all ^{Lex Licinia-Pompeia, 55 B.C.} that Caesar demanded at present: indeed he seemed to have surrendered voluntarily his own superiority, for Pompeius' new command enabled the latter to raise troops in Italy ostensibly for Spanish service and to keep them there; in other words, to garrison Italia proper, and so endanger Caesar's control of the peninsula. But Caesar was concerned first of all to conquer Gaul, and a few years more would only make his army the more reliable.

§ 280. In 54 B.C. Crassus sailed for his province of Syria; Pompeius remained at Rome, sending his legates, L. Afranius and M. Petreius to ^{Murder of Clodius, 52 B.C.} govern Spain in his absence. But he had no control over the city, despite the troops which he held in readiness, and despite the fact that Clodius was now under the control of Caesar. Riots were of almost daily occurrence; Clodius and Milo were in their element. The consular elections were prorogued by violence for a whole year, and men began to talk of appointing a dictator. At last, in 52 B.C., the two free-lances met in a brawl on the Appian Way. Milo was at the time the senatorial candidate for the consulship, and Clodius was exerting every means in his power to prevent his return for that office. In the fight which ensued Clodius was killed. The populace, enraged at their leader's death, attacked Milo and burned his house, and finally fired the Curia, after depositing Clodius' corpse within it, as a fitting funeral pyre. The senate in despair gave Pompeius his wish—the dictatorship. They called it the "Consulship without Colleague." He immediately called out the Italian levies, made them swear allegiance to his imperium, garrisoned Rome itself, and secured the condemnation and exile of Milo. Again

he was monarch in all but name, for Caesar was far away, and moreover was beset by a dangerous rising of the whole of Gaul, and Crassus had fallen at Carrhae in 53 B.C. Pompeius believed he saw his way to getting rid of Caesar for ever; and he first secured the prolongation of his own command in Spain for another five years. Armed with this power he commenced his duel with Caesar.

§ 281. The Parthians profited by the downfall of the Seleucid monarchy and the humiliation of Armenia, to establish their power firmly as far as the Tigris, on which river stood their capital, Ctesiphon. Between them and the Roman province of Syria there stretched only the plain of Mesopotamia, and it became yearly more evident that hostilities must ultimately ensue. Phrautes, the ally of Rome against Tigranes of Armenia, died about 56 B.C., leaving two sons, Orodes and Mithradates, of whom the latter, on being expelled, immediately applied for aid to Aulus Gabinius, now governor of Syria. Gabinius was at the moment occupied in restoring Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt against the express command of the senate, and when he returned to the Euphrates, Mithradates had been overpowered and put to death, 54 B.C. At this moment Crassus arrived in Syria, and took over the command from Gabinius.

The richest man in Rome, Crassus at the age of sixty still craved for gold. With him, military command meant opportunity for acquiring further wealth, and the plunder of the East was worth grasping. He spent the year 54 B.C. in pillaging temples and shrines, including that of Jerusalem, and his only military exploit was a reconnaissance into Mesopotamia in which the Parthians were defeated. Encouraged by this success, Crassus, instead of attacking

Parthian
Campaign of
Crassus, 54—
53 B.C.

Parthia by way of Armenia, where his trustworthy ally Artavasdes was king, crossed the Euphrates with seven legions and 4000 horse, and plunged across the desert towards Ctesiphon, 53 B.C. His most trusted adviser was Abgarus, the Bedouin prince of Edessa, who assured him that Orodes was even now in flight with his treasures; and that unless Crassus took the shortest way to his capital, he would lose the spoils he hoped to win. Abgarus was not more sincere than most of his nation. He was playing into Orodes' hands, and led the Romans away from the Euphrates into a trackless, waterless desert. On the plea of dispersing some Parthian horse, he suddenly left them with his cavalry, and the next day the legions found themselves beset on all sides by the entire force of the Parthian lancers and mounted bowmen. P. Crassus, the ^{Battle of Carrhae, 53 B.C.} son of the Triumvir, perished in an attempt to disperse the enemy, and the survivors of that day were overwhelmed at Sinnaca near Carrhae a few days later, while seeking to reach the Armenian hills. Amongst them fell Crassus himself. The whole Roman force was destroyed; thousands were carried off to live as serfs in Parthia, and not a quarter of the entire number crossed the Euphrates again.

§ 282. There were two causes which made it necessary to take prompt action in 59 B.C. for securing the province of Gallia Narbonensis—the occupation ^{Cæsar in Gaul.} of Eastern Gaul by invading German tribes and the threatened migration of the Helvetii of Switzerland. The most important tribes in Central Gaul were the Arverni, Aedui, and Sequani. The Aedui had shown themselves faithful allies of Rome, and were as a reward placed in a position of superiority over their neighbours. Unable to crush them, the Arverni and Sequani summoned to their

aid a restless German horde known as the Suebi, who were anxious to settle in the fertile lands of Gaul. Under their chief Ariovistus, these speedily conquered the Aedui, 71 B.C.; but when they had done so, they began to tyrannize over all the Gauls alike, and to invite other swarms of their kinsmen to cross the Rhine. All the prayers of the Aeduan noble and arch-druid Divitiacus, a friend of Cicero's, failed to obtain aid from the senate. In 61 B.C. the Helvetii of Switzerland, a Celtic people who were harassed by the incessant attacks of the Germans, resolved to quit their homes in a body, and to pass westward to the thinly-peopled but inviting lands between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. The migration was fixed for March 28, 58 B.C., and its course would lie through the Roman province. However indolent the senate might be, and however much averse to giving to any of its great citizens an opening for the acquisition of new laurels in war, action must be taken at once: for if the Helvetii evacuated Switzerland, the Germans would at once take their place and so reach to the very borders of the Narbonese. Accordingly that province was entrusted to Caesar with an additional legion (§ 276).

§ 283. When Caesar arrived in Gaul, he found the Helvetii on the point of entering the province
First Campaign, 58 B.C. by the bridge which spanned the Rhone at Geneva. Three of his legions were stationed far away at Aquileia, but he collected what troops he could, gained by a pretence at negotiation a few days wherein to fortify the Roman bank of the river, and repelled the attempts of the Celts to break through by force. They had no choice but to take the longer route, which lay across the Jura Mountains and through the lands of the Sequani. They crossed the Arar (*Saône*) near Chalons, and there Caesar, who had fetched

his legions from Cisalpine Gaul, overtook their rear guard and cut to pieces one-third of their host. A few days later he drew them into battle near Bibracte (*Autun*), routed them after a long and desperate struggle, and sent the handful of survivors back to their own land to resume the work of protecting Switzerland from the Germans. This was half his task. Within a few weeks he was hurrying to meet Ariovistus, whom he had peremptorily bidden to recross the Rhine, and who had as peremptorily refused to do so. Caesar was aided by the Gallic tribes who had suffered from the aggressions of the Germans, but his troops were raw and timid, and he was embarrassed by what threatened to be a serious mutiny. Nevertheless, he utterly overthrew the Suebi at a spot near Belfort, and drove Ariovistus and the few surviving fugitives back into Germania. He spent the winter in Illyricum, which was now formally reduced to the shape of a province.

§ 284. But Caesar had no intention of merely safeguarding Gallia Narbonensis: he was bent on action which should obviate for all time the peril from which he had just saved the province, and this could only be effected by setting the boundary of the empire at the Rhine. He left his legions in winter quarters among the Aedui as proof of his design, and the Gauls understood it as such. When he rejoined them in 57 B.C. he learnt that the powerful confederacy of the Belgae had collected nearly 400,000 men in the north of Gaul in order to drive him back within the lines of the province. He instantly assumed the aggressive: by playing upon the jealousies of one tribe towards another he won over the Remi (about *Rheims*), the Bellovaci (about *Beauvais*), and the Ambiani (about *Amiens*). The more northerly tribes, especially the Nervii who dwelt between the Scaldis

Second,
Campaign,
57 B.C.

(*Scheltt*) and Sabis (*Sambre*), did not submit so easily. They made a desperate assault upon Caesar's army (now raised to eight legions, or 40,000 men, exclusive of Gaulish auxiliaries) when it reached the banks of the Sabis (near *Maubeuge*), and compelled Caesar to fight for his life before he could gain the day. The battle cost them the bulk of their warriors, and they submitted unconditionally.

§ 285. There remained a third struggle with the tribes of the coast, from the mouth of the Liger (*Loire*) to that of the Rhenus (*Rhine*). Chief among these were the Veneti of Armorica (*Brittany*), an enemy formidable through their skill as seamen and the powerful build of their huge galleys. In the course of a few months Caesar manned a flotilla, the command of which he gave to his legate, D. Brutus. The Romans owed their victory to an expedient whereby they cut the tackling of their enemies, and so disabled and captured their entire fleet. The whole male population was killed or sold into slavery, the excuse being the fact that they had maltreated the Roman officers sent to demand their submission and tribute.

§ 286. A similar massacre occurred in the following year, when Caesar destroyed the entire mass of two German tribes, the Usipetes and Tencteri, who had ventured to cross the lower Rhine and ask for territories on the Gallic side of the river. Caesar was determined to vindicate the immunity of the Gaulish shore: in ten days he bridged the Rhine near Bonn, and for nearly three weeks ravaged the lands of the Sugambri, as a demonstration of what he could do if he chose. Then returning, he marched across Gaul to the Straits of Dover, where a fleet was lying ready, according to orders, to transport his legions to Britain.

Third
Campaign,
50 B.C.

Fourth
Campaign,
55 B.C.

- Britain, originally peopled by non-Celtic tribes, had been occupied by successive waves of Celtic invaders, who kept up communications with their kinsmen in Gaul, and looked with alarm upon the Roman advance. Sailing from Portus Itius (*Wissant*), Caesar made the coast near Romney Marsh, fought his way ashore despite resistance, and advanced for some little way into the country. But there was little spoil to be got and much fighting to be done; his fleet was damaged by a storm, and at the end of a few days he was glad to retire in safety to Gaul.

First
Expedition
to Britain.

- § 287. The winter was spent in preparations for a second invasion, which was conducted upon a more extensive scale. Landing probably in the same place as before, Caesar fortified a camp on the shore to protect his vessels, and advanced to the river Stour. There he met and routed the Britons, who, in presence of this formidable enemy, had laid aside their customary quarrels, and had appointed Cassivellaunus, king of the Cassi (*Middlesex* and *Hertfordshire*), to be their commander-in-chief. Caesar pushed up the Thames valley in pursuit of his enemy, forced the passage of the river somewhere near Windsor, and took by storm the stronghold of Cassivellaunus at St. Albans. That chief was a good strategist, and his scythe-armed chariots broke the Roman lines; but sedition made easy what would have been otherwise difficult to accomplish: Cassivellaunus, in making himself overlord of Central Britain, had put to death a prince of the Trinobantes (*Essex*), and that tribe forthwith went over to Caesar. Cassivellaunus, deserted by his allies, was glad to make terms, and Caesar, doubtless pleased to end his foray so creditably, returned to Gaul. The Romans boasted that

Fifth
Campaign.
Second
Expedition
to Britain,
54 B.C.

they had reduced Britain to the condition of a tributary state, but the tribute was never paid or expected.

The legions were quartered for the winter at various stations throughout Belgica, for the country ^{Revolt of the Belgae.} seemed peaceful, and it was not easy to provision so large a force when concentrated at one spot. But appearances were deceptive. Just before sailing for Britain in 54 B.C., Caesar had been forced to put to death Dumnorix, a noble Aeduan who had been in some degree answerable for the movement among the Helvetii, and had always opposed the Romanizing attitude of his brother Divitiacus. The act had aroused the alarm of the Gauls at large, and taking advantage of the separation of the legions, the Eburones, under their chief Ambiorix, attacked the camp of the legates Sabinus and Cotta at Aduatuca (*Tongres*, near *Liège*), and massacred their troops. They then attempted the like with Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator, whose head-quarters were at Charleroi. But Caesar was too active for them: collecting what forces he could, he suddenly swept upon them from his camp at Samarobriua (*Amiens*), relieved Cicero, and routed his enemies. Labienus, wintering near the Arduenna Silva (*Ardennes*), repulsed the attack of the Treveri and slew their prince Indutiomarus. The lack of united action on the part of the Gauls enabled the Romans to repress the rebellion in detail, but the situation was so serious that Caesar did not as usual spend the winter in Gallia Cisalpina.

In 53 B.C. nothing of importance happened, ^{Sixth Campaign, 53 B.C.} except a second raid beyond the Rhine into Germany.

§ 288. In 52 B.C. the petty revolts of the preceding years came to a head. All Central and Southern Gaul rose in one last struggle for independence under the headship of

Vercingetorix, one of the royal line of the Arverni. This man had profited by Caesar's successes to learn the Roman methods of warfare : in the power to govern and combine, in rapid movement, and in strategic ability, he was far superior to any enemy whom Caesar had yet encountered. Taking advantage of Caesar's absence in Cisalpine Gaul, where he was holding the usual assizes during the winter months, Vercingetorix made a bold effort to separate him from his army. Only Caesar's greater boldness and the unsurpassed rapidity of his movements enabled him to elude the Gauls and rejoin his ten legions in Central Gaul. Vercingetorix next prepared to meet the legions, but his plan was novel for a Gaul : declining to risk all in one battle, he resolved to lay waste the country and retreat gradually, drawing his enemy after him until want of supplies should give him the victory. But the Gauls could not bear to destroy all their homes : though hundreds of towns were fired and destroyed, they resolved to spare Avaricum (*Bourges*), the capital of the Bituriges and Gaul's chief city, and here Caesar laid siege to a part of their forces. After four weeks the besieged, having in vain tried to break through the Roman lines, were overpowered and massacred. Then Vercingetorix threw himself into his own capital of Gergovia (*Gergoie*), a well-nigh impregnable fortress, and allowed Caesar to attempt another blockade. This time the Romans failed, and the failure was the signal for the Aedui, thus far faithful, to join the revolt. Caesar was forced to form a junction with the army under Labienus, and thus unite his entire force for the overthrow of Vercingetorix, while for the present the rest of Gaul was left to its own devices. Vercingetorix shut himself up in Alesia (*Alise Sainte Reine*, dept. *Côte d'Or*), an isolated hill-fortress of great strength ; and no sooner had Caesar

Seventh
Campaign,
52 B.C.

drawn round it siege-lines sixteen miles in circumference and of immense strength, than the entire forces of the rest of Gaul enveloped him on the outer side. He was hemmed in between the city and the relieving army, and day after day he had to fight against combined attacks in front and rear. But he held his own, routed the army of relief, and finally forced Vercingetorix to surrender.

§ 289. Thenceforward Caesar met with little resistance: he ravaged all Belgica and Celtica from end to end, punishing the rebels with the sternest cruelty. When Uxellodunum (near *Cahors*), the last fortress to resist, was at last surrendered, he cut off the right hand of each prisoner (51 B.C.), and so sent them away as an example to others. Success certainly justified his measures; like the Cisalpine Gauls, the peoples of Gallia proper rapidly adopted Roman habits, and when at length the Empire of the West fell, France retained the results of Roman influences to a degree which no other nation could parallel.

§ 290. In 54 B.C. died Julia, the wife of Pompeius and daughter of Caesar, and in the following year Crassus fell at Carrhae. Both these events removed influences that were on the side of peace. While Caesar was engaged in quelling the last struggles of the Gauls, Pompeius and the senate drew closer together and prepared to crush the rival who threatened to destroy both. The position of Caesar was precarious in the extreme: the oligarchs, headed by Cato, had sworn to effect his ruin, and now they were in alliance with the great power of Pompeius. Caesar knew that if he laid down his military authority and entered the city as a private citizen, he might be at once impeached, condemned,

The Question
between Caesar
and the Senate.

and driven into exile. The command bestowed upon him by the *Lex Licinia Pompeia* expired on March 1, 49 B.C., and as he had been consul in 59 B.C. he could not, in accordance with Sulla's ten-years law, be re-elected for any consulship before that of 48 B.C. The elections would take place in the autumn of 49 B.C. : thus there was an interval of at least six months during which he would be open to attack. He had secured some concessions from Pompeius : he need not personally present himself for election (which would involve the disbanding of his army), and he expected that no successor would be sent to take over his province until January 1, 48 B.C. Both these hopes were overthrown, and on March 1, 50 B.C., the senate began to discuss in earnest the question of superseding him. Caesar made various proposals : he offered to resign everything with the exception of Illyricum and one legion, and again on January 1, 49 B.C., Curio, with his approval, moved in the senate that both Caesar and Pompeius should disband their troops. At this last meeting the consul Marcellus' motion was carried, to the effect that Caesar should give up his army before July 1, 49 B.C. This would leave Caesar a private citizen until the date of the elections. His supporter, the tribune M. Antonius, accordingly interposed his veto. But the extreme party held its ground in the senate, and Pompeius was committed to its support. On January 7 martial law was proclaimed. Caesar's adherents, the tribunes L. Cassius Longinus and M. Antonius, together with Curio, declared that their lives were in danger and fled from the city towards Gaul. Cicero was absent as governor of Cilicia during these events, only returning in time to witness the outbreak of civil war. Since the Conference at Luca, he had submitted to the rule of the Triumvirs : and now all that he desired was peace ; but old ties proved too

strong, and after much vacillation, he threw in his lot with Pompeius and the senate.

§ 291. As soon as he heard of the tribunes' flight, Caesar moved across the Rubicon. This river Caesar conquers Italy, 49 B.C. formed the boundary between his province and Italy, and to cross it was equivalent to a declaration of war. People believed that his army was made up of Gaulish savages, but he kept it so well in hand that he won over every one by his moderation. He at once overran Picenum and Umbria. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus occupied Corfinium and endeavoured to stay his progress. Caesar hurried onwards, leaving a small corps to besiege the town, which was soon surrendered by its garrison. All the senators and Domitius himself were at once dismissed free. So rapid were Caesar's movements, so speedy was the change in the attitude of the Italians, that Pompeius lost his head. He had intended to concentrate his troops at Luceria, but he abandoned this design and hurried to Brundisium, in order to cross to Greece. Caesar was unable to overtake him, and the whole Pompeian force with the bulk of the senate crossed to Epirus, and stationed itself at Dyrrhachium. Caesar could not follow, for he had no ships, and besides it was necessary to secure Spain, which threatened his rear. Scarce pausing to seize the state treasures at Rome, he hurried into Spain, where he found himself opposed by L. Afranius and M. Petreius. Battle of Ilerda, 49 B.C. The armies met at Ilerda (*Lerida*), where Caesar was at first put in great straits for want of supplies; but a few days later he forced the entire force of his enemies to surrender, and thereupon C. Terentius Varro, commanding in Further Spain, did the same. Turning back, Caesar received the submission of Massilia, where Domitius was again defending himself against the

Caesarians C. Trebonius and Decimus Brutus. At the end of the year the conqueror entered Rome, which had been governed for him by M. Aemilius Lepidus, son of the consul of 78 B.C. The people had already declared Caesar dictator, and during the twelve days in which he held the office he passed laws to relieve debtors and the financial distress resulting from the war, as well as a bill to recall the still exiled children of those proscribed by Sulla. On laying down the dictatorship, he was elected consul for 48 B.C.

§ 292. The war was far from ended: the west was Caesar's, but Africa and all the east was at Pompeius' back. Already it had been necessary to garrison Sardinia to prevent famine in Rome, and with the same object Curio had driven Cato out of Sicily and thence passed to Africa. He was met there by P. Atius Varus, a Pompeian, and Juba, King of Numidia, and killed in battle. In the first days of 48 B.C. Caesar crossed from Brundisium to Epirus, at a season when no one expected that he would attempt the passage. He brought with him 15,000 men, but the rest of his army remained in Italy with M. Antonius for want of ships, and was there kept inactive for some time by the Pompeian fleet under Bibulus. Caesar occupied many Epirot towns, and finding Pompeius entrenched at Dyrrhachium, proceeded to blockade him there. Pompeius, whose forces were much more numerous, broke through the lines, and Caesar, beaten off with the loss of thirty-eight standards, was compelled to fall back on Thesaly for supplies. He had been already joined by Antonius and the remainder of his troops. Q. Metellus Scipio, who was the adopted son of Metellus Pius and father-in-law of Pompeius, was bringing up reinforcements from Asia by way of Macedonia, and Caesar wished to prevent a junction.

Caesar in
Greece,
48 B.C.

As he expected, Pompeius followed instead of returning to seize Italy. In this course he was eagerly supported by the mob of senators, who thirsted for vengeance on Caesar, and imagined from the battle of Dyrrhachium that victory was already in their grasp. Near Pharsalus (*Fersala*) in Thessaly, Caesar with 22,000 legionaries routed the army of Pompeius, more than twice as numerous. Fifteen thousand were slain, amongst them Domitius Ahenobarbus, and 24,000 were captured. Pompeius fled to the coast and sailed to Lesbos, where he met his wife and family. Thence he sped to Egypt, where he hoped to find an asylum with Ptolemy Dionysius, son of that Auletes whom Gabinius, the friend and supporter of Pompeius, had set upon the throne. But Ptolemy feared that Pompeius would aid against him his wife and sister Cleopatra, whom he had just expelled from the throne, and he caused him to be assassinated as he was landing.

§ 293. Sending M. Antonius back to manage Italy,

The Alexandrian War,
47 B.C.

Caesar hurried with 4000 troops to Egypt, whither he arrived a few days after the murder of his rival. In his need for money he demanded payment of some large debts from the Egyptian crown ; but the advisers of Ptolemy were slow to meet the demand, and the Alexandrians, angered by the presence of the legionaries, rose against Caesar and besieged him in the palace. The mob, aided by old soldiers of Pompeius, for a time pressed him so dangerously that he was on the verge of destruction. But at last native reinforcements, consisting of Jews and others, reached him from Syria. The Egyptians were defeated in a battle on the Nile ; Ptolemy perished, and his kingdom was given jointly to Cleopatra and a younger brother. But much valuable time had been lost, and it was not until March, 47 B.C., that Caesar could

turn his attention elsewhere. Meanwhile Pharnaces, king of the Bosporus, a son of the great Mithradates, had taken possession of Armenia Minor and routed Domitius Calvus, the legate whom Caesar sent from Egypt to reduce him to obedience. Regulating Judaea and Syria on his way, Caesar hurried to meet him, and at ^{Battle of Zela or Zela, 47 B.C.} Zela destroyed his army and took away his crown. It was of this battle that Caesar wrote the famous words, "Veni, Vidi, Vici."

§ 294. On the news of Pompeius' death, the Roman populace declared Caesar again dictator as well ^{The African War, 47—46 B.C.} as consul for five years; and they invested him also, as their champion against Pompeio-senatorial rule, with the powers and privileges of a tribune for life apart from the actual office: a precedent largely used afterwards to establish the principate. Towards the end of 47 B.C. Caesar returned from the East, but soon left the capital for Africa.

After Pharsalus there was a great scattering among the senatorial chiefs. Cicero returned to Rome, and was pardoned by Caesar on condition that he retired into private life. The others—Metellus Scipio, Cato, Gnaeus and Sextus, the two sons of Pompeius, T. Labienus, Caesar's old lieutenant in Gaul—passed to Africa, carrying with them the remnants of the Pompeian army. They united with Varus, the conqueror of Curio, and a force of 120,000 men was rapidly collected. Juba of Numidia, who dreaded the vengeance of Caesar, supported the coalition with his entire cavalry. Late in the year Caesar landed with barely 5000 men. He could not fight with so few: it was necessary to wait for reinforcements. He lay on the coast at Ruspina for that purpose, severely pressed for want of supplies, and harassed by the enemy's cavalry. Towards

the beginning of April, 46 B.C., his whole force was collected, and suddenly invested Thapsus (*Demas*). The Pompeian army, commanded by Scipio, gave battle to relieve the town. They left 50,000 dead on the field, in exchange for fifty slain Caesarians. Almost all their leaders fell: Afranius at the hands of the enemy; Metellus Scipio, Petreius, and Cato by suicide. The last-named had fled to Utica, where, on news of Caesar's approach, he read over Plato's *Phaedo* on the soul's immortality, and fell upon his sword. From the place of his death he earned his surname of *Uticensis*. He was an obstinate and bigoted politician, who clung to old forms when they were effete, and aped the archaisms of his ancestor the censor; but for all that he was the most formidable of the senatorial chiefs, and with his fall the cause of the oligarchy became hopeless.

§ 295. Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated a magnificent triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba; for the Roman conscience was not yet so dead as to allow one citizen to triumph over his fellows. After this he received the powers of dictator for ten years and the rights of Comptroller of Morals (*Praefectus morum*) for three years, an office virtually equivalent to the forgotten censorship.

From the slaughter at Thapsus there had escaped T. Labienus and Sextus Pompeius, son of the great Pompeius. They fled to Further Spain, where Gnaeus Pompeius, the elder brother of Sextus, was collecting an army of desperadoes and malcontents; for Spain, never much attached to Caesar, had been estranged by the brutal misgovernment of Q. Cassius Longinus, whom Caesar left as governor of the Further Province after the battle of Ilerda. It became necessary for Caesar to leave Rome again. He landed in Spain late in the autumn, found the Pompeians centralized

near Corduba (*Cordova*), and after several months of effort brought them to a pitched battle at Munda. His patience was exhausted: his victory cost the lives of 30,000 of his enemies, including Labienus: Gnaeus escaped, to be overtaken and murdered a few days later, while Sextus fled to the mountains and waited for another opportunity (Mar. 17th, 45 B.C.).

§ 296. The battle of Munda left Caesar undisputed master of the Roman world: open resistance to him was henceforth impossible. He was now

*Problems of
the Time.*

free to turn his hand to those reforms in the Government which were indispensable if prosperity was to be restored to the empire. Once Rome had been a community of equal citizens, as remarkable for their simple and temperate life as for their readiness to serve their country honestly in the field and the council-chamber. Now the government of the senate that had led Rome gloriously through the exhausting struggles with Pyrrhus and Hannibal had sunk into an oligarchic system of jobbery and corruption. Now the whole wealth of the empire was in the hands of some two thousand families, while outside this small circle there was nothing to be seen but a starving proletariat and a gigantic population of slaves and freedmen. But if matters were unsatisfactory in the capital, the condition of the provinces was still worse. From end to end of the empire senatorial governors had pillaged and drained the provinces at their will. No justice could be obtained: for if a verdict were given by the law courts in favour of the victims it was rarely enforced, and never in such a way as to recoup the plundered parties. Lands lay idle, roads went to ruin, and trade stagnated. In time of war the evil was still worse: what the governors and tax-gatherers left was destroyed by soldiery billeted at free quarters everywhere. The most

pressing of the problems that Caesar had to solve were therefore these: By what form of government was the oligarchy to be replaced? What measures were to be taken for remedying the social distress prevalent among the citizens? How were the provincials first to be protected against the rapacity of their masters, and secondly to be rendered capable of ultimately sharing in the duties and privileges of citizens?

§ 297. To Caesar it seemed that the government must be in the hands of one man, and he received a number of offices which made his will supreme in every direction. In 45 B.C. he was made dictator for life; he received the *praefectura morum*, *i. e.* virtually the censorship, for life in the same year; beside this he was granted the consulship for ten years, the tribunician power for life, and the right of voting first in the senate; while by special decrees of the senate he was empowered to decide at his own discretion on war and peace, to dispose of all the armies and treasures of the state, to nominate half the praetors and quaestors, and to appoint governors to the provinces; finally he had been Chief Pontiff, or head of the state religion, since 63 B.C. More important than all, he received in 46 B.C. the title of Imperator for life. As we have seen (§ 49), *imperium* meant the power of issuing commands to the people in war and in peace, *i. e.* not only did it give to its holder control of the army, but it also made him supreme in all judicial and administrative questions. A consul, however, though the highest magistrate at Rome, held the *imperium* with limitations: thus he was bound to allow the right of appeal within the walls, and his tenure of authority only lasted for a year. Caesar's *imperium* was limited neither by time nor by space: for he held it in perpetuity and throughout the empire. The title

of Imperator, in fact, coupled as it was with the tribunician authority and the chief priesthood, gave to Caesar the power enjoyed by the early kings; after a lapse of four centuries, one man was again the general, judge, and priest of the nation. It follows that the senate at once lost the authority it had usurped: in place of controlling the magistrates and so ordering matters at its pleasure, it was now confined to its original functions of giving advice when consulted by the chief magistrate. Its numbers were raised to nine hundred, and among the new members there were many men of low birth, as well as foreigners from Spain and Gaul, so that Caesar apparently intended to convert it into a Great Council which should represent the interests of the whole empire. Some changes were made in the magistracies: the quaestors were increased to forty, the praetors to sixteen, and the aediles to six, and the right of naming (*nominatio*) half of these was reserved to the Imperator. Their independence was lessened in another way when Caesar, by virtue of his imperium, sent out his own legates to command the armies and govern the provinces: the magistrates in fact now became officials of the capital rather than of the empire.

To meet the social distress—the result partly of the civil wars, partly of those economic changes that had been in operation for centuries—Social Measures. Caesar carried out some of the reforms which had been advocated by the democrats since the time of the Gracchi. With a view to diminishing the multitude of sturdy beggars who thronged the streets of Rome, he founded across the seas new citizen-colonies, conspicuous among which were the restored Corinth and Carthage; and in a few years he could claim that 80,000 impoverished men had been put in a position to earn an honest livelihood.

An enactment that one-third of the labourers employed on the great cattle-runs in Italy were to be of free birth, tended to preserve the citizen population in the country districts. Others of his measures were by no means so agreeable to the city mob: to their great disappointment Caesar refused to sanction a general wiping out of debts (*tabulae novae*, "fresh account-books"), though he gave debtors some relief; and when he found that no fewer than 320,000 citizens were in receipt of free corn, he lightened the demands on the treasury by reducing that number by one-half.

More important than all else was the question of the provinces. Caesar saw what no Roman had owned, even if he could see it, viz. that if the empire was to endure it must be built up on the vigour and loyalty of the provinces, and that this could only be when the selfish barrier which now separated the citizen from the provincial was removed. As early as 49 B.C. he bestowed the franchise upon the whole of Transpadane Gaul, and one-faithful legion, composed chiefly of Gauls, received the same favour in a body. Outside Italy, Gades received a municipal constitution and all the rights of citizenship; and the importance of this concession may be estimated when we remember that such a *municipium* was emancipated from the control of the governor of the province and empowered to manage its own affairs. All Sicily received Latin rights—a preliminary step to the grant of the full franchise. To relieve the poverty of the provincials, taxes were in many cases remitted, and almost everywhere the *publicani* were done away with, by converting the tithes into fixed money payments, and entrusting their collection to the provincials themselves. Finally, the unjust governor had now to consider that he was the servant of a stern

monarch, not of a corrupt and partial senate, and that for any oppression on his part he was liable to answer at the tribunal of a severe and unrelenting master.

§ 298. Caesar was now bent on asserting Rome's power on the eastern frontier, and on leaving that as secure as he had left the western; for the power of Parthia was yearly growing, and in the glories of new conquests he might at once employ his thousands of restless troops and cause men to forget the civil wars. Slowly but surely the world was settling down to peace and prosperity. Caesar had made all preparations for leaving for the East: he had appointed M. Antonius as prefect of the city during his absence, and to provide against the worst, he had secretly adopted as his son and heir his grand-nephew Gaius Octavius,¹ whose mother was Atia, daughter of Julia, the dictator's sister.

There seemed no cause to fear for his safety, while on the contrary there were continually being found fresh means of doing him honour, as when M. Antonius passed a law changing the old name of the month Quinctilis to that of Julius, the name which it has ever since borne. But there were jealous whispers abroad: men said that the show of anger wherewith the dictator had rejected the crown offered to him by that same Antonius was but assumed, and that he would assert himself openly as king. On the Ides of March (Mar. 15th, 44 B.C.) Caesar went down to the senate-house as was his wont. He was beset by a knot of some fifty of his friends and acquaintances, who importuned him to attend to some petition, and refused to be

¹ His birth-name was C. Octavius, but upon his adoption he took, as usual, the full triple name of the adopter, and added thereto an *agnomen* showing the *gens* from which he was adopted. In full then his name was C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, and it is as Octavianus that we shall speak of him for the present.

dismissed. A few moments later Rome knew that its dictator was dead, stabbed with a score of wounds by his own familiar friends.

§ 299. The chiefs of the conspiracy were M. Junius Brutus and C. Cassius: others were Decimus
The Liberators. Brutus, C. Trebonius, Casca, Cinna, and Cimber.

The mainspring of the plot was Cassius. M. Brutus, a descendant of the famous L. Junius Brutus who had caused the expulsion of the Tarquins, was roused to emulation by the memory of that great deed. Amongst the sixty or so who swore to kill the tyrant, and boasted of themselves afterwards as "Liberators" and "Tyrannicides," there were few but had received high honour and preferment from the man they murdered: Decimus was governor-designate of Cisalpine Gaul and consul-designate for 42 B.C., Trebonius was about to take the governorship of the province of Asia, while Cassius was praetor-designate for 43 B.C. But all were led away by idle dreams of restoring the glorious past of an age when the Romans were fitted to govern themselves—a past long since buried. Caesar's rule was light, but it was the rule of an autocrat, and the fact that his fellow-Romans had themselves voluntarily ratified his usurpation did not make it less a crime in their eyes; while they dreaded the day when he should return from his Parthian campaign, once again a conqueror, and perhaps given over to the pomp and insolence of such sovereigns as those of Parthia and Egypt. They could not see that monarchy alone could save Rome from ruin; they could not see how much Caesar had already done to avert such ruin; they could only hunt after ideals which prevented their recognizing realities. The best proof of their own lack of reason is to be found in the fact that, the deed done, they had made no preparations for future action. Instead of giving back to Rome the energetic

• Republic of old, they gave back only anarchy, for there was no one to take Caesar's place.

• § 300. The conspirators had hoped that the people would support them. It was a grave miscalculation : Antonius and Brutus and his companions, finding no one ^{the Liberators.} willing openly to join them, withdrew to the Capitol ; M. Antonius, the consul, persuaded Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, to hand over to him all the dead man's moneys and papers ; M. Aemilius Lepidus, Master of the Horse and titular governor of Narbonese Gaul and Hither Spain, marched into the city with the Caesarian troops which he had at hand, and sided at once with Antonius. At a meeting of the senate (Mar. 17th) in the temple of Tellus, Cicero marked his re-entry to public life by advising that an amnesty should be at once proclaimed : the question as to whether the murderers of Caesar were right or no was conveniently slurred over, while the dictator's acts and legislation were formally declared valid in a body. Had this not been done, all who owed to his favours either wealth or rank, would have been declared to have no title to either—a matter which personally touched most of the assassins. As things were, the latter were assured of their safety as far as the senate could guarantee it, and remained in possession of the honours to which Caesar had appointed or designated them. Trebonius soon left for his province of Asia, D. Brutus for Cisalpine Gaul ; Brutus and Cassius waited to complete their praetorships before taking over their respective provinces of Macedonia and Syria.

§ 301. The feelings of the people towards their dead hero were clearly shown upon the day of his burial. M. Antonius pronounced over the bier in the Forum the usual panegyric of the dead, and read out the terms of the will

whereby he declared Octavianus his heir, named many of his murderers as legatees, and left to his fellow-citizens as a lasting souvenir of himself his splendid pleasure-grounds beyond the Tiber, besides a legacy of 300 sesterces per man. The mob was worked up to frenzy, as Antonius desired it should be, and turned to wreak vengeance on the murderers, but most of these had already quitted Rome. In spite of this outbreak, the senate had not lost hope that Antonius and Lepidus might be got out of the way, so that it could resume the reins of government. But Antonius was master of the situation, and had no mind to be so disposed of: he intended to take for himself the place from which Caesar had fallen, and it seemed likely to be easily done by help of the legions and the people. Meantime he professed all loyalty to the senate, as did also Lepidus, and pleased them by moving the abolition of the title of dictator. Next he proceeded to make use of the papers which Calpurnia had put into his hands, by quoting these as authority for any wish or act of his own, under cover of the *senatus-consultum* of Mar. 17th, whereby all Caesar's deeds were declared valid. In this way he purchased friends in all quarters: to towns and states he granted remissions of taxes; to individuals he sold honours and privileges; and when there was not forthcoming anything in Caesar's handwriting to support some new measure, he hired the services of a forger to make good the want. The senate found that it had only changed one master for a worse. Antonius had as much reason to fear the Liberators as Caesar had, and to prevent their securing the command of large and wealthy provinces he obtained, avowedly on the strength of some notes of Caesar's, the assent of the people to a law whereby his brother, C. Antonius, received for the year 43 B.C. the province of

Antonius
Master of
Rome.

Macedonia, and Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship, received Syria, the appointments of Brutus and Cassius being cancelled, while he himself replaced D. Brutus as governor of Cisalpine Gaul. The senate fretted, but it was forced to look on at the disarming of its instruments.

§ 302. In April Octavianus, Caesar's heir, now nineteen years of age, had arrived in Rome from the camp at Apollonia, where he had been in ^{Appearance of Octavianus.} readiness for the Parthian Expedition. He found that Antonius had already spent all Caesar's treasure, but by aid of loans he was able to pay the largess of 300 sesterces, and thereby at once gain popularity with the people. He would be a powerful antagonist to Antonius, if only he could be induced to support the senate in earnest. Cicero saw this, and abandoning his intention of leaving Italy, resolved to throw himself vigorously into the struggle. In the famous *Philippics* he made a fierce attack on the whole policy of Antonius, and the effect of these speeches was so telling that Antonius soon after left for Cisalpine Gaul, hoping to establish himself there as Caesar had done before him and so to dominate Rome. But Cicero's animosity encouraged the senate to declare illegal his recent redistribution of provinces, and any molestation of Decimus an act of treason. The consuls for 43 B.C., Aulus Hirtius and C. Pansa, were ordered to defend Decimus. Brutus and Cassius had already left Italy to take forcible possession of Macedonia and Syria.

§ 303. Antonius was desperate. He attacked Decimus and shut him up within Mutina (*Modena*). The consuls supported by Octavianus hurried to the rescue, fought a double battle at Forum Gal- ^{Battle of Mutina, 43 B.C.} lorum (Ap. 15th, 43 B.C.) and Mutina (Ap. 27th), and raised the siege. Unfortunately both Hirtius and Pansa

died of their wounds, leaving the command with Octavianus. While Antonius retreated towards Narbonese Gaul, where Lepidus was still in secret friendly towards him, Octavianus marched on Rome with his legions and compelled the senate to give him the consulship. Soon afterwards he broke altogether with the senate and formed an alliance with Antonius and Lepidus. In November 43 B.C. the three—Octavianus, Lepidus, and Antonius—were declared Commissioners for the regulation of the Commonwealth (*triumviri reipublicae constituendae*)¹ for a period of five years. They represented no party and no interest but their own, to further which they at once proscribed 300 senators and 2000 equites, including M. Cicero and his brother Quintus (Dec. 7th). The great orator was killed near Formiae by Antonius' emissaries; his head was carried to Rome and nailed to the Rostra. The triumvirs next turned to get rid of Brutus and Cassius, to whom fled those of the party of liberty who dared not remain in Italy.

§ 304. Cassius and Brutus had established themselves

firmly in their respective provinces while the
Battle of
Philippi,
42 B.C. parties were quarrelling in Italy. Dolabella
 had been defeated and killed by Cassius;

Brutus compelled the surrender of the entire force of C. Antonius, the triumvir's brother. They possessed between them an army of 80,000 foot and 20,000 horse, to provide funds for which they ransacked and plundered the states of Asia without mercy. In the spring of 42 B.C. they concentrated their troops at Philippi near the Thracian frontier of Macedonia, whither Octavianus and M. Antonius had come to meet them, leaving the third Triumvir Lepidus to act as prefect of the city. The army of the Liberators

¹ Unlike the first Triumvirate, the second Triumvirate was recognized by the people, and the title given by means of a law.

was the stronger, but it lacked supplies, for the seas were in the power of the Triumvirs. There were two battles of **Philippi**: in the former, Cassius was defeated and killed himself, while Brutus' division was victorious; twenty days later the second battle ended in Brutus' suicide and the annihilation of his force. The few who did not choose to submit to the Triumvirs fled to the west, where Sextus Pompeius had emerged from his Spanish hiding-place, and with a pirate fleet was scouring the Tyrrhenian Sea and threatening Rome with a corn-famine. The victorious commanders divided the world between them: Antonius undertook to chastise the Parthians, who were again ravaging Asia, and there to raise fresh money to satisfy the demands of the legions; Octavianus returned to Italy as governor of the west; Lepidus, at all times a mere make-weight, was named ruler of Africa.

§ 305. The troubles of Italy were not yet ended. The ceaseless allotment of lands to successive batches of veterans roused all classes against The Perusine War. Octavianus, who nevertheless could not otherwise retain that allegiance of the troops which was his sole safeguard. Moreover he was in feeble health, and few expected him to live long; while of his colleagues, Lepidus was incensed at the manner in which he was neglected, and Antonius had a brother Lucius (now consul, 41 B.C.) and a wife Fulvia in Rome who desired to see him sole ruler. These two placed themselves at the head of the evicted Italian land-owners and the dissatisfied part of the legionaries, and drove the prefect Lepidus out of Rome; but the arrival of Octavianus compelled them to fall back upon Perusia. There, after a siege of many months, L. Antonius capitulated, and so ended the Perusine War (40 B.C.); but this collision with his colleague's brother was not calculated

to keep Octavianus on amicable terms with M. Antonius in the East. The refugees from Perusia fled, some to M. Antonius, some to Sicily to swell the numbers of Sextus Pompeius' followers.

§ 306. The fortunes of Sextus were prospering rapidly. Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. While in person he cruised in the Lower Sea, and kept Octavianus and Rome in constant uneasiness as to their supplies, his lieutenant Domitius Ahenobarbus was on the Upper Sea equally a source of trouble to Antonius, now in Greece. As the relations between Octavianus and Antonius became daily more strained, Sextus and Domitius found themselves the object of overtures from both, for they had the power with equal facility to keep Antonius out of Italy or to aid him in landing there. Antonius had settled the affairs of the East, but for some months past he had wasted his time and talents upon Cleopatra, to whom he was a complete slave. The fall of his brother Lucius and the appeals of Fulvia at last brought him to see that Octavianus bid fair to oust him, as he had already ousted Lepidus, from any real share in the Triumvirate; and without waiting for any further excuse, he massed his forces in Greece, won over Domitius and Sextus Pompeius to his side, and suddenly descended upon Brundisium (40 B.C.). But just about this time died his wife Fulvia, whose intrigues, prompted by the desire to win back her husband at any cost from Cleopatra, were the chief cause of Antonius' activity. By the efforts of C. Asinius Pollio, Octavianus was enabled to patch up a new treaty with his rival: while Lepidus was allowed to retain Africa, these two divided the rest of the world between them, Scodra (*Scutari*) in Illyricum being the meridian of division. Such was the Treaty of Brundisium (40 B.C.), which was sealed by the marriage of Octavianus' sister

Octavia to Antonius. To the Triumvir of the East was entrusted the task of chastising the Parthians: Octavianus was to deal with Sextus Pompeius. But Antonius soon drifted back to Alexandria and Cleopatra, leaving his lieutenant Ventidius to conduct operations against the Parthians, who had again overrun all Syria.

§ 307. Meanwhile Sextus, disowned by all parties, seized Corsica and Sardinia, and commenced a blockade of Ostia, whereby Octavianus, who had no serviceable fleet, was compelled to grant temporary terms. Fall of Sextus Pompeius. By this, the Treaty of Misenum, Sextus received the powers of a proconsul in Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and Achaea for five years—that is, he was virtually acknowledged as the equal and ally of the Triumvirs. But within a few months the quarrel was renewed. Antonius refused to surrender Achaea, and when Sextus' vice-admiral Metrodorus put Sardinia and Corsica into the hands of Octavianus, the latter retained them, and Sextus declared war. Octavianus suffered several reverses before he entrusted the war to his lieutenant M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who had recently crushed some risings on the Rhine frontier and in Aquitania (39, 38 B.C.). He took in hand his new duties with energy, and after a year's effort, could put to sea with a force sufficient to confine Sextus to the seas about Sicily. Lepidus landed upon that island with his African legions, while Octavianus attacked it from the north. There was, however, no success until Agrippa in person took the command. He routed one fleet off Mylae, and revenged a subsequent double defeat of Octavius' squadron by a victory at Naulochus (36 B.C.) so crushing that Sextus gave up the struggle and fled to Lesbos. He hoped to find support from Antonius, between whom and Octavianus there had arisen fresh soreness in the preceding year (37 B.C.). Octavia's

influence availed to reconcile the two: by the Treaty of Tarentum the Triumvirs had prolonged for themselves their office for another term of five years, and had united to crush Sextus, Antonius lending a fleet in exchange for two legions to be employed by Ventidius against Parthia. The last act of the naval war came when Lepidus made a fatuous effort to take for himself what Sextus had lost. The attempt was easily crushed, and Lepidus was captured; but Octavianus was content to banish him to Circeii, and to take over Africa for himself (36 B.C.). Antonius made no effort to prevent the fall of the third member of the Triumvirate or to avenge it. He was busy at present on the Euphrates. Sextus, meeting with no aid from Antonius, recommenced his career as a free-lance in Asia, where he was speedily captured and put to death (35 B.C.).

§ 308. For a few years there was a respite from civil war: on the one hand Antonius was too much occupied with alternate dissipation at Alexandria and campaigning against Parthia; on the other,

Relations between Octavianus and Antonius.

Octavianus was busy abroad with a rising of the northern tribes—the Salassi and Taurisci of the Pennine Alps, the Liburni of the coast eastward of Istria, the Iapydes and Pannonians—while at home he lost no occasion of rousing the indignation of the Romans against the un-Roman conduct of his colleague. By the year 34 B.C., the north-eastern frontier of Italy was safe; and in the same year Antonius, to revenge a disastrous repulse inflicted two years before by the Parthians, had overrun the whole of Armenia and captured its king Artavasdes; but his conduct in celebrating a mock triumph at Alexandria, acknowledging as his sons the offspring of Cleopatra, and making a will which disposed of whole kingdoms in favour of the children of the foreign woman, had utterly alienated

the feelings of Rome. Cleopatra urged him to re-assert his rights: she promised him her support in men and money, and bade him strike while there was yet time.

§ 309. In 33 B.C. envoys from Antonius made complaint that Sextus Pompeius had been unfairly driven from the position accorded to him by the Treaty of Misenum (39 B.C.), and that Octavianus was allotting the whole available land of Italy to his own veterans without considering the claims of Antonius' troops. Octavianus replied by complaining that Antonius was answerable for Sextus' death, and that his troops were well provided for by the enormous conquests which their commander claimed to have made beyond the Euphrates. At the close of 32 B.C. Antonius massed in Greece his legions, supported by a fleet of 500 galleys, mostly furnished by Cleopatra, and upwards of 100,000 Asiatic allies. Octavianus had only his own legionaries to aid him, but he had Agrippa for his adviser, and no love-affair to unnerve his judgment. He forestalled Antonius' attack by crossing unexpectedly into Greece, and the two armaments confronted each other for many weeks at the promontory of Actium (*Ἀκτῖ*), on the Gulf of Ambracia. There (Sept. 2, 31 B.C.) occurred the decisive battle. Antonius, finding his Asiatic allies and even his Roman officers constantly growing less trustworthy, while his legions murmured at Cleopatra's presence and her mastery over him, was forced at last to bring his fleet into action. It was twice as numerous as the rival flotilla under Agrippa, but less skilfully manned and handled; yet even so it was only the flight of Cleopatra in the heat of the engagement, and Antonius' senseless imitation of her example, which lost the day. The two made all speed to Egypt, while such part of their fleet as was not destroyed by Octavianus' Outbreak of War, 32 B.C.

fire-ships, was surrendered, with the entire land army, to the victors.

§ 310. Leaving Agrippa to return to Rome to control

Death of
Antonius,
30 B.C.

affairs in the capital, Octavianus with a few picked legions proceeded across Greece and through Asia Minor towards Egypt. Cleopatra awaited his arrival in Alexandria: her first impulse had been to fly to the far East, but she had neither allies nor trustworthy troops, and she now resolved to face Octavianus, and attempt to make of him such another conquest as she had made of Antonius. But her artifices were thrown away: her conqueror showed no sign of weakness, and to avoid being paraded in a Roman triumph, Cleopatra killed herself shortly after. Antonius, upon a false report of her death, had likewise made an end of his life, 30 B.C. Thus was Caesar's heir saved the difficulty of dealing with his two last enemies: he could now feel that he was safe. He had saved Rome, and Rome quietly acknowledged the debt. From the day of Actium dates the *de facto* existence of the Principate, and the *de facto* recognition of Octavianus as the first of the Emperors.

CHAPTER XI.

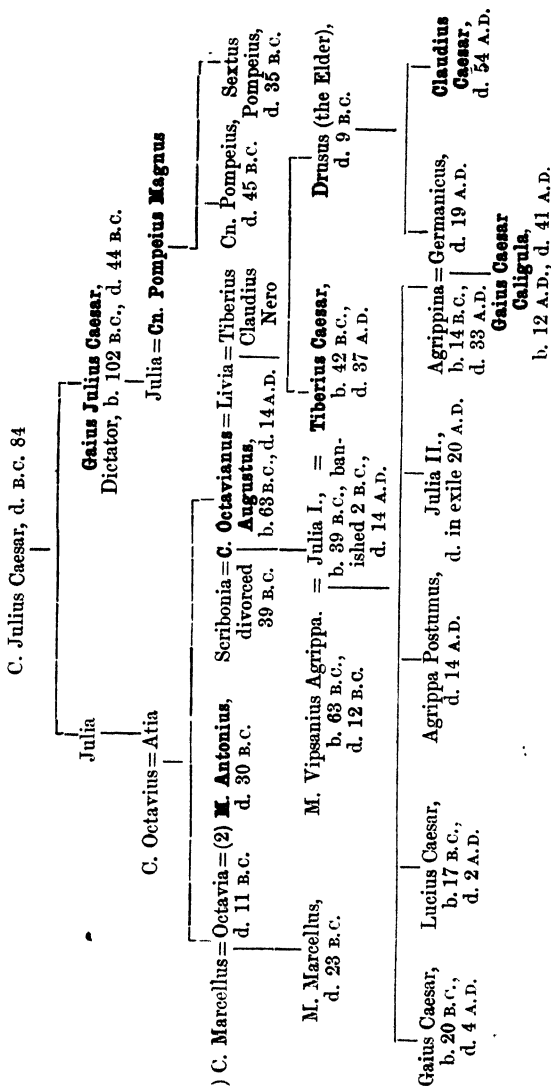
THE PRINCIPATE.

§ 311. Settlement of Asia.—§§ 312, 313. Titles and Powers of Augustus.—§ 314. Settlement of Gaul and Spain.—§ 315. Events in Egypt.—§§ 316, 317. The Question of the Succession—Marcellus and Agrippa.—§§ 318, 319. Wars against the Northern Tribes.—§ 320. Maecenas.—§ 321. Family troubles of Augustus.—§§ 322, 323. Wars in Germany.—§ 324. Death of Augustus.—§§ 325—327. The Imperial Constitution.

§ 311. OCTAVIANUS' first care was the regulation of Egypt. It was a country whose occupation by a political rival would be exceptionally dangerous, for its wealth was great, it was strongly situated between sands and seas, and any interruption in its export of corn would reduce Rome to famine. Octavianus therefore refused the senate any share in its government: he placed over it a man of equestrian rank only, and absolutely forbade any senator to set foot on its soil without obtaining his permission. He then journeyed back through Syria and Asia Minor. He made little alteration in the settlement of Pompeius. Few of the native princes had identified themselves with the cause of Antonius: it was therefore both prudent and just to leave them in possession of their sovereignties. Polemo of Pontus, Deiotarus of Paphlagonia, and Amyntas of Galatia were confirmed in their kingdoms, and Herod of Judaea, one of the most formidable of Antonius'

Settlement of
Egypt and
Asia.

GENEALOGY OF THE CAESARS.



allies, was rewarded by an accession of territory for the instant transfer of his allegiance to Octavianus. Further east, the important kingdom of Armenia was held in check by the Parthian empire, which continually threatened to reduce its weaker neighbours to vassalage.

§ 312. While Octavianus was still in Asia, the senate decreed many honours to the conqueror of Octavianus in Rome. Actium. There was accorded to him the privilege of wearing on all public occasions the insignia of triumph—the scarlet robe and laurel wreath; quinquennial games were instituted in his honour at home and in the provinces; his name was inserted in the prayers for the safety of the senate and people; and his birthday was celebrated with sacrifices. When he returned to Rome in the summer of 29 B.C. Octavianus, in emulation of Pompeius and Caesar, enjoyed a threefold triumph. Every one wished for peace, and that desire was gratified by the public ceremony of closing the gates of the Temple of Janus for the third time since its foundation. To reward his legionaries, he presented each with a thousand sesterces—a sum for which the recent spoils of Alexandria gave him enough and to spare. At the same time a largess of four thousand sesterces was given to every citizen, and the public distribution of corn was continued on a more lavish scale than ever. The higher ranks were gratified by appointments to the great magistracies; such senatorial families as had sunk into poverty were rehabilitated by munificent grants; throughout the city the temples and historic monuments were beautified and restored, and public works—such as the famous Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with its museum and library—were undertaken on the most lavish scale.

§ 313. Octavianus had already laid aside the irregular

title of Triumvir, which indeed no longer possessed any meaning ; but he was still consul, and he had ^{His Titles and Powers.} been invested with tribunician authority (36 B.C.). In addition, he had assumed the style of Imperator. He wished by apparent deference to the old constitutional formulas to induce the senate to confirm and enlarge the powers he possessed. In this endeavour he encountered no resistance. When at the beginning of 27 B.C. he declared in the senate that his work was done, and that he would lay down the extraordinary dictatorial powers surviving from the triumvirate, the offer was welcomed, but in place thereof the senators decreed him the *proconsulare imperium* for a space of ten years. Octavianus declined to receive it for life, for such an act would have savoured too much of the despotic power of Julius ; neither would he accept it over the whole extent of the Roman world, as his great-uncle had done. He handed over to the control of the senate the more peaceful provinces, and retained only such as required the presence of an armed force. According to the theory of the constitution, the censorial powers were inherent in the consul : he was thus enabled when consul for the sixth time in 28 B.C. to revise the list of senators, and in this way to expel unworthy members who had crept into the senate during the troubles of the past twenty years. As he inscribed his own name first on the roll, he became Princeps Senatus, or Head of the House. The title implied no special duties or powers, but was merely a complimentary designation of the most illustrious member in that assembly. It must be distinguished from the title of Princeps, which Octavianus later assumed, and which came to be the Roman equivalent for our word emperor, though it merely described Caesar as *primus inter pares*, the leading citizen in the whole citizen body. From this time dates the

regular Principate—the joint government of the emperor and the restored senate. A few weeks later Octavianus received the title of Augustus, by which he has ever since been known.

§ 314. Secure now in the constitutional sanction which guaranteed his manifold powers, Augustus turned his attention to securing the provinces and frontiers of the west and north. The ^{Settlement of Gaul and Spain.} mountain tribes of northern Spain—the Cantabri, Vaccaei and Astures—were still in arms, and in 27 B.C. Augustus left the city to superintend in person their subjection. On his way through Gaul he held a synod of all the states at Narbo, and there commenced that organization which converted the lands won by Julius into one of the most tractable parts of the empire. Various colonies of citizens and Latins were founded in the Narbonese, while the vast region beyond this was formally divided into three provinces—Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, and Aquitania—of which Lugdunum (*Lyon*) became the political and commercial centre. Popular government was encouraged in the native states to the depression of the chiefs and aristocracies which had offered the greatest resistance to the Roman power; and the Druidic worship, always a focus of national sentiment, was as far as possible discouraged. Passing into Spain, Augustus moved against the Cantabri and Astures. The war brought little glory, for the Spaniards avoided pitched battles, and carried on a guerilla struggle which lasted for eight years. The fatigues of the campaign soon told on Augustus, who retired an invalid to Tarraco, leaving his legates to carry on the struggle. At the close of 25 B.C. the Cantabri submitted for a time, but, in spite of the foundation of military colonies, broke out again into revolt when Augustus returned to Rome in 24 B.C. They were not finally subdued

until 19 B.C., when Agrippa completed the conquest which had begun nearly two centuries before, by transferring them bodily to the lowlands. Fifty years later Spain was as completely Romanized as was Gaul, and furnished a list of literary celebrities far exceeding in brilliancy those of any other part of the Roman world. Lucan, Seneca, Quintilian and Martial were all natives of the Spanish peninsula.

§ 315. The scene of these petty wars now changes to the far East. The first prefect of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus, the most graceful writer of elegiacs of his day, had allowed his exalted position to lead him into indiscretions. Statues had been set up in his honour, and his name inscribed upon the eternal monuments of Egypt, while his Roman arrogance had led to serious riots in Alexandria, always a turbulent and unruly city. His failings, slight in themselves, derived an especial importance from the jealousy with which Augustus regarded Egypt. Gallus was ordered by the obsequious senate to return to Rome, where he committed suicide to escape the punishment that awaited him, 26 B.C. He was succeeded by C. Petronius, whose tenure of office was signalized by an expedition to Arabia under the command of Aelius Gallus. The attack was directed against that part of the country known as Sabaea or Arabia Felix, the modern *Yemen*. The stories of the wealth of Sabaea were no myth: it was the land of drugs and spices, and through it passed the treasures of India on their way to the western lands. In old days that commerce had passed through southern Egypt; now the Egyptian trade was at a standstill, and by the expedition Augustus hoped to restore the old line of traffic as well as to obtain possession of the spice-lands. The effort was a failure: ignorance caused needless risks in the passage by

• sea southward to Leuce Come (*Haura*), "the White Village"; and when the army struck thence into the centre of Arabia under the guidance of Syllaëus, an officer of the king of the Nabathæans, it was decimated by sickness. It did indeed reach Mariaba, the capital of a Sabæan tribe, but it retired without entering the town, and returned to Egypt without either glory or profit. About the time when his subordinate was busied so fruitlessly in Arabia, C. Petronius was acting on the southern frontier of Egypt, where the Ethiopians, accustomed to raiding the upper valley of the Nile during the time of the Ptolemies, continued their forays even after the establishment of the stronger government of Rome. Petronius gained one or two successes, and the Aethiopian queen Candace at length agreed to peace, though she refused to pay the tribute which the prefect sought to impose upon her, 22 B.C.

• § 316. In 23 B.C., on recovering from a severe illness, Augustus, then consul for the eleventh time, laid down that office, which he resumed afterwards only on two occasions. In return the senate prolonged for five years the *proconsulare imperium* which he already possessed, and in some way extended or confirmed his title to the *tribunicia potestas*, which he accordingly dates from this year. During his sickness, the question of a successor was much debated, but two candidates stood out before all others: Marcellus, the youthful son of Augustus' sister Octavia, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the veteran companion of Augustus and the warrior who had won for him victory at Mylae and Actium and on many other scenes. The hopes of most men centred in Marcellus, who was married to Julia, Augustus' only child, and was now aedile, though only twenty years of age. "Brief and unfortunate were the loves of the Romans:" Marcellus fell

The Question
of the
Succession.

ill, and died only a few weeks after the recovery of his uncle. His death made way for the advancement of Agrippa, who was at this time engaged in the settlement of the eastern states. To the East Augustus also now proceeded, leaving the capital entirely to the control of its constitutional governors, the senate and the consuls. Parthia was torn by internal dissensions, and the rival claimants appealed to the Emperor. Augustus decided in favour of the reigning monarch Phraates, exacting however as the price of his support the restoration of the standards captured from Crassus on the field of Carrhae. To the great joy of Romans everywhere, this disgrace was thus at last to some degree expiated. At the same time, Tiberius, the eldest son of Augustus' wife Livia by her first husband, secured Roman influence in Armenia by setting Tigranes upon the throne, 20 B.C.

§ 317. During Augustus' absence in the East, the capital had been disturbed by violent election riots. Augustus and Agrippa. Agrippa succeeded in quieting matters, but disturbances broke out afresh when he was summoned to Spain to chastise the Cantabri and Astures. The senate, unable, as in the time of Clodius and Milo, to restrain the turbulence of the city, entreated Augustus to return. He was satisfied, for he had shown that the citizens were not capable of governing themselves, and he returned to his post with renewed acclamations and with authority stronger than ever. In 18 B.C. he received the *proconsulare imperium* for a further term of five years, and, as in 23 B.C. and 27 B.C., he was empowered to exercise this authority even within the walls of the capital—a strange deviation from the practice of republican times. Five years later, the death of Lepidus the Triumvir, who had lived unnoticed since his banishment to Circeii, left vacant the office of Pontifex

• **Maximus.** Augustus forthwith assumed it, and so completed the circle of his supremacy in matters civil, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical. The question of the succession continued to give him trouble. Agrippa's persistent claim on the score of faithful services was recognized in 21 B.C., when he received in marriage Julia, the widow of Marcellus. He returned from Spain towards the close of 19 B.C., and was in the following year admitted by Augustus as his colleague in the *tribunicia potestas* as well as in the duties of the censorship. Yet his stern, unsociable nature rendered him unpopular with the people, and Augustus no doubt preferred that one of his own blood should be his successor. In 17 B.C. the Emperor publicly adopted his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia. In the same year the disappointed father—for it was evident that he would be passed over if the young princes arrived at maturity—received the duty of administering the East for five years, and retired thither with his wife. He found little of real import to exercise him in Asia: the main event of his mission was a visit of Herod, the most sedulous and dexterous of flatterers, under whose directions Caesarea rose as a delicate compliment to his liege lord. In 13 B.C. Agrippa returned to Italy, but died in the following year.

• § 318. In 16 B.C. Lollius, the commander on the Lower Rhine, was defeated by the German tribes of the Usipetes and Sugambri, who had crossed the Rhine and endeavoured to establish themselves on the Gallic side. They discomfited Lollius for a time, and even captured the eagle of the fifth legion, but the Roman general at length rallied and the Germans retired. But though tranquillity now prevailed, Augustus saw that it was absolutely necessary to establish a firm

Wars against
the Northern
Tribes.

and tenable frontier line from the *Lacus Flevo* (*Zuyder Zee*) to the Lower Danube. His two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, were now in the vigour of manhood, and both were endowed with the mental capabilities that had always marked the Claudian family. Tiberius however, with many good qualities, showed a reserve and awkwardness which contrasted unfavourably with Drusus' frank good-nature. The two brothers made their attack on Rhaetia simultaneously from Gaul and Dalmatia, 15 B.C. The campaign was a brilliant success, and the Rhaeti and other barbarous tribes gave no further trouble. From this period must be dated the commencement of the line of fortresses which remain to-day the military positions on the Danube and Rhine—Pressburg, Passau, Strasburg, Coblenz, Cologne, and others. The command against the German tribes was given to Drusus, and he made it his aim not merely to secure the Roman possessions on the Rhine, but to extend the empire to the Elbe, the shorter course of which river offered an even more satisfactory frontier. The chief tribes with which he had to deal were the Chauci on the shores of the North Sea, the Cherusci about the sources of the *Amisia* (*Elbe*) and the *Visurgis* (*Weser*), the *Usipetes* and *Sugambri*, already mentioned, with the adjacent *Tencteri*, and further south the *Chatti*, who extended from the Rhine to the Hercynian forest.

§ 319. In 12 B.C. Drusus crossed the Rhine, while at the same time he sent a flotilla into the northern sea for the purpose of attacking the Chauci from the coast. Bad weather prevented the expedition from getting beyond the shores of Friesland, and it soon returned without gaining any advantage. In the following year Drusus again crossed to the Lippe, which he bridged, and then traversed the lands of the Cherusci

Campaigns of
Drusus and
Tiberius

until he came to the Weser. This was the limit of his advance, but he secured the fruits of the campaign to some extent by constructing a fort on the Lippe. A third campaign was spent mainly in making roads and bridges, and otherwise preparing for a more serious undertaking in 9 B.C. In that year Drusus, after marching through the lands of his allies the Chatti, wheeled northward, crossed the Weser, and devastated the Cheruscan territories as far as the Albis (*Elbe*). There he erected a trophy and turned back; but on the march he was thrown from his horse, and received injuries so severe that he died thirty days later. He had reached the furthest limit of Roman advance, and had warred with considerable success in the midst of the most independent of the German tribes. His work was taken up and continued by Tiberius, who in 8 B.C., and again in 7 B.C., traversed without opposition the German side of the Rhine.

§ 320. In 8 B.C. died C. Cilnius Maecenas, the second of the great ministers of Augustus. Since 40 B.C. he had been constantly employed in matters Maecenas. of state: in 37 B.C. he conducted the negotiations with Antonius which resulted in the treaty of Misenum, and during the war with Cleopatra he was entrusted in the absence of Augustus with the government of the capital and of Italy. He continued to render important services to Augustus in the establishment of his Principate, and not less valuable was his connection with the great men of letters of the day. Vergil and Horace, who both belonged to his circle, nobly repaid the protection which the powerful minister accorded to them by celebrating in immortal verse the services of Augustus to his country. About 20 B.C. a coolness sprang up between Maecenas and the Princeps: people whispered that Augustus had ceased to

love the man who was his right hand in peace as Agrippa had been in war; and scandal said that Maecenas was vexed by the attentions openly paid to his wife Terentia by the Princeps. Whatever the cause, the two saw little of each other for many years, though in his will Maecenas bequeathed his property to the man he had served so long and faithfully.

§ 321. Augustus was growing old and the question of the succession was still unsettled. Gaius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa and Julia, were almost recognized as heirs-apparent, and their position became stronger with their years. Tiberius, however, who at the emperor's command had put away his own wife to marry the twice widowed Julia (12 B.C.), had claims which could not be ignored, and he was naturally disappointed at the rising influence of the young Caesars. Still greater was the chagrin of Livia, whose most cherished wish it was to see the Principate descend to her son. Again, the marriage of Tiberius and Julia, purely a matter of state policy, brought with it the most melancholy results, for Julia disgraced the palace by profligacy which neither her husband nor father could check. So unhappy in fact was the position of Tiberius, that in 6 B.C. he retired to Rhodes, and lived for some years in virtual exile. The dissoluteness of Julia at last brought its punishment: in 2 A.D. she was banished to the rock of Pandateria, some thirty miles west of Cumae, where she was so sternly treated that none could see her, and even the necessities of life were denied her. After five years she was allowed to reside at Rhegium; but she never again entered Rome or saw her family. Her disgrace was followed by the death of both the young Caesars: Lucius died of sickness which attacked him at Massilia when on the way to Spain, 2 A.D.; while Gaius,

treacherously stabbed in the siege of an Armenian town, died of his wounds a few months later at Limyra in Syria, 4 A.D. The way was again clear for the advancement of Tiberius, who had returned from his long sojourn at Rhodes on the repeated entreaties of Livia, 2 A.D. Upon him fell all the honours that had lately seemed destined to pass to the young princes. He was at once adopted by Augustus; the *tribunicia potestas*, already conferred upon him in 6 B.C., was renewed for another term of five years, and an immediate opening for military exploits was found for him on the German frontier, where the tribes of the Lower Rhine were again in arms.

§ 322. Tiberius spent the remainder of the year in securing the Roman conquests in Germany by roads and military camps. In 5 A.D. he took The Northern Frontier. vigorous action. A large fleet dropped down the Rhine, coasted along Friesland and sailed up the Elbe, where it was joined by the land army, which had struck across the heart of Northern Germany to that river. So thoroughly were the natives cowed that Tiberius was able to turn his attention to another and more formidable enemy. The Marcomanni, who had once lived upon the Upper Rhine, had withdrawn, before the Roman advance, to the valleys of the Moldau and the Upper Elbe (the modern *Bohemia*). There under Maroboduus, a chief schooled in war and politics by a long residence in Rome, they grew into a Maroboduus. powerful federation, whose forces, amounting to 70,000 foot and 4000 horse and trained on the Roman plan, became a standing menace to the Danubian frontier. Tiberius marched northward from Pannonia against Maroboduus, while another Roman army moved simultaneously to the same goal from the Upper Rhine. The two columns seemed about to gain a brilliant success, when they were

compelled to retire by the news that all Pannonia and Dalmatia was in revolt behind them. Tiberius patched up a peace with Maroboduus and recrossed the Danube. At first the insurgents were successful, for the Roman fortresses had been weakened by the withdrawal of so many legionaries for Tiberius' expedition, and there was great alarm in Rome lest the Illyrians should invade Italy. But new troops were raised and sent to the scene of war under Germanicus, the son of Tiberius' brother Drusus. After three hard-fought campaigns Germanicus could declare the revolt quelled and its leaders captured and slain, 9 A.D.

§ 323. No sooner, however, was tranquillity restored in this quarter than the capital was thrown into consternation by intelligence of an appalling and wholly unexpected disaster. The command in Germany had since 6 A.D. devolved upon P. Quinctilius Varus, who excited wide discontent by his attempts prematurely to force Roman procedure on a country as yet only half subdued. Though many of the Germans had taken service in the legions, they still cherished their national customs, and when Varus endeavoured to introduce Roman laws and police and manners, a conspiracy was formed against him. Its head was Arminius, a chief of the Cherusci, who had long resided at Rome, had been presented with the citizenship and enrolled among the Equites. Varus was warned of the treachery that threatened him; but on reaching the Visurgis, he turned back into the *Tentoburgiensis Saltus* (*Teutoburger Wald*), one of the wildest parts of Northern Germany. When the legions were entangled in the swamps and forests, Arminius left the Roman camp, and placing himself at the head of his warriors led them to the attack. For three days the legions struggled to escape; then Varus slew himself, and

The Defeat of
Varus, 9 A.D.

the remnant of his forces was cut off almost to the last man. This disaster summoned Tiberius once more to Germany. He spent a year in recruiting fresh legions, and then his army traversed the country for a whole summer without the loss of a man. Nevertheless though Roman prestige was thus restored, no further attempt was made to push the frontier to the Elbe. The Rhine remained as in Caesar's day the limit of the empire.

§ 324. In 13 A.D. Augustus received a renewal of his *imperium proconsulare* for five years; at the same time Tiberius' *tribunicia potestas* was prolonged for a like period, and the *imperium proconsulare* was bestowed upon him too. This virtually made him partner with Augustus in the government, and indeed the emperor, now seventy-six years of age, sorely needed some one to assist him in his duties. He spent the last months of his life in drawing up a record of his deeds and reign. A copy of this (known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*) has been preserved to us on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra in Galatia. Herein Augustus sets forth the dates and nature of the honours decreed to him, his wars and conquests, his arrangements to secure them, his colonies, his measures to aggrandize Rome, the temples he restored and the public buildings which he caused to be built, the largesses which he gave to his people and his legions, his fleets and forces. In a word, it is a summary of his life and work. In the summer of 14 A.D. Augustus was seized with illness at Nola in Campania. Livia despatched messengers to Tiberius, who had returned to Illyricum; but it is uncertain whether he arrived in time to see Augustus alive. "Have I played my rôle well?" asked the dying man of his friends. "If so, applaud me at its close." He died August 19, 14 A.D., at

Death of
Augustus,
14 A.D.

the age of seventy-seven, having been born on September 23, 63 B.C., in the consulship of Cicero.

§ 325. When Augustus died he left the imperial organization so firmly established that its main features lasted for centuries. Theoretically the old republican constitution was in force and the emperor was only Princeps, *i. e.* First of the Citizens: in reality a combination of powers and offices made him supreme, and reduced to a form the part which senate and people took in the government. The power of Augustus, like that of Julius, rested in the first place on his possession of the *imperium proconsulare*, which, first bestowed by the senate in 27 B.C., was afterwards so augmented by further decrees that it conferred an authority practically despotic. Like Julius, Augustus held the *imperium* unrestricted by time or space, and even within the city. It was co-extensive with the empire; it was an *imperium maius* compared with that of any other magistrate, and therefore Augustus alone was accredited with the success of the legions, and none could triumph without his permission; it made him absolute master of the military forces of the empire; it rendered his commands binding even on the governors of senatorial provinces, and it enabled him to impose and collect taxes by means of his officers. It gave him in short, for a period of ten years, afterwards prolonged, that power over the entire empire which a proconsul in republican times had wielded in his province for a single year. This authority was extended in 18 B.C., when Augustus received the powers and privileges of the consul apart from the office. Though not actually consul, he was enabled henceforth to preside in the senate and to initiate legislation there and in the

The Imperial
Constitution.
The Princeps.

assembly; in short, he received an authority in law and administration which was constitutionally superior to that of the annual consuls. The *tribunicia potestas*, which was bestowed fully upon him in 23 B.C., and gave him all the privileges and powers of a tribune without the rank, formed the popular element in his authority. Just like the tribune of the republic, he acquired the right of *sacrosanctitas*, of assembling the plebs and moving resolutions in their comitia, of protecting condemned persons against the magistrates, of vetoing all measures whatever. He occasionally assumed the *ensoria potestas*, that is, the powers of the censor without his title: in this capacity he was able to enforce legislation on morals and manners, to eject unworthy men from the senatorial and equestrian orders when revising the census lists, to select new members in their place, and to control the law courts by the revision of the jury lists. His dignity of *princeps senatus* differed from these in that it conferred no powers upon him, merely marking him as the first of the senators; still it gave him the right of declaring his *sententia* first, and this would have great weight in a servile assembly. As *pontifex maximus*, the Princeps became the head of the state religion, with legal priority in sacred matters, as well as with the direction of religious worship and the control of the auspices. Lastly, the combination of these authorities made him the supreme judicial authority, for his imperium gave him the power of life and death, and it was to him and not to the people that a condemned citizen appealed; the right of voting first as *princeps senatus* enabled him to influence the verdict in a trial before the senate; the *ensoria potestas* gave him the control of the jury lists; while he had unlimited power of veto by virtue of the *tribunicia potestas*.

§ 326. Still Augustus was always unwilling to assert himself too prominently as the master of the state. His policy was to appear only to be the chief officer of the nation, and to encourage as far as possible the fancy that the old form of government by people and senate still went on. Unlike Julius, he did all he could to flatter the senate

The Senate. by the deference which he paid to it, and gratified the leading nobles by lucrative appointments.

Besides reducing the senate to the convenient number of 600, he improved its status by ejecting men of scandalous lives, and by allowing those to withdraw who were too poor to bear the expenses of their rank. With the senate rested the formal choice of a Princeps; it decreed the honours of a triumph, and its enactments on domestic matters were promulgated as of old. Augustus went further: he shared with it the provinces, giving it jurisdiction over such as did not require the presence of an armed force, and consequently the exercise of imperium; and to these provinces proconsuls and propraetors went out as governors on the choice of the senate. This dual government is known as the Dyarchy of the Princeps and the senate.

The position of the people showed a great change for

The People. the worse in the two chief duties which it had possessed under the republic—the making of

laws and the election of magistrates. Augustus little by little withdrew from the comitia the power of legislation; partly by demanding that he should be the only magistrate to bring proposals before the popular assemblies, partly by claiming that no measure should become law until it received the assent of the senate. In the matter of elections, so greatly did the Princeps interfere by his powers of *nominatio* (*i. e.* actually naming and himself

• electing some of the candidates) and *commendatio* (i. e. recommending his friends to the centuries and tribes), that only the merest show of authority was left to the people, and with Augustus' death even this disappeared utterly. But the people had now little desire to govern. Provided that the state distributions of corn were on a sufficiently generous scale, and games were occasionally exhibited, they felt contented with their condition. Their political programme was simply *Panem et Circenses*, "Bread and games": it was easy enough to state, though by its heavy tax upon the treasury it often caused embarrassment to the ruler.

The magistrates continued in name at least as under the Republic. Consuls, praetors, quaestors, aediles, and tribunes were still elected and treated with ^{The} Magistrates. the same ceremony as of old, though their jurisdiction was reduced to insignificance by the creation of new officials and the transfer of many of their duties to boards and commissions of senators. Thus the *praefectus urbis*, an officer said to have existed in the regal period and re-established by Julius, was henceforth entrusted with the superintendence of police within the city. Whenever the Princeps left the capital, the importance of this functionary increased very much: he became the emperor's deputy in Rome, and was authorized to take charge of the country to a distance of one hundred miles from the city walls. One board of commissioners was appointed to superintend the public buildings of the city; to others were entrusted the roads, the aqueducts, the navigation of the Tiber, and the distribution of corn. The quaestors and aediles were left with little to do, and generally speaking the magistracies were now valuable only because they opened up to the occupants the chance of becoming governors of the provinces.

§ 327. At the death of Augustus the provinces were as follows: three divisions of Spain (Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Baetica), four divisions of Gaul (Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Belgica),¹ Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia or Illyricum, Moesia, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica and Creta, Africa and Numidia, Corsica and Sardinia, Sicilia. By the agreement of 27 B.C. they were divided between the Princesps and the senate. Such as were so peaceful and well-organized as to require no military establishment were senatorial; the rest, that is all the less peaceful and less productive, were imperial. The senatorial provinces—Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Bithynia, Asia, Cyrenaica and Creta, Africa and Numidia, Cyprus, Corsica and Sardinia, and Sicily—were governed as of old by proconsuls and propraetors appointed by the senate; the imperial provinces were administered by legates nominated directly by Augustus and assisted by *procuratores fisci* to superintend the collection of taxes and to put a stop to the old abuses of the *publicani* and *negotiatores*. From both classes of provinces alike the main sources of revenue were the land-tax (*tributum soli*), assessed on the census returns, and the poll-tax (*tributum capitis*) on the incomes of all who possessed no landed property; together with the minor articles of *vectigalia*, duties on imports and exports, royalties on mines and salt works, and rents of public pasture lands. The revenues of senatorial provinces were paid into the *aerarium* which

¹ Besides these, there were the two Germanies (Upper and Lower), non-territorial provinces which carried with them the duty of maintaining the security of the Rhine frontier against the German tribes on its eastern bank.

had to provide for the pay of the senate's officials, the cost of public works, and the corn-doles. The revenues of the rest went to the *fiscus*, the emperor's privy purse, from which was provided the maintenance of the entire armament of the empire, the pay of the emperor's officials and household, and heavy voluntary outlays to meet deficits of the *acerarium*, especially in the matter of the corn-doles. The extent of the liabilities of the *fiscus* may be gathered in part from the fact that the regular peace-footing numbered twenty-five legions, each consisting of 6,100 foot and 726 horse, mainly acting as garrisons on the Rhine (eight legions), on the Danube (two), and on the Euphrates (four); together with three in Military
forces. Spain, five in Pannonia and Dalmatia, two in Egypt, one in Africa. These were levied amongst the provincials. The navy comprised three fleets stationed at Ravenna, Misenum, and Forum Julii, to guard the Adriatic, the western coast of Italy, and that of the Narbonese respectively; and there were minor flotillas to protect the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, the great frontier rivers.

To no class did the transference of government from the senate to the Princes prove of greater benefit than to the provincials. The republican The Princes
and the
Provincials. governor had been a despot, who ruled his province practically at discretion. Only in extreme cases did the senate venture to assert its sovereign power. Now however there occurred a general tightening of the bonds which united the governor to the central authority. Naturally, it was in the imperial provinces that the change was most felt: there the governor could no longer conduct wars at his own caprice, or harry the provincials by his arbitrary exactions, for his soldiers recognized no master but the Caesar, and the procurator who managed the

finances was responsible to the Princeps alone. Even in the senatorial provinces, the Princeps could make his influence felt, for here too he placed his procurators by the side of the governors. In the peace that accompanied the Principate, the ravages of the civil wars were at length effaced, and after a long interval prosperity returned to the provinces. Roads were built and colonies established; decayed towns were restored; piracy was sternly repressed; and these material benefits were enhanced by the encouragement which municipal institutions received in the provincial towns, as well as by the gradual admission of the provincials themselves to the ranks of Roman citizens.

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