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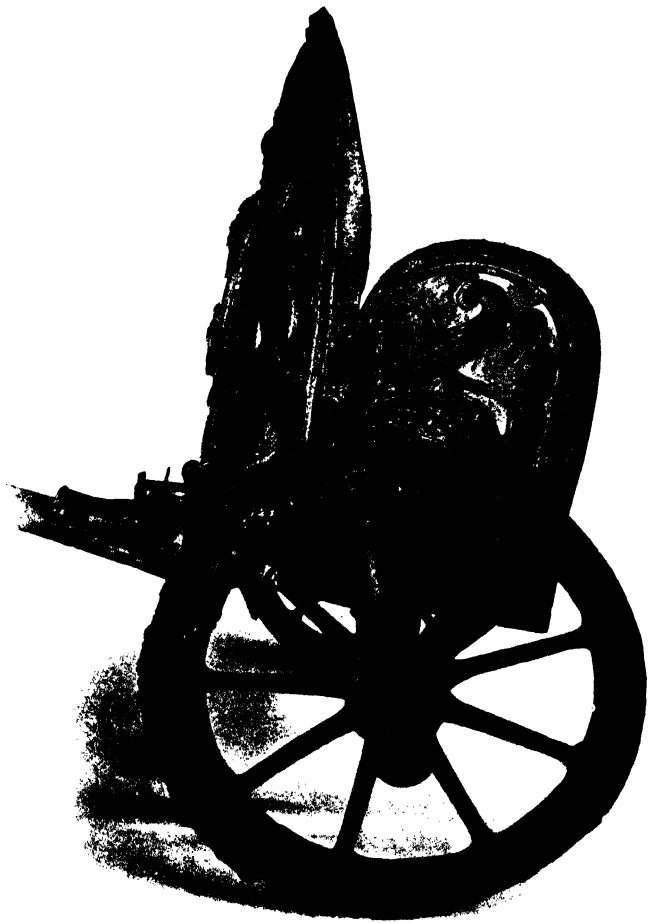
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THE NEW-FOUND ETRUSCAN CHARIOT. (From a photograph)

This interesting memorial of Etruscan art has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York at a cost of \$48,000. It was found in an ancient Etruscan cemetery (1901). Almost every part of the chariot, including the wheels, was sheathed in figured bronze. The relic probably dates from the seventh century B.C.

A HISTORY OF ROME

BY

PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF GREECE," "ROME: ITS RISE AND
FALL," AND "A GENERAL HISTORY"

REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

This book is the last half of my revised *Ancient History* (1904), and is substantially an abridgment of my *Rome : Its Rise and Fall*. The work bearing this relation to the earlier *Rome*, it is right that the acknowledgments heretofore made of aid received in the preparation of that volume should be repeated here. I quote from the preface of the edition of 1901: "I have embraced the opportunity afforded by an early call for a second edition of this book to extend the narrative to the year 800. This has been done in compliance with the request of teachers who have their work in history planned so as to meet the requirements of the Regents of the University of the State of New York and the recommendations of the Committee of Seven.

"To many scholars and friends I am under deep obligation for services of various kinds. I gratefully acknowledge aid received from Dr. Eduard Meyer of the University of Halle and Professor Henry F. Pelham of the University of Oxford, each of whom read the proofs of all the chapters up to the fall of Rome, A.D. 476, and favored me with his criticisms and suggestions. But I am under still more special indebtedness to Professor George Lincoln Burr of Cornell University, not only for the kind encouragement which he has given me in my work, but also for his generous courtesy in placing at my service his exact and wide scholarship by taking time from a great press of work to read and criticise the greater part of the proof sheets covering the period between the fall of Rome and the restoration of the Empire in the West by Charles the Great."

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO,
June, 1904.

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A HISTORY OF ROME

PART I

FIRST PERIOD — ROME AS A KINGDOM

(753? — 509 B.C.)

CHAPTER I

ITALY AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

1. Divisions of the Italian Peninsula. — The Italian peninsula is generally conceived as consisting of three sections, — Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the river Po (*Padus*), lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, namely, Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, and Venetia. Liguria embraced the southwestern and Venetia the northeastern part of Northern Italy. Gallia Cisalpina lay between these two districts, occupying the finest portion of the valley of the Po. It received its name, which means “Gaul on this (the Italian) side of the Alps,” from the Gallic tribes that about the fifth century before our era found their way over the mountains and settled upon these rich lands.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western or Tyrrhenian Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the ancient districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria formed the “heel,”¹ and

¹ During the Middle Ages this name was transferred to the toe of the peninsula, and this forms the Calabria of to-day.

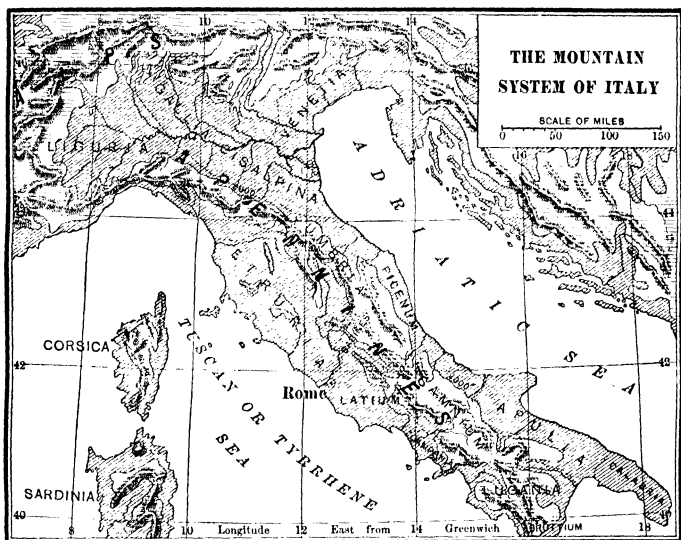
Bruttium the "toe," of the bootlike peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called *Magna Græcia*, or "Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its history been connected with that of the peninsula. This island had some such influence upon Roman history as the islands of the Aegean Sea exerted upon the history of Greece. As the islands which stud that sea were, in effect, stepping-stones that drew the inhabitants of continental Greece to the shores of Asia Minor and thus made those lands a part of the Greek world, so was Sicily a stepping-stone that, as we shall learn (sec. 58), enticed the Romans to the African shore, and thus started them on a career of foreign conquest which did not end until their armies had made not only North Africa but all the other Mediterranean lands a part of the empire of Rome.

The great islands of Corsica and Sardinia, lying to the west of Italy, were early taken possession of by the Romans, but they exerted no special influence, as Sicily did, upon the course of their fortunes.

2. Mountains, Rivers, and Harbors. — Italy, like the other two peninsulas of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, has a high mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the peninsula. Eastward of the ancient Latium they spread out into broad uplands, which in early times nourished a race of hardy mountaineers, who incessantly harried the territories of the more civilized lowlanders of Latium and Campania. Thus the physical conformation of this part of the peninsula shaped large sections of Roman history, just as in the case of Scotland the physical contrast between the north and the south was reflected for centuries in the antagonisms of highlanders and lowlanders.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po, which drains the large northern plain, already mentioned, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among them the Aufidus, the Metaurus, and the Rubicon are connected with great matters of history.² Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one possessing the greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose. North



of this stream is the Arno (*Arnus*), which watered a part of the old Etruria, and south of it, the Liris, one of the chief rivers of Campania.

The finest Italian harbors, of which that of Naples is the most celebrated, are on the western coast. The eastern coast is precipitous, with few good havens. Italy thus faces the west. What makes it important for us to notice this circumstance is the fact that Greece faces the east, and that thus these two peninsulas, as the historian Mommsen expresses it, turn their backs to each

² See secs. 74, 77, and 122.

other. This brought it about that Rome and the cities of Greece had almost no dealings with one another for many centuries.

3. Early Inhabitants of Italy: the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. — There were in early times three chief races in Italy, — the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks.³ The Italians, a branch of the Aryan family, embraced two principal stocks, —

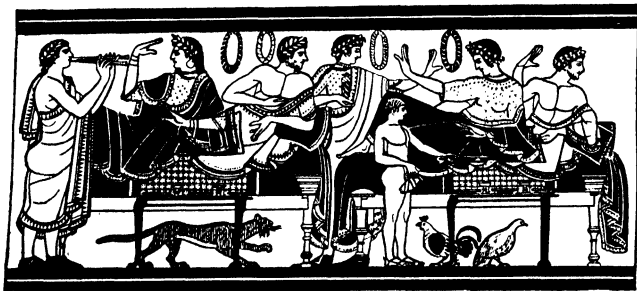


FIG. 1. — WALL PAINTING OF AN ETRUSCAN BANQUET

From an Etruscan tomb of the fifth century B.C. This cut illustrates, among other things, the state of art among the Etruscans at that early date. Banqueting scenes are favorite representations on Etruscan tombs, sarcophagi, and funeral urns. The participants "were represented in the height of social enjoyment to symbolize the bliss on which their spirits had entered" (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*)

the Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian (Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, etc.), — the various tribes or nations of which occupied nearly all Central, and a considerable part of Southern, Italy.⁴ Most important of all the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people, like all the Italians, were near kindred of the Greeks, and brought with them into Italy those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions that formed the common possession of the various Aryan peoples. Their life was for the most part that of shepherds and

³ Besides these principal races there were the Iapygians in Calabria, and the Venetians and the Ligurians in the north of the peninsula. The Ligurians were probably of non-Aryan race, but the others were of Aryan relationship.

⁴ Notice carefully the large area covered by the Italian color on the accompanying map (p. 2). The Italian race formed the best part of the material out of which the real Roman nation was formed.

farmers. The leading representatives of this branch of the Italians were the Romans, of whose social and religious life and political arrangements we shall come to speak in subsequent chapters.

Among the Umbro-Sabellian folk, the Samnites are of special interest to the student of Roman history, for the reason that they were one of the most formidable of the enemies of early Rome, and were conquered by the Romans only after long and stubborn fighting.

The Etruscans, a wealthy, cultured, and seafaring people of uncertain race and origin, dwelt in Etruria, now called Tuscany after them.⁵ Before the rise of the Roman people they were the leading race in the peninsula. Certain elements in their culture lead us to believe that they had learned much from the cities of Magna Græcia. The Etruscans in their turn became the teachers of the early Romans and imparted to them at least some minor elements of civilization, including hints in the art of building and various religious ideas and rites.

With the Greek cities in Southern Italy and in Sicily we have already formed an acquaintance. Through the medium of these cultured communities the Romans were taught the use of letters and given valuable suggestions in matters of law and constitutional government.

Selections from the Sources. — CICERO, *On the Commonwealth*, ii. 3-6. DIONYSIUS, *Roman Antiquities*, i. 36 and 37. For additional selections for this and following chapters on the Republic and the early Empire, see Munro's *Source Book of Roman History*. The teacher will find this admirable collection of extracts from the sources an invaluable aid in imparting a sense of life and reality to the story of ancient Rome.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. FREEMAN, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7-9 and 43-49. TOZER, *Classical Geography*, chaps. ix and x. MERIVALE, vol. iv, pp. 414-416; for some interesting observations on the evidence afforded by ancient geographical names of the wooded character of the districts about Rome in early times. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. i and ii. SHUCK-BURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Tutorial History of Rome*, pp. 1-18. DENNIS, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*,

⁵ In early times they had settlements in Northern Italy and in Campania.

vol. i, Introduction. The author probably exaggerates the debt which the early civilization of Rome owed to the preceding culture of Etruria. LELAND, *Etruscan-Roman Remains*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Geographical conditions tending to make the history of Italy different from that of Greece. 2. Etruscan civilization. 3. The debt of Rome to Etruria. 4. Relation to Rome of the Greek colonies in Italy.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT OF EARLY ROME

4. **The Roman Family; the Worship of Ancestors.** — At the bottom of Roman society and forming its smallest unit was the family. This was a very different group from that which among us bears the same name. The typical Roman family consisted of the father (*paterfamilias*) and mother, the sons together with their wives and sons, and the unmarried daughters. When a daughter married she became a member of the family to which her husband belonged.

The most important feature or element of this family group was the authority of the father. His power over each and all of its members was legally absolute. He was the proprietor of the family in almost the same sense that he was the proprietor of its goods and lands. He could sell his wife or his son just as he could sell one of his slaves. He was the sole judge of the members of the family, and could put to death without appeal even a son grown to man's estate.

The father was the high priest of the family, for the family had a common worship. This was the cult of its dead ancestors (the Lares and Penates). The spirits of these were believed to linger near the old hearth. If provided with frequent offerings of meat and drink, they would, it was thought, watch over the living members of the family and aid and prosper them in their daily work and in all their undertakings. If they were neglected, however, these spirits became restless and suffered pain, and in their anger would bring trouble in some form upon their undutiful kinsmen.

It was this worship of ancestors that made the Roman family a religious body, and which caused it to be so exclusive and to close its doors against all strangers; for the spirits of its dead members could be served only by their own kith and kin. But by

8 SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT OF EARLY ROME

a certain religious ceremony a stranger could be adopted into a family, and thus could acquire the same rights as its members by birth or by marriage to participate in its worship and festivals.

When the father died the sons became free, and each in his own household now came to exercise the full authority that the father had held.

5. Dependents of the Family; Clients and Slaves. — Besides those members constituting the family proper there were attached to it usually a number of dependents. These were the clients and slaves. The client was a person standing to the head of the family, who was called his patron, in a relation which, in some respects, was like that of the mediæval serf to his lord. He held a position between the slave and the son. The class of clients was probably made up of homeless refugees or strangers from other cities, or of freed slaves dwelling in their former master's house.¹ They were free to engage in business at Rome and to accumulate property, though whatever they gathered was legally the property of the patron.

The duty of the patron was in general to look after the interests of his client, especially to represent him before the legal tribunals. The duty of the client, on the other hand, was faithfulness to his patron, and the making of contributions of money to aid him in meeting unusual expenses.

The slaves constituted merely a part of the family property. There were only a few slaves in the early Roman family, and these were held for service chiefly within the home and not in the fields. They relieved the mother and daughters of the coarser work of the household. It was not until later times, when luxury crept into Rome, that the number of domestic slaves became excessively great (sec. 216).

6. The Place of the Family in Roman History. — Such in briefest outline was the early Roman family. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of this group upon the history and destiny of Rome. It was the cradle of at least some of those splendid virtues of the early Romans that contributed so much to

¹ The clients of the later republican and imperial periods were as a rule freedmen.

the strength and greatness of Rome, and that helped to give her the dominion of the world.

It was in the atmosphere of the family that were nourished in the Roman youth the virtues of obedience and of deference to authority. When the youth became a citizen, obedience to magistrates and respect for law were with him an instinct and indeed almost a religion. And, on the other hand, the exercise of the parental authority in the family taught the Roman how to command as well as how to obey, — how to exercise authority with wisdom, moderation, and justice.

7. The Clan, the Curia, the Tribe, and the City. — Having gained some idea of the Roman family, we may pass with briefer notice the other larger units or groups in the Roman community, for the reason that each of these larger associations seems to have been modeled upon the family, and consequently repeated many of its characteristic features.

First above the family stood the clan or gens. This was probably in the earliest times simply the expanded family, the members of which had outgrown the remembrance of their exact relationship. Yet they all believed themselves to have had a common ancestor and called themselves by his name, as, for instance, in the case of the Fabii, the Claudii, the Julii, and so on. The gens, like the family, had a common altar. Like the family, again, it had clients, who in some cases formed a numerous body.

The next largest group or division of the community was the curia, which has been compared to the ward of the modern city. This was the most important political division of the people, as the family was the most important social group. So important was it that according to some authorities it gave a special name to the Romans — *Quirites*, that is, “men of the curiæ.”

We do not know positively whether the members of a curia looked upon themselves as kinsmen, as did the members of the family and of the gens.² They had, in any event, a common

² “The members of a curia were very probably neighbors and kinsmen, but the curia seems to represent a stage in political development midway between that in which clanship is the sole bond of union, and that in which such claims as those of

worship and held common festivals. What made the curia so important a division of the community was the fact that the levies for the army were made by curiæ, and that the voting in the primitive assembly of the people, as we shall explain presently, was done by these same bodies. There were thirty curiæ in primitive Rome.

Above the curiæ was the tribe, the largest subdivision of the community. It had, so far as our knowledge goes, neither magistrates nor assemblies of its own. In early Rome there were three tribes, each composed of ten curiæ.

These several groups, — the families, the gentes, the curiæ, the tribes, — forming successive strata, as we have indicated, of the social and political structure, made up the community of early Rome. This city, like the city of ancient Greece, was a "city-state," that is, an independent sovereign body like a modern nation. As such it possessed a constitution and government, concerning which we will next give a short account.

8. The King. — At the head of the early Roman state stood a king, the father of his people, holding essentially the same relations to them that the father of a family held to his household. He was at once ruler of the nation, commander of the army, and judge and high priest of his people. In theory his power was absolute. He was preceded by servants called lictors, each bearing a bundle of rods (the fasces) with an ax bound therein, the symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death.

9. The Senate. — Next to the king stood the senate, or "council of the old men," composed of the "fathers" or heads of the ancient clans of the community. It is said to have consisted of three hundred members, a number corresponding to the traditional number of gentes composing the early city. The senators were appointed by the king and held their position for life. Two important functions of the senate were to give counsel to the king and to cast the decisive vote on all measures passed by the assembly of citizens.

territorial contiguity and ownership of land have obtained recognition" (Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 23). Compare sec. 26.

10. The Popular Assembly. — The popular assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the freemen of Rome. This was not properly a legislative body, but an assembly called together to hear announcements as to festivals, to ratify the nomination of a new king, to witness wills, and to authorize or give approval to certain proposals and acts concerning the state or the families and clans.

The manner of taking a vote in this assembly should be noticed, for the usage here was followed in all the later popular assemblies of the republican period. The voting was not by individuals but by *curiæ*; that is, each *curia* had one vote, and the measure before the body was carried or lost according as a majority of the *curiæ* voted for or against it.

It should be further noticed that this assembly was not a representative body, like a modern legislature, but a primary assembly, that is, a meeting like a New England town meeting. It was composed of all the citizens of Rome, each being present in his own person as a member of the community and not as a delegate representing some division or some class of the state. All of the later assemblies at Rome were like this primitive assembly. The Romans never learned, or at least never employed, the principle of representation, without which device government by the people in the great states of the present day would be impossible. How important the bearing of this was upon the political fortunes of Rome we shall learn later.

11. The Patricians and the Rights of the Roman Citizen. — The heads of the ancient gentes at Rome, who constituted the senate, were called *patres*, or "fathers," whence it probably came that all the members of these groups were called *patricians*. These patricians formed the hereditary nobility of the earlier Roman state. They alone possessed the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

And here we must acquaint ourselves with what the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship included. The rights of the Roman citizen were divided, first, into private rights and public rights.

The chief private rights were two, namely, the right of trade (*jus commercii*) and the right of marriage (*jus connubii*). The

right of trade or commerce was the right to acquire, to hold, and to bequeath property (both personal and landed) according to the forms of the Roman law. This in the ancient city, where business and property both tended towards a monopoly in the hands of the citizens, was an important right and privilege.³

The right of marriage was the "right of contracting a full and religious marriage." Such a marriage could take place in early Rome only between patricians.

The three chief public or political rights of the Roman citizen were the right of voting in the public assemblies (*jus suffragii*), the right to hold office (*jus honorum*), and the right of appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people (*jus provocationis*).

These rights taken together constituted the most highly valued rights and prerogatives of the Roman citizen. What we should particularly notice is that the Romans adopted the practice of bestowing these rights in installments, so to speak. For instance, the inhabitants of one vanquished city would be given a part of the private rights of citizenship, those of another perhaps all of this class of rights, while upon the inhabitants of a third place would be bestowed all the rights, both private and public. This usage created many different classes of citizens in the Roman state; and this, as will appear later, was one of the most important matters connected with the internal history of Rome.

Now in primitive Rome the patricians alone possessed all these rights of citizenship. Some of the private rights they shared with an inferior class in the state, as will appear in the following paragraph, but the political rights they jealously guarded as the sacred patrimony of their own order.

12. The Plebeians. — When Rome first appears in history, we notice a large class in the community, known as *plebeians* (from *plebs*, the multitude), who enjoy only a part of the rights of citizenship as these have been enumerated in the preceding paragraph.⁴

³ In some modern states aliens are not allowed to acquire landed property; in Roman terms there is withheld from them a part of the *jus commercii*.

⁴ We cannot be quite certain as to the origin of this class of the population of early Rome, but the generally held view has been that it embraced (1) refugees from various quarters; (2) the inhabitants of subjugated Latin towns and other places;



The greater number of the plebeians were petty landowners, holding and tilling with their own hands farms of a few acres in extent in the near neighborhood of Rome.

From what has already been said of them, it will be seen that these plebeians possessed at least one of the most important rights of Roman citizenship, namely, the private right of engaging in trade. But from most of the other rights and privileges of the full citizen they were wholly shut out. They could not contract a legal marriage with one of the patrician order. They could not hold office nor appeal from the decision of a magistrate. A large part of the early history of Rome as a republic is made up of the struggles of these plebeians to better their economic condition and to secure for themselves social and political equality with the patricians.

Selections from the Sources. — DIONYSIUS, ii. 7-10 and 12; on the institutions of Romulus.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chap. v, "The Original Constitution of Rome." DURUY, vol. i, pp. 189-198. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, chaps. ii and iii. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bk. ii, chap. i, "Religion was the Constituent Principle of the Ancient Family"; and chap. x, "The Gens at Rome and in Greece." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chap. ii. IHNE, *Early Rome*, chaps. vii-ix. FOWLER, *The City-State*, chaps. ii and iii; deals suggestively with the genesis and nature of the city-state in Greece as well as in Italy. MOREY, *Outlines of Roman Law*, chap. i, "The Organization of Early Roman Society." ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chaps. i and ii. Teachers may consult TAYLOR, *A Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, pp. 1-25, and GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*, chaps. i-vi.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Roman family. 2. Clientage in early Rome. 3. The position of the plebeians at Rome compared with that of the commons at Athens.

(3) immigrant traders from other cities, who had taken up their permanent residence at Rome and entered into business there; and (4) freedmen and other clients. The theory of Eduard Meyer that they were tribesmen, that is, the humbler members of the original clans and tribes of Rome, has not found general acceptance among scholars.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN RELIGION

13. The Place of Religion in Roman History. — In Rome, as in the ancient cities of Greece, religion, aside from the family ancestor worship and the local cults, was an affair of the state. The magistrates of the city possessed a sort of sacerdotal or priestly character; and since almost every official act was connected in some way with the rites of the temple or the sacrifices of the altar, it happens that the political or secular history of the Romans is closely interwoven with their religion. Therefore, in order to understand the transactions of the period upon which we are about to enter, we must first acquaint ourselves with at least the prominent features of their public religious institutions.

14. The Practical and Legal Character of the Religion. — The Roman thought of the gods as watchful of the conduct of their worshipers, and as interested in their affairs. Hence the Roman was in his way very religious, and exceedingly scrupulous in rendering to the divinities the worship due them. He did not, however, serve his gods for naught; he expected from them a full equivalent for the sacrificial victims that he offered them, for the incense that he burned upon their altars, for the gifts he hung up in their temples, and for the costly games and spectacles he provided for their entertainment in the circus and the amphitheater.

And the gods, on their part, were ready to meet this expectation. They gave counsel and help to their faithful followers, and secured them good harvests and a successful issue of their undertakings. On the other hand, neglect angered the gods and caused them to bring upon their unfaithful worshipers all kinds of troubles and calamities, — dissensions within the state, defeat of their armies in the field, drought, fire and flood, pestilence and famine. But their anger could be turned aside or appeased by expiatory

sacrifices and offerings. "When the gods of the community were angry and nobody could be laid hold of as definitely guilty, they might be appeased by one who voluntarily gave himself up; noxious chasms in the ground were closed,¹ and battles half lost were converted into victories when a brave burgess threw himself as an expiatory offering into the abyss or upon the foe" (MommSEN).

Another noteworthy feature of the Roman religion was its legal character; for the Roman religion was a sort of contract between the gods and their worshipers. If the worshipers performed their part of this contract, then the gods were bound to fulfill theirs.

But the Roman was ever ready to take advantage of a flaw in a contract and to overreach in a bargain, and making his gods like unto himself, he imagined that they would act in a like manner. Hence the anxious care with which he performed all the prescribed religious rites, in order to insure that there should be no flaw in the proceedings which might be taken advantage of by the gods.

15. The Chief Roman Deities. — At the head of the Roman pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the forum and the city.

Mars, the god of war, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "Children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his honor

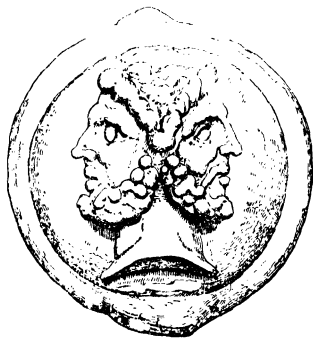


FIG. 2. — HEAD OF JANUS
(From a Roman coin)

¹ The reference is to the legend of Marcus Curtius. In the year 359 B.C., a great chasm having opened in the forum, this heroic youth, mounting his horse, plunged into the gulf, and through such self-sacrifice appeased the gods and closed the crevice. See Livy, vii. 6.

during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March.

Janus was a double-faced deity to whom the month of January was sacred, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state.

16. Oracles and Divination. — The Romans, like the Greeks, thought that the will of the gods was communicated to men by means of oracles, and by strange sights, unusual events, or singular coincidences. There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans,



FIG. 3. — DIVINING BY MEANS OF THE APPEAR-
ANCE OF THE ENTRAILS OF A SACRIFICIAL
VICTIM

This was with the Romans a usual way of
foretelling future events

therefore, often had recourse to those among the Greeks. Particularly in great emergencies did they seek advice from the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi. From Etruria was introduced the art of the *haruspices*, or soothsayers, which consisted in discov-

ering the will of the gods by the appearance of the entrails of victims slain for the sacrifices.

17. The Sacred Colleges. — The four chief sacred colleges or societies were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Herald.

The Sibylline Books were volumes written in Greek, the origin of which was lost in fable. They were kept in a stone chest in a

vault beneath the Capitoline temple, and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger (sec. 67).

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices, — which were casual sights or appearances, particularly the flight of birds, — by which means it was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the “taking of the auspices,” as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without the auspices being first consulted to ascertain whether they were favorable.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair a certain bridge (*pons*) over the Tiber. This guild was the most important of all the religious institutions of the Romans; for to the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. The head of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*, or “Chief Bridge Builder,” which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome; and thus the name has come down to our times.

The College of Herald (*Fetiales*) had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. Thus, if the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, and war was determined upon, then it was the duty of a herald to proceed to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurl over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war. The Romans were very careful in the observance of this ceremony.

18. Sacred Games and Festivals. — The Romans had many religious games and festivals. Prominent among these were the so-called Circensian Games, or Games of the Circus, which were very similar to the sacred games of the Greeks. They consisted, in the main, of chariot racing, wrestling, foot racing, and various other athletic contests.

These festivals, as in the case of those of the Greeks, had their origin in the belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be

appeased by such spectacles ; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies.²

Towards the close of the republic these games lost much of their religious character, and at last became degraded into mere brutal shows given by ambitious leaders for the purpose of winning popularity (sec. 213).

The *Saturnalia* were a festival held in December in honor of Saturn, the god of sowing. It was an occasion on which all classes, including the slaves, who were allowed their freedom during the celebration, gave themselves up to riotous amusements ; hence the significance we attach to the word *saturnalian*. The well-known Roman carnival of to-day is a survival of the ancient Saturnalia.

Selections from the Sources. — LIVY, i. 20, Numa institutes Religion ; and vii. 6, Legend of Marcus Curtius. CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 2.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chap. xii. ILLIE, *Early Rome*, chap. vi, "Religious Institutions in the Time of the Kings." INGE, *Society in Rome under the Caesars*, chap. i. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bk. i, chaps. i-iv, "Ancient Beliefs." DURUY, vol. i, chap. iii. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, pp. 288-293.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Character of the Roman religion. 2. The worship of Vesta. 3. The Sibylline Books. 4. The College of Augurs. 5. Contrast between the Greek and the Roman gods. 6. The worship of ancestors.

² "The games were an entertainment offered to the guests [the gods, who were "the guests of honor"], which were as certainly believed to be gratifying to their sight as a review of troops or a deer hunt to a modern European sovereign." — WHEELER, *Dionysos and Immortality*, p. 11.

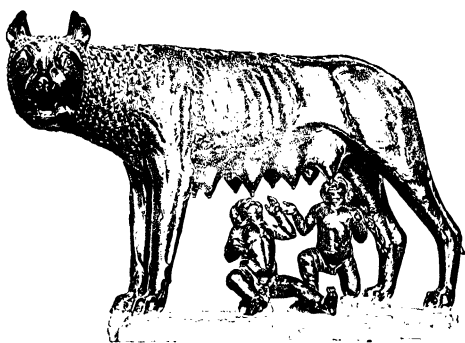


FIG. 4.—THE BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

CHAPTER IV

ROME UNDER THE KINGS

19. Latium before Rome; the Latin League.—In very early times Latium, the “flat country,” as the name probably signifies, lying south of the lower course of the Tiber, was dotted with settlements of the Latin people. These settlements were merely groups of clans, or village communities, to which has been given the name of cantons. The villages constituting any given canton were generally, it would seem, scattered over the little cantonal territory, in order that the villagers, who were petty farmers and shepherds, might be near the land they cultivated or the common pastures out upon which they drove their sheep and cattle; but sometimes the villages appear to have been huddled together on some eligible spot, such as a low hill might afford.

Each canton had a central stronghold, which served as a refuge for the villagers in times of danger, and as a common meeting place for their markets and religious festivals. The site chosen for this canton center was, whenever practicable, some easily defended rock or hill, of which the situation of Tibur, built on a spur of the Apennines, and that of Alba Longa, on the isolated Alban Mount, are good illustrations.

According to tradition there were in all Latium in prehistoric times thirty of these clan clusters, or petty city-states. Before the dawn of history these cantons had formed an alliance among themselves known as the Latin League. The leadership in this confederacy was held at first by Alba Longa.

20. The Beginnings of Rome. — It was in the midst of such an environment as that which we have described in the preceding paragraph that Rome arose and grew into greatness.

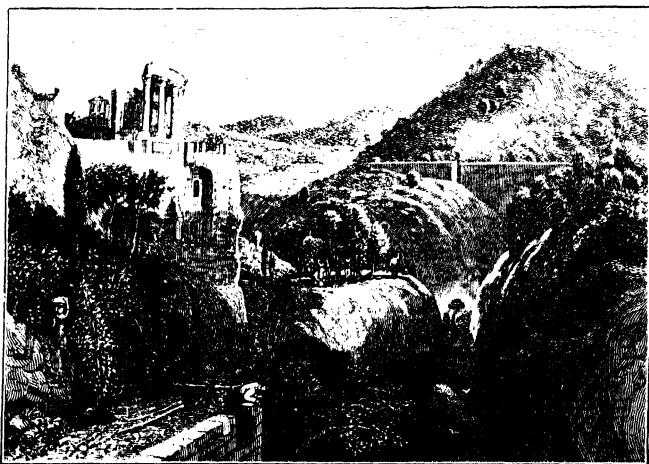


FIG. 5. — THE SITE OF TIBUR, THE MODERN TIVOLI
(After an old engraving)

To the left, the ruins of an ancient temple of Vesta

Among the cantons of early Latium was one formed by the Ramnes, — whence possibly the name Romans, — a community of the Latin stock. This canton embraced three clans or villages, the dwellings of which were upon the slopes or at the foot of the Palatine Mount, one of a cluster of low hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. On the summit of the hill was the citadel or stronghold of the settlement. Modern excavations have revealed portions of the foundations of the ancient walls, together with remains of two of the gates.

This little fortress town we may regard as the nucleus around which grew up the Rome of history. It was intended doubtless to serve as an outpost to protect the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans, — the most powerful and aggressive neighbors of the Latin people, — and thus its inhabitants early became inured to military discipline and learned those military virtues which made them preëminent among their neighbors in the art of war even in a warlike age.

21. How Greater Rome was formed. — In the neighborhood of the little Palatine settlement were two other canton communities, one of which seems to have been of Sabine origin. In times before history there took place between these three cantons something which, so far as our knowledge goes, never occurred in the case of any others of the clan clusters of Latium. After much hard fighting between the rival communities, — for in this way we may summarize the legend of these prehistoric times, — they accommodated their differences, united on equal terms to form a single nation, and learned to call themselves by the same name. The Capitoline hill was chosen for the location of the stronghold of the new and enlarged city.¹

Each of the old cantons constituted a tribe (*tribus*) or division of the new state. Each tribe was composed of ten curiæ. There were thus in the new city three tribes, known as the *Ramnes*, the *Titias*, and the *Luceres*, thirty curiæ, and, if we are to follow the numbers given by tradition, three hundred gentes or clans.

22. Importance of this Prehistoric Union. — This confederation of the three little communities by the Tiber, by whatsoever means effected, was one of the most important matters not only in the history of Rome but in the history of civilization. It laid the basis of the greatness of Rome and foreshadowed her marvelous political fortunes.

The ancient city, as we have learned, was a very exclusive association. On religious and other grounds it closed its gates against strangers. The rights and privileges of the citizens were not shared with aliens. The vanquished were made subjects or

¹ This is like what took place at Athens in prehistoric times.

tributaries. But here we see Rome at the very outset of her career adopting a more liberal policy than that adopted by any other ancient city-state, save possibly early Athens, whose history is known to us. And for seven hundred years and more the Romans followed, more or less steadily and consistently, this good precedent set them in prehistoric times, and bestowed the freedom of their city, — that is, the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship, — upon the peoples they successively conquered, until at last the roll of Roman citizens had increased from a few thousand to several million names.² The way in which they did this, the reluctance at times with which they granted the boon to the van-

quished, — this makes up a very large part of the internal history of Rome, and constitutes also a chief element of its interest and instructiveness.³

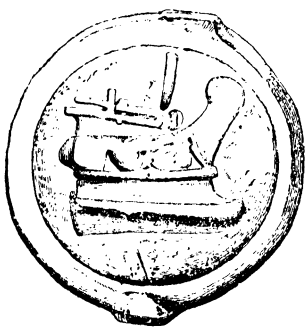


FIG. 6. — AN ANCIENT ROMAN COIN BEARING THE PROW OF A SHIP

From the use of this symbol on the city's money we may assume that commerce held an important place in the life of early Rome

23. Influence of Commerce upon the Growth of Early Rome. — Besides the early happy union of the three communities, various secondary causes contributed without doubt to the early and rapid growth of Rome. Among these a prominent place must be given to the advantages in the way of trade and commerce afforded by its fortunate situation upon the Tiber. Its distance from the sea protected it

against the depredations of the pirates who in early times swarmed in the Mediterranean and swept away the cattle and the crops from the fields of the coast settlements, while its location on the chief stream of Central Italy naturally made it the center of the lucrative trade of a wide reach of inland territory bordering upon the Tiber and its tributaries. The early founding by the city of the seaport

² See the table of the census lists on page 144.

³ Consult particularly secs. 49, 101, 102, 143, and 158.

of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, and the adoption for its early coinage of the device of a ship's prow (Fig. 6), are cited as evidences of the important place that commerce held in the early life of the Romans.

24. The Legendary Kings. — For nearly two and a half centuries after the legendary founding of Rome (from 753 to 509 B.C.) the government was a monarchy. To span this period the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings, — Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, both conquerors; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them blend hopelessly fact and fable. We cannot be quite sure even as to their names. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three rulers (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, the substantial truth of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following paragraphs.

25. Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. — The Tarquins extended their authority over the whole of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was attended by the rapid growth of the city in population and importance. The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built — tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius — which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of seven hills on the south bank of the Tiber, whence the name that Rome acquired of “the City of the Seven Hills.”

A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the *Cloaca Maxima*, an arched canal, which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber.⁴ The land thus reclaimed became

⁴ “It is a work to be classed among the great triumphs of engineering.” — LANCIANI.

the *Forum*, the public market place of the early city. At one end of this public square, as we should call it, was the *Comitium*, an inclosure where assemblies for voting purposes were held. Standing on the dividing line between the comitium and the forum proper was the stand, later named the *Rostra*,⁵ from which the public speakers delivered their addresses.

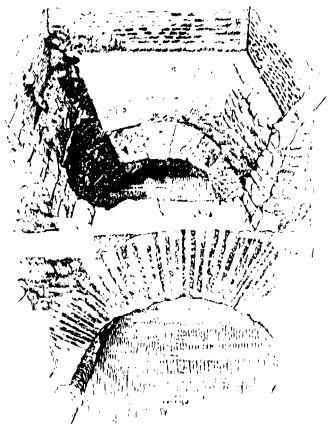


FIG. 7.—THE CLOACA MAXIMA

This assembling place, which after the creation of other forums came to be known as the *Forum Romanum magnum*, in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. It was the center of the political, the religious, and the business life of Rome. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

Upon the level ground between the Aventine and the Palatine was located the *Circus Maximus*, the "Great Circle," where were celebrated the Roman games. The most noted of the streets of Rome was the *Via Sacra*, or "Sacred Way," which traversed the forum and led up the Capitoline hill to the temple of Jupiter. This was the street along which passed the triumphal processions of the Roman conquerors.

26. The Reforms of Servius Tullius: the Five Classes and the Four New Tribes.—It was the second king of the Etruscan house, Servius Tullius by name, to whom tradition attributes a most important change in the constitution of the Roman state.⁶ He made

⁵ So called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war galleys taken from enemies (sec. 49).

⁶ The reform itself is an historical fact, but it is possible that it was not effected by the efforts of any particular king. It may have been the result of a long period of slow constitutional development.

property and residence instead of birth, or membership in the patrician clans (sec. 11), the basis of the duties and consequently of the privileges of citizenship.

Up to this time service in the army had been the duty and the privilege of the patricians, each of the three tribes furnishing to the army one thousand foot soldiers and one hundred horsemen. But the growing state had come to need a larger military force than the patrician order alone could maintain. Servius Tullius

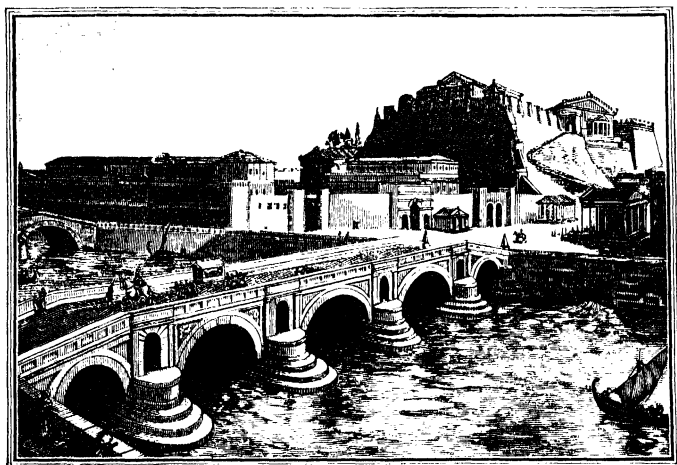


FIG. 8. — VIEW OF THE CAPITOLINE, WITH THE CLOACA MAXIMA
(A reconstruction)

increased the army by requiring all landowners, whether patricians or plebeians, between seventeen and sixty years of age, to assume a place in the ranks. The whole body of persons thus made liable to military service was divided into five classes according to the amount of land each possessed. The largest landowners were enrolled in the first three classes, and were required to provide themselves with complete armor; the smaller proprietors, who made up the remaining two classes, were called upon to furnish themselves with only a light equipment.

At the same time in place of the three old patrician tribes there were now created four new ones, each made up of the landowners residing in a given district. Though these new divisions of the population were called tribes, still they were very different in character from the earlier divisions bearing this name. Membership in one of the old tribes was determined by birth or relationship, while membership in one of the new tribes was determined by place of residence.⁷



FIG. 9.—ROMAN
SOLDIER

The formation of these new tribes was a matter of very great importance for the internal history of Rome. Such a grouping of the patrician and the plebeian landowners tended of course to break down the wall of separation between the two orders and to unite them in a single body.

27. The Army; the Legion. — The unit of the military organization was the century, probably containing at this time, as the name (*centuria*) indicates, one hundred men.⁸ Forty-two centuries were united to form the legion, which thus at this period probably numbered 4200 men, its normal strength. The tactical formation of the legion was the old Grecian phalanx, which seems to have been borrowed from the Dorian cities of Magna

Græcia. This legion phalanx had probably a front of five hundred men and a depth of six ranks. The heavy-equipped citizens made up the front, the light-equipped the rear, ranks.

There were at the period of the Servian reforms four legions. Two, composed of the younger men, were for service in the field; the remaining two, made up of the older citizens, formed a sort

⁷ Thus these new tribes were like our wards or townships. As new territory was acquired by the Romans through conquest, new tribes were created, until there were finally thirty-five, which number was never exceeded.

⁸ Later the number of the body was increased so that the term "century" lost all numerical significance.

of home guard. Besides the four legions there was a cavalry force of eighteen hundred men, made up of the richest landowners. This brought the total strength of the army up to about twenty thousand men.

28. The Comitia Centuriata. — The assembling place of those liable to military service, thus organized into centuries and classes, was on a large plain just outside the city walls, called the *Campus Martius*, or "Field of Mars." The meeting of these military orders was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds." This body, which of course was made up both of patricians and plebeians as active members, came in the course of time to absorb the most of the powers of the earlier assembly (*comitia curiata*).

29. Importance of the Servian Reforms. — The reforms of Servius Tullius were an important step towards the establishment of social and political equality between the two great orders of the state, — the patricians and the plebeians. The new constitution, indeed, as Mommsen says, assigned to the plebeians duties only, and not rights; but being called upon to discharge the most important duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded all the rights of citizens; and as the bearers of arms they were able to enforce their demands.⁹

30. The Expulsion of the Kings. — The legends, as already noted, make Tarquinius Superbus the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to the Roman annalists, occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens.¹⁰

So bitterly did the people hate the tyranny they had abolished that they all, it is said, the nobles as well as the commons, bound

⁹ This reform movement at Rome was part of a revolution which seems to have been participated in by all the peoples of Greece and Italy who had reached the city stage of development. Thus, at just about the time that tradition represents Servius Tullius as effecting his reform at Rome, Cleisthenes, the Athenian legislator, was instituting a similar reform in the constitution of Athens.

¹⁰ See *Eastern Nations and Greece*, sec. 187.

themselves by most solemn oaths never again to tolerate a king, enacting that should any one so much as express a wish for the restoration of the monarchy he should be considered a public enemy and be put to death.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Romulus* and *Life of Numa*. In the case of these particular lives the student will of course bear in mind that he is reading Roman folklore; but it is worth while for the student of Roman history to know what the Romans of later times themselves believed respecting their early kings. LIVY, i and ii; a choice may be made among the early legends.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chaps. vi and vii. IHNE, vol. i, bk. i, chap. xiii; and the same author's *Early Rome*, chaps. i-v and vii-ix. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. i and iv. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chap. iii. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, pp. 20-52. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chap. v. LEWIS, *The Credibility of Early Roman History*; for advanced students.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Legends of the kings. 2. The Roman Forum. 3. Early architectural works. 4. The beginnings of Rome in the light of recent excavations. See *Lanciani*. 5. The credibility and value of the legends. See *Livy*, vi. 1, *Ihne*, *Mommsen*, and *Lewis*.

SECOND PERIOD — ROME AS A REPUBLIC

(509-31 B.C.)

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY REPUBLIC; PLEBEIANS BECOME CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS

(509-367 B.C.)

31. Republican Magistrates: the Consuls and the Dictator. — With the monarchy overthrown and the last king and his house banished from Rome, the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king there were elected (509 B.C.) by the *comitia centuriata*, in which assembly the plebeians had a vote, two patrician magistrates, called at first *praetors* or “leaders,” but later, *consuls* or “colleagues.” These magistrates were chosen for one year, and were invested with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been exercised by the king during the regal period.¹ In public each consul was attended, as the king had been, by twelve lictors, each bearing the “dread fasces” (sec. 8).

Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. This was called the “right of intercession.” This division of authority weakened the executive, so

¹ This authority of the consuls was, however, straightway restricted in a most important respect. The consul Publius Valerius secured the passage of a law concerning appeals known as the Valerian Law, which forbade any magistrate, save a dictator, to put any Roman citizen to death without the concurrence on appeal of the people in the centuriate assembly. This law, however, did not bind the consuls when they were at the head of the army outside the city. From this time on, the consular lictors, when accompanying the consuls within the city, removed the ax from the fasces as a symbol that the power to execute there the death sentence upon any citizen had been taken away.

that in times of great public danger it was necessary to supersede the consuls by the appointment of a special officer bearing the title of *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the king had been.



FIG. 10. — LICTORS WITH FASCES

The symbolic fasces borne by these officers were probably of Etruscan origin. The Tarquins are said to have brought them to Rome along with other insignia of the kingly office

The dictator was nominated by one of the consuls acting under an order of the senate which must be obeyed. He was preceded by twenty-four lictors. The dictator always named as his lieutenant and representative a magistrate known as "master of the horse" (*magister equitum*).

A consul could not be impeached, or reached by any legal or constitutional process, while in office; but after the expiration of his term he could be prosecuted for any misconduct or illegal act of which he might have been guilty while holding his magistracy. This rule was applied to all the other magistrates of the republic.

Lucius Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls under the new constitution. But it is said that the very name of Tarquinius was so intolerable to the people that he was forced to resign the consulship, and that he and all his house were driven out of Rome. Another consul, Publius Valerius, was chosen in his stead.

32. First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.).—Taking advantage of the disorders which followed the expulsion of the Tarquins and their efforts to reëstablish themselves in Rome, the Latin towns, which during the regal period had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, rose in revolt, with the result that almost all the conquests that had been made under the kings were lost.

Troubles without brought troubles within. The poor plebeians, during this period of disorder and war, fell in debt to the wealthy class, and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.

The situation was intolerable. The plebeians resolved to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, known afterwards as the Sacred Mount. Having on one occasion been called to arms to repel an invasion, they refused to march out against the enemy, but instead marched away in a body from Rome to the spot selected beforehand, and began to make preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

33. The Covenant and the Tribunes.—The patricians well knew that such a division would prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. The consul Valerius was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obdurate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, who made use of the well-known fable of the body and the members.

The following covenant was entered into and bound by the most solemn oaths: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be canceled and debtors held in slavery set free; and two plebeian magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called *tribunes*, whose duty it should be to watch over the plebeians and protect them against the injustice and partiality of the patrician magistrates, were to be chosen in an assembly of the plebeians.²

² This assembly, the origin of which is obscure, was soon reorganized by the celebrated Publilian Law (471 B.C.) and became known as the *concilium tributum plebis*, the plebeian assembly of tribes (compare sec. 39).

That the tribunes might be the protectors of the plebeians in something more than name, they were invested with an extraordinary power known as the *jus auxilii*, "the right of aid"; that is, they were given the right, should any patrician magistrate attempt to deal wrongfully with a plebeian, to annul his act or stop his proceeding.³

The persons of the tribunes were made sacrosanct, that is, inviolable, like the persons of heralds or ambassadors of a foreign state. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

The tribunes were attended and aided by officers called *aediles*, who were elected from the plebeian order, and, like the tribunes, invested with a sacrosanct character. Among their duties was the care of the streets and markets and of the public archives.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this establishment of the plebeian tribunate. It in effect created a state within the state, for the plebeians, organized as they now were with their own assembly presided over by officers whose inviolability had been recognized by a solemn compact, stood over against the patricians almost as one nation stands to another.

34. The Public Lands. — As we have already learned, there was even at this early period in the history of Rome a large number of persons in the state included in the class of the wretchedly poor. A chief cause of this condition of things was the unfair management of the public land (*ager publicus*). As the contention over this land was almost constant throughout the period of the republic, we must endeavor here, at the outset of our study, to understand the matter.

³ A tribune, however, had no authority over a consul when he was at the head of the army away from Rome, but under all other circumstances he could for disobedience even arrest and imprison him.

According to the rules of war in antiquity, the property, the liberty, and even the lives of the vanquished were at the free disposal of the conqueror. But the Romans, actuated probably by considerations of policy rather than by motives of humanity, did not usually exercise all these harsh rights of the victor. They generally left the conquered peoples not only life and liberty but also a large part of their lands. The remainder, amounting to a third or more, they confiscated, and added to the public lands of the Roman state.

A part of the lands thus acquired was sold or rented, or was cut up into homesteads for discharged veterans and poor citizens. But these several methods of disposing of the public lands left still remaining in the hands of the state large unsurveyed tracts, usually the more remote and wilder portions of the confiscated territories. Now respecting these, custom or the law permitted persons to enter upon and cultivate them, or to turn their flocks and cattle out upon them. In return for such use of the public land the occupier paid the state usually a fifth or a tenth of the yearly produce. Persons who availed themselves of this privilege were called possessors or occupiers; we should call them "squatters," or "tenants at will."

Now what created the earliest agrarian troubles at Rome was this: The patricians claimed for themselves the exclusive right to occupy the unsold or unleased public lands. Through this monopoly many of them acquired great riches. The plebeians naturally complained because of their exclusion from these common lands, since it was their sacrifices and their blood that had helped to win them.

What gave the plebeians further ground for complaint was the notorious fact that the patrician *quæstors*, officers whose business it was to collect the rents due the state from the occupiers of the public lands, favoring their own order, were very slack in making these collections. Moreover, these occupiers of the common lands were coming to employ slaves instead of freemen, for the reason that the work of the slave was not liable to be interrupted by his being called upon for military service.

What has now been said will enable the reader to understand the quarrels between the patricians and the plebeians, the rich and the poor, which from the fifth century forward were almost constantly agitating the Roman state. The land question was the eternal question at Rome.

35. Spurius Cassius and his Agrarian Proposals (486 B.C.).

—Spurius Cassius has been called the first of the “social reformers” of Rome. This patrician, with a view to relieving the distress of the poor plebeians, brought forward as consul the following proposals: (1) That the lands recently acquired in war, instead of being sold or leased, be allotted in small holdings to needy Romans and to the Latins; (2) that the amount of land for such distribution be increased by taking away from the rich patricians those public lands which they were occupying as tenants at will.⁴

The fate of the proposals is uncertain. If they were made a law, the law was never carried into effect. The act, however, served as the inspiration and the model of later agrarian measures, and for this reason it constitutes a great landmark in the history of the land problem at Rome.

Spurius Cassius suffered the fate of many of the other social reformers who arose after him at Rome. Upon the expiration of his term as consul he was brought to trial by his patrician enemies on the charge of endeavoring to make himself king through purchasing with donations of land the favor of the people. He was declared guilty and was put to death.

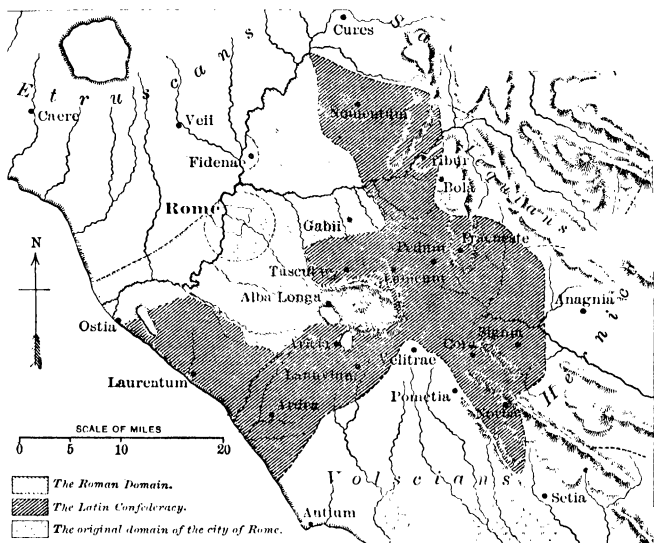
36. Border Wars and Border Tales; Coriolanus and Cincinnatus.

—The chief enemies of early Rome and her Latin allies were the Volscians, the Æquians, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. For more than a hundred years after the founding of the republic, Rome, either alone or in connection with her confederates, was almost constantly fighting one or another or all of these peoples. But these operations cannot be regarded as real wars. They were, on the side of both parties, for the most part mere plundering forays or cattle-raiding expeditions into the enemy's territories.

⁴ This is what Livy (ii. 41) gives us as the substance of the proposals.

We shall probably not get a wrong idea of their real character if we liken them to the early so-called border wars between England and Scotland. Like the Scottish wars, they were embellished by the Roman story-tellers with the most extravagant and picturesque tales. Two of the best known of these are those of Coriolanus and Cincinnatus.

According to the tradition, during the prevalence of a severe famine at Rome, Gelo, king of Syracuse, sent a large quantity of



THE ROMAN DOMAIN AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY IN THE
TIME OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, ABOUT 450 B.C.

grain to the capital for distribution among the suffering poor. A certain patrician, Coriolanus by name, made a proposal that none of the grain should be given to the plebeians save on condition that they gave up their tribunes. These officials straightway summoned him before the plebeian assembly on the charge of having broken the solemn covenant of the Sacred Mount, and so bitter was the feeling against him that he was obliged to flee from Rome.

He now allied himself with the Volscians, enemies of Rome, and even led their armies against his native city. Embassies from the senate were sent to him to sue for peace. But the spirit of Coriolanus was bitter and resentful, and he would listen to none *of their proposals*. Then came to him at last his mother and his wife with her two sons and a band of Roman matrons. The mother's entreaties and the tears and prayers of the wife and children finally prevailed. Embracing his mother, Coriolanus exclaimed, "Mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son." He then withdrew his army from Roman soil.

The second and best-known tale, that of Cincinnatus, tells how, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, the Æquians defeated the forces of the other and shut them up in a narrow valley whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city. The senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator. The commissioners who carried to him the message from the senate found him upon his little farm across the Tiber, at work plowing. Cincinnatus at once accepted the office, gathered the Roman army, surrounded and captured the enemy, and sent them all beneath the yoke.⁵ He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, having held it only sixteen days, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

37. The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of Laws (451-450 B.C.). — While these petty border wars were furnishing the material for these tales of adventure and heroism, the contest between the patricians and plebeians was going on unceasingly in the very heart of the community itself. One phase of this struggle constitutes a great landmark in the history of the Roman people. This was the revision and reduction to writing of the customs and laws of the state.

Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty

⁵ This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third spear. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk — unless they go altogether too far — of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what either the law or the penalty really is. Hence, in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of a ruling class, the demand for written laws is one of the first measures taken by them for the protection of their persons and property. Thus the commons at Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanded and obtained a code of written laws. The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that the laws be written down and published. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission, so tradition says, was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study their laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, who were known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a code of laws (451 B.C.). These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their consuls, and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year the task of the board was quite far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board that was returned to the new. The code was soon finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the rostra, or orator's platform in the forum, where they might be seen and read by all.

Only a few fragments of these celebrated laws have been preserved, but the substance of a considerable part of the code is known to us through the indirect quotations from it or allusions to it occurring in the works of later writers and jurists. The following quotations will convey some idea of the general character of this primitive legislation.

The provisions regarding the treatment of debtors are noteworthy. The law provided that, after the lapse of a certain

number of days of grace, the creditor of a delinquent debtor might either put him in the stocks or in chains, sell him to any stranger resident beyond the Tiber, or put him to death. In case of there being several creditors the law provided as follows: "After the third market day his [the debtor's] body may be divided. Any one taking more than his just share shall be held guiltless."⁶ We are informed by later Roman writers that this savage provision of the law was, as a matter of fact, never carried into effect.

A special provision touching the power of the father over his sons provided that "during their whole life he shall have the right to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell or to slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices."⁷

The prevalence of popular superstitions is revealed by one of the laws which provides for the punishment of any one who by enchantments should blight the crops of another.

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth, — every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

38. Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs; Second Secession of the Plebeians (450 B.C.). — The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. No man's life was safe, be he patrician or plebeian. An ex-tribune, daring to denounce the course of the decemvirs, was caused by them to be assassinated.

Another act, even more outrageous than this, filled to the brim the cup of their iniquities. Virginia was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian. Appius Claudius, desiring to gain possession of her, made use of his authority as a judge to pronounce her a

⁶ Here the actual text has been preserved to us, and reads as follows: *Tertiis nundinis partis secanto: si plus minusve secuerint, ne fraude esto* (Ortolan's *History of the Roman Law*, trans. by Prichard and Nasmith, p. 106).

⁷ See sec. 4.

slave. The father of the maiden, preferring the death of his daughter to her dishonor, killed her with his own hand. Then, drawing the weapon from her breast, he hastened to the army, which was away from Rome resisting a united invasion of the Sabines and Æquians, and, exhibiting the bloody knife, told the story of the outrage.⁸

The soldiers rose as a single man and hurried to the city. The excitement resulted in a great body of the Romans, probably chiefly plebeians, seceding from the state and marching away to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored.

39. The Valerio-Horatian Laws ; “ the Roman Magna Charta ” (449 B.C.). — The consuls chosen were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who secured the passage of certain laws, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws, which are of such constitutional importance that they have been called “ the Magna Charta of Rome.” Like the great English charter, their purpose was not so much the creation of new safeguards of liberty as the reaffirming and strengthening of the old securities of the rights and privileges of the humbler citizens of Rome. Among the provisions of the laws the following were the most important.

1. That the resolutions (*plebiscita*) passed by the plebeian assembly of tribes should in the future have the force of laws and should bind the whole people the same as the resolutions of the *comitia centuriata*. Hitherto these resolutions had possessed no force save as expressions of opinion, like the resolutions of a mass meeting among ourselves.

2. That the tribunes be permitted to sit as listeners before the door of the senate house. This was an important concession, on account of what it led to ; for very soon the tribunes secured the right, first to sit within the senate hall itself, and then to put a stop to any proceeding of the senate by the use of the veto.

⁸ Livy, iii. 44-50. This tale is possibly mythical, but it at least gives a vivid, and doubtless truthful, picture of the times.

We may summarize the effect of these laws by saying that they made the tribunes and the other plebeian magistrates, as well as the plebeian assembly, a recognized part of the constitutional arrangements of the Roman commonwealth. They mark a long step taken towards the equalization of the two orders within the state.

40. Marriages between Patricians and Plebeians made Legal (445 B.C.). — Up to this time the plebeians had not been allowed to contract legal marriages with the patricians. But only three or four years after the passing of the Valerio-Horatian Laws, the tribune Gaius Canuleius carried in the *comitia tributa* a resolution known as the Canuleian Law, whereby marriages between the plebeians and the patricians were legalized.

This law established social equality between the two orders. The plebeians were now in a more advantageous position for continuing their struggle for additional civil rights and for perfect political equality with the patricians.

41. Military Tribunes with Consular Power (444 B.C.). — This same tribune Canuleius also brought forward another proposal, which provided that plebeians might be chosen as consuls. This suggestion led to a violent contention between the two orders. The issue of the matter was a compromise.

It was agreed that, in place of the two patrician consuls, the people might elect from either order magistrates that should be known as "military tribunes with consular powers." These officers, whose number varied, differed from consuls more in name than in functions or in authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the consular office but not the consular name.

The patricians were especially unwilling that any plebeian should bear the title of consul, for the reason that an ex-consul enjoyed certain dignities and honors, such as the right to wear a particular kind of dress and to set up in his house images of his ancestors (*jus imaginum*). These honorary distinctions the higher order wished to retain exclusively for themselves. Owing to the great influence of the patricians in the elections, it was not until about 400 B.C. that a plebeian was chosen to the new office.

42. The Censors (443 B.C.). — No sooner had the plebeians secured the right of admission to the military tribunate with consular powers, than the jealous and exclusive patricians began scheming to rob them of the fruit of the victory they had gained. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called *censors*.

The functions of these magistrates, which were gradually extended as time passed, were many and important. They took the census of the citizens and their property, and thus assigned to every man his position in the different classes. They could, for immorality or any improper conduct, degrade a knight from his rank, expel a member from the senate, or deprive any citizen of his vote by striking his name from the roll of the tribes. It was their duty to rebuke ostentation and extravagance in living, and in particular to watch over the morals of the young. From the name of these Roman officers comes our word *ensorious*, meaning fault-finding.

43. Siege and Capture of Veii (405–396 B.C.); the Romanization of Southern Etruria. — We must now turn our attention once more to the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. The war finally gathered around Veii, the largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. According to the tradition, the Romans, like the Greeks at Troy, laid siege to this city for ten years. The place was at length taken. It was the most opulent city that the Romans had captured up to this time, and the spoils, which were divided among the soldiers, were immense.

The siege of Veii forms a sort of landmark in the military history of Rome, for the reason that the circumstances of the investment led to some important innovations in the military system of the Romans. Thus the length of the siege and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, winter and summer alike, led to the introduction of pay into the army; for hitherto the common soldier had not only equipped himself but had served

without pay. From this time forward the professional soldier came more and more to take the place of the citizen soldier.

The capture of Veii was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns, and all the southern portion of Etruria, divided into four tribes, was added to the Roman domain. By this act of incorporation all the Etruscan freemen living in these regions and possessing the legal property qualification were made citizens of Rome, and were invested with that measure of the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship that up to this time had been secured by the plebeians.

Into this rich and inviting region thus opened up to Roman enterprise, Roman immigrants now crowded in great numbers, and soon all this part of Etruria became Roman in manners, in customs, and in speech. The Romanization of Italy was now fairly begun.

At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

44. Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).—We have noticed how, in early times, Celtic tribes from Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. While the Romans were conquering the towns of Etruria these barbarian hordes were moving southward and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

They soon appeared in the neighborhood of Rome. A Roman army met them on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the capital. But an unaccountable panic seized the Romans and they abandoned the field in disgraceful flight. The greater part of the fugitives hastened across the Tiber and sought safety behind the walls of Veii, which were still standing.

Consternation filled the capital when news of the terrible disaster reached the city. The vestal virgins, hastily burying such of the sacred things as they could not carry away, fled with the remainder into Etruria, and found a kind reception at the hands of the people of Caere. A large part of the population of Rome followed them across the river and threw themselves into such places of safety as they could find. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Marcus Manlius, for seven months resisted all efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. A tradition tells how, when the barbarians, under cover of the darkness of night, had climbed the steep rock and had almost effected an entrance to the citadel, the defenders were awakened by the cackling of some geese, which the piety of the famishing soldiers had spared because these birds were sacred to Juno.

News was now brought the Gauls that the Venetians were over-running their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the forum the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Vae victis!*" "Woe to the vanquished!" Just at this moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general who had been appointed dictator, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives. As he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold." According to one account Brennus himself was taken prisoner; but another tradition says that he escaped, carrying with him the ransom money.

The city was quickly rebuilt. There were some things, however, which could not be restored. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity and uncertainty.

45. Social Reform again; Condemnation of Marcus Manlius (384 B.C.).—The ravages of the Gauls had left the poor plebeians in a most pitiable condition. In order to rebuild their dwellings and restock their farms, they had been obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians, and consequently had soon come again to experience the insult and oppression that were ever incident to the condition of the debtor class at Rome.

The patrician Marcus Manlius, the hero of the brave defense of the Capitol, now came forward as the champion of the plebeians.

It was believed that in thus undertaking the cause of the commons he had personal aims and ambitions. The patricians determined to crush him. He was finally brought to trial, sentenced to death, and thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.⁹ This event occurred 384 B.C. We may regard Marcus Manlius as the second of the martyrs at Rome in the cause of social reform (sec. 35).

46. The Licinian Laws (367 B.C.); the Final "Equalization of the Orders." — A great amelioration in the social condition of the plebeians and a great advance towards their political equality with the patricians were effected through the passage of the Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune Gaius Licinius. Among other provisions these laws contained the following: (1) that the plebeians should enjoy with the patricians the right to occupy the public lands, but that no person should hold more than five hundred jugera;¹⁰ (2) that the office of military tribune with consular power (sec. 41) should be abolished, that two consuls should be chosen yearly as at first, and that one of these should be a plebeian; (3) that in place of the two keepers of the Sibylline Books (sec. 17) there should in the future be ten, and that five of these should be plebeians.

The importance of these proposals is obvious without comment. For ten years the patricians resisted the demands of the commons. But the plebeians each year reelected the same tribunes and under their leadership carried on the struggle. Finally, when the patricians saw that it would be impossible longer to resist the popular demand they had recourse to the old device. They lessened the powers of the consulship by taking away from the consuls their judicial functions and devolving them upon a new patrician magistrate bearing the name of *praetor*. The pretext for this was that the plebeians had no knowledge of the sacred formulas of the law. The senate then approved the rogations¹¹ and they became laws (367 B.C.).

⁹ The Tarpeian Rock was the name given to the cliff which the Capitoline hill formed on one of its sides. It received its name from Tarpeia, a daughter of one of the legendary keepers of the citadel. State criminals were frequently executed by being thrown from this rock.

¹⁰ A jugerum was about half an acre.

¹¹ Proposed laws, before being passed, were so called from *rogare*, "to ask."

The equalization of the two orders was now practically effected. The son of a peasant might rise to the highest office in the state. The plebeians gained with comparative ease admission to the remaining offices from which the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them.¹²

The incorporation of the plebeians with the body of Roman citizens with full rights was, like the earlier union of the primitive clans of the little hill cantons (sec. 21), a matter of immense import for the future of Rome. The strength of the state was thereby practically doubled, and the city was advanced a long way towards the goal of its destiny, — the making of all the world Roman.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Poplicola* and *Life of Gaius Marcius Coriolanus*. LIVY, ii. 33, 34, 39, and 40, for the story of Coriolanus; ii. 48 and 49, for the legend of the Fabii; and iii. 26–28, for that of Cincinnatus (from other writers we get some details omitted by Livy); v. 35–49, on the taking of Rome by the Gauls; v. 50–54, on the debate among the Romans in regard to removing to Veii. The last reference is particularly valuable, since the passage here conveys an idea of the feelings of the ancients respecting the sacredness of the city and the relation of its patron gods to it.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. i–iii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. vi–xiii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. i. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. v–xiii. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. viii and ix. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, pp. 63–76. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 24–56. IHNE, *Early Rome*. The later chapters of this volume are practically a criticism of the account which the Roman annalists give of the affairs of the early republic. WILSON, *The State*, pp. 94–104. A suggestive summary. STEPHENSON, *Public Lands and Agrarian Laws of the Roman Republic*; for questions relating to the *ager publicus* and the reform proposals of Spurius Cassius and others.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Legend of the Fabii. 2. Virtues prized by the early Romans as shown by the stories of their heroes. 3. Tales concerning the siege of Veii. 4. Legends connected with the sack of Rome by the Gauls. 5. Roman magistrates. 6. Varying views as to the causes of the First Secession of the plebeians. See *Mommsen* and *Ihne*.

¹² They secured admission to the dictatorship in 356 B.C.; to the censorship in 351 B.C.; to the prætorship in 337 B.C.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(367-264 B.C.)

47. The Fall of the Etruscan Power. — We have seen how, after the taking of Veii, the Romans incorporated with the territory of their state a great part of Southern Etruria (sec. 43). The Romanization of these lands and the threatening advance of the Roman power in these regions caused an uprising of the Etruscan cities that still retained their independence. The movement was quickly suppressed and graded punishment meted out to the cities that had taken part in it.

This struggle marks a turning point in the fortunes of the Etruscan race. In the words of the historian Mommsen, "Their season of power and aspiration had passed away." We shall find them in arms against Rome again and again after this, but their attacks were no longer formidable. What elements of vitality and strength there were remaining in the race were gradually absorbed by Rome, and the Etruscan people and the Etruscan civilization as distinct factors in history disappeared from the world.

48. The First Samnite War (343-341 B.C.). — The power of the Etruscans having been broken, the most formidable remaining competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the southeast of Latium. They were worthy rivals of the "Children of Mars." The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy. Of the first of this series of Samnite wars we know very little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately unreliable, account of it.

49. The Revolt of the Latin Cities (340-338 B.C.).—In the midst of the Samnite struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies.¹ Leaving the war unfinished, she turned her forces against the insurgents.

The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply, in principle, the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and the plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the patricians, before the equalization of the orders, had claimed for themselves alone the right to manage the affairs of the state, so now did the united orders claim for Rome alone the right to manage the affairs of all Latium. But the Latins had become dissatisfied with their position in the unequal alliance, and had resolved that Rome should give up the sovereignty she was practically exercising. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that the association should be made one of perfect equality. To this end the ambassadors proposed that in the future one of the consuls should be a Latin, and that one half of the senate should be chosen from the Latin nation. Rome was to be the common fatherland, and all were to bear the Roman name.

These demands of the ambassadors were listened to by the Roman senators with amazement and indignation. "O Jupiter!" exclaimed one of the consuls, Titus Manlius by name, addressing the statue of the god; "canst thou endure to behold in thy own sacred temple strangers as consuls and as senators?"

The demands of the Latin allies were refused, and war followed, a war in which the Romans were fighting their former comrades of the camp and the field.

The following legend of the war given us by Livy is of value as exhibiting the quality of sternness in the Roman character.

¹ In the year 493 B.C. Rome, through her consul Spurius Cassius, had formed a most important league with the Latin towns (a renewal probably of an earlier alliance). At the outset this league was somewhat such a federation as the Delian League, which Athens just a few years before this had formed with her Ionian allies. There is an instructive parallel between the way in which Athens used her position in the Delian Confederacy to establish an empire and the way in which Rome used her position in the at first equal alliance between her and the towns of Latium to build up a like sovereignty.

In one of the early campaigns of the war the consul Titus Manlius had given strict orders that no one should engage in single combat with any of the enemy. The consul's own son Titus, impelled by the ardor of youth, disobeyed his father's command and accepted a challenge from one of the foe. He slew his antagonist and brought the spoils stripped from the body to his father's tent. The father turned from his son in anger, and ordered the lictors to lay hold of him, to bind him to the stake, and to strike his head from his body. This was done, the consul standing by and looking on. Through such sacrifice of parental feeling did Titus Manlius maintain military discipline and cause his orders, as Livy says, "to be transmitted as a model of austerity to all after times."

After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was subdued. The Latin League as a political body was now dissolved, the organization being retained merely for religious purposes. Several of the towns were allowed to retain their independence; others with their territories were made a part of the Roman domain, and became *municipia*² of different grades. The inhabitants of

² The Roman writers used this term with little precision, and modern historians have given it widely different applications. In order to avoid confusion we shall apply the term exclusively to cities or communities actually incorporated with the Roman state yet enjoying at least some measure of local self-government. The teacher will best convey to young pupils an understanding of the Roman municipal system by having them note the system as it exists among ourselves to-day, since our so-called municipal system, in its underlying principle, is an inheritance from Rome. A municipality or municipal town in our system of government is a city which, acting under a charter granted by the state in whose territory it is situated and of which it forms a part, elects its own magistrates, and manages, with more or less supervision on the part of the state, its own local affairs. The essential principle involved in the arrangement is local self-government carried on under the paramount authority of the state. The city, without its local political life having been stifled, has been made a constituent part of a larger political organism. In working out this municipal system Rome laid not only the foundation of her own greatness but, transmitting the system as a principle of government to later times, contributed an all-important element to the structure of the modern free state. We must not think that the problem here solved by Rome was one easy of solution. The difficulties met and overcome by her in working out this system were very much like those met and overcome by our statesmen of a century and more ago, when they devised the federal system and determined what should be the relations of the States of our Union to the general government at Washington. Indeed, this whole federal system is nothing more than the application to states of the principles of government that Rome applied to cities.

some of these municipalities were admitted at once to full Roman citizenship, while those of others were given only a part of the rights and privileges of citizens.

To prevent any further combination among the cities, intermarriage and trade between them were forbidden. Each city was forced to conclude a separate treaty with Rome.

One noted trophy of the war set up at Rome was the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the Volscian city of Antium, which were attached to the orator's platform in the great forum; hence the name *Rostra*, by which this stand was ever afterwards known (sec. 25).

50. The Second Samnite War (326-304 B.C.); the Humiliation of the Romans at the Caudine Forks.—In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, the Romans were at war again with their old rivals, the Samnites. The most memorable event of this struggle was the capture and humiliation of the Roman army at the celebrated Caudine Forks.

The circumstances were these. It was the year 321 B.C. The consuls having carelessly led their troops into a pent-up valley, discovered when too late that they were in a trap

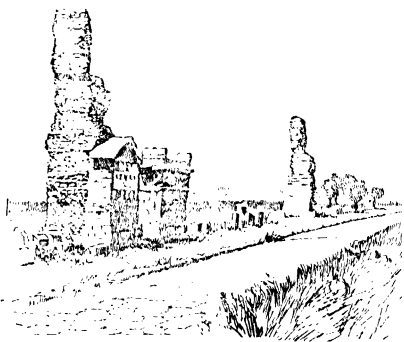


FIG. 11.—THE APPIAN WAY
(From a photograph)

and were forced to surrender. They were deprived of their arms, and then sent beneath the yoke, which was the deepest humiliation that could be inflicted upon a vanquished enemy.

The capture by the Romans of Bovianum, the chief city of the Samnites, brought the war to an end. The Samnites gave up all the conquests they had made and the old treaty relations with Rome were reëstablished.

The war had lasted twenty-two years. During its course Rome had added extensive territories to her domain, and had made her hold of these secure by means of colonies, fortresses, and military roads; for it was at this time that Rome began the construction of those remarkable highways that formed one of the most impressive features of her later empire. The first of these roads was begun in the year 312 B.C. under the direction of the censor Appius Claudius, and called after him the *Via Appia*. It ran from Rome to Capua, and thus brought all Campania close to the capital.

51. Alexander the Great and the Roman Generals compared. —

It was in the midst of this Second Samnite War that Alexander the Great, after having conquered a great part of Asia, died at Babylon (323 B.C.). The mutual isolation, at this comparatively late period in the history of antiquity, of the nations of the East and of the West is revealed by the doubt expressed by Livy as to a rumor of the fame of Alexander having ever reached the ears of the Romans of this time. But the contemporaneousness of the events of the Samnite War and the conquests of Alexander leads Livy to reflect whether, had Alexander lived longer and attempted to carry out the design which he is said to have formed of adding Europe to his vast empire, he would have been likely to succeed in the undertaking.

The historian arrives at the patriotic conclusion that Alexander would have found his equal in any one of the great Roman commanders of this time, and that had he delayed the enterprise until he was an old man it would have been the same. He would have found out that a Roman consul was not a Darius. Alexander owed his fame, so Livy concludes, to having died young, before fickle fortune had had time to ruin his prosperous affairs, — as they would have been ruined in Italy.³

52. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). — It was only four years after the close of their second contest with Rome, before the Samnites were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with her for supremacy in Italy. This time they succeeded in forming against their old enemy a powerful coalition

³ Livy, ix. 17–19.

which embraced the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Gauls, and other nations. It was easy for them to accomplish this, for the rapid advance of the power of Rome had caused all the different peoples of the peninsula to realize that unless her encroachments were speedily checked their independence would be lost forever.

The league was soon shattered by the Roman warriors.⁴ One after another the states and tribes that had joined the alliance were chastised, and the Samnites were forced to give up the struggle. Rome left them their independence, but stripped them of all their conquests. The brave Samnite general, Gavius Pontius, who sent the Roman army beneath the yoke at the Caudine Forks, after having been led in the triumphal procession of the consul Fabius Maximus Gurgus, was ungenerously cast into the dungeon beneath the Capitoline hill and there beheaded.

53. The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (282-272 B.C.).—The period of eight years which followed the end of Rome's struggle with the Samnites and the beginning of her memorable war with Tarentum and Pyrrhus was filled by petty wars with the Etruscans, the Gauls, the Lucanians, and various Greek cities of Magna Græcia, and by the founding of colonies, the building of fortresses, and the extension of her military roads. Before the end of this period almost all the Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, had fallen under the growing power of the imperial city.

Tarentum, a seaport of Calabria, was one of the most opulent of the cities of Magna Græcia. Its inhabitants were luxurious in their habits, idle and frivolous, entering into and breaking engagements with careless levity. They spent the most of their time in feasting and drinking, in lounging in the baths, in attending the theater, and in idle talk on the streets.

The Tarentines having mishandled some Roman prisoners, the Roman senate promptly sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand amends. In the theater, in the presence of a great assembly, one of the ambassadors was grossly insulted, his toga being befouled by a clownish fellow amidst the approving plaudits of a giddy crowd. The ambassador, raising the soiled garment,

⁴ The decisive battle of the war was fought at Sentinum in Umbria, 295 B.C.

said sternly, "Laugh now; but you will weep when this toga is cleansed with blood." Rome at once declared war.

The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and a cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants. He organized and drilled the effeminate Tarentines, and soon felt prepared to face the Romans.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea (280 B.C.). It is said that when Pyrrhus, who had underestimated his foe, observed the skill which the Romans evinced in forming their lines of battle, he exclaimed in admiration, "In war, at least, these men are not barbarians." The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his bravest troops. As he looked over the battlefield he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I shall be ruined"; hence the phrase, "A Pyrrhian victory."

The prudence of the victorious Pyrrhus led him to send to the Romans proposals of peace. The embassy was headed by his chief minister, Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus himself often said, "The eloquence of Cineas wins me more victories than my sword." When the senate hesitated, its resolution was fixed by the eloquence of the now old and blind Appius Claudius; "Rome," he exclaimed, "shall never treat with a victorious foe." The ambassadors were sent back to Pyrrhus with the reply that if he wanted peace he must first quit the soil of Italy. It was at this time that Cineas, in answer to some inquiries of his master respecting the Romans, drew the celebrated parallels that likened their senate to an assembly of kings, and war against such a people to an attack upon the Lernean hydra.

Pyrrhus, according to the Roman story-tellers, who most lavishly embellished this chapter of their history, was not more successful in attempts at bribery than in the arts of negotiation.



A VIEW ON THE APPIAN WAY. (From a photograph)

Attempting by rich presents to win the celebrated statesman Fabricius, who had been intrusted by the senate with an important embassy, the sterling old Roman replied : " If I am dishonest, I am not worth a bribe ; if honest, you must know I will not take one."

After a second victory (the battle of Asculum, 279 B.C.), as disastrous as his first, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily to aid the Greeks there, who at this time were being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful, but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans ; but at the battle of Beneventum he suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of the consul Curius Dentatus (275 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison Tarentum, Pyrrhus now set sail for Epirus. He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.).

The surrender of Tarentum ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus and the Rubicon.

54. United Italy. — We cannot make out with perfect clearness just what rights and powers Rome exercised over the various cities, tribes, and nations which she had brought under her rule.⁵ This much, however, is clear. Rome took away from all these hitherto independent states the right of making war, and thus put a stop to the bloody contentions which from time immemorial had raged between the tribes and cities of the peninsula. She thus gave Italy what, after she had laid her restraining authority upon all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, came to be called the *Pax Romana*, "the Roman Peace." She did for Italy what in these later times England has done for India and Russia for Central Asia.

But this political union of Italy would possess no historical significance were it not for the fact that it paved the way for the

⁵ We refer here, not to those territories and communities which Rome had actually incorporated with the Roman domain, but to those communities to which was given the name of *Italian allies, socii, or civitates fœderatæ*.

social and racial unification of the peninsula. The greatest marvel of all history is how Rome, embracing at first merely a handful of peasants, could have made so much of the ancient world like unto herself in blood, in speech, in custom, and in manners. That she did so, that she did thus Romanize a large part of the peoples of antiquity, is one of the most important matters in the history of the human race.

Rome accomplished this great feat in large measure by means of her system of colonization, which was, in some respects, unlike that of any other people in ancient or in modern times. We must make ourselves familiar with some of the main features of this unique colonial system.

55. Roman Colonies and Latin Colonies. — The colonies that Rome established in conquered territories fall into two classes, known as Roman colonies and Latin colonies. Roman colonies were made up of emigrants, generally three hundred in number, who retained in the new settlement all the rights and privileges, both private and public, of Roman citizens, though of course some of these rights, as for instance that of voting in the public assemblies at Rome, could be exercised by the colonist only through his return to the capital. Such colonies were in effect permanent military camps intended to guard or to hold in subjection conquered territories. Usually it was some conquered city that was occupied by the Roman colonists, the old inhabitants either being expelled in whole or in part or reduced to a subject condition like that of the plebeians at Rome before the revolt and secession of the year 494 B.C.

The colonists in their new homes organized a government which was almost an exact imitation of that of Rome, and through their own assemblies and their own magistrates managed all their local affairs. These colonies were, in a word, simply suburbs of the mother city. They were in effect just so many miniature Romes, — centers from which radiated Roman culture into all the regions round about them.

The Latin colonies were so called, not because they were founded by Latin settlers, but because their inhabitants possessed

substantially the same rights as the old Latin towns enjoyed that had retained their independence at the end of the great Latin War (sec. 49). The Latin colonist possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, together with the capacity to acquire the suffrage by migrating to the capital and taking up a permanent residence there, provided he left behind in the town whence he came sons to take his place.

There is an analogy between the status of a settler in an ancient Latin colony and of a settler in a territory of our Union. When a citizen of any State migrates to a territory he loses his right of voting in a federal election, just as a Roman citizen in becoming a Latin colonist lost his right of voting in the assemblies at Rome. Then again the resident of a territory has the privilege of changing his residence and settling in a State, thereby acquiring the federal suffrage, just as the inhabitant of a Latin colony could migrate to Rome, and thus acquire the right to vote in the public assemblies there.

The Latin colonies numbered about twenty at the time of the Second Punic War. They were scattered everywhere throughout Italy, and formed, in the words of the historian Mommsen, "the real buttress of the Roman rule." They were, even to a much greater degree than the Roman colonies, active and powerful agents in the dissemination of the Roman language, law, and culture. They were Rome's chief auxiliary in her great task of making all Italy Roman.

All these colonies were kept in close touch with the capital by means of splendid military roads, the construction of which, as we have seen, was begun during the Second Samnite War (sec. 50).

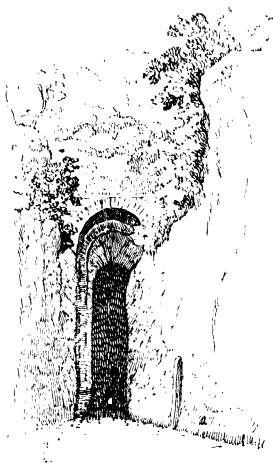


FIG. 12. -- GROTTA OF POSTULIPO. (Near Naples)

An old Roman tunnel, about half a mile in length, still in use on the Appian Way

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pyrrhus*. LIVY, ix. 2-6, the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks; and x. 28 and 29, the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. iv-ix. IHNE, vol. i, bk. iii, chap. xviii, "Condition of the Roman People before the Beginning of the Wars with Carthage." DURUY, vol. i, chaps. xiv-xvii. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, chap. v. FREEMAN, *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiii, "Pyrrhus in Italy." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. ii. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. x-xv. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xiii-xvii.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Roman municipal system. 2. The tales of Pyrrhus. 3. The Roman colonial system.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

(264-241 B.C.)

56. Carthage and her Empire. — Foremost among the cities founded by the Phœnicians upon the different shores of the Mediterranean was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa. The favorable location of the colony upon one of the best harbors of the African coast gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. At the period which we have now reached it had grown into an imperial city, covering, with its gardens and suburbs, a district twenty-three miles in circuit. It is said to have contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants.

By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway, through peaceful colonization or by force of arms, over the northern coast of Africa from the Greater Syrtis to the Pillars of Hercules, and possessed the larger part of Sicily as well as Sardinia. She also collected tribute from the natives of Corsica and of Southern Spain. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses and swept in every direction by her war galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

The government of Carthage was democratic in theory but oligarchic in fact. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates, called "suffetes," stood at the head of the state. The senate was composed of the heads of the leading families; its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman senate.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal. To this cruel fire-god they offered human sacrifices.

57. Rome and Carthage compared. — These two great republics, which for more than five centuries had been slowly extending their limits and maturing their powers upon the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of all antiquity, — a duel that was to last, with every vicissitude of fortune, for over one hundred years.

In material power and resources the two rival cities seemed well matched as antagonists; yet Rome had elements of strength, hidden in the character of her citizens and embodied in the principles of her government, which Carthage did not possess.

First, the Carthaginian territories, though of great extent, were widely scattered, while the Roman domains were compact and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula.

Again, the subject peoples of Carthage's empire were in race, language, and religion mostly alien to their Phœnician conquerors, and so were ready, upon the first disaster to the ruling city, to fall away from their allegiance. On the other hand, the Latin allies and the Italian confederates of Rome were close kin to her, and so through natural impulse they for the most part — although not all were satisfied with their position in the state — remained loyal to her during even the darkest periods of her struggle with her rival.

But the greatest contrast between the two states appeared in the principles upon which they were respectively based. Carthage was a despotic oligarchy. The many different races of the Carthaginian Empire were held in an artificial union by force alone, for the Carthaginians had none of the genius of the Romans for political organization and state building. The Roman state, on the other hand, as we have learned, was the most wonderful political organism that the world had ever seen. It was not yet a nation, but it was rapidly growing into one. Every free man within its limits was either a citizen of Rome, or was on the way to becoming a citizen. Rome was already the common fatherland of more than a quarter of a million of men. The Roman armies were, in large part, armies of citizen soldiers, like those Athenian warriors that fought at Marathon and at

Salamis; the armies of Carthage were armies of mercenaries like those that Xerxes led against the Greek cities. And then the Romans, in their long contests with the different races of Italy for the mastery of the peninsula, had secured such a training in war as perhaps no other people before them ever had.

As to the naval resources of the two states there existed at the beginning of the struggle no basis for a comparison. The Romans were almost destitute of anything that could be called a war navy,¹ and were practically without experience in naval warfare; while the Carthaginians possessed the largest, the best manned, and the most splendidly equipped fleet that had ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean.

And in another respect Carthage had an immense advantage over Rome. She had Hannibal. Rome had some great commanders, but she had none like him.

58. The Beginning of the War. — Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. At the commencement of the First Punic² War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast, which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and the Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two centuries for the control of the island. But the Romans had not yet set foot upon it. It was destined, however, to become the scene of the most terrible encounters between the armaments of Rome and Carthage. Pyrrhus had foreseen it all. As he withdrew from the island, he remarked, "What a fine battlefield we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians."

In the year 264 B.C., on a flimsy pretext of giving protection to some friends, the Romans crossed over to the island. That act committed them to a career of foreign conquest destined to continue till their armies had made the circuit of the Mediterranean lands.

¹ Polybius, i. 20, says that they did not have a single galley when they first crossed over to Sicily. He says they ferried their army across in boats borrowed from the Greek cities of Southern Italy.

² From *Pani*, Latin for Phœnicians, and hence applied by the Romans to the Carthaginians, as they were Phœnician colonists.

The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the newcomers. The allies were defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold in the island.

In the following year both consuls were placed at the head of formidable armies for the conquest of Sicily. A large portion of the island was quickly overrun, and many of the cities threw off their allegiance to Syracuse and to Carthage and became



FIG. 13.—PROW OF A ROMAN WAR SHIP. (From an ancient relief)

The representation shows the arrangement of the tiers of oars in a two-banked ship. In just what way the lines of rowers in triremes and quinqueremes were arranged is unknown

allies of Rome. Hiero, king of Syracuse, seeing that he was upon the losing side, forsook the Carthaginians, formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend.

59. The Romans gain their First Naval Victory (260 B.C.).—Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians, they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. So they determined to build a fleet. A

Carthaginian galley, tradition says, that had been wrecked upon the shores of Italy served as a pattern.⁸ It is affirmed that within the short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war galleys.

The consul G. Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily. Now, distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemy in naval tactics, the Romans had provided each of their vessels with a drawbridge. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, this gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were unequaled. The result was a complete victory for the Romans.

The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired in the more sanguine splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Mediterranean should speedily become a Roman lake in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome.

60. The Romans carry the War into Africa.—The results of the naval engagement at Mylæ encouraged the Romans to push the war with redoubled energy. They resolved to carry it into Africa. An immense Carthaginian fleet that disputed the passage of the Roman squadron was almost annihilated, and the Romans disembarked near Carthage (256 B.C.). At first the Romans were

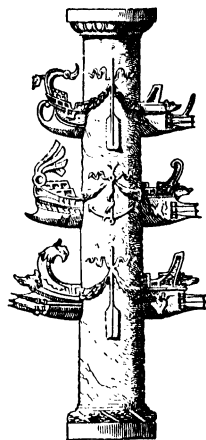


FIG. 14.—THE COLUMN OF DUILLIUS. (A restoration)

The column was decorated with the prows of captured ships

⁸ The Greek and Etruscan ships were merely triremes, that is, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were unable to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height.

successful in all their operations. Regulus, one of the consuls who led the army of invasion, sent word to Rome that he had sealed up the gates of Carthage with terror. Finally, however, Regulus suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner. A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily, and the shores of the island were strewn with the wreckage of between two and three hundred ships and with the bodies of a hundred thousand men.

Undismayed at the terrible disaster that had overtaken the transport fleet, the Romans set to work to build another, and made a second descent upon the African coast. The expedition, however, accomplished nothing of importance, and the fleet on its return voyage was almost destroyed, just off the coast of Italy, by a tremendous storm.

61. Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy. — For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea, and Sicily became once more the battle ground of the contending rivals. At last, having lost a great battle (battle of Panormus, 251 B.C.), the Carthaginians became dispirited, and sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate for peace. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who, since his capture five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before setting out from Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related that, upon arrival at Rome, he counseled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners, he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace."

The Roman senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage, to meet whatever fate the Carthaginians, in

their disappointment and anger, might plan for him. The tradition goes on to tell how, upon the arrival of Regulus at Carthage, he was confined in a cask driven full of spikes, and then left to die of starvation and pain. This part of the tale has been discredited, and the finest touches of the other portions are supposed to have been added by the story-tellers.

62. Loss of Two More Roman Fleets.—After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy the war went on for several years by land and by sea with many vicissitudes. At last, on the coast of Sicily, one of the consuls, Claudius, met with an overwhelming defeat.⁴ Almost a hundred vessels of his fleet were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Superstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle, when the auspices were being taken and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a squadron of eight hundred merchantmen and over one hundred war galleys, the former loaded with grain for the Roman army on the island. A severe storm arising, the squadron was beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped.

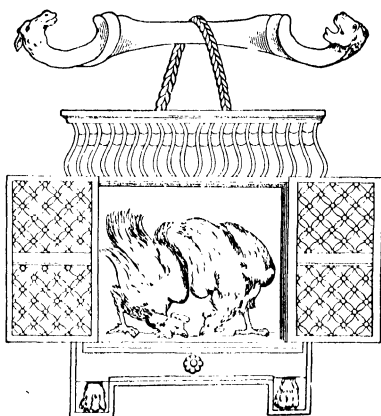


FIG. 15. — AUGUR'S BIRDS. (After a drawing based on an ancient relief)

The knowledge sought was gained by observing the birds' manner of taking their food. Their refusal to eat was an unlucky omen

⁴ In a sea fight at Drepana, 249 B.C.

The coast for miles was strewn with corpses and wreckage and ridged with vast windrows of grain cast up by the waves.

63. Close of the First Punic War (241 B.C.).—The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by storms. Of the fourteen hundred vessels which had been lost, seven hundred were war galleys, —all large and costly quinqueremes. Only one hundred of these had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the remainder were a sacrifice to the malign and hostile power of the waves. Such successive blows from an invisible hand were enough to blanch the faces of even the sturdy Romans. Neptune manifestly denied to the “Children of Mars” the dominion of the sea.

It was impossible during the six years following the last disaster to infuse any spirit into the struggle. In 247 B.C. Hamilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal, assumed the command of the Carthaginian forces, and for several years conducted the war with great ability on the island of Sicily, even making Rome tremble for the safety of her Italian possessions.

Once more the Romans determined to commit their fortune to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was built and equipped, but entirely by private subscription; for the senate feared that public sentiment would not sustain them in levying a tax for fitting up another costly armament as an offering to the insatiable Neptune. This people’s squadron, as we may call it, was intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet under the command of the admiral Hanno, near the Ægatian Islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat (241 B.C.).

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about \$4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

One important result of the war was the crippling of the sea power of the Phœnician race, which from time immemorial had been a most prominent factor in the history of the Mediterranean lands, and the giving practically of the control of the sea into the hands of the Romans.

Selections from the Sources. — POLYBIUS, i. 10-63. Polybius, partly because he adheres rigidly to the chronological order of event, is in general somewhat confusing to young readers; but since what he says about the First Punic War is in the nature of an introduction to his main work, which begins with the 140th Olympiad (220-217 B.C.), it assumes the form of a continuous narrative and possesses on that account a very special interest. In about sixty pages the historian gives us the very best account of the war that we possess. In his sixth book (chaps. lxi-lxvi) Polybius draws a comparison between Rome and Carthage, which should be read in the present connection.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. i and ii. IJNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. i-iii. DURUY, vol. i, pp. 525-580. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chap. i (first part). HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xvii-xix. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xvii-xx. SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians and Rome and Carthage*. CHURCH, *The Story of Carthage*. FREEMAN, *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiv.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Phœnicians as traders and colonizers in the West. 2. Struggle between the Greeks and the Carthaginians in Sicily. 3. The battle of Panormus. 4. Hamilcar Barca in Sicily. 5. Naval tactics of the Romans. 6. Social life at Carthage.

CHAPTER VIII

ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

(241-218 B.C.)

I. ROME

64. The First Roman Province and the Beginning of the Provincial System (241 B.C.). — For the twenty-three years following the close of the first struggle between Rome and Carthage the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing all of it, save the lands in the eastern part belonging to Syracuse, as a province of the republic. This was the first territory beyond the limits of Italy that Rome had conquered, and the Sicilian the first of Roman provinces. But as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was governed by a magistrate sent out from the capital. This officer exercised both civil and military authority. Each province also paid an annual tribute, or tax, to Rome, something that had never been exacted of the Italian allies.

This Roman provincial system presented a sharp contrast to that liberal system of federation and incorporation that formed the very corner stone of the Roman power in Italy. There Rome had made all, or substantially all, of the conquered peoples either citizens or close confederates. Against the provincials she not only closed the gates of the city but denied to the most of them all but the mere *name* of allies. She made them practically her subjects, and administered their affairs not in their interest

ROME ACQUIRES SARD

but in her own. This illiberal policy contributed largely, as we shall learn, to the undoing of the Roman republic.

65. Rome acquires Sardinia and Corsica; the Second Province (227 B.C.).—The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient, and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. This island in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province (227 B.C.). With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the Western or Tyrrhenian Sea was supreme.

66. The Illyrian Corsairs are punished.—In a more legitimate way the Romans extended their influence over the seas that wash the eastern shores of Italy. For a long time the Adriatic and Ionian waters had been infested with Illyrian pirates. These buccaneers troubled not only the towns along the shores of Greece but were even so bold as to make descents upon the Italian coasts. The Roman fleet chased these corsairs from the Adriatic, and captured several of their strongholds. Rome now assumed a sort of protectorate over the Greek cities of the Adriatic coast. This was her first step in the path that was to lead her to absolute supremacy in Greece and throughout all the East.

67. War with the Gauls; Roman Authority extended to the Alps.—In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, Gallic tribes both sides the Alps gathered for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At Rome the terror was great; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians that were now again gathering their hordes for sack and pillage (sec. 44). An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline Books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls. Hoping sufficiently to fulfill the prophecy and

satisfy fate, the Roman senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. At Telamon they were surrounded by the Roman armies and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). Forty thousand are said to have been killed and sixty thousand taken prisoners. The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city which is now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foothills of the Alps. To guard the new territory two military colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were established upon the opposite banks of the Po, while the *Via Flaminia* was carried across the Apennines and extended to Ariminum, on the Adriatic.

The Gauls, thus reduced to subjection, were of course restless and resentful, and, as we shall see, were very ready to embrace the cause of Hannibal when a few years after this he descended from the Alps and appeared among them as a deliverer.

II. CARTHAGE

68. The Truceless War (241–237 B.C.). — Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. Her mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted on account of not receiving their pay. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hateful and hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The war was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as “The Truceless War.” At one time Carthage was the only city remaining in the hands of the government. But the genius of the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca at last triumphed, and the authority of Carthage was everywhere restored.

69. The Carthaginians in Spain. — After the disastrous termination of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians determined

to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state, and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

Hamilcar Barca was the greatest general that up to this time the Carthaginian race had produced. As a rule, genius is not transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the eldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him. He carried out the unfinished plans of Hamilcar, extended and consolidated the Carthaginian power in Spain, and upon the eastern coast founded New Carthage as the center and capital of the newly acquired territory.

70. Hannibal's Vow; he attacks Saguntum.—Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called to be its leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar, and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a native city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with some Greek cities at the foot of the Pyrenees, under their protection. Hannibal, although he well knew that an attack upon this place would precipitate hostilities with Rome, laid siege to it in the spring of 219 B.C. He was

eager for the renewal of the old contest. The Roman senate sent messengers to him forbidding him to make war upon a city that was an ally of the Roman people ; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege, and after an investment of eight months gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the senate that they give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said : " I carry here peace and war ; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." " Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. " War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga. The " die was now cast ; and the arena was cleared for the foremost, perhaps the mightiest, military genius of any race and of any time." ¹

Selections from the Sources. — POLYBIUS, i. 65-68 ; causes of " The Truceless War." APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. x, chaps. i and ii ; the origin of the Illyrians and the first Illyrian war.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. ii and iii. IHNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. iv-vii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. xxi and xxii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 122-126. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xx and xxi. ARNOLD, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, chap. i ; " What a province was. How acquired. Use of ' client princes.' How secured and organized. Moral aspect of the Roman rule."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Origin and development of the Roman provincial system. 2. Hamilcar in Spain. 3. Changes in Rome between the First and Second Punic Wars.

¹ Smith's *Carthage and Rome*, p. 114.

CHAPTER IX

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

(218-201 B.C.)

71. Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. — The Carthaginian Empire was now all astir with preparations for the impending struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement. He planned and executed. The Carthaginian senate tardily confirmed his acts. His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. Ambassadors were sent among the Gallic tribes on both sides of the Alps to invite them to be ready to join the army that would soon set out from Spain.

With preparations completed, Hannibal left New Carthage early in the spring of 218 B.C., with an army numbering about a hundred thousand men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. Traversing Northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhone, he reached the foothills of the Alps, probably under the pass known to-day as the Little St. Bernard. The season was already far advanced, — it was October, — and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail. Day after day the army toiled painfully up the dangerous path. In places the narrow way had to be cut wider for the monstrous bodies of the elephants. Often avalanches of stone were hurled upon the trains by the hostile bands that held possession of the heights above. At last the summit was gained, and the shivering army looked down



FIG. 16. — HANNIBAL

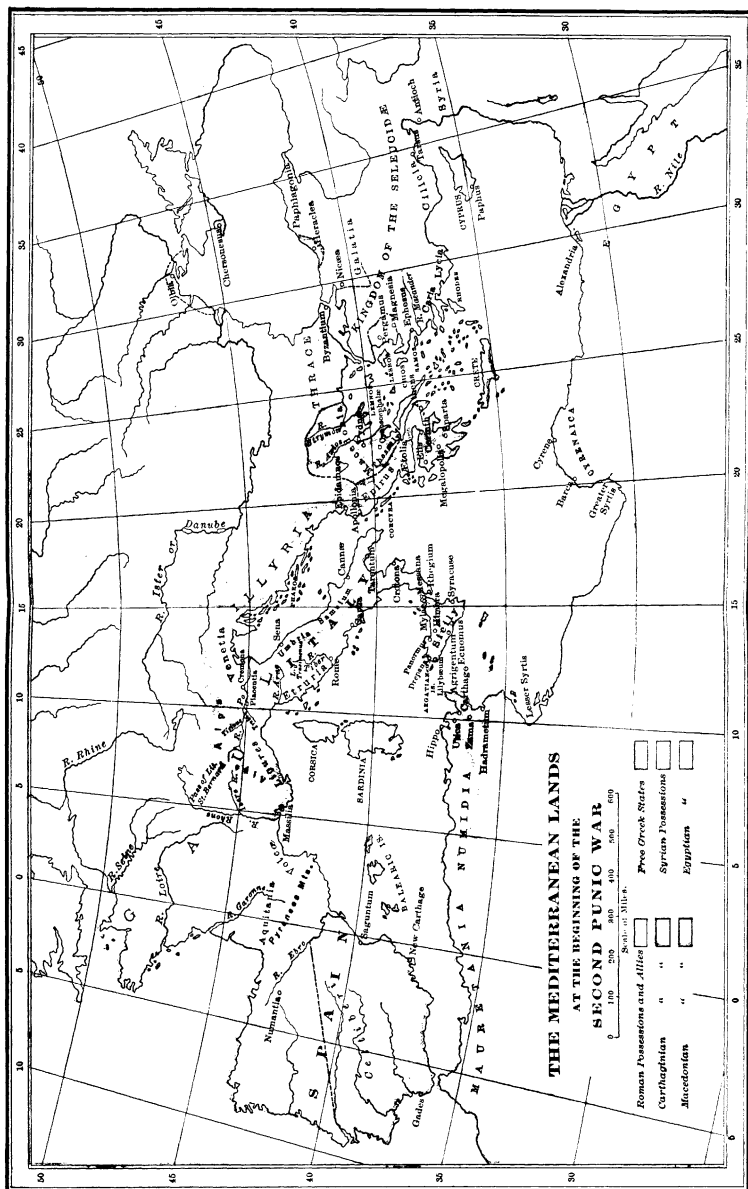
into the warm haze of the Italian plains. The sight, together with encouraging words from Hannibal, somewhat revived the drooping spirits of the soldiers. Their descent of the mountains was accomplished only after severe toil and losses. At length the thinned columns issued from the defiles of the foothills upon the plains of the Po. Of the fifty thousand men and more with which Hannibal had begun the passage, barely twenty thousand had survived the hardships and perils of the march, and these "looked more like phantoms than men."

Yet this was the pitiable force with which Hannibal proposed to attack the Roman state, — a state that at this time had on its levy lists over seven hundred thousand foot soldiers and seventy thousand horse.

72. Battle of the Ticinus, of the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus.—The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the senate had sent one of the consuls, Tiberius Sempronius, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled by the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees and was among the Gauls upon the Rhone. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa to the defense of Italy. Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He sent his army on to Spain under the command of his brother, to prevent Hannibal's receiving any reënforcements from that quarter. He himself turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up through Italy by forced marches.

In the battle of the Trebia (218 B.C.) the united armies of the two consuls were drawn into an ambuscade and almost annihilated.



The Gauls, who had been waiting to see to which side fortune would incline, now flocked to the standard of Hannibal, and hailed him as their deliverer.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under the consul Gaius Flaminius between the hills and the lake, where, bewildered by a fog, the greater part of the army was slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain (217 B.C.).



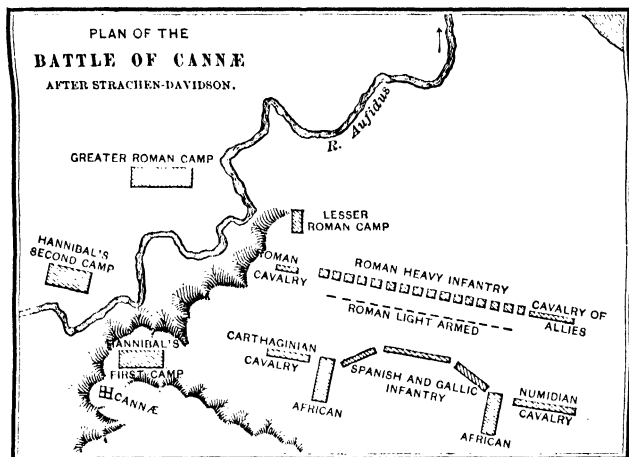
THE ROUTE OF HANNIBAL

73. Fabius "the Delayer."—The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he pressed eastward to the Adriatic, and then marched southward into Apulia. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, everything would be lost. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy,—to follow and annoy with his small force the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle.

Thus time would be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defense.

In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defense. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him *Cunctator* or "the Delayer." They even accused him of treachery to the cause of Rome. But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow.

74. The Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.).—The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army



that might hope to engage successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C. these new levies, numbering eighty thousand men, under the command of the recently chosen consuls Paulus and Varro, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ, on the banks of the Aufidus, in Apulia. It was the largest army the Romans had ever gathered on any battlefield. Through the skillful maneuvers of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded and huddled together in a helpless mass; then they

were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From forty to seventy thousand are said to have been slain ;¹ a few thousand were taken prisoners ; only the merest handful escaped, including the consul Varro. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured out on the floor of the senate house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of the Roman knights.

75. Events after the Battle of Cannæ. — The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did the senators display greater calmness, wisdom, prudence, and resolution. They publicly thanked the consul Varro, although he was the bitter enemy of their body, because he had not despaired of the republic.

Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defense of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon the city. Swift horsemen were sent out along the Appian Way to gather information of the conqueror's movements, and to learn, as Livy expresses it, "if the immortal gods, out of pity to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name."

The leader of the Numidian cavalry, Maharbal, urged Hannibal to follow up his victory closely. "Let me advance with the horse," he said, "and in five days you shall banquet in Rome." But Hannibal refused to adopt the counsel of his impetuous general. Maharbal turned away, and with mingled reproach and impatience exclaimed, "Alas ! you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use one." The great commander, while he knew he was invincible in the open field, did not think it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls.

Hannibal now sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The senate, true to the Appian policy never to treat with a victorious enemy (sec. 53), would not even permit the ambassadors

¹ Polybius, iii. 117, places the killed at 70,000 and the prisoners at 10,000 ; Livy xxii. 49, puts the number of the slain at 42,700.

to enter the gates. Hardly less disappointed was Hannibal in the temper of the Roman confederates. All the allies of the Latin name adhered to the cause of Rome through all these trying times with unshaken loyalty.

Some tribes in the south of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians, the Apulians, and the Bruttians, now went over to the Carthaginians. Capua also seceded from Rome and entered into an alliance with Hannibal, who quartered his army for the winter following the battle of Cannæ in the luxurious city. A little later Syracuse was lost to Rome; for it so happened that, shortly after the battle of Cannæ, Hiero, the king of the Syracusans, who loved to call himself the friend and ally of the Roman people, had died, and the government had fallen into the hands of a party unfriendly to the republic. This party now entered into an alliance with Carthage, and thus Syracuse, with a large part of Sicily, was carried over to the side of the enemies of Rome.

76. The Fall of Syracuse (212 B.C.) and of Capua (211 B.C.).— While Hannibal was resting in Capua and awaiting reënforcements, Rome was putting forth every effort and straining every resource in raising and equipping new levies to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ.

The first task to be undertaken was the chastisement of Syracuse for its desertion of the Roman alliance. The distinguished Roman general, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, called "the Sword of Rome," was intrusted with this commission. In the year 214 B.C. he laid siege to the city. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered valuable aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. But the city fell at last, and was given over to sack and pillage (212 B.C.). Rome was adorned with the masterpieces of Grecian art that for centuries had been accumulating in the city, one of the oldest and most renowned of the colonies of ancient Hellas. Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it at this time by the relentless Romans.

Capua must next be punished for opening its gates and extending its hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal endeavored to create a diversion in favor of his allies by making a dash on Rome, — legend says that he rang a defiant lance against one of the city gates, — but he failed to draw the legions from before Capua, and was forced to abandon the Capuans to their fate. The city soon fell, and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men of the place were put to death and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves (211 B.C.).

77. Hasdrubal attempts to carry Aid to his Brother; Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.). — During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Roman armies in Spain. At length he determined to leave the conduct of the war in that country to others and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid. Like Pyrrhus, Hannibal had been brought to realize that even constant victories won at the cost of soldiers that could not be replaced meant final defeat.

Hasdrubal followed the same route that had been taken by his brother Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to meet him. Rome made a last great effort to prevent the junction of the armies of the two brothers. At the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal's march was withstood by a large Roman army. Here his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.). His head was severed from his body and sent to Hannibal. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal, it is said, exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I see thy fate."

78. The Romans carry the War into Africa; Battle of Zama (202 B.C.). — The defeat and death of Hasdrubal gave a different aspect to the war. Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the

war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defense of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio,² who after the departure of Hasdrubal from Spain had quickly driven the Carthaginians out of the peninsula, led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian senate sent for Hannibal to conduct the war. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile



FIG. 17. — PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO
(AFRICANUS)

armies met. Hannibal here suffered his first and final defeat. His army, in which were many of the veterans that had served through all his Italian campaigns, was almost annihilated (202 B.C.).

79. The Close of the War (201 B.C.).

— Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city

at the end of the First Punic War (sec. 63). She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of four thousand talents³ at once, and two hundred talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in full sight of the citizens.

² Son of the consul mentioned on page 72.

³ About \$5,000,000. Our authorities differ as to the exact amount of this indemnity.

Such was the end of the Hannibalic War, as called by the Romans, the most desperate struggle ever waged by rival powers for empire. Scipio was accorded a grand triumph at Rome, and in honor of his achievements given the surname *Africanus*.⁴

80. Effects of the War on Italy.—Italy never entirely recovered from the calamitous effects of the Hannibalic War. During its long continuance the Roman state was almost drained of its young men of military age. Three hundred thousand Roman citizens are said to have been slain in battle, and four hundred towns and hamlets actually swept out of existence. Agriculture in some districts was almost ruined. The peasantry had been torn from the soil and driven within the walled towns. The slave class had increased, and the estates of the great land-owners had constantly grown in size, and absorbed the little holdings of the ruined peasants. In thus destroying the Italian peasantry, Hannibal's invasion and long occupancy of the peninsula did very much to aggravate all those economic evils which even before this time were at work undermining the earlier sound industrial life of the Romans, and filling Italy with a numerous and dangerous class of homeless and discontented men.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Fabius Maximus* and *Life of Marcellus*. LIVY, xxi. 40 and 41; Scipio's address to his soldiers before Ticinus. APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. vii, chap. viii, sec. 52; the battle of the Metaurus. POLYBIUS, iii. 50-57; the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal.

References (Modern).—MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. iv-vi. IHNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. viii-ix. DURUY, vol. i, chap. xxiii; and vol. ii, chaps. xxiv-xxvi. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 126-134. ARNOLD,

⁴ Some time after the close of the Second Punic War, the Romans, persuading themselves that Hannibal was preparing Carthage for another war, demanded his surrender of the Carthaginians. He fled to Syria, and thence to Asia Minor, where, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable foes, he committed suicide by means of poison (183 B.C.). Almost equally bitter was the cup which the ungrateful Romans pressed to the lips of the conqueror of Hannibal. After the battle of Zama, Scipio Africanus turned to politics, but soon raised about himself a perfect storm of unmerited abuse and persecution. Leaving Rome, he went into a sort of voluntary exile at his country seat near Liternum, in Campania. He died about the same time that witnessed the death of Hannibal. Upon his tomb was placed this inscription, which he himself had dictated: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess even my ashes."

History of Rome, chaps. xliii-xlvii. These chapters are generally regarded as the best account ever written of the Second Punic War. The death of the author broke off the narrative just three years before the battle of Zama. MORRIS, *Hannibal*. DODGE, *Hannibal*, chap. xliii, "The Man and the Soldier"; and chap. xlv, "Hannibal and Alexander." SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians and Rome and Carthage*. MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, pp. 14-21. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. iv, "The Battle of the Metaurus, 207 B.C."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Passage of the Alps by Hannibal. 2. Fabius "the Delayer." 3. Hannibal before Rome. 4. The fall of Syracuse. 5. Publius Cornelius Scipio. 6. Hannibal's great battles as a study of his generalship.

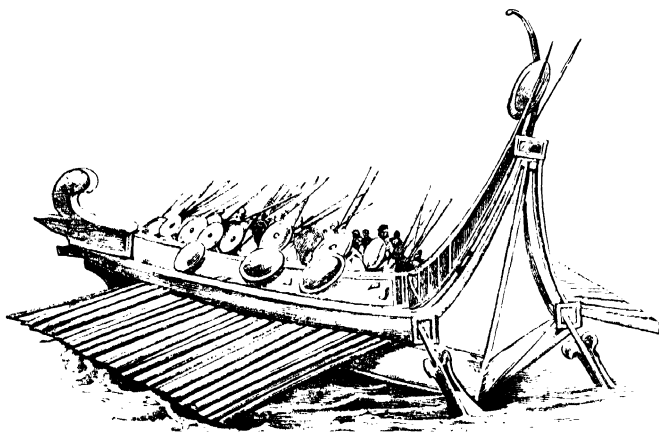


FIG. 18. — ROMAN BATTLE SHIP. (From Pompeian wall painting)

CHAPTER X

EVENTS BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THE THIRD PUNIC WAR: CONQUEST OF THE EAST BY ROME

(201-146 B.C.)

81. Introductory. — The terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the eventful half century that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the Third Punic War, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern seas. In another place, while narrating the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed their several histories until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing dominions.¹ We shall therefore in this place speak of these states only in the briefest manner, simply indicating the connection of their affairs with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

82. The Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.); the Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.). — Rome came first into hostile relations with Macedonia. During the Second Punic War Philip V of that kingdom had entered into an alliance with Hannibal. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. It was this which was the immediate cause of what is known as the Second Macedonian War.²

An army under Flamininus was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx by

¹ See *Eastern Nations and Greece*, chap. xxvii.

² The First Macedonian War (215-206 B.C.) took place during the First Punic War and was an episode of that struggle.

subjecting Philip to a most disastrous defeat (197 B.C.). The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and the Greek cities that had been brought into subjection to Macedonia were declared free.

Flaminius read the edict of emancipation to the Greeks assembled at Corinth for the celebration of the Isthmian games. The decree was received with the greatest enthusiasm and rejoicing, and Flaminius was called by the grateful Greeks "the Restorer of Greek liberties." Unfortunately the Greeks had lost all capacity for freedom and self-government, and the anarchy into which their affairs soon fell afforded the Romans an excuse for extending their rule over all Greece.

83. War against Antiochus III of Syria (192-189 B.C.); the Battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.). — Antiochus the Great, of Syria, had at this time not only made important conquests in Asia Minor but had even carried his arms into Europe. As soon as intelligence of his movements was carried to Italy, the legions of the republic were set in motion. Some reverses caused Antiochus to retreat across the Hellespont into Asia, whither he was followed by the Romans, led by Scipio, a brother of Africanus.

At Magnesia, Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans (190 B.C.). Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so remote from the Tiber, the senate conferred the greater part of the new territory upon their friend and ally, Eumenes, king of Pergamum. This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet king in the hands of the Roman senate.

Scipio enjoyed a magnificent triumph at Rome, and, in accordance with a custom that had now become popular with successful generals, erected a memorial of his deeds in his name by assuming the title of *Asiaticus*.

84. The Third⁸ Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.); the Battle of Pydna (168 B.C.). — And now Macedonia, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip V, was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius

⁸ For the Second Macedonian War, see sec. 82.

Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the memorable field of Pydna. Twenty-two years later (146 B.C.) the country was organized as a Roman province. The great part which Macedonia as an independent state had played in history was ended.

But the battle of Pydna constitutes a great landmark not merely in the history of Macedonia: it forms a landmark in universal history as well. It was one of the decisive battles fought by the Romans in their struggle for the dominion of the world. The last great power in the East was here broken.⁴ The Roman senate was henceforth recognized by the whole civilized world as the source and fountain of supreme political wisdom and authority. We have yet to record many campaigns of the Roman legions; but these, if we except the campaigns against the Pontic king Mithradates the Great, were efforts to suppress revolt among dependent or semi-vassal states, or were expeditions aimed at barbarian tribes that skirted the Roman dominions.

85. The Achæan War and the Destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.). — During the third war between Rome and Macedonia the cities of the Achæan League had shown themselves lukewarm in their friendship for Rome. Consequently, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans collected a thousand of the chief citizens of these federated cities and transported them to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years as hostages for the good conduct of their countrymen at home. Among these exiles was the celebrated historian Polybius, who wrote an account of all these events which we are now narrating and which mark the advance of Rome to the sovereignty of the world.

At the end of the period named, the Roman senate, in an indulgent mood, gave the survivors permission to return home. They went back inflamed by hatred towards Rome, and became active in the cities of the league in stirring up feeling against her. In Corinth particularly the people displayed the most unreasonable and vehement hostility towards the Romans. There could be but one issue of this foolish conduct, and that was war with Rome.

⁴ Mithradates the Great had not yet appeared to dispute with Rome the sovereignty of the Orient (sec. 103).

This came in the year 147 B.C. The management of the campaign soon fell to the consul Lucius Mummius. He inflicted upon the Achæan army a decisive defeat just outside the walls of Corinth, and that city fell into his hands without further resistance. The men were killed, and the women and children sold into slavery. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. Numerous works of art, invaluable statues and paintings, with which the city was crowded, were laid aside to be transported to Rome. But a large part of the rich art treasures of the city must have been destroyed by the rude and unappreciative soldiers. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the sack of the city, himself saw groups of soldiers using priceless paintings as boards on which to play their games of dice.

The despoiled city, in obedience to the command of the Roman senate, was given up to the flames, its walls were leveled, and the very ground on which the city had stood was accursed. Thus fell the brilliant city of Corinth, "the eye of Hellas," as Cicero called it, the "last precious ornament of the Grecian land once so rich in cities."⁵

The consul Mummius enjoyed a splendid triumph. "Never before nor after," says the historian Long, "was such a display of Grecian art carried in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome."

86. The General Effect upon Rome of her Conquest of the East. — In entering Greece the Romans had entered the homeland of Greek culture, with which they had first come in close contact in Magna Græcia a century earlier. This culture was in many respects vastly superior to their own, and for this reason it exerted a profound influence upon life and thought at Rome. Many among the Romans seemed to have conceived a sudden contempt for everything Roman, as something provincial and old-fashioned, and as suddenly to have become infatuated with everything Greek. Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, and Greek literature and philosophy

⁵ At a later period, Greece, under the name of *Achæa*, was reduced to the status of a province and joined to Macedonia.

became the fashion at Rome, so that Roman society seemed in a fair way of becoming Hellenized. And to a certain degree this did take place: Greece captive led enthralled her captor. So many and so important were the elements of Greek culture which in the process of time were taken up and absorbed by the Romans that there ceased to be such a thing in the world as a pure Latin civilization. We recognize this intimate blending of the cultures of the two great peoples of classical antiquity when we speak of the civilization of the later Roman Empire as being Græco-Roman.

But along with the many helpful elements of culture which the Romans received from the East, they received also many germs of great social and moral evils. Life in Greece and the Orient had become degenerate and corrupt. Close communication with this society, in union with other influences which we shall notice later, corrupted life at Rome. The simplicity and frugality of the earlier times were replaced by Oriental extravagance, luxury, and dissoluteness. Evidences of this decline in the moral life of the Romans, the presage of the downfall of the republic, will multiply as we advance in the history of the years following the destruction of Corinth.

87. Cato the Censor.—One of the most noted of the Romans of this time was Marcus Porcius Cato (232–147 B.C.), surnamed the Censor. His active life covered the whole of the long period the important events of which we have just been narrating, and which makes up the interval between the Second and the Third Punic War. Indeed, Cato as a young man fought in the Hannibalic War, and as an old counselor did more than any other person to bring on the third war, which resulted in the destruction of Carthage. His life is a sort of mirror in which is reflected the life of three generations at Rome.

Cato was born the son of a peasant at Tusculum, in Latium. From his father he received as an inheritance a scanty farm in the Sabine country. Near by were the cottage and farm of the celebrated Roman commander Manius Curius Dentatus, one of the popular heroes of the Samnite Wars, of whom tradition related

that, when the Samnites on one occasion sought to bribe him, they found him cooking turnips, and wanting nothing that they could give him. This worthy old Roman Cato took as his model.

As we have seen, at just this time Greek ideas and customs were being introduced at Rome. Cato set his face like a flint against all these innovations. He did everything in his power to cast discredit and contempt upon everything Greek. He visited Athens and made a speech to the people; but instead of addressing the Athenians in their own language, which he could speak well enough, he talked to them in Latin, simply in order, Plutarch says, to rebuke those of his countrymen who affected to regard the Greek language as better than the Roman. He told the Romans that Greek education and Greek literature and philosophy would bring their country to ruin. He refused to allow his little son to be taught by a Greek slave, as was coming to be the custom in the leading Roman families, but he himself attended carefully to the education of the boy.

One of the most unattractive, and, indeed, to us, repellent, sides of Cato's character is revealed in his treatment of his slaves. He looked upon them precisely as so much live stock, raising them and disposing of them just as though they were cattle. When a slave became old or worn out he sold him, and recommended such a course to others on the ground of its economy.

But notwithstanding all of Cato's faults and shortcomings his character was, according to Roman ideals, noble and admirable, and his life and services, especially those which he rendered the state as censor, were approved and appreciated by his fellow-citizens, who set up in his honor a statue with this inscription: "This statue was erected to Cato because when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it."

Selections from the Sources. — APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. ix, excerpts ix, secs. i-iv; Flamininus forces Philip to give up his conquests and proclaims emancipation to the Greeks; and bk. xi, chap. vii, secs. 37-40; Antiochus the Great and Scipio. PLUTARCH, *Life of Titus Flamininus* and *Life of Marcus Cato*. POLYBIUS, xxxviii. 3-11; the cause of the fall of Greece.

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References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, chap. viii; on the condition of the Hellenistic East at the beginning of the Second Macedonian War. IIINE, vol. iii, bk. v, chaps. i-iv. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Rome under the Oligarchs*, chap. xi. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxv-xxx. MAHAFFY, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. ii, "The Immediate Effects of the Roman Conquest upon Hellenism"; and *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, chap. xxii, "Polybius and his Age." GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East"; for a study of the life and culture of the Hellenistic world that is soon to become a part of the Roman Empire. FREEMAN, *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v-ix; for the history of the Achæan and the Ætolian League. Also the same author's *Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. i, "Europe before the Roman Power."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The political situation in Greece and in the Orient about the beginning of the second century B.C. 2. Rhodes as a trade emporium. 3. Flaminius as "the Restorer of Greek liberties." 4. The last days of Hannibal. 5. The destruction of Corinth. 6. Rome and Greek culture. 7. Cato the Censor.

CHAPTER XI

THE THIRD PUNIC AND NUMANTINE WARS

I. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (149-146 B.C.)

88. "**Carthage should be destroyed.**" — The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth (sec. 85), she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the last-named city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should under no circumstances engage in war with an ally of Rome (sec. 79). Taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, Masinissa, king of Numidia and an ally of Rome, began to make depredations upon her territories. Carthage appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the senate to settle the dispute, unfairly adjudged every point in favor of the robber Masinissa. In this way Carthage was deprived of her lands and towns.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage, — her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas, — he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. At the conclusion of his report to the senate, he is said, as an object lesson to the senators, to have emptied out on the floor of the chamber a quantity of large and beautiful figs, with these words, "The country where this fruit grows is only three days' sail from Rome." All of his addresses after this — no matter on what subject — he is said invariably to have closed with the declaration, "Moreover, Carthage should be destroyed."

89. Roman Perfidy.—A pretext for the accomplishment of the hateful work was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory, instead of calling upon Rome, from which source their experience in the past had convinced them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army with the resolution of defending themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidians and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, children of the noblest Carthaginian families, the independence of their city should be respected. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these persons in the hands of the Romans than the consular armies, numbering eighty thousand men and secured against attack by the hostages so perfidiously drawn from the Carthaginians, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms. Still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman senate,—"That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the senate was announced to the Carthaginians and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

90. The Carthaginians prepare to defend their City.—It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues, and vases were melted down for weapons. Material was

torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the catapults. By such labor and through such sacrifices the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just so treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital and ready to bid them defiance.

91. The Destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.). — It is impossible for us here to give the circumstances of the siege of Carthage. For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio Æmilianus¹ succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased only fifty thousand men, women, and children, out of a population of seven hundred thousand, remained to be made prisoners. The city was set on fire, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which fire could not destroy was leveled, a plow was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the destruction of the city, records that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smoldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer :

The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.²

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city ; and by means of traders and settlers Roman civilization was spread rapidly throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

92. The Significance of Rome's Triumph over Carthage. — The triumph of Rome over Carthage may perhaps be rightly given as prominent a place in history as the triumph, more than three

¹ Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. After his conquest of Carthage he was known as *Africanus Minor*.

² *Iliad*, vi. 448.

centuries before, of Greece over Persia. In each case Europe was saved from the threatened danger of becoming a mere dependency or extension of Asia.

The Semitic Carthaginians had not the political aptitude and moral energy that characterized the Italians and the other Aryan peoples of Europe. Their civilization was as lacking as the Persian in elements of growth and expansion. Had this civilization been spread by conquest throughout Europe, the germs of political, literary, artistic, and religious life among the Aryans of the continent might have been smothered, and their history have been rendered as barren in political and intellectual interests as the later history of the races of the Orient.

It is these considerations which justify the giving of the battle of the Metaurus, which marks the real turning point in the long struggle between Rome and Carthage, a place along with the battle of Marathon in the short list of the really decisive battles of the world, — battles which have seemingly decided the fate of races, of continents, and of civilizations.

II. THE NUMANTINE WAR (143-133 B.C.)

93. The Capture and Destruction of Numantia (133 B.C.). — It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the blotting out of Carthage in Africa should tell also the story of the destruction, at the hands of the Romans, of Numantia in Spain. This was the sequel of the so-called Numantine War.

The expulsion of the Carthaginians from the Spanish peninsula (sec. 78) really gave Rome the control of only a small part of that country. The warlike native tribes — the Celtiberians and Lusitanians — of the North and the West were ready to dispute stubbornly with the newcomers the possession of the soil.

The war gathered about Numantia, the siege of which was brought to a close by Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. Before the surrender of the place, almost all the inhabitants had met death either in defense of the walls or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages

of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was leveled to the ground (133 B.C.).

The capture of Numantia was considered quite as great an achievement as the taking of Carthage. Scipio celebrated another triumph at Rome, and to his surname *Africanus* added that of *Numantinus*.

94. Spain becomes Romanized. — Though ever since the Second Punic War Spain had been regarded as forming a part of the Roman dominions, still now for the first time it really became a Roman possession.

Roman merchants and traders crowded into the country, and many colonies were established in different parts of the peninsula. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, the manners, the customs, and the language of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, so that the peninsula became in time thoroughly Romanized. Thus was laid the basis of two of the Romance nations of modern times, — the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Selections from the Sources. — APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. viii, chaps. x-xiii, secs. 67-94; the growth of Carthage, Cato's visit to that city, and other matters relating to the beginning of the Third Punic War. POLYBIUS, xxxix. 3-5; the fall of Carthage. It should be remembered that Polybius here writes as an eyewitness of the scenes that he describes.

References (Modern). MOMMSEN, vol. iii, pp. 39-57. IHNE, vol. iii, bk. v, chap. v, for the third war with Carthage; and chap. vi, for the Numantine War. SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians* and *Rome and Carthage*. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxiv and xxviii-xxxi. CHURCH, *Story of Carthage*; interesting for younger classes. BOISSIER, *Roman Africa*, chap. ii, sec. 4.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The last days of Carthage. 2. Viriathus. 3. The fall of Numantia. 4. "Punic faith." 5. The effect of conquest on the Roman republic. See *Pelham*, bk. iii, chap. iii; and *How and Leigh*, as cited above.

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC: FIRST PERIOD

(133-78 B.C.)

95. Introductory. — We have now traced in broad outlines the development of the government and institutions of republican Rome, and have told briefly the story of that wonderful career of conquest which made the little Palatine city first the mistress of Latium, then of Italy, and finally of the greater part of the Mediterranean world.

It is now our less pleasant task to follow the declining fortunes of the republic through the last century of its existence. This was a period of transition and revolution. During this time many agencies were at work undermining the institutions of the republic and paving the way for the empire. What these agencies were will best be made apparent by a simple narration of the events and transactions that crowd this memorable period of Roman history.

96. The First Servile War in Sicily (134-132 B.C.). — With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves, — what is known as the First Servile War. The condition of affairs in that island was the legitimate result of the Roman system of slavery, which was itself a chief cause of the economic and social decline of republican Rome.

The captives that the Romans took in war they usually sold into servitude. The great number of prisoners furnished by their numerous conquests and particularly by their subjugation of the East, had caused slaves to become a drug in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor and then to buy others, than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In

case of sickness they were often left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some estates were worked by as many as twenty thousand slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their owners, and often were their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made the one servant and the other master.

The wretched condition of the slaves in Sicily, where the slave system exhibited some of its worst features, and the cruelty of their masters at last drove them to revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island until two hundred thousand slaves were in arms, — if axes, reaping hooks, staves, and roasting spits may be called arms. Well knowing that they could expect no mercy at the hands of their masters, the slaves held out in their mountain strongholds to the bitter end. Maddened by hunger, they killed their women and children for food. At the last extremity many committed suicide. Those who survived to be made prisoners were tortured, flung over precipices, or crucified, — crucifixion being a favorite form of punishment meted out by the Romans to rebellious slaves. Twenty thousand of these unhappy people are said to have been lifted up on crosses. Sicily was thus pacified, and remained quiet for nearly a generation.¹

97. The Public Lands. — In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. At the bottom of a large part of the social and economic troubles here was the public land system, to which we have had occasion already to refer as the cause of unrest and bitter complaint on the part of the poorer classes at the beginning of the first century of the republic (sec. 34).

Since that time matters, instead of mending, had constantly grown worse. The wide conquests of the Romans and the accompanying confiscation of large tracts of the lands of the subjugated

¹ In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell. This last revolt is known as the Second Servile War.

peoples had increased enormously the public domain of the Roman state. But these fresh acquisitions of land benefited, for the most part, only the rich class at Rome. They alone had the capital necessary to stock with cattle and slaves the new lands, and hence they were the sole "occupiers" of them. The small farmers everywhere, too, were being ruined by the unfair competition of slave labor, and their little holdings were passing by purchase, and often by fraud or barefaced robbery, into the hands of the great proprietors.

The Licinian Laws (sec. 46), it is true, made it illegal for any person to occupy more than a prescribed amount of the public lands; but this law had long since become a dead letter. The greater part of the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand persons. These great landowners found stock raising more profitable than working the soil. Hence Italy had been made into a great sheep pasture. The dispossessed peasants, left without home or employment, crowded into the great cities, congregating especially at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence.

Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, which are variously designated as the Rich and the Poor, the Possessors and the Non-Possessors, — the Optimates, the "Best," and the Populares, the "People." We hear nothing more of patricians and plebeians. The clan aristocracy of the earlier state had given place to a wealth aristocracy, or rather had been absorbed by it. This later aristocracy was, in some respects, particularly in the elements that composed it, like the English aristocracy of the present day.

98. The Reforms of the Gracchi. — The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single

clod to call your own." The people made him tribune (134-133 B.C.); and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief. It took away from Possessors without sons all the land they held over five hundred jugera; Possessors with one son might hold seven hundred and fifty jugera, and those with two sons one thousand.

As the end of his term of office drew near, Tiberius stood again for the tribunate.² The nobles combined to defeat him. Foreseeing that he would not be reëlected, Tiberius, it would seem, had resolved to use force upon the day of voting. His partisans were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the forum and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (133 B.C.). This was the first time that the Roman forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus now came forward to assume the position made vacant by the death of his brother Tiberius. How he brooded over his brother's fate is shown by the story that tells how he had a dream in which the spirit of Tiberius seemed to address him thus: "Gaius, why do you delay? There is no escape; the same life for both of us, and the same death in defense of the people, is our destiny."

In the year 124 B.C. Gaius was elected tribune. Once in the tribuneship, he entered with energy upon the work of reform. He won the affection of the poor of the city by carrying a law which provided that every Roman citizen, on personal application, should be given corn from the public granaries at half or less than half the market price. Gaius could not have foreseen all the evils to which this law, which was in effect what we know as a poor law, was destined to lead. It led eventually to the free distribution of corn to all citizens who made application for it. Very soon a large proportion of the population of Rome was living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib (sec. 215).

As a further measure of relief for the poor, Gaius established new colonies in Italy, and sent six thousand settlers, comprising

² This was unconstitutional, for at this time a tribune could not hold his office for two consecutive years.

Italians as well as Roman citizens, to the site of Carthage, and founded there a colony called Junonia. This was the first citizen colony established by the Romans outside of Italy.

Another measure now proposed by Gaius alienated a large section of his followers and paved the way for his downfall. This proposal seemingly was that all the Latins should be made full Roman citizens, and that the Italian allies (sec. 101) should be given the rights and privileges then enjoyed by the Latins. Gaius was in this matter out of touch with his times. The Romans were unwilling to confer the rights of the city upon those still without them for the reason that citizenship now, since the whole world was paying tribute in one form or another to the ruling class in the Roman state, was something valuable. The proposal was defeated, and the popularity of Gaius visibly declined.

The aristocratic or senatorial party, who bitterly hated Gaius, now schemed for his downfall. The struggle between the factions soon issued in riot and fighting. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword, and three thousand of his adherents were massacred (121 B.C.). The consul Lucius Opimius had offered for the head of Gaius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The common people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs to their cause, and their memory was preserved in later times by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

99. The War with Jugurtha (111-106 B.C.). — After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions and to denounce the scandalous extravagances of the aristocratic party. The laws of the Gracchi respecting the public lands were annulled or were made of no effect. Italy fell again into the hands of a few overrich landowners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors, who squandered their ill-gotten wealth at the capital. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the

provinces,—everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. Affairs in Africa at this time illustrate how Roman virtue and integrity had declined since Fabricius indignantly refused the gold of Pyrrhus (sec. 53).

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Finally, the Numidian robber, in carrying out some of his high-handed measures, put to death some Italian merchants. War was immediately declared by the Roman senate, and the consul Bestia was sent into Africa with an army to punish the insolent usurper. Bestia sold himself to Jugurtha, and instead of chastising him confirmed him in his stolen possessions. We should naturally suppose that the senate would have meted out proper punishment to the mercenary consul upon his return. But the prudent general had taken along with him the president of that body and had divided with him the spoils.

The indignation of the people, who had good reason to suspect the real state of affairs, was great. They demanded that Jugurtha, with the promise of immunity to himself, should be invited to Rome and encouraged to disclose the whole transaction, in order that those who had betrayed the state for money might be punished. Jugurtha came; but the consul and president bribed one of the tribunes to prohibit the king from giving his testimony.

Now it so happened that there was in Rome at this time a rival claimant of the Numidian throne, who at this very moment was urging his claims before the senate. Jugurtha caused this rival to be assassinated. As he himself was under a safe-conduct, the senate could do nothing to punish the audacious deed and to resent the insult to the state save by ordering the king to leave Rome at once. As he passed the gates, it is said that he looked scornfully back upon the capital, and exclaimed, “O venal city! thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser!”

Upon the renewal of the war another Roman army was sent into Africa, but was defeated and sent beneath the yoke. Finally,

in the year 106 B.C., the war was brought to a close by Gaius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Under him fought a young nobleman named Sulla, of whom we shall hear much hereafter. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome. Jugurtha, after having graced the triumphal procession, in which he walked with his hands bound with chains, was thrown into the Mamertine dungeon beneath the Capitoline hill, where he died of starvation.

100. Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones (113-101 B.C.). — The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," three hundred thousand strong in fighting men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded and were now desolating the Roman province of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and sweep down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutones and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes, and were driven on, it would almost seem, by a blind and instinctive impulse. They carried with them in rude wagons all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the newcomers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. The terror at Rome was only equaled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls three centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was reëlected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command of the armies. Accompanied by Sulla as one of his most skillful lieutenants, Marius hastened into Northern Italy. The barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps and join in the valley of the Po the Teutones, who were to force the defiles of the Western or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutones, Marius hurried into Southern Gaul and sat down in a fortified camp to watch the movements of the barbarians. Unable to storm the Roman position, the Teutones resolved to leave the enemy in their rear and push on into Italy. For six days and nights the endless train of men and wagons rolled past the camp of Marius. The barbarians jeered at the Roman soldiers, and asked them if they had any messages they wished to send to their wives; if so, they would bear them, as they would be in Rome shortly. Marius allowed them to pass by, and then, breaking camp, followed closely after. Falling upon them at a favorable moment, he almost annihilated the entire host.³ Two hundred thousand barbarians are said to have been slain. Marius heaped together and burned the spoils of the battlefield. While engaged in this work, the news was brought to him of his reelection as consul for the fifth time. This was illegal; but the people felt that he must be kept in the field.

Marius now recrossed the Alps, and, after visiting Rome, hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the northeastern corner of Italy. He was not a day too soon. Already the barbarians had defeated the Roman army under the patrician Catulus, and were ravaging the rich plains of the Po. The Cimbri, uninformed as to the fate of the Teutones, now sent an embassy to Marius to demand that they and their kinsmen be given lands in Italy. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutones have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). The barbarians were drawn up in an enormous hollow square, the men forming the outer ranks being fastened together with ropes, to prevent their lines from being broken. This proved their ruin. More than one hundred thousand were killed, and sixty thousand taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman slave markets. Marius was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

The fate of these two nations that were wandering over the face of the earth in search of homes forms one of the most

³ In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

pathetic tales in all history. The almost innumerable host of wanderers, men, women, and children, now "rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery: the forlorn hope of the German migration had performed its duty; the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more" (Mommson). Their kinsmen yet behind the Danube and the Rhine were destined to exact a terrible revenge for their slaughter.

101. The Social or Marsic War (91-89 B.C.).—Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past before Rome was threatened by another and greater evil arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes, — *Roman citizens*, *Latins*, and *Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital, of certain towns called municipia, and of the Roman colonies (sec. 55), besides the dwellers on isolated farms and the inhabitants of villages scattered everywhere throughout Italy.

The Latins comprised the inhabitants of the Latin colonies (sec. 55). The name had by this time lost all racial meaning and denoted merely the political status of those bearing it. What installment of the rights of the city this class enjoyed we have already learned. We need here simply recall to mind that they possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of the city, and had a special capacity, through meeting certain conditions, of acquiring full Roman citizenship. They were called allies, — "allies of the Latin name."

The third class, the Italian allies, was made up of those conquered peoples that Rome had excluded wholly from the rights of the city. If we should say that these so-called "allies" were the subjects of the Roman burges body, we should describe in a word very nearly their actual status.

The Social or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship. Their demands were stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome. Some, however, recognized the justice of these

claims of the Italians.⁴ The tribune Livius Drusus championed their cause, but he was killed by an assassin. The Italians now flew to arms. They determined upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica.

The government of the new state was modeled after that at Rome. Thus in a single day a large part of Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome. The Etrurians and the Umbrians, however, continued loyal. The Latin colonies or towns, some forty in number, together with the most of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, also remained faithful.



FIG. 19. — COIN OF
THE ITALIAN CON-
FEDERACY

The Sabellian bull goring
the Roman wolf

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the republic.

The war lasted three years and was waged in almost every part of Italy, since the towns and communities that had rebelled were scattered throughout the peninsula.

The war was finally brought to an end rather by prudent concessions on the part of Rome than by fighting. In the year 90 B.C., alarmed by signs of disaffection in certain of the communities that up to this time had remained faithful, Rome granted the franchise of the city to all Italian communities that had not declared war against her or had already laid down their arms. The following year the full rights of the city were offered to all Italians who should within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and express a wish for the franchise. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war.⁵

⁴ It should be carefully noted that the opposition to the admission of strangers to the rights of the city was no longer based on religious grounds, as was the case in the earliest days of patrician Rome (sec. 49). The opposition now arose simply from the selfish determination of a privileged class in the Roman state to retain its monopoly rights and immunities.

⁵ After the close of the war and as an immediate consequence of it, the rights that had up to this time been enjoyed by the Latin towns were conferred upon all the cities between the Po and the Alps.

102. Comments on the Political Results of the Social War. —

Thus as an outcome of the war practically all the freemen of Italy south of the Po were made equal in civil and political rights. This was a matter of great significance. "The enrollment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded," declares the historian Merivale, "as the greatest stroke of policy in the whole history of the republic." This wholesale enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies more than doubled the number of Roman burgesses. The census for the year 70 B.C. gives the number of citizens as 900,000, as against 394,336 about a generation before the war.⁶

This equalization of the different classes of the Italian peninsula was simply a later phase of that movement in early Rome which resulted in the equalization of the two orders of the patricians and plebeians (Chapter V). But the purely political results of the earlier and those of the later revolution were very different. At the earlier time those who demanded and received the franchise were persons living either in Rome or in its immediate vicinity, and consequently able to exercise the acquired right to vote and to hold office.

But now it was very different. These new-made citizens were living in towns and villages or on farms scattered all over Italy, and of course very few of them could ever go to Rome, either to participate in the elections there, to vote on proposed legislation, or to become candidates for the Roman magistracies. Hence the rights they had acquired were, after all, politically barren. But no one was to blame for this state of things. Rome had simply outgrown her city constitution and her system of primary assemblies (sec. 10). She needed for her widening empire a representative system like ours; but representation was a political device far away from the thoughts of the men of those times.

As a result of the impossibility of the Roman citizens outside of Rome taking part, as a general thing, in the meetings of the popular assemblies at the capital, the offices of the state fell into

⁶ Consult table on page 144.

the hands of those actually living in Rome or settled in its immediate neighborhood. Since the free, or practically free, distribution of corn and the public shows were drawing to the capital from all quarters crowds of the poor, the idle, and the vicious, these assemblies were rapidly becoming simply mobs controlled by noisy demagogues and unscrupulous military leaders aiming at the supreme power in the state.

This situation brought about a serious division in the body of Roman citizens. Those of the capital came to regard themselves as the real rulers of the empire, as they actually were, and looked with disdain upon those living in the other cities and the remoter districts of the peninsula. They alone reaped the fruits of the conquered world. At the same time the mass of outside passive citizens, as we may call them, came to look with jealousy upon this body of pampered aristocrats, rich speculators, and ragged, dissolute clients and hangers-on at Rome. They became quite reconciled to the thought of power passing out of the hands of such a crowd and into the hands of a single man. The feelings of men everywhere were being prepared for the revolution that was to overthrow the republic and bring in the empire.

103. Mithradates the Great establishes an Empire in the Orient.

—While the Social War was still in progress in Italy a formidable enemy of Rome appeared in the East. Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, came to the throne of the little kingdom of Pontus⁷ in the year 120 B.C. His extraordinary career impressed deeply the imagination of his time, and his deeds and fame have come down to us disguised and distorted by legend. His bodily frame and strength were immense and his activity untiring. He could carry on conversation, it is said, in twenty-two of the different languages of his subjects. But Mithradates, notwithstanding the fact that his mother was a



FIG. 20. — MITHRADATES
THE GREAT

⁷ See *Eastern Nations and Greece*, sec. 302, n. 3.

Syrian Greek and he himself was familiar with Greek culture, was, in his instincts and impulses, a typical Oriental barbarian. In the course of a few years Mithradates had pushed out the boundaries of his little hereditary kingdom until it almost encircled the Euxine, which became practically a Pontic sea. He now audaciously encroached upon the Roman possessions in Asia Minor. The natives of the Roman province of Asia,⁸ oppressed by Roman speculators, tax farmers, usurers, and corrupt magistrates, hailed him as their deliverer.

In order to make secure his power in Asia, Mithradates now gave orders that on a certain day every Italian, without distinction of age or sex, should be put to death. This savage order was almost everywhere carried out to the letter. Men, women, and children, all of the Italian name, were massacred. The number of victims of the wholesale slaughter is variously estimated at from eighty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand.

Mithradates now turned his attention to Europe and sent his army into Greece. Athens, hoping for the revival of her old empire, and the most of the other Greek cities, renounced the authority of Rome and hailed Mithradates as the protector of Hellenism against the barbarian Romans.

Thus in the space of a few months was the power of the Romans destroyed throughout all the East, and the boundaries of their empire pushed back virtually to the Adriatic.

104. Marius and Sulla contend for the Command in the War against Mithradates. — The Roman senate at last bestirred itself. Its preoccupation with affairs in Italy had kept it from giving that attention to the proceedings of Mithradates that the gravity of the situation he was creating demanded. Every exertion was now made to raise and equip an army for the recovery of the East. But the Marsic struggle had drained the treasury and impoverished all Italy. The money needed for equipping the expedition could be raised only by the extraordinary measure of

⁸ In the year 133 B.C. King Attalus III of Pergamum had willed his kingdom to the Roman people. The Romans had accepted the bequest and made the territory into a province under the name of Asia.

selling at public auction some land belonging to the state within the city limits.

A contest straightway arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The senate conferred this upon Sulla, who at that time was consul. Marius was furious. By violent means he succeeded in carrying a measure in an assembly of the people whereby the command was taken away from Sulla and given to himself.

Two tribunes were sent to demand of Sulla, who was still in Italy, the transfer of the command of the legions to Marius; but the messengers were killed by the soldiers, who were devotedly attached to their commander. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed.

Sulla, after making some changes in the constitution in the interest of the oligarchy, among which was a provision which prevented the popular assemblies considering any measure unless it had been first approved by the senate, embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).

105. Marius massacres the Aristocrats (87 B.C.). — Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithradatic war,⁹ we must first follow the fortunes of the proscribed Marius. Returning from Africa, whither he had fled, Marius joined the consul Cinna in an attempt to crush by force the senatorial party. Rome was cut off from her food supplies and starved into submission.

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Gnaeus Octavius, who represented the aristocrats, was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the rostra. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome, — a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. If he refused to return

⁹ This was what is known as the First Mithradatic War (68–84 B.C.).

the greeting of any citizen, that sealed his fate ; he was instantly dispatched by the soldiers who awaited their master's nod. The bodies of the victims lay unburied in the streets. Sulla's house was torn down, and he himself declared a public enemy.

As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. Marius was now consul for the seventh time. He enjoyed his seventh consulship only thirteen days, being carried away by death in the seventy-first year of his age (86 B.C.). "He had lived too long for his fame."

106. The Proscriptions of Sulla (82 B.C.). — With the Mithradatic war ended, Sulla wrote to the senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party, — his own and the republic's foes. The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline Books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

The returning army from the East landed in Italy (83 B.C.). After much hard fighting Sulla entered Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the rostra. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and then grew rapidly

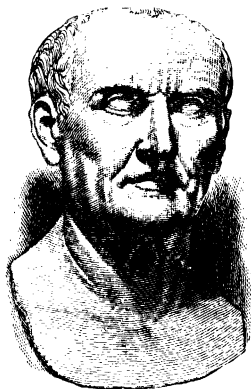


FIG. 21. — MARIUS
(Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered simply because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble, coming into the forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas ! my villa has proved my ruin." The infamous Catiline (sec. 117), by having the name of a brother placed upon the fatal roll, secured his property. Julius Cæsar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of his relationship to Marius, but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him ; as he did so, however, he said warningly, and, as the event proved, prophetically, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

The number of victims of these proscriptions has been handed down as forty-seven hundred. Almost all of these must have been men of wealth or of special distinction on account of their activity in public affairs. Even the dead did not escape. The tomb of Marius was broken open and the ashes thrown into the Anio.

The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold at public auction, or virtually given away by Sulla to his favorites. Estates were purchased in some instances for a mere fraction of their real value. The bases of some of the most colossal fortunes that we hear of a little after this were laid during these times of proscription and robbery.

This reign of terror bequeathed to later times a terrible "legacy of hatred and fear." Its awful scenes haunted the Romans for generations, and at every crisis in the affairs of the commonwealth the public mind was thrown into a state of painful apprehension lest there should be a repetition of these frightful days of Sulla.

Nor did Italy ever recover from the economic blight that this civil war and the mutual proscriptions of the contending parties brought upon large regions of the peninsula. In the wasted districts the great slave farms grew in size, and everywhere brigandage increased.

107. Sulla made Dictator, with Power to remodel the Constitution (82 B.C.). — The senate now passed a decree which approved and confirmed all that Sulla had done, and made him dictator during his own good pleasure. This was the first time a dictator

had been appointed since the war with Hannibal, and the first time the dictatorial authority had ever been conferred for a longer period than six months. The decree further gave Sulla the power of life and death without the right of appeal over every person in the state, and further invested him with authority to make laws and to remodel the constitution in any way that might seem to him necessary and best. The power here given Sulla was like that with which the decemvirs had been clothed nearly four centuries before this time (sec. 37).

108. The Sullan Constitution. — The chief political aim of the Gracchan reforms had been the diminishing of the power of the senate and the placing of all authority, legislative and administrative, in the assemblies of the people, led and controlled by the college of tribunes.

The reforms which Sulla, invested with the full power of the state, now effected had for their chief aim the restoration of the authority of the senate,¹⁰ which recent revolutions and circumstances had reduced almost to a nullity, and the lessening of the power of the tribunate, which office during the centuries since its establishment had gradually absorbed one function after another until it was now the most important of all the magistracies of the state.

The changes and reforms effected by Sulla were, almost all of them, wise and reasonable, and mark him as a man of great ability and of statesmanlike views and aims. It is difficult for us

¹⁰ Among the changes wrought in the constitution by Sulla were the following: (1) the number of senators was about doubled, and the senate from this time on appears to have embraced between five and six hundred members; (2) the number of criminal courts was increased, and the administration of criminal justice was placed in the hands of the senatorial party; (3) no measure was to be presented by a tribune to any popular assembly without the approval of the senate having been secured beforehand; (4) the power of the college of tribunes was still further diminished by the imposition of a heavy fine for the abuse by a tribune of the right of intercession; (5) it was decreed that no person should hold the consulship for two successive years (which was designed to prevent such a protracted consulship as Marius'), and further that no one should have the right to stand for the consulship who had not previously held the offices of quaestor and praetor. (The ages of eligibility to these several offices were, for the quaestorship, thirty; for the praetorship, forty; and for the consulship, forty-three.)

to believe the Sulla of the days of proscription and the Sulla of these days of constitution making to be one and the same man.

Yet Sulla's constitution, wisely as it had been conceived, broke down utterly in almost every part within ten years. But the fault was not with the constitution, but with the men intrusted with the working of it. Mr. James Bryce, in his commentary on our institutions, has said of the American people that they would make any sort of a constitution work well. Just the opposite was true of the senatorial party at Rome who were intrusted with the working of the Sullan constitution. They were intellectually unable and morally unfit to work any kind of a constitution. We need not then be surprised at the quick breakdown of the constitution which Sulla placed in their hands.

109. The Abdication and Death of Sulla; Result of his Rule. —

After having exercised the unlimited power of his office for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of everybody, suddenly resigned the dictatorship and went into retirement. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). The monument erected to his memory bore this inscription, which he himself had composed: "None of my friends ever did me a kindness, and none of my enemies ever did me a wrong, without being fully requited."

One important result of the reign of Sulla as an absolute dictator was the accustoming of the people to the idea of the rule of a single man. His short dictatorship was the prelude to the reign of the permanent imperator.

The parts of the old actors in the drama were now all played to the end. But the plot deepens, and new men appear upon the stage to carry on the new, which are really the old, parts.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* and *Life of Gaius Marius*. APPIAN, *The Civil Wars*, bk. i, chap. xi, sec. 100, Sulla remodels the constitution; and chap. vii, secs. 55-63, the civil war between Marius and Sulla.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. iv, bk. v, chaps. i-iii; and vol. v, bk. v, chaps. viii-xi. IHNE, vols. iv and v (chaps. xvii-xxiii); the greater part of the fourth volume is devoted to an account of "the constitution, laws, religion, and magistrates of the Roman people." MERIVALE, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, chaps. i-v. FREEMAN, *The Story of*

Sicily, chap. xvi, "Sicily a Roman Province"; first part of the chapter, on the Servile War; and *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "Lucius Cornelius Sulla." BEESLY, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 201-240. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxxiii-xliv. GILMAN, *Story of Rome*, chaps. xii and xiii. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chap. vi, secs. 85-97. RAMSAY and LANCIANI, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, chap. vii; for a summary of the Agrarian Laws. LONG, *The Decline of the Roman Republic*; for consultation and reference. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chap. ix.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Roman slavery. 2. Gaius Gracchus. 3. The Cimbri and Teutones. 4. Tales illustrating the wrongs of the Italian allies. 5. Mithradates the Great. 6. The Sullan constitution.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC; SECOND PERIOD

(78-31 B.C.)

110. Sertorius in Spain ; the War against him (80-72 B.C.).—Spain had become a sort of refuge for the exiled Marians. The situation there now was this. The Lusitanians, the martial people of the province of Farther Spain, had asserted their independence and were in arms against Rome. They had invited the Marian exile, Quintus Sertorius, to come to their help. The invitation had been accepted, and Sertorius was at this moment their leader.

Sertorius was a man of positive genius, one of the few men of great parts that the savage proscriptions of the contending parties at Rome had left alive. His camp was a sort of Adul-lam's cave,¹ where was collected a great crowd of the outlawed adherents of the Marian party and men dissatisfied with the new order of things at Rome. In the year 76 B.C. Gnæus Pompey, a rising young general of the aristocrats, upon whom the title of "Great" had already been conferred as a reward for crushing the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, was sent out to Spain to perform a similar service there. For several years the war was carried on with varying fortunes. At times the power of Rome in the peninsula seemed on the verge of utter extinction. Finally the brave Sertorius, a price having been placed on his head, was treacherously killed, and then the whole of Spain was quickly regained. Pompey settled the affairs of the country, putting in power those who would be not only friends and allies of the Roman state but also his own personal adherents. How he used these men as instruments of his ambition we shall learn a little later.

¹ See 1 Samuel, xxii. 1, 2.

III. Spartacus; War of the Gladiators (73-71 B.C.). — While Pompey was subduing the Marian faction in Spain, a new danger broke out in the midst of Italy. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheater. At Capua was a sort of training school from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments.² In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented persons from every quarter. Their number at length increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. Four Roman armies sent against them were cut to pieces.

The general Marcus L. Crassus finally inflicted upon the insurgents a decisive defeat in a battle at the Silarus, in Lucania. Spartacus himself was slain; but five thousand of his followers escaped and fled towards the Alps. This fleeing band was met and annihilated by Pompey, who was just returning from Spain.

The slaves that had taken part in the revolt were hunted through the mountains and forests and exterminated like dangerous beasts. The Appian Way was lined with six thousand crosses bearing aloft as many bodies, — a terrible warning of the fate awaiting slaves who should dare to strike for freedom.

II2. The Consulship of Pompey and the Overthrow of the Sullan Constitution (70 B.C.). — In recognition of his services in the Spanish and the Gladiatorial war, Pompey was made consul for the year 70 B.C. Crassus, the conqueror of Spartacus, was chosen as his colleague.

Pompey did not owe the consulate to the senatorial party, to which he nominally belonged, for they were jealous of his growing popularity and threw every obstacle they could in the way of his advance. He owed his election to the popular party, with the leaders of which he had entered into a political bargain, the

² See sec. 213.

terms of which were that in return for the consulship, a triumph, and lands for his veterans, he should aid the people in repealing the Sullan laws and restoring the Gracchan constitution.

No sooner was Pompey installed in office than he proceeded to make good his promises to the democrats. The Sullan constitution was in all its main parts abolished and the Gracchan virtually reestablished.

It would be idle to follow further any changes in the Roman constitution under the republic. From this on to the establishment of the empire there was in reality no constitutional law at Rome, but only the will or caprice of the successful leader of the legions. Consuls and tribunes alike were henceforth hardly more than work-tools in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous commanders who were aiming at the supreme power in the state. In the midst of the bargainings and intrigues of the demagogues and the military chieftains, no one paid any attention to the rules of the constitution, save to use them to further personal ambition or to gain some party end.

113. The Abuses and the Prosecution of Verres (70 B.C.). — It was in connection with the administration of the affairs of the provinces that the most flagrant abuses arose. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions had become shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the *proprætor* of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things which struck his fancy, whether in temples or in private dwellings.

Verres could not be called to account while in office (sec. 31) ; and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted, so corrupt and venal had become the members of the senate before whom all such offenders must be tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers ; the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

At length, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial caused Verres to flee into exile to Massilia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

114. Growth of Piracy in the Mediterranean ; War with the Pirates (78-66 B.C.).—

Another most shameful commentary on the utter incapacity of the government of the aris-



FIG. 22. — ROMAN TRADING VESSEL

tocrats was the growth of piracy in the Mediterranean waters during their rule. It is true that this was an evil which had been growing for a long time. The Romans through their conquest of the countries fringing the Mediterranean had destroyed not only the governments that had maintained order on the land but at the same time had destroyed the fleets, as in the case of Carthage, which, since the days when the rising Greek cities suppressed piracy in the Ægean Sea, had policed the Mediterranean and kept its ship routes clear of corsairs. In the more vigorous days of the republic

the sea had been well watched by Roman fleets, but after the close of the wars with Carthage the Romans had allowed their war navy to fall into decay.

The Mediterranean, thus left practically without patrol, was *swarming with pirates*; for the Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits in those maritime countries to take to their ships and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. The cruelty and extortion of the Roman governors in the various provinces, the civil war, the proscriptions and confiscations of the days of terror at Rome, the impoverishment and dispossession of the peasant farmers everywhere through the growth of great slave estates, — all these things, filling as they did the Mediterranean lands with homeless and desperate men, had also driven large numbers of hitherto honest and industrious persons to the same course of life.

These "ruined men of all nations," now turned pirates, had banded themselves together in a sort of government and state. They had as places of refuge numerous strong fortresses — four hundred it is said — among the inaccessible mountains of the coast lands they frequented. They had a fleet of a thousand sails, with dockyards and naval arsenals. They made treaties with the Greek maritime cities and formed leagues of friendship with the kings and princes of the East.

The history of this pirate state is as interesting as a pirate's tale. Its swift ships, sailing in fleets and squadrons, scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. Nor were these buccaneers content with what spoils the sea might yield them; like the Vikings of the Northern seas in later times they made descents upon every coast, plundered villas and towns, and sweeping off the inhabitants sold them openly as slaves in the slave markets of the East. They robbed the venerated temple of Delos and carried off all the inhabitants of the sacred island into slavery. They exacted from many cities an annual tribute as the price of immunity from their visits. In some regions the inhabitants, as in early times,

were compelled to remove for safety from the coast and rebuild their homes farther inland.

The pirates even ravaged the shores of Italy itself. They destroyed a Roman fleet lying in the harbor of Ostia. They carried off merchants and travelers from the Appian Way and held them for ransom. At last they began to intercept the grain ships of Sicily and Africa and thereby threatened Rome with starvation. Corn rose to famine prices.

The Romans now bestirred themselves. In the year 67 B.C. Pompey was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He was given an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and an armament of over two hundred ships.

Pompey acted with unwonted energy. Within forty days he had swept the pirates from the Western Mediterranean and in forty-nine more hunted them from all the waters east of Italy, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in various colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. Pompey's vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

115. Pompey in the East ; the Death of Mithradates (63 B.C.). — Pompey had not yet ended the war with the pirates before he was given, by a vote of the people, charge of the war against Mithradates,³ who now for several years had been in arms against Rome. In a great battle in Lesser Armenia Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field, and soon afterwards, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life⁴ (63 B.C.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

³ The so-called Third Mithradatic War (74-64 B.C.). What is known as the Second Mithradatic War (83-82 B.C.) was a short conflict that arose just after the close of the First (sec. 105, n. 9). The chief conduct of the present war had been in the hands of Lucius L. Lucullus.

⁴ Some authorities, however, say that he was murdered by his son.

Pompey now turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province under the name of Syria (64 B.C.). Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege of Jerusalem, by taking advantage of the scruples of the Jews in regard to fighting on the Sabbath day, captured the city (63 B.C.). The Romans here for the first time came in direct contact with a people whose ideas of God and of life they were wholly incapable of understanding, but who nevertheless were destined to exert a vast influence upon the empire these conquerors were constructing.

116. Pompey's Triumph. — After regulating the affairs of the different states and provinces in the East, Pompey set out on his return to Rome, where he enjoyed such a triumph as never

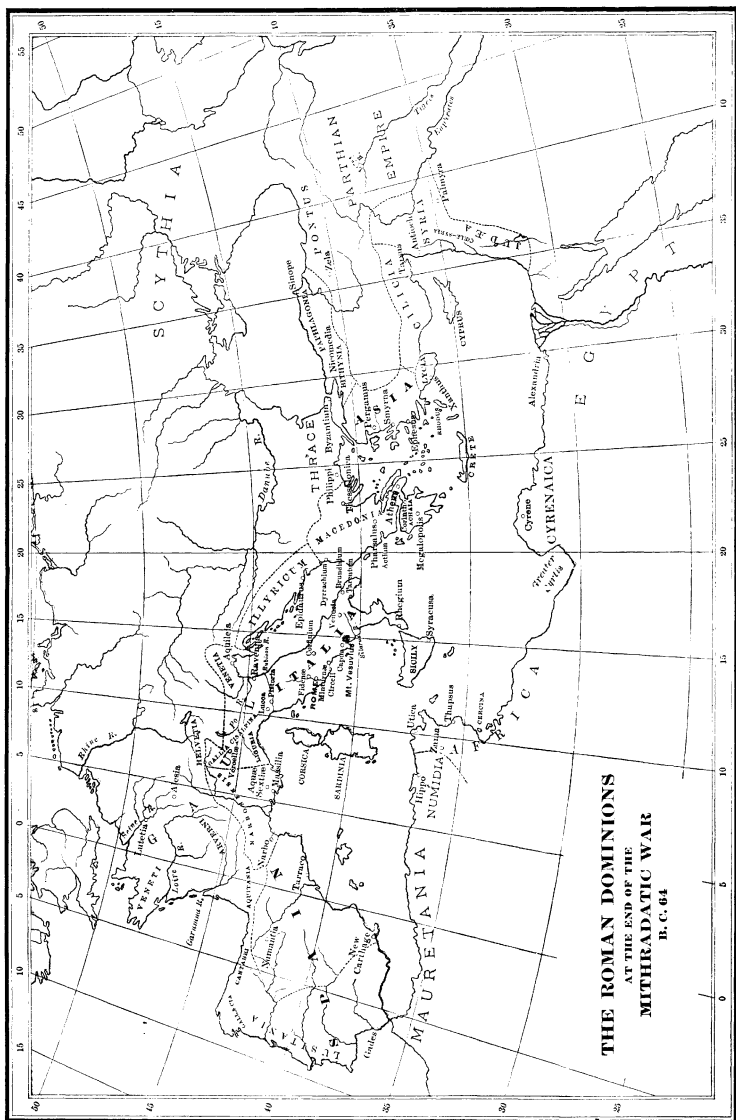


FIG. 23. — POMPEY
THE GREAT
(Spada Palace, Rome)

before had been seen since Rome became a city. The spoils of all the East were borne in the procession; three hundred and twenty-two princes walked as captives before the triumphal chariot of the conqueror; legends upon the banners proclaimed that he had conquered twenty-one kings, captured one thousand strongholds, nine hundred towns, and eight hundred ships, and subjugated more than twelve millions of people; and that he had put into the treasury more than \$25,000,000, besides doubling the regular revenues of the state. He boasted that three times he had triumphed, and each time for the

conquest of a continent, — first for Africa, then for Europe, and now for Asia, which completed the conquest of the world.

117. The Conspiracy of Catiline (64–62 B.C.). — While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Lucius Sergius Catilina, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with



THE ROMAN DOMINIONS
 AT THE END OF THE
MITHRADATIC WAR
 B. C. 64

debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state and to plunder and burn the capital. The offices of the new government were to be divided among the conspirators. The proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed and all debts were to be canceled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula that they "should take care that the republic received no harm." The city walls were manned; and at every point the capital and state were armed against the "invisible foe." Then in the senate chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as *The First Oration against Catiline*. The senators shrank from the conspirator and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria he was slain with many of his followers (62 B.C.). His head was borne as a trophy to Rome. Cicero was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

118. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey: the so-called First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). — Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, still it was very easy to foresee that the downfall of the Roman republic was near at hand. Indeed, from this time on, only the name remained. The days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was practically in the hands of ambitious and popular leaders, or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men — Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey — who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still he had identified himself with the

Marian or democratic party. In every way he courted public favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (about \$1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about \$8,875,000).

With Gnaeus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for in settling and reorganizing the many countries he subdued he had always taken care to reconstruct them in his own interest, as well as in that of the republic. The offices, as we have seen, were filled with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces. His veteran legionaries, too, were naturally devoted to the general who had led them so often to victory.

What is commonly known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the achievements of Pompey. It was a coalition or private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control of public affairs. Each pledged himself to work for the interests of the others. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." Through the aid of his colleagues he secured the consulship.

119. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul (58-51 B.C.).—At the end of his consulship Cæsar had assigned him, as proconsul, the administration of the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum. Already doubtless he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and Germanic tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such glory and prestige as in other fields had been won and were now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a

veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable *Commentaries* Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

The year 55 B.C. marked two notable achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed, by means of hastily constructed ships, the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain, but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans (sec. 143).

In the year 52 B.C., while Cæsar was absent in Italy, a general revolt occurred among the Gallic tribes. It was a last desperate struggle for the recovery of their lost independence. Vercingetorix, chief of the Arverni, was the leader of the insurrection. For a time it seemed as though the Romans would be driven out of the country; but Cæsar's dispatch and genius saved the province to the republic. Vercingetorix and eighty thousand of his warriors were shut up in Alesia, and were finally starved into submission. All Gaul was now quickly reconquered and pacified.

Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by Cæsar's victories over the Gauls. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

120. Results of the Gallic Wars. — One good result of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul was the establishment throughout this region of the Roman Peace. *Before the Romans entered the country it was divided among a great number of tribes that were constantly at war with one another.* In throwing her authority over them all, Rome caused their intertribal contentions to cease, and thus established a condition of things that first made possible the rapid and steady development among the people of the arts of peace.

A second result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. Honors were conferred upon many of the Gallic chieftains, privileges were bestowed upon the different communities, and the Roman franchise granted to prominent and influential natives.

This Romanization of Gaul meant much both for Roman history and for the general history of Europe. The Roman stock in Italy was failing. It was this new Romanized people that in the times of the empire gave to the Roman state many of its best commanders, statesmen, emperors, orators, poets, and historians. In this way Gaul rendered the Roman state some such service as Ireland has rendered the British Empire.

The Romanization of Gaul meant, further, the adding of another to the number of Latin nations that were to arise from the break-up of the Roman Empire. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had not conquered Gaul it would have been overrun by the Germans, and would ultimately have become simply an extension of Germany. There would then have been no great Latin nation north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is difficult to imagine what European history would be like if the French nation, with its semi-Italian temperament, instincts, and traditions, had never come into existence.

A final result of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul and against the intruding German tribes was the check given to the migratory movements of these peoples. Had this check not been given, it is possible that what we call the Great Migration of the German peoples (Chap. XVIII) might have taken place in the first century

before, instead of in the fifth century after, the coming of Christ, and Rome's great work of enriching civilization and establishing it everywhere throughout the Mediterranean world might have been interrupted while yet only fairly begun.

121. The Death of Crassus ; Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey. — While Cæsar was engaged in his Transalpine wars, Crassus was leading an army against the Parthians, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar in Gaul. But his army was almost annihilated by the enemy, and he himself was slain (54 B.C.).

The world now belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. That the insatiable ambition of these two rivals should sooner or later bring them into collision was inevitable. Their alliance in the triumvirate was simply one of selfish convenience, not of friendship. While Cæsar was carrying on his campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his great rival. He strove by a princely liberality to win the affections of the common people. On the Field of Mars he erected an immense stone theater with seats for forty thousand spectators. He gave magnificent games and set public tables, and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged he entertained them with gladiatorial combats.

In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He sought in every way to ingratiate himself with the Gauls ; he increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of temples, theaters, and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

Pompey, whom the senate had appointed sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator, now openly broke with Cæsar and attached himself again to the old aristocratic party, which he had deserted for the alliance and promises of the triumvirate. The death, at this time, of his wife Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, severed the bonds of relationship at the same moment that those of ostensible friendship were broken.

122. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). — Cæsar now demanded the consulship. He knew that his life would not be safe in Rome from the jealousy and hatred of his enemies without the security from impeachment and trial which that office would give. The senate, acting under the instigation of these same enemies, issued a decree that he should resign his office and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

123. Cæsar becomes Master of the West (49-48 B.C.). — The bold movement of Cæsar produced great consternation at Rome. Realizing the danger of delay, Cæsar, without waiting for the Gallic legions to join him, marched southward. One city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey and a great part of the senators hastened from Rome to Brundisium, and thence, with about twenty-five thousand soldiers, fled across the Adriatic into Greece. The exiled senators reconvened at Thessalonica in Macedonia, and made that city the seat of the government. Within sixty days Cæsar had made himself undisputed master of all Italy. His moderation and prudence won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla reenacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred.

With order restored in Italy, Cæsar's next movement was to gain control of the wheat fields of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. A single legion brought over Sardinia without resistance to the side of Cæsar. Cato, the lieutenant of Pompey, fled from before Cæsar's lieutenant out of Sicily. In Africa, however, the Pompeians held their ground until the close of the war. Cæsar, meanwhile, had subjugated Spain. The entire peninsula was brought under his authority in forty days. He was now free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

124. The Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.); the Death of Pompey.

— From Brundisium Cæsar embarked his legions for Epirus. The armies of the rivals met upon the plains of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's forces were cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing he was assassinated by order of the reigning Ptolemy, who thereby hoped to make Cæsar his friend.

The head of the great general was severed from his body; and when Cæsar, who was pressing after Pompey in hot pursuit, landed in Egypt, the bloody trophy was brought to him. But it was no longer the head of his rival, but of his old associate and son-in-law. Turning from the sight with generous tears, he ordered that the assassins be executed and that fitting obsequies be performed over the mutilated body.

125. Cæsar defeats Pharnaces (47 B.C.); the Battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.); End of the Civil War. — Cæsar was detained at Alexandria nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne of Egypt. After a severe contest he overthrew the reigning Ptolemy and secured the kingdom to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was now brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithradates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war (47 B.C.). His laconic message to the senate announcing his victory is famous. It ran thus: "*Veni, vidi, vici*," — "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the friends of the old republic had made their last chief rallying place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) they were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato,⁵ who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the republic, took his own life.

126. Cæsar as an Uncrowned King; his Triumph. — Cæsar was now virtually lord of the Roman world.⁶ He refrained from taking

⁵ This was a grandson of Cato the Censor (sec. 87).

⁶ The sons of Pompey — Gnæus and Sextus — had headed a revolt in Spain. Cæsar crushed the movement a little later in the decisive battle of Munda, 45 B.C.

the title of king, but he assumed the purple robe, the insignia of royalty, and caused his effigy to be stamped, after the manner of sovereigns, on the public coins. His statue was significantly given a place along with those of the seven kings of early Rome. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The senate made him perpetual dictator (44 B.C.), and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Thus, though not a king in name, Cæsar's actual position at the head of the state was that of an absolute ruler.

Cæsar's triumph celebrating his many victories far eclipsed in magnificence anything that Rome had before witnessed. In the procession were led captive princes from all parts of the world. Beneath his standards marched soldiers gathered out of almost every country under the heavens. Seventy-five million dollars of treasure were displayed. Splendid games and tables attested the liberality of the conqueror. Sixty thousand couches were set for the multitudes. The shows of the theater and the combats of the arena followed one another in an endless round.

127. Cæsar as a Statesman. — Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. He had great plans which embraced the whole world that Rome had conquered. A chief aim of his was to establish between the different classes of the empire equality of rights, to place Italy and the provinces on the same footing, to blend the various races and peoples into a real nation, — in a word, to carry to completion that great work of making all the world Roman which had been begun in the earliest times. To this end he established numerous colonies in the provinces and settled in them a hundred thousand of the poorer citizens of the capital. With a liberality that astonished and offended many, he admitted to the senate sons of freedmen, and particularly representative men from among the Gauls, and conferred upon individual provincials, and upon entire classes and communities in the provinces, the partial or full rights of the city. His action here marks an epoch in the history of Rome. The immunities and privileges of the city had never hitherto been

conferred, save in exceptional cases, upon any peoples other than those of the Italian race. Cæsar threw the gates of the city wide open to the non-Italian peoples of the provinces. Thus was foreshadowed the day when all freemen throughout the whole empire should be Roman in name and privilege⁷ (sec. 158).

As Pontifex Maximus Cæsar reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year. This is what is called the Julian Calendar.⁸

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many vast undertakings which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution. He ordered a survey of the enormous domains of the state; he proposed to make a code or digest

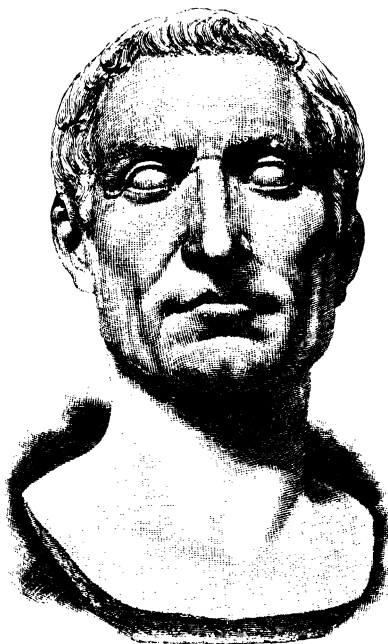


FIG. 24. — JULIUS CÆSAR
(Vatican Museum)

⁷ One of the most important of all Cæsar's laws was that known as the *Lex Julia Municipalis* (45 B.C.), whose aim was to bring order and uniformity into the municipal system and to develop a more vigorous civic life in the municipal towns of Italy. All the municipal governments organized after this, whether in towns in Italy or in the provinces, conformed to the principles embodied in this important constitutional measure.

⁸ This calendar was in general use in Europe until the year 1582, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, and became what is known as the Gregorian Calendar. This in time came in vogue in all Christian countries save Russia, where the Julian Calendar is still followed.

of the Roman laws; he also planned many public works and improvements at Rome, among which were schemes for draining the Pontine marshes and for changing the course of the Tiber. He further proposed to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, and to form a library to take the place of the great Alexandrian collection, which had been partly destroyed during his campaign in Egypt. But all his plans were brought to a sudden end by the daggers of assassins.

128. The Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.). — Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old republic to whom he was the destroyer of republican liberties. The impression began to prevail that he was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by the consul Mark



FIG. 25. — MARK ANTONY
(Vatican Museum)

Antony; but seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, the fabled cradle of the Roman race, and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman Empire.

Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the center of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned

Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." As he entered the hall where the senate was to assemble that day, he observed the astrologer Spurinna, and remarked carelessly to him, referring to his prediction, "The Ides of March have come." "Yes," replied Spurinna, "but not gone."

No sooner had Cæsar taken his seat than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*"—"Thou, too, Brutus!" then to have drawn his mantle over his face and to have received unresistingly their further thrusts. Pierced with twenty-three wounds, he sank dead at the foot of Pompey's statue.



FIG. 147. — THE RECENTLY FOUND BASE OF CÆSAR'S COLUMN

The so-called Julian Pillar marked the spot in the forum where Cæsar's body was burned

The Romans had killed many of their best men and cut short their work; but never had they killed such a man as Cæsar. He was the greatest man their race had yet produced or was destined ever to produce.

Cæsar's work was left all incomplete. What lends to it such great historical importance is the fact that in his reforms and policies Cæsar drew the broad lines which his successors followed, and indicated the principles on which the government of the future must be based.

129. Funeral Oration by Mark Antony.—The conspirators, or "liberators," as they called themselves, had thought that the senate would confirm, and the people applaud, their act. But both people and senators, struck with consternation, were silent. Men's faces grew pale as they recalled the proscriptions of Sulla and saw in the

assassination of Cæsar the first act in a similar reign of terror. Upon the day set for the funeral ceremonies, Mark Antony, the trusted friend and secretary of Cæsar, mounted the rostra in the forum to deliver the usual funeral oration. He recounted



FIG. 27. — OCTAVIUS AS A YOUTH
(Vatican Museum)

the great deeds of Cæsar, the glory he had conferred upon the Roman name, dwelt upon his liberality and his munificent bequests to the people—even to some who were now his murderers; and when he had wrought the feelings of the multitude to the highest tension, he held up the robe of Cæsar, and showed the rents made by the daggers of the assassins.

Cæsar had always been beloved by the people and idolized by his soldiers. They were now driven almost to frenzy with

grief and indignation. Seizing weapons and torches they rushed through the streets vowing vengeance upon the conspirators. The liberators, however, escaped from the fury of the mob and fled from Rome, Brutus and Cassius seeking refuge in Greece.

130. The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).—Antony had gained possession of the will and papers of Cæsar, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator, according to a decree of the senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation.

He was aided in his designs by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives."

To what lengths Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the young grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and adopted as his son. Upon the senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The outcome of a conference was a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Sulla, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero,—who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes,—and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!"



FIG. 28. — CICERO. (Madrid)

His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and dispatched him in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome and set up in front of the rostra, "from which he had so often addressed the people with his eloquent appeals for liberty." It is told that Fulvia, the wife of Antony, ran her gold bodkin through the tongue in revenge for the bitter philippics it had uttered against her husband. The right hand of the victim—the hand that had penned the eloquent orations—was nailed to the rostra.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were reenacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

131. Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.); the Roman World in the hands of Antony and Octavius.—The friends of the old republic and the enemies of the triumvirs were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius were the animating spirits. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece to disperse the forces of the republicans there. The liberators, advancing to meet them, passed over the Hellespont into Thrace.

At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met (42 B.C.). In two successive engagements the new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the republic forever lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme power. After various redistributions of provinces, Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters,—Antony in the East and Octavius in the West.

132. Antony and Cleopatra.—After the battle of Philippi Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of

the provinces and vassal states there. He summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, relying upon the power of her charms to appease the anger of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver and sails of purple silk. Beneath awnings wrought of the richest manufactures of the East, the beautiful queen, attired to personate Venus, reclined amidst lovely attendants dressed to represent cupids and nereids. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else, — ambition and honor and country.

Once, indeed, Antony did rouse himself and break away from his enslavement to lead the Roman legions across the Tigris against the Parthians. But the storms of approaching winter and the incessant attacks of the Parthian cavalry at length forced him to make a hurried and disastrous retreat. Antony hastened back to Egypt and sought to forget his shame and disappointment amidst the revels of the Egyptian court.

133. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). — Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as the heir of the empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a struggle was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City.

Both parties made the most gigantic preparations for the inevitable conflict. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the western coast of Greece. While the issue of the battle that there took

place was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. The Egyptian ships, to the number of fifty, followed her example. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel and became her partner in the disgraceful flight.

The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire. Some, however, make the establishment of the empire date from the year 27 B.C., as it was not until then that Octavius was formally invested with imperial powers.

134. Death of Antony and of Cleopatra; Egypt becomes a Roman Province. — Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome that she might there grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Tradition says that she effected her purpose by applying a poisonous asp to her breast.

With the death of Cleopatra the noted dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end. Egypt was henceforth a province of the Roman state.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pompeius* and *Life of Julius Caesar*. APPIAN, *The Civil Wars*, bk. ii, chap. xviii; the panic in Rome after Cæsar's death.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. iv; read particularly chap. xi, entitled, "The Old Republic and the New Monarchy." MERIVALE, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, chaps. vi–xvii; and *The Roman Triumvirate*. OMAN, *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Republic*, chaps. vi–ix. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 240–258 and 333–398. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xlv–lii. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chap. vi, secs. 98–117. FREEMAN, *The Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. ii, "Rome at the Head of Europe." STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*. BOISSIER, *Cicero and his*

Friends. TROLLOPE, *The Life of Cicero*. FORSYTH, *Cicero*. FROUDE, *Cæsar*. FOWLER, *Julius Cæsar*. CHURCH, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*; for young readers; also same author's *Two Thousand Years Ago*. DODGE, *Cæsar*. SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. i, "The Great Roman Revolution." MONTESQUIEU, *Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans*, chap. ix. MAHAFFY, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. iv, "The Hellenism of Cicero and his Friends." LONG, *The Decline of the Roman Republic*; for general reference.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Sertorius. 2. Spartacus and the gladiators. 3. Verres in Sicily. 4. Lucius Licinius Lucullus. 5. Cicero's First Oration against Catiline. 6. Antony and Cleopatra. 7. Mommsen's estimate of Cæsar.

THIRD PERIOD — ROME AS AN EMPIRE

(31 B.C.—A.D. 476)

CHAPTER XIV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

(31 B.C.—A.D. 14)

135. The Character of the Imperial Government ; the Dyarchy.

—The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remold its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman Empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon are not to be compared with it for a moment."

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute power under the forms of the old republican state. He did not take the title of king. He knew how hateful to the people that name had been since the expulsion of the Tarquins, and was mindful how many of the best men of Rome, including the great Julius, had perished because they gave the people reason to think that they were aiming at the regal power. Nor did he take the title of

dictator, a name that since the time of Sulla had been almost as intolerable to the people as that of king. But he adopted the title of *Imperator*, — whence the name *Emperor*, — a title which, although it carried with it the absolute authority of the commander of the legions, still had clinging to it no odious memories. He also received from the senate the honorary surname of *Augustus*, a title that hitherto had been sacred to the gods, and hence was free from all sinister associations. A monument of this act was erected in the calendar. It was decreed by the senate that the sixth month of the Roman year should be called Augustus (whence our August) in commemoration of the imperator, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name Julius (whence our July) in honor of Julius Cæsar. Common usage also bestowed upon Octavius the further title of *Princeps*, which was only a designation of courtesy and dignity and simply pointed out him who bore it as the “first citizen” of a free republic.



FIG. 29. — AUGUSTUS
(Vatican Museum)

And as Octavius was careful not to wound the sensibilities of the lovers of the old republic by assuming any title that in any

way suggested regal authority and prerogative, so was he careful not to arouse their opposition by abolishing any of the republican offices or assemblies. He allowed all the old magistracies to exist as heretofore; but he himself absorbed and exercised the most important part of their powers and functions. All the *republican magistrates* were elected as usual;¹ but they were simply the nominees and creatures of the emperor. They were the effigies and figureheads which deluded the people into believing that the republic still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

Likewise all the popular assemblies remained and were convened as usual to hold elections and to vote on measures laid before them. But Octavius, having been invested with both the consular and the tribunician power, had the right to summon them, to place in nomination persons for the various offices, and to initiate legislation. The titular consuls and tribunes also, it is true, had this right, but after the new order of things had become firmly established they dared not exercise it without the concurrence of the new master of the state.

The senate still existed,² but it was shorn of all real independence, since Augustus had been armed with the censorial power for the purpose of revising its lists. This power Octavius exercised by reducing the number of senators, which had been raised by Antony to one thousand, to six hundred, and by striking from the rolls the names of unworthy members and of obstinate republicans. He wounded, too, its old aristocratic pride by introducing new men into the body, and thereby laying the basis of a new senatorial aristocracy.

We may summarize all these changes by saying that the monarchy abolished five hundred years before this was now rising

¹ The consuls were generally nominated by Augustus, and in order that a large number of his friends and favorites might be amused with the dignity, the term of office was reduced to a shorter period. At a later time the length of the consulate was shortened to two or three months.

² Since in the early empire the senate under the constitutional arrangements of Augustus shared the government with the emperor, the government of this period is by some called a *diarchy*, which means a government by two persons. As a matter of fact, however, under emperors disposed to rule despotically, the rights of the senate were reduced to a nullity.

again amidst the old forms of the republic. This is what was actually taking place; for the chief powers and prerogatives of the ancient king, which during the republican period had been gradually broken up and lodged in the hands of a great number of magistrates, colleges, and assemblies, were now being once more gathered up in the hands of a single man.

136. The Government of the Provinces. — The revolution that brought in the empire effected a great improvement in the condition of the provincials. The government of all those provinces that were in an unsettled state and that needed the presence of a large military force Augustus⁸ withdrew from the senate and took the management of their affairs in his own hands. These were known as the *provinces of Caesar*. Instead of these countries being ruled by practically irresponsible proconsuls and proprætors, they were henceforth ruled by legates of the emperor, who were removable at his will and answerable to him for the faithful and honest discharge of the duties of their offices. Salaries were attached to their positions, and thus the scandalous abuses which had grown up in connection with the earlier system of self-payment through fees, requisitions, and like devices were swept away. These provinces were given, as we should say, a pure and able civil service.

The more tranquil provinces were still left under the control of the senate, and were known as *public provinces*. These also profited by the change, since the emperor extended his care and watch to them, and, as the judge of last appeal, righted wrongs and punished flagrant offenders against right and justice.

137. The Defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). — One of the most important measures of Augustus was the creation of a strong line of defense for the empire against the German tribes by the establishment of a series of well-organized provinces, — Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia, — which, in connection with the province of Belgica, stretched across Europe from the North Sea to the Lower Danube. Backed by the broad streams of the Rhine and the Danube, these provinces constituted a “scientific frontier” for the empire on this side.

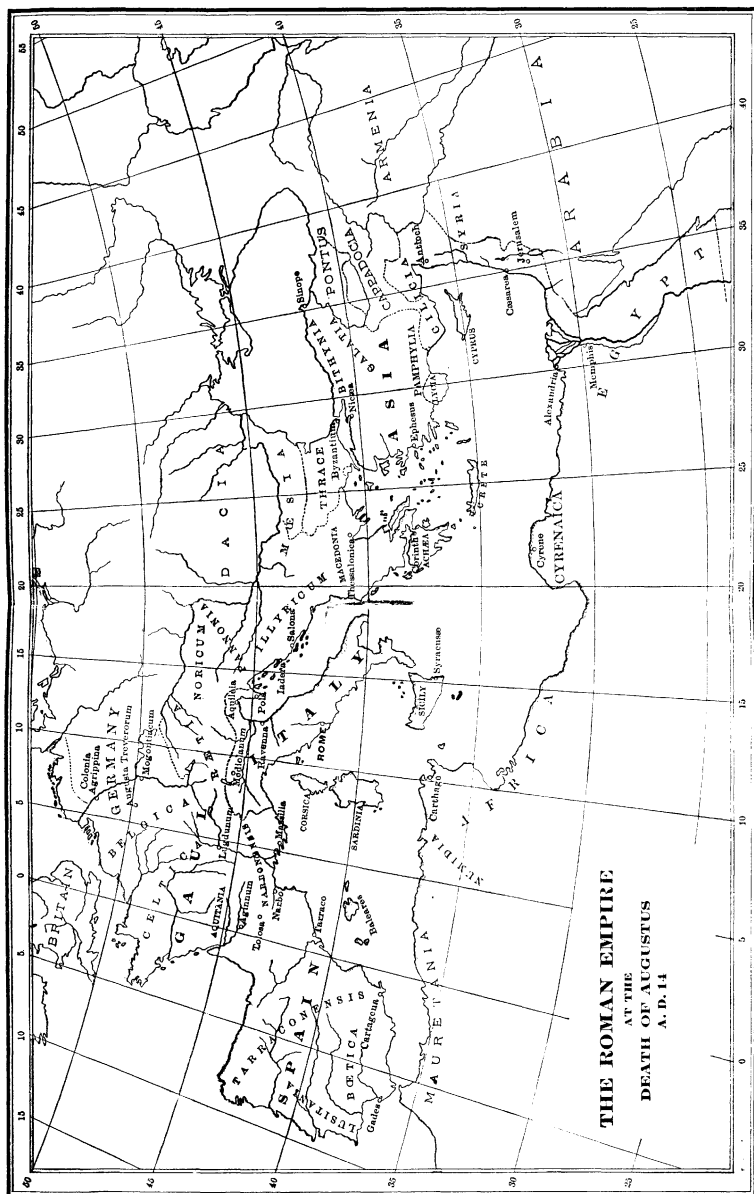
⁸ From this on we shall refer to Octavius by this his honorary surname.

The adoption of the Rhine as a permanent frontier was forced upon Augustus by one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman legions. It was at first the purpose of Augustus to make the Elbe, and not the Rhine, the division line between civilization and barbarism. The security of Italy as well as that of Gaul seemed to require the subjugation of the warlike tribes between these streams. Consequently, during a large part of the reign of Augustus his stepsons Drusus and Tiberius were campaigning in this region. The Roman eagles were carried to the Elbe, and for a time it looked as though that stream would become a frontier river.

But suddenly the whole aspect of affairs in this region was changed. The Roman general Quintilius Varus, who had made the mistake of supposing that he could rule the freedom-loving Germans just as he had governed the servile Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, and had thereby stirred them to determined revolt against the Roman authority, while leading an army of three legions, numbering altogether about twenty thousand men, through the almost pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood, was surprised by the barbarians led by their brave chieftain Hermann, — called Arminius by the Romans, — and his army destroyed (A.D. 9). Only a few escaped. Thousands of the legionaries lay dead and unburied where they fell in the impassable woods and morasses. "The captives, especially the officers and the advocates, were fastened to the cross, or buried alive, or bled under the sacrificial knife of the German priests. The heads cut off were nailed as a token of victory to the trees of the sacred grove" (Mommсен).

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome. Augustus, wearied and worn already with the cares of empire and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus! Varus! give me back my legions! give me back my legions!"

The victory of Arminius over the Romans was an event of the greatest significance in the history of European civilization. Germany was almost overrun by the Roman army. The Teutonic



tribes were on the point of being completely subjugated and put in the way of being Romanized, as the Celts of Gaul had already been. Had this occurred, the entire history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Among these barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.

138. Literature and the Arts under Augustus. — The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. Although the government of Augustus, as we have learned, was disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, had the civilized world enjoyed so long a period of general rest from the turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the existence of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war.

This long repose from the strife that had filled all the preceding centuries was favorable to the upspringing of literature and art.

Under the patronage of the emperor and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this



FIG. 30. — MÆCENAS. (From a medallion)

the Golden Age of Latin literature. During this reign Vergil composed his immortal epic of the *Æneid*, and Horace his famous odes, while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his fancy-inspiring *Metamorphoses*.⁴ Many who lamented the fall of the republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures, including temples, theaters, porticoes, baths, and aqueducts. He said proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble."

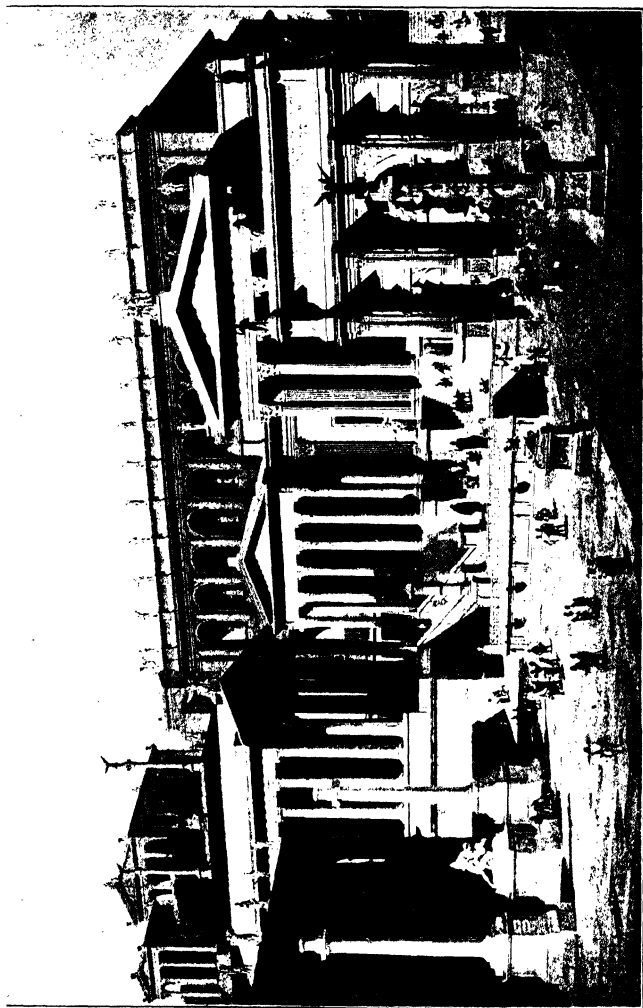
139. Social and Religious Life at Rome under Augustus. — One of the most remarkable features of life at the capital during the reign of Augustus was the vast number of Roman citizens who were recipients of the state doles of corn. There were at least two hundred thousand male beneficiaries of this public charity, which means that upwards of half a million of persons in the capital were unable or unwilling to earn their daily bread. The purchase of the immense quantities of corn needed for these free distributions was one of the heaviest drains upon the imperial treasury.

Another striking feature of life at Rome at this time was the growing infatuation of the people for the bloody spectacles of the amphitheater. Prudent as Augustus generally was in the matter of public expenditures, in the providing of these shows he lavished money without measure or stint. The emperor himself gives the following account of the spectacles that he presented.

"Three times in my own name, and five times in that of my sons or grandsons, I have given gladiatorial exhibitions; in these exhibitions about ten thousand men have fought. . . .

"I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle beyond the Tiber, where now is the grove of the Cæsars. For this purpose an excavation was made eighteen hundred feet long and twelve hundred wide. In this contest thirty beaked ships,

⁴ For further notice of the works of these writers, see secs. 202 and 205.



THE ROMAN FORUM

A restoration by Professor *E. Becchetti*, Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Rome

triremes or biremes, were engaged, besides more of smaller size. About three thousand men fought in these vessels in addition to the rowers.”⁵

For a long time before the fall of the republic, the decay of religious faith had been going on. Augustus did all in his power to arrest the process. He restored the temples and shrines that had fallen into decay, renewed the ancient sacrifices, and erected new temples, not only at Rome, but in every part of the empire. The unauthorized foreign cults, particularly those from the Orient, which had been introduced at the capital, he drove out, and strove to awaken in the people fresh veneration for the ancestral deities of Rome.

140. The Death and Deification of Augustus.—In the year A.D. 14 Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. His last words to the friends gathered about his bedside were, “If I have acted well my part in life’s drama, greet my departure with your applause.” By decree of the senate divine worship was accorded to him and temples were erected in his honor.

At first blush this worship of the dead Cæsar seems to us strange and impious. But it will not seem so if we put ourselves at the point of view of the old Roman. It was the natural and logical outcome of ancestor worship, which, as we have learned, was a favorite cult among the Romans (sec. 4). The sentiment and belief which prompted the offerings of gifts and prayers to the guardian spirits of the family would naturally lead to similar offerings to the spirit of the departed Cæsar, father of the Roman state.

The establishment of this cult of the emperor had far-reaching consequences, as we shall see; since at the very time that the religion of the Græco-Roman world was taking on this form there was springing up in a remote corner of the empire a new yet old religion with which this imperial cult must necessarily come into violent conflict. For it was in the midst of the happy

⁵ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, cc. 22, 23, edited by William Fairley. See References, p. 145.

reign of Augustus, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, — the doors of the temple of Janus having been closed, — that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome ; yet it was filled with profound significance not only for the Roman Empire but for the world.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ROMAN CITIZENS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE

These figures embody what is perhaps the most important matter in Roman history, namely, the gradual admission of unprivileged commoners and of aliens to the full rights of the city until every freeman in the civilized world had become a citizen of Rome. This movement we have endeavored to trace in the text. Consult particularly secs. 22, 26, 29, 33, 43, 46, 49, 101, 102, 127, 143, and 158.

	<i>Citizens of Military Age</i>
Under the later kings (Mommsen's estimate)	20,000
338 B.C.	165,000 ⁶
293 "	262,322
251 "	279,797
220 "	270,213
204 "	214,000 ⁷
164 "	327,022
115 "	394,336
70 "	900,000 ?
27 "	4,063,000 ⁸
8 "	4,233,000
13 A.D.	4,937,000
47 " (under Claudius)	6,944,000

⁶ These figures do not include the inhabitants of the Latin colonies nor of the allied states.

⁷ The falling off from the number of the preceding census of 220 B.C. was a result of the Hannibalic War.

⁸ These figures and those of the enumerations for A.D. 8 and 13 are from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The increased number given by the census of 70 B.C. over that of 115 B.C. registers the result of the admission to the city of the Italians at the end of the Social War (sec. 101). The tremendous leap upwards of the figures between 70 and 27 B.C. is probably to be explained not wholly by the admission during this period of aliens to the franchise but also, possibly, by the failure of the censors of the republican period to include in their enumerations the Roman citizens living in places remote from the capital.

Selections from the Sources. — *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Res Gestæ Divi Augusti — “The Deeds of Augustus”), vol. v, No. 7, of the Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. This forms one of the most important of the original sources for the reign of Augustus. It is a long bilingual inscription (Latin and Greek) discovered in 1595 on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra (whence the name), in Asia Minor. The inscription is a copy of a tablet which was set up in front of the mausoleum of Augustus at Rome. TACITUS, *Annals*, i. 2; how Augustus made himself supreme at Rome.

References (Modern). — INGE, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, chap. i, “Religion”; deals with the decay of Roman religion and the establishment at the capital of Oriental cults. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. v, “Victory of Arminius over the Roman Legions under Varus, A.D. 9.” CAPES, *The Early Empire*, chap. i, “Augustus.” PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, chap. iii. BURY, *The Roman Empire*, pp. 1-149. ALLCROFT and HAYDON, *The Early Principate*, chaps. i-vii. FIRTH, *Augustus Cæsar*. THIERRY, *Tableau de l'Empire Romain*. Teachers and mature students will find this work very suggestive. The book might be entitled Rome's Place in Universal History. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. i (first part). MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*. This work covers the first two centuries of the imperial period. For the reign of Augustus, see vol. iii, chaps. xxx and xxxi, and vol. iv.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. In theory the government of the early empire was a dyarchy, — a joint rule of the Emperor and the Senate. How real was the participation of the Senate in the government? 2. Administration of the provinces under the early empire. 3. The defeat of Varus. 4. Life at Rome under Augustus. 5. The cult of the Emperor.

CHAPTER XV

FROM TIBERIUS TO MARCUS AURELIUS

(A.D. 14-180)

141. Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). — Tiberius, the adopted stepson of Augustus, became his successor. One of his first acts was to take away from the popular assemblies the right which they still nominally possessed of electing the yearly magistrates, and to bestow the same upon the senate, which, however, as a rule elected candidates presented by the emperor. As the senate was practically the creation of the emperor through virtue of his power to name new members, he was now of course the source and fountain of all patronage. During the first years of his reign Tiberius used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire; and even to the last his government of the provinces was just and beneficent.

But unfortunately Tiberius was of a morose, suspicious, and jealous nature, and the opposition which he experienced in the capital caused him, in his contest with his political and personal enemies, soon to institute there a most high-handed tyranny. He enforced oppressively an old law, known as the *Law of Majestas*, which made it a capital offense for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain an unfriendly thought, respecting the emperor. Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called *delators*, who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were made to gratify personal enmity; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

Tiberius appointed as his chief minister and as commander of the prætorian guard¹ one Sejanus, a person of the lowest and

¹ This was a corps of select soldiers which had been created by Augustus, and which was designed for a sort of bodyguard to the emperor. It numbered about

most corrupt life. Then he retired to Capræ, an islet in the Bay of Naples, and left to this man the management of affairs at the capital. For a time Sejanus ruled at Rome very much according to his own will. He murdered some of the best citizens, and caused first Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and then other possible heirs to the throne to be put out of the way in order that Tiberius might be constrained to name him as his successor. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the emperor himself. His designs, however, became known to Tiberius, and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death.

After the execution of his minister Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Multitudes sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide. "I care not that the people hate me," he is represented as saying, "if they approve my deeds."

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the empire, preaching everywhere the "glad tidings." Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture, the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the inexpressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes, — all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new doctrines. In less than three centuries the pagan empire had become Christian not only in name but also very largely in fact. This conversion of Rome is one of the most important events in all history. A new element is here introduced into civilization, an element which has given color and character to the history of all the succeeding centuries.

142. Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41). — Tiberius was followed by Gaius Cæsar, better known as Caligula. Caligula's reign was, in the main, a tissue of follies. After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the empire, during which time his many acts of kindness and piety won for him the affection of all ten thousand men, and was given a permanent camp alongside the city walls and near one of the gates. It soon became a formidable power in the state and made and unmade emperors at will.

classes, the mind of the young emperor became unsettled. He soon gave himself up to a life of dissipation. The cruel sports of the amphitheater possessed for him a strange fascination. When animals failed he ordered spectators to be seized indiscriminately and thrown to the beasts. He even entered the lists himself and fought as a gladiator upon the arena. After four years his insane career was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

143. Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). — Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, made his reign a sort of landmark in the constitutional history of Rome by the admission of the Gallic nobles to the Roman senate and the magistracies of the city. Tacitus has given us a paraphrase of a speech which the emperor made before the senate in answer to the objections which were urged against such a course. The emperor touched first upon the fact that his own most ancient ancestor, although of Sabine origin, had been received into the city and made a member of the patrician order. This liberal policy of the fathers ought, he thought, to be followed by himself in his conduct of public affairs. Men of special talent, wherever found, should be transferred to Rome. "Nor am I unmindful of the fact," he continued, "that . . . from Etruria and Lucania and all Italy persons have been received into the Roman senate. Finally, the city was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. Is it a matter of regret to us that the Balbi came to us from Spain? that men not less distinguished migrated to Rome from Gallia Narbonensis? The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this, — that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?"² The generous policy here advocated by Claudius was acted upon, at least as to a part of the Gallic nobility, who were given admission to the Roman senate.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23. Compare these sentiments of Claudius with those of Titus Manlius (sec. 49).

In the field of military enterprise the reign of Claudius was signalized by the conquest of Britain. Nearly a century had now passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar. Claudius, through his generals Plautius and Vespasian, subjugated the southern part of the island and made it into a Roman province under the name of *Britannia* (A.D. 43). Many towns soon sprang up here, which in time became important centers of Roman trade and culture, and some of which were the beginnings of great English towns of to-day.

The present reign was further distinguished by the execution of many important works of a utilitarian character. The Claudian Aqueduct, which the emperor completed, was a stupendous work, bringing water to the city from a distance of forty-five miles.

The delight of the people in gladiatorial shows had at this time become almost an insane frenzy. Claudius determined to give an entertainment that should render insignificant all similar efforts. Upon a large lake, whose sloping banks afforded seats for the vast multitude of spectators, he exhibited a naval battle, in which two opposing fleets, bearing nineteen thousand gladiators, fought as though in real battle till the water was reddened with blood and littered with the wreckage of the broken ships.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. For his fourth wife he married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero, then only sixteen years of age.

144. Reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68). — Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca (sec. 206); but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity; then he gradually broke away from the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity. Like Caligula, Nero degraded the imperial purple by contending in the gladiatorial combats of the arena and in the games of the Circus.

It was in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 64) that the so-called "Great Fire" laid more than half of Rome in ashes. For six days and nights the flames surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills covered by the city. The people, in the dismay of the moment, were ready to catch up any rumor respecting the origin of the fire. It was reported that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted in order to clear the ground so that he could rebuild the city on a more magnificent plan, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle and amused himself by singing a poem of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*.

Nero did everything in his power to discredit the rumor. He went in person amidst the sufferers and distributed money with his own hand. To further turn attention from himself, he accused the Christians of having conspired to destroy the city in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this Neronian persecution.

As to Rome, the conflagration was a blessing in disguise. The city rose from its ashes as quickly as Athens from her ruins at the close of the Persian Wars. The new buildings were made fire-proof, and the narrow, crooked streets⁸ reappeared as broad and beautiful avenues. A large part of the burnt region was appropriated by Nero for the buildings and grounds of an immense palace called the Golden House. As the emperor ensconced himself in its luxurious apartments, he is said to have remarked, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be."

The emperor secured money for his enormous expenditures by fresh murders and confiscations. Among his victims was his old

⁸ The lack of regularity in the streets is said to have been due to the hasty rebuilding of the city after its sack by the Gauls (sec. 44).

preceptor Seneca, who was immensely rich. On the charge of treason, he ordered him to take his own life and then confiscated his estate.

Nero now made a tour through the East, and there plunged deeper and deeper into sensuality and crime. The tyranny and the disgrace were no longer endurable. The legions in several of the provinces revolted. The senate declared the emperor a public enemy and condemned him to death by scourging, to avoid which, aided by a servant, he took his own life.

Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

145. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68–69).—These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

146. Reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69–79).—The accession of Flavius Vespasian marks the beginning of a period, embracing three reigns, known as the Flavian Age (A.D. 69–96). Vespasian's reign was signalized both by important military achievements abroad and by stupendous public works undertaken at Rome.

After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, Jerusalem was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The temple



FIG. 31. — VESPASIAN
(Museum at Naples)

was destroyed, and more than a million Jews that were crowded in the city are believed to have perished. The miserable remnants of the nation were scattered everywhere over the world. Josephus, the celebrated historian, accompanied the conqueror to Rome. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the temple of its sacred utensils and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears the emperor's name may be seen at the present day the sculptured representation of the seven-branched



FIG. 32. — "JUDAEA CAPTA"
(Coin of Vespasian)

golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

At this same time, in the opposite corner of the empire, there

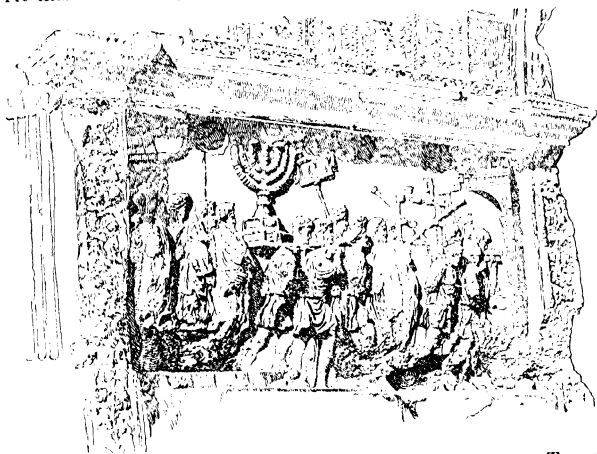


FIG. 33. — TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS
(From a photograph)

Showing the seven-branched candlestick and other trophies from the temple at Jerusalem

broke out a dangerous revolt of the Batavians. The Batavians were joined by many Germans beyond the Rhine and by a large part

of the Gallic tribes. It looked for a moment as though a Gallo-German empire was to be raised on the ruins of the Roman power north of the Alps. But dissension arose among the confederates, which weakened the movement and aided Vespasian's general in crushing the insurrection and restoring the Roman authority.

Vespasian rebuilt the Capitoline temple, which had been burned during the struggles through which he reached the throne; he constructed a new forum, which bore his own name; and also began the erection of the celebrated Flavian amphitheater, which



FIG. 34. — A STREET IN POMPEII. (From a photograph)

was completed by his successor. After a most prosperous reign of ten years Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first emperor after Augustus who had not met with a violent death.

147. Reign of Titus (A.D. 79–81). — In a short reign of two years Titus won the title of “the Friend and the Delight of Mankind.” He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors. Having let a day slip by without some act of kindness performed, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, “I have lost a day.”

Titus completed and dedicated the great Flavian amphitheater begun by his father Vespasian. This vast structure, which seated

over forty thousand ⁴ spectators, is better known as the Colosseum, — a name given it either because of its gigantic proportions, or on account of a colossal statue of Nero which happened to stand near it.

The reign of Titus, though so short, was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities

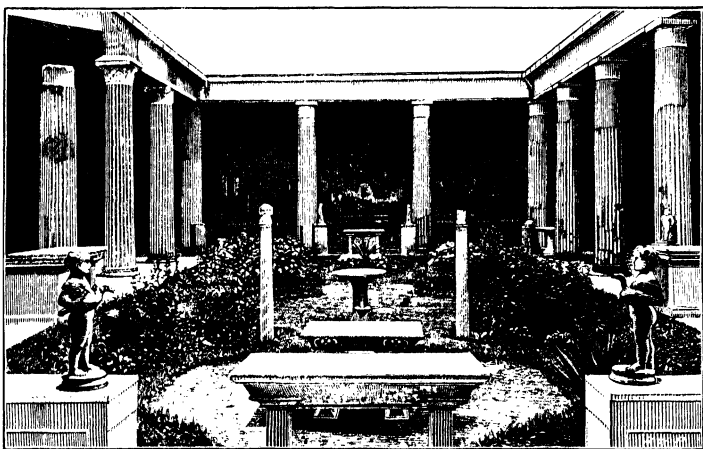


FIG. 35. — HOUSE OF THE VETTI AT POMPEII. (From a photograph)

were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.⁵

148. The Reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96). — Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, whose rule, after the first few years, was

⁴ The old estimate of 80,000 is now regarded as an exaggeration.

⁵ In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii and revealed to us the streets, homes, theaters, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city, — all of which presents to us a very vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period eighteen hundred years ago.

one succession of murders and confiscations. This cruel severity was the outgrowth of the contest between the emperor and the senate, which in this reign was renewed with extreme bitterness.

During the reign, however, transactions of interest and importance were taking place on the northern frontier lines. In Britain the able commander Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, subjected or crowded back the warlike tribes until he had extended the frontiers of the empire far into what is now Scotland. Then, as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians, the ancestors of the Scottish highlanders, he constructed a line of fortresses from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde. Behind this shelter Roman civilization developed securely and rapidly in the new-formed province.

Under this emperor took place what is known in Church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." This class, as well as the Jews, were the special objects of Domitian's hatred, because they refused to burn incense before the statues of himself which he had set up. The name of his niece Domitilla has been preserved as one of the victims of this persecution. This is significant, since it shows that the new faith was thus early finding adherents among the higher classes, even in the royal household itself.

Domitian perished in his own palace and by the hands of members of his own household. The senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments and to be blotted from the records of the Roman state.

149. The Five Good Emperors; Reign of Nerva (A.D. 96-98).—The five emperors — Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines — who succeeded Domitian were elected by the senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors."

Nerva, who was an aged senator and an ex-consul, ruled paternally. He died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the scepter passed into the stronger hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.

150. Reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). — Trajan was a native of Spain and a soldier by profession and talent. He was the first provincial to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. From this time forward provincials were to play a part of ever-increasing importance in the affairs of the empire.



FIG. 36. — TRAJAN
(From a statue in the Museum at Naples)

Trajan's ambition to achieve military renown led him to undertake distant and important conquests. It was the policy of Augustus — a policy adopted by most of his successors — to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman Empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers.

In the early part of his reign Trajan was busied in wars against the Dacians, tribes that had often disturbed the peace of the Mæsan province. In his second campaign he facilitated his operations by constructing across the Danube a bridge, some of the piers of which may still be seen. This expedition resulted in the complete subjugation of the troublesome enemy. Dacia was now made into a province. Roman emigrants poured in crowds into the region, great cities sprang up, and the arts and culture of Rome took deep and permanent root. The modern

name Rumania is a monument of this Roman conquest and colonization beyond the Danube. The Rumanians to-day speak a language that in its main elements is largely of Latin origin.⁶

As a memorial of his achievements the emperor erected, in what came to be known as 'Trajan's Forum, a splendid marble shaft called 'Trajan's Column. The great pillar is almost as perfect to-day as when reared eighteen centuries ago. It is one hundred and forty-seven feet high, and is wound from base to summit with a spiral band of sculptures containing more than

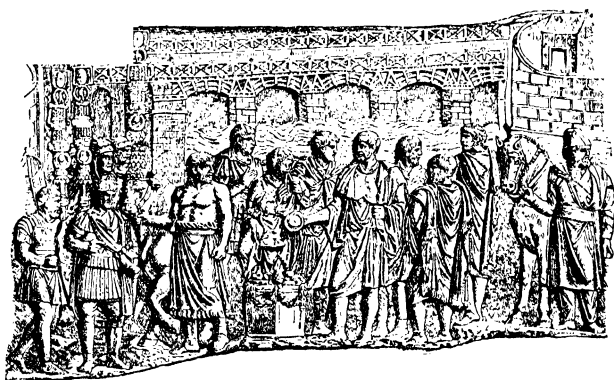


FIG. 37.— BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE, BUILT BY TRAJAN
(From relief on Trajan's Column)

twenty-five thousand human figures. Its pictured sides are the best and almost the only record we now possess of the Dacian wars of the emperor.

In the latter years of his reign (A.D. 114-116) Trajan led his legions to the East, crossed the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the lands which once formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. Out of the territories he had conquered Trajan made three new provinces, which bore the ancient names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

⁶ The Romanic-speaking peoples of Rumania and the neighboring regions number about ten millions. It seems probable that during mediæval times there was a large immigration into the present Rumania of Latin-speaking people from the districts south of the Danube.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

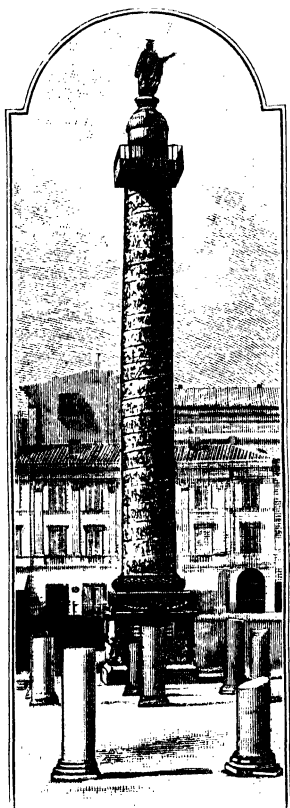
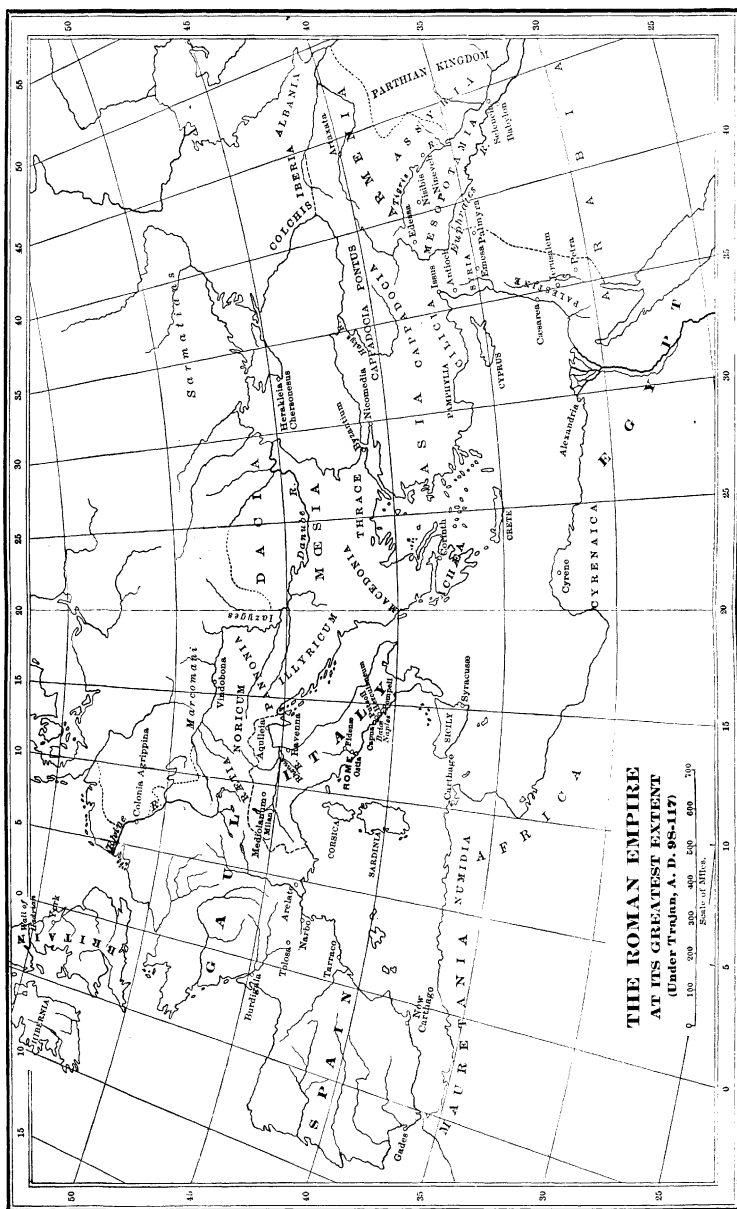


FIG. 38. — TRAJAN'S COLUMN
(From a photograph)

Respecting the rapid spread of Christianity at this time, the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world, we have very important evidence in a certain letter written by Pliny the Younger (sec. 206) to the emperor in regard to the Christians of Pontus, in Asia Minor, of which remote province Pliny was governor. Pliny speaks of the new creed as a "contagious superstition that had seized not cities only but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Notwithstanding this, however, because the Christians steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people.

151. Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). — Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He possessed great ability and displayed admirable moderation and good judgment in the administration of the government. He prudently abandoned the territory that had been



acquired by Trajan beyond the Euphrates, and made that stream once more the eastern boundary of the empire.

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous wall across the island from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. This rampart was constructed some distance to the south of the line of fortified stations that had been established by Agricola (sec. 148).

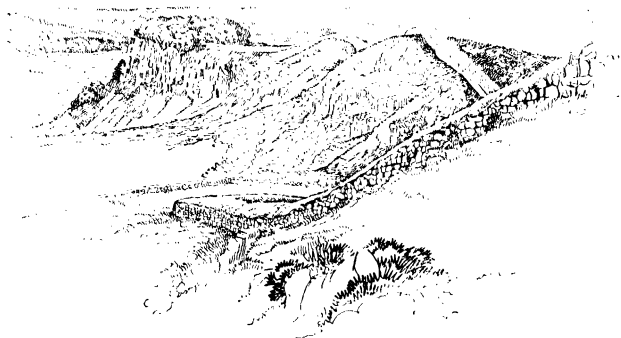


FIG. 39. — THE HADRIAN WALL. (From a photograph by the author)

The Hadrian Wall, in places well preserved and broken at intervals by the ruins of old watchtowers and stations, can still be traced over the low hills of the English moorlands almost from sea to sea.⁷ There exists nowhere in the lands that once formed the provinces of the empire of Rome any more impressive memorial of her world-wide dominion than these ramparts, along which for three hundred years and more her sentinels kept watch and ward for civilization against the barbarian marauders of Caledonia.

⁷ The best work on the rampart is J. C. Bruce's *The Roman Wall* (London, 1851). *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, by the same author, is an abridgment of his larger work. One of the best preserved sections of the wall can be easily reached from the Haltwhistle station on the railroad between Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Carlisle. The student traveler in those parts should not fail to examine these interesting memorials of the Roman occupation of Britain.

After his visit to Britain Hadrian returned to Gaul, and then inspected in different tours all the remaining provinces of the empire. Many of the cities which he visited he adorned with temples, theaters, and other buildings. Upon Athens, particularly,

he lavished large sums in art embellishments, reviving in a measure the fading glories of the Periclean Age.



FIG. 40. — HADRIAN
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

In the year 132 the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation (sec. 146), broke out in desperate revolt, because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the almost desolate site of Jerusalem, and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the holy temple. More than half a million of Jews are said to have perished in the hopeless struggle, and the most of the survivors

were driven into exile,—the last dispersion of the race (A.D. 135).

The latter years of his reign Hadrian passed at Rome. It was here that this princely builder erected his most splendid structures. Among these were a magnificent temple consecrated to the goddesses Venus and Roma, and a vast mausoleum erected on the banks of the Tiber and designed as a tomb for himself.

152. The Antonines (A.D. 138–180). — Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave the Roman Empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years the empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not

failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated epigram, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, had united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. Aurelius' studious habits won for him the title of Philosopher. He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* breathe the tenderest sentiments of devotion and benevolence, and make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of



FIG. 41. — BESIEGING A DACIAN CITY. (From Trajan's Column)

pagan antiquity. He established an institution or home for orphan girls, and, finding the poorer classes throughout Italy burdened by their taxes and greatly in arrears in paying them, he caused all the tax claims to be heaped in the forum and burned.

The tastes and sympathies of Aurelius would have led him to choose a life passed in retirement and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the emperor, and a part of Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority (A.D. 165).

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. The empire never wholly recovered from the effects of this pestilence. In the general distress and panic the superstitious people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted against them, during which the celebrated Christian fathers, Justin Martyr at Rome and the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, suffered death.

It should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the pagan emperors sprang from political and social rather than from religious motives, and that is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods and burn incense before their statues. This the Christians steadily refused to do. Their neglect of the services of the temple, it was believed, angered the gods and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was a main reason of their persecution by the pagan emperors.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman outposts and pouring over the frontiers. A tribe known as the Marcomani even crossed the Alps and laid siege to Aquileia. Not since the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones (sec. 100) had the inhabitants of any city of Italy seen the barbarians before their gates. To the panic of the plague was added this new terror. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions and hurried beyond the Alps. He checked the inroads of the barbarians, but could not subdue

them, so weakened was the empire by the ravages of the pestilence and so exhausted was the treasury from the heavy and constant drains upon it. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna) in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

The united voice of the senate and people pronounced him a god, and divine worship was accorded to his statue. Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after ages."

153. The State of the Provinces. — The close of the auspicious era of the Antonines invites us to cast a glance over the empire, in order that we may note the condition of the population at large. As we have already observed, the great revolution which brought in the empire was a revolution which redounded to the interests of the provincials.⁸ Even under the worst emperors the administration of affairs in the provinces was as a rule prudent, humane, and just. It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history. Without question there is no basis for a comparison, but only for a contrast, between the condition of the countries of the East and of North Africa under the earlier Roman emperors and the condition of the same lands to-day under their arbitrary and rapacious Mohammedan rulers. Many cities which in the earlier period numbered their citizens by tens and even hundreds of thousands are at the present time represented by miserable villages of a few hundred inhabitants.

The cities and towns of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local

⁸ Consult secs. 127 and 136.

self-government probably equal to that enjoyed at the present time by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theaters, amphitheaters, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges, and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury, but by the generous gifts and bequests of individual citizens. Private

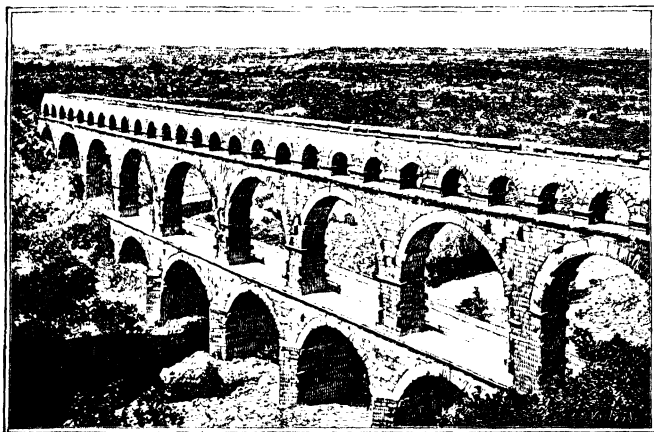


FIG. 42. — ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE
(Present condition)

This aqueduct was built by the emperor Antoninus Pius

munificence of this character was as remarkable a feature of this age as is the liberality of individuals at the present day in the endowment of educational and charitable institutions. As the representative of this form of ancient liberality, we have Herodes Atticus (about A.D. 104-180), a native of Athens. He was the Andrew Carnegie of his time. With a truly royal munificence he built at his own expense at Athens a splendid marble stadium large enough to hold the entire population of the city. To the

city of Troas in Asia Minor he made a gift equivalent to over a half million dollars to aid the inhabitants in the construction of an aqueduct.

Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the provinces of the ancient empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions, but also as to the generally wise, fostering, and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule.

Selections from the Sources. — TACITUS, *Annals*, i. 74, the "Informer" at Rome; and his *Life of Agricola*. *The Early Christian Persecutions* (Translations and Reprints, Univ. of Penn., vol. iv, No. 1). Read Pliny's letter to Trajan and Trajan's reply.

References (Modern). — GIBBON, chap. ii, "Of the Union and Internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines"; and chap. iii, "Of the Constitution of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 470-541. BURY, *The Roman Empire*, chaps. xxv-xxx. DILL, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; for general reference. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. ii, bk. ii, chaps. iv-vii. RAMSAY, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, chap. x, "Pliny's Report and Trajan's Rescript"; chap. xi, "The Action of Nero towards the Christians"; and chap. xv, "Causes and Extent of Persecutions." FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "The Flavian Emperors." BOISSIER, *Rome and Pompeii*, chap. vi, "Pompeii." DYER, *Pompeii, its History, Building and Antiquity*. MAU, *Pompeii: its Life and Art*. WATSON, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, chap. vii, "The Attitude of Aurelius towards Christianity." CAPES, *The Age of the Antonines and The Early Empire*. In this latter work read chap. xii, "The Position of the Emperor"; chap. xviii, "The Moral Standard of the Age"; and chap. xix, "The Revival of Religious Sentiment." The survey in these chapters embraces the first century only of the empire. HARDY, *Christianity and the Roman Government*; a valuable study of the relations of the Christians to the imperial government during the first two centuries of the empire. LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, chap. vii, "Christian Cemeteries"; for the story of the Catacombs.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The conquest of Britain by Claudius. 2. Persecution of the Christians under Nero. 3. The siege of Jerusalem by Titus. 4. Pompeii and what we have learned of Roman life from its remains. 5. The Hadrian Wall in Britain. See Bruce. 6. Marcus Aurelius; his *Meditations*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EMPIRE UNDER COMMODUS AND "THE BARRACK EMPERORS"

(A.D. 180-284)

154. Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192). — Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius and the last of the Antonines, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counselors that



FIG. 43. — COMMODUS (as Hercules)
(From bust found in the Horti
Lamiani, Rome)

the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheater and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flatteries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties and staining the imperial purple with the

most detestable debaucheries and crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats. He even descended into the arena himself. Attired in a lion's skin and

armed with the club of Hercules, he valiantly set upon and slew antagonists arrayed to represent mythological monsters and armed with great sponges for rocks. The servile senate conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules and voted him the additional surnames of Pius and Felix. The empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves and put him to death.

155. "The Barrack Emperors." — For nearly a century after the death of Commodus (from A.D. 192 to 284) the emperors were elected by the army, and hence the rulers for this period have been called "the Barrack Emperors." The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time all except four came to death by violence. To internal disorders were added the terror of barbarian invasions. On every side savage hordes were breaking into the empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.

156. The Public Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193). — The beginning of these troublous times was marked by a shameful proceeding on the part of the prætorians. Upon the death of Commodus, Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was placed on the throne; but his efforts to enforce discipline among the prætorians aroused their anger, and he was slain by them after a short reign of only three months. These soldiers then gave out notice that they would sell the empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at the prætorian camp and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who promised twenty-five thousand sesterces to each of the twelve thousand soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the empire was three hundred million sesterces (about \$12,000,000).

But these turbulent and insolent soldiers at the capital of the empire were not to have things entirely their own way. As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose in indignant revolt. Each of the three armies that held the Euphrates, the Rhine, and the Danube proclaimed its favorite commander emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy

and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days.

157. Reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211).—One of the first acts of Severus was to organize a new bodyguard of fifty thousand legionaries to take the place of the unworthy prætorians, whom, as a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state, he disbanded and banished from the capital. He next crushed his two rival competitors and was then undisputed master of the empire. He put to death forty senators for having favored his late rivals and completely destroyed the power of that body.

Committing to the prefect of the new prætorian guard the management of affairs at the capital, Severus passed the greater part of his long and prosperous reign upon the frontiers. At one time he was chastising the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, and at another pushing back the Caledonian tribes from the Hadrian Wall in the opposite corner of his dominions. At length, in Britain, in his camp at York, death overtook him.

158. Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217).—Severus conferred the empire upon his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla murdered his brother and then ordered Papinian, the celebrated jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide. When that great lawyer refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Thousands fell victims to the tyrant's senseless rage. Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital and wandered about the most distant provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some uncomplimentary remarks made by the citizens upon his personal appearance, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in a remote corner of Syria.

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the empire; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes which only Roman citizens had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of the provincials, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province,

that, as a mark of special favor, had from time to time been admitted to the rights of citizenship. But by this wholesale act of Caracalla the entire free population of the empire outside of Italy that did not already possess the



FIG. 44. — CARACALLA. (Museum at Naples)

rights of the city was made Roman, at least in name and nominal privilege. That vast work of making the whole world Roman, the beginnings of which we saw in the dawn of Roman history (sec. 22), was now completed.¹

159. The Age of the Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251-268). — For about a generation after Caracalla the imperial scepter passed rapidly from the hands of one emperor to those of another. Then came the so-called Age of the Thirty Tyrants. The throne being held by weak emperors, there sprang up in every part of the empire competitors for it — several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the

¹ It must not be supposed, however, that the edict of Caracalla did much more than register an already accomplished fact. It seems probable that by this time the greater part of the freemen of the empire were already enjoying the Roman franchise.

frontiers and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces.² But a fortunate succession of five good emperors — Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284) — restored for a time the ancient boundaries and again forced together into some sort of union the

fragments of the shattered state.

160. The Fall of Palmyra (A.D. 273). — The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during the period of anarchy of which



FIG. 45. — TRIUMPH OF SAPOR OVER VALERIAN

we have spoken was Zenobia, the ruler of the celebrated city of Palmyra in the Syrian desert. This famous princess claimed descent from Cleopatra, and it is certain that in the charms of personal beauty she was the rival of the Egyptian queen. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to Rome. Aurelian marched against her, and defeating her armies in the open field, drove them within the walls of Palmyra. After a long siege the city was taken, and, in punishment for a second uprising, given to the flames.³

The ruins of Palmyra are among the most interesting remains of Greek and Roman civilization in the East. For a long time even the site of the city was lost to the civilized world. The Bedouins, however, knew the spot, and told strange stories of a ruined city with splendid temples and long colonnades far away

² It was during this period that the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253–260), in a battle with the Persians before Edessa, in Mesopotamia, was defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, the Persian king (sec. 172, n. 9). A large rock tablet (Fig. 45), still to be seen near the Persian town of Shiraz, is believed to commemorate the triumph of Sapor over the unfortunate emperor.

³ Zenobia was carried a captive to Rome. After having been led in golden chains in the triumphal procession of Aurelian, the queen was given a beautiful villa in the vicinity of Tibur, where, surrounded by her children, she passed the remainder of her checkered life.

in the Syrian desert. Their accounts awakened an interest in the wonderful city, and towards the close of the seventeenth century some explorers reached the spot. The sketches they brought back of the ruins of the long-lost city produced almost as much astonishment as did the discoveries at a later time of Botta and Layard at Nineveh. The principal features of the ruins are the remains of the great Temple of the Sun, and of the colonnade, which was almost a mile in length. Many of the marble columns that flanked this magnificent avenue are still erect, stretching in a long line over the desert.

References. — MOMMSEN, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian*. FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Third Series), "The Illyrian Emperors and their Lands." GIBBON, chaps. iv-xii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. vi, chap. ii. WRIGHT, *An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The New Persian Empire. 2. Zenobia, Queen of the East. 3. The ruins of Palmyra.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REIGNS OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

I. THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284–305)

161. General Statement. — The accession of Diocletian marks an important era in the history of the Roman Empire. The two matters of chief importance connected with his reign are the changes he effected in the government and his persecution of the Christians.

Diocletian's governmental reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.



FIG. 46. — DIOCLETIAN
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

162. The Empire becomes an Undisguised Oriental Monarchy. — Up to the time we have now reached the really monarchical character of the government was more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old republic. Realizing that republican government among the Romans had passed away forever, and that its forms were now absolutely meaningless, Diocletian cast aside all the masks with which Augustus had concealed his practically unlimited power and which fear or policy had led his successors, with greater or less consistency, to retain, and let the government stand forth naked in its true character as an absolute Asiatic monarchy. In contrasting the policy of Augustus with that of Diocletian, Gibbon truly says: "It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded powers which the emperors possessed over the Roman world."

The change was marked by Diocletian's assumption of the titles of Asiatic royalty and his adoption of the court ceremonials and etiquette of the East. He clothed himself in magnificent robes of silk and gold. All who approached him, whether of low or of high rank, were required to prostrate themselves to the ground, a form of Oriental and servile adoration which the free races of the West had hitherto, with manly disdain, refused to render to their magistrates and rulers.

The imperial household also now assumed a distinctively Oriental character. Ostentation and extravagance marked all the appointments of the palace. Its apartments were crowded with retinues of servants and officers of every rank, and the person of the emperor was hedged around with all the "pomp and majesty of Oriental monarchy."

The incoming of the absolute monarchy meant, of course, the last blow to local municipal freedom. The little liberty that still survived in the cities or municipalities of the empire was virtually swept away. There was no place under the new government for any degree of genuine local independence and self-direction. Italy was now also reduced to a level in servitude with the provinces and was taxed and ruled like the other parts of the empire.

163. Changes in the Administrative System. — The century of anarchy which preceded the accession of Diocletian, and the death by assassination during this period of ten of the twenty-five wearers of the imperial purple,¹ had made manifest the need of a system which would discourage assassination and provide a regular mode of succession to the throne. Diocletian devised a system the aim of which was to compass both these ends. First, he chose as a colleague a companion ruler, Maximian, who, like himself, bore the title of Augustus. Then each of the co-emperors associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar and was considered the son and heir of the emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars.² Milan, in Italy, became the

¹ This enumeration does not include the so-called Thirty Tyrants, of whom many met death by violence.

² From the number of rulers, this government has received the name of *tetrarchy*.

capital and residence of Maximian ; while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the empire was thus secured.

A most serious drawback to this system was the heavy expense involved in the maintenance of four courts with their endless retinues of officers and dependents. It was complained that the number of those who received the revenues of the state was greater than that of those who contributed to them. The burden of taxation grew unendurable. Husbandry in some regions ceased, and great numbers were reduced to beggary or driven into brigandage. The magistrates of the cities and towns were made responsible for the payment of the taxes due the government from their respective communities, and hence office holding became not an honor to be coveted but a burden to be evaded. It was this vicious system of taxation which more than any other one cause, after slavery, contributed to the depopulation, impoverishment, and final downfall of the empire.

164. Persecution of the Christians. — Towards the end of his reign Diocletian inaugurated against the Christians a persecution which continued long after his abdication, and which was the severest, as it was the last, waged against the Church by the pagan emperors. The Christians at this time were not numerous, but because of their close association, and because of the spirit which animated them, they formed by far the most influential party in the Roman state. The imperial decrees ordered that their churches should be torn down ; that the property of the new societies should be confiscated ; that the sacred writings of the sect should be burned ; and that the Christians themselves, unless they should join in the sacrifices to the gods of the state, should be pursued to death as outlaws.

For ten years, which, however, were broken by short periods of respite, the Christians were subjected to the fierce flames of

persecution. They were cast into dungeons, thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheater, burned over a slow fire, and put to death by every other mode of torture that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake their constancy. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and steadfastness shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sometimes sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here they buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

165. The Abdication of Diocletian (A.D. 304). — After a prosperous reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius

and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars.

Diocletian, having thus enjoyed the extreme satisfaction of seeing the imperial authority quietly and successfully transmitted by his system, without the dictation of the insolent prætorians or the interference of the turbulent legionaries, now retired to his country seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and there devoted himself to rural pursuits. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor with him to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied, "Were you but to come to Salona and see the cabbages which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."



FIG. 47. — CHRIST AS THE
GOOD SHEPHERD
(From the Catacombs)

II. REIGN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (A.D. 306–337)

166. **The Battle of the Milvian Bridge** (A.D. 312); “**In this Sign conquer.**” — Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, had reigned together only one year when the latter died at York, in Britain. His soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought to gain the supremacy.

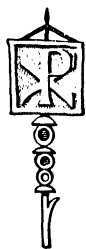


FIG. 48.—THE
LABARUM

One of the most important of the battles that took place between the contending rivals for the imperial purple was the battle of the Milvian Bridge, about two miles from Rome, in which Maxentius, who was holding Italy and Africa, was defeated by Constantine. Constantine's standard on this celebrated battlefield was the Christian cross. He had been led to adopt this emblem through the appearance, as once he prayed to the sun-god, of a cross above the setting sun, with this inscription upon it: “In this sign conquer.”³ Obedient unto the celestial vision, Constantine had at once made the cross his banner,⁴ and it was beneath this new emblem that his soldiers marched to victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

Whatever may have been the circumstances or the motives which led Constantine to make the cross his standard, this act of his constitutes a turning point in the history of the Roman Empire, and especially in that of the Christian Church. Christianity had come into the world as a religion of peace and good will. The Master had commanded his disciples to put up the sword, and had forbidden its use by them either in the spread or in the defense of

³ *In hoc signo vinces*; in Greek, ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.

⁴ The new standard was called the *Labarum* (from the Celtic *lavar*, meaning *command*). It consisted of a banner inscribed with the Greek letters XP, the first being a symbol of the cross, and both forming a monogram of the word *Christ*. The letters are the initials of the Greek *Christos*.

the new faith. For three centuries now his followers had obeyed literally this injunction of the Founder of the Church, so that a Quaker, non-military spirit had up to this time characterized the new sect. By many of the early Christians the profession of arms had been declared to be incompatible with the Christian life.

Now in a moment all this was changed. The most sacred emblem of the new faith was made a battle standard, and into the new religion was infused the military spirit of the imperial

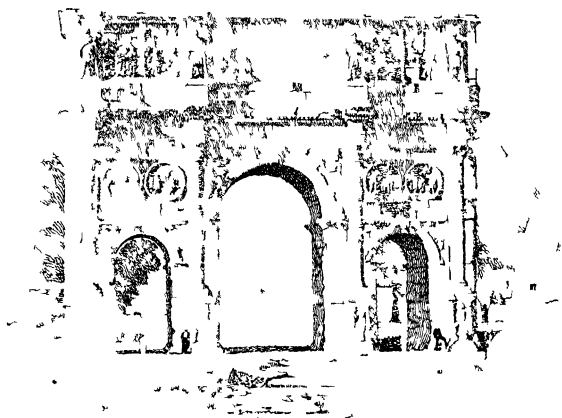


FIG. 49. — ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

Erected by the Roman senate in commemoration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge

government that had made that emblem the ensign of the state. From the day of the battle at the Milvian Bridge a martial spirit has animated the religion of the Prince of Peace. Since then, Christian warriors have often made the cross their battle standard. This infusion into the Church of the military spirit of Rome was one of the most important consequences of the espousal of the Christian cause by the Emperor Constantine.

167. Constantine makes Christianity the Religion of the Court. — By a decree issued at Milan A.D. 313, the year after the battle at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine placed Christianity on an

equal footing with the other religions of the empire. The language of this famous edict of toleration, the *Magna Charta*, as it has been called, of the Church, was as follows: "We grant to Christians and to all others full liberty of following that religion which each may choose."

But by subsequent edicts Constantine made Christianity in effect the state religion and extended to it a patronage which he withheld from the old pagan worship. By the year A.D. 321 he had granted the Christian societies the right to receive gifts and legacies, and he himself enriched the Church with donations of money and grants of land. This marks the beginning of the great possessions of the Church, and with these the entrance into it of a worldly spirit. From this moment can be traced the decay of its primitive simplicity and a decline from its early high moral standard. It is these deplorable results of the imperial patronage that Dante laments in his well-known lines :

Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee!⁵

Another of Constantine's acts touching the new religion is of special historical interest and importance. He recognized the Christian Sunday, "the day of the sun," as a day of rest, forbidding ordinary work on that day, and ordering that Christian soldiers be then permitted to attend the services of their Church. This recognition by the civil authority of the Christian Sabbath meant much for the slave. Now, for the first time in the history of the Aryan peoples, the slave had one day of rest in each week. It was a good augury of the happier time coming when all the days should be his own.

168. The Church Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325). — With the view of harmonizing the different sects that had sprung up among the Christians, and to settle the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians⁶ respecting the nature of Christ, — the former

⁵ *Inferno*, xix, 115-117.

⁶ The Arians were the followers of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria in Egypt; the Athanasians, of Athanasius, archdeacon and later bishop of the same city, and the champion of the orthodox or Catholic view of the Trinity.

denied his equality with God the Father, — Constantine called the first (Ecumenical or General Council of the Church at Nicea, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

169. Constantine founds Constantinople, the New Rome, on the Bosphorus (A.D. 330). — After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, as the new capital of the empire. There were many and weighty reasons urging Constantine to establish a new capital in the East.

First, there were urgent military reasons for making the change. The most dangerous enemies of the empire now were the barbarians behind the Danube and the kings of the recently restored Persian monarchy. This condition of things rendered almost necessary the establishment in the East of a new and permanent basis for military operations, and pointed to Byzantium, with its admirable strategic position, as the site, above all others, adapted to the needs of the imperiled empire.

Second, there were also commercial reasons for the transfer of the capital. Rome had long before this ceased to be in any sense the commercial center of the state, as it was in early times. Through the Roman conquest of Greece and Asia, the center of the population, wealth, and commerce of the empire had shifted eastward. Now, of all the cities in the East, Byzantium was the one most favorably situated to become the commercial metropolis of the enlarged state.

Third, there were religious motives. The priests of the pagan shrines particularly resented the action of Constantine in espousing the new and hated religion, and regarded him as an apostate. It was the existence of these sentiments and feelings among the inhabitants of Rome, which, for one thing, led Constantine to seek elsewhere a new center and seat for his court and government.

But far outweighing all other reasons for the removal of the capital were the political motives. Constantine, like Diocletian, wished to establish a system of government modeled upon the

despotic monarchy of the East. Now, the traditions, the feelings, the temper of the population of Rome constituted the very worst basis conceivable for such a political system. The Romans could not forget — never did forget — that they had once been masters and rulers of the world. Even after they had become wholly unfit to rule themselves, let alone the ruling of others, they still retained the temper and used the language of masters. Constantine wisely determined to seek in the submissive and servile populations of the East, always accustomed to the rendering of obsequious homage to their rulers, a firm basis for the structure of that absolute monarchy the foundations of which had been laid by his predecessor Diocletian.

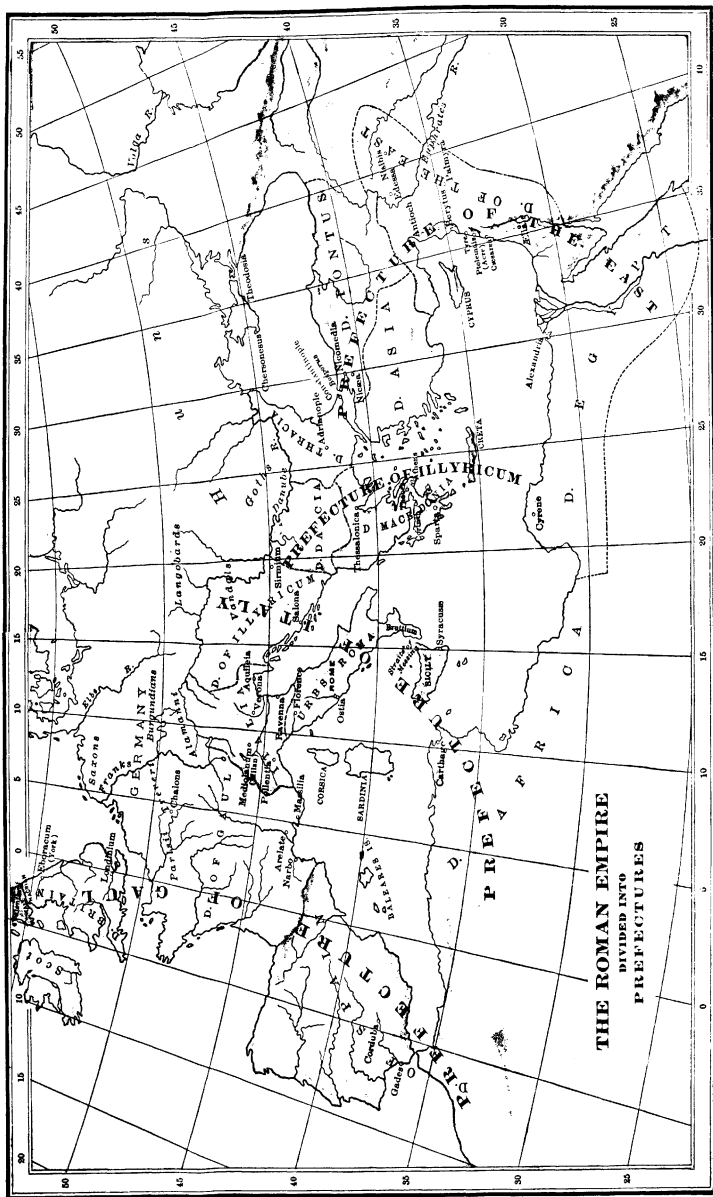
The site for the new capital having been determined upon, the artistic and material resources of the whole Græco-Roman world were called into requisition to create upon the spot a city worthy its predestined fortunes. The imperial invitation and the attractions of the court induced multitudes to crowd into the new capital, so that almost in a day the old Byzantium grew into a great city. In honor of the emperor the name was changed to Constantinople, the “City of Constantine.” The old Rome on the Tiber, emptied of its leading inhabitants, soon sank to the obscure position of a provincial town.

170. The Reorganization of the Government. — Another of Constantine’s important acts was the reorganization of the government. In this great reform he seems to have followed, in the main, the broad lines drawn by Diocletian, so that his work may be regarded as a continuation of that of his predecessor.

To aid in the administration of the government, Constantine laid out the empire into four great divisions called prefectures,⁷ which were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and these again into one hundred and sixteen provinces.

The purpose that Constantine had in view in laying the empire out in so many and such small provinces was to diminish the power of the provincial governors, and thus make it impossible

⁷ See accompanying map. These prefectural divisions were essentially a perpetuation of the fourfold division of the empire that had been made by Diocletian.



for them to raise successfully the standard of revolt. The records of the empire show that during the one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding the accession of Constantine, almost one hundred governors of provinces had ventured to rebel against the imperial authority.

To give still further security to the throne, Constantine divided the civil and military powers, appointing two different sets of persons in each of the larger and smaller divisions of the state, the one set to represent the civil and the other the military authority.*

But this dual administrative system had its drawbacks. The great number of officials needed to man and work the complicated system increased greatly the expenses of the government, and made necessary the laying of still heavier burdens of taxation upon the already overburdened people.

171. The Imperial Court. — Perhaps we cannot better indicate the new relation to the empire into which the head of the Roman state was brought by the innovations of Diocletian and Constantine than by saying that the empire now became the private estate of the sovereign and was managed just as any great Roman proprietor managed his domain. The imperial household and the entire civil service of the government were simply such a proprietor's domestic establishment drawn on a large scale and given an Oriental cast through the influence of the courts of Asia.

This imperial court or establishment was, next after the body of the Roman law and the municipal system, the most important historical product that the old Roman world transmitted to the later nations of Europe. It became the model of the court of Charlemagne and the later emperors of the so-called Holy Roman Empire; and in the form that it reappeared here was copied by all the sovereigns of modern Europe.

172. The Pagan Restoration under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363). — Constantine transmitted his authority to his three sons, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine. This parceling out of the empire led to strife and wars, which at the end of sixteen years left Constantius master of the whole. He reigned as

* Some authorities attribute this reform to Diocletian.

sole emperor for about eight years, engaged in ceaseless warfare with German tribes in the West and with the Persians⁹ in the East.

Constantius was followed by his cousin Julian, called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the pagan faith. In his earlier years Julian had been carefully nurtured in the doctrines of the new religion; but later, in the schools of Athens and of other cities where he pursued his studies, he came under the influence of pagan teachers and his faith in Christian doctrines was undermined, while at the same time he conceived a great enthusiasm for the teachings of the Neoplatonists, and an unbounded admiration for the culture of ancient Hellas.

Julian, in his efforts to restore paganism, did not resort to direct persecution. Several things stood in the way of his doing this. First, his own philosophic and humane disposition forbade him in such a controversy to employ force as a means of persuasion. Second, the number of the Christians was now so great that measures of coercion could not be employed without creating dangerous disorder and disaffection. Third, resort could not be had to the old means of persuasion, — “the sword, the fire, the lions,” — for the reason that, under the softening influences of the very faith Julian sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already become imbued with a gentleness and humanity that rendered morally impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian’s chief weapon was the pen, for he was a writer and satirist of no mean talent.

It was in vain that the apostate emperor labored to uproot the new faith; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Greek and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown: Great Pan was dead.

⁹ The great Parthian Empire, which had been such a formidable antagonist of Rome, was, after an existence of five centuries, overthrown (A.D. 226) by a revolt of the Persians, and the New Persian or Sassanian monarchy established. This empire lasted till the country was overrun by the Saracens in the seventh century A.D.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363-364). In the army the old pagan standards were replaced by the Labarum, and Christianity was again made the religion of the imperial court.

Selections from the Sources.—*Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iv, No. 1. Read "Edicts of Diocletian" and "Edict of Toleration by Galerius."

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Topics for Special Study.—1. The two types of government,—the free popular government of the classical peoples and the Asiatic absolute monarchy. 2. The Diocletian persecution of the Christians. 3. The Christian Sabbath. 4. The Council of Nicæa. 5. The founding of Constantinople. 6. Julian and the pagan restoration.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(A.D. 376-476)

173. Introductory : the Germans and Christianity. — Thus far in the history of the empire we have, for the most part, made the reigns of the emperors the framework of our narrative. We shall no longer follow this plan, for during the last century of the imperial period very few of the occupants of the throne were men of sufficient force or character to exert any influence upon the movement of events. To subdivide the period according to the length of their reigns would be an arbitrary and meaningless procedure.

It will be more instructive for us to turn our eyes away from the imperial throne and to notice what were the actual forces that were giving the events of the period their shape and course. These were the German barbarians and Christianity, — the two most vital elements in the Græco-Roman world of the fifth century. They had, centuries before this, as we have seen, come into certain relations to the Roman government and to Roman life ; but during the period lying immediately before us they assumed an altogether new historical interest and importance.

The two main matters, then, which will claim our attention during the century yet remaining for our study, will be (1) the struggle between the dying empire and the young German races of the North ; and (2) the final triumph of Christianity, through the aid of the temporal power, over expiring paganism.

174. The Goths cross the Danube (A.D. 376). — The year 376 of the Christian era marks an event of the greatest importance in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube, who had often in hostile bands crossed that river to war against the Roman emperors, now appeared as suppliants

in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Romans to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state.

The Eastern emperor, Valens,¹ consented to grant their petition on condition that they should surrender their arms and give up their children as hostages. Their terror and despair led them to assent to these conditions. So the entire nation, numbering about one million souls, — counting men, women, and children, — were allowed to cross the river. Several days and nights were consumed in the transport of the vast multitudes. The writers of the times liken the passage to that of the Hellespont by the hosts of Xerxes.

The enemy that had so terrified the Goths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen from the vast steppes of Asia. They were of a different race (the "Turanian") from that to which the Greeks and Romans and Germans belonged. Their features were hideous, their noses being flattened, and their cheeks gashed, to render their appearance more frightful as well as to prevent the growth of a beard. Even the Goths called them "barbarians."

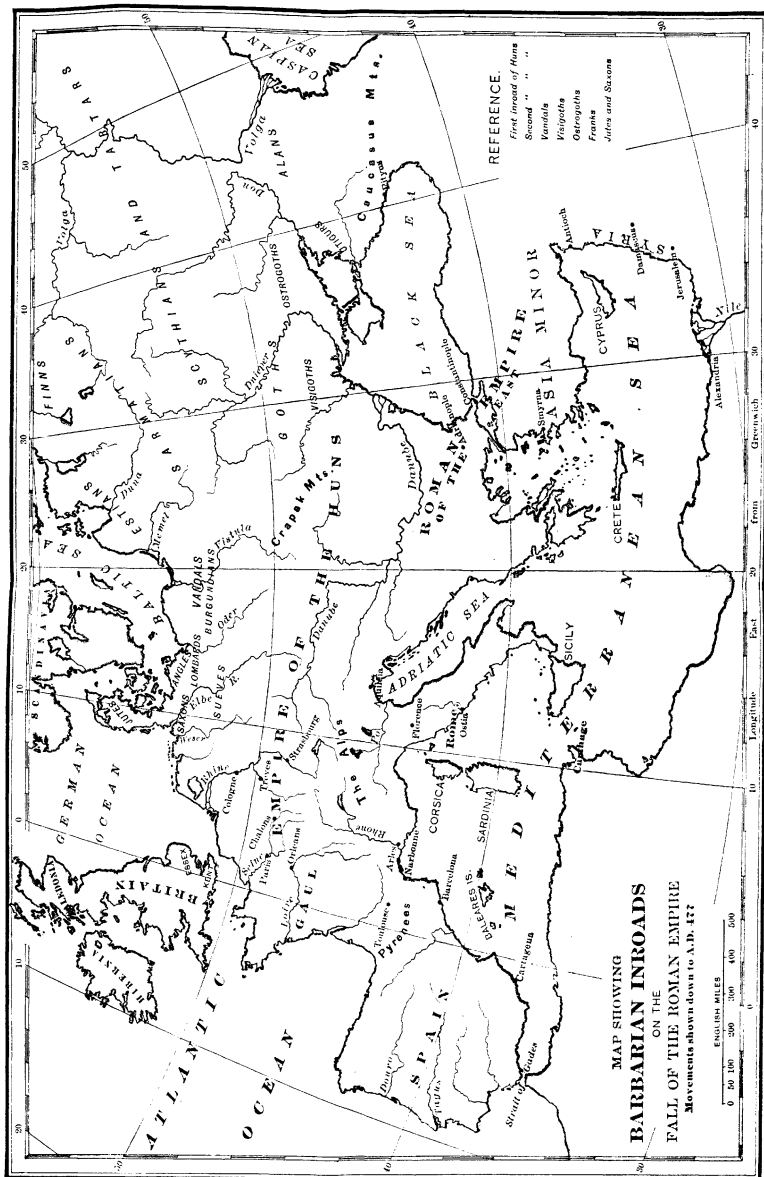
Scarcely had the fugitive Visigoths been received within the limits of the empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible Huns, crowded to the banks of the Danube and pleaded that they might be allowed, as their countrymen had been, to place the river between themselves and their dreaded enemies. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request; whereupon they, dreading the fierce and implacable foe behind more than the wrath of the Roman emperor in front, crossed the river with arms in their hands.

¹ Valens (A.D. 364-378). Valentinian (A.D. 364-375), emperor of the West, had just died, and been succeeded by Gratian (A.D. 375-383).

Once within the empire they, joined by their Visigothic kinsmen, soon began to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens dispatched swift messengers to Gratian, emperor in the West, asking for assistance against the foe he had so unfortunately admitted within the limits of the empire. Meanwhile, he rallied all his forces, and, without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, imprudently risked a battle with the barbarians near *Adrianople*. The Roman army was almost annihilated and Valens himself was killed (A.D. 378). The Goths now rapidly overran Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, ravaging the country up to the walls of Constantinople.

Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens when news of his defeat and death at the hands of the barbarians was brought to him. He at once appointed as his associate Theodosius (A.D. 379–395), known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the Eastern provinces. Theodosius, by wise and vigorous measures, quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Great multitudes of the Visigoths were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while the Ostrogoths were scattered in various colonies in different regions of Asia Minor. The Goths became allies of the emperor of the East, and more than forty thousand of these warlike barbarians, who were destined to be the subverters of the empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

175. The Disestablishment of the Sacred Colleges ; the Prohibition of the Pagan Cults. — Both Gratian and Theodosius were zealous champions of the orthodox Church, and a large portion of the edicts issued during their joint reign had for aim the uprooting of heresy or the suppression of the pagan worship. Gratian at his accession had taken away from the sacred colleges at Rome (sec. 17) their endowments and had caused to cease the payment of salaries to the members of these bodies. As places in these associations were held by the senators, the confiscation of the property of the colleges dealt paganism a heavy blow by bringing it about that the pagan party in the senate should no longer have a personal and material interest in maintaining the ancient religion.



The final blow to the old religion was given through the positive prohibition of the pagan cults. Speaking generally, from the accession of Constantine down to the time which we have now reached, the pagans had been allowed full toleration of worship. There was, during this period, what we call religious liberty, but not perfect religious equality; for some of the Christian emperors favored their own faith in their legislation and in their appointments to office. But now paganism from being a tolerated became a proscribed religion.

It was Theodosius the Great who, by his effective measures against heathenism, earned the title of "the Destroyer of Paganism." At first he simply placed the pagans under many disabilities, but finally he made it a crime for any one to practice any pagan cult, or even to enter a temple. In the year A.D. 392 even the private worship of the Lares and Penates was prohibited. The struggle between Christianity and heathenism was now virtually ended—and the "Galilean" had conquered. Pagan rites, however, were practiced secretly long after this. Especially did the old home cults of the Lares and Penates linger on in the country districts, from which circumstance the term "pagan" (from *paganus*, the dweller in a *pagus* or "village") came to indicate a follower of the ancient idolatry.

176. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose of Milan.—A memorable incident, illustrative of the influence of the new religion that was now fast taking the place of paganism, marks the reign of Theodosius the Great. In a sedition caused by the arrest and imprisonment of a favorite charioteer, the people of Thessalonica, in Macedonia, had murdered the general and several officers of the imperial garrison in that place (A.D. 390). When intelligence of the event reached Theodosius, who was at Milan, his hasty temper broke through all restraint, and, moved by a spirit of savage vengeance, he ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. The command was obeyed and at least seven thousand persons perished.

Shortly after the massacre, the emperor, as he was entering the door of the cathedral at Milan where he was wont to worship,

was met at the threshold by the pious Bishop Ambrose, who, in the name of the God of justice and mercy, forbade him to enter the sacred place until he had done public penance for his awful crime. The commander of all the Roman legions was constrained to obey the unarmed pastor. In penitential garb and attitude Theodosius made public confession of his sin and humbly underwent the penance imposed by the Church.

This passage of history is noteworthy as marking a stadium in the moral progress of humanity. It made manifest how with Christianity a new moral force had entered the world, how a sort of new and universal tribunician authority² had arisen in society to interpose, in the name of justice and humanity, between the weak and the defenseless and their self-willed and arbitrary rulers.

177. Final Division of the Empire (A.D. 395).—The Roman world was united practically for the last time under Theodosius the Great. From A.D. 392 to 395 he ruled as sole emperor. Just before his death he divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This division was not to affect the unity of the empire. There was to be but one empire, although there were to be two emperors. But as a matter of fact so different was the course of events in the two halves of the old empire that from this on we shall find it convenient to trace the history of each division separately.

178. The Empire in the East.—The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long at this point of our history. The line of Eastern emperors lasted over a thousand years—until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Empire in the West the emperors of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of different barbarian tribes. Frequently during this period, in order to save their own

² Compare sec. 33.

territories, they, by dishonorable inducements, persuaded the barbarians to direct their ravaging expeditions against the provinces of the West.

179. First Invasion of Italy by Alaric (A.D. 402-403). — Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all parts of the empire. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general of Honorius, they crossed the Julian Alps and spread terror throughout all Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pollentia and Verona (A.D. 402-403). The captured camp was found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps and escaped.

180. Last Triumph at Rome (A.D. 404). — A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutones were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was pronounced along with that of Marius (sec. 100). A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory and the deliverance. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times — such is asserted to be the number — the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

181. Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheater. — The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome signalizes also the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheater. It is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of these inhuman exhibitions is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. And when the pagan moralists

did condemn the spectacles, it was rather for other reasons than that they regarded them as inhuman and absolutely contrary to the rules of ethics. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldiers to the sights of the battlefield. Hence gladiatorial games were sometimes actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns.

But the Christian Fathers denounced the combats as absolutely immoral, and labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. The members of their own body who attended the spectacles were excommunicated. At length, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. This decree appears to have been very little regarded; nevertheless, from this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by his interruption of their sports. The people, however, soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheater."

182. Invasion of Italy by Various German Tribes under Radagaisus (A.D. 405-406).—While Italy was celebrating her triumph over the Goths, another and more formidable invasion was preparing in the North. The tribes beyond the Rhine,—the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and other peoples,—driven onward by some unknown cause, poured in impetuous streams from the forests and morasses of Germany, and, breaking through the barriers of the Alps, overspread the plains of Italy. The alarm caused by them among the Italians was even greater than that inspired by the Gothic invasion; for Alaric was a Christian, while Radagaisus, the leader of the new hordes, was a superstitious

savage, who paid worship to gods that required the bloody sacrifice of captive enemies.

By such efforts as Rome put forth in the younger and more vigorous days of the republic when Hannibal was at her gates, an army was now equipped and placed under the command of Stilicho. Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced as far as Florence, and were now besieging that place. Stilicho here surrounded the vast host — variously estimated from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men — and starved them into a surrender. Their chief, Radagaisus, was put to death, and great numbers of the barbarians that the sword and famine had spared were sold as slaves (A.D. 406).

183. The Ransom of Rome (A.D. 409). — Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he came under the suspicion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians, and who might again have averted similar dangers that were now at hand. Listening to the rash counsel of his unworthy advisers, Honorius provoked to revolt the thirty thousand Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions by a massacre of their wives and children, who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. The Goths beyond the Alps joined with their kinsmen to avenge the perfidious act. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and, pillaging the cities in his way, led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal (sec. 76) — more than six hundred years before this — had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

The barbarians by their vast numbers were enabled to completely surround the city, and thus cut it off from its supplies of food. Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the grass, the easier to mow it," was

Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city. Small as *it comparatively* was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down.

184. Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410). — Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. Here he was joined by great numbers of fugitive slaves and by fresh accessions of barbarians from beyond the Alps. The chieftain now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence.

Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the city, resolved upon its sack and plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls (sec. 44). During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it was given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian churches; but the wealth of the citizens he permitted them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palace of the Cæsars and the residences of the wealthy patricians. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the streets of the city were wet with blood, while the nights were lighted by burning buildings.

185. Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism. — The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both pagans and Christians throughout the Roman

world. The pagans asserted that these unutterable calamities had overtaken the Roman people because of their abandonment of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world.

The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the city the fulfillment of the prophecies of their Scriptures against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. It was this interpretation of the appalling calamity that gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. "Henceforth," says the historian Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance."

186. The Death of Alaric (A.D. 410). — After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jeweled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric led his soldiers to the extreme southern point of Italy, intending to cross the straits of Messina into Sicily, and, after subduing that island, to carry his conquests into the provinces of Africa. His designs were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 410. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation by his enemies. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

187. The Disintegration of the Empire and the Beginnings of the Barbarian Kingdoms (A.D. 410-451).³ — We must now turn

³ We choose these dates for the reason that they set off the interval between two great events, namely, the sack of Rome by Alaric (sec. 184) and the battle of Châlons (sec. 188).

our eyes from Rome and Italy in order to watch the movement of events in the western provinces of the empire. During the forty years following the sack of Rome by Alaric, the German tribes seized the greater part of these provinces and established in them what are known as the "Barbarian Kingdoms."

The Goths who had pillaged Rome and Italy, after the death of their great chieftain Alaric, under the lead of his successors, recrossed the Alps, and establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up finally in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths.

While the Goths were making these migrations and settlements, a kindred but less civilized tribe, the Vandals, moving from their seat in Pannonia, traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and there occupied for a time a large tract of country, which in its present name of *Andalusia* preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. Then they crossed the straits of Gibraltar, overthrew the Roman authority in all Northern Africa, and made Carthage the seat of a short-lived but dreaded corsair empire (A.D. 439).

About this same time the Burgundians, who, like the Vandals, were close kin of the Goths, partly by negotiations with the Romans and partly by force of arms, established themselves in Southeastern Gaul and laid there the basis of what is called the Kingdom of the Burgundians. A portion of the region occupied by these German settlers still retains from them the name of *Burgundy*.

Meanwhile the Franks, who about a century before the sack of Rome by Alaric had made their first settlement in Roman territory west of the Rhine, were increasing in numbers and in authority, and were laying the basis of what after the fall of Rome was to become known as the Kingdom of the Franks,—the beginning of the French nation of to-day.

But the most important of all the settlements of the barbarians was being made in the remote province of Britain. In his efforts to defend Italy against her barbarian invaders, Stilicho had withdrawn the last legion from Britain, and had thus left unguarded the Hadrian Wall in the North (sec. 151) and the long coast line

facing the continent. The Picts of Caledonia, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the guardians of the province, swarmed over the unsentined rampart and pillaged the fields and towns of the South. The half-Romanized and effeminate provincials — no match for their hardy kinsmen who had never bowed their necks to the yoke of Rome — were driven to despair by the ravages of their relentless enemies, and, in their helplessness, invited to their aid the Angles and Saxons from the shores of the North Sea. These people came in their rude boats, drove back the invaders, and, being pleased with the soil and climate of the island, took possession of the country for themselves and became the ancestors of the English people.

188. Invasion of the Huns; Battle of Châlons (A.D. 451). — The barbarians that were thus overrunning and parceling out the inheritance of the dying empire were now in turn pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than were they in the sight of the peoples among whom they had thrust themselves. These were the non-Aryan Huns, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube (sec. 174). At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the “Scourge of God.” It was Attila’s boast that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of his horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern emperor and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, seven hundred thousand warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province and then to traverse Italy with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power.

The Romans and their German conquerors united to make common cause against the common enemy. The Visigoths were rallied by their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians flocked to the standard of the able Roman general Aëtius.⁴ Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of

⁴ Aëtius has been called “the last of the Romans.” For twenty years previous to this time he had been the upholder of the imperial authority in Gaul.

Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible. Theodoric was slain; but at last fortune turned against the barbarians. The loss of the Huns is variously estimated at from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand warriors. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine (A.D. 451).

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history; for it decided that the Christian German folk, and not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring *Roman Empire* and control the destinies of Europe.

189. Attila threatens Rome; his death (A.D. 453?).—The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila crossed the Alps and burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings there grew up in time the city of Venice, “the eldest daughter of the Roman Empire,” the “Carthage of the Middle Ages.”

The barbarians threatened Rome; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila how death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City as a spoil to his warriors, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. To these admonitions of the Christian bishop was added the persuasion of a bribe from the emperor, Valentinian; and Attila was induced to spare Southern Italy and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly. His followers gradually withdrew from Europe into the wilds of their native Scythia, or were absorbed by the peoples they had conquered.

190. Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455).—Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal.

The kings of the Vandal empire in Northern Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and even plundered the maritime towns of the provinces of the Roman Empire in the East. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet led by the dread Geiseric (Genseric) sailed up the Tiber.

Panic seized the people, for the name Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the Imperial City. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the movable property of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the ruthless barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them (sec. 184), with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their ornaments and furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories.⁵ From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred articles that Titus had stolen from the temple at Jerusalem (sec. 146).

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Carthage,⁶ bearing, besides the plunder of the city, more than thirty thousand of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had fallen true (sec. 91). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

⁵ It would seem that, in some instances at least, after the closing of the temples to the pagan worship, many of the sacred things, such as war trophies, were left undisturbed in the edifices where they had been placed during pagan times.

⁶ "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost." — MERIVALE.

191. End of the Roman Empire in the West (A.D. 476). — Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. All the provinces — Illyricum, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa — were in the hands of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Angles and Saxons, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating.

During the years from A.D. 456 to 472 the real ruler in Italy was a Sueve, named Count Ricimer. He set up four emperors. Upon his death a Pannonian by the name of Orestes deposed the emperor then on the throne and placed the imperial crown upon the head of his own son, a child of only six years.

By what has been called a freak of fortune this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and the establisher of the empire. He became known as Augustulus — “the little Augustus.” He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of the Heruli, a small but formidable German tribe, having demanded one third of the lands of Italy to divide among his followers for services rendered the empire and having been refused, put Orestes to death and dethroned the child-emperor.

The Roman senate now sent to Constantinople an embassy with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office to represent to the Eastern emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of “patrician,” might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire in the East (A.D. 476).

192. The Import of the Break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. — The destruction of the Roman Empire in the West by the German barbarians is one of the most momentous events in history. It marks a turning point in the fortunes of mankind.

The revolution brought it about that for a long time the lamp of culture burned with lessened light. It brought in the so-called

"Dark Ages." During this period the new race was slowly lifting itself to the level of culture that the Greeks and Romans had attained.

But the revolution meant much besides disaster and loss. It meant the enrichment of civilization through the incoming of a new and splendidly endowed race. Within the empire during several centuries three of the most vital elements of civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, had been gradually blending. Now was added a fourth factor, the Germanic. It is this element which has had very much to do in making modern civilization richer and more progressive than any preceding one.

The downfall of the Roman imperial government in the West was, further, an event of immense significance in the political world for the reason that it rendered possible the growth in Western Europe of several nations or states in place of the single empire.

Another consequence of the fall of the Roman power in the West was the development of the Papacy. In the absence of an emperor in the West the popes rapidly gained influence and power, and soon built up an ecclesiastical empire that in some respects took the place of the old empire and carried on its civilizing work.

Selections from the Sources. — TACITUS, *Germania*; the most valuable original account that we possess of the life and manners of our German ancestors about the first century of our era.

References (Modern). — HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. i and ii; on the Visigothic, the Hunnish, and the Vandal invasion. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 557-572. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. iii. DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. A book of unsurpassed value. CURTIS, *History of the Roman Empire* (from A.D. 395 to 800), chaps. vi-ix. GIBBON, chap. ix, "The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians in the time of the Emperor Decius." CHURCH, *The Beginnings of the Middle Ages*; read the Introduction and chap. i. CUTTS, *Saint Augustine*. CARR, *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. xiii, "The Fall of Paganism"; and chap. xviii, "Alaric and the Goths." FREEMAN, *The Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. iii, "Rome and the New Nations." KINGSLEY, *The Roman and The Teuton*, lects. i-iii. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. vi, "The Battle of Châlons, A.D. 451." EMERTON, *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. ii and iii. These chapters

cover admirably the following subjects: "The Two Races," "The Breaking of the Frontier by the Visigoths," and "The Invasion of the Huns." For the causes of the failure of the Empire in the West, see the following: HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii, pp. 532-613, "Causes of the Fall of the Western Empire." SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. ii, pp. 37-64, "The Proximate Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire"; and BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. i, chap. iii, "Elements of Disintegration in the Roman Empire." Bury makes slavery, oppressive taxation, the importation of barbarians, and Christianity the four chief causes of the weakness and failure of the empire.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Manners and customs of the Germans. 2. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose. 3. Alaric the Goth. 4. Attila the Hun. 5. Causes of the downfall of the Empire in the West.

CHAPTER XIX

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS

I. ARCHITECTURE

193. Greek Origin of Roman Architecture: the Arch.—The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed, but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and Oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its principle. By means of it the Roman builders vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood to the present day.

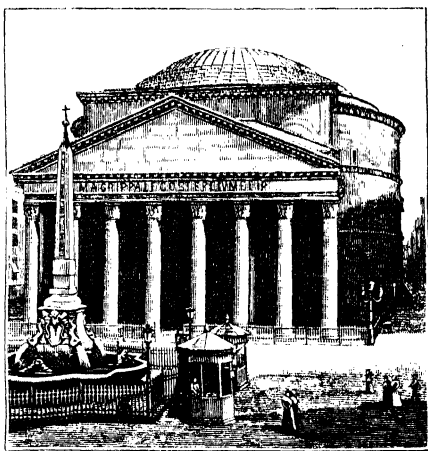


FIG. 50. — THE PANTHEON
(Present condition)

194. Sacred Edifices.—The temples of the Romans were in general so like those of the Greeks that we need not here take space to enter into a particular description of them. Mention, however, should be made of their circular vaulted temples, as this

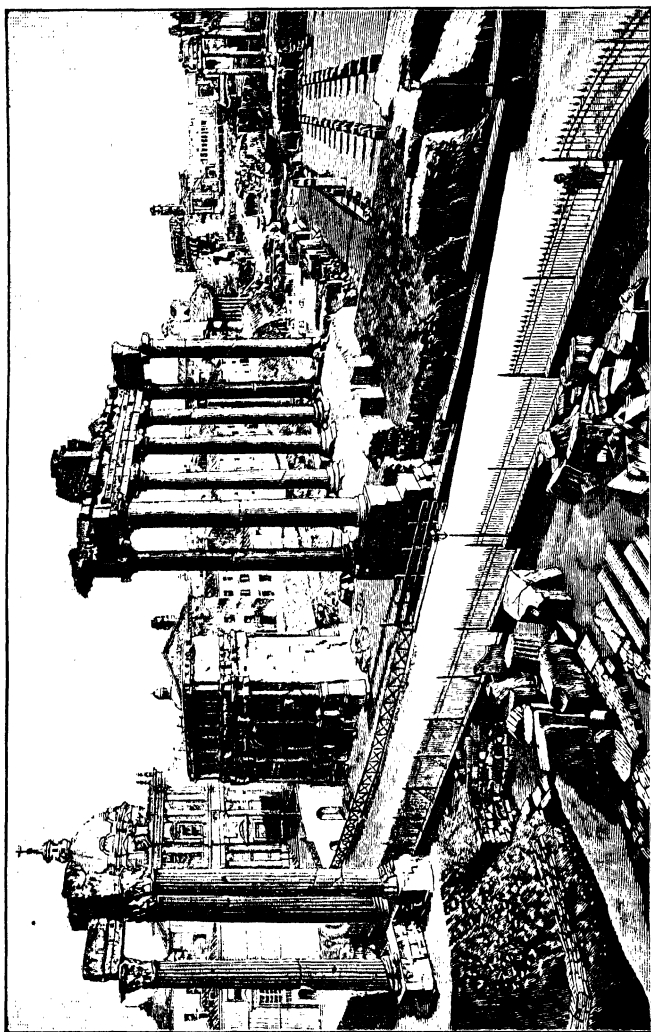


FIG. 51. — THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885

was a style of building almost exclusively Italian. The best representative of this style of sacred edifices is the Pantheon at Rome, which has come down to our own times in a state of wonderful preservation.¹ This structure is about one hundred and

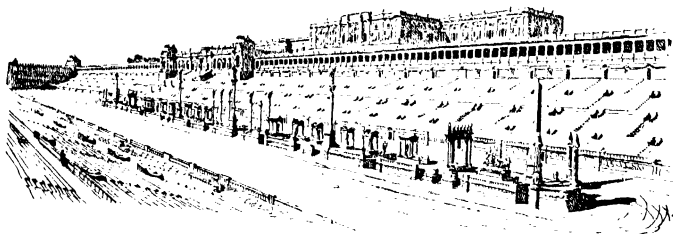


FIG. 52. — THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS. (A restoration)

forty feet in diameter. The immense concrete dome which vaults the building is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master builders of the world.

195. Circuses, Theaters, and Amphitheaters. — The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was first laid out in the time of the Tarquins and afterwards enlarged as the population of the capital increased until it was capable of holding two or three hundred thousand spectators.

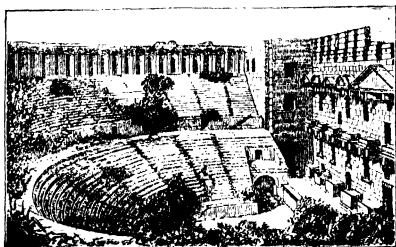


FIG. 53. — RUINS OF THEATER
AT ASPENDOS

The Romans borrowed the plan of their theaters from the Greeks; their amphitheaters, however, were original with them. The Flavian amphitheater, known as the Colosseum, has already come under our notice (sec. 146). The edifice was five hundred and seventy-four

¹ The original building was erected about 25 B.C. by M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. Having been damaged by fire, it was rebuilt by Hadrian.

feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating over forty thousand spectators. The ruins of this immense structure stand to-day as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the Roman Empire."

196. Aqueducts.—The aqueducts of ancient Rome were among the most important of the utilitarian works of the Romans. The water system of the capital was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.), who secured the building of an aqueduct which led water into the city from the Sabine hills. During the republic



FIG. 54. — THE COLOSSEUM. (From a photograph)

four aqueducts in all were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.² The longest of these was about fifty-five miles in length. The aqueducts usually ran beneath the surface, but when a depression was to be crossed they were lifted on arches, which sometimes were over one hundred feet high.³ These lofty arches running in long, broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are the most striking feature of the Campagna at the present time.

² Several of these are still in use.

³ The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.

197. Thermæ or Baths. — The greatest demand upon the streams of water poured into Rome by the aqueducts was made by the thermæ or baths. Among the ancient Romans bathing became in time a luxurious art. Under the republic bathing houses were erected in considerable numbers. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the name Thermæ properly attaches, were erected. These edifices were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial works. They contained chambers for cold, hot, tepid, sudatory,

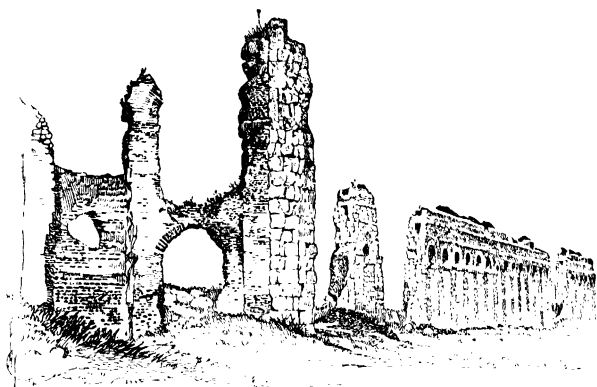


FIG. 55. — THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT. (From a photograph)

and swimming baths ; dressing rooms and gymnasia ; museums and libraries ; covered colonnades for lounging and conversation ; extensive grounds filled with statues and traversed by pleasant walks ; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.⁴ Being intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, they were thrown open to the public free of charge.

198. Villas. — The residences of the wealthy Romans when located in the country were usually designated as villas. Every wealthy Roman possessed his villa, and many kept up several in different parts of Italy. These country residences, while retaining

⁴ Lanciani calls these imperial thermæ "gigantic clubhouses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

all the conveniences of the city home, such as baths, museums, and libraries, added to these such adjuncts as were denied a place by the restricted room of the capital, — extensive gardens, fish ponds, vineyards, olive orchards, and parks. Perhaps the most noted of Roman villas was that of Hadrian at Tibur, now Tivoli.

199. Sepulchral Monuments. — The Romans in the earliest times seem usually to have disposed of their dead by burial ; but towards the close of the republican period cremation or burning

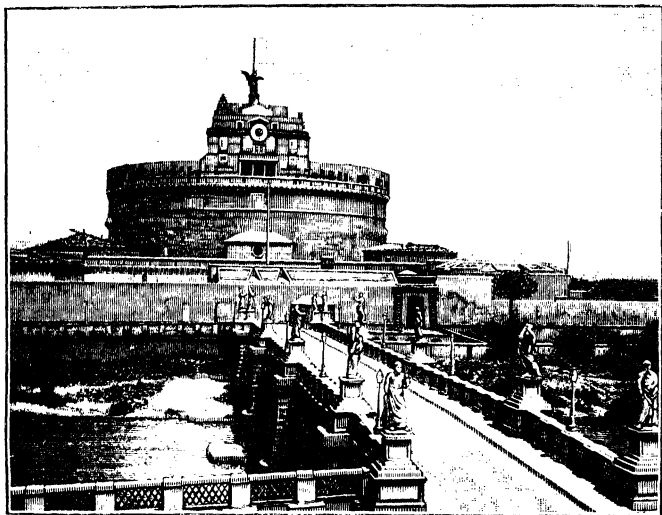


FIG. 56. — MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN, BUILT BY HIMSELF
AT ROME. (From a photograph)

Now the Castle of St. Angelo

became common. The incoming of Christianity with its doctrine of the resurrection of the body caused burying to become again the prevalent mode.

The favorite burying place among the Romans was along the highways ; “ for the dead were thought of as ever turning towards this life.” The Appian Way, for a distance of several miles from

THE POETS OF THE REPUBLIC

the gates of the capital, was lined with sepulchral monum⁵
Many of these in a ruined state still line the ancient highway.⁵

II. LITERATURE AND LAW

200. Relation of Roman to Greek Literature. — Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; still it performed a most important service for civilization, being the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece. The relation of Rome to Greece was exactly the same as that of Phœnicia to Egypt, as expressed by Lenormant: Greece was the mother of modern civilization; Rome was its missionary.

201. The Poets of the Republic. — It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first copied and studied by the Romans. For nearly two centuries, from 240 to 78 B.C., dramatic literature was almost the only form of composition cultivated at Rome. During this epoch appeared all the great dramatists ever produced by the Latin-speaking race. Of these may be named Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence. All of these writers were close imitators of Greek authors, and most of their works were simply adaptations or translations of the masterpieces of the Greek dramatists.

Lucilius (b. 148 B.C.) was one of the greatest of Roman satirists. The later satirists of the corrupt imperial era were his imitators. Besides Lucilius there appeared during the later republican era only two other poets of distinguished merit, Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius (95–51 B.C.) was an evolutionist, and in his great poem *On the Nature of Things* we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists. Catullus (b. about 87 B.C.) was a lyric poet. He has been called the Roman Burns, as well on account of the waywardness of his life as from the sweetness of his song.

202. Poets of the Augustan Age: Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. — Three poets have cast an unfading luster over the period covered

⁵ For examples of Roman triumphal columns and memorial arches, see Figs. 38 and 49.

by the reign of Augustus, — Vergil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–18 A.D.). So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature signalized by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to this Roman era, an *Augustan Age*.

The three great works of Vergil are the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. The *Eclogues* are a series of pastorals, which are very close imitations of the poems of the Sicilian Theocritus. In the *Georgics* Vergil extols and dignifies the husbandman and his labor. The work was written at the suggestion of Mæcenas, who hoped by means of the poet's verse to allure his countrymen back to that love for the art of husbandry which animated the fathers of the early Roman state. Throughout the work Vergil follows very closely the *Works and Days* of the Greek poet Hesiod.

The *Aeneid* holds a place among the world's great epics. Through Æneas, the hero of the poem, Vergil doubtless intends to represent and compliment his patron Augustus. In this, his greatest work, Vergil was a close student of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to them he is indebted for very many of his finest metaphors, similes, and descriptive passages.

Horace's *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* have all helped win for him his widespread fame; but the first best exhibit his genius and his subtle grace of expression.

Ovid's most celebrated work is his *Metamorphoses*, in which he describes between two and three hundred metamorphoses, or transformations, suffered by various persons, gods, heroes, and goddesses, as related in the innumerable fables of the Greek and Roman mythologies.

203. Satire and Satirists. — Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan at Rome. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature.

Two names stand out in special prominence, — Persius (A.D. 34–62) and Juvenal⁶ (about A.D. 40–120). The works of these writers possess a special historical value and interest since they cast a strong side light upon life at Rome during the early portion of the imperial period.

The indignant protest of Persius and Juvenal against the vices and follies of their time is almost the last utterance of the Latin Muse. After the death of Juvenal the Roman world produced not a single poet of preëminent merit.

204. Oratory among the Romans. — “Public oratory,” as has been truly said, “is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it.” We see this illustrated in the history of republican Athens. Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators of Rome arose under the republic. Among these Hortensius and Cicero stand preëminent.

Hortensius (114–50 B.C.) was a famous lawyer whose name adorns the legal profession at the capital both as the learned jurist and the eloquent advocate. His forensic talent won for him a lucrative law practice, through which he gathered an immense fortune.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the contemporary and friend of Hortensius, is easily the first of Roman orators, — “the most eloquent of all the sons of Romulus.” Even more highly prized than his orations are his letters, for Cicero was a most delightful letter writer. His letters to his friend Atticus are among the most charming specimens of that species of composition.

205. Latin Historians. — Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame, — Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Suetonius may also be mentioned in this place, although his writings were rather biographical than historical.

Cæsar’s productions are his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and his *Memoirs of the Civil War*. His *Commentaries* will

⁶ Martial, an epigrammatic poet (b. about A.D. 40), was also a satirist of this period, but he rebuked only some of the minor vices of society.

always be cited along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a model of the narrative style of writing.

Sallust (86-34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. As prætor of one of the African provinces, he amassed by harsh if not unjust exactions an immense fortune and erected at Rome a palatial residence with beautiful gardens, which became one of the favorite resorts of the literary characters of the capital. The two works upon which his fame rests are the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*. Both of these productions are reckoned among the best examples of historical composition in the range of Latin literature.

Livy (59 B.C. - A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, only thirty-five of the one hundred and forty-two books⁷ of this admirable production have been preserved. Many have been the laments over "the lost books of Livy." Livy loved a story equally well with Herodotus. Like the Greek historian, he was overcredulous, and relates with charming ingenuousness, usually without the least questioning of their credibility, all the legends and myths that were extant in his day respecting the early affairs of Rome. Modern criticism has shown that all the first portion of his history is entirely unreliable as a chronicle of actual events. However, it is a most entertaining account of what the Romans themselves thought and believed respecting the origin of their race, the founding of their city, and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

The works of Tacitus are his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans, the *Life of Agricola*, his *History*, and his *Annals*. All of these are most admirable productions,

⁷ It should be borne in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar's *Gallie Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books.

polished and graceful narratives, full of entertainment and instruction. In the *Germania* Tacitus sets in strong contrast the virtues of the untutored Germans and the vices of the cultured Romans.

206. Science, Ethics, and Philosophy. — Under this head may be grouped the names of Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and Quintilian.

Seneca (about A.D. 1-65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero (sec. 144). He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from those of Socrates.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as a naturalist. The only work of his that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, a sort of "Roman Encyclopedia."

In connection with the name of Pliny the Elder must be mentioned that of his nephew, Pliny the Younger. His epistles, like the letters of Cicero, are among the most valuable of Roman prose productions that have come down to us.

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first place among the ethical teachers of Rome. The former wrote his *Meditations* (sec. 152); but the latter, like Socrates, committed nothing to writing, so that we know of the character of his teachings only through one of his pupils, Arrian by name. Epictetus was for many years a slave at the capital, but, securing in some way his freedom, he became a teacher of philosophy. His name is inseparably linked with that of Marcus Aurelius as a teacher of the purest system of morals found outside of Christianity. Epictetus and Aurelius were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the teachings of the Greek philosopher Zeno. Christianity, giving a larger place to the affections than did Stoicism, was already fast winning the hearts of men.

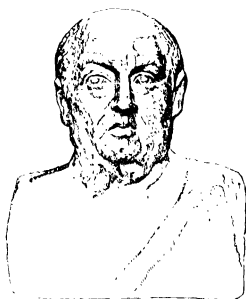


FIG. 57. — SENECA
(From the double bust of Seneca and Socrates in the Berlin Museum)

Quintilian (about A.D. 40-118) was the one great grammarian and rhetorician that the Roman race produced. For about a quarter of a century he was the most noted lecturer at Rome on educational and literary subjects. One of the booksellers of the capital, after much persuasion, finally prevailed upon the teacher to publish his lectures. They were received with great favor, and Quintilian's *Institutes* have never ceased to be studied and copied by all succeeding writers on education and rhetoric.⁸

207. Writers of the Early Latin Church.—The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. As the Latin tongue, however, gradually came into more general use throughout the West, the Christian authors naturally began to use it in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the fathers of the Church produced in the western half of the empire during the later imperial period were composed in Latin. From among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period we shall select only two for special mention, — St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342?-420) was a native of Pannonia. For many years he led a monastic life at Bethlehem. He is especially held in memory through his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one which, with slight changes, is still used in the Roman Catholic Church. "It was for Europe of the Middle Ages," asserts Mackail, "more than Homer was to Greece."

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354-430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. He was the most eminent writer of the Christian Church during the later Roman period. His *City of God*, a truly wonderful work, possesses a special interest for the historian. The

⁸ The allusions which we have made to the publishing trade suggest a word respecting ancient publishers and books. There were in Rome several publishing houses, which in their day enjoyed a wide reputation and conducted a very extended business. "Indeed, the antique book trade," says Guhl, "was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times. . . . The place of the press in our literature was taken by the slaves." Through practice they gained surprising facility as copyists, and books were multiplied with great rapidity.

book was written just when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the pagans that Christianity, turning the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state.

208. Roman Law and Law Literature. — Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance. Its work was largely imitative. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

Our knowledge of the law system of the Romans begins with the legislation of the Twelve Tables, about 450 B.C. (sec. 37). Throughout all the republican period the laws were growing less harsh and cruel, and were becoming more liberal and scientific.

From 100 B.C. to A.D. 250 lived and wrote the most famous of the Roman jurists and law writers, who created the most remarkable law literature ever produced by any people. The great unvarying principles that underlie and regulate all social and political relations were by them examined, illustrated, and expounded. Gaius, Ulpian, Paulus, Papinian, and Pomponius are among the most renowned of the writers who, during the period just indicated, enriched by their writings and opinions this branch of Latin literature.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became emperor of the Roman Empire in the East. He almost immediately appointed a commission, headed by the great lawyer Tribonian, to collect and arrange in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like that of the decemvirs in connection with the Twelve Tables, only far greater. The result of the work of the commission was what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts, — the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the

Institutes.⁹ The Code was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian ; the Pandects (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. The Institutes were a condensed edition of the Pandects, and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students in the great law schools of the empire.

The body of the Roman law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization.¹⁰ It has exerted a profound influence upon the law systems of almost all the European peoples. Thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

III. SOCIAL LIFE

209. Education. — Under the republic there were no public schools in Rome ; education was a private affair. Under the early empire a mixed system prevailed, there being both public and private schools. Later, education came more completely under the supervision of the state. The salaries of the teachers

⁹ A later work called the *Novels* comprised the laws of Justinian subsequent to the completion of the *Code*.

¹⁰ Notwithstanding that the Romans had much political experience and developed a wonderfully complex unwritten constitution, still, aside from their municipal and administrative systems, they made no permanent contribution to the art of government or to the science of constitutional law. It was left for the English people, practically unaided by Roman precedents, to work out the constitution of the modern free state. The primary assemblies of the Romans could afford no instructive precedents in the department of legislation. The practical working of the device of the dual executive of the republic was not calculated to commend it to later statesmen. The single admirable feature in the composition of the later republican senate of Rome, namely, the giving of seats in that body to ex-magistrates, has not been imitated by modern constitution makers, though James Bryce, in his commentary on the American Commonwealth, suggests that they might have done so to advantage in the making up of the upper chambers of their legislatures.

and lecturers were usually paid by the municipalities, but sometimes from the imperial chest.

Never was the profession of the teacher held in such esteem as among the later Romans. Teachers were made exempt from many public burdens and duties, and were even invested with inviolability, like heralds and tribunes.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical.¹¹ The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of state.

After their conquest of Magna Græcia and of Greece the Romans were brought into closer relations with Greek culture than had hitherto existed. The Roman youth were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue; for we hear Cato the Censor complaining that the boys of his time spoke Greek before they could use their own language. Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.

210. Social Position of Woman. — Until after her marriage the daughter of the family was kept in almost Oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the shows of the theater and amphitheater, — a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage.

In the early virtuous period of the Roman state the wife and mother held a dignified and assured position in the household, and divorces were unusual, there being no instance of one, it is

¹¹ Compare *Eastern Nations and Greece*, sec. 363.

said, until the year 231 B.C. ; but in later times her position became less honored and divorce grew to be very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

211. Public Amusements; the Theater and the Circus. — The entertainments of the theater, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheater were the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments, in general, increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the republic. The public exhibitions under the empire were, in a certain sense, the compensation which the emperors offered the people for their surrender of the right of participation in public affairs; and the people were content to accept the exchange.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome; the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheater to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theaters usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theaters made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage. Almost from the beginning the Roman stage was gross and immoral. It was one of the main agencies to which must be attributed the undermining of the originally sound moral life of Roman society.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theater were the various games of the circus, especially the chariot races.

212. Animal Baitings. — But far surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the animal baitings and the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheater.

The beasts required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world and transported to Rome and the other cities of the empire at enormous expense. The wildernesses of Northern Europe furnished bears and wolves; Scotland sent fierce dogs; Africa contributed lions, crocodiles, and leopards; Asia, elephants and tigers. These creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of entertainments was introduced and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheater. This was the gladiatorial combat.

213. The Gladiatorial Combats. — Gladiatorial shows seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the manes of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In later times the prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father in the year 264 B.C. This exhibition was arranged in one of the forums, as there were at that time no amphitheaters in existence. From this time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had become a perfect infatuation. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living that the spectacles were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended voluntarily into the arena. Training schools were established at Rome, Capua, Ravenna, and other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in the art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot—in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos with which they entan-

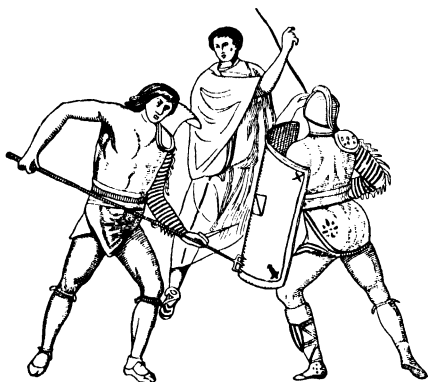


FIG. 58. — GLADIATORS. (From an ancient mosaic)

gled their adversaries and then slew them.

The life of a wounded gladiator was, in ordinary cases, in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators waved their handkerchiefs or reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his

prayer had been heard; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to give him the death stroke. Sometimes the dying were aroused and forced to resume the fight by being burned with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theater. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which ten thousand gladiators fought upon the arena, and more than ten thousand wild beasts were slain.¹²

214. Luxury. — By luxury, as we shall use the word, we mean extravagant and self-indulgent living. This vice seems to have



FIG. 59. — SEMICIRCULAR DINING COUCH
(From a Pompeian wall painting)

been almost unknown in early Rome. The primitive Romans were men of frugal habits, who, like Manius Curius Dentatus (sec. 87), found contentment in poverty and disdained riches.

A great change, however, as we have seen, passed over Roman society after the conquest of the East and the development of the corrupt provincial system of the later republic. The colossal fortunes quickly and dishonestly amassed by the ruling class marked the incoming at Rome of such a reign of luxury as perhaps no other capital of the world ever witnessed. This luxury was at its height in the last century of the republic and the first of the empire.

¹² For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see sec. 181.

Never perhaps has great wealth been more grossly misused than during this period at Rome.

215. State Distribution of Corn. — The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the “leading fact of Roman life.” It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (sec. 98). Just before the establishment of the empire over three hundred thousand Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. In the time of the Antonines the number is asserted to have been even larger. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived, in large part, from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. In the third century, to the largesses of corn were added doles of oil, wine, and pork.

The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in enumerating the practice as one of the chief causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

216. Slavery. — The number of slaves in the Roman state under the later republic and the earlier empire was very great, some estimates making it equal to the number of freemen. Some large proprietors owned as many as twenty thousand. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the households of the wealthy and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus there was the slave called the *sandalio*, whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals; and another called the *nomenclator*, whose exclusive business it was to accompany his master when he went upon the street and give him the names of such persons as he ought to recognize. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars, — these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was chiefly recruited, as in Greece, by war and by the practice of kidnapping. Some of the outlying provinces

in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave hunters. Delinquent taxpayers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

The feeling entertained towards this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the Censor's recommendation to masters to sell their old and decrepit slaves in order to save the expense of caring for them (sec. 87). Sick and hopelessly infirm slaves were taken to an island in the Tiber and left there to die of starvation and exposure. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred towards their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts of the republican period.

Slaves were treated better under the empire than under the later republic, — a change to be attributed doubtless to the influence of Stoicism and of Christianity. From the first century of the empire forward there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity towards the bondsman. Imperial edicts take away from the master the right to kill his slave or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with undue severity. This marks the beginning of a slow reform which in the course of ten or twelve centuries resulted in the complete, or almost complete, abolition of slavery in Christian Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — CATO, *On Agriculture*, chap. ii; the duties of a Roman proprietor. TACITUS, *Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, chaps. xxviii and xxix; the old and the new education.

References (Modern). — LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, earlier chapters, and *New Discoveries in the Forum*. CRUTTWELL, *History of Roman Literature*. SELLAR, *The Roman Poets of the Republic* and *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*. MACKAIL, *Latin Literature*. TYRRELL, *Latin Poetry*. LAWRENCE, *Latin Literature*. HADLEY, *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. iii, "The Roman Law before Justinian." GIBBON, chap. xlv, for Roman jurisprudence. This chapter is one of the most noted of Gibbon's great work. INGE, *Social Life in Rome under*

the Cæsars. GUHL and KONER, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*; consult Index. LECKY, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*; a work of first importance. The student is recommended to read vol. i, chap. ii. DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*; read bk. v, pp. 321-376, on "Characteristics of Roman Education and Culture in the Fifth Century." PRESTON and DODGE, *The Private Life of the Romans.* GILMAN, *The Story of Rome*, chap. xviii, "Some Manners and Customs of the Roman People."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Roman architecture. 2. Roman villas. 3. Results of recent excavations in the Roman Forum. 4. The Roman roads. 5. The Roman drama. 6. Tacitus as an historian. 7. Seneca. 8. Pliny the Elder. 9. The Justinian Code. 10. Education of the Roman boy. 11. Society at Rome under the later empire. See *Dill*. 12. The gladiatorial combats. 13. Free distribution of corn at Rome. 14. Marriage ceremonies. 15. Funeral customs. 16. The Roman triumph.



FIG. 60. — ROMAN LAMENTATION FOR THE DEAD
(From an ancient marble relief)

PART II

THE ROMANO-GERMAN OR TRANSITION AGE

(A.D. 476-800)

CHAPTER XX

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

217. Introductory. — In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the German tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the fall of Rome, of the principal kingdoms set up by the German chieftains in the different parts of the old empire.

218. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493-554). — Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors (sec. 191). His feeble government in Italy lasted only seventeen years, when it was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493-527), — years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that “the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period.”

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, emperor

of the East (sec. 254), taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was reunited to the empire (A.D. 554).

219. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415-711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his

companions. Being driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, the Visigoths held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sec.

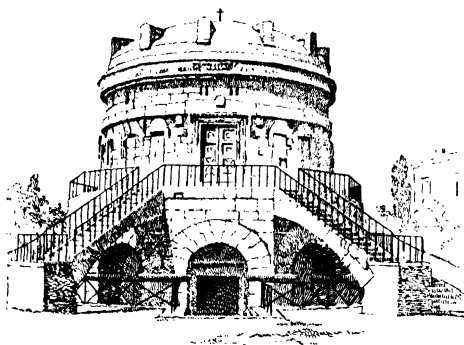
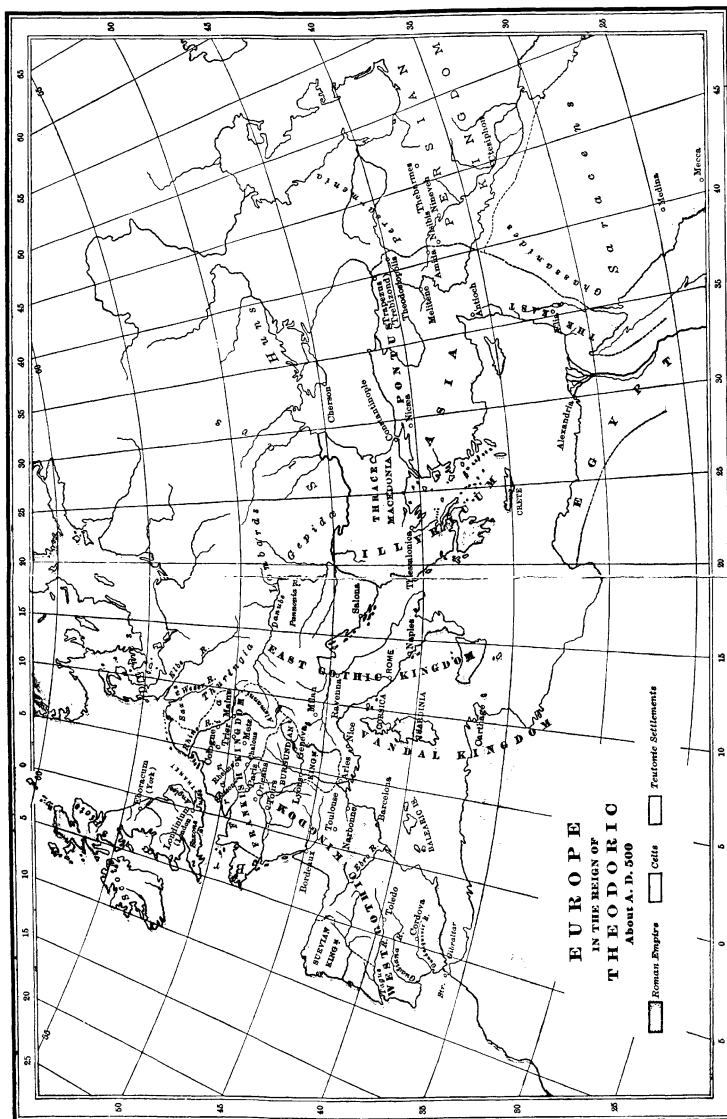


FIG. 61. — TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

266). The Visigothic kingdom when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

220. Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 443-534). — The Burgundians we have already noticed as the founders of a principality in Southeastern Gaul (sec. 187). They were hardly well established in these parts before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by them to a state of dependence.

221. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429-533). — We have also previously spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their



king, Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome (sec. 190).

Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party, the followers of Athanasius. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, Justinian, the Eastern emperor, sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

222. The Franks under the Merovingians (A.D. 486–752). — Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen (sec. 187), were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Chlodwig or Clovis. Upon the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, Clovis conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarian tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians¹ had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously

¹ So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

called *rois fainéants*, or “do-nothing kings,” and an ambitious officer of the crown known as Mayor of the Palace (*Major Domus*), in a way that will be explained a little later, pushed aside the weak Merovingian king and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line,—the Carolingian.

223. Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568–774).—Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian (sec. 218), before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards. When they entered Italy the Lombards were Christians of the Arian sect; but in time they became converts to the orthodox faith, and Pope Gregory I bestowed upon their king a diadem which came to be known as the “Iron Crown,” for the reason that there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

The Kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will to-day occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

One important result of the Lombard conquest of Italy was the destruction of the political unity established by the Romans and the breaking up of the country into a multitude of petty states. This resulted from the imperfect nature of the conquest and from the loose feudal constitution of the Lombard monarchy, which was rather a group of practically independent duchies than a real kingdom.

224. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain.—We have already seen how in the time of Rome’s distress the Angles and Saxons secured a footing in Britain (sec. 187). By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the island eight or nine or perhaps more kingdoms,—frequently designated, though somewhat

inaccurately, as the *Heptarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802-839), brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

225. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire. — We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners, and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (trans. by Thomas Hodgkin). Read bk. i, letters 24 and 35; bk. ii, letters 32 and 34; bk. iii, letters 17, 19, 29, 31, and 43; bk. xi, letters 12 and 13; bk. xii, letter 20. These letters are invaluable in showing what was the general condition of things in the transition period between ancient and mediæval times.

References (Modern). — HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders* and *Theodor the Goth*; Hodgkin is recognized as the best authority on the period of the migration. GUMMERE, *Germanic Origins*; an authoritative and interesting work on the early culture of the Germans. GIBBON, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix. CHURCH, *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, chaps. i-v. EMERTON (E.), *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. vi and vii.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

226. Introductory. — The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian (sec. 184). For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives (sec. 190). The more tolerable fate of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as compared with the hard fate of Britain, is owing, in part at least, to the fact that the tribes which overran those countries had become, in the main, converts to Christianity before they crossed the boundaries of the empire, while the Saxons, when they entered Britain, were still untamed pagans.

227. Conversion of the Goths, Vandals, and Other Tribes. — The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the empire were won from among the Goths. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulfilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, the Books of the Kings, as he feared that the stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

What happened in the case of the Goths happened also in the case of most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the

overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Rome the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians had become proselytes to Christianity. They, however, professed the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nicæa during the reign of Constantine the Great (sec. 168). Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed. This good work was gradually and almost perfectly accomplished.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

228. Conversion of the Franks.—The Franks, when they entered the empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances, as reported by tradition, were these. In a terrible battle between the Alemanni and the Franks under their king Clovis, the situation of the Franks at length became desperate. Then Clovis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, and vowed that if he would give victory to his arms he would become his follower. The battle turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him three thousand of his warriors.

This story of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks illustrates how the very superstitions of the barbarians, their belief in omens and divine interpositions, and particularly their feeling that if their gods did not do for them all they wanted done they had a right to set them aside and choose others in their stead, contributed to their conversion, and how the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair rather than a matter of personal conviction.

229. Importance of the Conversion of the Franks.—"The conversion of the Franks," says the historian Milman, "was the most

important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other German invaders of the empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

230. Augustine's Mission to England. — In the year A.D. 596 Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them, and being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.

One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reestablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century.

231. The Conversion of Ireland. — The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines.

Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian

learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

232. The Conversion of Germany.—The conversion of the tribes of Germany was effected by Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish missionaries, and the sword of Charles the Great (sec. 273). The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface, who was born about A.D. 688. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the continent.¹

233. Reaction of Paganism on Christianity.—Thus were the conquerors of the empire met and conquered by Christianity. The victory, it must be confessed, was in a great degree a victory rather in name than in fact. The Church could not all at once leaven the great mass of heathenism which had so suddenly been brought within its pale. For a long time after they were called Christians, the barbarians, coarse and cruel and self-willed and superstitious as they were, understood very little of the doctrines and exhibited still less of the true spirit of the religion they professed.

To this depressing reaction of Teutonic barbarism upon the Church is without doubt to be attributed in large measure the deplorable moral state of Europe during so large a part of the mediæval ages.

II. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

234. Monasticism defined; St. Antony, "the Father of the Hermits."—It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This was so remarkable a system, and

¹ The story of the conversion of the Scandinavian peoples, of the Eastern Slavs, and of the Hungarians belongs to a later period than that embraced by our present survey.

one that exerted so profound an influence upon mediæval and even later history, that we must here acquaint ourselves with at least its spirit and aims.

The term "monasticism," in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits or anchorites, — persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

St. Antony, an Egyptian ascetic (b. about A.D. 251), who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the strange enthusiasm, is called the "father of the hermits." The romance of his life, written by the celebrated Athanasius, stirred the whole Christian world and led thousands to renounce society and in imitation of the saint to flee to the desert. It is estimated that before the close of the fourth century the population of the desert in many districts in Egypt was equal to that of the cities.

235. Monasticism in the West. — During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

236. The Rule of St. Benedict. — With the view to introducing some sort of regularity into the practices and austerities of the monks, rules were early prescribed for their observance. The

three essential requirements or vows of the monk were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480-543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sec. 208) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that required the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

237. Services rendered by the Monks to Civilization.—The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe. The monks, in a word, formed the vanguard of civilization towards the wilderness.

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the centers for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also became copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. Almost all the remains of the Greek and Latin classics that we possess have come to us through the agency of the monks.

The monks became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.

III. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

238. The Empire within the Empire. — Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which in its constitution and its administrative system was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of which deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction, and this was already very widely recognized. Before the close of the eighth century there was firmly established over a great part of Christendom what we may call an ecclesiastical monarchy.

Besides the influence of great men, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I, who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy and aided them vastly in establishing the almost universal authority of the see of Rome. In the following paragraphs we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

239. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. — It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow apostles. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the church at Rome. It is probable that he did so. Without doubt he preached at Rome and suffered martyrdom there under the emperor Nero.

These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of the first of the apostles and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly, of course, to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

240. Advantages of their Position at the Political Center of the World. — The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

241. Effect of the Removal of the Imperial Government to Constantinople. — Nor was this advantage that was given the Roman bishops by their position at Rome lost when the old capital ceased to be an imperial city. The removal, by the acts of Diocletian and Constantine, of the chief seat of the government to the East, instead of diminishing the power and dignity of the Roman bishops, tended greatly to promote their claims and authority. It left the pontiff the foremost personage in Rome.

242. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. — Again, when the barbarians came, there came another occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how

mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the Imperial City (sec. 189); and how the same bishop, in the year A.D. 455, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (sec. 190).

Thus when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman see.

243. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. — But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in Western Europe, and being so far removed from the court at Constantinople gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians, and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

244. The Missions of Rome. — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church of Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the holy see and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the

continent, they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

245. Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens. — In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the church of Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

246. The Popes become Temporal Sovereigns. — A dispute about the use of images in worship, known in church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts,"² which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs.

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople A.D. 716, was a most zealous iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these "symbols of idolatry." To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome, Pope Gregory II, not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the emperor and all the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church.

In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes of the Carolingian house (sec. 272). We shall a little later tell briefly the story of this alliance. Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the Frankish chieftains as kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish kings defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and

² Iconoclast means "image breaker."

barbarian, and dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

Selections from the Sources.—BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*. Read bk. i, chaps. xxiii–xxv; bk. ii, chaps. i and xiii; bk. iii, chaps. iii and xxv. *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. ii, No. 7, "Life of Saint Columban"; an instructive biography of an Irish monk. The subject of this biography is sometimes named "Columba the Younger," to distinguish him from Saint Columba of Iona. HENDERSON'S *Select Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 274–314, "The Rule of Saint Benedict." *European History Studies* (Univ. of Nebraska), vol. ii, No. 6, "Monasticism." *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Second Series), vol. iv, for "Life of Saint Antony," by Athanasius. His biography can also be found in literal translation in Kingsley's *The Hermits*.

References (Modern).—ZIMMER, *The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*; an authoritative and interesting account of the services rendered mediæval civilization by the Irish monks. SCHAFÉ, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iv, chap. ii, pp. 17–142, "The Conversion of the Northern and Western Barbarians." KINGSLEY, *The Hermits*. MONTALEMBERT (COUNT DE), *The Monks of the West from Saint Benedict to Saint Bernard*, 7 vols.; an ardent eulogy of monasticism. LECKY, *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, chap. iv; gives the light and the shade of the picture. WISHART, *A Short History of Monks and Monasteries*; the best short account in English of the origin, ideals, and effects of the monastic system. PUTNAM, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i; for the labors of the monks as copyists and illuminators. JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*, chap. iii, "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery." HATCH, *The Organization of the Early Christian Church*; the best work on the subject from the Protestant side. FISHER, *History of the Christian Church*, the earlier chapters; concise, fair, and scholarly. EMERTON, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chap. ix, "The Rise of the Christian Church." ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vi, "The Formation of the Papacy." CARDINAL GIBBONS, *The Faith of Our Fathers*, chap. ix, "The Primacy of Peter," and chap. x, "The Supremacy of the Popes"; an authoritative statement of the Catholic view of these matters.

Topics for Special Study.—1. Conversion of the Angles and Saxons. 2. The life of St. Antony. 3. St. Columba and Iona. 4. Whitby. 5. St. Benedict and Monte Cassino. 6. The *scriptorium* of the monastery.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

247. Introductory. — The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the Northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and contributed greatly to hasten in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

248. The Romance Nations. — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus, about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts, kneeling

together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of the empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.

249. The Formation of the Romance Languages. — During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans, did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue and were speaking that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

250. The Barbarian Codes. — The Teutonic tribes, before they entered the Roman Empire, had no written laws. As soon as they settled in the provinces, however, they began, in imitation of the Romans, to frame their rules and customs into codes. In some countries, particularly in Spain and Italy, this work was under the supervision of the clergy, and hence the codes of the Teutonic peoples in these countries were a sort of fusion of Roman

principles and barbarian practices. But in general these early compilations of laws — they were made, for the most part, between the sixth and ninth centuries — were not so essentially modified by Latin influence but that they serve as valuable and instructive memorials of the customs, ideals, and social arrangements of the Teutonic peoples.

251. The Personal Character of the Teutonic Laws. — The laws of the barbarians were generally personal instead of territorial, as with us; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the tribal rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and the Danube. The curious state of things resulting from this personality of law, as it is called, is vividly pictured by the following observation of a chronicler: "For it would often happen," he says, "that five men would be sitting or walking together, not one of whom would have the same law with any other."

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil doer depended not upon the nature of his crime but upon his rank or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs were beaten and put to death for minor offenses, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim.

252. Ordeals. — The agencies relied upon by the Germans to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row

of hot plowshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, he was held to be innocent. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flame of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands.

The *ordcal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond; if he floated, he was held to be guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty but receive the innocent into its bosom.

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even religious disputes were sometimes settled in this way.

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

253. The Revival of the Roman Law. — Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place longer, likewise finally give way, almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

Selections from the Sources.—Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 176-189, "The Salic Law," and pp. 314-319, "*Formule Liturgique* in use at Ordeals." Lee's *Source-Book of English History*, chap. v, "Anglo-Saxon Laws." *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iv, No. 4, "Ordeals," etc.

References (Modern).—EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*. GUIZOT, *History of Civilization in France*, vol. i. lects. viii-xi. This work forms vols. ii-iv of the Appleton edition of the author's "History of Civilization in Europe" (1 vol.) and "History of Civilization in France" (3 vols.). HADLEY, *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii, "The Roman Law since Justinian."

Topics for Special Study.—1. The formation of the Romance languages. 2. Weregild. 3. Ordeals. 4. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

254. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). — During the half century immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the Imperial City of the West. Had the New Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year A.D. 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the “Era of Justinian.”

255. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and “The Lawgiver of Civilization.” — One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the “Imperial Restoration,” by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sec. 221), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of *Exarch*. Besides recovering from the barbarians Africa and Italy, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his great generals was the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work, as we have already learned (sec. 208), embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world. In causing its publication, Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

256. The Reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610-641). — For half a century after the death of Justinian the annals of the Eastern Roman Empire are unimportant. Then we reach the reign of Heraclius, a prince about whose worthy name gather matters of significance in world history.

About this time Chosroes II, king of Persia, wrested from the hands of the Eastern emperors the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier and overran all Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. For many years Heraclius battled heroically for the integrity of the empire. The struggle between the two rivals was at last decided by a terrible combat known as the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). The Persian army was almost annihilated. Grief or violence ended the life of Chosroes. With his successor Heraclius negotiated a treaty which restored the earlier boundaries of the Roman dominions.

A few years after this the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. Heraclius himself lived to see — so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune — the very provinces which he had recovered from the fire-worshippers in the possession of the followers of the Arabian Prophet.

The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople

became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

257. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East.¹ — The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructress of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.

Third, it kept alive the imperial idea and principle, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sec. 274).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of Eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world to-day largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

References. — GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chaps. xl–xliv; on the reign of Justinian. Chap. xlv deals with Roman jurisprudence. OMAN, *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps. iv–xi; and *The Dark Ages*, chaps. iii, v, vi, ix, and xii. HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, “The Imperial Restoration.” RAWLINSON, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, chap. xxiv. *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. on Justinian by James Bryce. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols.; a work of superior scholarship. HARRISON, *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; a brilliant lecture, which summarizes the results of the latest studies in the field indicated.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The recovery of Italy. 2. Belisarius. 3. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry. 4. Justinian as a builder. 5. The Code of Justinian. 6. The closing by Justinian of the schools of Athens.

¹ Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF ISLAM

258. The Attack from the South upon Ancient Civilization.-- We have seen the German barbarians of the North descend upon and wrest from the Roman Empire all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.¹

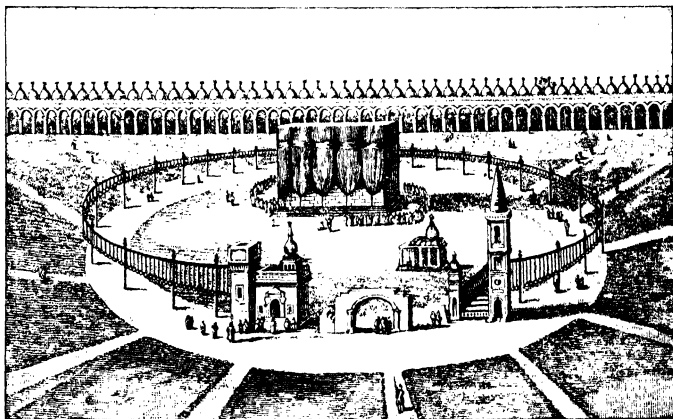


FIG. 62.—THE KAABA AT MECCA

259. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed.-- Religion, which had had nothing to do with the fateful movement among the German barbarians, was the inciting cause of the great Arabian revolution.

Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and most

¹ The student should make a careful comparative study of the maps after pp. 186, 224, 250.

revered shrine of the Kaaba,² where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this Meccan shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. From them the Arab teachers had been made acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the numerous Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the doctrines of Christianity.

260. Mohammed. — Mohammed, the great Prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year A.D. 570. He sprang from the distinguished tribe of the Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba. In his early years he was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The essence of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.

For a long time Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he everywhere met, that at the end of three years his disciples numbered only forty persons.

261. The Hegira (A.D. 622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreish, who feared that they, as the guardians of the national idols of the Kaaba, would be compromised in the eyes of the other tribes by allowing such heresy to be openly taught by one of their

² So named from its having the shape of a cube.

number, and accordingly they began to persecute Mohammed and his followers.

To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or "flight," as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

262. The Faith extended by the Sword. — His cause being warmly espoused by the inhabitants of Medina, Mohammed now assumed along with the character of a lawgiver and moral teacher that of a warrior. He declared it to be the will of God that the new faith should be spread by the sword.

The year following the Hegira he began to attack and plunder caravans. The flame of a sacred war was soon kindled. Warriors from all quarters flocked to the standard of the Prophet. Their reckless enthusiasm was intensified by the assurance that death met in fighting those who resisted the true faith insured the martyr immediate entrance upon the joys of paradise. Within ten years from the time of the assumption of the sword by Mohammed, Mecca had been conquered (A.D. 630) and the new creed established among all the independent tribes of Arabia.

Mohammed's life was just sufficiently prolonged — he died in the year A.D. 632 — to enable him to set the Arabian tribes on their marvelous career of foreign conquest. Upon the ground of an insult to one of his ambassadors he declared war against Heraclius and wrested from the empire several cities lying between the Dead Sea and the Euphrates. These were the only conquests made beyond the limits of the peninsula during the lifetime of Mohammed.

263. The Koran and its Teachings. — The doctrines of Mohammedanism or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time Mohammed recited to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his

dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon pieces of pottery, the broad shoulder bones of sheep, and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the Prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Such was the origin of the book that has been received as sacred by so large a portion of the human race.

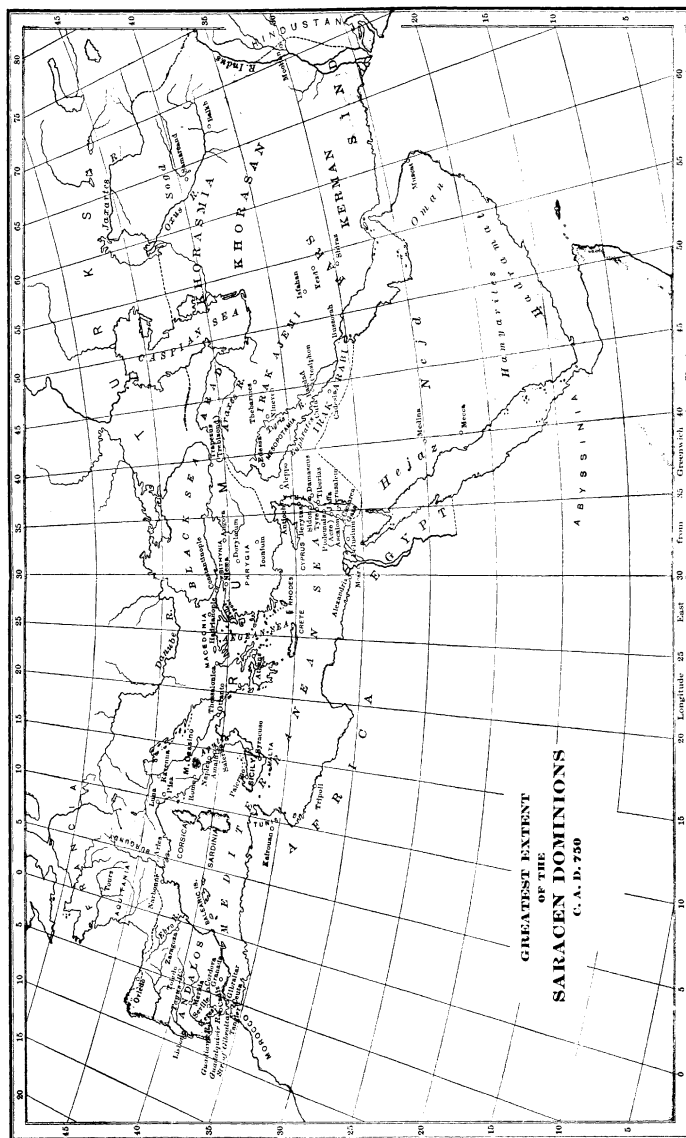
The Koran inculcates the practice of four cardinal virtues or duties. The first is prayer; five times every day must the believer turn his face towards Mecca and engage in devotion. The second requirement is almsgiving. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

264. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.—

For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the Prophet³ were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the ancient fire-worshippers. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals (sec. 255), were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost permanently to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

³ Abu Bekr (A.D. 632-634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634-644), Othman (A.D. 644-655), and Ali (A.D. 655-661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins, for from the very first dissensions were rife among the followers of the Prophet. Ali was the last of the four so-called orthodox caliphs.



265. Attacks upon Constantinople. — Thus in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar on the other. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempt was made in the East (A.D. 673–677), where the Arabs endeavored to gain control of the Bosphorus by wresting Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. After repeated unsuccessful assaults they abandoned the undertaking. Forty years later (A.D. 717–718) the city was again invested by a powerful Saracen fleet and army; but the skill and personal heroism of the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, and the use by the besieged of a recently invented combustible compound known as *marine fire* ("Greek fire") saved the capital for several centuries longer to the Christian world.

This check that the Saracens received before Constantinople was doubtless next in importance for European civilization to the check given their conquering hordes a little later in France at the great battle of Tours.

266. The Conquest of Spain (A.D. 711). — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were opened to them by treachery at the western, and they gained a foothold in Spain. At the great battle of Xeres (A.D. 711), Roderic, the last of the Visigothic kings (sec. 219), was hopelessly defeated, and all the peninsula save some mountainous regions in the northwest quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the subjugation of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

267. Invasion of France; Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). — Four or five years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the

Pyrenees and established themselves upon the plains of Gaul. This advance of the Moslem host beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. It looked as though the followers of Mohammed would soon possess all the continent. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year A.D. 732, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the center of Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of Western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

268. The Dismemberment of the Caliphate.—"At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time the extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals—from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir—were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

269. The Civilization of Arabian Islam.—The Saracens were coheirs of antiquity with the Germans. They made especially their own the scientific⁴ accumulations of the ancient civilizations

⁴ Gibbon affirms that no Greek poet, orator, or historian was ever translated into Arabic. See *Decline and Fall*, chap. lii.

and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. From the Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, algebra, medicine, botany, and other sciences. The scientific writings of Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, and Hindu treatises on astronomy and algebra were translated from the Greek and Sanskrit into Arabic, and formed the basis of the Arabian studies and investigations. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were improved and enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.⁵ They devised what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation,⁶ and gave to Europe this indispensable instrument of all scientific investigations dependent upon mathematical calculations.

All this literary and scientific activity naturally found expression in the establishment of schools, universities, and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian Empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement. The famous university at Cairo, which has at the present day an attendance of several thousand students, is a survival from the great days of Arabian Islam.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture, — one of the most beautiful specimens of which is preserved to us in the palace of the Moorish kings at Granada, — a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

⁵ What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is kept in remembrance by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

⁶ The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system, they seem to have borrowed from India.

Selections from the Sources.—The Koran, like the Bible for Christianity, is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer, in *Sacred Books of the East*, is the best. *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (chosen and translated by Stanley Lane-Poole). *European History Studies* (Univ. of Nebraska), vol. ii, No. 3, "Selections from the Koran."

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Topics for Special Study.—1. Mohammed at Medina. 2. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. 3. The caliph Harun-al-Raschid. 4. The *Arabian Nights*. 5. The Moors in Spain.

CHAPTER XXV

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

270. Introductory.—We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the advance of the Saracens upon the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Among them it is that a man appears who makes the first grand attempt to restore the laws, the order, the institutions of the ancient Romans. Charlemagne or Charles the Great, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times,—indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important and germinal character of the period. We shall tell how the mayors of the palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; and how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits, in the fusion of things Roman and of things Germanic, laid the basis of modern civilization.

271. How Duke Pippin became King of the Franks (A.D. 751).—Charles Martel, who saved the Christian civilization of Western Europe on the field of Tours, although the real head of the Frankish nation, was nominally only an officer of the Merovingian court (sec. 222). He died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles' son, Pippin II, aspired to the regal title and honors. He resolved to depose his titular master and to make himself king. Not deeming it wise, however, to do this without the sanction of the pope, he sent an embassy to represent to him the state of affairs and to solicit his advice. Mindful of recent favors that he had received at the hands of Pippin, the pope gave his approval to the proposed scheme by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in reality should be king also in name. This was sufficient. Childeric — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed, and Pippin, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was crowned king of the Franks (A.D. 751), and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charles (Charlemagne) giving name to the house.

272. Pippin helps to establish the Temporal Power of the Popes (A.D. 755). — In the year A.D. 754 Pope Stephen II, troubled by the king of the Lombards, besought Pippin's aid against the barbarian. Pippin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway interposed in behalf of the pope. He descended into Italy with an army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the pope of the regained lands¹ (A.D. 756). As a symbol of the gift he laid the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, and of many other cities on the tomb of St. Peter.

This endowment may be regarded as having practically laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the popes; for although Pope Stephen, as it seems, had already resolved to cast off allegiance to the Eastern emperor and set up an independent Church state, still it is not probable that he could have carried out successfully such an enterprise had he not been aided in his project by the Frankish king.

273. Accession of Charlemagne; his Wars. — Pippin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two

¹ The sovereignty of all these lands belonged nominally to the emperor at Constantinople. His claims were ignored by Pippin.

sons, Carloman and Charles, the latter being better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne or "Charles the Great." Three years after the accession of the brothers, Carloman died, and Charles took possession of his dominions.

Charlemagne's long reign of nearly half a century — he ruled forty-six years — was filled with military expeditions and conquests by which he so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of Western Europe. He made fifty-two military campaigns, the chief of which were against the Lombards, the Saracens, the Saxons, and the Avars.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous iron crown of the Lombards (sec. 223).

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his empire, under the title of the Spanish March.

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and led to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

To the east and the southeast, behind the German tribes that Charlemagne had reduced to obedience, were the Avars, a race terrible as the Huns of Attila, and an offshoot seemingly of the same stock. In a series of campaigns Charlemagne broke their power and reduced the race to a tributary condition. This subjugation of the Avars was one of the greatest services that Charlemagne

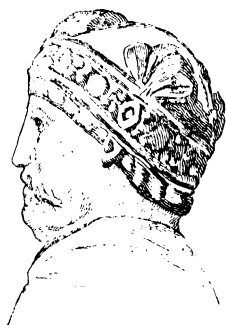


FIG. 63.—CHARLEMAGNE
(From a bronze statuette)

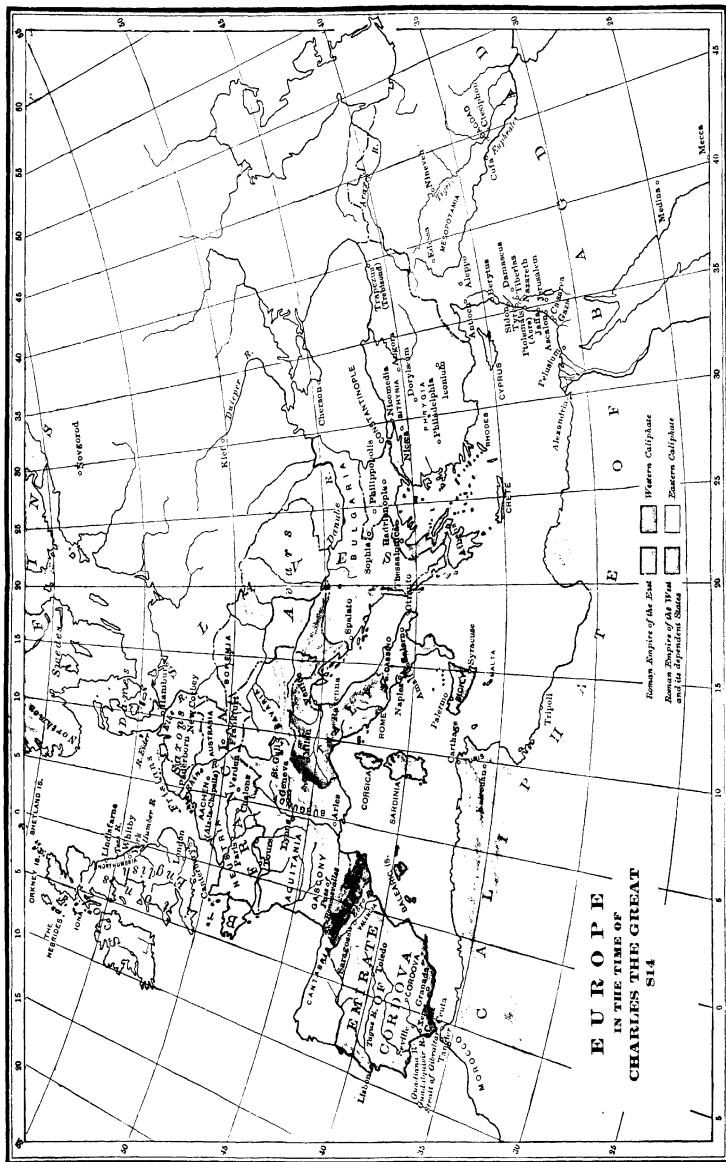
rendered the young Christian civilization of Europe. For three centuries they had been the scourge of all their neighbors.

274. Restoration of the Empire in the West (A.D. 800). — An event of seemingly little real moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished summarily the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now, among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charles was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred



and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer, when he dethroned Romulus Augustulus and sent the royal vestments to Constantinople (sec. 191). We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to determine the character of large sections of mediæval history.

Charlemagne reigned as emperor only fourteen years. He died A.D. 814, and his empire soon afterwards fell in pieces. It was renewed, however, by Otto the Great of Germany in the year 962 and came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire.

275. The Revival of the Empire as a Dividing Line in History.—As Pope Leo placed the imperial diadem upon the head of Charles in St. Peter's basilica he cried, "To Charles the Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor, life and victory." The Roman populace within the church repeated the cry, which was taken up by the Frankish warriors outside. "In that shout was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the South with the fresh energy of the North, and from that moment modern history begins."²

Selections from the Sources.—EGINHARD (Einhard), *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great* (translation by William Glaister recommended). Einhard was Charles' confidential friend and secretary. "Almost all our real, vivifying knowledge of Charles the Great," says Hodgkin, "is derived

² Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 49. Bryce here uses the phrase "modern history" as comprehending both the mediæval and the modern period. For the moment he conceives history as presenting only two phases, the ancient and the modern.

from Einhard, and . . . the *Vita Caroli* is one of the most precious bequests of the early Middle Ages." Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 187-201, "Capitulary of Charlemagne, issued in the year 802." *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. vi, No. 5, "Selections from the Laws of Charles the Great."

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Topics for Special Study. — 1. The last of the Merovingians. 2. Charlemagne and the Saxons. 3. Romances connected with Charlemagne's expedition against the Mohammedans in Spain. 4. Alcuin and the Palace School. 5. The restoration of the Empire in the West. 6. The tradition of the burial of Charlemagne.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. — In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *gray*; ȁ, like *ā*, only less prolonged; ǣ, like *a* in *have*; ä, like *a* in *fär*; ȡ, like *a* in *all*; ē, like *ee* in *meet*; ě, like *ē*, only less prolonged; ě, like *e* in *end*; ê, like *e* in *thér*; ě, like *e* in *terr*; ĭ, like *i* in *fine*; ĭ, like *i* in *pīu*; ō, like *o* in *nōte*; ȳ, like *ō*, only less prolonged; ȳ, like *o* in *nōt*; ô, like *o* in *orb*; ȳȳ, like *oo* in *moon*; ū, like *u* in *use*; ü, like the French *u*; e and eh, like *k*; ç, like *s*; ĝ, like *g* in *get*; ĝ, like *j*; ŝ, like *z*; ĉh, as in German *ach*; G, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; ñ, like *n* in *minion*; ñ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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