

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

PINNOCK'S IMPROVED
EDITION OF DR.
GOLDSMITH'S HISTORY
OF ROME

Oliver Goldsmith

**Pinnock's improved edition of
Dr. Goldsmith's History of Rome**

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Goldsmith O.

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Pinnock's improved edition of Dr. Goldsmith's
History of Rome / to which is prefixed an
introduction to the study of Roman history,
and a great variety of valuable information
added throughout the work, on the manners,
institutions, and antiquities of the Romans;
with numerous biographical and historical
notes; and questions for examination at
the end of each section. / By Wm. C. Taylor

PREFACE

The researches of Niebuhr and several other distinguished German scholars have thrown a new light on Roman History, and enabled us to discover the true constitution of that republic which once ruled the destinies of the known world, and the influence of whose literature and laws is still powerful in every civilized state, and will probably continue to be felt to the remotest posterity. These discoveries have, however, been hitherto useless to junior students in this country; the works of the German critics being unsuited to the purposes of schools, not only from their price, but also from the extensive learning requisite to follow them through their laborious disquisitions. The editor has, therefore, thought that it would be no unacceptable service, to prefix a few Introductory Chapters, detailing such results from their inquiries as best elucidate the character and condition of the Roman people, and explain the most important portion of the history. The struggles between the patricians and plebeians, respecting the agrarian laws have been so strangely misrepresented, even by some of the best historians, that the nature of the contest may, with truth, be said to have been wholly misunderstood before the publication of Niebuhr's work: a perfect explanation of these important matters cannot be expected in a work of this kind; the Editors trust that the brief account given here of the Roman tenure of land, and the nature of the agrarian laws, will be found sufficient for all practical purposes. After all the researches that have been made, the true origin of the Latin people, and even of the Roman city, is involved in impenetrable obscurity; the legendary traditions collected by the historians are, however, the best guides that we can now follow; but it would be absurd to bestow implicit credit on all the accounts they have given, and the editor has, therefore, pointed out the uncertain nature of the early history, not to encourage scepticism, but to accustom students to consider the nature of historical evidence, and thus early form the useful habit of criticising and weighing testimony.

The authorities followed in the geographical chapters, are principally Heeren and Cramer; the treatise of the latter on ancient Italy is one of the most valuable aids acquired by historical students within the present century. Much important information respecting the peculiar character of the Roman religion has been derived from Mr. Keightley's excellent Treatise on Mythology; the only writer who has, in our language, hitherto, explained the difference between the religious systems of

Greece and Rome. The account of the barbarians in the conclusion of the volume, is, for the most part, extracted from "Koch's Revolutions of Europe;" the sources of the notes, scattered through the volume, are too varied for a distinct acknowledgment of each.

HISTORY OF ROME

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE OF ITALY

*Italia! oh, Italia! thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty, which became
A funeral dower of present woes and past,
On thy sweet brow is sorrow plough'd by shame,
And annals traced in characters of flame. —Byron.*

1. The outline of Italy presents a geographical unity and completeness which naturally would lead us to believe that it was regarded as a whole, and named as a single country, from the earliest ages. This opinion would, however, be erroneous; while the country was possessed by various independent tribes of varied origin and different customs, the districts inhabited by each were reckoned separate states, and it was not until these several nations had fallen under the power of one predominant people that the physical unity which the peninsula possesses was expressed by a single name. Italy was the name originally given to a small peninsula in Brut'tium, between the Scylacean and Napetine gulfs; the name was gradually made to comprehend new districts, until at length it included the entire country lying south of the Alps, between the Adriatic and Tuscan seas. 2. The names Hespéria, Satúrnia, and Cēnot'ria have also been given to this country by the poets; but these designations are not properly applicable; for Hespéria was a general name for all the countries lying to the west of Greece, and the other two names really belonged to particular districts.

3. The northern boundary of Italy, in its full extent, is the chain of the Alps, which forms a kind of crescent, with the convex side towards Gaul. The various branches of these mountains had distinct names; the most remarkable were, the Maritime Alps, extending from the Ligurian sea to Mount Vésulus, *Veso*; the Collian, Graian, Penine, Rhœtian, Tridentine, Carnic, and Julian Alps, which nearly complete the crescent; the Euganean, Venetian, and Pannonian Alps, that extend the chain to the east.

4. The political divisions of Italy have been frequently altered, but it may be considered as naturally divided into Northern, Central, and Southern Italy.

The principal divisions of Northern Italy were Ligu'ria and Cisalpine Gaul.

5. Only one half of Liguria was accounted part of Italy; the remainder was included in Gaul. The Ligurians originally possessed the entire line of sea-coast from the Pyrennees to the Tiber, and the mountainous district now called *Piedmont*; but before the historic age a great part of their territory was wrested from them by the Iberians, the Celts, and the Tuscans, until their limits were contracted nearly to those of the present district attached to Genoa. Their chief cities were Genúa, *Genoa*; Nicœ'a, *Nice*, founded by a colony from Marseilles; and As'ta, *Asti*. The Ligurians were one of the last Italian states conquered by the Romans; on account of their inveterate hostility, they are grossly maligned by the historians of the victorious people, and described as ignorant, treacherous, and deceitful; but the Greek writers have given a different and more impartial account; they assure us that the Ligurians were eminent for boldness and dexterity, and at the same time patient and contented.

6. Cisalpine Gaul extended from Liguria to the Adriatic or Upper Sea, and nearly coincides with the modern district of Lombardy. The country is a continuous plain divided by the Pa'dus, *Po*, into two parts; the northern, Gallia Transpada'na, was inhabited by the tribes of the Tauri'ni, In'subres, and Cenoma'nni; the southern, Gallia Cispada'na, was possessed by the Boi'i, Leno'nes, and Lingo'nes. 7. These plains were originally inhabited by a portion of the Etrurian or Tuscan nation, once the most powerful in Italy; but at an uncertain period a vast horde of Celtic Gauls forced the passage of the Alps and spread themselves over the country, which thence received their name.

8. It was sometimes called Gallia Toga'ta, because the invaders conformed to Italian customs, and wore the toga. Cisalpine Gaul was not accounted part of Italy in the republican age; its southern boundary, the river Rubicon, being esteemed by the Romans the limit of their domestic empire.

9. The river Pa'dus and its tributary streams fertilized these rich plains. The principal rivers falling into the Padus were, from the north, the Du'ria, *Durance*; the Tici'nus, *Tessino*; the Ad'dua, *Adda*; the Ol'lius, *Oglio*; and the Min'tius, *Minzio*: from the south, the Ta'narus, *Tanaro*, and the Tre'bia. The Ath'esis, *Adige*; the Pla'vis, *Paive*; fall directly into the Adriatic.

10. The principal cities in Cisalpine Gaul were Roman colonies with municipal rights; many of them have preserved their names unchanged to the present day. The most remarkable were; north of the Pa'dus, Terge'ste, *Trieste*; Aquilei'a; Pata'vium, *Padua*; Vincen'tia, Vero'na, all east of the Athe'sis: Mantua; Cremo'na; Brix'ia, *Brescia*; Mediola'num, *Milan*; Tici'num, *Pavia*; and Augusta Turino'rum, *Turin*; all west of the Athe'sis. South of the Po we find Raven'na; Bono'nia, *Bologna*; Muti'na, *Modena*; Par'ma, and Placen'tia. 11. From the time that Rome was burned by the Gauls (B.C. 390), the Romans were harassed by the hostilities of this warlike people; and it was not until after the first Punic war, that any vigorous efforts were made for their subjugation. The Cisalpine Gauls, after a fierce resistance, were overthrown by Marcell'us (B.C. 223) and compelled to submit, and immediately afterwards military colonies were sent out as garrisons to the most favourable situations in their country. The Gauls zealously supported An'nibal when he invaded Italy, and were severely punished when the Romans finally became victorious.

12. North-east of Cisalpine Gaul, at the upper extremity of the Adriatic, lay the territory of the Venetians; they were a rich and unwarlike people, and submitted to the Romans without a struggle, long before northern Italy had been annexed to the dominions of the republic.

13. Central Italy comprises six countries, Etru'ria, La'tium, and Campa'nia on the west; Um'bria, Pice'num, and Sam'nium, on the east.

14. Etru'ria, called also Tus'cia (whence the modern name *Tuscany*) and Tyrrhe'nia, was an extensive mountainous district, bounded on the north by the river Mac'ra, and on the south and east by the Tiber. The chain of the Apennines, which intersects middle and Lower Italy, commences in the north of Etru'ria. The chief river is the Ar'nus, *Arno*. 15. The names Etruscan and Tyrrhenian, indifferently applied to the inhabitants of this country, originally belonged to different tribes, which, before the historic age, coalesced into one people. The Etruscans appear to have been Celts who descended from the Alps; the Tyrrhenians were undoubtedly a part of the Pelas'gi who originally possessed the south-east of Europe. The circumstances of the Pelasgic migration are differently related by the several historians, but the fact is asserted by all.¹ These Tyrrhenians brought with them the knowledge of letters and the arts, and the united people attained a high degree of power and civilization, long before the name of Rome was known beyond the precincts of Latium. They possessed a strong naval force, which was chiefly employed in piratical expeditions, and they claimed the sovereignty of the western seas. The first sea-fight recorded in history was fought between the fugitive Phocians,² and the allied fleets of the Tyrrhenians and the Carthaginians (B.C. 539.)

¹ See Pinnock's History of Greece, Chap. I.

² See Historical Miscellany, Part II. Chap. I.

16. To commerce and navigation the Etruscans were indebted for their opulence and consequent magnificence; their destruction was owing to the defects of their political system. There were twelve Tuscan cities united in a federative alliance. Between the Mac'ra and Arnus were, Pi'sæ, *Pisa*; Floren'tia, *Florence*; and Fæ'sulæ: between the Arnus and the Tiber, Volate'rræ, *Volterra*; Volsin'ii, *Bolsena*; Clu'sium, *Chiusi*; Arre'tium, *Arezzo*; Corto'na; Peru'sia, *Perugia*, (near which is the Thrasamene lake); Fale'rii, and Ve'ii.

17. Each of these cities was ruled by a chief magistrate called *lu'cumo*, chosen for life; he possessed regal power, and is frequently called a king by the Roman historians. In enterprises undertaken by the whole body, the supreme command was committed to one of the twelve *lucumones*, and he received a lictor from each city. But from the time that Roman history begins to assume a regular form, the Tuscan cities stand isolated, uniting only transiently and casually; we do not, however, find any traces of intestine wars between the several states.

18. The Etrurian form of government was aristocratical, and the condition of the people appears to have been miserable in the extreme; they were treated as slaves destitute of political rights, and compelled to labour solely for the benefit of their taskmasters. A revolution at a late period took place at Volsin'ii, and the exclusive privileges of the nobility abolished after a fierce and bloody struggle; it is remarkable that this town, in which the people had obtained their rights, alone made an obstinate resistance to the Romans.

19. The progress of the Tuscans in the fine arts is attested by the monuments that still remain; but of their literature we know nothing; their language is unknown, and their books have perished. In the first ages of the Roman republic, the children of the nobility were sent to Etru'ria for education, especially in divination and the art of soothsaying, in which the Tuscans were supposed to excel. The form of the Roman constitution, the religious ceremonies, and the ensigns of civil government, were borrowed from the Etrurians.

20. La'tium originally extended along the coast from the Tiber to the promontory of Circe'ii; hence that district was called, old La'tium; the part subsequently added, called new La'tium, extended from Circeii to the Li'ris, *Garigliano*. The people were called Latins; but eastward, towards the Apennines, were the tribes of the Her'nici, the Æ'qui, the Mar'si, and the Sabines; and on the south were the Vols'ci, Ru'tuli, and Aurun'ci. The chief rivers in this country were the A'nio, *Teverone*; and Al'lia, which fall into the Tiber; and the Liris, *Garigliano*; which flows directly into the Mediterranean.

21. The chief cities in old Latium were ROME; Ti'bur, *Tivoli*; Tus'culum, *Frescati*; Al'ba Lon'ga, of which no trace remains; Lavin'ium; An'tium; Ga'bii; and Os'tia, *Civita Vecchia*; the chief towns in new Latium were Fun'di, Anx'ur or Terraci'na, Ar'pinum, Mintur'næ, and For'miæ.

22. CAMPA'NIA included the fertile volcanic plains that lie between the Liris on the north, and the Si'lanus, *Selo*, on the south; the other most remarkable river was the Voltur'nus, *Volturno*. The chief cities were, Ca'pua the capital, Linter'num, Cu'mæ, Neapo'lis, *Naples*; Hercula'neum, Pompe'ii, Surren'tum, Saler'num, &c. The original inhabitants of Campa'nia, were the Auso'nes and Op'ici or Osci, the most ancient of the native Italian tribes. The Tyrrhenian Pelas'gi made several settlements on the coast, and are supposed to have founded Cap'ua. The Etruscans were afterwards masters of the country, but their dominion was of brief duration, and left no trace behind. Campa'nia was subdued by the Romans after the Volscian war.

23. The soil of Campa'nia is the most fruitful, perhaps, in the world, but it is subject to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Mount Vesu'vius in the early ages of Italy was not a volcano; its first eruption took place A.D. 79.

24. UM'BRIA extended along the middle and east of Italy, from the river Rubicon in the north, to the Æ'sis, *Gesano*, dividing it from Pise'num, and the Nar, *Nera*, separating it from Sam'nium in the south. The Umbrians were esteemed one of the most ancient races in Italy, and were said to have possessed the greater part of the northern and central provinces. They were divided into several tribes, which seem to have been semi-barbarous, and they were subject to the Gauls before they were

conquered by the Romans. Their chief towns were Arimi'nium, *Rimini*; Spole'tium, *Spoleto*; Nar'nia, *Narni*; and Ocricu'lum, *Otricoli*.

25. PICE'NUM was the name given to the fertile plain that skirts the Adriatic, between the Æ'sis, *Gesano*, and the Atar'nus, *Pescara*. The chief cities were Anco'na and Asc'ulum Pice'num, *Ascoli*. The Picentines were descended from the Sabines, and observed the strict and severe discipline of that warlike race, but they were destitute of courage or vigour.

26. SAM'NIUM included the mountainous tract which stretches from the Atar'nus in the north, to the Fren'to in the south. It was inhabited by several tribes descended from the Sabines³ and Ma'rsi, of which the Samnites were the most distinguished; the other most remarkable septes were the Marruci'ni and Pelig'ni in the north, the Frenta'ni in the east, and the Hirpi'ni in the south.

27. The Samnites were distinguished by their love of war, and their unconquerable attachment to liberty; their sway at one time extended over Campa'nia, and the greater part of central Italy; and the Romans found them the fiercest and most dangerous of their early enemies. The chief towns in the Samnite territory were Alli'fæ, Beneventum, and Cau'dium.

28. Lower Italy was also called Magna Græ'cia, from the number of Greek⁴ colonies that settled on the coast; it comprised four countries; Luca'nia and Brut'tium on the west, and Apu'lia and Cala'bria on the east.

29. LUCA'NIA was a mountainous country between the Sil'arus, *Selo*, on the north, and the Lă'us, *Lavo*, on the south. The Lucanians were of Sabine origin, and conquered the Ænotrians, who first possessed the country: they also subdued several Greek cities on the coast. The chief cities were Posido'nia or Pæstum, He'lia or Ve'lia, Sib'aris and Thu'rii.

30. Brut'tium is the modern Cala'bria, and received that name when the ancient province was wrested from the empire. It included the tongue of land from the river Lăus to the southern extremity of Italy at Rhe'gium. The mountains of the interior were inhabited by the Bruta'tes or Brut'tii, a semi-barbarous tribe, at first subject to the Sibarites, and afterwards to the Lucanians. In a late age they asserted their independence, and maintained a vigorous resistance to the Romans. As the Brut'tii used the Oscan language, they must have been of the Ausonian race. The chief towns were the Greek settlements on the coast, Consen'tia, *Cosenza*; Pando'sia, *Cirenza*; Croto'na, Mame'rtum, Petil'ia, and Rhe'gium, *Reggio*.

31. Apu'lia extended along the eastern coast from the river Fren'to, to the eastern tongue of land which forms the foot of the boot, to which Italy has been compared. It was a very fruitful plain, without fortresses or harbours, and was particularly adapted to grazing cattle. It was divided by the river Au'fidus, *Ofanto*, into Apu'lia Dau'nia, and Apu'lia Peuce'tia, or pine-bearing Apu'lia. The chief towns were, in Dau'nia, Sipon'tum and Luce'ria: in Peuce'tia, Ba'rium, Can'næ, and Venu'sia.

32. Cala'bria, or Messa'pia, is the eastern tongue of land which terminates at Cape Japy'gium, *Santa Maria*; it was almost wholly occupied by Grecian colonies. The chief towns were Brundu'sium, *Brindisi*; Callipolis, *Gallipoli*; and Taren'tum.

33. The islands of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, which are now reckoned as appertaining to Italy, were by the Romans considered separate provinces.

Questions for Examination.

1. How is Italy situated?
2. By what names was the country known to the ancients?
3. How is Italy bounded on the north?
4. What districts were in northern Italy?
5. What was the extent of Liguria, and the character of its inhabitants?

³ These colonies, sent out by the Sabines, are said to have originated from the observance of the Ver sacrum (*sacred spring*.) During certain years, every thing was vowed to the gods that was born between the calends (first day) of March and May, whether men or animals. At first they were sacrificed; but in later ages this cruel custom was laid aside, and they were sent out as colonists.

⁴ The history of these colonies is contained in the Historical Miscellany, Part II. Chap. ii.

6. How was Cisalpine Gaul divided?
7. By whom was Cisalpine Gaul inhabited?
8. Why was it called Togata?
9. What are the principal rivers in northern Italy?
10. What are the chief cities in Cisalpine Gaul?
11. When did the Romans subdue this district?
12. Did the Venetians resist the Roman power?
13. What are the chief divisions of central Italy?
14. How is Etruria situated?
15. By what people was Etruria colonized?
16. What were the Tuscan cities?
17. How were the cities ruled?
18. What was the general form of Tuscan government?
19. For what were the Tuscans remarkable?
20. What was the geographical situation of Latium?
21. What were the chief towns in Latium?
22. What towns and people were in Campania?
23. For what is the soil of Campania remarkable?
24. What description is given of Umbria?
25. What towns and people were in Picenum?
26. From whom were the Samnites descended?
27. What was the character of this people?
28. How was southern Italy divided?
29. What description is given of Lucania?
30. By what people was Bruttium inhabited?
31. What is the geographical situation of Apulia?
32. What description is given of Calabria?
33. What islands belong to Italy?

CHAPTER II. THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE – CREDIBILITY OF THE EARLY HISTORY

*Succeeding times did equal folly call.
Believing nothing, or believing all. —Dryden.*

The Latin language contains two primary elements, the first intimately connected with the Grecian, and the second with the Oscan tongue; to the former, for the most part, belong all words expressing the arts and relations of civilized life; to the latter, such terms as express the wants of men before society has been organized. We are therefore warranted in conjecturing that the Latin people was a mixed race; that one of its component parts came from some Grecian stock, and introduced the first elements of civilization, and that the other was indigenous, and borrowed refinement from the strangers. The traditions recorded by the historians sufficiently confirm this opinion; they unanimously assert that certain bodies of Pelasgi came into the country before the historic age, and coalesced with the ancient inhabitants. The traditions respecting these immigrations are so varied, that it is impossible to discover any of the circumstances; but there is one so connected with the early history of Rome, that it cannot be passed over without notice. All the Roman historians declare, that after the destruction of Troy, Æneas, with a body of the fugitives, arrived in Latium, and having married the daughter of king Lati'nus, succeeded him on the throne. It would be easy to show that this narrative is so very improbable, as to be wholly unworthy of credit; but how are we to account for the universal credence which it received? To decide this question we must discuss the credibility of the early Roman history, a subject which has of late years attracted more than ordinary attention.

The first Roman historian of any authority, was Fa'bius Pic'tor, who flourished at the close of the second Punic war; that is, about five centuries and a half after the foundation of the city, and nearly a thousand years after the destruction of Troy. The materials from which his narrative was compiled, were the legendary ballads, which are in every country the first record of warlike exploits; the calendars and annals kept by the priests, and the documents kept by noble families to establish their genealogy. Imperfect as these materials must necessarily have been under any circumstances, we must remember that the city of Rome was twice captured; once by Porsenna, and a second time by the Gauls, about a century and a half before Fabius was born. On the latter occasion the city was burned to the ground, and the capital saved only by the payment of an immense ransom. By such a calamity it is manifest that the most valuable documents must have been dispersed or destroyed, and the part that escaped thrown into great disorder. The heroic songs might indeed have been preserved in the memory of the public reciters; but there is little necessity for proving that poetic historians would naturally mingle so much fiction with truth, that few of their assertions could be deemed authentic. The history of the four first centuries of the Roman state is accordingly full of the greatest inconsistencies and improbabilities; so much so, that many respectable writers have rejected the whole as unworthy of credit; but this is as great an excess in scepticism, as the reception of the whole would be of credulity. But if the founders of the city, the date of its erection, and the circumstances under which its citizens were assembled be altogether doubtful, as will subsequently be shown, assuredly the history of events that occurred four centuries previous must be involved in still greater obscurity. The legend of Æneas, when he first appears noticed as a progenitor of the Romans, differs materially from that which afterwards prevailed. Romulus, in the earlier version of the story, is invariably described as the son or grandson of Æneas. He is the grandson in the poems of Nævius and Ennius, who were both nearly contemporary with Fabius Pictor. This gave rise to an insuperable chronological

difficulty; for Troy was destroyed B.C. 1184, and Rome was not founded until B.C. 753. To remedy this incongruity, a list of Latin kings intervening between Æne'as and Rom'ulus, was invented; but the forgery was so clumsily executed, that its falsehood is apparent on the slightest inspection. It may also be remarked, that the actions attributed to Æneas are, in other traditions of the same age and country, ascribed to other adventurers; to Evander, a Pelasgic leader from Arcadia, who is said to have founded a city on the site afterwards occupied by Rome; or to Uly'sses, whose son Tele'gonus is reported to have built Tus'culum.

If then we deny the historical truth of a legend which seems to have been universally credited by the Romans, how are we to account for the origin of the tale? Was the tradition of native growth, or was it imported from Greece when the literature of that country was introduced into Latium? These are questions that can only be answered by guess; but perhaps the following theory may in some degree be found satisfactory. We have shown that tradition, from the earliest age, invariably asserted that Pelasgic colonies had formed settlements in central Italy; nothing is more notorious than the custom of the Pelasgic tribes to take the name of their general, or of some town in which they had taken up their temporary residence; now Æne'a and Æ'nus were common names of the Pelasgic towns; the city of Thessaloni'ca was erected on the site of the ancient Æne'a; there was an Æ'nus in Thrace,⁵ another in Thessaly,⁶ another among the Locrians, and another in Epi'rus;⁷ hence it is not very improbable but that some of the Pelasgic tribes which entered Latium may have been called the Æne'adæ; and the name, as in a thousand instances, preserved after the cause was forgotten. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that temples traditionally said to have been erected by a people called the Æne'adæ, are found in the Macedonian peninsula of Pall'ene,⁸ in the islands of De'los, Cythe'ra, Zacy'nthus, Leuca'dia, and Sicily, on the western coasts of Ambra'cia and Epi'rus, and on the southern coast of Sicily.

The account of several Trojans, and especially Æne'as, having survived the destruction of the city, is as old as the earliest narrative of that famous siege; Homer distinctly asserts it when he makes Neptune declare,

– Nor thus can Jove resign
The future father of the Dardan line:
The first great ancestor obtain'd his grace,
And still his love descends on all the race.
For Priam now, and Priam's faithless kind,
At length are odious, to the all-seeing mind;
On great Æneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.

ILIAD, xx.

But long before the historic age, Phrygia and the greater part of the western shores of Asia Minor were occupied by Grecian colonies, and all remembrance of Æne'as and his followers lost. When the narrative of the Trojan war, with other Greek legends, began to be circulated in Lati'um, it was natural that the identity of name should have led to the confounding of the Æne'adæ who had survived the destruction of Troy, with those who had come to La'tium from the Pelasgic Æ'nus. The cities which were said to be founded by the Æne'adæ were, Latin Troy, which possessed empire for three years; Lavinium, whose sway lasted thirty; Alba, which was supreme for three hundred years;

⁵ It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Pelas'gi were the original settlers in these countries.

⁶ It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Pelas'gi were the original settlers in these countries.

⁷ It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Pelas'gi were the original settlers in these countries.

⁸ In all these places we find also the Tyrrhenian Pelas'gi.

and Rome, whose dominion was to be interminable, though some assign a limit of three thousand years. These numbers bear evident traces of superstitious invention; and the legends by which these cities are successively deduced from the first encampment of Æne'as, are at variance with these fanciful periods. The account that Alba was built by a son of Æne'as, who had been guided to the spot by a white sow, which had farrowed thirty young, is clearly a story framed from the similarity of the name to Albus (*white*,) and the circumstance of the city having been the capital of the thirty Latin tribes. The city derived its name from its position on the Alban mountain; for *Alb*, or *Alp*, signifies lofty in the ancient language of Italy, and the emblem of a sow with thirty young, may have been a significant emblem of the dominion which it unquestionably possessed over the other Latin states. The only thing that we can establish as certain in the early history of La'tium is, that its inhabitants were of a mixed race, and the sources from whence they sprung Pelasgic and Oscan; that is, one connected with the Greeks, and the other with some ancient Italian tribe. We have seen that this fact is the basis of all their traditions, that it is confirmed by the structure of their language, and, we may add, that it is further proved by their political institutions. In all the Latin cities, as well as Rome, we find the people divided into an aristocracy and democracy, or, as they are more properly called, Patricians and Plebeians. The experience of all ages warrants the inference, which may be best stated in the words of Dr. Faber: "In the progress of the human mind there is an invariable tendency not to introduce into an undisturbed community a palpable difference between lords and serfs, instead of a legal equality of rights; but to abolish such difference by enfranchising the serfs. Hence, from the universal experience of history, we may be sure that whenever this distinction is found to exist, the society must be composed of two races differing from each other in point of origin."

The traditions respecting the origin of Rome are innumerable; some historians assert that its founder was a Greek; others, Æneas and his Trojans; and others give the honour to the Tyrrhenians: all, however, agree, that the first inhabitants were a Latin colony from Alba. Even those who adopted the most current story, which is followed by Dr. Goldsmith, believed that the city existed before the time of Rom'ulus, and that he was called the founder from being the first who gave it strength and stability. It seems probable that several villages might have been formed at an early age on the different hills, which were afterwards included in the circuit of Rome; and that the first of them which obtained a decided superiority, the village on the Palatine hill, finally absorbed the rest, and gave its name to "the eternal city".

There seems to be some uncertainty whether Romulus gave his name to the city, or derived his own from it; the latter is asserted by several historians, but those who ascribe to the city a Grecian origin, with some show of probability assert that Romus (another form of Romulus) and Roma are both derived from the Greek ῥωμη, *strength*. The city, we are assured, had another name, which the priests were forbidden to divulge; but what that was, it is now impossible to discover.

We have thus traced the history of the Latins down to the period when Rome was founded, or at least when it became a city, and shown how little reliance can be placed on the accounts given of these periods by the early historians. We shall hereafter see that great uncertainty rests on the history of Rome itself during the first four centuries of its existence.

CHAPTER III. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME

*Full in the centre of these wondrous works
The pride of earth! Rome in her glory see. —Thomson.*

1. The city of Rome, according to *Varro*, was founded in the fourth year of the sixth *Olympiad*, B.C. 753; but *Cato*, the censor, places the event four years later, in the second year of the seventh *Olympiad*. The day of its foundation was the 21st of April, which was sacred to the rural goddess *Pa'les*, when the rustics were accustomed to solicit the increase of their flocks from the deity, and to purify themselves for involuntary violation of the consecrated places. The account preserved by tradition of the ceremonies used on this occasion, confirms the opinion of those who contend that Rome had a previous existence as a village, and that what is called its foundation was really an enlargement of its boundaries, by taking in the ground at the foot of the Palatine hill. The first care of *Ro'mulus* was to mark out the *Pomœ'rium*; a space round the walls of the city, on which it was unlawful to erect buildings.

2. The person who determined the *Pomœ'rium* yoked a bullock and heifer to a plough, having a copper-share, and drew a furrow to mark the course of the future wall; he guided the plough so that all the sods might fall inwards, and was followed by others, who took care that none should lie the other way. 3. When he came to the place where it was designed to erect a gate, the plough was taken up,⁹ and carried to where the wall recommenced. The next ceremony was the consecration of the *commit'ium*, or place of public assembly. A vault was built under ground, and filled with the firstlings of all the natural productions that sustain human life, and with earth which each foreign settler had brought from his own home. This place was called *Mun'dus*, and was supposed to become the gate of the lower world; it was opened on three several days of the year, for the spirits of the dead.

4. The next addition made to the city was the Sabine town,¹⁰ which occupied the Quirinal and part of the Capitoline hills. The name of this town most probably was *Qui'rium*, and from it the Roman people received the name *Quirites*. The two cities were united on terms of equality, and the double-faced *Ja'nus* stamped on the earliest Roman coins was probably a symbol of the double state. They were at first so disunited, that even the rights of intermarriage did not exist between them, and it was probably from *Qui'rium* that the Roman youths obtained the wives¹¹ by force, which were refused to their entreaties. 5. The next addition was the *Cœlian hill*,¹² on which a Tuscan colony settled; from these three colonies the three tribes of *Ram'nes*, *Ti'ties*, and *Lu'ceres* were formed. 6. The *Ram'nes*, or *Ram'nenses*, derived their name from *Rom'ulus*; the *Tities*, or *Titien'ses*, from *Titus Tatius*, the king of the Sabines; and the *Lu'ceres*, from *Lu'cumo*, the Tuscan title of a general or leader.¹³ From

⁹ Hence a gate was called *porta*, from *porta're*, to carry. The reason of this part of the ceremony was, that the plough being deemed holy, it was unlawful that any thing unclean should pollute the place which it had touched; but it was obviously necessary that things clean and unclean should pass through the gates of the city. It is remarkable that all the ceremonies here mentioned were imitated from the Tuscans.

¹⁰ This, though apparently a mere conjecture, has been so fully proved by Niebuhr, (vol. i. p. 251.) that it may safely be assumed as an historical fact.

¹¹ See [Chapter II.](#) of the following history.

¹² All authors are agreed that the *Cœlian hill* was named from *Cœles Viben'na*, a Tuscan chief; but there is a great variety in the date assigned to his settlement at Rome. Some make him cotemporary with *Rom'ulus*, others with the elder *Tarquin*, or *Servius Tullius*. In this uncertainty all that can be satisfactorily determined is, that at some early period a Tuscan colony settled in Rome.

¹³ Others say that they were named so in honour of *Lu'ceres*, king of *Ardea*, according to which theory the third would have been a *Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian* colony.

this it appears that the three tribes¹⁴ were really three distinct nations, differing in their origin, and dwelling apart.

7. The city was enlarged by Tullus Hostilius,¹⁵ after the destruction of Alba, and the Viminal hill included within the walls; Ancus Martius added mount Aventine, and the Esquiline and Capitoline¹⁶ being enclosed in the next reign, completed the number of the seven hills on which the ancient city stood.

8. The hill called Jani'culum, on the north bank of the Tiber, was fortified as an outwork by Ancus Martius, and joined to the city by the bridge; he also dug a trench round the newly erected buildings, for their greater security, and called it the ditch of the Quirites. 9. The public works erected by the kings were of stupendous magnitude, but the private buildings were wretched, the streets narrow, and the houses mean. It was not until after the burning of the city by the Gauls that the city was laid out on a better plan; after the Punic wars wealth flowed in abundantly, and private persons began to erect magnificent mansions. From the period of the conquest of Asia until the reign of Augustus, the city daily augmented its splendour, but so much was added by that emperor, that he boasted that "he found Rome a city of brick, and left it a city of marble."

10. The circumference of the city has been variously estimated, some writers including in their computation a part of the suburbs; according to Pliny it was near twenty miles round the walls. In consequence of this great extent the city had more than thirty gates, of which the most remarkable were the Carmental, the Esquiline, the Triumphal, the Naval, and those called Tergem'ina and Cape'na.

11. The division of the city into four tribes continued until the reign of Augustus; a new arrangement was made by the emperor, who divided Rome into fourteen wards, or regions.¹⁷ The magnificent public and private buildings in a city so extensive and wealthy were very numerous, and a bare catalogue of them would fill a volume;¹⁸ our attention must be confined to those which possessed some historical importance.

12. The most celebrated and conspicuous buildings were in the eighth division of the city, which contained the Capitol and its temples, the Senate House, and the Forum. The Capitoline-hill was anciently called Saturnius, from the ancient city of Satur'nia, of which it was the citadel; it was afterwards called the Tarpeian mount, and finally received the name of Capitoline from a human head¹⁹ being found on its summit when the foundations of the temple of Jupiter were laid. It had two summits; that on the south retained the name Tarpeian;²⁰ the northern was properly the Capitol. 13. On this part of the hill Romulus first established his asylum, in a sacred grove, dedicated to some unknown divinity; and erected a fort or citadel²¹ on the Tarpeian summit. The celebrated temple of Jupiter Capitoli'nus, erected on this hill, was begun by the elder Tarquin, and finished by Tarquin the Proud. It was burned down in the civil wars between Ma'rius and Syl'la, but restored by the

¹⁴ We shall hereafter have occasion to remark, that the Lu'ceres were subject to the other tribes.

¹⁵ See History, [Chapter IV](#).

¹⁶ The Pincian and Vatican hills were added at a much later period and these, with Janiculum, made the number ten.

¹⁷ They were named as follow: 1. Porta Cape'na 2. Cœlimon'tium 3. I'sis and Sera'pis 4. Via Sa'cra 5. Esquili'na 6. Acta Se'mita 7. Vita Lata 8. Forum Roma'num 9. Circus Flamin'ius 10. Pala'tium 11. Circus Max'imus 12. Pici'na Pub'lica 13. Aventinus 14. Transtiberi'na. The divisions made by Servius were named: the Suburan, which comprised chiefly the Cœlian mount; the Colline, which included the Viminal and Quirinal hills; the Esquiline and Palatine, which evidently coincided with the hills of the same name.

¹⁸ Among the public buildings of ancient Rome, when in her zenith, are numbered 420 temples, five regular theatres, two amphitheatres, and seven circusses of vast extent; sixteen public baths, fourteen aqueducts, from which a prodigious number of fountains were constantly supplied; innumerable palaces and public halls, stately columns, splendid porticos, and lofty obelisks.

¹⁹ From *caput*, "a head."

²⁰ State criminals were punished by being precipitated from the Tarpeian rock; the soil has been since so much raised by the accumulation of ruins, that a fall from it is no longer dangerous.

²¹ In the reign of Numa, the Quirinal hill was deemed the citadel of Rome; an additional confirmation of Niebuhr's theory, that Quirium was a Sabine town, which, being early absorbed in Rome, was mistaken by subsequent writers for Cu'res.

latter, who adorned it with pillars taken from the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. It was rebuilt after similar accidents by Vespa'sian and Domitian, and on each occasion with additional splendour. The rich ornaments and gifts presented to this temple by different princes and generals amounted to a scarcely credible sum. The gold and jewels given by Augustus alone are said to have exceeded in value four thousand pounds sterling. A nail was annually driven into the wall of the temple to mark the course of time; besides this chronological record, it contained the Sibylline books, and other oracles supposed to be pregnant with the fate of the city. There were several other temples on this hill, of which the most remarkable was that of Jupiter Feretrius, erected by Romulus, where the spolia opima were deposited.

14. The Forum, or place of public assembly, was situated between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. It was surrounded with temples, basilicks,²² and public offices, and adorned with innumerable statues.²³ On one side of this space were the elevated seats from which the Roman magistrates and orators addressed the people; they were called Rostra, because they were ornamented with the beaks of some galleys taken from the city of Antium. In the centre of the forum was a place called the Curtian Lake, either from a Sabine general called Curtius, said to have been smothered in the marsh which was once there; or from²⁴ the Roman knight who plunged into a gulf that opened suddenly on the spot. The celebrated temple of Ja'nus, built entirely of bronze, stood in the Forum; it is supposed to have been erected by Numa. The gates of this temple were opened in time of war, and shut during peace. So continuous we're the wars of the Romans, that the gates were only closed three times during the space of eight centuries. In the vicinity stood the temple of Concord, where the senate frequently assembled, and the temple of Vesta, where the palla'dium was said to be deposited.

15. Above the rostra was the Senate-house, said to have been first erected by Tullus Hostilius; and near the Comitium, or place of meeting for the patrician Curiae.²⁵ This area was at first uncovered, but a roof was erected at the close of the second Pu'nic war.

16. The Cam'pus Mar'tius, or field of Mars, was originally the estate of Tarquin the Proud, and was, with his other property, confiscated after the expulsion of that monarch. It was a large space, where armies were mustered, general assemblies of the people held, and the young nobility trained in martial exercises. In the later ages, it was surrounded by several magnificent structures, and porticos were erected, under which the citizens might take their accustomed exercise in rainy weather. These improvements were principally made by Marcus Agrippa, in the reign of Augustus. 17. He erected in the neighbourhood, the Panthe'on, or temple of all the gods, one of the most splendid buildings in ancient Rome. It is of a circular form, and its roof is in the form of a cupola or dome; it is used at present as a Christian church. Near the Panthe'on were the baths and gardens which Agrippa, at his death, bequeathed to the Roman people.

18. The theatres and circi for the exhibition of public spectacles were very numerous. The first theatre was erected by Pompey the Great; but the Circus Maximus, where gladiatorial combats were displayed, was erected by Tarquinius Priscus; this enormous building was frequently enlarged, and in the age of Pliny could accommodate two hundred thousand spectators. A still more remarkable edifice was the amphitheatre erected by Vespasian, called, from its enormous size, the Colosse'um.

19. Public baths were early erected for the use of the people, and in the later ages were among the most remarkable displays of Roman luxury and splendour. Lofty arches, stately pillars, vaulted ceilings, seats of solid silver, costly marbles inlaid with precious stones, were exhibited in these buildings with the most lavish profusion.

²² Basilicks were spacious halls for the administration of justice.

²³ It is called *Templum* by Livy; but the word *templum* with the Romans does not mean an edifice, but a consecrated inclosure. From its position, we may conjecture that the forum was originally a place of meeting common to the inhabitants of the Sabine town on the Quirinal, and the Latin town on the Palatine hill.

²⁴ See [Chap. XII. Sect. V.](#) of the following History.

²⁵ See the following chapter.

20. The aqueducts for supplying the city with water, were still more worthy of admiration; they were supported by arches, many of them a hundred feet high, and carried over mountains and morasses that might have appeared insuperable. The first aqueduct was erected by Ap'pius Clo'dius, the censor, four hundred years after the foundation

of the city; but under the emperors there were not less than twenty of these useful structures, and such was the supply of water, that rivers seemed to flow through the streets and sewers. Even now, though only three of the aqueducts remain, such are their dimensions that no city in Europe has a greater abundance of wholesome water than Rome.

21. The Cloa'cæ, or common sewers, attracted the wonder of the ancients themselves; the largest was completed by Tarquin the Proud. The innermost vault of this astonishing structure forms a semicircle eighteen Roman palms wide, and as many high: this is inclosed in a second vault, and that again in a third, all formed of hewn blocks of peperno, fixed together without cement. So extensive were these channels, that in the reign of Augustus the city was subterraneously navigable.

22. The public roads were little inferior to the aqueducts and Cloa'cæ in utility and costliness; the chief was the Appian road from Rome to Brundu'sium; it extended three hundred and fifty miles, and was paved with huge squares through its entire length. After the lapse of nineteen centuries many parts of it are still as perfect as when it was first made.

23. The Appian road passed through the following towns; Ari'cia, Fo'rum Ap'pii, An'xur or Terraci'na, Fun'di, Mintur'næ, Sinue'ssa, Cap'ua, Can'dium, Beneven'tum, Equotu'ticum, Herdo'nia, Canu'sium, Ba'rium, and Brundu'sium. Between Fo'rum Ap'pii and Terraci'na lie the celebrated Pomptine marshes, formed by the overflowing of some small streams. In the flourishing ages of Roman history these pestilential marshes did not exist, or were confined to a very limited space; but from the decline of the Roman empire, the waters gradually encroached, until the successful exertions made by the Pontiffs in modern times to arrest their baleful progress. Before the drainage of Pope Sixtus, the marshes covered at least thirteen thousand acres of ground, which in the earlier ages was the most fruitful portion of the Italian soil.

Questions for Examination.

1. When was Rome founded?
2. What ceremonies were used in determining the pomerium?
3. How was the comitium consecrated?
4. What was the first addition made to Rome?
5. What was the next addition?
6. Into what tribes were the Romans divided?
7. What were the hills added in later times to Rome?
8. Had the Romans any buildings north of the Tiber?
9. When did Rome become a magnificent city?
10. What was the extent of the city?
11. How was the city divided?
12. Which was the most remarkable of the seven hills?
13. What buildings were on the Capitoline hill?
14. What description is given of the forum?
15. Where was the senate-house and comitium?
16. What use was made of the Campus Martius?
17. What was the Pantheon?
18. Were the theatres and circii remarkable?
19. Had the Romans public baths?
20. How was the city supplied with water?
21. Were the cloacæ remarkable for their size?
22. Which was the chief Italian road?

23. What were the most remarkable places on the Appian road?

CHAPTER IV. THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION

*As once in virtue, so in vice extreme,
This universal fabric yielded loose,
Before ambition still; and thundering down,
At last beneath its ruins crush'd a world. —Thomson.*

I. The most remarkable feature in the Roman constitution is the division of the people into Patricians and Plebeians, and our first inquiry must be the origin of this separation. It is clearly impossible that such a distinction could have existed from the very beginning, because no persons would have consented in a new community to the investing of any class with peculiar privileges. We find that all the Roman kings, after they had subdued a city, drafted a portion of its inhabitants to Rome; and if they did not destroy the subjugated place, garrisoned it with a Roman colony. The strangers thus brought to Rome were not admitted to a participation of civic rights; they were like the inhabitants of a corporate town who are excluded from the elective franchise: by successive immigrations, the number of persons thus disqualified became more numerous than that of the first inhabitants or old freemen, and they naturally sought a share in the government, as a means of protecting their persons and properties. On the other hand, the men who possessed the exclusive power of legislation, struggled hard to retain their hereditary privileges, and when forced to make concessions, yielded as little as they possibly could to the popular demands. Modern history furnishes us with numerous instances of similar struggles between classes, and of a separation in interests and feelings between inhabitants of the same country, fully as strong as that between the patricians and plebeians at Rome.

2. The first tribes were divided by Ro'mulus into thirty *cu'riæ*, and each *cu'ria* contained ten *gentes* or associations. The individuals of each gens were not in all cases, and probably not in the majority of instances, connected by birth;²⁶ the attributes of the members of a *gens*, according to Cicero, were, a common name and participation in private religious rites; descent from free ancestors; the absence of legal disqualification. 3. The members of these associations were united by certain laws, which conferred peculiar privileges, called *jura gentium*; of these the most remarkable were,

²⁶ The same remark may be applied to the Scottish clans and the ancient Irish septs, which were very similar to the Roman *gentes*. When the plebeians endeavoured to procure the repeal of the laws which prohibited the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians, the principal objection made by the former was, that these rights and obligations of the *gentes* (*jura gentium*) would be thrown into confusion. This was also the case with the Irish tanists, or chiefs of septs; the people elected a tanist, but their choice was confined to the members of the ruling family. See Historical Miscellany Part III. Chap. i. They were called "patres nuntorum gentium," the senators of the inferior *gentes*. The "comitia curiata," assembled in the *comitium*, the general assemblies of the people were held in the forum. The patrician *curiæ* were called, emphatically, the council of the people; (*concilium populi*;) the third estate was called plebeian, (*plebs*.) This distinction between *populus* and *plebs* was disregarded after the plebeians had established their claim to equal rights. The English reader will easily understand the difference, if he considers that the patricians were precisely similar to the members of a close corporation, and the plebeians to the other inhabitants of a city. In London, for example, the common council may represent the senate, the livery answer for the *populus*, patricians, or *comitia curiata*, and the general body of other inhabitants will correspond with the *plebs*. There were certain sacrifices which the Romans believed could only be offered by a king; after the abolition of royalty, a priest, named the petty sacrificing king, (*rex sacrificulus*,) was elected to perform this duty. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say the *exclusive* right of legislation; for it appears that the *comitia centuriata* were sometimes summoned to give their sanction to laws which had been previously enacted by the *curiæ*. See Chap. XII. The Romans were previously acquainted with that great principle of justice, the right of trial by a person's peers. In the earliest ages the patricians had a right of appeal to the *curiæ*; the Valerian laws extended the same right to the plebeians. The senators were called conscript fathers, (*patres conscripti*,) either from their being enrolled on the censor's list, or more probably from the addition made to their numbers after the expulsion of the kings, in order to supply the places of those who had been murdered by Tarquin. The new senators were at first called conscript, and in the process of time the name was extended to the entire body.

the succession to the property of every member who died without kin and intestate, and the obligation imposed on all to assist their indigent fellows under any extraordinary burthen.²⁷ 4. The head of each gens was regarded as a kind of father, and possessed a paternal authority over the members; the chieftancy was both elective and hereditary;²⁸ that is, the individual was always selected from some particular family.

5. Besides the members of the gens, there were attached to it a number of dependents called clients, who owed submission to the chief as their patron, and received from him assistance and protection. The clients were generally foreigners who came to settle at Rome, and not possessing municipal rights, were forced to appear in the courts of law, &c. by proxy. In process of time this relation assumed a feudal form, and the clients were bound to the same duties as vassals²⁹ in the middle ages.

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6. The chiefs of the gentes composed the senate, and were called "fathers," (patres.) In the time of Romulus, the senate at first consisted only of one hundred members, who of course represented the Latin tribe Ramne'nses; the number was doubled after the union with the Sabines, and the new members were chosen from the Titienses. The Tuscan tribe of the Lu'ceres remained unrepresented in the senate until the reign of the first Tarquin, when the legislative body received another hundred³⁰ from that tribe. Tarquin the elder was, according to history, a Tuscan Iticumo, and seems to have owed his elevation principally to the efforts of his compatriots settled at Rome. It is to this event we must refer, in a great degree, the number of Tuscan ceremonies which are to be found in the political institutions of the Romans.

7. The gentes were not only represented in the senate, but met also in a public assembly called "comitia curiata." In these comitia the kings were elected and invested with royal authority. After the complete change of the constitution in later ages, the "comitia curiata"³¹ rarely assembled, and their power was limited to religious matters; but during the earlier period of the republic, they claimed and frequently exercised the supreme powers of the state, and were named emphatically, The People.

8. The power and prerogatives of the kings at Rome, were similar to those of the Grecian sovereigns in the heroic ages. The monarch was general of the army, a high priest,³² and first magistrate of the realm; he administered justice in person every ninth day, but an appeal lay from his

the addition made to their numbers after the expulsion of the kings, in order to supply the places of those who had been murdered by Tarquin. The new senators were at first called conscript, and in the process of time the name was extended to the entire body.

³⁰ They were called "patres nuntorum gentium," the senators of the inferior gentes. The "comitia curiata," assembled in the comitium, the general assemblies of the people were held in the forum. The patrician curiæ were called, emphatically, the council of the people; (concilium populi;) the third estate was called plebeian, (plebs.) This distinction between *populus* and *plebs* was disregarded after the plebeians had established their claim to equal rights. The English reader will easily understand the difference, if he considers that the patricians were precisely similar to the members of a close corporation, and the plebeians to the other inhabitants of a city. In London, for example, the common council may represent the senate, the livery answer for the *populus*, patricians, or comitia curiata, and the general body of other inhabitants will correspond with the plebs. There were certain sacrifices which the Romans believed could only be offered by a king; after the abolition of royalty, a priest, named the petty sacrificing king, (rex sacrificulus,) was elected to perform this duty. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say the *exclusive* right of legislation; for it appears that the comitia centuriata were sometimes summoned to give their sanction to laws which had been previously enacted by the curiæ. See [Chap. XII.](#) The Romans were previously acquainted with that great principle of justice, the right of trial by a person's peers. In the earliest ages the patricians had a right of appeal to the curiæ; the Valerian laws extended the same right to the plebeians. The senators were called conscript fathers, (patres conscripti,) either from their being enrolled on the censor's list, or more probably from the addition made to their numbers after the expulsion of the kings, in order to supply the places of those who had been murdered by Tarquin. The new senators were at first called conscript, and in the process of time the name was extended to the entire body.

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sentence, in criminal cases, to the general assemblies of the people. The pontiffs and augurs, however, were in some measure independent of the sovereign, and assumed the uncontrolled direction of the religion of the state.

9. The entire constitution was remodelled by Ser'vius Tul'lius, and a more liberal form of government introduced. His first and greatest achievement was the formation of the plebeians into an organized order of the state, invested with political rights. He divided them into four cities and twenty-six rustic tribes, and thus made the number of tribes the same as that of the *curiæ*. This was strictly a geographical division, analagous to our parishes, and had no connection with families, like that of the Jewish tribes.

10. Still more remarkable was the institution of the census, and the distribution of the people into classes and centuries proportionate to their wealth. The census was a periodical valuation of all the property possessed by the citizens, and an enumeration of all the subjects of the state: there were five classes, ranged according to the estimated value of their possessions, and the taxes they consequently paid. The first class contained eighty centuries out of the hundred and seventy; the sixth class, in which those were included who were too poor to be taxed, counted but for one. We shall, hereafter have occasion to see that this arrangement was also used for military purposes; it is only necessary to say here, that the sixth class were deprived of the use of arms, and exempt from serving in war.

11. The people voted in the *comitia centuriata* by centuries; that is, the vote of each century was taken separately and counted only as one. By this arrangement a just influence was secured to property; and the clients of the patricians in the sixth class prevented from out-numbering the free citizens.

12. Ser'vius Tul'lius undoubtedly intended that the *comitia centuriata* should form the third estate of the realm, and during his reign they probably held that rank; but when, by an aristocratic insurrection he was slain in the senate-house, the power conceded to the people was again usurped by the patricians, and the *comitia centuriata* did not recover the right³³ of legislation before the laws³⁴ of the twelve tables were established.

13. The law which made the debtor a slave to his creditor was repealed by Ser'vius, and re-enacted by his successor; the patricians preserved this abominable custom during several ages, and did not resign it until the state had been brought to the very brink of ruin.

14. During the reign of Ser'vius, Rome was placed at the head of the Latin confederacy, and acknowledged to be the metropolitan city. It was deprived of this supremacy after the war with Porsen'na, but soon recovered its former greatness.

15. The equestrian rank was an order in the Roman state from the very beginning. It was at first confined to the nobility, and none but the patricians had the privilege of serving on horseback. But in the later ages, it became a political dignity, and persons were raised to the equestrian rank by the amount of their possessions.

16. The next great change took place after the expulsion of the kings; annual magistrates, called consuls, were elected in the *comitia centuriata*, but none but patricians could hold this office. 17. The liberties of the people were soon after extended and secured by certain laws, traditionally attributed

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to Vale'rius Public'ola, of which the most important was that which allowed³⁵ an appeal to a general assembly of the people from the sentence of a magistrate. 18. To deprive the plebeians of this privilege was the darling object of the patricians, and it was for this purpose alone that they instituted the dictatorship. From the sentence of this magistrate there was no appeal to the tribes or centuries, but the patricians kept their own privilege of being tried before the tribunal of the curiæ. 19. The power of the state was now usurped by a factious oligarchy, whose oppressions were more grievous than those of the worst tyrant; they at last became so intolerable, that the commonalty had recourse to arms, and fortified that part of the city which was exclusively inhabited by the plebeians, while others formed a camp on the Sacred Mount at some distance from Rome. A tumult of this kind was called a secession; it threatened to terminate in a civil war, which would have been both long and doubtful; for the patricians and their clients were probably as numerous as the people. A reconciliation was effected, and the plebeians placed under the protection of magistrates chosen from their own body, called tribunes of the people.

20. The plebeians, having now authorised leaders, began to struggle for an equalization of rights, and the patricians resisted them with the most determined energy. In this protracted contest the popular cause prevailed, though the patricians made use of the most violent means to secure their usurped powers. The first triumph obtained by the people was the right to summon patricians before the comitia tributa, or assemblies of people in tribes; soon after they obtained the privilege of electing their tribunes at these comitia, instead of the centuria'ta; and finally, after a fierce opposition, the patricians were forced to consent that the state should be governed by a written code.

21. The laws of the twelve tables did not alter the legal relations between the citizens; the struggle was renewed with greater violence than ever after the expulsion of the decem'viri, but finally terminated in the complete triumph of the people. The Roman constitution became essentially democratical; the offices of the state were open to all the citizens; and although the difference between the patrician and plebeian families still subsisted, they soon ceased of themselves to be political parties. From the time that equal rights were granted to all the citizens, Rome advanced rapidly in wealth and power; the subjugation of Italy was effected within the succeeding century, and that was soon followed by foreign conquests.

22. In the early part of the struggle between the patricians and plebeians, the magistracy, named the censorship, was instituted. The censors were designed at first merely to preside over the taking of the census, but they afterwards obtained the power of punishing, by a deprivation of civil rights, those who were guilty of any flagrant immorality. The patricians retained exclusive possession of the censorship, long after the consulship had been opened to the plebeians.

23. The senate,³⁶ which had been originally a patrician council, was gradually opened to the plebeians; when the free constitution was perfected, every person possessing a competent fortune that had held a superior magistracy, was enrolled as a senator at the census immediately succeeding the termination of his office.

Questions for Examination.

1. What is the most probable account given of the origin of the distinction between the patricians and the plebeians at Rome?

2. How did Romulus subdivide the Roman tribes?

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3. By what regulations were the gentes governed?
4. Who were the chiefs of the gentes?
5. What was the condition of the clients?
6. By whom were alterations made in the number and constitution of the senate?
7. What assembly was peculiar to the patricians?
8. What were the powers of the Roman kings?
9. What great change was made in the Roman constitution by Servius Tullius?
10. For what purpose was the census instituted?
11. How were votes taken in the comitia centuriata?
12. Were the designs of Servius frustrated?
13. What was the Roman law respecting debtors?
14. When did the Roman power decline?
15. What changes were made in the constitution of the equestrian rank?
16. What change was made after the abolition of royalty?
17. How were the liberties of the people secured?
18. Why was the office of dictator appointed?
19. How did the plebeians obtain the protection of magistrates chosen from their own order?
20. What additional triumphs were obtained by the plebeians?
21. What was the consequence of the establishment of freedom?
22. For what purpose was the censorship instituted?
23. What change took place in the constitution of the senate?

CHAPTER V. THE ROMAN TENURE OF LAND – COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

*Each rules his race, his neighbour not his care,
Heedless of others, to his own severe. —Homer.*

[As this chapter is principally designed for advanced students, it has not been thought necessary to add questions for examination.

The contests respecting agrarian laws occupy so large a space in Roman history, and are so liable to be misunderstood, that it is necessary to explain their origin at some length. According to an almost universal custom, the right of conquest was supposed to involve the property of the land. Thus the Normans who assisted William I. were supposed to have obtained a right to the possessions of the Saxons; and in a later age, the Irish princes, whose estates were not confirmed by a direct grant from the English crown, were exposed to forfeiture when legally summoned to prove their titles. The extensive acquisitions made by the Romans, were either formed into extensive national domains, or divided into small lots among the poorer classes. The usufruct of the domains was monopolized by the patricians who rented them from the state; the smaller lots were assigned to the plebeians, subject to a tax called tribute, but not to rent. An agrarian law was a proposal to make an assignment of portions of the public lands to the people, and to limit the quantity of national land that could be farmed by any particular patrician.³⁷ Such a law may have been frequently impolitic, because it may have disturbed ancient possessions, but it could never have been unjust; for the property of the land was absolutely fixed in the state. The lands held by the patricians, being divided into extensive tracts, were principally used for pasturage; the small lots assigned to the plebeians were, of necessity, devoted to agriculture. Hence arose the first great cause of hostility between the two orders; the patricians were naturally eager to extend their possessions in the public domains, which enabled them to provide for their numerous clients, and in remote districts they frequently wrested the estates from the free proprietors in their neighbourhood; the plebeians, on the other hand, deemed that they had the best right to the land purchased by their blood, and saw with just indignation, the fruits of victory monopolized by a single order in the state. The tribute paid by the plebeians increased this hardship, for it was a land-tax levied on estates, and consequently fell most heavily on the smaller proprietors; indeed, in many cases, the possessors of the national domains paid nothing.

From all this it is evident that an agrarian law only removed tenants who held from the state at will, and did not in any case interfere with the sacred right of property; but it is also plain that such a change must have been frequently inconvenient to the individual in possession. It also appears, that had not agrarian laws been introduced, the great body of the plebeians would have become the clients of the patricians, and the form of government would have been a complete oligarchy.

The chief means to which the Romans, even from the earliest ages, had recourse for securing their conquests, and at the same time relieving the poorer classes of citizens, was the establishment of colonies in the conquered states. The new citizens formed a kind of garrison, and were held together by a constitution formed on the model of the parent state. From what has been said above, it is evident that a law for sending out a colony was virtually an agrarian law, since lands were invariably assigned to those who were thus induced to abandon their homes.

³⁷ The Licinian law provided that no one should rent at a time more than 500 acres of public land. The league by which the Latin states were bound (*jus Latii*) was more favourable than that granted to the other Italians (*jus Italicum*.)

The relations between Rome and the subject cities in Italy were very various. Some, called *municipia*, were placed in full possession of the rights of Roman citizens, but could not in all cases vote in the comitia. The privileges of the colonies were more restricted, for they were absolutely excluded from the Roman comitia and magistracies. The federative³⁸ states enjoyed their own constitutions, but were bound to supply the Romans with tribute and auxiliary forces. Finally, the subject states were deprived of their internal constitutions, and were governed by annual prefects chosen in Rome.

Before discussing the subject of the Roman constitution, we must observe that it was, like our own, gradually formed by practice; there was no single written code like those of Athens and Sparta, but changes were made whenever they were required by circumstances; before the plebeians obtained an equality of civil rights, the state neither commanded respect abroad, nor enjoyed tranquillity at home. The patricians sacrificed their own real advantages, as well as the interests of their country, to maintain an ascendancy as injurious to themselves, as it was unjust to the other citizens. But no sooner had the agrarian laws established a more equitable distribution of property, and other popular laws opened the magistracy to merit without distinction of rank, than the city rose to empire with unexampled rapidity.

³⁸ The league by which the Latin states were bound (*jus Latii*) was more favourable than that granted to the other Italians (*jus Italicum*.)

CHAPTER VI. THE ROMAN RELIGION

*First to the gods 'tis fitting to prepare
The due libation, and the solemn prayer;
For all mankind alike require their grace,
All born to want; a miserable race. —Homer.*

1. We have shown that the Romans were, most probably, a people compounded of the Latins, the Sabines, and the Tuscans; and that the first and last of these component parts were themselves formed from Pelasgic and native tribes. The original deities³⁹ worshipped by the Romans were derived from the joint traditions of all these tribes; but the religious institutions and ceremonies were almost wholly borrowed from the Tuscans. Unlike the Grecian mythology, with which, in later ages, it was united, the Roman system of religion had all the gloom and mystery of the eastern superstitions; their gods were objects of fear rather than love, and were worshipped more to avert the consequences of their anger than to conciliate their favour. A consequence of this system was, the institution of human sacrifices, which were not quite disused in Rome until a late period of the republic.

2. The religious institutions of the Romans form an essential part of their civil government; every public act, whether of legislation or election, was connected with certain determined forms, and thus received the sanction of a higher power. Every public assembly was opened by the magistrate and augurs taking the auspices, or signs by which they believed that the will of the gods could be determined; and if any unfavourable omen was discovered, either then or at any subsequent time, the assembly was at once dismissed. 3. The right of taking auspices was long the peculiar privilege of the patricians, and frequently afforded them pretexts for evading the demands of the plebeians; when a popular law was to be proposed, it was easy to discover some unfavourable omen which prohibited discussion; when it was evident that the centuries were about to annul some patrician privilege, the augurs readily saw or heard some signal of divine wrath, which prevented the vote from being completed. It was on this account that the plebeians would not consent to place the comitia tributa under the sanction of the auspices.

4. The augurs were at first only three in number, but they were in later ages increased to fifteen, and formed into a college. Nothing of importance was transacted without their concurrence in the earlier ages of the republic, but after the second punic war, their influence was considerably diminished.⁴⁰ 5. They derived omens from five sources: 1, from celestial phenomena, such as thunder, lightning, comets, &c.; 2, from the flight of birds; 3, from the feeding of the sacred chickens; 4, from the appearance of a beast in any unusual place; 5, from any accident that occurred unexpectedly.

6. The usual form of taking an augury was very solemn; the augur ascended a tower, bearing in his hand a curved stick called a lituus. He turned his face to the east, and marked out some distant objects as the limits within which he would make his observations, and divided mentally the enclosed

³⁹ The reader will find an exceedingly interesting account of the deities peculiar to the Romans, in Mr. Keightley's very valuable work on Mythology. The poet Ennius, who was of Grecian descent, ridiculed very successfully the Roman superstitions; the following fragment, translated by Dunlop, would, probably, have been punished as blasphemous in the first ages of the republic: —

⁴⁰ The poet Ennius, who was of Grecian descent, ridiculed very successfully the Roman superstitions; the following fragment, translated by Dunlop, would, probably, have been punished as blasphemous in the first ages of the republic: —For no Marsian augur (whom fools view with awe,) Nor diviner, nor star-gazer, care I a straw; The Isis-taught quack, an expounder of dreams, Is neither in science nor art what he seems; Superstitious and shameless they prowl through our streets, Some hungry, some crazy, but all of them cheats. Impostors, who vaunt that to others they'll show A path which themselves neither travel nor know: Since they promise us wealth if we pay for their pains, Let them take from that wealth and bestow what remains

space into four divisions. He next, with covered head, offered sacrifices to the gods, and prayed that they would vouchsafe some manifestation of their will. After these preliminaries he made his observations in silence, and then announced the result to the expecting people.

7. The Arusp'ices were a Tuscan order of priests, who attempted to predict futurity by observing the beasts offered in sacrifice. They formed their opinions most commonly from inspecting the entrails, but there was no circumstance too trivial to escape their notice, and which they did not believe in some degree portentous. The arusp'ices were most commonly consulted by individuals; but their opinions, as well as those of the augurs, were taken on all important affairs of state. The arusp'ices seem not to have been appointed officially, nor are they recognised as a regular order of priesthood.

8. The pontiffs and fla'mens, as the superior priests were designated, enjoyed great privileges, and were generally men of rank. When the republic was abolished, the emperors assumed the office of pontifex maximus, or chief pontiff, deeming its powers too extensive to be entrusted to a subject.

9. The institution of vestal virgins was older than the city itself, and was regarded by the Romans as the most sacred part of their religious system. In the time of Numa there were but four, but two more were added by Tarquin; probably the addition made by Tarquin was to give the tribe of the Lu'ceres a share in this important priesthood. The duty of the vestal virgins was to keep the sacred fire that burned on the altar of Vesta from being extinguished; and to preserve a certain sacred pledge on which the very existence of Rome was supposed to depend. What this pledge was we have no means of discovering; some suppose that it was the Trojan Palla'dium, others, with more probability, some traditional mystery brought by the Pelas'gi from Samothrace.

10. The privileges conceded to the vestals were very great; they had the most honourable seats at public games and festivals; they were attended by a lictor with fasces like the magistrates; they were provided with chariots when they required them; and they possessed the power of pardoning any criminal whom they met on the way to execution, if they declared that the meeting was accidental. The magistrates were obliged to salute them as they passed, and the fasces of the consul were lowered to do them reverence. To withhold from them marks of respect subjected the offender to public odium; a personal insult was capitally punished. They possessed the exclusive privilege of being buried within the city; an honour which the Romans rarely extended to others.

11. The vestals were bound by a vow of perpetual virginity, and a violation of this oath was cruelly punished. The unfortunate offender was buried alive in a vault constructed beneath the Fo'rum by the elder Tarquin. The terror of such a dreadful fate had the desired effect; there were only eighteen instances of incontinence among the vestals, during the space of a thousand years.

12. The mixture of religion with civil polity, gave permanence and stability to the Roman institutions; notwithstanding all the changes and revolutions in the government the old forms were preserved; and thus, though the city was taken by Porsenna, and burned by the Gauls, the Roman constitution survived the ruin, and was again restored to its pristine vigour.

13. The Romans always adopted the gods of the conquered nations, and, consequently, when their empire became very extensive, the number of deities was absurdly excessive, and the variety of religious worship perfectly ridiculous. The rulers of the world wanted the taste and ingenuity of the lively Greeks, who accommodated every religious system to their own, and from some real or fancied resemblance, identified the gods of Olym'pus with other nations. The Romans never used this process of assimilation, and, consequently, introduced so much confusion into their mythology, that philosophers rejected the entire system. This circumstance greatly facilitated the progress of Christianity, whose beautiful simplicity furnished a powerful contrast to the confused and cumbrous mass of divinities, worshipped in the time of the emperors.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did the religion of the Romans differ from that of the Greeks?
2. Was the Roman religion connected with the government?
3. How was the right of taking the Auspices abused?

4. Who were the augurs?
5. From what did the augurs take omens?
6. What were the forms used in taking the auspices?
7. Who were the aruspices?
8. What other priests had the Romans?
9. What was the duty of the vestal virgins?
10. Did the vestals enjoy great privileges?
11. How were the vestals punished for a breach of their vows?
12. Why was the Roman constitution very permanent?
13. Whence arose the confusion in the religious system of the Romans?

CHAPTER VII. THE ROMAN ARMY AND NAVY

*Is the soldier found
In the riot and waste which he spreads around?
The sharpness makes him – the dash, the tact,
The cunning to plan, and the spirit to act. —Lord L.
Gower.*

1. It has been frequently remarked by ancient writers that the strength of a free state consists in its infantry; and, on the other hand, that when the infantry in a state become more valuable than the cavalry, the power of the aristocracy is diminished, and equal rights can no longer be withheld from the people. The employment of mercenary soldiers in modern times renders these observations no longer applicable; but in the military states of antiquity, where the citizens themselves served as soldiers, there are innumerable examples of this mutual connection between political and military systems. It is further illustrated in the history of the middle ages; for we can unquestionably trace the origin of free institutions in Europe to the time when the hardy infantry of the commons were first found able to resist the charges of the brilliant chivalry of the nobles. 2. Rome was, from the very commencement, a military state; as with the Spartans, all their civil institutions had a direct reference to warlike affairs; their public assemblies were marshalled like armies; the order of their line of battle was regulated by the distinction of classes in the state. It is, therefore, natural to conclude, that the tactics of the Roman armies underwent important changes when the revolutions mentioned in the preceding chapters were effected, though we cannot trace the alterations with precision, because no historians appeared until the military system of the Romans had been brought to perfection.

3. The strength of the Tuscans consisted principally in their cavalry; and if we judge from the importance attributed to the equestrian rank in the earliest ages, we may suppose that the early Romans esteemed this force equally valuable. It was to Ser'vius Tul'lius, the great patron of the commonalty, that the Romans were indebted for the formation of a body of infantry, which, after the lapse of centuries, received so many improvements that it became invincible.

4. The ancient battle array of the Greeks was the phalanx; the troops were drawn up in close column, the best armed being in front. The improvements made in this system of tactics by Philip, are recorded in Grecian history; they chiefly consisted in making the evolutions of the entire body more manageable, and counteracting the difficulties which attended the motions of this cumbrous mass.

5. The Romans originally used the phalanx; and the lines were formed according to the classes determined by the centuries. Those who were sufficiently wealthy to purchase a full suit of armour, formed the front ranks; those who could only purchase a portion of the defensive weapons, filled the centre; and the rear was formed by the poorer classes, who scarcely required any armour, being protected by the lines in front. From this explanation, it is easy to see why, in the constitution of the centuries by Servius Tullius, the first class were perfectly covered with mail, the second had helmets and breast-plates but no protection for the body, the third, neither a coat of mail, nor greaves. 6. The defects of this system are sufficiently obvious; an unexpected attack on the flanks, the breaking of the line by rugged and uneven ground, and a thousand similar accidents exposed the unprotected portions of the army to destruction besides, a line with files ten deep was necessarily slow in its movements and evolutions. Another and not less important defect was, that the whole should act together; and consequently, there were few opportunities for the display of individual bravery.

7. It is not certainly known who was the great commander that substituted the living body of the Roman legion for this inanimate mass; but there is some reason to believe that this wondrous improvement was effected by Camil'lus. Every legion was in itself an army, combining the advantages of every variety of weapon, with the absolute perfection of a military division.

8. The legion consisted of three lines or battalions; the *Hasta'ti*, the *Prin'cipes*, and the *Tria'rii*; there were besides two classes, which we may likewise call battalions, the *Rora'rii*, or *Velites*, consisting of light armed troops, and the *Accen'si* or supernumeraries, who were ready to supply the place of those that fell. Each of the two first battalions contained fifteen manip'uli, consisting of sixty privates, commanded by two centurions, and having each a separate standard (*vexil'lum*) borne by one of the privates called *Vexilla'rius*; the manip'uli in the other battalions were fewer in number, but contained a greater portion of men; so that, in round numbers, nine hundred men may be allowed to each battalion, exclusive of officers. If the officers and the troop of three hundred cavalry be taken into account, we shall find that the legion, as originally constituted, contained about five thousand men. The Romans, however, did not always observe these exact proportions, and the number of soldiers in a legion varied at different times of their history.⁴¹

9. A cohort was formed by taking a manipulus from each of the battalions; more frequently two manipuli were taken, and the cohort then contained six hundred men. The cavalry were divided into *tur'mæ*, consisting each of thirty men.

10. A battle was usually commenced by the light troops, who skirmished with missile weapons; the *hasta'ti* then advanced to the charge, and if defeated, fell back on the *prin'cipes*; if the enemy proved still superior, the two front lines retired to the ranks of the *tria'rii*, which being composed of veteran troops, generally turned the scale. But this order was not always observed; the number of divisions in the legion made it extremely flexible, and the commander-in-chief could always adapt the form of his line to circumstances.

11. The levies of troops were made in the *Cam'pus Mar'tius*, by the tribunes appointed to command the legions. The tribes which were to supply soldiers were determined by lot, and as each came forward, the tribunes, in their turn, selected such as seemed best fitted for war. Four legions was most commonly the number in an army. When the selected individuals had been enrolled as soldiers, one was chosen from each legion to take the military oath of obedience to the generals; the other soldiers swore in succession, to observe the oath taken by their foreman.

12. Such was the sacredness of this obligation, that even in the midst of the political contests by which the city was distracted, the soldiers, though eager to secure the freedom of their country, would not attempt to gain it by mutiny against their commanders. On this account the senate frequently declared war, and ordered a levy as an expedient to prevent the enactment of a popular law, and were of course opposed by the tribunes of the people.

13. There was no part of the Roman discipline more admirable than their form of encampment. No matter how fatigued the soldiers might be by a long march, or how harassed by a tedious battle, the camp was regularly measured out and fortified by a rampart and ditch, before any one sought sleep or refreshment. Careful watch was kept during the night, and frequent picquets sent out to guard against a surprise, and to see that the sentinels were vigilant. As the arrangement in every camp was the same, every soldier knew his exact position, and if an alarm occurred, could easily find the rallying point of his division. To this excellent system Polyb'ius attributes the superiority of the Romans over the Greeks; for the latter scarcely ever fortified their camp, but chose some place naturally strong, and did not keep their ranks distinct.

14. The military age extended from the sixteenth to the forty-sixth year; and under the old constitution no one could hold a civic office who had not served ten campaigns. The horsemen were

⁴¹ This is virtually the same account as that given by Niebuhr, but he excludes the *accensi* and cavalry from his computation, which brings down the amount to 3600 soldiers.

considered free after serving through ten campaigns, but the foot had to remain during twenty. Those who had served out their required time were free for the rest of their lives, unless the city was attacked, when all under the age of sixty were obliged to arm in its defence.

15. In the early ages, when wars were begun and ended in a few days, the soldiers received no pay; but when the conquest of distant countries became the object of Roman ambition, it became necessary to provide for the pay and support of the army. This office was given to the quæstors, who were generally chosen from the younger nobility, and were thus prepared for the higher magistracies by acquiring a practical acquaintance with finance.

16. The soldiers were subject to penalties of life and limb at the discretion of the commander-in-chief, without the intervention of a court-martial; but it deserves to be recorded that this power was rarely abused. 17. There were several species of rewards to excite emulation; the most honourable were, the civic crown of gold to him who had saved the life of a citizen; the mural crown to him who had first scaled the wall of a besieged town; a gilt spear to him who had severely wounded an enemy; but he who had slain and spoiled his foe, received, if a horseman, an ornamental trapping; if a foot soldier, a goblet.

18. The lower classes of the centuries were excused from serving in the army, except on dangerous emergencies; but they supplied sailors to the navy. We learn, from a document preserved by Polyb'ius, that the Romans were a naval power at a very early age. 19. This interesting record is the copy of a treaty concluded with the Carthaginians, in the year after the expulsion of the kings. It is not mentioned by the Roman historians, because it decisively establishes a fact which they studiously labour to conceal, that is, the weakness and decline of the Roman power during the two centuries that followed the abolition of royalty, when the power of the state was monopolized by a vile aristocracy. In this treaty Rome negotiates for the cities of La'tium, as her dependencies, just as Carthage does for her subject colonies. But in the course of the following century, Rome lost her supremacy over the Latin cities, and being thus nearly excluded from the coast, her navy was ruined.

20. At the commencement of the first Punic war, the Romans once more began to prepare a fleet, and luckily obtained an excellent model in a Carthaginian ship that had been driven ashore in a storm. 21. The vessels used for war, were either long ships or banked galleys; the former were not much used in the Punic wars, the latter being found more convenient. The rowers of these sat on banks or benches, rising one above the other, like stairs; and from the number of these benches, the galleys derived their names; that which had three rows of benches was called a *trireme*; that which had four, a *quadrireme*; and that which had five, a *quinquireme*. Some vessels had turrets erected in them for soldiers and warlike engines; others had sharp prows covered with brass, for the purpose of dashing against and sinking their enemies.

22. The naval tactics of the ancients were very simple; the ships closed very early, and the battle became a contest between single vessels. It was on this account that the personal valour of the Romans proved more than a match for the naval skill of the Carthaginians, and enabled them to, add the empire of the sea to that of the land.

23. Before concluding this chapter, we must notice the triumphal processions granted to victorious commanders. Of these there are two kinds; the lesser triumph, called an ovation,⁴² and the greater, called, emphatically, the triumph. In the former, the victorious general entered the city on foot, wearing a crown of myrtle; in the latter, he was borne in a chariot, and wore a crown of laurel. The ovation was granted to such generals as had averted a threatened war, or gained some great advantage without inflicting great loss on the enemy. The triumph was allowed only to those who had gained some signal victory, which decided the fate of a protracted war. The following description, extracted from Plutarch, of the great triumph granted to Paulus Æmilius, for his glorious termination

⁴² From ovis, a sheep, the animal on this occasion offered in sacrifice; in the greater triumph the victim was a milk-white bull hung over with garlands, and having his horns tipped with gold.

of the Macedonian war, will give the reader an adequate idea of the splendour displayed by the Romans on these festive occasions.

The people erected scaffolds in the forum and circus, and all other parts of the city where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes; and the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers, who drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down.

The triumph lasted three days; on the first, which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen the statues, pictures, and images of an extraordinary size, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon seven hundred and fifty chariots. On the second was carried, in a great many *wains*, the fairest and richest armour of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering: which, although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance; helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves; Cretan targets and Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows, lay huddled among the horses' bits; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these wagons loaded with armour, there followed three thousand men, who carried the silver that was coined, in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which weighed three talents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their magnitude as the thickness of their engraved work. On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed young men, girt about with girdles curiously wrought, who led to the sacrifice one hundred and twenty stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribbons and garlands, and with these were boys that carried dishes of silver and gold. After these was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents each, similar to those that contained the silver; they were in number fourscore, wanting three. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl which Emil'ius caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was adorned with precious stones. Then were exposed to view the cups of Antig'onus and Seleu'cus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by The'ricles, and all the gold plate that was used at Per'seus's table. Next to these came Per'seus's chariot, in which his armour was placed, and on that his diadem. After a little intermission the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of nurses, masters, and governors, who all wept, and stretched forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the little infants to beg and intreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who, by reason of their tender age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery; which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable, insomuch that Per'seus himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear tears; all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy until the children were past. After his children and attendants came Per'seus himself, clad in black, and wearing slippers after the fashion of his country; he looked like one altogether astonished, and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortune. Next followed a great company of his friends and familiars, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified, to all that beheld them, by their tears and their continual looking upon Per'seus, that it was his hard fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. After these were carried four hundred crowns of gold, sent from the cities by their respective ambassadors to Emil'ius, as a reward due to his valour. Then he himself came, seated on a chariot magnificently adorned, (a man worthy to be beheld even without these ensigns of power) clad in a garland of purple interwoven with gold, and with a laurel branch in his right hand. All the army in like manner, with boughs of laurel in their hands, and divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot of their

commander; some singing odes according to the usual custom, mingled with raillery; others songs of triumph and the praises of Emil'ius's deeds, who was admired and accounted happy by all men, yet unenvied by every one that was good.

Questions for Examination.

1. What political change has frequently resulted from improved military tactics?
2. Was Rome a military state?
3. Why are we led to conclude that the Romans considered cavalry an important force?
4. By whom was the phalanx instituted?
5. How was the phalanx formed?
6. What were the defects of the phalanx?
7. By whom was the legion substituted for the phalanx?
8. Of what troops was a legion composed?
9. What was a cohort?
10. What was the Roman form of battle?
11. In what manner was an army levied?
12. How was the sanctity of the military oath proved?
13. What advantages resulted from the Roman form of encampment?
14. How long was the citizens liable to be called upon as soldiers?
15. How was the army paid?
16. What power had the general?
17. On what occasion did the soldiers receive rewards?
18. How was the navy supplied with sailors?
19. What fact concealed by the Roman historians is established by Polybius?
20. How did the Romans form a fleet?
21. What were the several kinds of ships?
22. What naval tactics did the Romans use?
23. How did an ovation differ from a triumph?
24. Can you give a general description of a triumph?

CHAPTER VIII. ROMAN LAW – FINANCE

*Then equal laws were planted in the state,
To shield alike the humble and the great. —Cooke.*

1. In the early stages of society, little difficulty is felt in providing for the administration of justice, because the subjects of controversy are plain and simple, such as any man of common sense may determine; but as civilization advances, the relations between men become more complicated, property assumes innumerable forms, and the determination of questions resulting from these changes, becomes a matter of no ordinary difficulty. In the first ages of the republic, the consuls were the judges in civil and criminal matters, as the kings had previously been;⁴³ but as the state increased, a new class of magistrates, called prætors, was appointed to preside in the courts of law. Until the age of the decemvirs, there was no written code to regulate their decisions; and even after the laws of the twelve tables had been established, there was no perfect system of law, for the enactments in that code were brief, and only asserted a few leading principles. 2. The Roman judges did not, however, decide altogether according to their own caprice; they were bound to regard the principles that had been established by the decisions of former judges; and consequently, a system of law was formed similar to the common law of England, founded on precedent and analogy. In the later ages of the empire, the number of law-books and records became so enormous, that it was no longer possible to determine the law with accuracy, and the contradictory decisions made at different periods, greatly increased the uncertainty. To remedy this evil, the emperor Justinian caused the entire to be digested into a uniform system, and his code still forms the basis of the civil law in Europe.

3. The trials in courts refer either to the affairs of the state, or to the persons or properties of individuals, and are called state, criminal, or civil trials. The two former are the most important in regard to history.

4. The division of the Roman people into two nations, made the classification of state offences very difficult. In general, the council of the patricians judged any plebeian who was accused of conspiring against their order; and the plebeians on the other hand, brought a patrician accused of having violated their privileges before their own tribunal. 5. Disobedience to the commands of the chief magistrate was punished by fine and imprisonment, and from his sentence there was no appeal; but if the consul wished to punish any person by stripes or death, the condemned man had the right of appealing to the general assembly of his peers.⁴⁴ 6. To prevent usurpation, it was established that every person who exercised an authority not conferred on him by the people, should be devoted as a victim to the gods.⁴⁵ This, was at once a sentence of outlawry and excommunication; the Criminal might be slain by any person-with impunity, and all connection with him was shunned as pollution. 7. No magistrate could legally be brought to trial during the continuance of his office, but when his time was expired, he could be accused before the general assembly of the people, if he had transgressed

⁴³ Niebuhr, however, is of opinion, that judicial officers were elected by the "comitia curiata," from the earliest ages.

⁴⁴ This privilege was conceded to the plebeians by the Valerian law, but must have been possessed by the patricians from the earliest times; for Horatius, when condemned for the murder of his sister, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, escaped by appealing to the comitia curiata. The Valerian law had no sanction, that is, no penalty was annexed to its transgression; and during the two centuries of patrician usurpation and tyranny, was frequently and flagrantly violated. On this account the law, though never repealed, was frequently re-enacted.

⁴⁵ The formula "to devote his head to the gods," used to express the sentence of capital punishment, was derived from the human sacrifices anciently used in Rome; probably, because criminals were usually selected for these sanguinary offerings.

the legal limits of his authority. The punishment in this case was banishment; the form of the sentence declared that the criminal "should be deprived of fire and water;" that is, the citizens, were prohibited from supplying him with the ordinary necessities of life.

8. In all criminal trials, and in all cases where damages were sought to be recovered for wrongs or injuries, the prætor impanelled a jury, but the number of which it was to consist seems to have been left to his discretion. The jurors were called *ju'dices*, and the opinion of the majority decided the verdict. Where the votes were equal, the traverser or defendant escaped; and when half the jury assessed damages at one amount, and half at another, the defendant paid only the lesser sum. In disputes about property, the prætor seldom called for the assistance of a jury.

9. The general form of all trials was the same; the prosecutor or plaintiff made his complaint, and the defendant was compelled either to find sufficient bail, or to go into prison until the day of trial. On the appointed day, the plaintiff, or his advocate, stated his case, and proceeded to establish it by evidence; the defendant replied; and the jury then gave their verdict by ballot.

10. In cases tried before the general assembly of the people, it was allowed to make use of artifices in order to conciliate the popular favour. The accused and his friends put on mourning robes to excite pity; they went into the most public places and took every opportunity of showing their respect for popular power. When Cicero was accused by *Clo'dius* for having illegally put to death the associates of *Cataline*, the entire senatorian rank changed their robes to show the deep interest they felt in his fate. At these great trials, the noblest specimens of forensic eloquence were displayed by the advocates of the accuser and the accused; but the decisions were usually more in accordance with the spirit of party than strict justice.

11. The accused, however, might escape, if he could prevail on any of the tribunes to interpose in his behalf, or the accuser to relinquish his charge; if unfavourable omens appeared during the trial, it was usually adjourned, or sometimes the accusation withdrawn; and up to the very moment of the commencement of the trial, the criminal had the option of escaping a heavier penalty by going into voluntary exile.

12. The punishments to which state criminals were sentenced, were usually, in capital cases, precipitation from the *Tarpeian rock*, beheading, or strangulation in prison; when life was spared, the penalties were either exile or fine. Under the emperors severer punishments were introduced, such as exposure to wild beasts, or burning alive; and torture, which, under the republic, could not be inflicted on free citizens, was exercised unsparingly.

13. The punishment of parricides was curious; the criminal having been beaten with rods, was sown up in a sack together with a serpent, an ape and a cock, and thrown either into the sea or a river, as if even the inanimate carcase of such a wretch would pollute the earth.

14. Masters had an absolute, authority over their slaves, extending to life or limb; and in the earlier ages patrons had similar power over their clients. The condition of slaves in Rome was most miserable, especially in the later ages; they were subject to the most excruciating tortures, and when capitally punished, were generally crucified. Except in this single particular, the Roman criminal code, was very lenient and sparing of human life. This was chiefly owing to the exertions of the plebeians, for the patricians always patronized a more sanguinary policy; and could do so the more easily, as the aristocracy retained their monopoly of the administration of justice much longer than that of civil government.

15. The Roman system of finance was at first very simple, the public revenue being derived from a land-tax on *Quiritary property*,⁴⁶ and the tithes of the public lands; but after the conquest of *Macedon*, the revenues from other sources were so abundant, that tribute was no longer demanded from Roman citizens. These sources were: —

⁴⁶ The lands absolutely assigned to the plebeians free from rent, were the most remarkable species of *Quiritary property*. It was so called from the *Quirites*, who formed a constituent part of the Roman people, and whose name was subsequently given to the entire.

1. The tribute of the allies, which was a property tax, differing in different places according to the terms of their league.

2. The tribute of the provinces, which was both a property and poll-tax.

3. Revenue of the national domains leased out by the censors.

4. Revenue from the mines, especially from the Spanish silver-mines.

5. Duties on imports and exports. And,

6. A duty on enfranchised slaves.

The receipts were all paid into the national treasury, and the senate had the uncontrolled direction of the general expenditure, as well as the regulation of the amount of imposts. The officers employed to manage the affairs of the revenue, were the quæstors, chosen annually, and under them the scribes, who held their situations for life. Those who farmed the public revenue were called-publicans, and were generally persons of equestrian dignity; but in the remote provinces they frequently sublet to other collectors, who were guilty of great extortion. The latter are the publicans mentioned in the New Testament.

Questions for Examination.

1. When did the Romans first appoint judges?

2. How were the decisions of the prætors regulated?

3. How are trials divided?

4. In what manner were offences against the classes of patricians and plebeians tried?

5. How was disobedience to the chief magistrate punished?

6. What was the penalty for usurpation?

7. How was mal-administration punished?

8. When did the prætors impanel a jury?

9. What was the form of a trial?

10. Were there any other forms used, in trials before the people?

11. Had the criminal any chances of escape?

12. What were the usual punishments?

13. How was parricide punished?

14. In what respect alone was the criminal law of the Romans severe?

15. What were the sources of the Roman revenue?

16. To whom was the management of the finances entrusted?

CHAPTER IX.

THE PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS AND PRIVATE LIFE OF THE ROMANS

Butchered to make a Roman holiday. —*Byron.*

The inferiority of the Romans to the Greeks in intellectual acquirements, was no where more conspicuous than in their public amusements. While the refined Grecians sought to gratify their taste by music, the fine arts, and dramatic entertainments, the Romans derived their chief pleasure from contemplating the brutal and bloody fights of gladiators; or at best, such rich shows and processions as gratify the uneducated vulgar. The games in the circus, with which the Romans were so delighted, that they considered them of equal importance, with the necessities of life, consisted of athletic exercises, such as boxing, racing, wrestling, and gladiatorial combats. To these, chariot-racing was added under the emperors, and exhibitions of combats between wild beasts, and, in numerous instances, between men and beasts.

2. After the establishment of the naval power of Rome, *naumachiæ*, or naval combats, were frequently exhibited in *circi* built for the purpose. These were not always sham fights; the contests were, in many instances, real engagements displaying all the horrors of a sanguinary battle.

3. The custom of exhibiting shows of gladiators, originated in the barbarous sacrifices of human beings, which prevailed in remote ages. In the gloomy superstition of the Romans, it was believed that the manes, or shades of the dead, derived pleasure from human blood, and they therefore sacrificed, at the tombs of their ancestors, captives taken in war, or wretched slaves. It was soon found that sport to the living might be combined with this horrible offering to the dead; and instead of giving up the miserable victims to the executioner, they were compelled to fight with each other, until the greater part was exterminated.

4. The pleasure that the people derived from this execrable amusement, induced the candidates for office to gratify, them frequently with this spectacle. The exhibitions were no longer confined to funerals; they formed an integrant part of every election, and were found more powerful than merit in opening a way to office. The utter demoralization of the Roman people, and the facility with which the tyranny of the emperors was established, unquestionably was owing, in a great degree to the pernicious prevalence of these scandalous exhibitions.

5. To supply the people with gladiators, schools were, established in various parts of Italy, each under the controul of a *lanista*, or fencing-master, who instructed them in martial exercises. The victims were either prisoners of war, or refractory slaves, sold by their masters; but in the degenerate ages of the empire, freemen, and even senators, ventured their lives on the stage along with the regular gladiators. Under the mild and merciful influence of Christianity these combats were abolished, and human blood was no longer shed to gratify a cruel and sanguinary populace.

6. So numerous were the gladiators, that Spar'tacus, one of their number, having escaped from a school, raised an army of his fellow-sufferers, amounting to seventy thousand men; he was finally subdued by Cras'sus, the colleague of Pompey. Ju'lius Cæsar, during his ædileship, exhibited at one time three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators; but even this was surpassed by the emperor Trajan, who displayed no less than one thousand.

7. The gladiators were named from their peculiar arms; the most common were the *retiarius*, who endeavoured to hamper his antagonist with a net; and his opponent the *secutor*.

8. When a gladiator was wounded, or in any way disabled, he fled to the extremity of the stage, and implored the pity of the spectators; if he had shown good sport, they took him under their protection by pressing down their thumbs; but if he had been found deficient in courage or activity, they held the thumb back, and he was instantly murdered by his adversary.

9. The Roman theatre was formed after the model of the Greeks, but never attained equal eminence. The populace always paid more regard to the dresses of the actors, and the richness of the decoration, than to ingenious structure of plot, or elegance of language. Scenic representations do not appear to have been very popular at Rome, certainly never so much as the sports of the circus. Besides comedies and tragedies, the Romans had a species of drama peculiar to their country, called the Atellane farces, which were, in general, low pieces of gross indecency and vulgar buffoonery, but sometimes contained spirited satires on the character and conduct of public men.

10. We should be greatly mistaken if we supposed that the theatres in ancient Rome at all resembled those of modern times; they were stupendous edifices, some of which could accommodate thirty thousand spectators, and an army could perform its evolutions on the stage. To remedy the defects of distance, the tragic actors wore a buskin with very thick soles, to raise them above their natural size, and covered their faces with a mask so contrived as to render the voice more clear and full.⁴⁷ Instead of the buskin, comic actors wore a sort of slipper called a sock.

11. The periodical festivals of the Romans were celebrated with theatrical entertainments and sports in the circus at the public expense. The most remarkable of these festivals was the secular, which occurred only at periods of one hundred and ten years. The others occurred annually, and were named from the gods to whose honour they were dedicated.

12. The Romans were a more grave and domestic people than the lively Greeks; their favourite dress, the toga or gown, was more formal and stately than the Grecian short cloak; their demeanour was more stern, and their manners more imposing. The great object of the old Roman was, to maintain his dignity under all circumstances, and to show that he could controul the emotions to which ordinary men too readily yield. Excessive joy or grief, unqualified admiration, or intense surprise, were deemed disgraceful; and even at a funeral, the duty of lamenting the deceased was entrusted to hired mourners. Temperance at meals was a leading feature in the character of the Romans during the early ages of the republic; but after the conquest of Asia, their luxuries were more extravagant than those of any nation recorded in history. But there was more extravagance than refinement in the Roman luxury; and though immense sums were lavished on entertainments, they were destitute of that taste and elegance more delightful than the most costly delicacies.

13. The Roman ladies, enjoyed more freedom than those in any other, ancient nation. They visited all places of public amusement uncontrolled, and mingled in general society. The power of the husband, however, was absolute, and he could divorce his wife at pleasure without assigning any cause. In the early ages of the republic this privilege was rarely exercised, and the Roman ladies were strictly virtuous; but at a later period divorces were multiplied, and the most shocking depravity was the consequence.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the national amusements of the Romans?
2. What were the naumachiæ?
3. Whence arose the custom of gladiatorial combats?
4. Why were these exhibitions of frequent occurrence?
5. How was the supply of gladiators kept up?
6. From what circumstances do we learn the great numbers of the gladiators?
7. What names were given to the gladiators?
8. How were these combats terminated?
9. What pieces were exhibited on the Roman stage?
10. How did the dramatic entertainments in Rome differ from those of modern times?
11. Which were the most remarkable Roman festivals?

⁴⁷ Hence the mask was called *persona*, from *personare*, to sound through. From *persona* the English word *person* is derived, which properly signifies not so much an individual, as the aspect of that individual in relation to civil society.

12. What was the general character of the Roman people?
13. How were women treated in Rome?

CHAPTER X. GEOGRAPHY OF THE EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF ITS GREATEST EXTENT

*The Roman eagle seized
The double prey, and proudly perch'd on high
And here a thousand years he plumed his wing
Till from his lofty eyry, tempest-tost,
And impotent through age, headlong he plunged,
While nations shuddered as they saw him fall. —Anon.*

1. The ordinary boundaries of the Roman empire, over which, however, it sometimes passed, were, in Europe, the two great rivers of the Rhine and Danube; in Asia, the Euphrates and the Syrian deserts; in Africa, the tracts of arid sand which fence the interior of that continent. It thus contained those fertile and rich countries which surround the Mediterranean sea, and constitute the fairest portion of the earth.

2. Beginning at the west of Europe,⁴⁸ we find, first, Hispa'nia, *Spain*. Its boundaries are, on the east, the chain of the Pyrenees; on every other side, the sea. It was divided into three provinces: 1. Lusita'nia, *Portugal*, bounded on the north by the Du'rius, *Douro*, and on the south by the Anas; *Guadiana*: 2. Bo'etica, bounded on the north and west by the A'nas, and on the east by the mountains of Orospe'da, *Sierra Moreno*: 3. Tarracone'nsis, which includes the remainder of the Spanish peninsula. 3. Spain was annexed to the Roman empire after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war; Lusitania, after a desperate resistance, was added at a later period.

4. Transalpine Gaul was the name given to the entire country between the Pyrenees and the Rhine; it consequently included France, Switzerland, and Belgium.

5. Gaul was divided in four provinces: 1. Narbonen'sis or Bracca'ta, bounded on the west by the Pyrenees; on the north by the Cevennian mountains, and on the east by the Va'rus, *Var*: 2. Lugdunen'sis or Cel'tica, bounded on the south and west by the Li'ger, *Loire*; on the north by the Sequa'na, *Seine*, and on the east by the A'rar, *Saone*: 3. Aquita'nica, bounded by the Pyrenees on the south, and the Li'ger on the north and east: 4. Bel'gica, bounded on the north and east by the Rhe'nus, *Rhine*; on the west by the Arar, and on the south by the Rhoda'nus, *Rhone*, as far as the city Lugdu'num, *Lyons*. Helve'tia, the modern Switzerland, was included in Belgic Gaul. This extensive country was not totally subdued before the time of Julius Cæsar.

6. Italy has been already mentioned in the first chapter; we shall therefore pass it over and come to the islands in the Mediterranean.

Sici'lia or Trinac'ria, *Sicily*, was the first province that the Romans gained beyond the confines of Italy. The cities on its coast were founded by Phœnician and Grecian colonies, but the native inhabitants retained possession of the interior; one tribe, named the Sic'uli, are said to have migrated from Italy, and to have given their name to the island. The Greeks and Carthaginians long contended for supremacy in this island, but it was wrested from both by the Romans towards the close of the second *Punic* war. Nearly at the same time, the islands of Corsica and Sardinia were annexed to the empire.

7. Britan'nia, divided into Britan'nia Roma'na, which contained England and the south of Scotland; and Britannia Bar'bara or Caledo'nia, the northern part of Scotland, into which the Romans

⁴⁸ The student will find the particulars of the ancient state of these countries detailed more fully in Mitchell's Ancient Geography.

never penetrated. Britain was first invaded by Julius Cæsar, but was not wholly subdued before the time of Nero. As for Hiber'nia or Ier'ne, *Ireland*, it was visited by Roman merchants, but never by Roman legions.

8. The countries south of the Danube, were subdued and divided into provinces during the reign of Augustus. The number of these provinces was seven: 1. Vindeli'cia, bounded on the north by the Danube; on the east by the Æ'nus, *Inn*; on the west by Helve'tia, and on the south by Rhæ'tia: 2. Rhætia, lying between Helve'tia, Vindeli'cia, and the eastern chain of the Alps: 3. Novi'cum, bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by the Æ'nus, *Inn*, on the east by mount Ce'tius *Kahlenberg*, and on the south by the Julian Alps and the Sa'vus, *Save*: 4. Panno'nia Superior, having as boundaries, the Danube on the north and east; the Ar'rabo, *Raab*, on the south; and the Cetian mountains on the west: 5. Panno'nia Inferior, having the Ar'rabo on the north; the Ar'rabo on the east; and the Sa'vus on the south: 6. Mœ'sia Superior, bounded on the north by the Danube, on the south by Mount Scar'dus. *Tihar-dag*; on the west by the Pan'nonia, and on the east by the river Ce'brus, *Isker*: 7. Mœ'sia Inferior, having the Danube on the north; the Ce'brus on the west; the chain of mount Hæ'mus on the south, and the Pon'tus Eux'imus, *Black Sea*, on the east.

9. Illyricum included the districts along the eastern coast of the Adriatic, from Rhæ'tia to the river Dri'nus, *Drino Bianco*, in the south, and the Sa'vus, *Save*, on the east. It was subdued by the Romans about the time of the Macedonian war.

10. Macedon and Greece were subdued after the conquest of Carthage; for the particulars of their geography, the student is referred to the introduction prefixed to the last edition of the Grecian History. Thrace was governed by its own kings, who were tributary to the Romans until the reign of the emperor Claudian, when it was made a province.

11. Da'cia was first subdued by the emperor Trajan, and was the only province north of the Danube; its boundaries were, the Carpathian mountains on the north, the Tibis'eus, *Theiss*, on the west, the Hiera'sus, *Pruth*, on the east, and the Danube on the south.

12. The principal Asiatic provinces were, Asia Minor, Syria, and Phœni'cia. Beyond the Euphra'tes, Arme'nia and Mesopota'mia were reduced to provinces by Trajan, but abandoned by his successor Adrian.

13. The African provinces were, Egypt, Cyrena'ica, Namidia, and Maurita'nia.

14. The principal states on the borders of the empire were, Germa'nia and Sarma'tia in Europe, Arme'nia and Par'thia in Asia, and Æthio'pia in Africa.

15. Eastern Asia, or India, was only known to the Romans by a commercial intercourse, which was opened with that country soon after the conquest of Egypt.

It was divided into India on this side the Ganges, and India beyond the Ganges, which included Se'rica, a country of which the Romans possessed but little knowledge. India at the western side of the Ganges contained, 1. The territory between the In'dus and Gan'ges: 2. The western coast, now called Malabar, which was the part best known, and, 3. The island of Taproba'ne, *Ceylon*.

16. The commerce between Europe and southern Asia became important in the reign of Alexan'der the Great; the greater part of the towns founded by that mighty conqueror were intended to facilitate this lucrative trade.⁴⁹ After his death, the Ptol'emys of Egypt became the patrons of Indian traffic, which was unwisely neglected by the kings of Syria. When Egypt was conquered by the Romans, the commerce with India was not interrupted, and the principal mart for Indian commerce under the Roman emperors, was always Alexandria. The jealousy of the Parthians excluded strangers from their territories, and put an end to the trade that was carried on between northern India, the shores of the Caspian sea, and thence to the Ægean. In consequence of this interruption, Palmy'ra and Alexandri'a became the great depots of eastern commerce, and to this circumstance they owed their enormous wealth and magnificence.

⁴⁹ See Pinnock's Grecian History.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the boundaries of the Roman empire?
2. How was Spain divided?
3. When was Spain annexed to the Roman empire?
4. What countries were included in Transalpine Gaul?
5. How was Gaul divided?
6. What islands in the Mediterranean were included in the Roman empire?
7. When was Britain invaded by the Romans, and how much of the country did they subdue?
8. Into what provinces were the countries south of the Danube divided?
9. What was the extent of Illyricum?
10. What were the Roman provinces in the east of Europe?
11. By whom was Dacia conquered?
12. What were the Asiatic provinces?
13. What were the African provinces?
14. What were the principal states bordering on the empire?
15. Was India known to the Romans?
16. What cities under the Romans enjoyed the greatest commerce with India?

END OF THE INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF ROME

CHAPTER I. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANS

In Alba he shall fix his royal seat. —Dryden.

1. The Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descendants of the gods, as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. *Æne'as*, the son of *Venus* and *Anchi'ses*, having escaped from the destruction of Troy, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy, A.M. 2294, where he was kindly received by *Lati'nus*, king of the Latins, who promised him his daughter *Lavin'ia* in marriage.

2. *Turnus*, king of the *Ru'tuli*, was the first who opposed *Æne'as*, he having long made pretensions to her himself. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and *Turnus* slain. In consequence of this, *Lavin'ia* became the wife of *Æne'as*, who built a city to her honour, and called it *Lavin'ium*. Some time after, engaging in a war against *Mezen'tius*, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years. 3. *Asca'nus* his son, succeeded to the kingdom; and to him *Sil'vius*, a second son, whom he had by *Lavin'ia*. It would be tedious and uninteresting to recite a dry catalogue of the kings that followed, of whom we know little more than the names; it will be sufficient to say, that the succession continued for nearly four hundred years in the same family, and that *Nu'mitor*, the fifteenth from *Æne'as*, was the last king of *Alba*.

Nu'mitor, who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named *Amu'lius*, to whom were left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. 4. As riches too generally prevail against right, *Amu'lius* made use of his wealth to supplant his brother, and soon found means to possess himself of the kingdom. Not contented with the crime of usurpation, he added that of murder also. *Nu'mitor's* sons first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions; and to remove all apprehensions of being one day disturbed in his ill-gotten power, he caused *Rhe'a Sil'via*, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal.

5. His precautions, however, were all frustrated in the event. *Rhe'a Sil'via*, and, according to tradition, *Mars* the god of war, were the parents of two boys, who were no sooner born, than devoted by the usurper to destruction. 7. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had violated their vows, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river *Tiber*. 8. It happened, however, at the time this rigorous sentence was put into execution, that the river had, more than usual, overflowed its banks, so that the place where the children were thrown being distant from the main current, the water was too shallow to drown them. It is said by some, that they were exposed in a cradle, which, after floating for a time, was, by the water's retiring, left on dry ground; that a wolf, descending from the mountains to drink, ran, at the cry of the children, and fed them under a fig-tree, caressing and licking them as if they had been her own young, the infants hanging on to her as if she had been their mother, until *Faus'tulus*, the king's shepherd, struck with so surprising a sight, conveyed them home, and delivered them to his wife, *Ac'ca Lauren'tia*, to nurse, who brought them up as her own. 9. Others, however, assert, that from the vicious life of this woman, the shepherds had given her the nickname of *Lupa*, or wolf, which they suppose might possibly be the occasion of this marvellous story.

10. *Romu'lus* and *Re'mus*, the twins, in whatever manner preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed origin. From their very infancy, an air of superiority and grandeur seemed to discover their rank. They led, however, the shepherd's life like the rest; worked for their livelihood, and built their own huts. But pastoral idleness displeased them,

and, from tending their flocks, they betook themselves to the chase. Then, no longer content with hunting wild beasts, they turned their strength against the robbers of their country, whom they often stripped of their plunder, and divided it among the shepherds. 11. The youths who continually joined them so increased in number, as to enable them to hold assemblies, and celebrate games. In one of their excursions, the two brothers were surprised. Re'mus was taken prisoner, carried before the king, and accused of being a plunderer and robber on Nu'mitor's lands. Rom'ulus had escaped; but Re'mus, the king sent to Nu'mitor, that he might do himself justice.

12. From many circumstances, Faus'tulus suspected the twins under his care to be the same that Amu'lius had exposed on the Ti'ber, and at length divulged his suspicions to Rom'ulus. Nu'mitor made the same discovery to Re'mus. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's destruction. He was beset on all sides; and, during the amazement and distraction that ensued, was taken and slain; while Nu'mitor, who had been deposed for forty years, recognised his grandsons, and was once more placed on the throne.

13. The two brothers, leaving Nu'mitor the kingdom of Alba, determined to build a city upon the spot where they had been exposed and preserved. But a fatal desire of reigning seized them both, and created a difference between these noble youths, which terminated tragically. Birth right in the case of twins could claim no precedence; they therefore were advised by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds, to know to which of them the tutelar gods would decree the honour of governing the rising city, and, consequently, of being the director of the other. 14. In compliance with this advice, each took his station on a different hill. To Re'mus appeared six vultures; in the moment after, Rom'ulus saw twelve. Two parties had been formed for this purpose; the one declared for Re'mus, who first saw the vultures; the other for Rom'ulus, who saw the greater number. Each party called itself victorious; the one having the first omen, the other that which was most complete. This produced a contest which ended in a battle, wherein Re'mus was slain. It is even said, that he was killed by his brother, who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuously over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot.

15. Rom'ulus being now sole commander and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his successful omen, A.M. 3252; ANTE c. 752. The city was at first nearly square, containing about a thousand houses. It was almost a mile in circumference, and commanded a small territory round it of eight miles over. 16. However, small as it appears, it was yet worse inhabited; and the first method made use of to increase its numbers, was the opening of a sanctuary for all malefactors and slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty; these came in great multitudes, and contributed to increase the number of our legislator's new subjects.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the origin of the Romans?
2. Who first opposed Æneas, and what was the result?
3. Who were the successors of Æneas?
4. What was the conduct of Amulius?
5. What event frustrated his precautions?
6. What followed?
7. What was the sentence on Rhea Silvia and her children?
8. How were the children preserved?
9. What is supposed to have occasioned this marvellous story?
10. What was the character and conduct of Romulus and Remus?
11. In what manner were they surprised?
12. How was the birth of Romulus and Remus discovered, and what consequences followed?
13. What caused a difference between the brothers?
14. Relate the circumstances which followed?

15. By whom was Rome built, and what was then its situation?
16. By what means was the new city peopled?

CHAPTER II. FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME TO THE DEATH OF ROMULUS

*See Romulus the great, born to restore
The crown that once his injured grandsire wore.
This prince a priestess of our blood shall bear;
And like his sire in arms he shall appear. —Dryden.*

1. Scarcely was the city raised above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Rom'ulus, by an act of great generosity, left them at liberty to choose whom they would for their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect him for their founder. He, accordingly, was acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beside a guard to attend his person, it was agreed, that he should be preceded wherever he went, by twelve lictors, each armed with an axe tied up in a bundle of rods;⁵⁰ these were to serve as executioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of his authority.

2. The senate, who were to act as counsellors to the king, was composed of a hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, consisting of men whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow-subjects. The king named the first senator, who was called prince of the senate, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required his own absence.

3. The patricians, who composed the third part of the legislature, assumed to themselves the power of authorising those laws which were passed by the king, or the senate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magistrates, and even to the choosing a king, were confirmed by suffrages in their assemblies.

4. The plebeians were to till the fields, feed cattle, and follow trades; but not to have any share in the government, to avoid the inconveniences of a popular power.

5. The first care of the new-created king was, to attend to the interests of religion. The precise form of their worship is unknown; but the greatest part of the religion of that age consisted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their soothsayers, who pretended, from observation on the flight of birds, and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and to dive into futurity. Rom'ulus, by an express law, commanded that no election should be made, nor enterprise undertaken, without first consulting them.

6. Wives were forbidden, upon any pretext whatsoever, to separate from their husbands; while, on the contrary, the husband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even, in some cases, to put her to death. The laws between children and their parents were still more severe; the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could imprison and sell them at any time of their lives, or in any stations to which they were arrived.

7. After endeavouring to regulate his subjects by law, Rom'ulus next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted to no more than three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These, therefore, were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes was subdivided into ten curiæ, or companies, consisting of a hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a priest called curio, to perform the sacrifices,

and two of the principal inhabitants, called duumviri, to distribute justice.

⁵⁰ This symbol of authority was borrowed from his neighbours, the Istrurians.

8. By these judicious regulations, each day added strength to the new city; multitudes of people flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women to insure its duration. In this exigence, Rom'ulus, by the advice of the senate, sent deputies among the Sab'ines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance; and, upon these terms, offering to cement the strictest confederacy with them. The Sab'ines, who were at that time considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposal with disdain. 9. Rom'ulus, therefore, proclaimed a feast, in honour of Neptune,⁵¹ throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most magnificent preparations for celebrating it. These feasts were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in shows of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot-courses. The Sab'ines, as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them, to share the pleasures of the sight. 10. In the mean time the games began, and while the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this breach of hospitality; the virgins were carried away and became the wives of the Romans.

11. A bloody war ensued. The cities of Cæ'nina,⁵² Antem'næ,⁵³ and Crustumi'num,⁵⁴ were the first who resolved to avenge the common cause, which the Sab'ines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. But all these, by making separate inroads, became an easy conquest to Rom'ulus, who made the most merciful use of his victories; instead of destroying their towns, or lessening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to serve as a frontier to repress more distant invasions.

12. Ta'tius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and not content with a superiority of forces, he added stratagem also. 13. Tarpe'ia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capit'oline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for, was what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or willing to punish her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. 14. The Sab'ines being thus possessed of the Capit'oline, after some time a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success, and neither army could think of submitting; it was in the valley between the Capit'oline and Quiri'nal hills that the last engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sab'ines. 15. The battle was now become general, and the slaughter prodigious; when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them to another. The Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, flew in between the combatants, with their hair loose, and their ornaments neglected, regardless of their own danger; and, with loud outcries, implored their husbands and their fathers to desist. Upon this the combatants, as if by natural impulse, let fall their weapons. 16. An accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed, that Rom'ulus and Ta'tius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that a hundred Sab'ines should be admitted into the senate; that the city should retain its former name, but the citizens, should be called Qui'rites, after Cu'res, the principal town of the Sab'ines; and that both nations being thus united, such of the Sab'ines as chose it, should be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of citizens of Rome. 17. The conquest of Came'ria was the only military achievement under the two kings, and Ta'tius was killed about five years after by the Lavin'ians, for having protected some of his servants who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that, by this accident, Rom'ulus once more saw himself sole monarch of Rome. 18.

⁵¹ More properly in honour of Con'sus, a deity of Sabine origin, whom the Romans, in a later age, confounded with Neptune. (See Keightley's Mythology.)

⁵² A town of Latium, near Rome. (Livy.)

⁵³ A city of the Sabines, between Rome and the Anio, from whence its name, – Ante Amnem. (Dionys. Hal.)

⁵⁴ A town of Etruria, near Veii. (Virg.)

Soon after the death of Ta'tius, a cruel plague and famine having broken out at Rome, the Camerini embraced the opportunity to lay waste the Roman territory. But Rom'ulus gave them battle, killed six thousand on the spot, and returned in triumph to Rome. He took likewise Fidenæ, a city about forty furlongs distant from his capital, and reduced the Veien'tes to submission.

19. Successes like these produced an equal share of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and to controul those laws to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate was particularly displeased at his conduct, as they found themselves used only as instruments to ratify the rigour of his commands. 20. We are not told the precise manner which they employed to get rid of the tyrant. Some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army; certain it is, that, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude that he was taken up into heaven; thus, him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worship as a god. Rom'ulus reigned thirty-seven years; and, after his death, had a temple built to him, under the name of Quiri'nus.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the first proceedings of the rude inhabitants of Rome?
2. Of whom was the senate composed?
3. Who were the patricians?
4. Who were the plebeians?
5. What was the first care of the new king? In what did the Religion of Rome consist?
6. What were the laws between husband and wife, and between parents and children?
7. What were the regulations directed by Romulus?
8. What was the result of these regulations?
9. What conduct did Romulus adopt in consequence?
10. What treatment did the Sabines experience?
11. Did they tamely acquiesce in this outrage?
12. Who undertook to revenge the disgrace of the Sabines?
13. What was this stratagem, and how was its perpetrator rewarded?
14. Did the possession of the Capitoline put an end to the war?
15. What put a stop to this sanguinary conflict?
16. What were the terms of accommodation?
17. Was this joint sovereignty of long continuance?
18. Was Romulus successful in military affairs?
19. What was the consequence?
20. What was the manner of his death?

CHAPTER III. FROM THE DEATH OF ROMULUS TO THE DEATH OF NUMA POMPILIUS, THE SECOND KING OF ROME. – U.C. 38

*When pious Numa reigned, Bellona's voice
No longer called the Roman youth to arms;
In peaceful arts he bid her sons rejoice,
And tranquil live, secure from war's alarms. —Brooke.*

1. Upon the death of Rom'ulus, the city seemed greatly divided in the choice of a successor. The Sab'ines were for having a king chosen from their body; but the Romans could not endure the thoughts of advancing a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity, the senators undertook to supply the place of the king, by taking the government each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. 2. This new form of government continued for a year; but the plebeians, who saw this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government. The senate being thus driven to an election, at length pitched upon Nu'ma Pompil'ius, a Sab'ine, and their choice was received with universal approbation by the people.⁵⁵

3. Nu'ma Pompil'ius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his justice, his moderation, and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sab'ines, and lived at home at Cu'res,⁵⁶ contented with a private fortune; unambitious of higher honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance, that he accepted the dignity; which, when he did so, produced such joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom.

4. No monarch could be more proper for them than Nu'ma, at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united to each other: they wanted a master who could, by his laws and precepts, soften their fierce dispositions; and, by his example, induce them to a love of religion, and every milder virtue. 5. Numa's whole time, therefore, was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, instituted sacred offices and feasts; and the sanctity of his life gave strength to his assertion – that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess *Ege'ria*. By her advice he built the temple of *Janus*, which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war. He regulated the appointment of the vestal virgins, and added considerably to the privileges which they had previously enjoyed.

6. For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided those lands, which Romulus had gained in war, among the poorer part of the people; he regulated the calendar, and abolished the distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their several trades, and compelling them to live together. Thus having arrived at the age of fourscore years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body, contrary to the custom of the times, to be buried in a stone coffin; and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried by his side in another.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Nu'ma Pompil'ius was the fourth son of Pompil'ius Pom'po, an illustrious Sab'ine. He had married Ta'tia, the daughter of Ta'tius, the colleague of Rom'ulus, and on the death of his wife, gave himself up entirely to solitude and study. (Plutarch – Livy.)

⁵⁶ More probably at Quirium, the Sabine town which was united with Rome. (See Introduction, Chap. II.)

⁵⁷ The age of Nu'ma is scarcely more historical than that of Rom'ulus, but the legends respecting it are fewer and partake less of extravagance. Indeed, he had himself discouraged the songs of the bards, by ordering the highest honours to be paid to Tac'ita, the

Questions for Examination.

1. Upon the death of Romulus, what took place in regard to his successor?
2. How long did this order of things continue?
3. What was the character of Numa Pompilius?
4. Was Numa a monarch suited to this peculiar conjuncture?
5. Relate the acts of Numa?
6. What were the further acts of Numa?
7. What orders did he leave at his death?

Came'na or Muse of Silence. His memory was best preserved by the religious ceremonies ascribed to him by universal tradition. The later poets loved to dwell on his peaceful virtues, and on the pure affection that existed between him and the nymph Egeria. They tell us that when the king served up a moderate repast to his guests on earthen-ware, she suddenly changed the dishes into gold, and the plain food into the most sumptuous viands. They also add, that when he died, Egeria melted away in tears for his loss, and was changed into a fountain.

CHAPTER IV. FROM THE DEATH OF NUMA TO THE DEATH OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS THE THIRD KING OF ROME. – U.C. 82

*From either army shall be chose three champions,
To fight the cause alone. —Whitehead.*

1. At the death of Nu'ma, the government once more devolved upon the senate, and so continued, till the people elected Tullus Hostil'ius for their king, which choice had also the concurrence of the other part of the constitution. This monarch, the grandson of a noble Roman,⁵⁸ who had formerly signalized himself against the Sab'ines, was every way unlike his predecessor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprise than even the founder of the empire himself had been; so that he only sought a pretext for leading his forces to the field.

2. The *Albans*, by committing some depredations on the Roman territory, were the first people that gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. The forces of the two states met about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms; for, in these times, a single battle was generally decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful suspense, when an unexpected proposal from the Alban general put a stop to the onset. 3. Stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans to decide the dispute by single combat; adding, that the side whose champion was overcome, should submit to the conqueror. A proposal like this, suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his subjects, each of whom hoped that he himself should be chosen to fight the cause of his country. 4. There were, at that time, three twin brothers in each army; those of the Romans were called Hora'tii, and those of the Albans Curia'tii; all six remarkable for their courage, strength, and activity, and to these it was resolved to commit the management of the combat.⁵⁹ At length the champions met, and each, totally regardless of his own safety, only sought the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, trembled at every blow, and wished to share the danger, till fortune seemed to decide the glory of the field. 5. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare against the Romans: they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curia'tii, who were wounded, slowly endeavouring to pursue the survivor, who seemed by flight to beg for mercy. Too soon, however, they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to separate his three antagonists, whom he was unable to oppose united; for quickly after, stopping his course, and turning upon the first, who followed closely behind, he laid him dead at his feet: the second brother, who was coming up to assist him that had already fallen, shared the same fate. 6. There now remained but the last Curia'tius to conquer, who, fatigued and disabled by his wounds, slowly advanced to offer an easy victory. He was killed, almost unresisting, while the conqueror, exclaiming, "Two have I already sacrificed to the manes of my brothers, the third I will offer up to my country," despatched him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army consented to obey.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ It seems to have been part of the compact between the Romans and Sabines, that a king of each people should reign alternately.

⁵⁹ The Hora'tii and Curia'tii were, according to Dionysius of Halicarnas'sus, the sons of two sisters, daughters of Sequin'ius, an illustrious citizen of Alba. One married to Curia'tius, a citizen of Alba, and the other to Hora'tius, a Roman: so that the champions were near relatives.

⁶⁰ This obedience of the Albans was of short duration; they soon rebelled and were defeated by Tullus, who razed the city of Alba to the ground, and transplanted the inhabitants to Rome, where he conferred on them the privileges of citizens.

7. But the virtues of that age were not without alloy; that very hand that in the morning was exerted to save his country, was, before night, imbrued in the blood of a sister: for, returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the Curia'tii, to whom she had been betrothed. This so provoked him beyond the powers of sufferance, that in a rage he slew her: but the action displeased the senate, and drew after it the condemnation of the magistrate. He was, however, pardoned, by making his appeal to the people, but obliged to pass under the yoke; an ignominious punishment, usually inflicted on prisoners of war.⁶¹

8. Tullus having greatly increased the power and wealth of Rome by repeated victories, now thought proper to demand satisfaction of the Sab'ines for the insults which had been formerly offered to some Roman citizens at the temple of the goddess Fero'nia, which was common to both nations. A war ensued, which lasted some years, and ended in the total overthrow of the Sab'ines.

Hostil'ius died after a reign of thirty-two years; some say by lightning; others, with more probability, by treason.

Questions for Examination.

1. On whom devolved the government on the death of Numa, and what is the character of his successor?
2. What opportunity first offered of indulging the new king's inclinations?
3. What proposal was offered, and accepted for deciding the dispute?
- 4-6. Relate the circumstances which attended the combat, and the result of it.
7. What act followed the victory?
8. What conquest was next achieved?

⁶¹ Livy, lib. i. cap. 26. Dion. Hal. l. 3.

CHAPTER V. FROM THE DEATH OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS TO THE DEATH OF ANCUS MARTIUS THE FOURTH KING OF ROME. – U.C. 115

*Where what remains
Of Alba, still her ancient rights retains,
Still worships Vesta, though an humbler way,
Nor lets the hallow'd Trojan fire decay. —Juvenal.*

1. After an interregnum, as in the former case, Ancus Mar'tius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king by the people, and their choice was afterwards confirmed by the senate. As this monarch was a lineal descendant from Numa, so he seemed to make him the great object of his imitation. He instituted the sacred ceremonies, which were to precede a declaration of war;⁶² but he took every occasion to advise his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to lay aside the less useful stratagems of war.

2. These institutions and precepts were considered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon his territories, but their success was equal to their justice. An'cus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his dominions by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the *Ve'ii*, the *Fiden'ates*, and the *Vol'sci*; and over the Sab'ines he obtained a second triumph.

3. But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, making a prison for malefactors, and building a sea-port at the mouth of the Ti'ber, called Os'tia, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and that of the salt-pits adjacent. Thus having enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, he died, after a reign of twenty-four years.

Questions for Examination.

1. Who was elected by the people after the interregnum, and what measures did he pursue?
2. In what light did his enemies consider his institutions? With what success did they oppose him?
3. What were the other acts of Ancus? How many years did he reign?

⁶² First an ambassador was sent to demand satisfaction for the alleged injury; if this were not granted within thirty-three days, heralds were appointed to proclaim the war in the name of the gods and people of Rome. At the conclusion of their speech, they threw their javelins into the enemy's confines, and departed.

CHAPTER VI. FROM THE DEATH OF ANCUS MARTIUS, TO THE DEATH OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS THE FIFTH KING OF ROME. – U.C. 130

*The first of Tarquin's hapless race was he,
Who odium tried to cast on augury;
But Nævius Accius, with an augur's skill.
Preserved its fame, and raised it higher still.
—Robertson.*

1. Lu'cius TARQUIN'IUS PRIS'CUS was appointed guardian to the sons of the late king, and took the surname of Tarquin'ius from the city of *Tarquin'ia*, whence he last came. His father was a merchant of Corinth,⁶³ who had acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy, upon account of some troubles at home. His son, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquin'ia.

2. His birth, profession, and country, being contemptible to the nobles of the place, he, by his wife's persuasion, came to settle at Rome, where merit also gave a title to distinction. On his way thither, say the historians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, stooping from above, took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for some time, with much noise, put it on again. This his wife Tan'aquil, who it seems was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage that he should one day wear the crown. Perhaps it was this which first fired his ambition to pursue it.

3. Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as usual, devolving upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to get himself elected in their stead. For this purpose, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them sent out of the city; and in a set speech, in which he urged his friendship for the people, the fortune he had spent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect, and the people, with one consent, elected him as their sovereign.

4. A kingdom thus obtained by *intrigue*, was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompense his friends, he added a hundred members more to the senate, which made them, in all, three hundred.

5. But his peaceful endeavours were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg for peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed the river Ti'ber; but attacking them with vigour, Tarquin routed their army; so that many who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the messengers could arrive that were sent with the tidings. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

⁶³ Corinth (now Corinto) was a celebrated city of ancient Greece, situated on the isthmus of that name, about sixty stadia or furlongs from the sea. Its original name was Ephy're.

6. Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects grow corrupt through indolence. He therefore undertook and perfected several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city.⁶⁴

7. In his time it was, that the augurs came into a great increase of reputation. He found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people; for this was, in fact, but to increase their obedience. Tan'aquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Ac'cius Næ'vius was the most celebrated adept of the kind ever known in Rome. 8. Upon a certain occasion, Tarquin, being resolved to try the augur's skill, asked him, whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected? Næ'vius, having consulted his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why, then," cries the king, with an insulting smile, "I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor." "Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without consulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation.

9. Tarquin was not content with a kingdom, without having also the ensigns of royalty. In imitation of the Lyd'ian kings, he assumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the splendour of these royalties that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had now, for above thirty-seven years, quietly submitted to his government. His design also of adopting Ser'vius Tul'lius, his son-in-law, for his successor, might have contributed to inflame their resentment. 10. Whatever was the cause of their tardy vengeance, they resolved to destroy him; and, at last, found means to effect their purpose, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to speak with the king, pretending that they came for justice, struck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the person of the king, seized the murderers as they were attempting to escape, and put them to death: but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety in flight.

11. Thus fell Lu'cius Tarquin'ius, surnamed Pris'cus, to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name. He was eighty years of age, and had reigned thirty-eight years.⁶⁵

Questions for Examination.

1. Who was Lucius Tarquinius Priscus?
2. What occasioned his removal to Rome, and what circumstances attended it?
3. Was this presage fulfilled, and by what means?
4. In what manner did he govern?
5. Was Tarquin a warlike prince?
6. How did he improve his victories?
7. By what act did he insure the obedience of his subjects?
8. What contributed to increase the reputation of the augurs?
9. What part of his conduct is supposed, to have raised the envy of the late king's sons?
10. What was the consequence of this envy and resentment?
11. What was his age, and how long did he reign?

⁶⁴ Preparations for building the Capitol were made in this reign. The city was likewise fortified with stone walls, and the cloacæ, or common sewers, constructed by the munificence of this prince. (See Introd.)

⁶⁵ The history of the elder Tarquin presents insuperable difficulties. We are told that his original name was Lu'cumo; but that, as has been mentioned in the Introduction, was the Etrurian designation of a chief magistrate. One circumstance, however, is unquestionable, that with him began the greatness and the splendour of the Roman city. He commenced those vaulted sewers which still attract the admiration of posterity; he erected the first circus for the exhibition of public spectacles; he planned the Capitol, and commenced, if he did not complete, the first city wall. The tradition that he was a Tuscan prince, appears to be well founded; but the Corinthian origin of his family is very improbable.

CHAPTER VII. FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS TO THE DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS THE SIXTH KING OF ROME. – U.C. 176

*Servius, the king, who laid the solid base
On which o'er earth the vast republic spread.
—Thomson.*

1. The report of the murder of Tarquin filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation; while the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. 2. In this tumult, Tan'aquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur, in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown, and desirous of seeing her son-in-law his successor, with great art dissembled her sorrow, as well as the king's death. She assured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but only stunned by the blow; that he would shortly recover; and that in the meantime he had deputed his power to Ser'vius Tul'lius, his son-in-law. Ser'vius, accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and, preceded by his lictors, went to despatch some affairs that related to the public safety, still pretending that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued for some days, till he had made his party good among the nobles; when, the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Ser'vius came to the crown, solely at the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people.

3. Ser'vius was the son of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born whilst his mother was a slave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame⁶⁶ is said to have played round his head, which Tan'aquil converted into an omen of future greatness.

4. Upon being acknowledged king, he determined to make a great change in the Roman constitution by admitting the plebeians to a participation in the civil government. The senate was too weak to resist the change when it was proposed, but it submitted with great reluctance. 5. Ser'vius divided all the Romans into classes and centuries according to their wealth and the amount of taxes paid to the state. The number of centuries in the first class nearly equalled that of all the others; a great advantage to the plebeians; for the lower classes being chiefly clients of the patricians, were always inclined to vote according to the prejudices or interests of their patrons.

6. The classification by centuries was also used for military purposes; the heavy armed infantry being selected from the richer classes; the light troops, whose arms and armour could be obtained at less expense, were levied among the lower centuries.

7. In order to ascertain the increase or decay of his subjects, and their fortunes, he instituted another regulation, which he called a *lustrum*. By this, all the citizens were to assemble in the Cam'pus Mar'tius,⁶⁷ in complete armour, and in their respective classes, once in five years, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune.

⁶⁶ A flame of fire gliding about without doing any harm.

⁶⁷ A large plain at Rome, without the walls of the city, where the Roman youth performed their exercises. Cam'pus is the Latin word for field; and this field or plain was called Mar'tius, because it was dedicated to Mars, the god of war.

8. Having enjoyed a long reign, spent in settling the domestic policy of the state, and also not inattentive to foreign concerns, he conceived reasonable hopes of concluding it with tranquillity and ease. He even had thoughts of laying down his power; and, having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obscurity; but so generous a design was frustrated ere it could be put into execution.

9. In the beginning of his reign, to secure the throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin; and as he knew that the women, as well as their intended husbands, were of opposite dispositions, he resolved to cross their tempers, by giving each to him of a contrary turn of mind; her that was meek and gentle to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character; by this he supposed that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive of concord. 10. The event, however, proved otherwise. Lu'cius, the haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his consort, and placed his whole affections upon his brother's wife, Tul'lia, who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their wishes were ungovernable, they soon resolved to break through every restraint that prevented their union; they both undertook to murder their respective consorts; they succeeded, and were soon after married together. 11. A first crime ever produces a second; from the destruction of their consorts, they proceeded to conspiring that of the king. They began by raising factions against him, alleging his illegal title to the crown, and Lu'cius claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. At length, when he found the senate ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and, placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them on the obscurity of the king's birth, and the injustice of his title. 12. While he was yet speaking, Ser'vius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin, being in the vigour of youth, threw the old king down the steps which led to the throne; some of his adherents, who were instructed for that purpose, followed him, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, dispatched him by the way, and threw his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public spectacle, into the street. 13. In the mean time, Tul'lia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her husband had done, and, resolving to be among the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the senate-house. But as her charioteer approached the place where the body of the old king, her father, lay exposed and bloody; the man, amazed at the inhuman spectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horses, offered to turn another way; this serving only to increase the fierceness of her anger, she threw the foot-stool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the body without hesitation.⁶⁸

14. This was the end of Ser'vius Tul'lius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after an useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years.

Questions for Examination.

1. What effect had the murder of Tarquin on his subjects?
2. By what means was the succession assured to Servius Tullius?
3. Who was Servius?
4. What was the chief object of his reign?
5. What was the nature of the change made by Servius in the Roman constitution?
6. Was the classification by centuries used for civil purposes only?
7. What other important measure did he adopt?
8. What hopes did he entertain in his old age?
9. By what means did he hope to secure tranquil possession of the throne?
10. How was it that the event failed to answer his expectations?
11. To what farther crimes did the commencement lead?

⁶⁸ The blood of the good old king is said to have dyed the chariot wheels, and even the clothes of the inhuman daughter; from that time the street where it happened was called *vicus sceleratus*, the wicked or accursed street.

12. What followed?
13. What was the conduct of his daughter on this melancholy occasion?
14. What was the character of Servius, and how long did he reign?

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS THE SEVENTH AND LAST KING OF ROME U.C. 220

*A nobler spirit warm'd
Her sons; and roused by tyrants, nobler still
It burn'd in Brutus. —Thomson.*

1. LU'CIUS TARQUIN'IUS, afterwards called Super'bus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this horrid deed, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused burial to the late king's' body, under pretence of his being an usurper. 2. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon his accession with detestation and horror: and this act of inefficient cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. 3. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Ser'vius, to be put to death; and fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard round his person.

4. His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. He first marched against the Sab'ines, who refused to pay him obedience; and he soon reduced them to submission. 5. In the meantime, many of the discontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge in Ga'bii, a city of Latium, about twelve miles from Rome, waiting an opportunity to take up arms, and drive Tarquin from his throne. To escape this danger. Tarquin had recourse to the following stratagem. 6. He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, Sextus so prevailed upon the pity of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and, soon after, general of their army. 7. At first, in every engagement, he appeared successful; till, at length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no answer; but taking the messenger to the garden, he cut down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of this reply, and found means to destroy or remove, one by one, the principal men of the city; taking care to confiscate their effects among the people. 8. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themselves at last without counsellors or head; and, in the end, fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow.⁶⁹

9. But, while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to continue in idleness at home. He undertook to build the Capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign; and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman, in strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to sell nine books, which, she said, were of her own composing. 10. Not knowing the abilities of the seller, or that she was, in fact, one of the celebrated *Sybils*, whose prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. 11. Being once more despised as an impostor, she again departed,

⁶⁹ This story is manifestly a fiction formed from the Greek traditions respecting Zopy'nus and Thrasybu'lus. It is decisively contradicted by the fact, that a treaty for the union of the Romans and Gabians, on equitable terms, was preserved in the Capitol. It was painted on a shield covered with the hide of the bull which had been sacrificed at the ratification of the league.

and burning three more, she returned with the remaining three, still asking the same price as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs, to be advised what to do. These much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to take the three remaining, at whatsoever price they were to be had. 12. The woman, says the historian, after thus selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to have a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never seen after. A trick this, invented probably by Tarquin himself, to impose upon the people; and to find in the Sybil's leaves whatever the government might require. However this was, he chose proper persons to keep them, who, though but two at first, were afterwards increased to fifteen, under the name of *Quindecemviri*. The important volumes were put into a stone chest, and a vault in the newly designed building was thought the properest place to secure them.⁷⁰

13. The people, having been now for four years together employed in building the Capitol, began, at last, to wish for something new to engage them; Tarquin, therefore, to satisfy their wishes, proclaimed war against the Ru'tuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained some malefactors, whom he had banished; and invested their chief city, Ar'dea, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome. 14. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's son Sextus Tarquinius, Collati'nus a noble Roman, and some others, sitting in a tent drinking together, the discourse turned upon wives, each man preferring the beauty and virtue of his own. Collati'nus offered to decide the dispute by putting it to an immediate trial, whose wife should be found possessed of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed at that very hour: being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company; and, taking horse without delay, they posted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced.

15. There they found Lucre'tia, the wife of Collati'nus, not like the other women of her age, spending the time in ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception she gave her husband and his friends, so charmed them all, that they unanimously gave her the preference, but kindled, in the breast of Sextus Tarquin'ius, a detestable passion, which occasioned the grossest insult and injury to Lucre'tia, who, detesting the light, and resolving to destroy herself for the crime of another, demanded her husband Collati'nus, and Spu'rius, her father, to come to her; an indelible disgrace having befallen the family. 16. They instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father, and Junius Bru'tus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. 17. Their arrival only served to increase Lucre'tia's poignant anguish; they found her in a state of the deepest desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. After passionately charging Sextus Tarquin'ius with the basest perfidy towards her husband and injury to herself, she drew a poinard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan. 18. Struck with sorrow, pity, and indignation, Spu'rius and Collati'nus gave vent to their grief; but Bru'tus, drawing the poinard, reeking, from Lucre'tia's wound, and lifting it up towards heaven, "Be witness, ye gods," he cried, "that, from this moment, I proclaim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's cause; from this moment I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin and his wicked house; from henceforth this life, while life continues, shall be employed in opposition to tyranny, and for the happiness and freedom of my much-loved country." 19. A new amazement seized the hearers: he, whom they had hitherto considered as an idiot, now appearing, in his real character, the friend of justice, and of Rome. He told them, that tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance called so loudly; and, delivering the poinard to the rest, imposed the same oath upon them which he himself had just taken.

20. Ju'nius Brutus was the son of Marcus Ju'nius, who was put to death by Tarquin the Proud, and the grandson of Tarquin the elder. He had received an excellent education from his father, and

⁷⁰ The Capitol, or temple of Jupiter Capitoli'nus.

had, from nature, strong sense and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but knowing that Tarquin had murdered his father and his eldest brother, he counterfeited a fool, in order to escape the same danger, and thence obtained the surname of Bru'tus. Tarquin, thinking his folly real, despised the man; and having possessed himself of his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house, merely with a view of making sport for his children.

21. Brutus, however, only waited this opportunity to avenge the cause of his family. He ordered Lucre'tia's dead body to be brought out to view, and exposing it in the public forum, inflamed the ardour of the citizens by a display of the horrid transaction. He obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin and his family should be for ever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or to attempt his future return. 22. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Ci'ra, a little city of *Etru'ria*. In the mean time the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Bru'tus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

Thus ended with Tarquin, after a continuance of two hundred and forty-five years, the regal state of Rome.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the conduct of Lucius Tarquinius at the commencement of his reign?
2. Was his claim quietly acquiesced in?
3. What means did he adopt for his security?
4. By what means did he divert the people's attention from the unlawful manner in which he acquired the crown?
5. What happened in the mean time?
6. To what mean artifice did he have recourse?
7. How did Sextus accomplish his father's design?
8. What were the effects of this measure?
9. In what way did he employ his subjects at home during his absence, and what extraordinary event occurred?
10. Did he accept her offer?
11. Was her second application successful, and what followed?
12. What became of the Sybil, and what is the general opinion respecting this transaction?
13. Upon what pretence did Tarquin proclaim war against the Rutuli?
14. What remarkable event took place at the siege of Ardea?
15. What was the consequence of this intemperate frolic?
16. How did Lucretia support the loss of her honour?
17. Did they obey her summons, and who did they bring with them?
18. What was the consequence of their arrival?
19. What effect had this dreadful catastrophe on those present?
20. How was this unexpected resolution received?
21. Give some account of Brutus.
22. For what reason, and by what means, did Brutus endeavour the abolition of royalty?
23. What became of Tarquin after his expulsion?

CHAPTER IX. THE COMMONWEALTH. FROM THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUIN TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DICTATOR – U.C. 245

*The great republic seek that glowed, sublime,
With the mixt freedom of a thousand states.
—Thomson.*

1. The regal power being overthrown, a republican form of government was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called CONSULS,⁷¹ with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges and the same ensigns of authority.

2. Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collati'nus, the husband of Lucre'tia, were chosen the first consuls in Rome.

3. But this new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had like to have been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries and pleasures of the court, undertook to re-establish monarchy. 4. This party secretly increased every day; and what may create surprise, the sons of Bru'tus himself, and the Aqu'lii, the nephews of Collati'nus, were among the number, 5. Tarquin, who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, sent ambassadors from Etru'ria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the estates of the exiles; but, in reality, with a design to give spirit to his faction. 6. The conspiracy was discovered by a slave who had accidentally hid himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble. 7. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than that of Bru'tus: a father placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children, impelled by justice to condemn, and by nature to spare them. 8. The young men pleaded nothing for themselves; but, with conscious guilt, awaited their sentence in silence and agony. 9. The other judges who were present felt all the pangs of nature; Collati'nus wept, and Vale'rius could not repress his sentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity; and, with a stern countenance and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy resolution, demanded of his sons if they could make any defence, to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three several times; but receiving no answer, he at length turned himself to the executioner: "Now," cried he, "it is your part to perform the rest." 10. Thus saying, he again resumed his seat with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the tears of his sons, who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his resolution. Bru'tus, unmoved by any motive but the public good, pronounced upon them the sentence of death, and by his office was obliged to see it put in execution. The prisoners were scourged and then beheaded, and Bru'tus beheld the cruel spectacle; but, in spite of his stoic firmness, could not stifle the sentiments of nature which he sacrificed to the necessity of his office.

⁷¹ These were first called Prætors, next Judices, and afterwards Consuls: a Consulendo, from their consulting the good of the Common wealth. They had the royal ornaments, as the golden crown, sceptre, purple robes, lictors, and the ivory and curule chairs. The crowns and sceptres were, however, used only on extraordinary days of triumph. – See Introduction.

11. Tarquin's hopes of an insurrection in his favour being thus overset, he now resolved to force himself upon his former throne by foreign assistance. He prevailed upon the *Veians* to assist him, and, with a considerable army, advanced towards Rome.

U.C. 246.

12. The consuls were not remiss in preparations to oppose him. Vale'rius commanded the foot, and Bru'tus being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman border. 13. A'runs, the son of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, seeing Bru'tus at a distance, resolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day before the engaging of the armies, when, spurring his horse he flew to him with fury. Bru'tus perceived his approach, and singled out from the ranks, they met with such ungoverned rage, that, eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. 14. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides: but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle, claimed the victory. In consequence, Vale'rius returned in triumph to Rome. 15. In the mean time Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porsen'na, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person to undertake his quarrel. 16. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city; while the terror of his name and arms filled all ranks of the people with dismay. The siege was carried on with vigour; a furious attack was made upon the place; the consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans, flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in the confusion. 17. All now appeared lost, when Hora'tius Co'cles, who had been placed there as sentinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy, and, assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him. When he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tiber, he swam back victorious to his fellow-soldiers, and was received with just applause.⁷²

18. Still, however, Porsen'na was determined upon taking the city; and though five hundred of his men were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits, and turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to take it by famine. 19. The distress of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, still superior to that which had saved the city before again brought about its safety and freedom.

20. Mu'tius, a youth of undaunted courage, was resolved to rid his country of an enemy that so continued to oppress it; and, for this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etru'rian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, resolving to die or to kill the king. 21. With this resolution he made up to the place where Porsen'na was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended and brought into the royal presence. 22. Upon Porsen'na's demanding who he was, and the cause of so heinous an action, Mu'tius, without reserve, informed him of his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that was burning upon the altar before him, "You see," cried he, "how little I regard the severest punishment your cruelty can inflict. A Roman knows not only how to act, but how to suffer; I am not the only person you have to fear; three hundred Roman youths, like me, have conspired your destruction; therefore prepare for their attempts." 23. Porsen'na, amazed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit, though found in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace.⁷³ 24. These were readily accepted on their side, being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that

⁷² For this heroic act, Hora'tius was crowned on his return; his status was erected in the temple of Vulcan; as much land was given him as a plough could surround with a furrow in one day, and a tax was voluntarily imposed to make him a present in some degree suitable to the service he had performed.

⁷³ From this time he obtained the additional name of Scaevola, or left-handed, from his having lost the use of his right hand by

twenty hostages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. 25. But even in this instance also, as if the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times, Cle'lia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tiber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. 26. This magistrate, fearing the consequences of detaining her, sent her back; upon which Porsen'na, not to be outdone in generosity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to choose such of the hostages of the opposite sex as she should think fit, to attend her. 27. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, chose only such as were under fourteen, alleging, that their tender age was least capable of sustaining the rigours of slavery.⁷⁴ 28. The year after the departure of Porsen'na, the Sab'ines invading the Roman territories, committed great devastations. The war that ensued was long and bloody; but at length the Sab'ines were compelled to purchase a peace, with corn, money, and the cession of part of their territory.

29. Tarquin, by means of his son-in-law, Man'lius, once more stirred up the Latins to espouse his interest, and took the most convenient opportunity when the plebeians were at variance with the senators concerning the payment of their debts.⁷⁵ These refused to go to war, unless their debts were remitted upon their return: so that the consuls, finding their authority insufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of the state, but even over the laws themselves. To this the plebeians readily consented, willing to give up their own power for the sake of abridging that of their superiors. 30. In consequence of this, Lar'tius was created the first dictator of Rome, for so was this high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. 31. Thus the people, who could not bear the very name of king, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of much greater power; so much do the names of things mislead us, and so little is any form of government irksome to the people, when it coincides with their prejudices.

Questions for Examination.

1. What form of government was substituted for the regal?
2. Who were the first consuls?
3. Did this new government appear stable at its commencement?
4. Was this party formidable, and who were the most remarkable of its members?
5. What share had Tarquin in this conspiracy?
6. By what means was it discovered?
7. In what unhappy situation was Brutus placed?
8. What had the criminals to say in extenuation of their offences?
9. What effect had this scene on the judges?
10. Did not paternal affection cause him to relent?
11. What measures did Tarquin next pursue?
12. What steps were taken to resist him?
13. What remarkable event attended the meeting of the armies?
14. Did this decide the fate of the day?
15. Did Tarquin relinquish his hopes?
16. In what manner did Porsenna attempt the restoration of Tarquin?

the fire.

⁷⁴ National pride induced the Romans to conceal the fact that the city was surrendered to Porsenna; Tacitus, however, expressly declares that it was, and Pliny informs us of the severe conditions imposed by the conqueror; one of the articles prohibited them from using iron except for the purposes of agriculture. Plutarch, in his Roman Questions, declares that there was a time when the Romans paid a tenth of their produce to the Etrurians, but that they were freed from the disgraceful tribute by Hercules; this tradition appears to refer to the conquest of the city by Porsenna.

⁷⁵ Besides this, by his emissaries, he engaged the meaner sort of citizens and the slaves in a conspiracy. The former were, at an appointed time, to seize the ramparts, and the latter to murder their masters at the same instant. The gates were then to be opened to the Tar'quins, who were to enter Rome while it was yet reeking with the blood of the senators. This conspiracy was discovered to the consul by two of Tarquin's principal agents.

17. By what heroic action was the city saved?
18. Did Porsenna persevere in his attempt?
19. What was the consequence?
20. What was this act of heroism?
21. Did he succeed?
22. What followed?
23. How did Porsenna act on the occasion?
24. Were these conditions accepted?
25. What remarkable circumstance attended the delivery of the hostages?
26. How did the consul act on the occasion?
27. Whom did she choose?
28. What happened after the departure of Porsenna?
29. What measures did Tarquin next resort to?
30. What was the consequence?
31. What inference may be drawn from this?

CHAPTER X. FROM THE CREATION OF THE DICTATOR TO THE ELECTION OF THE TRIBUNES. – U.C. 255

And add the Tribunes, image of the people —Anon.

1. LAR'TIUS, being created dictator,⁷⁶ entered upon his office, surrounded with lictors and all the ensigns of ancient royalty; and, seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, ordered the levies to be made, in the manner of the kings of Rome. 2. The populace looked with terror upon a magistrate whom they had invested with uncontrollable power, and each went peaceably to range himself under his respective standard. 3. Thus going forth to oppose the enemy, he, after concluding a truce for a year, returned with his army, and, in six months, laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

4. But, though for this time the people submitted to be led forth, they yet resolved to free themselves from the yoke; and, though they could not get their grievances redressed, yet they determined to fly from those whom they could not move to compassion. The grievances, therefore, continuing, they resolved to quit a city which gave them no shelter, and to form a new establishment without its limits. They, therefore, under the conduct of a plebe'ian, named Sicin'ius Bellu'tus, retired to a mountain, hence called the Mons Sacer, within three miles of Rome.

5. Upon the news of this defection, the city was filled with tumult and consternation: those who wished well to the people made every attempt to scale the walls, in order to join it.⁷⁷ 6. The senate was not less agitated than the rest; some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length, it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the people to return home, and declare their grievances; promising, at the same time, an oblivion of all that had passed.

7. This message not succeeding, Mene'nias Agrip'pa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion, that the demands of the people were to be complied with. It was resolved, therefore, to enter into a treaty, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. 8. Ten commissioners were deputed. The dignity and popularity of the ambassadors procured them a very respectful reception among the soldiers, and a conference began. They employed all their oratory; while Sicin'ius and Lu'cius Ju'nianus, who were speakers for the soldiery, aggravated their distresses with all that masculine eloquence which is the child of nature.

9. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Mene'nianus Agrip'pa, who had been originally a plebe'ian himself, a shrewd man, and who, consequently, knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to please the people, addressed them with that celebrated fable of the body and the members, which is so finely told by Livy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The power of the dictator was absolute; he could, of his own will, make peace or war, levy forces, lead them forth, disband them, and even dispense with the existing laws, at his pleasure, without consulting the senate.

⁷⁷ The gates had been shut by order of the senate, to prevent further defection.

⁷⁸ Titus Livius was born at Pad'ua (the ancient Patavi'nus) in the year of Rome, 695. He wrote the Roman history, from the foundation of the city to the year 744, in 140 books, of which only 35 remain and some of them are still imperfect. Though Livy was treated with great marks of respect by the emperor Augustus, in whose reign he flourished, yet he extolled Pompey so highly, that Augustus used to call him a Pompeian; and though he was by no means backward in bestowing praises on Brutus and Cassius, the enemies of Augustus, yet it did not interrupt their friendship. Livy died at his native city, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, aged 76 years.

10. This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimously cried out, that Agrip'pa should lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lu'cius Junius withheld them; alleging, that though they ought gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard against their future resentments; that therefore it was necessary, for the security of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themselves, who should have power to give redress to such of them as should be injured, and plead the cause of the community. 11. The people, who are generally of opinion with the last speaker,⁷⁹ highly applauded this proposal, with which, however, the commissioners had not power to comply; they, therefore, sent to Rome to take the instructions of the senate, who, distracted with divisions among themselves, and harassed by complaints from without, were resolved to have peace, at whatever price it should be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of these new officers, who were called *Tribunes*⁸⁰ of the People.

12. The tribunes of the people were at first five in number, though afterwards their body was increased by five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and almost always from their body. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the senate house, and, when called in, they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *Veto*, "I forbid it;" or confirming it by signing the letter *T*, which gave it validity. 13. This new office being thus instituted, all things were adjusted both on the one side and the other, and the people, after having sacrificed to the gods of the mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the first acts of the dictator?
2. Were his decrees peaceably obeyed?
3. What were his exploits?
4. Were the discontents of the people entirely appeased?
5. How was the news of this defection received?
6. What was its effect on the senate?
7. Was this offer accepted?
8. In what manner was this done, and how were they received?
9. What was the result of this conference?
10. What fable was addressed to the people?
11. What effect did this apology produce?
12. How was this obstacle removed?
13. Who were the tribunes of the people, and what was their authority?
14. Did this new regulation answer the desired end?

⁷⁹ This is a severe satire upon the judgment of the multitude; indeed, it seems intended to show, that when the passions are appealed to, the judgment is not much consulted; and therefore, that little reliance ought to be placed on acts resulting from popular acclamation.

⁸⁰ They were called tribunes, because chosen by the tribes. The first tribunes were L. Ju'nius Bru'tus, C. Sicin'ius Melli'tus, Pub'lius Licin'ius, C. Licin'ius, and Sp. Ici'lius Ruga.

CHAPTER XI

SECTION I. FROM THE CREATION OF THE TRIBUNES, TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DECENVIRI – U.C. 260

Welcome to Rome, renowned Coriolanus!
—*Shakspeare.*

1. During the late separation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence the ensuing season. 2. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched with want and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians, who, having purchased all the corn, as was alleged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts, by selling it out to great advantage. 3. But plenty soon after appeased them for a time. A fleet of ships, laden with corn, from Sicily, once more raised their spirits.

4. But Coriola'nus⁸¹ incurred their resentment, by insisting that the corn should not be distributed till the grievances of the senate were removed. For this, the tribunes summoned him to a trial before the people.

5. When the appointed day was come, all persons were filled with the greatest expectations, and a vast concourse from the adjacent country assembled and filled the forum. Coriola'nus presented himself before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful person, his persuasive eloquence, and the cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. 6. But, being unable to answer what was alleged against him to the satisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with a new charge, of having embezzled the plunder of *Antium*, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriola'nus was condemned to perpetual exile.

7. This sentence against their bravest defender struck the senate with sorrow, consternation and regret. Coriola'nus alone, in the midst of the tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. 8. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of the most respectable senators and citizens, to take leave of his wife, his children, and his mother, *Vetu'ria*. Thus, recommending all to the care of Heaven, he left the city, without followers or fortune, to take refuge with Tullus At'tius,⁸² a man of great power among the *Volsci*, who took him under his protection, and espoused his quarrel.

9. Some pretence was necessary to induce the *Volsci* to break the league which had been made with Rome; and, for this purpose, Tullus sent many of his citizens thither, apparently for the purpose of seeing some games at that time celebrating; but gave the senate private information, that the strangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. 10. This had the desired effect; the senate issued an order, that all strangers, whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sun-set. 11. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and redemanding all the territories belonging to the

⁸¹ This man's name was originally *Ca'ius Mar'cius*. He received the surname of *Coriola'nus* as a reward for having, by his valour, occasioned the taking of *Cori'oli*, the capital of the *Vol'sci*. Previous to the occurrence mentioned in the text, he had been condemned to death by the tribunes, but saved by the interference of his friends.

⁸² Tullus At'tius was a most determined enemy to the Romans, and to Coriola'nus in particular, for the share he had in humbling the power of the *Vol'sci*. It was probably more from a hope of revenge, by means of this valiant soldier, than any noble principle, that he offered him his countenance and protection.

Volsci, of which they had been violently dispossessed; declaring war in case of refusal. This message, however, was treated by the senate with contempt. 12. War being, in consequence, declared on both sides, Coriola'nus and Tullus were made generals of the Volsci, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. 13. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome; the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also showed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours: so that Coriola'nus continued to take their towns one after the other. 14. Fortune followed him in every expedition, and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. 15. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. 16. It was then the senate and the people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him, with proposals for his restoration, in case he would draw off his army. 17. Coriola'nus received these proposals at the head of his principal officers, and, with the sternness of a general that was to give the law, refused their offers.

18. Another embassy was now sent, conjuring him not to exact from his native city aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriola'nus, however, naturally severe, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them only three days for deliberation. 19. In this exigence, all that was left to be done was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, priests, and augurs. These, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: but all in vain, they found him severe and inflexible.

20. When the people saw them return without success, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost. Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, prostrate at the altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentation; nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distress. 21. At length it was suggested to them, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the adjuration of the priests, might be brought about by the tears of a wife, or the commands of a mother. 22. This deputation seemed to be approved by all, and even the senate themselves gave it the sanction of their authority. Vetu'ria, the mother of Coriola'nus, at first hesitated to undertake so pious a work; knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and fearing only to show his disobedience in a new point of light, by his rejecting the commands of a parent; however, she at last undertook the embassy, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volum'nia his wife, and his two children. 23. Coriola'nus, who at a distance discovered this mournful train of females, was resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him to be witnesses of his resolution; but, when told that his mother and his wife were among the number, he instantly came down from his tribunal to meet and embrace them. 24. At first, the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough soldier himself, hardy as he was, could not refrain, from sharing their distress. Coriola'nus now seemed much agitated by contending passions; while his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence, that of tears: his wife and children hung around him, entreating for protection and pity: while the female train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress. 25. Coriola'nus for a moment was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination; at length, as if roused from a dream, he flew to raise his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O, my mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son!" He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers that the city was too strong to be taken. 26. Tullus, who had long envied Coriola'nus, was not remiss in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriola'nus

is said to have been slain by an insurrection of the people, and honourably buried, after a late and ineffectual repentance.

27. Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome upon the retreat of the Volscian army;⁸³ but they were clouded soon after by the intrigues of Spu'rius Cas'sius, who, wanting to make himself despotic by means of the people, was found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the constitution; and was thrown headlong from the Tarpei'an rock,⁸⁴ by those very people whose interests he had endeavoured to extend.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the consequences of the late separation?
2. What measures were taken to remedy these misfortunes, and to whom was the blame of them attributed?
3. What happened to remove the popular discontent?
4. What circumstances raised a fresh commotion?
5. Did Coriolanus obey the summons?
6. What was the issue of the trial?
7. To what sensations did this sentence give rise?
8. What circumstance attended his departure?
9. In what manner did he commence his revenge?
10. Was this information believed?
11. What use did Tullus make of this order?
12. To whom was the conduct of the war committed?
13. Was this invasion vigorously opposed?
14. Was Coriolanus uniformly successful?
15. What did this good fortune induce him to undertake?
16. What measures did the senate adopt on this emergency?
17. How were these proposals received?
18. Were they repeated?
19. What was the next step adopted?
20. Did the Romans boldly resolve to oppose force by force?
21. What new expedient was proposed?
22. Was this proposal adopted?
23. What was the conduct of Coriola'nus on the occasion?
24. Describe this interview.
25. What was the result?
26. Did the Volscians approve of this measure?
27. What followed this happy deliverance?

SECTION II

Like rigid Cincinnatus, nobly poor. —*Thomson.*

1. The year following, the two consuls of the former year, Man'lius and Fa'bius, were cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agra'rian law, which had been proposed some time before, for equally dividing the lands of the commonwealth among the people, was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off.

⁸³ The senate commanded a temple to be erected on the spot where the interview between Coriola'nus and his mother took place, which saved Rome, and dedicated it to maternal influence?

⁸⁴ Tarpei'an Rock, or Tarpei'us Mons, a hill at Rome, about eighty feet in perpendicular height, whence the Romans threw down their condemned criminals.

2. The Agra'rian law was a grant the senate could not think of making to the people. The consuls, therefore, made many delays and excuses, till at length they were once more obliged to have recourse to a dictator; and they fixed upon Quintus Cincinna'tus, a man who had for some time, given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the mean attire of a labouring husbandman. 3. He appeared but little elevated with the addresses of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified rather a concern that his aid should be wanted. He naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement to the fatiguing splendors of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Atti'lia, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." 4. Then, taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. However, he resolved to side with neither; but, by a strict attention to the interests of his country, instead of gaining the confidence of faction, to seize the esteem of all. 5. Thus, by threats and well-timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and conducted himself so as to be a terror to the multitude whenever they refused to enlist, and their greatest encourager whenever their submission deserved it. 6. Having, by these means, restored that tranquillity to the people which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendors of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater relish on his little farm.

U.C. 295.

7. Cincinna'tus had not long retired from his office, when a fresh exigence of the state once more required his assistance; and the Æ'qui and the Vol'sci, who, although always worsted, were still for renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. 8. Minu'tius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinna'tus, was sent to oppose them; but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than desirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress. 9. This, however, the Æ'qui had the precaution to fortify, by which the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. 10. Some knights who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of this disaster to Rome. 11. Nothing could exceed the consternation of all ranks of people when informed of it: the senate at first thought of the other consul; but not having sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinna'tus, and resolved to make him dictator. 12. Cincinna'tus, the only person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the messengers of the senate, labouring in his field with cheerful industry. 13. He was at first astonished at the ensigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to invest him; but still more at the approach of the principal of the senate, who came out to attend him.

14. A dignity so unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity or integrity of his manners; and being now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man named Tarqui'tius, one who, like himself, despised riches when they led to dishonour. Thus the saving a great nation was devolved upon a husbandman taken from the plough, and an obscure sentinel found among the dregs of the army. 15. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a serene look, and entreated all those who were able to bear arms, to repair, before sunset, to the Cam'pus Mar'tius (the place where the levies were made) with necessary arms, and provisions for five days. 16. He put himself at the head of these, and, marching all night with great expedition, arrived early the next day within sight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his soldiers to raise a loud shout, to apprise the consul's army of the relief that was at hand. 17. The Æ'qui were not a little amazed when they saw themselves between two enemies; but still more when they perceived Cincinna'tus making the strongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their escape, and enclosing them as they had enclosed the consul. 18. To prevent this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æ'qui, being attacked on both sides, and unable longer to resist or fly, begged a cessation of arms. 19. They

offered the dictator his own terms: he gave them their lives, and obliged them, in token of servitude, to pass under the yoke, which was two spears set upright, and another across, in the form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquished were to march. Their captains and generals he made prisoners of war, being reserved to adorn his triumph. 20. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own soldiers, without reserving any part for himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to have a share. 21. Thus having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he resigned his dictatorship, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, choosing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with competency and fame.

22. But this repose from foreign invasion did not lessen the tumults of the city within. The clamours for the Agra'rian law still continued, and still more fiercely, when Sic'cius Denta'tus, a plebeian advanced in years, but of an admirable person and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier made no scruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth; indeed, his merits more than supported his ostentation. 23. He had served his country in the wars forty years: he had been an officer thirty, first a centurion, and then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles, in which, by the force of his single arm, he had saved a multitude of lives; he had gained fourteen civic,⁸⁵ three mural,⁸⁶ and eight golden crowns; besides eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eighteen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse-trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in single combat; moreover, he had received forty-five wounds in front, and none behind. 24. These were his honours; yet, notwithstanding all these, he had never received any share of those lands which were won from the enemy, but continued to drag on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or ever having contributed to the conquest.⁸⁷ 25. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude; they unanimously demanded that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it, their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. 26. When reason, therefore, could no longer be heard, passion, as usual, succeeded; and the young patricians, running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. 27. For this they were, some time after, fined by the tribunes; their resolution, however, for the present, put off the Agra'rian law.

Questions for Examination.

1. On what accusation were Manlius and Fabius cited to appear before, the people?
2. What measure did the consuls adopt? Where, and in what employment was Cincinnatus found?
3. What effect had this dignity on Cincinnatus?
4. How did he conduct himself?
5. Were his measures successful?
6. Did Cincinnatus continue in office?
7. Was he permitted to continue in retirement?
8. What was the exigence that required his return to office?
9. What prevented the Romans from forcing their way through?
10. How was this news received at Rome?
11. Whom did they resolve to appoint dictator?

⁸⁵ A civic crown among the Romans, was made of oaken leaves, and given to those who had saved the life of a citizen.

⁸⁶ A mural crown was an honorary reward, given by the ancient Romans to the soldiers who first scaled the walls of an enemy's city.

⁸⁷ "These military toys," said he, "are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no share of the conquered countries. Usurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, possess them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone possess the fruits of our conquests? The purchase of our blood?"

12. How was Cincinnatus now employed when the messengers arrived?
13. What was his behaviour on the occasion?
14. How was he affected by this exaltation?
15. What were his first measures?
16. What followed?
17. How were the enemy affected by his approach?
18. What was the consequence?
19. What were the terms of peace?
20. What became of the plunder?
21. What were his rewards for this important service?
22. Was domestic tranquillity the consequence of foreign conquest?
23. What were these achievements?
24. How was he rewarded?
25. What was the consequence of his appeal to the people?
26. Did the people obtain their demand?
27. How was this outrage punished?

CHAPTER XII

SECTION I. FROM THE CREATION OF THE DECEMVIRI TO THE EXTINCTION OF THAT OFFICE. – U.C. 302

*She's gone, forever gone! The king of terrors
Lays his rude hands upon her lovely limbs.
And blasts her beauty with his icy breath. —Dennis.*

1. The commonwealth of Rome had now, for nearly sixty years, been fluctuating between the contending orders that composed it, till at length each side, as if weary, was willing to respire awhile from the mutual exertions of its claims. The citizens, of every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws which, being known, might prevent wrongs, as well as punish them. 2. In this both the senate and the people concurred, as hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions that so long had harassed the state. 3. It was thereupon agreed that ambassadors should be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home such laws from thence, as, by experience, had been found most equitable and useful. For this purpose three senators, Posthumus, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and galleys assigned to convoy them, agreeably to the majesty of the Roman people. 4. While they were upon this commission abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and supplied the interval of their absence with other anxiety than that of wishes for their return. 5. In about a year the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned, bringing home a body of laws, collected from the most civilised states of Greece and Italy, which, being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called, The Laws of the Twelve Tables.⁸⁸

6. The ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the tribunes required that a body of men should be chosen to digest their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. 7. After long debate, whether this choice should not be made from the people, as well as the patricians, it was at last agreed that ten of the principal senators should be elected, whose power, continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and that without any appeal. 8. Thus the whole constitution of the state at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was about to be tried, of governing one nation by laws formed from the manners and customs of another.

9. These *Decemviri*, being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, each to administer justice for a day. 10. For the first year, they wrought with extreme application: and their work being finished, it was expected that they would be content to give up their office; but, having known the charms of power, they were unwilling to resign: they pretended that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance in office; which request was readily granted.

11. But they soon threw off the mask of moderation, and, regardless of the approbation of the senate or the people, resolved to continue, against all order, in the decemvirate. 12. A conduct so tyrannical produced discontents, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny. The city was become almost a desert, with respect to all who had any thing to lose, and the rapacity of the decemvirs was then only discontinued when they wanted fresh subjects to exercise it upon. 13. In this

⁸⁸ These laws were engraven on brass, and hung up in the most conspicuous part of the Forum.

state of slavery, proscription, and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom; these tyrants continued to rule without controul, being constantly guarded, not by the lictors alone, but by a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

14. In this gloomy situation of the state, the Æ'qui and Vol'sci, those constant enemies of the Romans, renewed their incursions, and, resolving to profit by the intestine divisions of the people, advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

15. The decemviri, being in possession of all the military as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Ap'pius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the Æ'qui, and the other against the Vol'sci. 16. The Roman soldiers had now adopted a method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice upon this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy, 17. Never was victorious news more joyfully received at Rome, than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the case, were blamed for the treachery of their men; some demanded that they should be deposed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conquest. 18. Among the rest, old Sic'cius Denta'tus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness; and, treating the generals with contempt, pointed out the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. 19. Ap'pius, in the mean time, was not remiss in observing the dispositions of the people. Denta'tus, in particular, was marked out for vengeance; and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies which were sent from Rome, to reinforce the army. 20. The office of legate was held sacred among the Romans, as in it was united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the priesthood. 21. Denta'tus, no way suspecting the design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. 22. He was appointed at the head of a hundred men to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders, that their present situation was wrong. 23. The soldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were assassins; wretches who had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who had now engaged to murder him, though with all those apprehensions which his reputation (for he was called the Roman *Achilles*) might be supposed to inspire. 24. With these designs they led him into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him behind. 25. Denta'tus too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore set his back against a rock, and defended himself against those who pressed most closely. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and, with his own hand, killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and wounded thirty. 26. The assassins now, therefore, terrified at his amazing bravery, showered their javelins upon him at a distance, all which he received in his shield with undaunted resolution.

27. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till at length the assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock, against which he stood, and pouring down stones upon him from above. 28. This succeeded: the old soldier fell beneath their united efforts; after having shown, by his death, that he owed to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off so many times victorious. 29. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the first military honours; but their pretended grief, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people.

Questions for Examination.

1. Of what did the Roman citizens complain, and what did they wish?
2. Was this assented to by the nation at large?
3. What means were adopted for this purpose?

4. What happened during their absence?
5. How long did this calamity last?
6. What steps were taken on the return of the ambassadors?
7. Who were chosen for this purpose?
8. Was this proceeding an important one?
9. In what manner did the decemviri govern?
10. How did they discharge the duties of their office?
11. Did they continue in the conscientious discharge of their duties?
12. What was the consequence of this conduct?
13. Was no patriot to be found bold enough to be a champion in his country's cause?
14. What added to the miseries of the Romans?
15. What steps were taken to oppose them?
16. What was the conduct of the Roman soldiers on this occasion?
17. How was this news received at Rome?
18. Who appeared most conspicuous on this occasion?
19. How was this honest sincerity received?
20. Was the office of legate a respectable one?
21. Did Dentatus suspect treachery?
22. What plan of revenge was adopted?
23. What was the character of his attendants?
24. How did they commence their base design?
25. Was Dentatus aware of their treachery, and what resistance did he make?
26. Did the assassins boldly engage the hero?
27. What new method of attack did they attempt?
28. Was this plan successful?
29. What was the conduct of the decemviri on this occasion?

SECTION II

*That chastity of look which seems to hang
A veil of purest light o'er all her beauties.
And, by forbidding, most inflames! —Young.*

1. But a transaction still more atrocious than the former, served to inspire the citizens with a resolution to break all measures of obedience, so as at last to restore freedom.

2. Ap'pius, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a maiden of exquisite beauty, aged about fifteen, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. The charms of the damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful, and his breast still more inflamed. 3. He now, therefore, resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion, whatever should be the consequence, and found means to inform himself of the maiden's name and family. 4. Her name was Virgin'ia; she was the daughter of Virgin'ius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icill'ius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the present campaign.

5. Ap'pius at first resolved to break off this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the Twelve Tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, and he could not infringe these, as he was the enactor of them. 6. He determined, therefore, to make her his slave. 7. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient,

still more wicked. He fixed upon one Clau'dius, who had long been the minister of his crimes, to assert that the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to Ap'pius's tribunal for decision. 8. Clau'dius behaved exactly according to his instructions; for, taking with him a band of ruffians like himself, he entered into the public school, where Virginia was found among her female companions, and seizing upon her under pretence that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, was dragging her away, when he was prevented by the people, drawn together by her cries. 9. At length, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Ap'pius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. 10. Clau'dius asserted that she was born in his house, of a female slave, who sold her to the wife of Virgin'ius, who had been childless. That he had credible evidences to prove the truth of what he had advanced; but that, until they could come together, it was but reasonable the slave should be delivered into his custody, he being her proper master. 11. Ap'pius pretended to be struck with the justice of his claim; he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maid; but that it was not lawful for him, in the present case, to detain her from her master. He, therefore, adjudged her to Clau'dius, as his slave, to be kept by him till Virgin'ius should arrive, and be able to prove his paternity. 12. This sentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude, particularly by the women, who came round the innocent Virgin'ia, desirous to protect her from the judge's fury; while Icil'ius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Clau'dius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. 13. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Ap'pius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment, under pretence of waiting the arrival of Virgin'ius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome, with the army. 14. The day following was fixed for the trial. In the mean time Ap'pius privately sent letters to the general to confine Virgin'ius, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. 15. These letters, however, being intercepted by the centurion's friends, they sent him a full relation of the design laid against his liberty and the honour of his only daughter. 16. Virgin'ius, upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, got permission to leave the camp, and hastened to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. 17. Accordingly, the next day, to the astonishment of Ap'pius, he appeared before the tribunal, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both of them habited in deep mourning. 18. Clau'dius, the accuser, began by making his demand. Virgin'ius next spoke in turn: he represented, that, if he had had intentions of adopting a suppositious child, he should have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had herself nursed this daughter; and that it was surprising such a claim should be made after a fifteen years' silence; and not till Virginia was become marriageable, and acknowledged to be exquisitely beautiful. 19. While the father spoke this, with a stern air, the eyes of all were turned on Virgin'ia, who stood trembling, with looks of persuasive eloquence and excessive grief, which added weight to his remonstrances, and excited compassion. 20. The people, satisfied of the cruelty of his case, raised an outcry, expressive of their indignation. 21. Ap'pius, fearing that what had been said might have a dangerous effect upon the multitude, and under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause, with rage interrupted him. "Yes," said he, "my conscience obliges me to declare, that I, myself, am a witness to the truth of the deposition of Clau'dius. Most of this assembly know that I was left guardian to him. I was early apprised that he had a right to this young slave; but public affairs, and the dissensions of the people, have prevented my doing him justice. However, it is not now too late; and by the power vested in me for the general good, I adjudge Virgin'ia to be the property of Clau'dius, the plaintiff. Go, therefore, lictors, disperse the multitude, and make room for the master to repossess himself of his slave." 22. The lictors, in obedience to his command, drove off the throng that pressed round the tribunal; they seized upon Virgin'ia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Clau'dius: the multitude were terrified and withdrew; and Virgin'ius, who found that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. 22. He, however, mildly entreated of Ap'pius to be permitted to take a last farewell of a child whom he had at least considered as his own, and so satisfied, he would return to his duty with fresh alacrity. 24. Ap'pius granted the

favour, upon condition that their endearments should pass in his presence. But Virgin'ius was then meditating a dreadful resolution.

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