

## **Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2, Detail A**

### **A Brief Full History of Rome<sup>1</sup> (To 133 b.c./b.c.e.)**

753 b.c.<sup>2</sup> traditionally is taken as Rome's founding date. "[N]o one knows by whom or under what circumstances Rome was founded," it being "merely one of several Latin towns" that gradually united with other populated districts in its vicinity. Its earliest history mostly has been garnered from legendary stories. The government was monarchical, tempered by form of senatorial organization responsive to *curiae*.<sup>3</sup> Political power was exercised by the nobles, from whom were drawn the senators, who elected the kings. The *curiae* met in assemblies at which the king appeared when deemed necessary, and no one was denied voice. The commoners were called *plebeians* and they naturally constituted the greatest number.

"The last royal dynasty of Rome undoubtedly was named Tarquin." Among Tarquin legacies (apart from impressive public works) were (a) the formation of four districts in Rome city and some 16 in the rest of its territory; and (b) the replacement of the former local, ill-prepared military companies with specialized divisions drawn from all combined tribesmen. By the end of the Tarquin dynasty "Rome's territory [and population] had increased four or five fold--chiefly at the expense of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins[/*Latin*]," with a correspondent increase in military strength.

As Rome added to its territory, it "compelled many of the dispossessed peoples to settle on her own hills, and admitting all to citizenship, bestowed the patriciate<sup>4</sup> on the nobles." "The allied Latin towns...concluded with Rome a perpetual peace." They looked to Rome as the strongest regional community, "which could support them amongst Latium's enemies--the mountainous Sabellians, the southern Etruscans in Campania, and the Carthaginians."<sup>5</sup>

*Botsford* 11, 13, 24-25, 33-36.

According to myths and legends, the last Tarquin king was a "haughty tyrant" in whose reign "matters came to crisis." According to *Livy*, the Tarquin monarch's son "did violence to the honor of one Lucretia." Her husband, Collatinus Tarquinius, and Lucius Junius Brutus, "both kinsmen of the king," led a revolt of nobles and commons/[commoners], by which the king was banished. "Brutus persuaded the people to swear that they would never suffer a king to rule [again] at Rome. In place of a single lifelong sovereign, the people thereafter elected annually two consuls as chief magistrates with equal power." The consuls, however, could nominate an interim 'dictator' to a term of six months, if circumstances deemed it necessary.

*Botsford* 37.

A treaty with Carthage<sup>6</sup> in 509 b.c., the "Republic's first year,..implies that Rome was [then] supreme in Latium." However, a continuing threat by a 'Latium League' for restoration of the monarchy produced a treaty in 493 b.c. which secured to the League a sharing of military command, conquered lands, and spoils. The alliance also provided defense against

<sup>1</sup> The primary purpose here is to provide global continuity salient to the within work. *Botsford*, the summarized source text, contains extensive details for the desiring reader.

<sup>2</sup> "AUC year 1"--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B (1)(c), "Calendrical Conversions."

<sup>3</sup> Brotherhoods, each composed of several families.

<sup>4</sup> *Patricians* = aristocrats; those "qualified by birth [descent] to be senators, magistrates, and priests." *Botsford* 24. (For a complete summary of the types of offices in the "republic," and of the system's elements, see *Botsford* chapter IV.)

<sup>5</sup> The Etruscans and Carthaginians at times formed alliances.

<sup>6</sup> Carthage, on Africa's coast opposite Sicily, had been colonized by Phoenicians--early explorers of the Mediterranean islands and shores--and was an advantageous site for east/west trade. Various Phoenician colonies were gathered under Carthage's rule--on Africa's north and northwest coasts, in western Sicily, Sardinia and even Spain. *Botsford* 95.

yearly incursions by Sabine, Aequian and Volscian tribes (“rude mountaineers”).<sup>7</sup>

Rome sustained many years of warring with the Aequians and the Volscians. The Roman phalanx<sup>8</sup> “was more than a match” for unorganized lowland bands raiding in open fields. Defeating highlanders, however, “seemed like beating the air--[as] light as the wind they withdrew...and as lightly swept down again.” One illustrious victory over Aequians is reported under nominated dictator, Cincinnatus; but it was not until dictator Posthumius stormed the foes’ camps in 431 b.c. that the Romans began to gain an upper hand. Before that winter’s end they had recovered lost ground. Under dictator Camillus they proceeded to take Veii, an Etruscan city nearly as large as Rome. *Botsford 39-41.*

Rome’s battles with immediate neighbors had caused it to lose contact with the greater Mediterranean world for some half-century. Then, c. 390 b.c., it suffered disastrous invasion and defeat by Gauls, led by a chief named Brennus. They entered Rome and wrought great slaughter, pillage and destruction. The Romans finally offered “a thousand pounds of gold” if Brennus would withdraw. He was holding out for more when dictator “Camillus...appeared with an army...and drove the Gauls away without their gold.”<sup>9</sup> Rome rebuilt itself within a year, and Camillus was recognized as the new city’s founder.

At this time a Roman legion ordinarily consisted of “3000 heavy-armed troops and 1200 light-armed. The number of legions varied according to the requirements of war...[and] there were regularly 300 knights to a legion.” During the Veii war the senate had begun giving pay to soldiers, who previously both had served without pay and equipped themselves with their own funds. Now further reforms were made. Soldiers were ranked in divisions according to their experience and skill. Their armor was strengthened; cavalry knights received “heavier and better Greek weapons.” Rome’s neighbors continued rising in arms against her; “but their combined strength could not overwhelm the city; for Camillus, ‘the life and soul of Rome,’ everywhere led his legions to victory.” “Rome formed new tribes<sup>10</sup> on lands she had taken in war and settled with her own citizens.”

Civil rights and rule were not uniform, however, among towns and colonies in Rome’s domain. The standard ‘Roman’ colony was a garrison of 300 exclusively Roman men and families, usually settled in a maritime town as coastal defense, who possessed full citizenship privileges equal to their mother city. A ‘Latin’ colony, which might be totally inhabited by allied subjects or shared with some Romans, enjoyed only the privileges of older Latin towns. Lastly, there were other town “termed *municipia*,” among which privileges varied. For example, “the people of Tusculum, admitted to the Roman state in 381 b.c., enjoyed full citizenship and self-government,” while those of Caere...though citizens, could neither vote nor hold office at Rome, and...their local freedom was restricted by the presence of a...prefect, sent from Rome to administer justice among them.”

“One hundred years of warfare with the mountaineers...weakened” the Latin allies. Over time they had lost ground again in relation to Rome, which “now furnished all the commanders, and...claimed the lion’s share of spoils and conquered land.” While Rome was gaining in its supremacy over Latium and gradual control of southern Etruria, the Samnite people--“the most powerful [tribal] nation in the interior” of Italy--were migrating south “through a brilliant career of conquest.” Samnites were accepted, ostensibly in friendship, into the rich Etruscan city of Capua; they then “massacred its inhabitants and took possession” and proceeded to conquer the Greek city Cumae in, and to occupy all of, Campania. “[S]warms

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<sup>7</sup> Interference from Etruscans gradually would diminish as they became ensnared by Gauls.

<sup>8</sup> Which system had found its way from Sparta through Greece, into Italy and Sicily, and been copied by the last Tarquins.

<sup>9</sup> According to *Botsford* the Romans “undoubtedly” did pay the ransom, with the story of Camillus’ appearance being an historian’s embroidery. Page 45.

<sup>10</sup> “There were 20 tribes in the regal period, and one was added in the early republic.” Page 48.

of Samnites under the name of Lucanians [also successfully] assailed cities of Magna Graecia.”

*Botsford 42 - 49.*

Subsequently, c. the mid-fourth century b.c., Samnium possessed nearly all lower-Italy and an alliance was struck between it and Rome. The coastal Samnites gradually assumed the life style of their Etruscan and Greek subjects and became disconnected from their own “mother nation.” They “trembled before their brave kinsmen of the hills; and though many Capuans were ready to serve for pay in foreign armies, few were willing to defend their own city. When therefore fresh tribes from Samnium [proper] ravaged their fields,” they turned over Capua to Rome as a possession, “in return for protection.”

The Romans proceeded to yield to the prospect of possessing all of rich Campania, breeched their treaty with the entire Samnium nation, and “brought upon themselves the First Samnite War.” The “poor but brave” Samnite mountaineers--unpossessed of wealth, king or aristocracy--“looked greedily” on the well-cultivated plains on their western border; only one of their cities opposed taking up arms against Rome.

“No other country in Italy was so thoroughly centralized” as Samnium; and its peasant militia “had taken lessons of the Greeks; their legion...[was] an improvement on the Greek phalanx [and] better adapted to fighting in the hills.” On the other side, the “Latins and Romans entered...with one soul...a national war for home and country, for the wealth and civilization of the plain.” “So great was [their] success in this short war that the Carthaginians...sent...as a gift a golden crown of 25 pounds weight, which was placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline [mount].” A Roman garrison was installed at Capua to protect it and surrounding towns from incursions. Complaints were raised, however, its soldiers and military tribunes (staff officers)-- the former, that commanders often deprived privates of pay and booty by deleting names from the rolls; the latter, that commanders were degrading them to the rank of centurion (captain).

Disgruntled personnel of the Capua garrison “plotted to massacre the Capuans, seize their wealth and marry their wives.” The plan was aborted by arrival of consul Gaius Marcius Rutilus, “who quietly dismissed from the army the most turbulent spirits.” The dismissed soldiers, joined by others, marched 20,000 strong and encamped near Rome. There they met with appointed dictator, Marcus Valerius Corvus, “a great favorite of the soldiers.” He persuaded the mountaineers to desist; and, upon his motion, “the senate and assembly passed a law...[which gave] pardon for the mutiny,...cancell[ation of] all debts, and forbade...erasure of a soldier’s name...and the degradation of a tribune.”

In 341 b.c. Rome and Samnium abruptly made peace, possibly due to a mutually-suffered threat by the king of Lacedaemon (who with his army came to Italy, to aid the Spartan colony of Tarentum against its natives). Rome immediately withdrew its army from the field, leaving the Latins and other allies “in the lurch” *vis-a-vis* Samnium. The Latins persevered without help. Then, “at the head of a powerful alliance of neighboring states, [they] demanded equal representation with the Romans in the consulship and senate.... [T]hey wished to be Romans.” At Rome, the demand “was rejected with scorn...[as] ’an insult to the supreme god of...state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy.”

*Botsford 49-52.*

Although Romans and Latins “were of one blood and speech...[with] the same arms, military organization and discipline,” in the new war that followed Rome had the advantage of being a cohesive single entity opposite a loose confederacy. The war ended after only “one or two fierce battles;” the Latin league was dissolved; and all Campanian towns and all Latin towns save four<sup>11</sup> received the form of citizenship that carried neither right to vote nor right to hold office at Rome. “Two new tribes were made of the lands taken in this war.” Latin communities retained self-administration; those in Campania were ruled by prefects.

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<sup>11</sup> The “faithful,” who received full Roman citizenship.

In the same year of the Latin league's dissolution, Lacedaemon's king (Archidamus) fell in struggles at Tarentum. The Tarentines called for assistance from "Alexander [A],<sup>12</sup> uncle and brother-in-law of Alexander [III] the Great, and king of the Molossians (a tribe of Epirus)." Alexander [A] "came with an army organized like that of his famous relative...[and dreams] of building up as great a power in the West as his namesake was then creating in the East." The mountaineer Samnites assisted their southern relatives (now termed Lucanians and Bruttians), while Rome (irregardless of nearer obligations) made a treaty with Alexander [A and with the Tarentines], and with the Gauls, as well.<sup>13</sup>

Rome provoked Samnium by erecting a fortress at its border, heralding the "Second Samnite War [326-304]." For a time "the fortunes of war varied," the tide turning from one side to the other. The free Greek city of Naples in Campania was besieged, by Roman forces under Publilius Philo (a "plebeian consul"<sup>14</sup>). On surrender, Naples became Rome's naval ally, exempt from military service on land, in exchange for supplying warships and crews. The favorable terms of that alliance "soon brought Rome other maritime allies." *Botsford 53-55.*

In 321 b.c., however, 40,000 of Rome's men, with their consuls, were forced to surrender in an ambush at an Apennine pass named Claudine. The captured consuls were forced to accept Samnite terms of peace; but upon appointment of new consuls "the government repudiated the treaty on the ground that it had not been ratified by the people, and delivered to the enemy the ex-consuls who were responsible for it."

"After the disaster at the Claudine Pass, the war dragged on from year to year." Frequent border raids by each party rarely ended in a battle. The Samnites wanted peace; the Roman Senate was willing to grant it. But the Roman people, "who found in conquest their only remedy for overpopulation, would have nothing short of submission."<sup>15</sup> Rome's policies aroused new enemies. "First the Etruscans and the Umbrians joined Samnium; several lesser tribes followed; all Italy seemed aflame with war."

When rumors spread that forces deployed under both of Rome's consuls were in danger, the government appointed Lucius Papirius as dictator. "To the Samnites, the struggle with Rome had become a holy war in defence of their homes and their altars," and their army when it appeared for battle was glitteringly armored and plumed. "The fight was sharp; and, as [Rome's] enemy fell, 'the plains were quickly filled with heaps of bodies and of splended armor.'"

There now progressed general weakening of opposition to Rome. Succeeding consuls "gained fresh victories, ravaged Etruria, and captured the strongholds of Samnium." Warring ended in 304 b.c. The original treaty was renewed, and the Samnites "remained free." Rome was content with the terms; its primary interest was to organize newly-won land.

Rome "aimed to cut Samnium off from Umbria and Etruria by a network of military roads and to strongly fortify Latin colonies...through central Italy." Those plans soon were cut short--the "whole Celtic race was in commotion; hordes...invaded Greece, Asia Minor, and

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<sup>12</sup> Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, B(3).

<sup>13</sup> Alexander [A], who met "marked success" at first, "found it impossible to conquer the Italians," and finally "was slain by treachery."

<sup>14</sup> "In early Rome the barrier between the two ranks [plebeian and patrician] was not impassable; with the consent of the assembly the king could ennoble any plebeian whom he considered sufficiently marked by wealth or personal merit." Page 24. (A senate decision to continue Philo in office a second year "was of the greatest importance; for we shall see that it was chiefly the proconsuls who conquered the world for Rome and who then overthrew the republican government.")

<sup>15</sup> "When Rome subdued a neighboring city she...seized a third or perhaps a half of the conquered land;" and her policy was to "settle and organize every foot of conquererd ground, and to hem in her enemy by establishing fortress colonies on the border. In 312 b.c. Appius Claudius Caecus...bound Campania fast to the imperial city by a military road from Rome to Capua, named after him the Appian Way." Page 57.

Italy at nearly the same time...[and] swept with them...the earlier Gallic settlers in the Po valley." Gauls proceeding south also gathered support from commoners of Etruria in revolt from "harsh masters," "for it had been the policy of Rome to attach...allies...by upholding the rule of their nobles;" and "the aristocrats in the allied cities...had become intolerably proud and oppressive."

Lucanians, Umbrians and other lesser tribes joined in the warring, a "grand democratic uprising against Rome, the stronghold of aristocracy," spearheaded by the Samnites "who occupied the citadel of the peninsula." Samnite commander Egnatius "broke through the Roman barrier...across central Italy, and reached Etruria at the head of a great army. ... Never had Italy seen armies so great or a military spirit so stubborn as in this war, which was to determine the fate of the peninsula. The decisive battle was fought at Sentinum in Umbria, 295 b.c." Rome's forces were commanded by consuls Decius (against the Gauls) and Fabius (against the Samnites); and they emerged victorious. Rome's victory "broke the league." The Samnites, however, held out some five years more, until Manius Curius Dentatus ("a peasant who by personal merit had raised himself to the consulship") convinced them to appeal for peace. The Samnites became dependent allies of Rome. But after the half-century conflict between plains and mountains, in which thousands of soldiers had fallen, Italian cities and villages were in ruin and pastures and cornfields destroyed. "Thousands more once-free men, women and children had become slaves of the Romans...the curse of ancient society."

*Botsford 57-60.*

Rome now focused on controlling all southern Italy. A colony of 20,000 men was established at Venusia ("where Samnium, Apulia and Campania met"), to control local tribes and cut off Tarentum from the interior. "Then she [Rome] openly broke her treaty with the Tarentines." The Tarentines "called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus,<sup>16</sup> for help." Pyrrhus, "a brilliant military genius...with a small but strong body of troops...skilled in the arms and tactics of the Macedonian phalanx...first met the enemy at Heraclea. Pyrrhus' elephants (called "gray oxen" by the Romans) breached the Romans' lines, and his "hedge of spears" repulsed them time and again. Rome's losses were heavy, and "a sudden dash of the Thessalian horse completed their ruin."

In that Pyrrhus' invasions of Italy and Sicily "menaced Rome and Carthage alike," "they made a defensive alliance." "...[B]ut fear and jealousy prevented them from calling upon each other for help." More allies joined Pyrrhus, and he "pushed on, till he came within 40 miles of Rome." His own heavy losses, however, prompted him to offer peace to the Roman senate; and Cineas, his ambassador, was eloquent. The "commons, too, preferred peace, that they might settle the lands acquired in the Samnite wars." But venerate senator Appius Claudius pronounced, "Let Pyrrhus return home and *then* we may make peace with him," thus setting forth the principle that thereafter Rome would take care of the interests of Italy."

Pyrrhus won a subsequent battle (at Asculum) but at a cost so dear that he remarked to his friends, "Another such victory will ruin us." He then crossed to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians; but despite "brilliant successes...he failed to dislodge the enemy from the island." "Returning with a few veterans to Italy, Pyrrhus was defeated at Beneventum [in 275 b.c.]...and thereupon withdrew to his home." Although "noble and generous," Pyrrhus' genius was only for war: he knew not how to complete or to organize his conquests, [failing] to attach to himself the peoples he had come to assist." The Greeks of Italy and Sicily wanted "none of the discipline to which he subjected them," which left them with nothing but submission to Rome. Tarentum surrendered after Pyrrhus departed; and "soon Rome became mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon."

There were "various grades of Roman citizenship," and different ranks of citizen communities. At this time, 35 tribes with full citizenship occupied much of the country

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<sup>16</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, C(2).

between the Apennines and the sea; they lived on farms or in villages and had a few large, self-governed towns--the highest class *municipia*. Coastal colonies that protected the seaboard had privileges equal to the former. Citizens in second-class *municipia* had self-government but neither could vote nor hold office at Rome. Third-class *municipia* (*prefectures*) were ruled by prefects sent from Rome; such usually were constituted as "punishment for rebellion or for other grave misconduct."

"Of the allied communities, the nearest to the Romans in race, in privileges, and in friendship were the Latins." Primary ones, such as Tibur and Praeneste, were enduring, original Latin towns. Next in order were variously-situate Latin colonies, "usually in the interior," in which the colonists (Romans or Romanized Latins) "prided themselves on their near relations with the mother city...[and] held the country about them in allegiance to the central government." They served also to advance the Latin language, and were connected with each other and Rome by a network of military roads. "Inferior to the Latins" were those called simply Italians. Every allied state, while exempt from taxation, furnished troops for Rome's army (excepting, as said, the naval allies that provided ships and crews).

"Rome reserved to herself the right to declare war, to make peace, and to coin money;" and she allowed the allies to trade with her, but generally not with each other. Although the gradation of civil rights gave hope of betterment to even the lowest communities, it "isolated the allies from one another and bound them singly [individually] to the central power." "The system here described extended northward only to the Aesis River; for the Senones, a tribe of Gauls occupying the Umbrian coast, now under Roman rule, were not allies but tributary subjects. Indeed it was chiefly in opposition to the Gauls that the Italians, led by Rome, had come to look upon themselves as one people.... This federal system, based upon Italian nationality and directed by Rome, assured to the peninsula domestic peace and to the leading city a place among the great states of the world. The foremost powers of the East at this time were Egypt,--with which Rome allied herself in 273 b.c.,--Macedonia, and the Seleucid empire; of the West, Carthage and Rome."

*Botsford* 61-65; 95.

[*Botsford* here concludes the years referred to as the "first period of the Republic." Chapter V commences the period referred to as the "second" period of the Republic.]

The governments of Carthage and Rome "both were aristocratic, that of Rome...in its fullest vigor,...that of Carthage...beginning to decay." Still, Carthage's great navy controlled the sea while Rome had only a few ships. "The immediate cause" of war between Carthage and Rome--the "First Punic War [264-241 b.c.]--was Rome's decision to aid the a people called "Mamertines," who possessed Messana [Messina], a wealthy Sicilian city on Italy's straits. Previously, the Mamertines ("some Campanian mercenaries") had driven away Messana's men "and divided the women, children and property among themselves." Now, threatened by both Carthaginians and Greeks, the Mamertines "appealed to Rome for aid on the ground of kindred blood." Whether Rome should intervene pitted justice against gaining trade and other benefits; the senate referred the issue to the people. Consul Appius Claudius Caudex,<sup>17</sup> "by promising them lands in Sicily, persuaded them to vote aid."

Rome drove away the Carthaginians and took from them Agrigentum, a town in Sicily on Mount Agragas. Hiero, the king of Syracuse (Sicily's chief city), was "induced...to make a treaty...to supply the Roman armies in Sicily with provisions." "The cities of the interior [of Sicily] readily yielded," also, seeing their security better insured by Rome than Syracuse or Carthage.

Rome now hoped to expel the Carthaginians altogether and concentrated on building a fleet, using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme<sup>18</sup> as a model. In 260 b.c. the respective

<sup>17</sup>"[T]he commercial spirit of the Claudian family had already seized nearly the whole aristocracy. *Botsford* 98.

<sup>18</sup>Containing five banks of oars; until then its allies furnished only triremes.

fleets met off Mylae, where the Romans won a “great victory.” Superior Carthaginian naval tactics were offset entirely by Roman employment of a “drawbridge” contrivance called “a crow,” which bore an iron spike at its end to grapple the enemy ship’s deck.

Rome next proceeded to develop an enormous fleet--a “great armament...of 330 vessels carrying nearly 140,000 men.” *Circa* 256 b.c. the new Roman fleet defeated a larger Carthaginian one. It then “conveyed an army to Africa,” and warring continued in Libya. Rome’s army managed to seize some African towns until one Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian, taught the Carthaginians “to offer battle in the plain, where they could use their elephants.” Rome’s force was destroyed and its leader, consul Regulus, was captured.

Elephants in battle had “wrought such havoc that the Romans dared not face them again for several years.” Nonetheless, in the continued warring on sea, “Rome lost two large fleets and thousands of lives.” Then, in 250 b.c., a Roman victory at Panormus under Caecilius Metellus gained nearly all of Sicily; and Lilybaeum--one of Carthage’s two last cities in Sicily--was placed under siege. Carthage sent the captive consul, Regulus, to Rome to negotiate peace, “promising him liberty if he should succeed. He, however, urged the senate to persevere....”<sup>19</sup>

The next year, consul Publius Claudius attempted a surprise attack on Drepana, Carthage’s second remaining city in Sicily, and sustained “an overwhelming defeat.” While Romans continued besieging Lilybaeum, Carthage sent out general Hamilcar Barca--the “Lightning”--“who was to prove, in himself and in his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met.” Barca occupied Sicily’s Mount Ercte (above Panormus, which the Romans held). There Barca “raised corn to support the handful of troops, who performed wonders under...his genius,” while he occupied his “eagle’s perch,” from which his troops would “swoop down...and as easily retire.” “From the little harbor beneath...his light ships harassed Italy’s coasts.”

After three years above Panormus, Barca moved suddenly to the side of Mount Eryx-- “more difficult to hold,” but near to Drepana. His force was too small to accomplish much, yet “the Romans failed to dislodge him.” Both Carthage and Rome were at a point with “no longer the means of supporting a fleet or a strong army in service.” Rome was on the verge of bankruptcy, her currency nearly worthless, while Barca stood poised still to recover Sicily. It fell to wealthier Roman citizens to fund the cause, whereby a navy of some 200 ships was re-established. With it, consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus in 241 b.c. intercepted a new Carthaginian fleet on its way to Sicily with supplies, handed it a total defeat, and put Carthage out of the war.

The Carthaginians empowered Barca to make peace as he thought best. “[H]e showed great good sense...[and] Lutatius was ready enough to listen...[being] fully aware that the resources of Rome were at their lowest.” Under the peace treaty, the Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, release all prisoners without ransom, and pay the Romans “3200 talents of silver--over three and a half millions of dollars--within ten years.” *Botsford 97-103.*

Carthage’s unpaid mercenaries mutinied against her, joined also by revolting Libyans. The ensuing struggle, the “Mercenary War,” 241-237 b.c., was ferociously cruel. “After four years of pitiless strife, Hamilcar Barca destroyed the mercenaries and reduced the insurgents.” Meanwhile, with Carthage thus involved, the Romans seized Sardinia c. 231 b.c. and made it and Corsica, together, its second province.

Libya was bereft. Barca, seeing the weakness of the mercenary system, determined to create a province in Spain as a source of troops and provisions.<sup>20</sup> He spent nine years

<sup>19</sup> Regulus is said to have returned to Carthage and suffered a torturous death; but “in fact no one knows how Regulus died.” *Botsford 101.*

<sup>20</sup> “Hamilcar’s soul burned with hatred of [Rome].... To him, the existing peace was to be a preparation for war, which in turn

forming a Carthaginian province in Spain, demonstrating great diplomacy in a peaceful rule of native tribes as they developed their natural resources. “[H]is skill and money created a new political party at Carthage,--a vigorous democracy, which opposed [Carthage’s routinely] peace-loving capitalists and supported its leader in his far-reaching plans. ‘Then he died...in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery.’”

The Carthaginians appointed as Barca’s successor his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who had fleet commander. Hasdrubal was as adept as Barca at winning tribes and adding territories. However, “after eight years of such service he was murdered by a Celt.”

Hannibal, Barca’s son, now was proclaimed Carthage’s commander. The “Second Punic War [218-201 b.c.]” was sparked by his attack on Saguntum, a city in Spain allied with Rome. Rome began preparations “to invade both Spain and Libya,” but the plan was diverted unexpectedly: Hannibal had “crossed the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul,” leading 50,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry and a number of elephants. Northern Italy’s Celts, whom Rome only recently had conquered, “eagerly supported Hannibal in his march.”

Hannibal and his soldiers endured remarkable ordeals. In their ascent of the Alps many men and beasts of burden fell to attacks by mountaineers; there was want of provisions. After the steep descent, through snow and ice, Hannibal arrived at the plain (only a brief five months after leaving Spain) with only half of his original army--in tatters, sick, and feeble. “And yet it was to be no one-sided contest,” and Hannibal’s appearance in the Po valley was a rude awakening: Romans “suddenly realized that the war was to be waged for...homes and...country.”

In 218 b.c. Hannibal easily routed (and wounded) consul Scipio in a light cavalry battle. Consul Tiberius Sempronius joined his forces with Scipio’s and took command, only to meet a resounding defeat in a battle on the Trebia river the same year. That “wintry morning in December,” Hannibal gave his men a good breakfast “and plenty of oil for their bodies,” and then had a cavalry band tempt the Romans across the river. “Sempronius...readily led his army out before breakfast, through the swollen Trebia. Hungry and numbed with cold, the Romans were doomed.” A long struggle ended in a “complete overthrow of the Romans. Ten thousand...escaped. Nearly all the rest were killed or captured, and Hannibal held their camp.” Hannibal’s “great success led the Gauls, who had hitherto wavered, to cast their lot with [him,] the victor.” *Botsford 103-108.*

Subsequently, consuls Gaius Flaminius and Servilius lay with their armies at, respectively, Arretium in Etruria and Ariminum, “guarding the two principal roads which connected the Po valley with central Italy.” Hannibal instead took an uncommon route, as once again he and his troops underwent severe hardship. They crossed the marshes north of the Arnus River “on a continuous march of four days and three nights through a route which was under water.” Reaching Etrurian dry ground, Hannibal passed Flaminius--“still guarding Arretium--without deigning to notice him, and took the highway for Rome, plundering as he went.” Flaminius, compelled to follow, “fell into a trap at Lake Trasimene, where he was killed and his army annihilated [217 b.c.]” When the news reached Rome, the people on senate advice elected<sup>21</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximum dictator.

Hannibal, instead of then attacking, crossed to the Adriatic coast “gathering vast booty,” and moved south gradually while he refreshed his men and beasts. Fabius dogged Hannibal’s footsteps, engaging in small encounters to cut off foraging, but avoided risky major battling. Meanwhile, Roman troops were being levied and trained for the following summer.

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should make Rome feel the terrors of invasion. ... The story is told that when he was about to set out...he led his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years, to the altar and made him swear undying enmity to Rome.” *Botsford 104.*

<sup>21</sup> The surviving consul not being there to make the customary appointment of a dictator.



Consuls Aemilius and Varro met Hannibal in the “battle of Cannae [216 b.c.; on the Aufidus river in Apulia].” The Romans, including allies, had an 80,000-man force--“the largest single army Rome had ever put into the field.” Hannibal’s force, which included Iberians, Celts, Gauls and Libyans, numbered some 30,000 fewer; but his superior cavalry was more than compensation. “[T]he Romans fell like sheep under the knives of butchers. Seven-eighths of their army, including Aemilius, eighty senators, and many other eminent men, perished. Varro, who survived, collected...the remnants, amounting to scarcely 10,000 men.” Every household in Rome mourned; “all feared for the city and for their own lives.” The senate “exhorted the people to fresh exertions, strengthened the city with guards, and deliberated....”

Hannibal knew that with his current forces he couldn’t take Rome “by storm nor by siege;” but his victory at Cannae changed the character of the war. [N]early all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, including...Capua and Tarentum, revolted.” Hannibal seized Tarentum city but failed to take its citadel. King Hiero of Syracuse had died, and “Sicily also forsook Rome. Philip V, king of Macedonia,<sup>22</sup> who watched jealously the interference of the senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with the victorious Carthaginian.” Hannibal hoped that Rome would be undermined by its revolting allies and felt bound to protect them, despite their giving no material help. Fortified Latin colonies distributed over Italy continued their allegiance to Rome.

Rome sought “no more pitched battles with Hannibal;” it divided its forces into smaller armies to defend its faithful allies and attack the enemy at weak points. A great effort was made to regain Sicily. Marcellus, “the ‘Sword of Rome,’ besieged Syracuse by land and sea. Initially he was “baffled” by war engines designed by Archimedes, the famous mathematician/goemetrician.<sup>23</sup> But c. 211 b.c. the Romans took Syracuse at last, plundering and killing many people including Archimedes.<sup>24</sup> Three Roman armies then surrounded Capua; Hannibal was unable to repel them. Abruptly he marched toward Rome and pitched camp three miles from it. New recruits poured in from the country to man the city walls, while Rome kept up its siege at Capua.

Capua fell. The Romans “scourged and beheaded the senators and dispersed the people among the Latin colonies or sold them into slavery.... Tarentum was afterward taken and suffered a similar punishment.” But the Romans continued to avoid open battle with Hannibal, and he realized other successes--Marcellus allowed himself to be surprised and killed, which left Fabius--“now old”--as Rome’s chief commander in Italy.

Meanwhile, in Spain, Hannibal’s brother Hasdrubal, with reinforcements from Carthage, “overwhelmed and destroyed the separate Roman armies of the brothers, Publius and Gnaeus Scipio.” Hasdrubal “was in a fair way to win all Spain back to Carthage, when the Romans sent thither as proconsul Publius Scipio [/P. Cornelius Scipio], son of the deceased general.” The young Scipio captured New Carthage, chief city and arsenal of the Carthaginians in Spain. Hasdrubal eluded him, however; and “[w]ith a large army and abundant treasure, he set out for Italy to reenforce his brother.” *Botsford 108-113.*

In 207 b.c. Hasdrubal descended the Alps, “drawing in his train a host of Gauls and Ligurians” to unite his army with Hannibal’s. Rome’s “country was desolate from end to end;

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<sup>22</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, D.

<sup>23</sup> Archimedes’ war machines “suddenly raised up in the air the ships of the enemy from the bay before the city, and let them fall with such violence into the water they they sunk. He set them on fire also by his burning glasses.”

<sup>24</sup> Archimedes “was so deeply engaged in solving a problem” he failed to note that the enemy had entered the city. Although the Roman general had given strict orders that Archimedes not be harmed, even offered a handsome reward for his person, “a soldier, without knowing who he was, killed him, because he refused to follow him, B.C. 212.” (“Some suppose that Archimedes raised the site of the towns and villages of Egypt, and began those mounds of earth by means of which communication is kept from town to town during the inundations of the Nile.”) “So true is it that one man and one intellect properly qualified for a particular undertaking is a host in itself.” L 68.

her best generals had perished; her faithful colonies, exhausted by war, were beginning to refuse aid; her last armies were in the field. Fortunately for her," the messengers bearing news to Hannibal of Hasdrubal's approach were captured by Gaius Claudius Nero, now Rome's commander in southern Italy. The joined forces of consul Claudius and his colleague, Marcus Livius Salinator, "surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal with his army on the Metaurus River. As Claudius returned southward he carried with him the head of the defeated Carthaginian, which he directed to be thrown into the camp of Hannibal."

Over the next two years "Hannibal still maintained himself in southern Italy," while Publius Scipio, continuing his campaign, made himself "master of Spain...returned to Rome [and] as consul he invaded Africa and threatened Carthage. Hannibal quitted Italy in obedience to his country's call and attempted to negotiate, but in vain. Adding raw recruits to his small veteran force, in 202 b.c. he met Scipio at some distance from Zama, a town south of Carthage. Scipio was favored by both lucky placement of divisions against the enemy's elephants and a "cavalry superior to that of Carthage," supplied by allied Numidians. "For the first time Hannibal suffered defeat in a pitched battle"--"the last battle of the long war,"--a defeat which made further resistance hopeless."

"By the terms of treaty which followed, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, and to pay Rome 200 talents of silver a year for 50 years; to give up all her elephants and all her war-ships except 10 triremes; to wage no war outside of Libya and in Libya none without the consent of Rome," which latter "left her helpless against Rome's ally, Masinissa, king of Numidia." Hannibal, forced into exile by the senate, went to the court of Seleucid king Antiochus III. Carthage's Italian allies were forced to cede land, and Rome founded its own colonies in southern Italy. Scipio was triumphantly hailed; "Rome named him Africanus after the continent he had subdued." "[T]he battle of Zama foretold the progress of victorious Roman legions through the whole circle of Mediterranean countries; in Scipio Africanus [is seen] the first of a succession of brilliant generals who, while subduing the world, overthrew the government of the republic." *Botsford 114-116; 118.*

At the end of that, the Second Punic War, "there were in the East three great kingdoms, remnants of Alexander's [III's] empire: first, that of the Seleucidae, in western Asia, including a part of Asia Minor; second, Macedonia, which through garrisons controlled Thessaly, Corinth, and various other states of Greece; and third, Egypt, whose kings claimed Phoenicia and a few possessions in Asia Minor and in Thrace. In addition to the great powers, there were two Grecian leagues,--the Aetolian and the Achaean,--and many lesser independent states, as the republic of Rhodes...and the kingdoms of Pergamum, Bithynia, and Pontus. In the tangled international relations we find this guiding thread: in self-defence Egypt sought peace; the smaller states, especially those engaged in commerce, as Rhodes and Athens, following the same policy, looked to Egypt for support; on the other hand, Antiochus III,<sup>25</sup> the Seleucid, and Philip V of Macedonia...tried to extend their power."

From 215 b.c. forward Rome had been an auxiliary to the "First"<sup>26</sup> Macedonian war, which was not marked by any notable battles but "brought Rome into alliance with Aetolia, Athens, Pergamum, and other Eastern states, and thus prepared the way for future complications." Greece and Philip V of Macedonia had come to terms in 206 b.c. but that peace would be of short duration. Philip became allied with Seleucid king Antiochus III in 203 b.c. In 201 Philip began harassing operations in the Aegean, and Pergamum and Rhodes appealed to Rome for assistance. In 200 b.c. the Roman senate declared war (the "Second" Macedonian war); all Greeks--fearful of homeland invasion--joined with her.

The first army that Rome sent into Greece consisted mainly of volunteers interested chiefly in plunder, and little was accomplished. But in 197 b.c. an able young consul named Flaminius led 25,000 Italian and Greek allies against Philip V's force of equal number (of

<sup>25</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, (2).

<sup>26</sup> *Lempriere* refers to this as an "auxiliary" war, not "First."

whom, however, “most...were boys”). Philip V was defeated in a low range of hills in Thessaly (the “battle of Cynoscephalae”). The 196 b.c. terms of peace required that Philip V cede all his Greek possessions to Rome, pay 1000 talents to Rome over 10 years, reduce his forces to 5000 men and five ships, and promise not to declare war with anyone without Rome’s permission.

Plebeians still opposed Rome’s aggression in the East, where Antiochus III remained a threat, and the senate knew what opposition would arise, if it was to place garrisons in Greek cities. Accordingly, “Rome decided to be magnanimous. ...[A]t the Isthmian festival of the following spring, by the direction of Flaminius and his colleagues...a herald proclaimed...the freedom of all the Greeks who had been ruled by Philip [V].”

In 192 b.c. Seleucid king Antiochus III initiated the “Asiatic War.” “Fearing Roman aggression” and encouraged by Hannibal, Antiochus III “invaded Greece and, in his turn, played the game of freeing that country.”<sup>27</sup> Circa 190 b.c. Antiochus III “suffered an overwhelming defeat at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, at the hands of Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus. As a result...he gave up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus. ...Rome bestowed a part of the ceded territory upon Pergamum and another part upon Rhodes, leaving several small states independent and keeping nothing for herself, she extended her protectorate over all Asia Minor.”

“Hannibal fled to Bithynia, where he died by poison to escape [delivery over to] the Romans. Antiochus [III] was stoned to death by his own people; and his great empire rapidly dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria.” Rome steadily became more and more involved with settling disputes between Greek states, requiring frequent dispatch of commissions to guard the republic’s interests. “Their respect for Greek culture, however did not prevent them from fostering disunion [and] from undermining the Achaean League.”

Macedonia’s Philip V was succeeded in 179 b.c. by his son, Perseus.<sup>28</sup> Perseus “cherished the noble ambition of championing Hellas against ...Rome,” and his “clever diplomacy...[and] national aspirations of the Greeks” was re-establishing bonds between Greece and Macedonia. “Rome, to prevent this dreaded combination, declared war against Perseus in 171 b.c.,” after the senate’s receipt of charges against Perseus, laid by Eumenes II of Pergamum.

The “Third” Macedonian war lasted the better part of four years. It attracted ample recruits, for “it was now well known that service in the East enriched the troops with booty.” Moreover, during the first three years of the war, the republic’s generals themselves plundered Greece. Rome finally appointed as commander the son of the Aemilius who died at Cannae. In 168 b.c.<sup>29</sup> Lucius Aemilius Paulus “met and conquered Perseus at Pydna, a city of Macedonia.” King Perseus escaped but was taken later. He and his young children were forced to march in the conqueror’s triumphal procession at Rome, after which Perseus died in prison (either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer).

Illyria was reduced to three tributary confederacies and Rome imposed on it an annual tribute, for having aided Perseus.<sup>30</sup> Macedonia was divided into four republics/[wholly distinct confederacies], Rome prohibited any intercourse one with the other, and required to pay a moderate tribute. “The cities yielded...shiploads of furniture, precious metals, and works of art. In addition, the troops plundered Epirus for having sided with the king

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<sup>27</sup> “Had the great Carthaginian [instead] been given the direction of affairs, he might again have invaded Italy...by means of the boundless resources of the East. But jealousy and littleness of mind prevented Antiochus from...so magnificent a scheme.”

<sup>28</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, D. (Perseus had caused his pro-Roman brother to be executed by their father.)

<sup>29</sup> This being concomitant with the time of rebellion of Matthathais Ashemon against Seleucid dictates; refer to Timeline.

<sup>30</sup> Illyrians had warred on and off with Rome the preceding half-century. Rome’s acquisition of Greek allies had begun c. 228 b.c. when it formed alliances with two Illyrian cities.

[Perseus]; they carried thence vast spoil and a 150,000 inhabitants, who were sold into slavery.” Five hundred anti-Romans were slain in Aetolia; and 1000 chief citizens from the Achaean cities (including the historian, Polybius) were taken and kept hostage in Italy for 16 years. *Botsford 116-121; Ency.*

“The [Roman] senate of this age was the ablest of ancient councils...on the pinnacle of power and glory.” “For Greece there was to be no more freedom. In all the chief states, the commission for the settlement of Macedonia received complaints from the Romanizing party against those who sympathized with Perseus; and the accused were sent to Rome for trial. A thousand from the Achaean League, alone...were carried into captivity” without trial, and “detained 16 years among the towns of Etruria.” Among them was statesman and historian Polybius, who eventually influenced the release of a remaining 300 exiles.

Returning exiles excited renewed quarrels among the Greeks. In the mid-second century b.c. the senate sent commander Metellus to deal with an outbreak in Macedonia, which he then made into a province. In 146 b.c. “Mummius defeated the Achaean army...entered Corinth...killed most of the men he found...enslaved the women and children...[and] burned the city to the ground. As Corinth’s “wealth and her art sank into ruin, the Greeks...realized that while they still retained the form of liberty, the Roman senate was their master. It ruled them indirectly through partisan aristocracies in the towns and through the governor of Macedonia. Politically the Greeks were dead.”

Meanwhile, Numidia’s king Masinissa (Rome’s secretly-supported ally) was able to continue plunder of Carthage, in that the Second Punic War treaty forbade warring on Carthage’s part. Carthage’s days grew numbered, as the commercial designs of Roman capitalists gave force to influences of statesman Cato--that Carthage remained a menace to Rome, and should be destroyed. “Accordingly, consuls sailed for Utica with an immense army,” while, to avoid war, the Carthaginians were ready to make any and all concessions. First they handed over 300 children as hostages.<sup>31</sup> They then surrendered all armor--“enough for 200,000 men, besides 2000 engines for throwing missiles and stones”--all to no avail. “Now,” the consuls continued, “yield Carthage to us and settle [elsewhere,] wherever you like within your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city.”

The Carthaginians “settled down to a fixed resolve to defend their city to the last drop of blood.... ...[Needing] to make new weapons, they converted even the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. ...[F]or three years they defended themselves like heroes. At last Scipio Aemilianus<sup>32</sup> forced a passage into the city, where ‘All places were filled with...every kind of agony’” and endless “scenes of horror [as...] fire spread...carried everything down,” and the populace was “exterminated,” without pity.

The territory that Carthage had ruled became the Roman province, Africa. Rome’s conquests of Greece and Carthage “illustrate the character of Roman warfare during the half century which followed the peace with Hannibal,” a period during which also occurred Ligurian, Gallic and Spanish wars: “...[W]ars with the Ligurians and the...Celts of northern Italy ended in the thorough conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. Spain, subdued in the Second Punic War and made into two Roman provinces, heaved a last gasp. The Romans, in addition to violating treaties, increased their cruelties and perfidities (e.g. conniving murder of Spanish leaders; massacres of surrendered troops). The siege of Numantia in Spain was a replay of the siege of Carthage; it revealed “the immorality and weakness of the common soldiers, the baseness and incompetence of the generals, and...the alarming degradation of the senate.” Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, [also] had the honor of stamping out this rebellion, 133 b.c.”

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<sup>31</sup>“The mothers...clung to the little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away.”

<sup>32</sup>“Son of Aemilius Paulus...but adopted into the family of the Scipios.”

“The Romans now ruled most of the territory along the Mediterranean between Mount Taurus and the Pillars of Hercules.” They had seven or possibly eight provinces;<sup>33</sup> and, “under governors sent from the capital, many subject states, and many allies in various stages of dependency.”

In 133 b.c./b.c.e.,<sup>34</sup> Rome’s “province of Asia--in western Asia Minor--was formed.”  
*Botsford 122-127.*

-----Continued in Appendix 4A, Attachment 1-----

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<sup>33</sup>“Cisalpine Gaul, conquered in 191 b.c., may not have been organized as a province before 81 b.c. Illyricum, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, was subdued in 167 b.c. and became a province at some unknown time afterward. ...[O]ther provinces already mentioned...were Sicily and Sardinia with Corsica 227 b.c., the two Spains, 197 b.c., and Africa and Macedonia, 146 b.c.”

<sup>34</sup>This is concomitant with the time of the assassination of high priest Simon Matthes.