

Lecture 10th

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2^d period. From the beginning of the wars with Carthage, to the beginning of the civil commotions, under the Gracchi. 264 to 134.

The divisions of Italy laid the foundation of the dominion of Rome in that country; the divisions of the world, opened the way to universal dominion. The contest between Rome & Carthage shows that two republics cannot exist near each other, without continual attempts at subjugation or annihilation. Carthage, besides the dominion of the sea, had a better filled treasury, and by means of this, as many soldiers as she wished. Rome, on the contrary, strong in herself, possessed all the advantages of the state, that is purely military, over that, which is at the same time commercial.

The first three and twenty years between these two republics, soon grew from a

Small beginning to be a war for the possession of Sicily; Rome gained for a season the dominion of the sea, by its newly created fleets; this opened the way to an attack on Africa, and ended with the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily.

The cause of the contest was the gar-
-risoning of Messana ^(Messina) by the Romans
264. B.C. In 263 Hiero of Syracuse
passed over from the Carthaginian to
the Roman side; the Romans wished
to expel the Carthaginians from the
island; the capture of Agrigentum 262
appeared to render this probable; the
building of a navy in Italy, which was
at that time well-wooded, is less re-
-markable, when their previous navi-
-gation is considered. These were not
the first ships of war which they
built; but only the first of a larger
kind after a Carthaginian model.
The project now formed of transferring

the war to Africa, was one of the great
Roman ideas, which now became a
leading maxim of state, to attack an
enemy in his own land. The second
highly remarkable ^{naval} victory 257, which
opened the way to Africa, shows the
Roman naval tactics in a very splen-
-did light. But the unfortunate issue
of the expedition to Africa under Regulus,
again restored the equilibrium, and
the contest for the dominion of the
sea was the more obstinate, the more
frequently fortune changed. The deci-
-sion depended on the possession of
the eastern point of Sicily, Lilybaeum
L Drepanum, which appeared imprac-
-table for the time, that Hamilcar
Barcas was appointed to the command.
The Romans gained a naval victory
241 under Lucius Catulus; and after-
-wards succeeded in cutting off all com-
-munication between Sicily & Carthage,
this, with the entire exhaustion of the

finances in both States, produced a peace on the conditions, that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, and the neighboring small islands; that they should in 10 years pay by instalments 2200 Talents to defray the cost of war, and also they were not to make war on Him of Syracuse. Thus ended the 1st Punic war.

By the termination of this war Rome was placed in new political relations, which could not but enlarge the sphere of influence of the republic.

The length of the war, and the manner of its conclusion, produced a national hatred, such as can exist ^{no} anywhere but in republics. The conviction that it was not possible to exist independently by the side of one another, became the more apparent, as the points of collision were now far more numerous, than before the beginning of the war. In 257 in the midst

of peace, Rome seized on Sardinia, The first Roman provincial divisions were now made in a part of Sicily, and in Sardinia.

In the Adriatic Sea also the Romans soon found occasion to use their maritime advantage by humbling the piratic Elyrian State, under the queen Gentia, this secured to them the dominion of the Sea, and brought them into political relations with the Grecian States, relations which afterwards became of so much importance.

The Romans appeared by means of these wars as the saviors of Greece, which had suffered extremely from the pillaging of these pirates, Corcyra, Apollonia, & other cities formally put themselves under the Roman protection, whilst the Achaeans, Aetolians & Athenians vied with each other in expressions of gratitude.

Carthage was seeking at this very time compensation in Spain for the loss of Sicily & Sardinia, but was forced by the jealousy of Rome to a treaty, by which it was not to extend its conquests beyond the Iberus.

Rome had now to sustain a new war with its northern neighbors, the Gauls, which ended after a violent struggle with establishing the Roman dominion in northern Italy also.

From the time of the first war with the Gauls, & the burning of Rome 390, they had made repeated incursions from 360 to 348. till, in 336 they closed a peace with Rome.

But in the last period of wars with the Samnites, they were often used by the Etruscans, as mercenary troops, and they also came into connection with the Samnites; Hence their

frequent participation in these wars, till they, with the Etruscans, were obliged to sue for peace, 284 after Rome had sent its first colony to Senae, into their territory. The peace lasted till 238, when the Transalpine Gauls again disturbed the quiet, yet without engaging in war with Rome. In 232 the Gauls formed a union with their Transalpine countrymen, the Gaesatae on the Rhone, who were accustomed to fight for pay. As these crossed the Alps, the furious six years war arose, 226 - 220. In 225 the Gauls were overthrown at Clusium, In 223, the Romans crossed the Po, and penetrated into their country, and after an entire overthrow by Marcellus, compelled them to a peace, on which Roman colonies were established in Placentia & Cremona.

Before the storm was entirely hushed Hannibal had received the command in Spain, 221. He cannot be freed from the charge that he & his party began the war with Rome; nor could Rome under the circumstances of the time have wished for war. By his transfer of the chief war to Italy, Rome was now obliged to act on the defensive, and Hannibal had all the advantages of the attack.

The history of this war 218-201 must be given in three parts; 1st the history of the war in Italy, 2^d of the war conducted at the same time in Spain, and 3^d from 203, the war in Africa. Hannibal invaded Italy in the Autumn of 218. The same year the battle on the Ticinus, & the battle at Trebia took place. The battle on the Lake Trasymenus,

in the Spring of 217. The seat of the war was then transferred to Lower Italy, and Fabius, the dictator adopted a defensive system. The battle of Cannae, 216, was followed by the taking of Capua, and the reduction of a large part of Lower Italy. Hannibal then acted on the defensive, as he had a plan for forming a union with his brother Asdrubal, and the Spanish army; and he also hoped for foreign assistance by means of his connections in Syracuse, since Hiero, who was friendly to Rome, was dead; & also from Philip king of Macedonia. But both views were frustrated by Rome, for Syracuse was besieged & taken 214-212 - and Philip was kept employed in Greece, by the Roman fleet stationed on his coasts; (In 214 he himself was defeated at Pylos),

by the Romans) In 211, the Romans took Capua from him; and nothing was left him but the Succors under Asdrubal from Spain; but when Asdrubal arrived in Italy, he was defeated at Sena & killed. 207. from which time the war in Italy, was but a secondary war, as Hannibal only acted on the defensive in Bruttium.

Almost at the same time with the war in Italy, began the war in Spain, between Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother and the brothers, Cneius, & Publius Cornelius Scipio, and was conducted with various success till 216. From 216 it was the plan of Carthage, to send Asdrubal to Italy, with the Spanish army, which was to be replaced by armies from Africa; but this was prevented by two victories of the Scipios at Ihera. 216,

and Hlibenis, 215. In 212. the Scipios sunk under the superior power of Asdrubal, they were both killed on the field of battle. The Romans hearing of their death, sent Publius Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Africa into Spain; He was the son of Publius Scipio, who had been killed; His presence changed every thing; during his command in Spain, 210. 206 he won the Spaniards, defeated the Carthaginians, and formed connections with Syphax, king of part of Libya, in Africa 206. Yet he was not able to prevent Asdrubal's march to Italy, 200; which however enabled him to subject all Carthaginian Spain, as far as Gades, 206; he then returned to Rome, & gained the consulship 205. Hannibal was still in Italy, but Scipio declared

in the Senate, that if Hannibal was to be conquered, he must be conquered in Africa; These measures were opposed but finally adopted; and Scipio embarked for Carthage. Syphax a prince of Numidia, who had married Sophonisba the daughter of Hasdrubal, was now through her influence on the side of Carthage; for this Scipio had been abundantly compensated in Spain by drawing Masinissa, a king of a small part of Africa to his interests; Scipio gained two victories over Hasdrubal & Syphax 203, in which the latter was taken captive, and Masinissa the ally of Scipio, charmed with the beauty of Sophonisba, carried her to his tent, and married her. This displeased Scipio, & Masinissa sent her poison. In 202, the Carthaginians

recalled Hannibal from Italy, and in 201 the battle at Zama terminated the war on the conditions, 1.st Carthage should retain only its territory in Africa, with its constitution; 2.^d deliver up all things of war, except 10 triremes, and all elephants; 3.^d pay by fixed instalments 10,000 talents; 4.th begin no war without the consent of Rome; 5.th give every thing back to Masinissa, which he had ever possessed.

Notwithstanding the loss of men, and the desolation of Italy, Rome was more powerful at the end of this war, than at its beginning. Its dominion over Italy was confirmed; large foreign countries had been taken, and the dominion of the sea secured by the annihilation of the Carthaginian naval power. The power of the Senate became almost unlimited; and for the first time in the history of the world we have the

fearful phenomenon of a great military republic; and the history of the next period, in which Rome overturns all neighboring thrones and republics, gave proof, that such a state, is the natural enemy of the independence of all states, which its arm can reach.

View of the political relations of the world at this time.

In the west, Sicily, Sardinia, & Corsica and Spain were Roman provinces; the dependance of Carthage was secured by the alliance with Masinissa, Gallia cisalpina as a province served as a bulwark against the attacks of the northern barbarians. In the East, the Macedonian kingdoms, with the Grecian republics, formed a system of states, of which the ^{mutual} relations were very complicated. The relations they had with Rome, were formed since the Illyrian war, 230, and Philip's union with Hannibal 214. Of three

powers of the first rank, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, the two former were united against the latter, which had a good understanding with Rome; Rome constantly endeavoured to gain the states of the 2^d rank for itself, in order the more boldly to meet those of the first; the Hellespontian league, the kings of Pergamum, the republic of Rhodes, Athens, & some others, were from the time of the alliance against Philip 211 the allies of Rome. The Hellespontian league on the contrary was in the Macedonian interests.

In 200 a year after the battle of Zama, the Romans declared war against Philip of Macedonia; but they were unable to drive him from Epirus & Thessaly, the bulwarks of his kingdom. But in Flaminius Rome found the statesman & general, suitable to an age of great revolutions. The war between him & Philip was more a war of talents than of arms; and even before

The battle of Cynoscephalae, gave the final decision, the Romans, by winning the Achaeans, had long had the superiority on their side. The entire expulsion of Philip from Greece was the object of the Romans. On attaining their object, in the battle of Cynoscephalae, 190, Greece was placed in a state of dependence upon Rome. This dependence was secured by the gift of liberty, which Flaminius proclaimed to the Greeks, at the Isthmian games; and the system of supervision, which the Romans had already established in the West over Carthage & Numidia, was now applied in the East to Greece & Macedonia. The Roman army did not withdraw from Greece, till after three years, and Flaminius who commanded it, convinced by his conduct in the war against Nabis 195, that he was

least of all concerned for the preservation of tranquillity in Greece. In this period the fall of Carthage & Macedonia showed the world, what was to be expected from Rome; and great men were not wanting, who possessed both wisdom & power, to devise a scheme of resistance. Hannibal, now at the head of the Carthaginian state, was striving with all the zeal his hatred of Rome could inspire, to effect a union between Carthage & Syria, and if possible Macedonia; yet Rome frustrated this coalition by a policy equally decided & crafty. It drove Hannibal from Carthage 195, kept Philip at bay with small advantages; was active in the petty states by its ambassadors, and found in Syria excellent support in the court intrigues. The first point of dispute between the Romans & Antiochus was the freedom of the Greeks, which the former desired to extend to the Asiatic cities, especially those which Philip possessed & Antiochus had occupied; whilst Antiochus demanded that they

should not interfere in Asiatic concerns; the 2^d. point was, the occupation of the Thracian Chersonesus, by Antiochus, 196, on account of ancient claims. The contest began 196, but was not lively till Hannibal fled to Antiochus, 195; the war was sooner decided than the Macedonian; Antiochus was driven from Greece by Flaminio. The Romans obtained three naval victories; Antiochus was defeated at Magnesia in Asia Minor, 190 by Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus. The Romans entirely expelled Antiochus from Asia Minor, and after the peace care was taken to keep him in dependence. During this great contest in the East, the murderous war in the West since 201 continued in Spain, where the elder Cato 195 commanded, and since 193 the wars in Italy itself against the Ligurians. Whatever may be said of the means of increasing the Roman citizens

it is still hard to comprehend how they were able, not only to meet all these demands on their strength, but even continually to send out new colonies.

Even after the decision of this contest, Rome with wonderful moderation avoided appearing in the East as a conqueror; it pretended to have fought only for the freedom of the Greeks & for its allies. Without taking for itself a foot of land, it divided the conquered Asia Minor, with the exception of the Greek cities, between Eumenes of Pergamus, & the Rhodians;

thus within 10 years 200-193. the Roman authority was established in the East; and the ^{aspect} form of things was entirely changed. Not yet the mistress, but the empress of the world, the claims of Rome were acknowledged from the Atlantic to the Euphrates; the power of three leading states Carthage, Macedonia & Syria, was so completely broken, that they could not begin a war without Rome's permission; the 4th Egypt, had in 201, put itself under Roman guardianship, and the weaker followed

for they all esteemed it an honor to be called the allies of Rome. (Hannibal died 183; he fled to Ptolemy, king of Bitynia, when Antiochus by the conditions of his peace with the Romans, had promised to deliver him up; here he took poison to avoid falling into their hands.) — In the interior of Rome the spirit of cabals, showed itself in a striking manner, in the attack, which the elder Cato, made upon the Scipios. His strict censorship did not compensate the injury, which was done by his own immorality & his poisonous policy. By his persecutions of Lucius Africanus, he obliged him to retire to his country house at Liternum; where he died 183; the very year with Hannibal. Cato then turned his fury against Lucius Scipio, surnamed Asia-ticus, the conqueror of Antiochus, who was accused of receiving bribes from Antiochus, and condemned & thrown into prison 185.

New disputes arose with Philip since 185, who soon felt, that he had been

used only as long as he had been needed. The breaking out of the war was first delayed by Philip's death, still their hatred increased under his successor Perseus. The first causes of the contest with Philip, were the very small conquests in Macedonia & Thessaly, which, during the war with Antiochus, Philip had been permitted to make. — The second Macedonian war, which ended with the fall of Perseus and his kingdom, called forth the whole activity of the Roman policy to prevent a powerful coalition, for Perseus on his side, used every effort to acquire for himself allies, not only in Greece, Thrace and Illyria, but also in Carthage & Asia. At this time Roman envoys were found every where. Yet the battle of Pydna 168 decided the fate of Perseus & Macedonia. Paulus Emilius commanded the Romans. — At the same time with this war, & very opportunely for Rome, Antiochus Epiphanes made war on Egypt.

The annihilation of the Macedonian mo-

narchy had equally injurious consequences for the victors & the vanquished. With the first, the design was matured of becoming the rulers of the world; and the latter had to endure for the next 20 yrs all the evils which necessarily attended such a change. The former system of Roman policy, could not long endure, for nations can be subjected, but not long held in dependance under the name of liberty.

Macedonia & Illyrium were first desolated, & then republicanized, which, according to a decree of the Senate, "was to show all nations that Rome was ready to bring them freedom,"— this, however, took place under such oppressive conditions that the liberated were forced to try all measures for obtaining a king. Yet Greece suffered still more than Macedonia, (1,000 Achaeans, Rome without trial 174)

In exactly the same spirit they now proceeded, against the other powers, from

which opposition could be expected. They were to be made defenceless, and every means for attaining that object seemed admissible in the eyes of the Senate. While they took advantage of the disputes of Ptolemy Philometor & Physcon, they obtained the guardianship of Syria, in the minority of Antiochus Eupator, while the rightful heir, Demetrius I.st Soter, is detained in Rome, in order by his ambassadors to annihilate the military power of the Seleucidae.

As to Carthage, Cato was the leader of the party which desired the destruction of Carthage, partly from the spirit of opposition to Scipio Nasica (son of Quintus Scipio, who was killed in Spain, & cousin to Africanus), whom he hated because his influence in the Senate was too great; partly, because he had not thought himself sufficiently honored by the Carthaginians when he went to them in an embassy. The victory of Masinissa 152 (page 27) and the revolt of Antioch

brought the project to maturity. The war was begun 150, and 146 the city was taken and destroyed by Scipio hemilianus; and the territory of Carthage, under the name of Africa, was made a Roman province. Publius hemilianus was the son of Publius hemilianus the conqueror of Perseus, and was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus; He received the same surname, and was called Africanus the younger, on account of his victories over Carthage.

Contemporary with the 3^d Carthaginian war, was a new war in Macedonia, which drew in its train another in Greece, and changed the fate of both countries. In Macedonia, a certain Andriscus, pretending to be a son of Perseus, placed himself at the head of the highly discontented people; assumed the name of Philip, and by his connections in Thracie, became formidable to Rome, till he was conquered by Metellus.

As Rome wished to profit by this opportunity to dissolve the Achaean league, this led to the Achaean war; this last war of the Achaeans was occasioned by contests with Sparta, which were kept alive by Dicaeus, Britolans, & Samoeritus, who had been amongst the Achaean summoned to Rome, & had returned in anger; in these contests Rome took part, in order entirely to destroy the Achaean league; the first proposition to that effect occasioned the ill treatment of the Roman envoys at Corinth; yet the Romans used a mild tone, as they had still on their hands the war with Andriscus & Carthage. But the envoys of Metellus were insulted anew, and the Achaean declared war, against Sparta & Rome. In the very same year Metellus defeated them, under Britolans, who was killed. Metellus was succeeded in the command by Mummius, who took Corinth & destroyed it 146.

Greece as well as Macedonia was now a Roman province.

Whilst Rome in this way overturned the Republics, it found in a Spanish Insular, Viriathus, an adversary in that country, from whom after a six years contest, it could free itself only by assassination. 146. But even after his death the war continued against the Immanities, whom Scipio Aemilianus was able to extirpate, but not to subvert.

The wars against the Spaniards, who of all the subjected nations, defended their liberty against Rome, with the greatest obstinacy, began in 200, after the entire expulsion of the Carthaginians 206. They were so obstinately conducted, partly from the face of the country, where almost every place was a fortress, partly from the courage of the inhabitants, but chiefly by the policy of the Romans, who constantly armed their allies against the other tribes. From 200 to 133 the wars seldom ceased, and were for the most part conducted at once in hither Spain, where the Belthiberians

and in further Spain where the Lusitanians were the most powerful adversaries. The wars were most violent 195 under Cato the Censor, who brought hither Spain into a state of quiet; 185-179, they attacked the Belthiberians in their own territory; 155-150, the Romans were to be defeated in both provinces, that fear of going to them prevailed in Rome. The extortions of Servius Galba, brought Viriathus to the head of his nation, the Lusitanians, yet the war soon extended to hither Spain, where with other nations, the Immanities in particular rose up against Rome 143. Sometimes conquered, sometimes conqueror, Viriathus was most formidable after a defeat, for he knew how to profit by the localities of his country, and to manage the character of his nation. He was murdered at the instance of the Roman general Caepio, 140, and Lusitania subjected; the humane war now became more violent, and the Immanities compel the consul Mancinus

137. to an unfavorable treaty. Lucius Remilianus terminated the war in 133; after this it was more quiet in Spain, but the northern part of the country was not yet wholly subjected to the Romans, though they penetrated even into Gallia.

It was at a much cheaper rate that Rome just at the end of this period, obtained some of their most important provinces; Attalus 3^d of Pergamum, bequeathed to them his whole kingdom, of which they immediately took possession, whilst they ceded Phrygia as a reward to Mithridates 5th of Pontus. The foreign possessions of Rome, exclusive of Italy proper, now embraced under the name of provinces, in the west, hither & further Spain, Africa, (territory of Carthage) Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul; in the East, Macedonia, Bithynia, & Asia (district of Pergamum) The inhabitants of these countries were in every sense Roman

subjects; The administration was in the hands of Roman magistrates, the ex-consuls, & Praetors, to whom quaestors (receivers general) were subordinate. The governors possessed at once the highest judicial, civil & military authority; (a chief cause of the terrible oppression which now took place) and there were constantly troops in the provinces. By introducing the Roman language (except where Greek was spoken) they hoped to romanise the inhabitants. Till towards the end of this period the praetors were commonly named for the provinces; before this it was not customary for the ex-praetors (propraetors they were called if they were elected again) to receive provinces; which was one chief cause of the decline of the Roman constitution. The acquisition of these rich territories had a great influence on the increase of the Roman public revenues; the booty from the conquered countries was a

great source of income to the treasury, as long as the generals continued as they thus far had done, to plunder for the state.

Sources of the Roman revenue were,
1st Tribute of the Roman citizens, that is, a property tax, regulated by the Senate, according to the exigencies of the occasion. 2^d Tribute of the socii, conquered countries in Italy; this seems too to have been a tax on property but was different in different places. 3^d Tribute of the provinces; in some there were heavy poll taxes, in others taxes on property. contributions of natural produce, as well for the governors as the capital. The produce from the public lands, which were collected by farming them for four years, under the direction of the censors, & requiring tithes; this took place in Italy as well as in the provinces. The revenue derived from duties in the har-

bors and cities on the confines. The revenue from the mines, especially the Spanish silver mines, by means of taxes, which the owners were obliged to pay to the state. The taxes of the slaves who were manumitted. All the revenues went into the public chest; all expenditures of the same were regulated exclusively by the Senate, and the people was in this, consulted as little as respecting the taxes. The officers were the quaestors, under whom were the scribae, as subalterns, yet not without great influence. As the scribae were not annually changed, they were indispensable to the quaestors of the time, and the business at least, all the details, was chiefly in their hands—