HISTORY

OF

ROME.

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VOL. II.

FROM THE GAULISH INVASION TO THE END OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

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PREFACE.

THE volume of this history now published has had throughout, like that which preceded it, the benefit of Niebuhr's assistance. I have only, therefore, to repeat what was said in the preface to the first volume, that "no acknowledgment can be too ample for the advantages which I have derived from his work."

There has lately appeared in the second volume of Niebuhr's life and letters, a letter written by him to a young student, containing various directions and suggestions with respect to his philological studies. Amongst other things he says, "I utterly disapprove of the common practice of adopting references, after verifying them, without naming the source whence they are taken; and tedious as the double reference is, I never allow myself to dispense with it. When

tage, as putting his matter into a more popular shape. But his third volume is no less eloquent than wise; and is as superior to mine in the power of its narrative as in the profoundness of its researches. And yet this present volume was to be written, as a necessary part of my own work. I was obliged therefore, to go through with it as well as I could, feeling most keenly all the while the infinite difference between Niebuhr's history and mine.

It may be thought by some that this volume is written at too great length; and I have heard that one for whose judgment I have the greatest respect, has found the same fault with the preceding volume. But I am convinced, by a tolerably large experience, that most readers find it almost impossible to impress on their memory a mere abridgment of history; the number of names and events crowded into a small space is overwhelming to them, and the absence of details in the narrative makes it impossible to communicate to it much of interest; neither characters nor events can be developed with that particularity which is the best help to the memory, because it attracts and engages us, and impresses images on the mind as well as facts. At the same time I am well aware of the great difficulty of giving liveliness to a narrative which necessarily gets all its facts at second hand. And a writer who has never been engaged

in any public transactions, either of peace or war, must feel this especially. One who is himself a statesman and orator, may relate the political contests even of remote ages with something of the spirit of a contemporary; for his own experience realizes to him in great measure the scenes and the characters which he is describing. And in like manner a soldier or a seaman can enter fully into the great deeds of ancient warfare; for although in outward form ancient battles and sieges may differ from those of modern times, yet the genius of the general and the courage of the soldier, the call for so many of the highest qualities of our nature which constitutes the enduring moral interest of war, are common alike to all times, and he who has fought under Wellington has been in spirit an eye-witness of the campaigns of Hannibal. But a writer whose whole experience has been confined to private life and to peace, has no link to connect him with the actors and great deeds of ancient history, except the feelings of our common humanity. He cannot realize civil contests or battles with the vividness of a statesman and a soldier; he can but enter into them as a man; and his general knowledge of human nature, his love of great and good actions, his sympathy with virtue, his abhorrence of vice, can alone assist him in making himself as it were a wit-

ness of what he attempts to describe. But these even by themselves will do much; and if an historian feels as a man and as a citizen, there is hope that, however humble his experience, he may inspire his readers with something of his own interest in the events of his history: he may hope at least that a full detail of these events, however feebly represented, will be worth far more than a mere brief summary of them, made the text for a long comment of his own.

Rugby,
May 28th, 1840.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE ON THE TRIAL AND DEATH OF MANLIUS.

Zonaras, whose history is taken generally from Dion Cassius, relates that Manlius was holding the Capitol against the government, and that a slave having offered to betray him, went up to the Capitol as a deserter, and begged to speak with Manlius. He professed to be come to him on the part of the slaves of Rome, who were ready to rise and join him, and whilst Manlius was speaking to him apart on the edge of the cliff, the slave suddenly pushed him down it, and he was then seized by some men who had been previously placed there in ambush, and was by them carried off as a prisoner. Then he was tried in the Campus Martius; and as the people could not condemn him in sight of the Capitol, the trial was adjourned, and the people met again in another place out of sight of the Capitol, and then condemned him. The scene of the second trial is said by Livy to have been the Peteline Grove. Now we find that on two other occasions after a secession, assemblies were held in groves without the city walls, and not in the Campus Martius; once after the revolt of the soldiers and secession of the commons in 413, in this very Peteline Grove (Livy, VII. 41.), and once after the last secession to the Janiculum, in the Oak Grove, "in Esculeto." (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVI. § 37.) Now as there is little reason to doubt that there was a secession also in the disturbance caused by Manlius, it is likely that when peace was restored the terms would

have been settled in an assembly held in some sacred grove, and that there a general amnesty would be passed, and any exceptions to the amnesty discussed and determined. And if Manlius had fallen into the power of his enemies in the manner described by Zonaras, his partizans having thus lost their leader, would have been ready to submit, and could not have opposed his execution, if it were insisted upon by the government as a necessary sacrifice to public justice. The story of his trial before the centuries in the Campus Martius is every way suspicious, and may possibly have been invented to account for the fact of his death having been decreed in an assembly held in the Peteline Grove. It was obvious that trials before the centuries, the only tribunal which could legally try a Roman citizen capitally, were held in the Campus Martius; and as the fact of the secession was more and more glossed over, so the real nature of the assembly in the Peteline Grove would be less understood; and then it was attempted to be explained as a mere adjourned meeting of the centuries, held in an unusual place, because the deliverer of the Capitol could not be condemned in the Campus Martius, where his judges had the Capitol directly before their eyes.

I may observe that the law which forbade any patrician's residing from henceforth in the Capitol, strongly confirms the fact of an actual secession. Manlius had occupied the citadel as a fortified position, and had held it with an armed force against the government; and this pointed out the danger of allowing any one to reside within its precincts.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE LATER CONSTITUTION OF THE CENTURIES.

THE constitution of the comitia of the centuries, as it originally existed, is perfectly familiar to every reader, and

has been described in the first volume of this history. But it is remarkable that this well-known form of it never existed during those times of which we have a real history; and the form which had succeeded to it is a complete mystery. It is strange but true, that we know how the centuries were constituted in the times of the later kings, but that we do not know what was their constitution in the time of Cicero and Cæsar.

It is quite clear that the old constitution of the centuries gave a decided ascendancy to wealth. The first class together with the centuries of the knights formed a majority of the whole comitia. Thus every election would have been in the hands of the rich, and such a state of things as existed in the last years of the commonwealth, when the aristocracy had no other decided influence than what they could gain by bribery, is altogether inconceivable.

Again, the division of the people into tribes had nothing to do with the earlier constitution of the centuries; the votes were taken by classes, and a man's class depended on the amount of his property. But in the later constitution the votes were taken by tribes, and a man's tribe, except in the case of the four city tribes, implied nothing as to his rank or fortune. The agents employed to purchase votes were called divisores tribuum; such and such tribes are mentioned as interested in behalf of particular candidates (Cicero pro Plancio); and some one tribe was determined by lot to exercise the privilege of voting before the rest. In short the tribes are mentioned as commonly at the comitia in the Campus Martius, whether held for trials or for elections, as at the comitia held in the forum.

On the other hand the division by classes continued to exist in the later constitution. Cicero speaks of the comitia of centuries differing from the comitia of tribes, inasmuch as in the former, he says, "the people are arranged according to property, rank, and age, whilst in the latter no such distinctions are observed." De Legibus III. 19. The centu-

ries of the first class are spoken of both in trials, (Livy, XLIII. 16.), and in elections (Cicero, Philippic. II. 33.), and in the second oration of the pseudo Sallust to Cæsar, de republicâ ordinanda, the author notices, as a desirable change in the actual constitution, that a law formerly proposed by C. Gracchus should be again brought forward and enacted, that the centuries should be called by lot from all the five classes indiscriminately. This proves not only that the division into classes existed to the end of the commonwealth, but also that the first class continued to enjoy certain advantages above the others. The problem therefore is to determine how the system of classes was blended with that of tribes, and in what degree the centuries of the historical period of the commonwealth retained or had forfeited the strong aristocratical character impressed on them by their original constitution.

Various solutions of this problem have been offered at different times by scholars of great ability. Octavius Pantagathus in the 16th century supposed that each of the five classes had two centuries belonging to it in each of the tribes, and that the Equites had one century in each tribe, making the whole number of centuries to amount to 385, out of which those of the Equites and the first class together would amount to 105, whilst those of the other classes were 280; so that the two former, instead of being a majority of the whole comitia, stood to the other centuries only in the proportion of 3 to 8. This notion of seventy centuries in each class, or ten centuries in each tribe, has been maintained also by Savigny, according to Zumpt; and by Walther, in his History of the Roman Law, Vol. I. p. 136. This also is the opinion of another living authority of the highest order, who has expressed to me his full acquiescence in it.

Niebuhr, on the contrary, held that the whole division into five classes was done away with; that each tribe contained two centuries only, one of older men, the other of

younger; that the thirty-one country tribes constituted the first class under this altered system, and the four city tribes the second class: and that besides these two classes there were no more. He held the aristocratical character of the comitia of centuries as compared with the assembly of the tribes to consist in the following points; that the plebeian knights voted distinctly from the rest of the commons, and that the patricians also had their separate votes in the sex suffragia, or six old centuries of knights; 2nd, that the centuries of each tribe were divided according to their age, one of older men, and the other of younger. 3rd, that the proletarians, or those who possessed property under four thousand asses, were altogether excluded; and 4th, that the auspices were necessarily taken at the comitia of centuries, and that they were thus subjected to the influence of the augurs. Niebuhr held also, that the prerogative century could only be chosen out of the tribes of the first class, and never out of the four city tribes.

Zumpt, in a recent essay on the constitution of the comitia of centuries, read before the Prussian academy in 1836, maintains that the old centuries of Ser. Tullius subsisted to the end of the commonwealth without any material alteration, except that those of the first class were reduced from eighty to seventy. He then supposes that two of these centuries were allotted to each of the thirty-five tribes, together with three centuries from the four remaining classes; and of these three, one he thinks was taken from the fifth class, and two-thirds of a century from the second, third, and fourth classes. Thus the richer citizens still retained an influence in the comitia more than in proportion to their numbers, although much less than it had been in the original constitution of Ser. Tullius.

Lastly, Professor Huschke of Breslau, in his work on the constitution of Ser. Tullius, published in 1838, agrees with Niebuhr in supposing that the whole number of centuries was reduced to seventy, each tribe containing two, one of

older men and the other of younger; but these seventy centuries were divided, he thinks, into five classes; so that about ten tribes or twenty centuries would contain the citizens of the first class, a certain number of tribes would in like manner contain all the citizens of the second class, and so on to the end: some tribes, according to this hypothesis, consisting only of richer citizens, and others only of poorer.

But I confess that all these solutions, including even that of Niebuhr himself, are to me unsatisfactory. If the first class had contained thirty-one out of the thirty-five tribes, while each tribe contained only two centuries, we should hear rather of the tribes of the first class, than of the centuries; whilst on the other hand the positive testimony of the pseudo-Sallust, who, according to Niebuhr himself, could not have lived later than the second century after the Christian æra, to the existence of five classes down to the time of the civil war, seems to be on that point an irresistible authority.

It appears to me to be impossible to ascertain with certainty either the number of the centuries in the later constitution, or their connexion with the five classes. To guess at points of mere detail seems hopeless, and positive information on the subject there is none. But we know that the comitia of centuries differed from those of the tribes expressly in this, that whereas all the members of a tribe voted in the comitia tributa without any farther distinction between them, and, as far as appears, without any subdivisions within the tribe itself, so in the comitia of centuries the members of the same tribe were distinguished from each other; the older men certainly voted distinctly from the younger men, and probably the richer men also voted distinctly from the poorer: so that the centuries were a less democratical body than the tribes.

In the account given by Polybius of the composition of the Roman army, we find traces at once of the existence of

something like the old system of classes, and of the changes which it must have undergone. All citizens whose property exceeded four thousand asses, were now enlisted into the legions, whereas in old times none had been required to provide themselves with arms whose property fell short of twelve thousand five hundred asses. But one hundred thousand asses still appear to have been the qualification for the first class; and it is remarkable that the peculiar distinction of this class, the coat of mail, was the same as it had been in the oldest known system of the classes. All distinctions of arms, offensive or defensive, between the second, third, and fourth classes, seem to have been abolished; but the fifth class still, as in old times, supplied the light-armed soldiers of the legions, or the velites.

But, however, much of the old system of the classes was preserved in the later constitution of the centuries, the difference in the political spirit of the tribes and centuries is scarcely, I think, perceivable. We do not find the votes of the centuries ever relied upon by the aristocracy to counterbalance the popular feeling of the tribes. It might have been conceived that a popular assembly, where wealth conferred any ascendency, would have been decidedly opposed to one of a character purely democratical; that the centuries in short, like our own House of Commons, during more than one period of our history, should have sympathized more and more with the senate, and have counteracted to the utmost of their power on the Campus Martius the policy embraced by the tribes in the forum. But this is not the case; the spirit of the Roman people, as distinguished from the senate and the equestrian order, appears to have been much the same whether they were assembled in one sort of comitia or another; the centuries elected Flaminius and Varro to the consulship in the second Punic war, although their opposition to the aristocracy seems to have been one of their chief recommendations; and in later times the

centuries elected many consuls who advocated the popular cause not less violently than the most violent of the tribunes elected by the tribes.

The cause of this is to be found in the great wealth of the equestrian order and of the senate, which drew a broad line of separation between them and the richest of the plebeians, and thus drove the members of the first class to sympathize with those below them rather than with those above them. While the possession of the judicial power was disputed by the senate and the equestrian order, it was only after many years that any share of it was communicated to the richest of the plebeians. Thus it is probable that the middle classes at Rome, as elsewhere, repelled by the pride of the highest classes, were forced back as it were into the mass of the lower; and entered as bitterly into all measures galling to the aristocracy, as the poorest citizens of the tribes.

If this be so, the question as to the exact form of the comitia of centuries in later times, however curious in itself, is of no great importance to our right understanding of the subsequent history. For whether the influence of the first class as compared with that of the lower classes was greater or less, it does not appear that the character of the comitia was altered from what it would have been otherwise; the first class was as little attached to the aristocracy as the fourth or fifth. After the unsuccessful attempts of so many men of ability and learning, I have no confidence that I could approach more nearly to the true solution of the problem; and, in fact, there seem difficulties in the way of every theory, which our present knowledge can hardly enable us to remove. If hereafter any solution should occur to me which may be free from palpable objections, and may seem to meet all the circumstances of the case, I shall hope to mention it in a subsequent volume; in the mean time, I must at present express my belief that the exact arrangement of the classes in the later comitia of

centuries is a problem no less inexplicable than that of the disposition of the rowers in the ancient ships of war.

APPENDIX III.

OF THE ROMAN LEGION IN THE FIFTH CENTURY OF ROME.

THE accounts of the Roman legion in the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome are full of perplexity. Nor is this to be wondered at, for as there were no contemporary historians, and as the military system afterwards underwent considerable changes, the older state of things could be known only from accidental notices of it in the stories of the early wars, or from uncertain memory. How little help in these inquiries is to be expected from Livy, may be understood from this single fact; that although he himself in two several places (I. 43 and VIII. 8.) has expressly stated that the ancient Roman tactic was that of the phalanx, yet in no one of his descriptions of battles are any traces to be found of such a system; but the sword and not the pike is spoken of as the most efficient weapon, just as it was in the tactic of the second Punic war, or of the age of Marius and of Cæsar.

Livy, however, has preserved in one place a detailed account of the earlier legion, as it existed in the great Latin war in the beginning of the fifth century. And Polybius, as is well known, has described at length the arms and organization of the legion of his time, that is of the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century of Rome. I shall notice the similar and dissimilar points in these two accounts, and then see how far we can explain the changes implied in them: and, finally, notice some statements in other writers which relate to the same subject.

Both accounts acknowledge the existence of four divisions

of fighting men in the legion; the light-armed, (γροσφόμαχοι Polyb. rorarii, Livy,) the hastati, the principes, and the triarii. But to these there was in the older legion a fifth added, the accensi, or supernumeraries; who in ordinary cases were not armed, but went to the field to be ready to take the arms and supply the places of those who fell.

In both accounts the hastati, when the legion is drawn up in order of battle, are placed in front of the principes, and the principes in front of the triarii. But in the old legion the greater part of the light-armed soldiers are described as stationed with the triarii in the third line, and only about a fourth part of them are with the hastati in the front. Whereas, in the later legion, the light troops are divided equally among the three lines.

Again in the older legion the triarii were equal in numbers to the hastati and principes, respectively, each division consisting of somewhat more than nine hundred men. Whereas, in the later legion, the triarii were never more than six hundred men: while the hastati and principes were regularly twelve hundred each, and sometimes exceeded this number.

In the older legion the light-armed troops carried each man a pike, "hasta," and two or more javelins, "gæsa." These were the arms of the fourth class in the Servian constitution, "nihil præter hastam et verutum datum:" verutum and gæsa alike signifying missile weapons or javelins as opposed to the hasta or pike. But in the later legion, the light-armed soldier carried no pike, but had a round shield, πάρμη, and a dirk or cutlass, μάχαιρα, together with his javelins.

In the older legion again the hastati, principes, and triarii, all bore the arms of the second and third classes in the Servian constitution; that is to say, the large oblong shield, "scutum," the pike, and the sword, "gladius." But in the later legion, the hastati and principes had both

dropped the pike, and were armed instead of it with two large javelins of about six feet in length, which Polybius calls ὑσσοί, and which were no other than the formidable pila.

Farther, we have a remarkable notice, that there was a time when the triarii alone carried pila, and were called pilani, while the hastati and principes still carried pikes[1].

Again, the older legion was divided into forty-five maniples or ordines; fifteen of hastati, fifteen of principes, and fifteen of triarii; but as the triarii were in fact a triple division, so their maniples contained one hundred and eighty-six, or possibly one hundred and eighty-nine men each, while those of the hastati and principes contained only sixty-three men each.

In the later legion, the hastati, principes, and triarii contained ten maniples each; and those of the two former divisions consisted of one hundred and twenty men each, while those of the triarii contained only sixty. The light troops were divided into thirty divisions, one of which was added to each maniple of the heavy-armed troops, in just proportion to its respective strength; that is, that twenty-four light-armed men were added to each maniple of the triarii, and forty-eight to each maniple of the hastati and principes. It may be, however, that the divisions of the light-armed troops were all equal: in which case they would have raised each maniple of the triarii to one hundred men, and each maniple of the hastati and principes to one hundred and sixty.

In the older legion, each maniple contained two centurions; that is, it consisted of two centuries. Therefore the century of the old legion consisted of thirty men.

In the later legion each maniple also had two centurions; but the maniples being of unequal numbers, the centuries

[1] Livy says that the hastati and principes were called antepilani; VIII. 8. Varro, (Ling. Lat. V. § 89. Ed. Müller,) and Ovid, (Fasti, III. 129.) call the triarii expressly pilani.

were unequal also: the centuries of the triarii contained thirty men each, as in the older legion, but those of the hastati and principes had each sixty.

On comparing these two forms of the legion, it is manifest that in the older there is retained one of the characteristic points of the system of the phalanx, or of fighting in columns, the keeping the light-armed or worst-armed men mostly in the rear. The old legion consisted of a first division of about nineteen hundred men, of whom only three hundred and fifteen had inferior arms; and of a second division of nearly twenty-eight hundred men, of whom only nine hundred and thirty were well armed; nine hundred and thirty were light-armed, and the remaining nine hundred and thirty, the accensi, were not armed at all. Nay, it appears doubtful whether even the triarii, properly so called, were quite equal to the hastati and principes; for in the Latin war it seems to be a mistake of Livy's to suppose that they carried pikes; they appear at that time to have borne only pila and swords, and were therefore less fitted than the hastati and principes for the peculiar manner of fighting then in use in the Roman army.

But even in this earlier form of the legion there seems to have been some change introduced from a form still earlier. The mixture of light-armed soldiers in the front ranks of the phalanx, unless we are to suppose that they were always thrown forward as mere skirmishers, and had no place in the line, seems to show that a modification of the tactic of the phalanx had already been found necessary, and that the use of the javelin instead of the pike was already rising in estimation.

This alteration seems to derive its origin from the Gaulish wars. The Gauls used javelins themselves, and the weight of their charge was such that the full-armed soldiers of the Roman legions were not numerous enough to withstand them; it became of importance, therefore, to improve the efficiency of the light-armed soldiers, and at the

same time to enable the Roman line to reply to the Gaulish missiles, if the enemy preferred a distant combat to fighting hand to hand.

That something of this sort was done is directly stated; but as usual the accounts are conflicting and inconsistent with themselves. Dionysius makes Camillus say to his soldiers that whereas "the Gauls had only javelins, they had arrows, a weapon of deadly effect." Ἀντὶ λόγχης ὀϊστὸς, ἄφυκτον βέλος. Fragm. Vatic. XXX. Plutarch says that Camillus instructed his soldiers "to use their long javelins as weapons for close fight," τοῖς ὑσσοῖς μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι, Camill. 40, and in the next chapter he describes the Gauls as grappling with the Romans and trying to push aside their javelins, which evidently supposes them to have been used as pikes. And yet in the very sentence before, he talks of the Gaulish shields as being weighed down by the Roman javelins, which had run through them, and hung upon them, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς συμπεπάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ὑσσῶν ἐφελκομένων, (Camill. 41.) a description applicable only to weapons thrown at the enemy and not used as pikes.

A passage in Livy seems to offer the solution of this difficulty. When the Gauls attacked the Roman camp in their invasion of the Roman territory in the year 405, only ten years before the Latin war, the triarii were engaged in throwing up works, and the hastati and principes covered them. Then as the Gauls advanced up hill to attack the Roman position, "all the pila and spears," "pila omnia hastæque," "took effect," says Livy, "from their own weight; and the Gauls had either their bodies run through, or their shields weighed down by the darts that were sticking in them." VII. 23. It appears then, that both the pilum and hasta could be used as missiles; but both also could be used as pikes, for the pilum was six feet in length: and therefore it is very possible that Camillus may have shortened the spear of the hastati, to render it available as

a missile, and also strengthened and lengthened the pilum to make it serve on occasion the purposes of a pike.

Thus the hastati and principes were armed with swords, with large oblong shields, scuta, and with spears, hastæ; but the large shield already fitted them for a more independent and personal mode of fighting than that of the phalanx, and the spear might be used as a javelin, no less than as a pike. The Samnite wars, following so soon afterwards, decided the Romans to give up the tactic of the phalanx still more entirely; the spear which might be used as a javelin, but was more fitted for close fight, was now given only to the soldiers of the third line; while the pilum, which might be used as a pike, but was properly a missile, was taken from the third line, and given to the soldiers of the first and second lines. At the same time those citizens whose properties were rated between four thousand asses and twelve thousand five hundred, and who were not formerly required to provide themselves with arms, were now called upon to do so, and therefore the accensi are no more heard of; while the rorarii, who seem to have belonged to the fifth class of the old Servian division, and to have gone to battle with no other weapons than slings, were now called upon to provide themselves with light-arms of a better description, and became the velites of the new legion. Why the triarii should have been also reduced in number does not certainly appear; except that as the whole Roman tactic was now become a very active system of personal combats along the whole line, it was necessary to have as many men as possible available for the two first divisions, and that the mere reserve, which was not to form any part of the fighting force, except on emergency, should be kept low, and confined to the older soldiers who had no longer sufficient activity to be employed in the constantly moving battle of the regular line.

Niebuhr has attempted to explain the number of centuries in the legion, and of men in each century, by a

reference to the varying number of tribes, and to the centuries in the classes of the Servian constitution. But his explanation does not seem to me satisfactory; and the question is not essential to our understanding of the military character of the legion. It may be observed, however, that the germ of the division of the legion into ten cohorts, may be traced already in the legion of the time of Polybius, as a tenfold division existed in it in each of the three lines of the hastati, principes, and triarii. A cohort then would be merely one maniple of each of these three lines; a miniature legion, presenting the same variety of force on a small scale, which the legion itself did on a large scale. And thus the cohorts of the legion of four thousand two hundred men would consist of four hundred and twenty men each, as afterwards in the imperial legion they consisted properly of six hundred men each.

Sallust, it is well known, makes Cæsar say that the Romans had borrowed their arms, offensive and defensive, from the Samnites. (Bell. Catilinar. 51.) And although the Samnites are not named, yet the order of time seems to show that they must, partly at least, be intended, where Diodorus says, Fragm. Vatic. XXIII. 1. that the Romans, having first adopted the tactic of the phalanx in their wars with the Etruscans, afterwards exchanged it for the system of fighting in cohorts, (*σπειραῖς* being a certain correction for *πειραῖς*, which has no meaning at all,) and with the large oblong shield, *θυρεοῖς*, because the nations whom they subsequently encountered used this tactic. And it probably is true, that the peculiar form of the Roman legion was owing to the wars with the Gauls and Samnites, which led to the total disuse of the phalanx, and to the perfecting of those weapons, such as the sword and the javelins, which, in the system of the phalanx, are of the least importance.

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