The Development of the Roman Colonies

by Bartel Edward Ebel

1910

Submitted to the Department of Latin and Greek of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Master Thesis

Ehel, Bartell F. 1910

(Latin)

Development of the Roman colonies.

The Development of the Roman Colonies.

a thesis submitted for the A.M. degree.

Bartel Edward Ebel 1910

This thesis is in particular concerned with those Roman colonies, which were established before the Second Punic War, and in treating this subject special attention has been given to two considerations, namely for what purposes the Romans founded these colonies, and to what extent these colonies were able to accomplish those purposes.

Bibliography.

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
   Vol= IX. X. XI. XIV. passim.
2. Theodor Mommsen. Römisches Staatsrecht.
3. Joachim Marquardt. Römische Staatsverwaltung.
4. J. N. Madvig. Die Verfassung und Ver=
   waltung des Römischen Staates.
5. Élisée Reclus. Géographie Universelle.
6. A. Bouché-Leclercq. Institutions Romaines.
7. Gaston Boissier. Rome and Pompeii.
8. Frank Frost Abbott. Roman Political Institutions.
9. William Smith. Dictionary of Greek and Roman
   Geography.

"A colony," says Sir G. C. Lewis, "properly denotes a body of persons belonging (mainly) to one country and political community, who, having abandoned that country and community (hence ἀποικία) form a new and separate society independent or dependent in some district, which is wholly or nearly uninhabited, or from which they expel the ancient inhabitants"

The subject of colonization is so unlimited and the underlying causes so varied, that it is extremely difficult to form an adequate difinition for a colony. Although the above quoted definition is far sweeping, and embraces a vast number of colonies of various natures, it, nevertheless, falls short of serving our purpose, for the Roman colonies were vastly different from the Greek trading posts (ἀποικίαι), and rather related to the Greek κληρουχίαι. It becomes necessary, therfore, to amend the relative clause of Sir Lewis' definition by stating: "who having abandoned that country and community either entirely, or though

removed, still retaining their former relations to the state, form a new and separate society etc.

Upon the very first pages of history and amid the dying echoes of tradition we find very distinct references to the foundation of colonies. The Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Romans stand out as chiefly preeminent among the colonizing nations of antiquity. The Phoenicians, indeed, were the first to dot the vast expanse of the Mediterranean with the white sails of their ships, and to proceed boldly from the shores of their native country and penetrate far into that great unknown. It was due to this commercial enterprise that the Phoenicians founded various trading-posts and colonies, among which Carthage should be mentioned as being one of the most important.

The Greeks were especially endowed with a colonizing spirit, and, consequently, established colonies in Asia Minor, in Thrace and in Crimea; and further enlarged the range of their commercial possibilities by planting cities on the coast of Africa, in Sicily, in Italy and even in Gaul. The Greek spirit of adventure, and

also their love for commercial gain, primarily formed the underlying basis of Greek colonization. There were, however, other causes which contributed more or less to the augmentation of this undertaking.

The Dorian migration, which was the result of the expulsion of thousands, who were forced to leave their lands and flee over the sea in quest of new homes, crystallized into the first great colonizing movement. Internal dissentions also gave rise to the establishment of colonies. When settlements were made for this cause, the state, nevertheless, superintended the colonization, and the colonists remained, at least in a certain degree, friendly toward their native city. Tarentum, which was founded by the Parthenii under the direction of Sparta, offers a good example of this class. Overpopulation frequently gave rise to migration, and even religion was indirectly responsible for the planting of colonies; religion, not in the sense of religious persecutions, but rather as a divine injunction, that a tenth of the inhabitants should migrate, as in the case of Rhegium. The response of the oracle, however, was usually necessitated by over-population

or by bad seasons. Roscher very admirably summarizes these causes, when he says: "The main causes refer to the four great elements of human life — family (over-population), prosperity (commerce), state (political dissensions), and church (religious motives). It should be briefly stated, however, that there were, though much less popular, some military colonies; some founded by Alexander in the East, others by Pericles in Thrace. Yet nearly all colonies began as commercial colonies, whatever their later character may have been.

The Romans, on the other hand, established their colonies for political rather than commercial purposes. The colonies figured with them as a mighty, potent factor toward a universal dominion; and it was through them that they romanized their conquered provinces, and gradually grafted them into the Empire. Wherever the Roman sword had opened the way for Roman power, a colony was planted, which accomplished by the arms of peace, what was still unaccomplished by all the arms of war. Neither in art nor in the power of oratory did the Romans display their national genius,

but it was in the development of the colony, and in the ability to employ the same as a potent factor in establishing their universal domain, that they manifested the climax of their ingenuity. As the commercial enterprises were the main cause for colonization among the Greeks, and the military and the religious questions were less important, so the military operations were the chief reasons for planting the Roman colonies, and the commercial and the religious inducements were quite insignificant.

The Roman colonies were primarily founded as Livy (X. 10) informs us, to check a conquered people, and to repress hostile incursions, as was the case in the foundation of Minturnae. or perhaps more definitely in the case of Parma, which was established together with several others along the Aemilian way in order to check the Boii and other Gallic tribes. It was for this reason that Cicero speaks of the colonies as the "propugnacula imperii." Another cause for colonization as given by Livy (XXVII. 9) was to increase the Roman power through the multiplication of its population.

Sometimes the Romans established colonies in

order to get rid of a riotous and discontented population, or, again, to provide for their veteran soldiers. Livy (XXXI. 4) states, that this procedure was resorted to in B.C. 201. Such colonies were known as "militares".

When the Romans conquered a foreign people, they usually took one-third of the territory from the foe, or as some authorities believe two-thirds of the territory was taken. Marquardt, doubtless, bases his statement upon Dionys. II, 35, 50, 53 and upon Livy X. 1, when he states in his Römische Staatsverwaltung p. 35, that the territory taken by the Romans was equal to one-third of the possessions. Madvig, on the other hand, states, that two-thirds of the territory was taken from the conquered people, and supports his view by quoting "duae partes" but gives no reference on this subject (Mad. Die Ver. + Ver. des Röm. St. page 24). It may be true that both theories are correct, and that the Romans have pursued both of the methods in dealing with their foes, but it seems evident that the former, doubtless, was the more regular method of procedure.

This territory, taken by the Roman state, was either retained as "ager publicus," or sold, or set apart for colonization. The people expelled from this ager publicus either moved to Rome, or, if this was not permitted, remained in their native state with their kinsmen, and together with these occupied the remaining two thirds of their original territory. The Roman inhabitants alone were usually referred to in speaking of the colony, and they were at first quite distinct from and superior to the conquered people. These colonists retained, though removed from Rome, civitas cum suffragio et iure honorum, and were, as the patricians in Rome, the patricians of the colony, though they might have been mere plebeians before their migration. The subjects, the original inhabitants of the land, were probably regarded by the colonists as cives sine suffragio. Such a condition was doubtless very offensive to the natives, and, as a consequence, they often sought to regain their former liberty by expelling or even murdering the colonists. This condition of affairs reminds one of the constant strife between the patricians and the plebeians at Rome.

Gellius (XVI, 13) says concerning a colony: "Ex civitate quasi propagatae – populi Romani quasi effigies parvae simulacraque."

The establishment of a colony was a very serious matter with the Romans. The colonists were not simply a band of fickle, shifting adventurers, who could flock to any new movement and try fortune a while, and when tired of one affair could flock to another; but the founding of a colony was always authorized by a law, usually by a plebiscitum based upon a senatus-consultum. In some cases it is true the latter alone is mentioned (Livy XXXVII, 47, 57), but Madvig thinks, that a colony was never founded without a law, even if it be not always mentioned in connection with the senatus-consultum (Mad. Die V. und V. des R. S. page 29. n. 2).

After a law was passed for the founding of a colony, a commission was elected by the people usually under the supervision of a praetor urbanus, which had full charge of the undertaking, and usually consisted of three influential men, triumviri coloniae deducendae. If, however, a large tract of land was to be divided,

and several colonies were to be founded, the number of commissioners might be enlarged to decemviri, or even, as in the division of the ager Campanus, to vigintiviri. These larger commissions, however, were elected in B.C. 63, and during Caesar's reign. The law also stated how much land should be divided, and what portion each member should obtain.

The triumviri then asked all the citizens to hand them their names (nomina dare), if they were willing to join the colony. The number of heads of families was usually three hundred in early times, and the same number is frequently mentioned in later times (Dionys II, 35. 53; Liv. VIII. 21.). In still later periods the number of colonists was much larger. So we find, that two thousand colonists migrated to Mutina and to Parma (Liv. XXXIX, 55), and various other large settlements are mentioned. If, however, a colony was not very inviting, it was very difficult to obtain a sufficient number of volunteers. But, since the colony was really a part of the army, and established for military purposes, the required number could be raised by lot or by

levy (Dionys. VII, 13), and when once established the individuals were not permitted to with= draw at pleasure (Liv. X, 21. statio prope perpetua). The colonists acted as a guard on the front= ier, and were in return exempt from other military service.

When all the necessary preparations were made, the colonists proceeded to their place of destination in military order (sub vexillo) divided into equites and pedites. If they were led into a country without a city, the limits for the same were immediately marked out by a plow. If, however, a city already existed, which was gener= ally the case, it was, nevertheless, just as if it had been newly founded, consecrated with auspicies and ceremonies; and the day, on which the city was consecrated, was ever afterward observed as the birthday of the colony. Each colony had in addition to a city a tract of land, which was marked out at least by metes and bounds, if not by a plow (Cic. Phil. II, 40, 102).

In dividing the territory the individual colonist received, as a rule, in the oldest colonies two jugera (1 jug. = 28800 square feet), or

two and one-half jugera (bina iugera cum semissibus Liv. IV. 47). After the Second Punic War the allotment was increased to five jugera (quina iugera Liv. XXXIX. 55). The amount of land given to the colonists was, however, much greater as the colony was removed from Rome, and the possibilities of safety were dimished.

A new colony could not be sent into a territory, where a colony was already founded, for this would mean a new assignment of land. But new settlers might be located upon colonial land, which had become ager publicus, and was as yet not divided, or a colony might receive a reenforcement (supplementum), as in the case of Parma, or, lastly, a colony might be reestablished.

According to Marquardt there were thirty-three Roman colonies in Italy, and two outside of the territory of Italy. They were founded almost invariably upon the sea-coast, between 418 B.C. and 100 B.C. This list must necessarily be very incomplete, for according to Asconius (in Pis. p. 3.) there must have been many more, for he says: "Eamque coloniam (Placentiam)

LIII deductam esse invenimus." Accordingly this colony founded in 218 B.C. would be the fifty-third. We, however, know of only eleven Roman and thirty-four Latin colonies up to this time, making a total of forty-five colonies. This shows, that there must have been a number of colonies, which are now entirely unknown to us.

"The power of Rome over her colonies was derived", as Niebuhr says, "from the supremacy of the parent state to which the colonies of Rome, like sons in a Roman family, even after they had grown to maturity, continued unalterably subject."

The municipal laws of Salpensa and of Malaca in Hispania Baetica (C.I.L. II. 1963, 1964) throw a great deal of light upon the constitution of the colonies. These records, it is true, date back to as late a time as about 81 A.D. but it is not difficult, as a rule, to draw conclusions as to the character of the municipal constitutions of earlier times.

The popular assemblies had originally the soverign power in the colonies; they chose the magistrates, and even enacted laws (Cic. de leg. III, 16, 32).

The town-council, or senate as it was called was composed of a certain number of members, who were selected for life by magistrates corresponding to the censors at Rome. The law, which constituted the colony, also determined the number of the senators (Lex Jul. Munic 85), which though varying somewhat in the several colonies was usually one hundred. The senate was designated by various terms as senatus, ordo decurionum, or curia, or in imitation of the terms used at Rome, patres et conscripti, decuriones conscriptique; and the members of the municipal senate were known as decuriones, or at a later period, curiales

An inscription from Canusium (Mom. I.R.N. 635) gives us a definite description of the composition of the municipal senate. The senators were not all of equal rank and position, but there were some far superior to others. Some figured as the chief personages in business transactions, while others received the senatorship as merely an honorary office and attended the senate as mere listeners.

The following outline give us a more detailed view of the ordo decurionum.

1. Patroni clarissimi viri. 31.
These men had held an office in Rome before they came to the colony, and were Roman senators, and apparently held an honorary position in the local senate.

2. Patroni equites Romani. 8.
These were honorary members also.

3. Quinquennalicii. 7.
Local ex-censors.

4. Allecti inter quinquennalicios. 4.
To these had been granted a higher rank by a special vote.

5. Duoviralicii. 29.
Local ex-duumviri.

6. Aedilicii. 19.
Ex-aediles.

7. Quaestoricii. 9.
Ex-quaestors.

8. Pedani. 32.
These had not held any office, but were admitted into the senate by the quinquennales.

9. Praetextati. 25.
These were the sons of senators and received

the senatorship as an honorary office, and attended the senate as mere listeners.

In its functions the municipal senate bore a close resemblance to the senate at Rome. It was a deliberative body and also passed resolutions which it was the duty of the magistrates to enforce, who had the ordinary executive functions. In the laws of Manaica and Salpensa, there are eight powers of the senate mentioned, and two of the most important are the control of the municipal property and the hearing of appeals, which were made against the fines imposed by the magistrates.

Since a colony was in many respects a little state in itself, it happened that its duties and offices were somewhat similar to those of its parent, and the officers of a colony, though indicated by different titles, were closely related in their duties to those in Rome. Some of the more important officers were as follows:

1, The Duoviri iure dicundo were the highest officers of a colony and these alone were designate magistratus. They resembled in civil jurisdiction the consuls at Rome, and their year of office

was denoted by their names. Though having the supreme judicial authority, they could not preside over manumissions, emancipations and adoptions, but they did preside over elections in the popular assembly, and over the senate; and they could in case of absence appoint a substitute (praefectus). They were attended by two lictors bearing the fasces (without the ax), and wore the toga praetexta.

2. Duoviri aediliciae potestatis were the collegae minores of the duoviri jure dicundo. It is not necessary to comment on their duties, as their title in itself sufficiently indicates these.

3. Quinquennales, whose full title was duoviri censoria potestate quinquennales, were elected every fifth year, and in that year they preformed the duties of the duoviri iure dicundo, who were, consequently, not elected for that year. Since the regular magistrates were then suspended, the year was designated by the names of these substitutes. After 90 B.C. when the Lex Julia was passed, the quinquennales discharged the duties previously preformed by two municipal

censors. Their special duties were to revise the citizens' and the senatorial lists, and to arrange the finances of the colony for the next five years.

4. In some colonies the detailed financial affairs were executed by quaestors as was the case in Rome. In other colonies this duty was preformed by a third aedile.

5. The praefecti really were no regular officers, but rather substitutes, who could be appointed to preform the duties of any officer, who was not able, for any reason, to execute these himself.

There were also various extraordinary duties to preform in the colonies among which Mommsen (CIL XIV) mentions:

6. Cura operum publicorum. CIL XIV. n. 373.
7. Cura operum publicorum et aquarum perpetua. " " 176.
8. Cura tabularum et librorum. " " 376.
9. Cura pecuniae publicae exigundae et attribuendae. " " 375.
10. XX viri h. a. h. s. p. " " 340.

It is not clear what was signified by these singular letters nor what the duty of these officers was. It cannot even be definitely stated whether

these were officers of the colony Ostia or of Rome. An inscription (C.I.L. XIV n. 340) bearing these letters was found at Ostia.

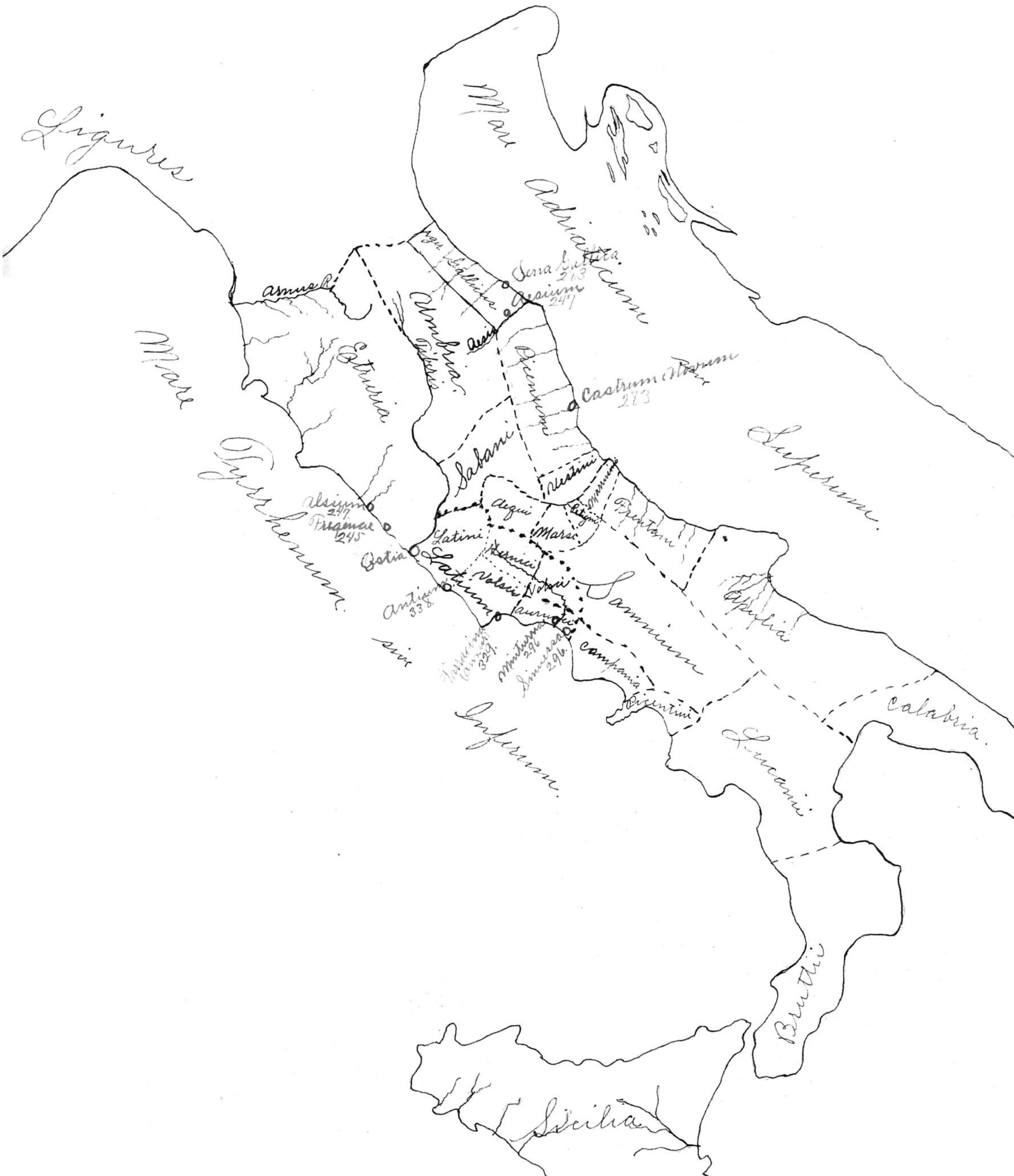
11. The magistrates of the colonies, just as those of Rome, also had apparitores (public servants).

As the term "ordo" was constantly applied in Rome to the two leading classes of citizens, namely the Senate and the Equites, so this term was also used to designate the corresponding classes in the colonies, namely the ordo decurionum, and the ordo Augustalium.

There is still much to be learned about the ordo Augustalium, but a few general facts may here be stated to indicate the nature of this organization more fully. The Augustales were as a rule libertini, but inscriptions also mention ingenui Augustales. These Augustales, together with the Seviri, composed, as already stated, a class corresponding to the Equites at Rome, or a middle class between the senators (decuriones) of the colony and the plebs (municipes), who were the original inhabitants of the community. The object of these Augustales together with the Seviri was the

worship of Augustus. Yet the worship was not restricted to Augustus alone, but later emperors were also associated with this veneration.

The Seviri Augustales were the six principal members of this ordo, but their exact position toward the other members is not very clear. In some municipalities there are no seviri mentioned at all, in others the number appears to have varied somewhat for we find in rare cases trimviri Augustales and also octoviri Augustales. The more regular arrangement however was to have six chief men, who served for one year and then became members of the ordo Augustales for life. During the year of their service the seviri provided for the sacrifices at their own expense.


Ligures
Mare Adriaticum
Mare Superum
Mare Tyrrhenum sive Inferum
Arnus R.
Etruria
Umbria
Aesis
Sena Gallica 283
Aesium 247
Picenum
Castrum Novum 283
Sabini
Vestini
Aequi
Marsi
Frentani
Alsium 247
Fregenae 245
Ostia
Latini
Latium
Hernici
Volsci
Aurunci
Antium 338.
Minturnae 296
Sinuessa 296.
Campania
Picentini
Samnium
Apulia
Calabria
Lucani
Bruttii
Sicilia

Ostia.

Ostia, the oldest of the Roman colonies, was founded, as the Romans belived, by Ancus Marcius in Latium at the mouth of the Tiber. In referring to the Tiber, the ancient authors always have reference to that arm of the river, which flows south of the Sacred Isle, and which even to-day carries the larger quantity of water. But even with this word of explanation it would be quite impossible for an ordinary person to point out the location of ancient Ostia, for the Tiber has constantly carried down a great deal of alluvial soil, and has pushed the coast-line far out into the sea; so that the mouth of the Tiber was located several miles inland in ancient times. With these facts in mind almost everyone would be prepared to pronounce the present ruins of Ostia as those of the ancient colony, but this again is not the case. The ruins of to-day, situated three miles from the coast are those of Ostia under the emperors, while the ruins of the fort of Ostia built in the fifteenth century, and now four miles from

the sea, mark the spot, where the sea washed the shore in Ancus' time, and where he located the colony. The distance of one mile from ancient Ostia to Ostia under the emperors, marks the advance, which the coast had made during the period between Ancus and the close of the republic. Reclus thinks, that the alluvial deposits advance at the rate of nearly three meters per year at the mouth of the Tiber, where ages ago ancient Ostia was located. and, ~~indeed~~, whence it derived its name.

The founding of this colony at the mouth of the Tiber was necessitated by several causes, among which the commercial stands out as the predominant element. This may not seem to be quite in keeping with the later Roman ideas of colonization. But it is a fact, that Rome could not hope to gain the supremacy over her neighboring states, before she had gained a solid footing herself; and a port, through which she might communicate with the exterior world was an absolute necessity. For it was but a comparatively short time since the founding of Rome, when the

city had expanded to such dimensions, that the immediate vicinity became unable to supply all her wants. Hence it happened, that the mighty fleets were sent to the islands of the sea, and to the continents afar in quest of the daily necessities for Rome. And how absolutely she finally depended upon the products of Sicily and Africa is apparent from the panic, which fell upon Rome, when one or two of her transport fleets were wrecked by the storm. It is true that the commerce of the very early times cannot be compared with that of the late republic, but the needs of foreign communication were sufficiently felt to justify Ancus Marcius in building the city of Ostia, or rather founding a colony there.

A second reason for the establishment of this colony was, doubtless, of a military nature, and that rather of a defensive than of an offensive character. For Ancus well knew that, if a powerful nation once gained possession of the mouth of the Tiber, Rome would be practically severed from foreign communication. And while he certainly might build some other

harbor somewhere along the coast, he would, nevertheless, suffer, at least, three very distinct disadvantages in having allowed a foreign foe to fortify itself at the mouth of the Tiber.

Firstly, such a second harbor would, necessarily, have been at a much greater distance from Rome than Ostia was. This statement needs no further comment, as it is sufficiently supported by the position of Puteoli.

Secondly, all the merchandise, instead of being brought directly to Rome by way of the Tiber, would then, necessarily, have had to be unloaded, and transported the remaining distance to Rome by means of carts or baggage animals.[n.1]

Thirdly, no Roman harbor would have been perfectly safe, as long as Ostia had been a stronghold of an enemy.

[n.1] It is true this problem was never entirely solved even at Ostia, for many of the large transport vessels could not ascend the Tiber. In that case, however, the cargo was placed upon smaller boats, which constantly sailed between Ostia and Rome. There were, however, a great number of ships which were able to ascend the Tiber, and reach Rome directly.

It was, consequently, for a military reason also, that Ancus established a colony at Ostia.

Judging from the prompt actions of Ancus, it would seem, that the necessity of establishing dockyards for the Roman navy, was another cause for the foundation of Ostia, for it was in connection with this colony, that Ancus, as some believed, built the naval arsenal at the mouth of the Tiber. There are, however, very good reasons to doubt that Ancus ever established such "navalia" at Ostia as we shall see in the sequel.

After considering these causes, which, doubtless, were instrumental in making Ostia a reality, and after tracing the development of the consecutive colonies, we are led to believe, that there must be still another reason underlying the foundation of Ostia. For the entire colonial system along the western coast indicates a well matured project for the expansion of the Roman domain, firstly, toward the south, then toward the north, of the Tiber. It is, therfore, altogether possible, that the Romans did not only have a defensive, but

also an offensive military project in view, when they sent that small body of emigrants to the mouth of the Tiber. The establishment of a colony at Ostia was the first step toward the possession of Italy, for it was through these "propugnacula" that Rome repressed and tempered the individual states, and after depriving them of their power, drew them into her possession one by one. Thus Rome accomplished, by means of her colonies, what was impossible for the other contemporary nations to attain.

Having now considered the reasons for locating a settlement at Ostia, it is well for us to consider, as far as possible, to what extent the Romans realized their plans in founding the colony at the mouth of the Tiber.

One of the problems, which confronted the Roman people, was the absolute necessity of a good harbor. But in how far did they supply this want in selecting the mouth of the Tiber? Ostia never was a good harbor, nor was it capable of receiving the

larger transport vessels. There was really no natural harbor there whatsoever, for Dionys (III, 44) says, that the ships simply used the mouth of the river for a station. This fact is further mentioned by Polyb (XXXI, 20, 11). And that the mouth of the Tiber was absolutely incapable of accomodating the larger vessels is plainly stated by Strabo, when he says, that the large vessels did not approach the Tiber, but lay at anchor on the high sea. He further states that the freight was then carried from these vessels to their place of destination on small boats. That ship, too, which in the year 204 B.C. brought the Idaean mother from Pessinus, did not enter the mouth of the Tiber, but Livy (XXIX. 14) says: "After the ship had approached the mouth of the Tiber, P. Scipio Nasica embarked on a boat, and received the goddess from the priests and, brought it back to the shore." Although that well known story concerning Claudia Quinta related by Ovid (fast. IIII. 29) and by Suetonius (Tiber II) is contrary to this narration of Livy, there is, nevertheless, overwhelming evidence to prove, that the mouth of the Tiber was a poor harbor,

unable to receive the larger vessels, and that the sandy coast offered no protection whatsoever to the storm-beaten sailor.

These characteristics of Ostia unquestionably lead to prove, that, if the Romans were in quest of an excellent harbor, they certainly missed their mark in selecting this locality, and what is more than this, they knew themselves that Ostia was a poor substitute for a port. But this was certainly the best they could do. What they might have wished for, would be a larger Tiber and a deeper "ostia," but such a desire could not alter the physical conditions, and so they simply had to accept the best nature offered them. There were, it is true, much better harbors on the coast of Italy, as for example Brundisium, Puteoli or Tarentum, but the disadvantages connected with these and many other places, were so great as to justify the Romans in selecting the mouth of the Tiber for their harbor. So in conclusion we must maintain, that the Romans solved, to the best of their ability, the harbor problem in selecting the site of Ostia.

As far as the second inducement — the intention of anticipating any foreign foe — is concerned, it is needless to say, that the colony was a perfect success.

Before we consider however, in how far the Romans were successful in establishing, with the aid of this colony, dockyards at Ostia, it is necessary to consider whether such yards were really located there at this early period.

The port and the ship yards (navalia), which existed at Ostia in the time of the Republic, were traced back by the Romans to Ancus Marcius, and they were generally believed to have been established by this king in connection with the colony. Many, doubtless, were familiar with these words of Ennius: "idem loca navibus celsis munda fecit (lib II. fr. 20. Vahl). Livy (VIII, 14), however, and Plutarch state, that the dockyards were not located at Ostia but at Rome during the time of the Republic. This statement is in no wise contradicted by the fact, that a part of the fleet was stationed at Ostia during the Hannibalic war (Liv. XXVII. 22. 12), nor by the fact, that writers in mentioning naval expeditions

refers to Ostia more frequently than to Rome (Liv 22. 11). Moreover the words of Ennius need not, necessarily, refer to Ostia, but the author may have had Rome in mind, when he wrote that sentence.

Many interpriters since the time of Ursino have sought to support this ancient tradition by referring a copper coin, with the rough outline of a ship on one side, and the portraits of Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marius on the other, to the port of Ostia. But it is extremly difficult to see the force of this argument, because the picture of a ship was very frequently imprinted on one side of the coin.

The attempts, therefore, to prove, that the dockyards were located at Ostia, are poorly supported, while Livy (VIII. 12) and Plutarch (Cato min 39), on the other hand, definitely state, that the shipyards, where the ships of war were hauled up, and whither the captured vessels were taken, were not in the time of the Republic, at Ostia, but at Rome. And why, finally, should the Romans prefer to build and repair their ships at Ostia rather than at Rome?

The condition of affairs is best summarized in stating, that the main docks and navalyards were, doubtless, located at Rome, and that there were, at least in the later Republic, also docks of an inferior nature at Ostia. For many of the larger vessels were not able to ascend the Tiber, and did, consequently, make Ostia their terminal point or goal, whence smaller boats transported the cargo to Rome. The "Corpus Fabrum Navalium Ostiensium" (C.I.L. n. 168, 169. 292, 368. etc.) must, doubtless, have existed for the purpose of repairing vessels, which never reached Rome, and even if we admit, that vessels were built at Ostia, this would not in the least prove, that the main docks were located there.

After concluding, therfore, that the dockyards were not located at Ostia during the time of the Republic, it is perfectly safe to say, that the necessity of establishing dockyards elsewhere than at Rome has not been one of the reasons for the establishment of this colony. The military nature of the colony has already been sufficiently treated elsewhere; and to accomplish its purpose, as there stated, it doubtless entertained some war-

vessels almost all the time.

It would be bordering upon speculation to assert, that the Romans planned the entire colonial system, with all its objects and effects, and then set out to realize this project by starting the colonization with Ostia. This, to be sure, was not the case, but we may safely assert, that, that same motive, which later became so predominant in founding the colonies, was already at work in the establishment of Ostia. This motive Livy (XXVII. 9) calls a desire to increase the Roman power. We may therfore, safely assume, that Ostia was founded with an offensive military scheme in view.

In many colonies the results, though present, are not so obviously brough to light as in this case. After the Romans had once established Ostia and gained a firm footing on the shore, it was comparatively easy to expand her domain, and found a second colony in the vicinity. After two colonies had been founded it became still easier to establish a third. The first settlement, of course, stood alone, and it was exposed to greater dangers and hazards than

the later colonies in the same territory, yet Ostia, nevertheless, maintained her position, and made it easier for the Romans to establish the other colonies.

Having considered, to some extent, the circumstances, which led to the establishment of Ostia, it will be in place to consider its progress and final destruction. Ostia rapidly rose into prominence, and became a city of great prosperity, and it enjoyed a special favor in the eyes of Rome, for in 207 B.C., when the Roman colonies tried to gain an exemption from levies for military service, Ostia and Antium were the only colonies to which this favor was granted. (Liv. 27, 38).

Of course, when a city is constantly fighting for its prosperity with adverse elements in nature, then progress and development is necessarily slow, and ultimate ruin almost inevitable. This is plainly demonstrated in the case of Ostia, when toward the close of the Republic the Tiber had brought such quantities of sand and alluvial soil into the port, as to render it a very inefficient, undesirable

landing place. Strabo represents Ostia as not having any port. The Roman merchants abandoned this place on account of the lengthening out of the fluvial bed and the sand bars, which obstructed navigation. Caesar, the dictator, was the first to consider the proposition of reestablishing commerce on the Tiber, and of constructing a port at Ostia, as we learn from Plutarch (Caes. 58). Porphyrion (ad Horat. art. poet 65), on the other hand, states, that Augustus determined to accomplish two undertakings, one of which was the establishment of a good port at Ostia. But this affair was prevented by death. There are authorities, however, who maintain, that this work was accomplished, or at least undertaken by Augustus, but they have no sufficient proofs to justify such conjectures. An authority states (inter scholia ad Horatii art. poet 65), that Augustus shut out the sea by building moles of earth and stones, and established an artificial harbor at Ostia. But these words must not be considered as authentic, for they hinge upon the statements of Porphyrion which were quoted above.

It is likewise improbable, that the title "portus Augusti", which appears first upon the coins of Nero, refers to Caesar Augustus. Finally the words: "Hoc (Octaviano Augusto) imperatore, navis Alexandria primum in portu Romano introivit," from a chronographer of the year 354 A.D., do not in the least prove, that the port, which in the fourth century A.D. was called "Portus Romanus", already existed in Augustus' time. It is, therfore, impossible to say, whether either Caesar, the dictator, or Caesar Augustus really did anything to improve the conditions of Ostia. But one thing is certain, that the Roman Empire constructed a canal north of the "Sacred Isle" directly from the Tiber into the sea, in order to prevent the floods from devastating the vicinity.

The emperor Claudius was the first to take any definite steps toward the improvement of transportation. He, consequently, hollowed out a vast basin on the north bank of the canal in the first years of his reign as it appears from an inscription (C.I.L. XIV. n. 85), which dates back to the year 46 A.D.

and was found in Portus Romanus. Suetonius (cl. 20) and Cassius (Dio. 60. 12) also attribute this undertaking to Claudius alone. Dio, however, seems to have dedicated this new port, and in order to conceal the real name of its true author, simply called it "Portus Augusti."

Though Claudius had greatly relieved the situation, and had again brought Rome more directly into contact with the commercial world, his achievements were, nevertheless, not entirely sufficient. Trajan, therefore, constructed a much larger and safer harbor on this same canal a little to the south-east of Claudius' port. This later port was about two miles from the walls of Ostia. Pliny says in a eulogy of Trajan: "Our parent opened the roads, and also the ports. He reestablished ways for the land, a sea for the shores, and shores for the sea."

This new port as might be expected gave rise to the development of a new Ostia, which was known as Portus Ostiensis or Portus Romae. In later times it was styled

more frequently simply Portus.

During this time Ostia was still a considerable town, and repeated references show, that it was still cherished and beautified by various emperors, among whom Hadrian and Septimius Severus deserve special mention, and in whose honor many inscriptions were made. The ruins of Ostia bear testimony of the fact, that this city continued to be a flourishing place up to the fall of the Roman Empire, and that it, as a city, has ever been superior to Portus both in population and splendor. But Portus, as the harbor of Rome, was well garrisoned and fortified, while Ostia, on the other hand, was wholly unprotected by its walls (Procop. B. G. I. 26), and, consequently unable to offer security as its new rival did. The main arm of the Tiber continued constantly to decrease in utility, while the canal with its amplified ports was constantly growing in popularity. Rutilius says, that in his days, about 414 A.C., the left arm or main channel of the river was so obstructed with sand, that it was wholly deserted (Itin. I. 181).

This statement, however, appears to exaggerate the true condition of affairs, for Procopius informs us, that in his time, which was more than a century later, both arms of the Tiber were navigable. But, as many other authors, he, too, represents Ostia as falling rapidly into decay, and the Via Ostiensis as already neglected and abandoned, while the Via Portuensis, on the other hand, is represented as a scene of considerable activity and commercial intercourse.

Ostia steadily continued to decline throughout the earlier parts of the middle ages, and in 827 A.D. the entire splendor of the first Roman colony was buried in ruins, and whatever there was left to attract the admiration of man, was carried off by the Saracens. These robbers continued to fall upon Ostia through that century, in the name of war, and completed the awful desolation. The few inhabitants, who continued to linger about that place, were, doubtless, frightened away by the repeated incursions of the Saracens, and sought permanent protection behind the walls of some neighboring city.

By this time the waters of the canal had brought down a considerable quantity of sand and alluvial soil, which were gradually filling up the artificial ports of Claudius and of Trajan, and finally rendered them both useless. In the tenth century that splendid port of Trajan was represented by a mere pool entirely separated from the sea, and only joined to the Tiber by a little ditch (Ughelli Italia Sacra I. p. 134).

Hence in rapidly reviewing the entire history of Ostia, with its purposes, its effects and its failures, one must necessarily say, that the founding of a colony at the mouth of the Tiber was a success, and if it had not been for the limited possibilities of its harbor, Ostia would have attained much greater prominence, and its site would not merely be indicated by the ruins of to-day.

Antium

Antium was a very powerful, ancient city located on the coast of Latium, 260 stades - 30 miles - from Ostia (Strab. V. p 232), and about 33 miles south of Rome. According to tradition this city was built by the son of Odysseus and Circe. It was probably founded, however, by the Pelasgians, who still predominated in this city, at least in numbers, at a comparatively late time (Niebuhr. Vol. I. p. 44). The inhabitants seem to have devoted themselves to navigation and transportation as well as to piracy at a very early date.

Antium is represented by some authorities as being connected with the Latin League in early times. Dionysius declares, that it became one of the cities of that confederacy under Tarquinius Superbus (Dion. Hal. IV. 49). But the truth of this statement may well be questioned, since Polybius (III. 22) mentions Antium as one of the Latin cities, which in the treaty between Rome and Carthage were subject to, or, at least,

dependent upon Rome. The statement of Dionysius becomes still more questionable, when he himself (Hal V. 61) does not mention Antium among the thirty cities, which in 493 B.C. composed the Latin League. In like manner he certainly misrepresents Antium as being a Volscian city under Tarquinius Superbus (See Niebuhr II. p. 108). Brockhaus states, that it was inhabited from its origin, or, at least nearly so, by the sea-robbing Etruscans, but soon passed into the hands of the Volscians.

That Antium was not originally a Volscian city, but that it soon became one is sufficiently clear from almost all authorities. Dionysius (VI. 3) declares, that it offered aid to the Latins before the battle of Regillus, from which action we may conclude, that it, probably, was still a Latin city. But the city must shortly after this date have fallen into the hands of the Volscians, since it is represented henceforth as taking an active part with this people in their wars against the Romans and the Latins.

In the year 468 B.C. the Romans captured this city and attempted to secure it by means of a colony. (Liv. II. 33, 63, 65. III. 1) (Dion. Hal VI, 92. IX, 58, 59). We know practically nothing of this colony, but it, certainly, must not have been very successful, for in 459 B.C. Antium threw off the Roman yoke, and enjoyed a period of complete liberty, which lasted for 120 years, and hence developed greatly both in power and in wealth, until it became the chief city of the Volscians (Liv. III, 4, 5, 23. Niebuhr II. pp. 254, 255). After Antium had regained its liberty, it remained on friendly terms with the Romans for a short time, but this peace soon developed into bitter hostilities and continual wars, until it was finally subdued by Rome in the year 338 B.C. Its ships were destroyed, and their rostra was sent to Rome to decorate the Forum, and in addition the inhabitants of Antium were prohibited from engaging in any maritime commerce.

Since this city had been one of the most powerful enemies of Rome, and since it

had both revolted itself several times, and had also given aid to the Latins in their wars against Rome (340-338 B.C.), it was considered absolutely necessary to thoroughly garrison this city by sending thither a colony, which was also done that same year, when the city was taken (Liv. VII. 27. VIII. 1, 12-14)

The Volscians were a very powerful nation, and it was absolutely necessary for the safety of Rome to check this people, and if possible gain a footing in their territory. This colony was, therefore, sent among the Volscians, primarily, to keep the city of Antium under the power of Rome, and secondly, to act as a wedge in opening the entire state to Roman supremacy. Another reason, for which the Romans so eagerly entertained the idea of founding a colony at Antium, was the desire to secure the colony of Ostia, which would indeed be greatly secured by one or two neighboring colonies. Practically all of the Roman transport vessels came up along the western coast of Italy on their way to Ostia. This coast, however, was

exceedingly dangerous, not only for the passing vessels but even for Ostia itself, on account of the innumerable pirates, who were constantly falling upon the vessels. Since it was for the interests of Rome to gain the mastery over this western shore of Italy toward the south of Ostia, and, therfore, as a means to accomplish this also, they founded the colony at Antium. There was, in fact, another condition, which at least supported the Romans indirectly, if not directly, in the foundation of this colony, and that was the destress of the poor. There was at this time a great proletariat at Rome, whose conditions were so deplorable that they could be scarcely relieved by anything less than a general secession or revolution. It seems very probable, therfore, that the Romans would have the relief of the poor also in mind, when they sent this colony to Antium.

These then were the reasons and purposes, which led to the establishment of this colony. And in introducing the second topic we strike the key note in

saying, that this great undertaking was a great success. For after the colony was established at this city, Antium remained in complete subjugation to Rome, and never again bore arms of hostility against the Romans, but continued to figure in history as merely one of the maritime colonies (Liv. XXVII. 38). Though deprived of its arms, we must not suppose, that Antium was ruined - far from it —; this city, on the contrary, developed more and more under the Roman government until it reached the height of its prosperity with the close of the Republic. It became a great resort for the Romans, and among many others Cicero, too, had a villa located at this place. The emperor Augustus regarded this city with favor. Yet it was destined to come even closer into contact with the imperial family, for it became the birthplace of Caligula, and later also of Nero, who, not only amplified the imperial villa located there, but also added to its population a colony of veterans of the praetorian guard,

and in addition to this constructed a splendid artificial harbor at Antium, the remains of which are still visible (Tac. Ann. XIV. 27. XV, 23.. C.I.L. Vol. X. no. 6672).

The colony was not only successful in keeping the city of Antium in subjection, but it also served its purpose in giving Rome a very strong hold upon the Volscians. It is true, that the Prevernates, a Volscian tribe, rose in arms against Rome in 327 B.C. after the establishment of this colony, but this hostility was easily subdued. The colony, without a doubt, brought a severe blow upon the Volscian nation, and opened the way for the establishment of similar "propugnacula", which finally in conjunction brought the entire nation under the Roman dominion.

How absolutely necessary it was to establish a colony at Antium in order to prevent this city from attacking the Roman ships, is apparent from the fact, that, even after the city had become subject to Rome, the inhabitants did not altogether refrain from

their piratical excursions (Strabo V. p. 232.). But we may surely belive, that the number of pirates was greatly decreased. The few, who continued to pursue this occupation, were laboring under considerable difficulty, since their very retreat was in the hands of the Romans, and a strong guard was constantly watching the behavior of the entire city.

The relief, which the oppressed may have obtained through the establishment of one colony, was doubtless insignificant in comparison with the great misery at Rome. But, nevertheless, this colony did its part, and gave many a man a little field, who, probably, came there practically penniless.

This colony was, indeed, a great success, and in connection with Ostia made it comparatively easy for the Romans to establish a third colony along the coast, and even after it had served its purpose, it still continued to be regarded with spicial favor by the later emperors. Antoninus Pius either constructed, or at least restored the aqueducts, of which there are some parts even visible to-day, and

Septimius Severus greatly amplified the imperial residence (Capitol. Ant. Pius 8; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. VIII, 20). An inscription (C.I.L. vol X. n. 6657) also shows that it still retained its colonial rank. Although its port is represented as still capable of receiving vessels in 537 A.D. (Procop. B.G. I, 26), we have no literature to support this statement, nor is this port even mentioned by subsequent writers.

With the decline of the Western Empire this city also fell into decay, and it entirely perished through the piratical expeditions of the Saracens of the ninth and tenth centuries. According to tradition Pope Alex. VI ordered the harbor to be obstructed in order to prevent the Turks from landing. During the middle ages it seems to have been entirely deserted, after the few inhabitants, who had still lingered about the place, established themselves at Nettuno.

Anxur (Tarracina).

There was another prominent city of the Volscians about 600 stades (70 miles) south of Ostia, or 340 stades south of Antium, which according to Livy and Pliny was called Anxur by the Volscians, while the Romans and the Latins referred to this city by the name of Tarracina. This terminology was not strictly observed, for we find it referred to by Roman poets as Anxur (Hor. Sat I. 5. 20. Lucan III. 84. Martial V. 1, 6). The Roman poets, without question, employed this ancient name, because the word Tarracina could not be introduced into verse.

This city is mentioned in history for the first time in connection with the treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians in 509 B.C. and then the people of Anxur are mentioned, in connection with those of Circeii and Antium, as being subjects to, or at least dependencies of Rome (Pol. III, 22).

It seems certain, therefore, that Anxur was under the Roman power, before the expulsion of the kings, but it is equally evident that it again regained its liberty within a very short time, for in 406 B.C. it was again taken by the Romans (Liv. IV. 57). But the Roman authority over Anxur was again destined to be of short duration, for in 402 B.C it was regained by the Volscians (Liv. V. 8), who, however, were no more fortunate in retaining this city than Rome. Two years later in 400 B.C. the Romans once more wrested this city from the hands of the Volscians (Ib. XII, 13), and ever afterward held it in subjection in spite of an attempted revolution in 397 B.C.

The capture of Anxur, which the Romans henceforth called Tarracina, was another severe blow for the Volscians, but it was now also necessary for the Romans to retain this city in order to gain a permanent advantage over the Volscians. The Romans, therefore, determined to send a colony to Tarracina in 329 B.C (Livy VIII, 21. XXVII, 38,

XXXVI, 3). It has sometimes been doubted, whether Tarracina really was a Roman colony, and not rather a "colonia Latina," but there can really be no occasion for such a doubt, for its position clearly indicates that it was a "colonia maritima civium", which may also be gathered from other sources. Livy (VIII, 21,) says: "In the same year three hundred were sent to the colony Anxur, who received each two jugera of land." That Tarracina truly was a Roman colony, is further indicated by the fact that Livy omits this colony among the thirty Latin colonies, which existed at the time of the Second Punic War, but on another occasion mentions its name in connection with the Roman colonies, Antium and Minturnae. We have this further testimony of Livy (XXVII, 38; XXXVI, 3), that Tarracina in connection with the other Roman colonies claimed exemption from military service (which was a right granted only to maritime colonies) at the time of the Second Punic War, and at a later period even claimed exemption from naval service.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that Tarracina was a Roman, and not a Latin colony.

The main purposes for founding this colony, doubtless, were the same as those, which led to the establishment of a colony at Antium. It might therefore be briefly stated, that this colony was established, firstly, to keep Anxur in subjection, secondly, to aid in crushing the power of the Volscians, thirdly, to defend the shore and assure a safe passage for Roman vessels, fourthly, to defend the Appian way and fifthly, to relieve the situation of the poor.

In its attempt to retain Anxur under the Roman dominion, this colony was entirely successful, even more so than Antium, for besides preventing any internal dissention, we hear of no piratical excursions as being in particular connected with Anxur, which must be admitted in the case of Antium.

The power of the Volscians had, really, received a great blow, when Antium was permanently taken by the Romans, but as

long as they were able to keep the enemy out of their territory they had good chances of regaining their former strength. When the Romans, however, planted a colony of citizens at Antium the possibilities of regaining their lost power were greatly decreased, but after two such powerful strongholds were founded within their most prominent maritime cities, all hopes of ever obtaining a complete independence practically left the Volscians. The establishment of Anxur, therfore, was an additional advantage for the Romans, and how completely these colonies broke the power of this people is apparent from the fact, that the entire Volscian nation had become entirely subjected to the Romans before 304 B.C.

In regarding this colony as a police station against the pirates of the Tyrrhenian sea, it is impossible to state in facts and figures the amount of protection, that Anxur did actually extend to the vessels, but this much can safely be said in a general way of every subsequent colony along this coast, that each colony definitely scored one point

for the Romans against the pirates. In establish-
ing this colony at Anxur, the Romans gained
a definite advantage also along the shore, for
they could now exercise a pretty definite
authority all along the coast from Ostia to
this city - a distance of seventy miles -, for they
had now three colonies within this distance,
whence they could observe the situation very closely
and defend their rights.

Another purpose in founding this
colony was, as stated above, to protect the
Appian way, which here touched upon the sea
for the first time (Strabo, V. p. 233; Hor. Sat I,
5, 26). The Appian way was, of course, besides
a very great military road, a scene of enor-
mous traffic. It was, therefore, of the utmost
importance, that the Romans should
guard this point in times of war, and equally
so in times of peace, when the pirates
might fall upon a train and plunder it
as they did the merchants at sea. This
fact was recognized by the Romans, and so
they established a permanent guard at
this point, which protected the road as it

might be expected to do.

In addition to all of these facts this colony also contributed toward the relief of the poor, for it offered homes and land to 300 Roman families, which had endured great oppression and hardships at Rome.

Anxur, or Tarracina, as it was now called by the Romans, soon became one of the most prominent maritime colonies. This may partly be attributed to the fact that it was situated upon the Appian way, and partly to an artificial port, which was constructed there (Liv XXVII. 4). In addition to these important advantages, there might also be enumerated the fact, that there existed mineral springs in the vicinity of Tarracina, which were much frequented, and hence, doubtless, added to the importance of this city.

The city appears to have still retained its opulence and prosperity throughout the Republic, as is also supported by the fact it was seized by Pompey at the outbreak of the civil war, and occupied by Lupus till the departure of Pompey to Brundusium (Caes BC I 24).

Tarracina was still regarded as a place of importance at the time of the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius, and inscriptions of imperial times also show that it still retained its colonial rank (C.I.L. vol. X, n. 6314, 6328, 6331).

The ancient city was situated upon a strong hill, which offered splendid protection. Tacitus (Hist. III. 57). refers to Tarracina as an oppidum munitissimum, which preserved itself at various times in the wars, which were waged throughout Italy, as well as in the Flavian times (Tac. l. c. et h. 3. 57, 60, 76. Pliny II. 55, 146).

Since this city was so well fortified by nature, it existed as long as the Western Empire remained, and even after the fall of Rome, it is still represented as a powerful fortress at the time of the Gothic wars (Proc. B. G. II. 2 p. 150 c. 4 p. 160. 161). The city however steadily decreased in importance, after the fall of Rome, and together with Ostia and Antium suffered a common fate at the hands of the Saracens. If it was not entirely deserted at that time, it, doubtless, was at least reduced to an insignificant village.

Minturnae

This city is represented by A. Bouché as situated in Campania, while Dr. Charles Müller indicates it, in his "Ancient Geography" as located in Latium. This disagreement does not arise from the fact, that the ancient site of Minturnae is uncertain, but rather from a question as to the exact boundaries of Latium. Minturnae was originally an Ausonian city, situated on the right bank of the Liris about three miles from the sea, where the Appian way crossed this stream. Its territory, however, according to Pliny (III, 5. 39) extended on both sides of the stream.

In 315 B.C. the Ausones were induced, by the success of the Samnites at Lautulae, also to declare war against the Romans, but this undertaking proved very disastrous to them, for their most important cities, among which was Minturnae, were betrayed to the Romans by some of the young nobles. The Romans, accordingly, gained possession of these cities, and put the inhabitants to the

sword, and further destroyed the entire nation (Liv. IX. 25). After the Romans had gained a complete possession of Minturnae, they determined to retain this captured territory, and consequently founded a colony at this city in 296 B.C. which is mentioned in close connection with Sinuessa.

The reasons, which led to the establishment of this colony, were similar to those mentioned in connection with the previous colonies, and yet a few new circumstances may be noticed as connected with the foundation of this colony.

Since the entire nation of the Ausones had been put to the sword, their territory lay unoccupied, or at least very poorly defended, and hence might easily be seized by almost any of the neighboring nations. It was, therefore, with the purpose of preventing any foreign foe from obtaining possession of this country, that the Romans sent a colony to Minturnae.

The Romans, further, established this colony in order to secure the very fertile

territory of that country from the ravages and devastations of the Samnites. The fertile valley of the Liris was almost directly bordering upon Samnium, and for this reason was very insecure, since the Samnites could easily make their hostile incursions, whereas the Romans were at a great disadvantage to furnish immediate protection to the inhabitants of this district. This colony, a part of the Roman army, was, therefore, permanently stationed at Minturnae as a guard against the Samnites.

Minturnae, as previously indicated, was situated upon the Appian way; and it was by means of this road, that Rome communicated with the south. It was, therefore, very essential that this thoroughfare should be secured not only as far as Anxur, but even to its very extremity if possible. The Romans, doubtless, felt, that this was a question worthy of consideration, and so they established this colony in addition to the other interests, also to protect and to develop the communication of Rome with Campania.

It has been indicated at a previous point, that the Romans intended ultimately to gain a complete control of the coast. As a means, therefore, to this end, they also founded this colony at Minturnae. But they were also equally anxious for the mastery of the sea, for they suffered not only a great deal of anxiety on account of the pirates, but also severe material losses, as has been mentioned in connection with the other colonies. We may, therefore, safely state, that this colony was sent to Minturnae also for the purpose of suppressing the piracy of the sea, in conjunction with the other colonies.

It should also be mentioned, that the condition of the proletariat at Rome was still far from being solved; and though this colony was not directly founded for the re= lief of the poor, the thought of alleviating the conditions of many homes through this act, must, doubtless, have at least sup= ported the senate in determining the founda= tion of a colony at Minturnae.

The above mentiond purposes surely justifid the Romans in establishing this colony. If any colony can succesfully accomplish such a great mission, it must certainly be called a great success, and that is what Minturnae was, for it fulfilled its mission in as far as one colony could. It was established, firstly, to prevent any foreign nation from occupying this city and vicinity, and this it perfectly accomplished, for Minturnae ever remaind in the hands of the Romans. This city is called colonia in various inscriptions. (C.I.L. vol.X. n 5058, 6003, 6006, 6008, 6044) and it still retained this rank in Cicero's time.

This colony did not only prevent foreign nations from gaining a permanent footing in this country, but even guarded against the hostile incursions of the enemy. The Samnites, against whom this colony was primarily established as a propugnaculum had opened the Third Samnite War in 298 B.C. Though the main operations during the war took place in the valley of the Tiber, there was,

nevertheless, considerable activity carried on in Samnium, for this territory was fearfully ravaged by the Romans. The Samnites, too, on one occasion laid waste the fields of Campania and of Falernia; they were, however, soon driven back to their mountain fortresses (Liv. X. 15, 17, 20). It was at this time without doubt, - after the incursion of the Samnites into Campania - that Minturnae was colonized. After the establishment of this colony, the Samnites may be said, from all indications, never to have entered the fields of Campania again, though they were not absolutely subjected until 272 B.C.

Since this colony offered such ample protection to the territory through which the Appian way passed, it necessarily follows, that all traffic upon this road was conducted with almost absolute safety.

Although located about three miles from the sea, the colony was, nevertheless, in a position, where it could add greatly to the final subjugation of the entire coast, as well as exercise a considerable influence

against the pirates. For in making this establishment the Romans again selected a place south of the preceding settlement, and in doing so, extended the range of their domain, and also took pains to select such a site as would be more or less directly connected with the coast. Minturnae was situated upon the bank of the Liris and hence able to keep a vigilant eye over the river, and prevent the sea robbers from finding shelter in the mouth or recesses of that stream, which fact would naturally induce the pirates to withdraw from this vicinity, and frequent such shores as would offer them better protection.

It is not necessary to discuss just in how far this colony relieved the situation of the poor at Rome, but it certainly did as much as any of the previous colonies had done, and in doing so, it fulfilled a great mission, as we have previously observed.

Though the territory of Minturnae was very fertile, and its position very advantageous for the development of the Roman domain, the locality of this colony was very unhealthy on account of an extensive marsh. This, doubtless, checked the development of Minturnae to a great extent. But on the other hand its position on the Appian way must have contributed more to the city, than to counterbalance this disadvantage, for it became a prosperous and flourishing town under the Empire. Caligula, however, as well as Augustus sent a fresh body of colonists to Minturnae, which seems to indicate, that the colony was not quite as strong as the emperors might have wished it to be. Yet it is true, that these accessions may have been sent to Minturnae to possess lands that were still unoccupied.

Though unhealthy and termed "Minturnae graves" by Ovid, this city continued to flourish throughout the Empire, as is attested by numerous

nscriptions, as well as by the ruins, which are to-day visible on the ancient site.

The exact time of its destruction is uncertain, but all traces of this city are lost at the beginning of the middle ages. It is, therfore, altogether probable, that the Lombards and the Saracens, who laid so many other cities in ruins, were also instrumental in bringing about the final destruction of Minturnae. The few inhabitants, who remained in the city as long as possible seem finally to have withdrawn to a place one and one-half miles distant from the ancient site, where the modern village of Trajette stands to-day.

Sinuessa.

According to some of the very best authorities, Sinuessa was a city in the southern extremities of Latium, situated upon the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea, about six miles north of the mouth of the Vulturnus. (Strabo V. 3, 4 p. 231. Mela II, 4. 70. Pliny III, 5. 59). In spite of such powerful testimony, Mommsen, however, is inclined to question the validity of these statements, and bases his authority upon Pliny (XXXI 2. 5) and Ptolem. (III. 1, 6) in stating that Sinuessa was really located in Campania. The greater number of modern authorities, however, agree in stating, that the ancient authors indicate the site of Minturnae in Latium. This city was also upon the Appian way and located at the point where this road touched the sea for the last time on the western shore.

Sinuessa was certainly not an ancient city, it is even very questionable whether there existed any Italian town whatsoever

on this site before the Roman colony was established there. There is at least no trace of evidence to substantiate the tradition of an ancient city on this spot as is asserted by some authorities, who in support of their theory refer to a very obscure tradition, that there existed at this place long before the foundation of the colony, an ancient Greek town by the name of Sinope. If Sinope was ever anything more than a traditional town, it had certainly disappeared, when the Roman colony was located there.

Sinuessa was very closely connected with Minturnae; it was established at the same time, 296 B.C. (Liv X, 21), and also in the same territory. And what brought a still closer relation to these colonies was the fact, that their aims and purposes were exactly the same. Hence it is not necessary to treat the reasons for making the establishment; they were discussed in connection with Minturnae. We shall therefore, pass over this topic by simply

enumerating what was discussed more fully under the preceding colony. Sinuessa was, therefore, founded, firstly, to prevent othersnations from seizing the territory taken from the Ausonians, secondly, to secure those regions from the devastations of the Samnites, thirdly, to protect the Appian way, fourthly, to aid Rome in gaining full control of the coast, and lastly to relieve the condition of the poor.

These purposes, as previously indicated, were accomplished by these two colonies, and hence we must say, that the colonies were a success and aided Rome in establishing a world empire.

Sinuessa appears to have rapidly become a city of importance. Its position on the Appian way contributed greatly toward its development, and for this reason, too, is mentioned by Cicero (ad Fam XII, 20) and Horace (Sat. I, 5, 40). The fertility of the country, in which Sinuessa was located, was also directly responsible for the development of this city. Another agent, which tended toward the prosper=

ity of this city, were the "Aquae Sinuessanae" or thermal springs, which were very popular among the Romans even in the time of the Empire.

We know little of Sinuessa under the Empire. A body of military colonists were apparently sent to the city by the triumvirate (Lit. Col. p. 237.), but the settlement did not retain its colonial rank. Pliny as well as the Liber Coloniarum simply call Sinuessa an "oppidum", or nothing more than an ordinary municipal town.

The exact date of the destruction of Sinuessa is uncertain, but it, doubtless, fell into ruins at the hands of the Saracens who destroyed so many cities on the western coast of Italy.

Sena Gallica.

Up to this period all of the Roman colonies have been located on the western coast of Italy, and it is now for the first time, that the Romans attempted the establishment of a colony in Umbria on the Adriatic sea.

The Umbrians at an early period, doubtless, occupied not only the regions of the Apennines and the district toward the west of the mountains, but also the fertile fields which extended from the eastern slope of this range to the shore of the Adriatic. This eastern portion of this territory was very productive, and at the same time easily accessible from the north, which facts ever induced the Gauls to contend for its possession, and since the Umbrians were not a belligerent people, this territory was wrested from them by the Galli Senones.

It is not necessary here to mention the repeated Gallic invasions, nor the great

consternation, which they created in Italy, ever after the capture of Rome in 390 B.C. So in 283 B.C. the Galli Senones collected their forces and marched upon Arretium, a city of Etruria under the protection of Rome, and laid siege upon that place. The Romans, therefore, took up arms against these intruders, and were also successful in finally defeating them. A great number of the Senones fell in battle, and all those, who escaped the sword were driven from their territory, which was henceforth known as "ager Gallicus." Immediately upon the expulsion of the Gauls from this country, the Romans founded a colony there at Sena, which they called Sena Gallica to distinguish it from Sena in Etruria.

Sena Gallica was, therefore, located on the coast of the Adriatic sea, at the mouth of a stream bearing the same name. There can be little doubt, that the city as well as the stream derived its name from the Gauls, which would lead us to belive that Sena existed as a

Gallic town previous to the foundation of a Roman colony at that place. There is, however, no authority to substantiate such a conjecture. The first reference in literature to Sena is in connection with the establishment of a Roman colony at that place, which occurred in 283 B.C. immediately after the expulsion of the Senones (Pol. II, 19).

When the Romans had driven this people out of their territory, the ager Gallicus remained practically uninhabited, but it certainly could not long remain so, as the Romans well knew. They were not disposed to give this tract of land back to the Umbrians from whom it had originally been taken, because, they felt that this would not be a safe thing to do, for the Gauls might easily gain possession of this territory again, as they had done before. If, on the other hand, the Umbrians had been so powerful as to assure a safe custody against the Gauls, the Romans would still have hesitated to allow the

Umbrians to possess this territory. For if the Umbrians had been a safe defence against the norther hords, their they would, doubtless, have also been a formidable foe for the Romans. There was, however, another reason for not allowing this land to pass into the hands of the Umbrians, and that was the desire of the Romans to extend their own territory.

So after the expulsion of the Senones, the Romans took possession of this territory themselves and immediately founded there the colony of Sena Gallica. The reasons for making this settlement have partly been touched in enumerating the circumstances, which led the Romans to take possession of this "ager Gallicus," but it is necessary to give them some further consideration. Firstly, then, Sena Gallica was founded to guard against the hostile incursions of the Gauls, secondly, to extend the boundaries of the Roman domain, thirdly, to give Roman citizens the benefit of this fertile land, and fourthly, to aid in establishing and securing a trade along the coast.

The Epitome of Livy (Ep. 11.) states that this colony was founded befor the complete subjugation of the Senones, but this statement must necessarily be incorrect as is indicated by Polybius (II. 19) when he says that the colony was established immediately upon the expulsion of the Senones. If, however, the Epitome correctly represents the conditions of affairs, then we can see an additional reason for establishing the colony, namely, to open the way for the Roman power, and aid in the final expulsion of the Gauls from Italy. This the colony certainly accomplished in a very short time, if it had not already been brought about before this settlement was made, for the Romans soon exercised an indisputable right over Sena Gallica.

Sena Gallica was of especial importance to the Romans, because it was the first colony located upon Gallic soil Through it the Romans finally got their first hold upon the territory north of the Apennines, and also upon the coast of the Adriatic.

This hold was not merely a temporary in-
campment, but proved to be a permanent
possession. The Gauls well realized this fact,
and immediately determined to check the
progress of Rome. The Boii, therefore, together
with the Tuscans marched upon Rome,
but were severely defeated at Lake Vadimonis.
Next year the Boii together with the Etruscans
mustered all their forces against the Romans,
and were again defeated and forced to ac-
cept terms of peace. The final result, therefore,
was, that the Romans not only maintained
their possessions beyond the Apennines, but
also enjoyed a period of forty-five years
rest from all hostilities of the Gauls, for
Rome had terrified the inhabitants of all
Gaul by the foundation of the colony.

The establishment of this colony at
Sena, doubtless, contributed more directly
toward the relief of the poor than the majority
of the previous colonies had. For the territory,
to which this colony was sent, was located at
a considerable distance from Rome, and hence
the possibilities of safety were greatly diminished

on account of the proximity of the Gauls. Since this was the case the colony was not very inviting, and we may safely infer, that only those, whose conditions were no longer endurable at Rome, handed their names to the "trimviri ad colonos deducendos" while the more prosperous classes had no inducement to expose themselves to the barbarians. The poor people were consequently located in these fertile fields of the Ager Gallicus.

Sena Gallica was situated upon the road, which passed along the sea, and at Fanum Fortunae joined the great Flaminian way. As the Appian way placed Rome in direct communication with the south, so these roads were the scene of considerable activity toward the north. It was therefore important for northern commerce, that Rome should assure a safe passage upon this road along the coast, which she also did by establishing various colonies along this thoroughfare. Sena was the first colony, which was founded partly for this purpose on this coast road, and in connection with the other colonies

established a safe communication along the coast.

This colony was a great success, and it appears always to have been a considerable and flourishing town. Under the triumvirate it received another body of colonists (Lit. Col. pp. 226. 258), which fact is not necessarily an indication of the deterioration of Sena, but it may rather indicate that there was still public land left, which had not previously been alloted to colonists. The city remained in existence for a number of centuries after the fall of the Western Empire, and is mentioned in connection with numerous wars. It was ravaged by Alaric, and suffered severely from his devastations. The exarch, Longinus again raised the city into prominence by fortifying it. But these fortifications offered only a temporary protection. In the eight century the Lombards exercised their cruelties upon this city, and one century later it was again laid waste by the Saracens. Sena Gallica might have recovered from all these assaults, if the Guelf and Ghibelline wars, and especially the cruelties of Guido de Montefeltro, had not laid the city so low, that Dante refers to it as a typically ruined city. The city therefore lay practically in ruins up to a comparatively late period.

Castrum Novum.

The Romans, as previously indicated, had a definite plan in mind in founding the colonies upon the western coast. When they had, therefore, accomplished this undertaking they directed their attention toward the Adriatic coast, and founded several colonies there. The second of these was Castrum Novum on the coast of Picenum. This is, without doubt, the colony to which both Livy and Velleius refer, though they widely differ in their dates. Velleius (I. 14) represents this colony as founded together with Firmum in 264 B.C., while Livy (Epit. XI.) states that Castrum Novum was established together with Sena and Hadria, consequently in 283. B.C. The authority of Livy is generally accepted.

The various geographers indicate the position of this colony in somewhat different terms, but on the whole they quite agree as to the general location. Strabo (V. 4, 2p. 241) places this city between Matrinum and Truentum; Pliny (III, 13. 110) indicates it as situated between

the territory of the Praetutii and Truentum on the stream Batinus; while Ptolemy (III, 1, 25) refers to it as a city between Matrium and Capra and Truentum. There is no additional reference made to this colony in history, and, consequently, our knowledge of Castrum Novum is very limited

The Romans established this colony chiefly for self defense. The proximity of the of the Picentes to the Gauls caused the Romans to treat the Picentes with much kindness and favor, in order that they should have no causes to join the Gauls in their hostilities against Rome. The Romans even went so far as to make a treaty with Picenum in 299 B.C, which they faithfully observed as long as the Senones were formidable. All this plainly indicates, that the Romans feared or at least expected future hostilities from the Picentes. Hence they established this colony in times of peace in order to have a stronghold in Picenum in times of war. The Romans also knew, that the establishment of a colony in Picenum, would have a very strong tendency to keep

the Picentes on friendly terms with Rome.

Yet the Romans aimed at more than simple protection and self-defence. They were by this time taking definite steps toward the final possessing of entire Italy, and used all of their colonies as a means to this end. They, accordingly, also establish Castrum Novum in order to gain possession of Picenum. The Romans did not expect to maintain peace with Picenum, but they merely intended to remain on friendly terms as long as there was any danger from that quarter; and as soon as they would feel themselves powerful enough, they intended to subjugate Picenum inspite of any or all treaties.

In addition to these main reasons the Romans also intended to fortify the coast road by means of Castrum Novum, and in doing so, retain and develop the communication with the north.

Even though this colony did not rise to prominence and to importance as many others did, it was nevertheless a success, for it fully accomplished its purposes.

Castrum Novum did not only defend Rome against hostilities from Picenum, but it surely was a great advantage and help for the Romans, when they entered into hostilities with Picenum. The Picentes numbered about 360,000 inhabitants, yet the Romans had no difficulty in subjugating this entire nation in 268 B.C. which fact must surely be in part attributed to the support of the Roman army - for that is what the colony was -, which was stationed in the heart of Picenum before the war began.

It is impossible to give any further causes for this war than the fact, that the Picentes and the Sallentines were at this time the only two independent nations of Italy. It is stated in the "Liber Coloniarum (p. 226) that the territory of Picentum, the "ager Castranus" was divided to fresh colonists under Augustus, but the rights of a colony were not extended to this new settlement.

The deserted village of S. Flaviano just below the city of Giulia Nuova probably indicates the ancient site of Castrum Novum.

Aesium.

Aesium was an ancient city in Umbria, situated about ten miles from the sea, upon the north bank of a river, which was indicated by the same name. This city was said to have been founded by the Pelasgians, and later to have passed into the hands of the Umbrians. When the Senones invaded Umbria, they captured this city in connection with others and retained it, until the Romans wrested the ager Gallicus from their possession. The Romans changed the name of Aesium to Aesis, which appellation has again been changed to Jesi in modern times.

Pliny refers to this city merely as a municipium, but several inscriptions attest the fact that it was a Roman colony. founded in 247 B.C. (C.I.L. vol XI, 6203. vol IX 5831, 5832. Vell. I. 14, 8. Mom. R. Coins. p. 332. Anm. 113).

The purposes for the establishment of a colony at Aesium were, in the main the same as those, which led to the foundation of Sena Gallica. The Romans felt, that Sena

Gallica was occupying a very important post, and, that it was really producing visible effects. But the very importance of its position led the Romans to establish another colony at Aesium in order that the two "propugnacula" might more easily accomplish, what really was too difficult for Sena Gallica alone.

It had been nearly forty years since they had driven the Senones from their territory. The Romans felt, that they might soon expect another incursion of the Gauls, unless they fortified their northern boundary more extensively. In addition to the necessity of founding this colony as a support to Sena, the Romans felt, that they might well reap the benefits from these fertile fields. The citizens looked upon "ager Gallicus" with less dread than they had fifty years ago. For in addition to Sena there were now several Latin colonies in this territory, and as a consequence the people were more willing to support the colonization of Aesium than they had been heretofore, and were glad to acquire farms in this district.

It was previously indicated that Sena Gallica very successfully accomplished the purposes for which the colony was established, but its success was due, in part, to the support which Aesis offered that older colony. These two colonies worked together in harmony, and aided Rome not only in maintaining her former possessions, but also in extending her northern frontier.

We know practically nothing of the further development of Aesis, but it certainly remained for many centuries among the cities of northern Italy, and in common with many of them suffered destruction during the barbarian invasion. It is very improbable, that the inhabitants as a body founded Jesi on a new site, for there are many Roman remains still visible at Jesi, which testify to the fact, that Jesi marks the position of the ancient Roman colony.

Alsium.

After securing the northern boundaries toward the east, the Romans directed their attention to the northern frontiers on the west. The colonies which had previously been established on the western coast offered no protection against the tribes toward the north, for they were not founded for that purpose. It was therefore necessary to secure this region.

The first colony, which the Romans sent towards the north-west, was established at Alsium in 247 B.C. (Vell I. 14. 8. Liv XXVII, 38) on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea about eighteen miles north of Portus Augusti. Dionysius states (I, 20), that this city was founded by the Pelasgians, and that it was later taken from them by the Etruscans. There is no mention made of this city either in history, or during the wars of the Romans with this people to substantiate the opinion that it was an Etruscan city.

In order that we may determine the causes for founding this colony more satisfactorily it is necessary to take a brief review of the conditions as the existed in that quarter. The Etruscans had engaged in many destructive wars with the Romans, and had at times brought the Romans to ful the full strength of their power. But the Etruscans were unable to keep step with the development of Rome, and consequently, became less formidable from time to time; they made their final stand together with the Umbrians, the Samnites and the Senonian Gauls against Rome, and together with these peoples suffered severely in two great defeats, the first of which occurred at Sentinum in Umbria in the year 295 B.C. and the other at Lake Vadimonis in 283 BC. These disasters appear to have finally crushed the power of the Etruscans. It is true that they were again in arms two year later, but this dissension was easily subdued. The Volsinians and the Volcientes, who engaged in a hopeless rebellion in 281 B.C., were brought back to

submission. (Fast Triumph).

In 265 B.C. the Volscians gathered all their remaining strength, and once more attempted to regain their former glory, but with no more success than on previous occasions. They were finally forced, as the last state of Italy, to accept the supremacy of Rome (Florus I, 21). Some of the tribes, however, could not reconcile themselves to the idea, that Rome had gained the supremacy over them, and in consequence we find the Faliscans rebelling even after 241 B.C., but the nation as a whole was broken, and remained uniformly faithful to Rome during the Second Punic War.

There was, however, another nation, which was becoming very dangerous to the development of Rome, and that was the state of the Ligurians, who engaged in their first war with the Romans in 237 B.C. After this date one of the consuls was sent against the Ligurians for several successive year. And even though the Romans are represented as triumphant (Fasti 233-223 B.C.),

their success was practically nominal. During the Second Punic War the Senones heartily supported Hannibal and Hasdrubal, and later offered their assistance to Mago. In 200 B.C. the Ligurians together with the Gauls took up arms against Rome at the instigation of Hamilcar (Liv XXXI, 10). After this date the Romans were almost constantly engaged in wars against this nation, and yet all of their efforts seemed to be in vain, for the nation was composed of many tribes, which were so thoroughly fortified among the Alps, that the Romans were at times practically powerless. It was not until the Romans had fought for almost eighty years, that they finally subdued the last powerful tribes in 123-122 B.C.

Even after these tribes west of the Maritime Alps were brought into submission, the Ligurian tribes of Italy were still formidable and practically unconquered; accordingly L. Marcius triumphed "de Liguribus" (Fast. Capit.) in 117 B.C. and M. Aemilius Scaurus gained distinction on account of his successes

over this people much later. It was not until 109 B.C., when the Aemilian way was constructed, that the Ligurians were entirely brought into submission (Strab. V. p217).

Having now considered the condition of affairs as they existed in this quarter, we will be able to understand better the purposes for founding colonies there. In making these settlements the Romans again had two main objects in view, namely, the safety of Rome, and her development. Aesium was, therefore, established to keep the Etruscan in subjection to Rome, and also to Romanize Etruria, and graft that nation into the Roman Empire. The duties of this colony, however, were not limited to this one nation, but Alsium was also established to act as a "propugnaculum" against the Ligurians, and aid Rome in the final subjection of this people.

These reasons were strictly in line, then, with the military aspect of the Roman colonial project, and the establishment of Alsium marks a period in the development

of the Roman power.

Smith in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography page 863 says: "Roman colonies were established only in the S. of Etruria .... which were obviously founded as a barrier against the Ligurians, not with a view of controlling the Etruscans themselves." But the same author adds: "Hence it is a complete mistake to suppose ..... that the Roman conquest put an end to the National existence of Etruria: its inhabitants retained until a much later period their language, arts, religious rites and nation peculiarities." This last quotation certainly refutes the first statement, for if Rome did not put an end to the national existence of Etruria, then she might well expect this nation to be in arms against her again. That the Romans considered the Etruscans a powerful people even much later in history, is apparent from the fact, that they, the Romans, "hastened to forestall their defection by granting them the full rights of citizens" when the Etruscan "fidelity began to waver." All these circumstances plainly point to the fact, that the colonies in Etruria

were established partly to keep this nation in subjection. The fact, that Etruria, after her defeat, retained her language, arts, religious rites and national peculiarities gives us another reason for the establishment of this colony. The Romans as stated above founded this colony to introduce the Roman customs, and help to substitute these for the Etruscan practices.

In its accomplishments this colony was very successful, for after its establishment Etruria has ever remained in subjection to Rome, and its was, doubtless, due to the influence of the Roman colonies, that at least parts of this country became early Romanized

Alsium in connection with the other colonies in this territory, doubtless, offered the Romans much assistance in their long wars with the Ligurians, for it was located on the Aurelian way, which passed north along the shore. Since the Roman troops could obtain aid and provisions from this colony, and also find safety there in times of great danger.

We know practically nothing of the further development of this city. An inscription (C.I.L. vol. XI n 3716) from the time of Caracalla, shows that Alsium

still retained its colonial rank. This city seems to have soon become a favorite resort, and many of the wealthy Romans had villas at that place. Even after the city had fallen into decay, these villas were still in existence on the site.

The modern city of Pola occupies the ancient site of Alsium, which we know was eighteen miles from Portus.

Fregenae

Fregenae was a city of Etruria situated upon the coast between Alsium and the mouth of the Tiber. A Roman colony was established at this place in connection with Alsium in the year 245 B.C. (Vell. I. 14, 8). It is true, that Velleius at this place speaks of the foundation of Fregellae instead of Fregenae, but Mommsen (C.I.L. vol. XI, p 549) feels sure, that Velleius had reference to Fregenae, but made this simple error in confusing this little town with the more popular city of Fregellae. Mommsen, further, states that in addition to the name Fregenae this little place was also indicated by the diminutive form Fregellae. There is no doubt, that Fregenae was a Roman colony, for Livy (XXXVI. 3) mentions its name in connection with the other colonies maratimae.

This colony was established for the same purposes as Alsium was, and in conjunction with that city established the Roman supremacy over the Etruscans and

the Ligurians. The colony in itself, however, was never very prosperous, for we have no subsequent notice of it in history after its foundation. The district in which the city was located, was marshy and unhealthy. This circumstance, doubtless, not only prevented it from rising to fame and prosperity, but even led to its final ruin. After Portus Augusti was constructed on the right bank of the Tiber, Fregenae rapidly fell into insignificance and was finally deserted. Fregenae is still mentioned by Strabo, Pliny and the Itineraries, but Rutilius does not mention it in describing the coast of Etruria, and if its position were not indicated by the Itinary as being nine miles both from Alsium and also from Portus Augusti, we would be unable to indicate its ancient site, for there are no ruins whatsoever to mark its place.

Though Fregenae fell into ruins long before many other colonies did, we must not suppose, that this colony was therefore a failure, for Fregenae had long ago accomplished its purpose, and Rome had not only gained

the mastery of Italy, but even of the entire world, long before before the city was deserted.

When the Romans had established these ten colonies, they felt, that they had gained a definite hold upon Italy, and that they had crushed almost every opposing power within that territory. In taking a retrospect we can easily see how thoroughly they had planned their colonial system. First, they secured the immediate vicinity, and then the more distant territory. The gradual lengthening of that chain of colonies, which extended along the coast of Latium, bears strong testimony of the definite military project, which formed the foundation of Roman colonization.

No other ancient nation has ever gained such great advantages from their colonies, as Rome did. Phoenicia and Greece planted their colonies, and were able by means of them to develop a great trade; but Rome through her colonies became the mistress of the world. No nation in modern times has been able, so far, to develop and use its colonies for a purpose as exalted as Rome did.