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BOOK THIRD.

FROM THE UNION OF ITALY
TO THE
SUBJUGATION OF CARTHAGE AND THE GREEK STATES.

Arduum res gestas scribere.—SALLUST.

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CHAPTER I.

CARTHAGE.

The Phœnicians.

THE Semitic stock occupied a place amidst, and yet aloof from, the nations of the ancient classical world. The true centre of the former lay in the East, that of the latter in the region of the Mediterranean; and, however wars and migrations may have altered the line of demarcation and thrown the races across each other's path, a deep sense of diversity has always severed, and still severs, the Indo-Germanic peoples from the Syrian, Israelite, and Arabic nations. This diversity was no less marked in the case of that Semitic people, which spread more than any other in the direction of the west—the Phœnicians or Punians. Their native seat was the narrow border of coast bounded by Asia Minor, the highlands of Syria, and Egypt, and was called Canaan, that is, the "plain." This was the only name which the nation itself made use of; even in Christian times the African farmer called himself a Canaanite. But Canaan received from the Hellenes the name of Phœnike, the "land of purple," or "land of the red men," and the Italians also were accustomed, as we are accustomed still, to call the Canaanites Phœnicians.

Their commerce.

The land was well adapted for agriculture; but its excellent harbours and the abundant supply of timber and of metals eminently favoured the growth of commerce, and it was there perhaps, where the opulent eastern continent abuts on the wide-spreading Mediterranean so rich in harbours and islands, that commerce first dawned in all its greatness upon man. The Phœnicians directed all the resources of courage, acuteness, and enthusiasm to the full development of commerce and its attendant arts of navigation, manufacturing, and colonization, and thus connected

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the East and the West. At an incredibly early period we find them in Cyprus and Egypt, in Greece and Sicily, in Africa and Spain, and even on the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea. The field of their commerce reached from Sierra Leone and Cornwall in the west, eastward to the coast of Malabar. Through their hands passed the gold and pearls of the East, the purple of Tyre, slaves, ivory, lions' and panthers' skins from the interior of Africa, frankincense from Arabia, the linen of Egypt, the pottery and fine wines of Greece, the copper of Cyprus, the silver of Spain, tin from England, and iron from Elba. The Phœnician mariners supplied every nation with whatever it needed or was likely to purchase, and they roamed everywhere, but always cherished the hope of returning to the narrow home to which their affections clung.

Their intellectual endowments.

The Phœnicians are entitled to be commemorated in history by the side of the Hellenic and Latin nations; but their case affords a fresh proof, and perhaps the strongest proof of all, that the development of national energies in antiquity was of a one-sided character. Those noble and enduring creations in the field of intellect, which owe their origin to the Aramæan race, did not emanate from the Phœnicians. While faith and knowledge in a certain sense were the especial property of the Aramæan nations and reached the Indo-Germans only from the East, neither the Phœnician religion nor Phœnician science and art ever, so far as we can see, held an independent rank among those of the Aramæan family. The religious conceptions of the Phœnicians were rude and uncouth, and it seemed as if their worship was meant to foster lust and cruelty rather than to subdue them. No trace is discernible, at least in times of clear historical light, of any special influence exercised by their religion over other nations. As little do we find any Phœnician architecture or plastic art at all comparable even to those of Italy, to say nothing of the lands where art was native. The most ancient seat of scientific observation and of its application to practical purposes was Babylon, or at any rate the region of the Euphrates. It was there probably that men first followed the course of the stars; it was there that they first distinguished and expressed in writing the sounds of language; it was there that they began to reflect on time and space and on the powers at work in nature: the earliest traces of

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astronomy and chronology, of the alphabet, and of weights and measures, point to that region. The Phœnicians no doubt availed themselves of the artistic and highly developed manufactures of Babylon for their industry, of the observation of the stars for their navigation, of the writing of sounds and the adjustment of measures for their commerce, and distributed many an important germ of civilization along with their wares; but it cannot be demonstrated that the alphabet or any other ingenious product of the human mind belonged peculiarly to them, and such religious and scientific ideas as they were the means of conveying to the Hellenes, were scattered by them more after the fashion of a bird dropping grains than of the husbandman sowing his seed. The power which the Hellenes and even the Italians possessed, of civilizing and assimilating to themselves the nations susceptible of culture with whom they came into contact, was wholly wanting in the Phœnicians. In the field of Roman conquest the Iberian and the Celtic languages have disappeared before the Romanic tongue; the Berbers of Africa speak at the present day the same language as they spoke in the times of the Hannos and the Barcides.

Their political qualities.

Above all, the Phœnicians, like the rest of the Aramæan nations as compared with the Indo-Germans, lacked the instinct of political life,—the noble idea of self-governed freedom. During the most flourishing times of Sidon and Tyre the land of the Phœnicians was a perpetual apple of contention between the powers that ruled on the Euphrates and on the Nile, and was subject sometimes to the Assyrians, sometimes to the Egyptians. With half the power Hellenic cities had achieved their independence; but the prudent Sidonians calculated that the closing of the caravan-routes to the East or of the ports of Egypt would affect them more than the heaviest tribute, and so they punctually paid their taxes, as it might happen, to Nineveh or to Memphis, and even gave their ships, when they could not avoid it, to help to fight the battles of the kings. And, as at home the Phœnicians patiently submitted to the oppression of their masters, so also abroad they were by no means inclined to exchange the peaceful career of commerce for a policy of conquest. Their colonies were factories. It was of more moment in their view to traffic in buying and selling with the natives than to acquire extensive territories in distant lands, and to carry out there the slow and difficult work of coloni-

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zation. They avoided war even with their rivals; they allowed themselves to be supplanted in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and the east of Sicily almost without resistance; and in the great naval battles, which were fought in early times for the supremacy of the western Mediterranean, at Alalia (217) 537. and at Cumæ (280), 474. it was the Etruscans, and not the Phœnicians, that bore the brunt of the struggle with the Greeks. If rivalry could not be avoided, they compromised the matter as best they could; no attempt was ever made by the Phœnicians to conquer Cære or Massilia. Still less, of course, were the Phœnicians disposed to enter on aggressive war. On the only occasion in earlier times when they took the field on the offensive, namely in the great Sicilian expedition of the African Phœnicians which terminated in their defeat at Himera by Gelo of Syracuse (274), 480. it was simply as dutiful subjects of the Great King and in order to avoid taking part in the campaign against the Hellenes of the east, that they entered the lists against the Hellenes of the west; just as their Syrian kinsmen were in fact obliged in that same year to share the defeat of the Persians at Salamis (i. 330).

This was not the result of cowardice; navigation in unknown waters and with armed vessels requires brave hearts, and that such were to be found among the Phœnicians, they often showed. Still less was it the result of any lack of tenacity and idiosyncracy of national feeling; on the contrary the Aramæans defended their nationality with spiritual weapons as well as with their blood against all the allurements of Grecian civilization and all the coercive measures of Eastern and Western despots, and that with an obstinacy which no Indo-Germanic people has ever equalled, and which to us who belong to the West seems to be sometimes more sometimes less than human. It was the result of that want of political instinct, which amidst all their lively sense of the ties of race, and amidst all their faithful attachment to the city of their fathers, formed so marked a feature in the character of the Phœnicians. Liberty had no charms for them, and they aspired not after dominion; "quietly they lived," says the Book of Judges, "after the manner of the Sidonians, careless and secure, and in possession of riches."

Carthage. Of all the Phœnician settlements none attained a more rapid and secure prosperity than those which were established by the Tyrians and Sidonians on the south coast of Spain

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and the north coast of Africa,—regions that lay beyond the reach of the arm of the Great King and of the dangerous rivalry of the mariners of Greece, and in which the natives held the same relation to the strangers as the Indians in America held to the Europeans. Among the numerous and flourishing Phœnician cities along these shores, the most prominent by far was the "New Town," Karthada or, as the Occidentals called it, Karchedon or Carthago. Although not the earliest settlement of the Phœnicians in this region, and originally perhaps a mere dependency of the adjoining Utica the oldest of the Phœnician towns in Libya, it soon outstripped its neighbours and even the motherland through the incomparable advantages of its situation and the energetic activity of its inhabitants. It was situated not far from the (former) mouth of the Bagradas (Mejerda), which flows through the richest corn district of northern Africa, and was placed on a fertile rising ground, still occupied with country houses and covered with groves of olive and orange trees, falling off in a gentle slope towards the plain, and terminating towards the sea in a sea-girt promontory. Lying in the heart of the great North-African roadstead, the Gulf of Tunis, at the very spot where that beautiful basin affords the best anchorage for vessels of larger size, and where drinkable spring water is got close by the shore, the place proved singularly favourable for agriculture and commerce and for the exchange of their respective commodities—so favourable, that not only was the Tyrian settlement in that quarter the first of Phœnician mercantile cities, but even in the Roman period Carthage was no sooner restored than it became the third city in the Empire, and still, under circumstances far from favourable and on a site far less judiciously chosen, there exists in that quarter a flourishing city of a hundred thousand inhabitants. The prosperity, agricultural, mercantile, and industrial, of a city so situated and so peopled, needs no explanation; but the question requires an answer—In what way did this settlement come to attain such a development of political power, as no other Phœnician city possessed?

Carthage heads the western Phœnicians in opposition to the Hellenes.

That the Phœnician stock did not even in Carthage renounce its passive policy, there is no want of evidence to prove. Carthage paid, even down to the times of its prosperity, a ground-rent for the space occupied by the city to the native Berbers, the tribe of Maxitani or Maxyes; and

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although the sea and the desert sufficiently protected the city from any assault of the eastern powers, Carthage appears to have recognized (although but nominally) the supremacy of the Great King, and to have paid tribute to him occasionally, in order to secure its commercial communications with Tyre and the East.

But, with all their disposition to be submissive and cringing, circumstances occurred which compelled these Phœnicians to adopt a more energetic policy. The stream of Hellenic migration was pouring ceaselessly towards the west: it had already dislodged the Phœnicians from Greece proper and Italy, and it was preparing to supplant them also in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Libya itself. The Phœnicians had to make a stand against it somewhere, if they were not willing to be totally crushed. In this case, where they had to deal with Grecian traders and not with the Great King, submission did not suffice to secure the continuance of their commerce and industry on its former footing, liable merely to tax and tribute. Massilia and Cyrene were already founded; the whole east of Sicily was already in the hands of the Greeks; it was full time for the Phœnicians to think of serious resistance. The Carthaginians undertook the task; after long and obstinate wars they set a limit to the advance of the Cyrenæans, and Hellenism was unable to establish itself to the west of the desert of Tripolis. With Carthaginian aid, moreover, the Phœnician settlers on the western point of Sicily defended themselves against the Greeks, and readily and gladly submitted to the protection of the powerful cognate city (i. 153). These important successes, which occurred in the second century U. C., and which saved for the Phœnicians the south-western portion of the Mediterranean, served of themselves to give to the city which had achieved them the hegemony of the nation, and to alter at the same time its political position. Carthage was no longer a mere mercantile city: its aim was to rule over Libya and over part of the Mediterranean, because there was a necessity for its doing so. It is probable that the custom of employing mercenaries contributed materially to these successes. That custom came into vogue in Greece somewhere about the middle of the fourth century U. C., but among the Orientals and the Carians more especially it was far older, and it was perhaps the Phœnicians themselves that began it. By the system of foreign recruiting war was con-

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verted into a grand pecuniary speculation, which was quite in keeping with the character and habits of the Phœnicians.

The Carthaginian dominion in Africa.

It was probably the reflex influence of these successes abroad, that first led the Carthaginians to change the character of their occupation in Africa from a tenure of hire and sufferance to one of proprietorship and conquest. It appears to have been about 300 U. C. that the Carthaginian 450. merchants got rid of the rent for the soil, which they had hitherto been obliged to pay to the natives. This change enabled them to prosecute husbandry on a great scale. The Phœnicians were at all times anxious to employ their capital as landlords as well as traders, and to practise agriculture on a large scale by means of slaves or hired labourers; a large portion of the Jews in this way served the merchant-princes of Tyre for daily wages. The Carthaginians could now without restriction extract the produce of the rich Libyan soil by a system akin to that of the modern planters; slaves in chains cultivated the land—we find that single citizens possessed as many as twenty thousand. Nor was this all. The agricultural villages of the surrounding region (agriculture appears to have been introduced among the Libyans at a very early period—probably anterior to the Phœnician settlement, and in all likelihood from Egypt) were subdued by force of arms, and the free Libyan farmers were transformed into fellahs, who paid to their lords a fourth part of the produce of the soil as tribute, and were subjected to a regular system of recruiting for the formation of a home Carthaginian army. Hostilities were constantly occurring with the roving pastoral tribes (νόμαδες) on the borders; but a chain of fortified posts secured the territory enclosed by them, and the Nomades were slowly driven back into the deserts or the mountains, or compelled to recognize Carthaginian supremacy, to pay tribute, and to furnish contingents. About the period of the first Punic war their great town Theveste (Tebessa, at the sources of the Mejerda) was conquered by the Carthaginians. These form the "towns and tribes (ἔθνη) of subjects" which appear in the Carthaginian state-treaties; the former being the non-free Libyan villages, the latter the subject Nomades.

Liby-phœnicians.

To this fell to be added the sovereignty of Carthage over the other Phœnicians in Africa, or the so-called Liby-phœnicians. These included, on the one hand, the smaller settlements sent forth from Carthage along the whole north and part of the

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north-west coast of Africa—which must have been not unimportant, for on the Atlantic alone there were settled at one time 30,000 such colonists—and, on the other hand, the old Phœnician settlements especially numerous along the coast of the present province of Constantine and Beylik of Tunis, such as Hippo afterwards called Regius (Bona), Hadrumetum (Susa), Little Leptis (to the south of Susa)—the second city of the Phœnicians in Africa—Thapsus (in the same quarter), and Great Leptis (near Tripoli). In what way all these cities came to be subject to Carthage—whether voluntarily for their protection perhaps from the attacks of Cyrenæans and Numidians, or by constraint—cannot be now ascertained; but it is certain that they are designated as subjects of the Carthaginians even in official documents, that they had to pull down their walls, and that they had to pay tribute and furnish contingents to Carthage. They were not liable however to the recruiting system or to land-tax, but contributed a definite amount of men and money, Little Leptis for instance paying the enormous sum annually of 365 talents (£89,843); moreover there was equality of law between them and the Carthaginians, and they could contract marriage on equal terms.* Utica alone escaped a similar fate and had its walls and independence preserved to it, less perhaps from its own power than from the pious feeling of the Carthaginians towards their ancient protectors; in fact the Phœnicians cherished a remarkable

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* The clearest description of this important class occurs in the Carthaginian treaty (Polyb. vii. 9), where in contrast to the Uticenses on the one hand, and to the Libyan subjects on the other, they are called *οἱ Καρχηδονίων ὕπαρχοι ὅσοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρῶνται.* Elsewhere they are spoken of as cities allied (*συμμαχίδες πόλεις*, Diod. xx. 10) or tributary (Liv. xxxiv. 62; Justin, xxii. 7, 3). Their *connubium* with the Carthaginians is mentioned by Diodorus, xx. 55; the *commercium* is implied in "equal laws." That the old Phœnician colonies were included among the Liby-phœnicians is shown by the designation of Hippo as a Liby-phœnician city (Liv. xxv. 40); on the other hand as to the settlements detached from Carthage, it is said in the Periplus of Hanno: "the Carthaginians resolved that Hanno should sail beyond the pillars of Hercules and found cities of Liby-phœnicians." In substance, the word "Liby-phœnicians" was used by the Carthaginians not as a national designation, but as a term denoting a class in constitutional law. This view is quite consistent with the fact that grammatically the name denotes Phœnicians mingled with Libyans (Liv. xxi. 22, an addition to the text of Polybius); in reality, at least in the institution of very exposed colonies, Libyans were frequently associated with Phœnicians (Diod. xiii. 79; Cic. *pro Scauro*, 42). The analogy in name and constitutional relations between the Latins of Rome and the Liby-phœnicians of Carthage is unmistakeable.

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feeling of reverence for such relations, forming a thorough contrast to the indifference of the Greeks. Even in intercourse with foreigners "Carthage and Utica" always stipulate and promise in conjunction; which, of course, did not preclude the far more important "New Town" from practically asserting its hegemony over Utica. Thus the Tyrian factory was converted into the capital of a mighty North-African empire, which extended from the desert of Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, contenting itself in its western portion (Morocco and Algiers) with the occupation, and that to some extent superficial, of a belt along the coast, but in the richer portion to the east (the present districts of Constantine and Tunis) stretching its sway over the interior also and constantly pushing its frontier further to the south. The Carthaginians were, as an ancient author significantly expresses it, converted from Tyrians into Libyans. Phœnician civilization prevailed in Libya just as Greek civilization prevailed in Asia Minor and Syria after the campaigns of Alexander; although not with the same intensity. Phœnician was spoken and written at the courts of the Nomad sheiks, and the more civilized native tribes adopted for their language the Phœnician alphabet;* to Phœnicize them completely suited neither the genius of the nation nor the policy of Carthage.

The epoch, at which this transformation of Carthage into the capital of Libya took place, admits the less of being determined that the change doubtless took place gradually. The author just mentioned names Hanno as the reformer of the nation. If the Hanno is meant who lived at the time of the first war with Rome, he can only be regarded as having completed the new system, the carrying out of which probably occupied the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome.

The flourishing of Carthage was accompanied by a parallel

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* The Libyan or Numidian alphabet, by which we mean that which was and is employed by the Berbers in writing their non-Semitic language—one of the innumerable alphabets derived from the primitive Aramæan one—certainly appears to be more closely related in several of its forms to the latter than the Phœnician alphabet; but it by no means follows from this, that the Libyans derived their writing not from Phœnicians but from earlier immigrants, any more than the partially older forms of the Italian alphabets prohibit us from deriving these from the Greek. We must rather assume that the Libyan alphabet has been derived from the Phœnician at a period of the latter earlier than the time at which the records of the Phœnician language that have reached us were written.